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# VOLITION AND MOOD IN THE LXX-PSALMS



VIA VERITAS VITA

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ABSTRACT

The present study analyzed the translation technique of verbs in the LXX-Psalms. Specifically, I focused on volition and mood in the verbal systems. To be thorough in this investigation, I compiled data from the starting point of both Hebrew and Greek. For Hebrew verbs, I gathered every Hebrew cohortative, imperative, and jussive verb and determined which Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator used to render them. For Greek verbs, I gathered every Greek subjunctive, optative, imperative, and future indicative verb in the LXX-Psalms and determined which Hebrew forms they translated. This double-edged analysis provided insight as to how the LXX-Psalms translator understood volition in the Hebrew verbal system, and how he communicated that volition in Greek. His translation of Hebrew volitives and his nuanced employment of the Greek non-indicative moods demonstrated a translation technique that had great respect for his Hebrew *Vorlage* but was also sensitive to the Greek language. I highlight numerous examples throughout this study in support of this conclusion. This study shows that both in his default renderings and in his less-frequent renderings of verbs, the LXX-Psalms translator found ways to display creativity and sensitivity in Greek while maintaining close adherence to the original Hebrew.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# LIST OF TABLES

# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1    General Introduction

Modern scholars always face the challenge of discovering the various nuances of the languages that are different from their own. This is certainly true when considering the intricate details of verbal syntax in the ancient, biblical languages. There are many debates regarding the way in which one should interpret verbs in both Hebrew and Greek. One of the greatest challenges for interpreting the Biblical Hebrew verbal system is the fact that the Hebrew Bible was not written in its entirety at one particular time, nor was it written by one author or even in one place. Instead, the Hebrew Bible was written over an extensive span of time by a variety of authors from multiple regions. Similar challenges are encountered when working with the Greek verbal system in the Septuagint.[1] The Greek found in the Septuagint also consists of a variety of authors/translators from multiple locations over the span of a few hundred years.

While there are many debates surrounding the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems individually, the Septuagint presents a unique challenge to scholars since it is a Greek translation of a Hebrew text. There are many unresolved questions concerning various elements of both Hebrew and Greek verbs, and the Septuagint could provide insight to some of these questions when one analyzes the way in which the two languages correspond with one another. One can learn more about the Hebrew verbal system based on the various ways an ancient, native, bilingual translator rendered a particular Hebrew form into Greek. On the other hand, one can learn more about the Greek verbal system based on the various Hebrew forms a single Greek verb form represents in the Septuagint.

There are some ways in which the Septuagint, being a Greek translation of a Hebrew text, can speak to grammatical and syntactical issues such as the conversations on volition and mood, which is the focus of this thesis. A study on the Greek and Hebrew verbal systems as a whole would certainly be beneficial, but with limited space I have chosen to narrow my focus to how volition and mood were conveyed in the LXX-Psalms and what that teaches us about each verbal system. Each verbal system contains grammatical forms and other syntactical markers to indicate action with greater and lesser degrees of certainty. In Hebrew,

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[1] *The* Septuagint actually refers to the original Greek translation of the Pentateuch. For the rest of the books, a more appropriate designation would be *Old Greek*. However, for the sake of convenience, scholars now use the term *Septuagint* to refer to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible as a whole. For more information regarding the term *Septuagint*, see Gregory R. Lanier and William A. Ross, *The Septuagint: What It Is and Why It Matters* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2021), 25-37; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015), 14.

the cohortative, imperative, and jussive verbs are formally marked as volitives, and the prefix conjugation has a volitional function in some contexts. In Greek, the subjunctive, optative, and imperative moods, along with the future indicative also convey action with volitional force. However, these Hebrew and Greek verbal forms do not perfectly overlap with one another, so the LXX-Psalms translator had to make interpretive decisions on which forms best conveyed the intended force of the Hebrew verbs.

The Hebrew verbal system is more ambiguous, and verbs are not always formally marked to indicate volition. Greek verbs, on the other hand, are always formally marked to indicate mood. An analysis on the utilization of Greek moods in the LXX-Psalms provides insight into the translator's interpretation of the Hebrew verbal system. I chose the Psalms for this study because one of the primary influences on the use of volitives in Hebrew is the speaker's social status in relation to the addressee. There is great variety in social relationships throughout the Psalms. There are numerous examples of both inferiors addressing superiors, and superiors addressing inferiors. This thesis will consider the translator's rendering of Hebrew volitives and how the social relationships may have also influenced which Greek forms he used in his rendering of the text. Since volition is sometimes indicated by other Hebrew forms beyond the marked volitives, I will also provide analysis on which Hebrew forms underlie the non-indicative moods in Greek.

Comparing the two verbal systems will not clarify every uncertainty concerning volition and mood, but it at least informs the scholar about how the Hebrew verbal system may have been interpreted by Hellenistic Greek translators. At the same time, the Septuagint should also be seen and respected as a Greek text in its own right. Therefore, a close analysis of the Septuagint also informs one's understanding of the Greek verbal system. But before one can draw any conclusions from this type of analysis on the translation of Hebrew verbs in the Septuagint, they must first consider a number of topics, such as the textual history of the Hebrew and Greek texts and the translator's approach to rendering his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The sections that follow provide a history of scholarship on the relevant discussions for this dissertation on volition and mood in LXX-Psalms. I discuss scholarship on verbal syntax in the Septuagint, giving special attention to the various approaches, and consider the strengths and weaknesses of each approach to determine how best to approach the LXX-Psalms in this dissertation. I also provide a profile of the LXX-Psalms, which considers the textual history of both the Hebrew and Greek, and an analysis of the translation technique of the LXX-Psalms translator.

## 1.2 History of Scholarship on Verbs in the Septuagint

### 1.2.1 Early Grammars

The Septuagint verbal system was discussed by some of the early Septuagint grammarians such as F. C. Conybeare (1905),[2] Henry St. John Thackeray (1909),[3] and Peter Walters (1973),[4] but they are especially limited in their discussions on verbal syntax in the Septuagint. Conybeare devotes a mere eleven pages to verbal syntax where he primarily discusses the ways in which the Hebrew influenced Septuagint verbs. He also points out how verbal syntax in the Septuagint relates to other periods of the Greek language such as Attic Greek, the Greek of the New Testament, and the Apostolic Fathers. Thackeray's grammar is limited to discussions on accidence. Unfortunately, volume one of Thackeray's works was the only one he ended up publishing and the anticipated syntax volume never transpired. Walters, too, primarily writes on accidence and word formation with occasional remarks on syntax. His works suggests that there were many corruptions to the Greek in the Septuagint and Walters devotes a section of his study to correcting some of these so-called 'mistakes'.

### 1.2.2 Takamitsu Muraoka

Finally, in 2016, Takamitsu Muraoka published a much-needed *Syntax of Septuagint Greek*. This book is a comprehensive syntax of Septuagint Greek which had yet to be done before Muraoka. Previous studies on Septuagint syntax focused exclusively on individual units of the Septuagint corpus, most dealing with just one particular part of speech. Muraoka, however, takes on the monumental task of providing a complete syntax looking at all parts of speech and taking into consideration the entirety of the Septuagint corpus. This work made major contributions to the study of the history of the Greek language since many studies on Greek grammar and syntax are extremely limited in the attention they give to the Septuagint.

Muraoka points out that there are two opposing approaches to studying Septuagint syntax: First, there are those who start with the source text and tend to focus on the translator and his technique. The second approach is reader-centered and chooses to analyze the Septuagint as a running Greek text. Muraoka argues, however, that these two approaches "do

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[2] F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek: With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 68-79.

[3] Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint, Vol. 1: Introduction, Orthography and Accidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909).

[4] Peter Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruption and Their Emendation*, ed. D. W. Gooding (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

not have to be mutually contradictory, but complementing each other."[5] Muraoka then goes on to explain that to approach a work of this magnitude from the perspective of translation technique would be practically impossible.[6]

Muraoka provides a wealth of data in this book and gives extensive discussions on every element of Septuagint Greek. This is a major contribution to the field, even though he does not consider each book on its own. The main issue with this comprehensive work is that it does not always take into consideration the different translation techniques found throughout the Septuagint. Translators dealt with their Hebrew source texts in different ways, so an explanation of a single grammatical form may require a different explanation for different books within the Septuagint. In light of this, Muraoka's work is indeed valuable, but one must approach it knowing that there are likely many exceptions among the various translators.

### 1.2.3   John H. Sailhamer

One of the earliest works specifically dealing with Septuagint verbs is John Sailhamer's book *The Translation Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41*. The purpose of Sailhamer's work was to analyze the way in which the Septuagint translator rendered Hebrew verbs.[7] A large part of Sailhamer's motivation for this project was to gain a better understanding of the Hebrew verbal system. By looking at the Septuagint translator's rendering of the Hebrew verb, Sailhamer hopes to gain insight into the LXX-Psalms translator's understanding Biblical Hebrew grammar.

The starting point in Sailhamer's work is the Hebrew text.[8] In other words, he analyzes verbs by first looking at the Hebrew verb and then noting the way in which the Septuagint translator rendered a particular form. He draws conclusions on the translation technique based on the frequency of each Greek equivalent to make conclusions about the source text, vocalization, syntax, and exegesis.[9]

Sailhamer concludes from his study that the translator of the LXX-Psalms was not bound to formal equivalency in his translation technique of Hebrew verbs. Though he admits that the translator had a reasonably well-informed knowledge of the Hebrew verb, Sailhamer

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[5] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), XL.

[6] Muraoka, *Syntax*, XLI.

[7] John H. Sailhamer, *The Translational Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41*, Studies in Biblical Greek (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), 1.

[8] Sailhamer, *Translation Technique*, 21.

[9] Sailhamer, *Translation Technique*, 21.

also notes that the translator sometimes failed to translate verbs in a way that fit the Hebrew context of the Psalm. He draws from this variation that it was part of the translator's procedure for him to give a good sense of a verb in his translation in a way that takes the Hebrew verbal form into consideration. But because the translator did not vary in his technique, Sailhamer points out that the translator resorted to formal equivalencies in his translation when the function of a Hebrew verb fell beyond his understanding.[10]

Sailhamer's work is helpful in many ways. Being one of the first scholars to use the Septuagint in this way, his work demonstrated that there is much to learn about verbal syntax based on the way in which a specific translator related the Greek to the Hebrew. The most significant contribution of this work is the incorporation of translation technique into the analysis of Septuagint verbal syntax. Unlike his predecessors, Sailhamer takes into consideration the uniqueness of the LXX-Psalms translator and analyzes his translation technique before making conclusions about the Hebrew-Greek equivalents in the Psalter. This allows him to make more specific arguments about the translator's understanding of the Hebrew verbal system rather than simply provide tendencies within the Septuagint as a whole. This practice was lacking in scholarship prior to Sailhamer's work and it certainly helped advance the idea that one must consider the translator's technique before assessing the way in which the Septuagint can or cannot speak to grammatical/syntactical issues.

However, the weakness of Sailhamer's conclusions comes from the fact that he only analyzed the data from the Hebrew perspective. His conclusions are strictly based on how often Hebrew verbs are translated by a given Greek verb. This method is restrictive since it fails to observe how many Hebrew verbal forms a Greek verbal form can translate.  Viewing the translation technique from this alternate perspective would have given greater depth to Sailhamer's work and perhaps provided an explanation for those cases where he claims the Septuagint translator failed to render the Hebrew verb in light of its context. In contrast to Sailhamer's conclusion, it is possible that the translator knew exactly what he was doing in these cases that are difficult to explain viewing it exclusively from a Hebrew lens. Instead of saying that the translator resorted to formal equivalency when the usage of certain verbs fell beyond the horizon of his understanding, there may be a better explanation by looking at the Greek verb in its Greek context. As I note throughout this dissertation, the LXX-Psalms translator will often use Greek verb forms in a way that is certainly influenced by the Hebrew, but in a way that is sensitive to the Greek receptor language. Even while adhering to

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[10] Sailhamer, *Translation Technique*, 210.

a formal equivalence approach to translation, the LXX-Psalms translator makes creative use of a variety of forms and functions of Greek verbs in a way that communicates the intended sense of the Hebrew verbal action.

### 1.2.4  Trevor V. Evans

Another significant work on Septuagint verbal syntax is Trevor Evans' *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*. Evans' work attempts to analyze the Greek verbal system in general, translation technique in the Greek Pentateuch, and more specific features of Pentateuchal verbal syntax by taking into consideration both the underlying Hebrew and natural Greek usage of the verbs.[11] At this point in Septuagint scholarship there was a push to not simply view the Septuagint as a mere translation of the Hebrew but also as a Greek text in its own right.[12]

Part I of Evans' study deals with issues such as verbal aspect and the ways in which the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems compare with each other. In Part II, Evans presents and analyses the data based on the frequencies a particular Greek verb translates a Hebrew form. Though Evans bases his statistics on the Greek verb and the variety of Hebrew forms it translates, he takes into consideration both the possibility of Hebrew influence and natural Greek usage. In Part II he goes into great detail on four particular elements of the Greek verbal system: the perfect system, the optative mood, aorist and imperfect indicative forms, and periphrastic tense forms.

Evans' study is thorough in the sense that he takes both the Greek and Hebrew languages into consideration, providing a wealth of data and statistics for every Greek verbal form in the entire Pentateuch. It is particularly helpful that Evans' data is very broad, but that he also provides deep analysis. After giving a brief analysis of each verbal form in the Greek Pentateuch, Evans gives greater attention to some of the more intriguing forms. This work is especially significant because it has both breadth and depth.

Evans approaches this project by analyzing the verbal matches between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text (hereafter MT) according to the Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint/Scriptural Study (hereafter CATSS) alignment of formal matches. While

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[11] T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 9.

[12] John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SBLSCS 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 146, 148. Moisés Silva, *Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), chap. 2. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), vii-ix.

Evans recognizes that the majority of Greek-Hebrew formal matches are clear, he still provides explanations for categories that need further clarification of his method such as the non-verbal matches (i.e., verbs translating particles, prepositions, pronouns, or verbs that have no correspondence at all in the Hebrew). Based on Evans' analysis of the Hebrew-Greek matches in the Pentateuch, he concludes that that the translator's use of aspect, tense, and mood represents idiomatic Greek that corresponds with early Koine vernacular.[13] This finding went against the typical ideas of contemporary scholarship that Septuagint syntax was simply a mirrored image of Hebrew syntax. At the same time, Evans does not deny the fact that the Septuagint translators were at least in some way affected by the Hebrew language. He specifically points out that the most obvious way in which the Hebrew influenced the Septuagint translators was in the frequency of certain syntactical functions that appear to be Hebraistic.

It is hard to fathom how Evans could have provided even more data than he already did, but one thing that could have strengthened his analysis is if he could have offered data starting with the Hebrew verb giving statistics on the different Greek forms used to translate one Hebrew form. This would have especially helped in his discussions on how the Hebrew language influenced the Septuagint translator. However, Evans' primary focus in this project was Greek verbal syntax and more discussion on Hebrew influence would likely have gone beyond his intentions for this work.

One of the greatest contributions of Evans' work was his demonstration that the Greek of the Septuagint is not a mere reflection of Hebrew verbal syntax. Evans' work shows that the Septuagint has value beyond textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible and should be studied as a Greek document on its own. The language of the Septuagint eventually influenced the Greek language as a whole; therefore, a close analysis of syntax such as Evans' work also contributes to one's understanding of the historical development of Greek more generally.

### 1.2.5  Roger Good

A third significant work on verbal syntax in the Septuagint is Roger Good's book *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*. Good's study is a thorough analysis of how the Septuagint translator of Chronicles translates the Hebrew verbal system, taking into consideration both archaic Hebrew with forms such as *wayiqtol* and *weqatal* and Hebrew contemporary to the time of the Septuagint translation. Good first

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[13] Evans, *Greek Pentateuch*, 259.

compares the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems and then looks at how this comparison can be seen in the Greek Chronicles. He suggests that the translator of Chronicles was influenced by two main factors: "the translator's 'philosophy' of translation derived from the cultural context and the translators understanding of the Hebrew verbal system derived from the historical linguistic context."[14]

Unlike other studies on verbal syntax in the Septuagint, Good provides data for both the distribution of Greek verbs used to translate a Hebrew verb form and the distribution for Hebrew verb forms a Greek verb form translates. The latter analysis is helpful for advancing the study of Greek verbal syntax, recognizing the fact that the Septuagint is valuable as a Greek document and not only as a translation. However, Good's primary focus for this study is how the Septuagint can inform our understanding of the Hebrew verbal system. In other words, Good does not elaborate on how his study may impact our understanding of Greek verbal syntax.

He concludes from this comparative analysis that the translator was seeking to bring the reader to the source text, which had a major influence on the way he translated Hebrew verbs. Good admits, though, that the translator was not entirely slavish in his dealing with his Hebrew source text as Aquila was, but his translation does represent a progression from the literality of the Pentateuch and Samuel-Kings to the extreme isomorphism of Aquila's work.[15]

Good further argues that contemporary, spoken Hebrew is what mostly influenced the translator's choice of equivalents.[16] For example, Good points out that adjectives are most often used to translate stative verbs, but הָיָה is mostly translated by the verb to "be." Good suggests that this is due to the fact that in rabbinic Hebrew adjectives replace stative verbs and that the meaning "to be" replaces the older meaning "to become."[17] This, along with many other examples Good provides, is an intriguing contribution to the analysis of translation technique in the Septuagint. Most studies were limited to observations about the way the Septuagint mirrors Biblical Hebrew syntax. Other scholars recognized that the Greek

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[14] Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements Series 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1.

[15] Good, *Chronicles*, 249. In this discussion, Good points out the frequency of the aorist tense does not read like standard Greek (p. 242). He points out that the frequency of the aorist comes at the detriment of other tenses. While it is true that this is not standard Greek, this is further evidence of Evans' point that it is not the usage of the aorist that is not standard Greek but rather the frequency which is evidence of Hebrew interference.

[16] Good, *Chronicles*, 200.

[17] Good, *Chronicles*, 201.

of the Septuagint was not merely a reflection of the Hebrew but was natural Hellenistic Greek, ranging from popular/vernacular Greek[18] to higher register literary Greek.[19] Uniquely, however, Good has highlighted another possible influence for the language of the Septuagint; the spoken Hebrew contemporary to the translation.


## 1.3    This Project in Comparison to Other Works

It is clear from the history of scholarship discussed above that there are many areas of Septuagint verbal syntax that have yet been explored. Muraoka's work is interesting and certainly fills a major gap in Septuagint studies in terms of a comprehensive analysis of Septuagint syntax as a whole, but it lacks an in-depth analysis of verbal syntax that also takes translation technique into consideration. Evans and Good both provide valuable work to the field by demonstrating how one should analyze Septuagint verbal syntax in light of an individual translator's technique, but both of their works are focused on verbal syntax in narrative texts, namely the Pentateuch and Chronicles. No major works on Septuagint verbal syntax in poetic texts have been done since Sailhamer who only focuses on a limited selection of the Psalter. Furthermore, Septuagint studies have progressed significantly since 1991 when Sailhamer published his study on the Psalms. For example, the study of translation technique has continued to develop which enables scholars to better assess how translation technique factors into one's evaluation of Septuagint texts. Another development in Septuagint studies since Sailhamer's work is the benefit of analyzing translations in the Septuagint as actual Greek texts.

My study on the Septuagint Psalms goes beyond what Sailhamer has already done in the LXX-Psalms and provide a fresh perspective on verbal translations, specifically on volition and mood. Sailhamer's work only analyzed verbs in Psalms 3-41 and he did so strictly from the Hebrew perspective. My project will provide new insights on verbs in the LXX-Psalms by analyzing the entire Psalter and by including both Greek and Hebrew perspectives. Like Evans, I provide data starting with the Greek verb and examine the

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[18] See G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions, Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909); Thackeray, *Grammar*; J. H. Moulton, *From Egyptian Rubbish-Heaps: Five Popular Lectures on the New Testament* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1916); Evans, *Greek Pentateuch*, 259.

[19] See John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 265; James K. Aitken, *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*, Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 106.

frequencies of the Hebrew matches. In terms of both mode and genre, Good's work will also be beneficial to compare with the Psalms. His focus on the Hebrew verb in Chronicles compared with my study on the Psalms will shed light on how Hellenistic translators interpreted Hebrew verbs in poetry versus prose and from different genres. Thus, my study is similar to Evans and Good in terms of methodology and approach but distinct from them in the genre of text on which I am focusing.[20] It is also distinct in the fact that I consider the data from both the Hebrew and Greek perspectives. In other words, I analyze each Greek form the LXX-Psalms translator uses renders each Hebrew volitive form. In addition, I also consider the Greek non-indicative moods (plus the future indicative) and analyze each Hebrew word it appears to translate.

## 1.4    A Profile of the LXX-Psalms

### 1.4.1   The Hebrew Text

Emanuel Tov recognizes four periods of the transmission of the Hebrew Bible: First, the stage before 250 BCE. Second, the stage between 250 BCE and 135 CE. Third, the stage from 135 CE to 800 CE. And finally, the stage between 800 CE and the Middle Ages.[21] The consonantal text of the Hebrew Bible was relatively stable by the second stage with only minor differences in its transmission in the third and fourth stages. Therefore, Tov suggests that the consonantal text of the Masoretic Text (MT) likely represents an accurate depiction of the text in the first stage.[22]

It is clear from the abundance of textual witnesses, in Hebrew manuscripts and in the versions, that the Psalms were very important in the ancient world. This is apparent from the fact that there are more manuscripts of the Psalms than any other book of the Bible. Brent Strawn points out that the importance of the Psalms is due to the book's liturgical significance.[23]  Its importance is also evident by the existence of three Pesher scrolls of the Psalms found at Qumran (1QpPs, 4QpPs[a], and 4QpPs[b]). The earliest Hebrew manuscripts for the Psalter are from various sites around the Dead Sea, and there are approximately forty-two

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[20] Unlike the Greek translations of the Pentateuch and Chronicles, the LXX-Psalms is considered to be one of the most slavishly translated books in the Septuagint (see section 1.4.3.2). While it is true that the LXX-Psalms translator aimed for close adherence to the Hebrew, this study will show that the translator creatively worked within this isomorphic approach to translation in such a way that should not be considered slavish.

[21] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 27-45.

[22] Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 28.

[23] Brent A. Strawn, "10.1 Textual History of Psalms" in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange (Leiden: Brill, 2016), logos edition.

total manuscripts of the Psalms.[24] The biggest difference between the Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran and the MT is the sequence of the Psalms, not necessarily the wording.[25]

Since it is believed that the consonantal text of the MT is an accurate representation of the first stage of the Hebrew Bible, I will use the MT as my base text for the Hebrew in this project and make references to other Hebrew manuscripts as needed. Specifically, I will use Codex Leningrad as reflected in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), including the vocalization. Since the LXX-Psalms translator would not have used a vocalized text, the vocalization found in BHS will not be assumed to be original but will serve as a starting point for comparison with the LXX-Psalms.

### 1.4.2 The Greek Text

The Greek textual history of LXX-Psalms is equally as impressive in terms of the number of manuscripts. There are more than ten times the number of manuscripts for the LXX-Psalms than the book of Genesis, which contains the second most manuscripts for books in the Septuagint.[26] The plethora of manuscripts, however, has caused dispute among scholars as to whether or not the Old Greek can be recovered. While Venetz, Ulrich, and Rüsen-Weinhold all suggest that the manuscripts point to an early recension at best, Smith points out that the number of manuscripts alone suggests that it is unlikely that the Old Greek could have completely disappeared.[27]

Despite the abundance of Greek manuscripts, there is no critical edition of the Greek Psalms that contains all extant manuscripts. The best text available for LXX-Psalms is Rahlfs' Göttingen edition of the Psalter, *Psalmus cum Odis*, even though Rahlfs admits that he did not give a comprehensive analysis of all the textual witnesses.[28] Though this text is better than any other available texts, there are several limitations. Not only did Rahlfs not consider all the witnesses available at his time, Smith also notes that several ancient manuscripts of the Psalter have been discovered since Rahlfs published his Göttingen edition,

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[24] Strawn, "Textual History."

[25] A. Lange, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit: Zur Bedeutung der nichtessenischen Weischeitstexte aus Qumran für die Auslegung des protomasoretischen Psalters," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum*, ed. E. Zenger, Herders Biblische Studien 18 (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 109-11.

[26] Jannes Smith, "10.3.1 Septuagint" in *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), Logos edition.

[27] See Smith, "Septuagint," for an analysis of the positions held by Venetz, Ulrich, and Rüsen-Weinhold.

[28] Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi Cum Odis*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum X (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 5.

such as *P.Bodmer* XXIV and *P.Oxy*. LXXVII 5101.[29]  Despite the limitations, this is the text I will use for my base text in this project since there are no critical editions more thorough than Rahlfs' Göttingen edition, and I will make reference to the other Greek manuscripts as needed.

It is important to note the potential problems that may arise from the two texts I have chosen as my points of comparison. The BHS is a single manuscript as opposed to an eclectic text. It is representative of an earlier form of the Hebrew Bible, but since Codex L originated around 1000 CE,  it may not always reflect the Hebrew of the *Vorlage* for the LXX-Psalms. However, I will use it as a starting point since there is no BHQ at this time for the Psalter. The Göttingen edition of the Psalms also has its issues since it is an eclectic text, but was created before significant manuscript discoveries such as *P.Bodmer* XXIV and *P.Oxy*. LXXVII 5101. It is possible that the LXX-Psalms in those manuscripts better reflect the Old Greek than the Göttingen edition. To mitigate this issue, I will use the Göttingen edition as my base text for comparison but refer to other Greek manuscripts where necessary. Despite the issues associated with each text, they are sufficient to serve as a starting point for comparison and discussion of how volition and mood are rendered in the LXX-Psalms.

### 1.4.3   Translation Technique in the LXX-Psalms

#### *1.4.3.1        Defining Translation Technique*

The phrase 'translation technique' generally refers to the way in which a given translator rendered his Hebrew *Vorlage*. Anneli Aejmelaeus suggests that *translation technique* is too strong of a phrase, as it implies that the translators had a particular method in mind when they were working. Instead, she suggests that the work of the translators was better characterized by intuition and spontaneity.[30] While this may be true for some books in the Septuagint, there are many translators that deliberately chose an isomorphic approach (e.g., Aquila). Therefore, it is important not to overcorrect the potentially misleading phrase *translation technique* and falsely suggest that translators had no specific method. There were various approaches to translation in the Septuagint, and Aejmelaeus is correct when she posits that one can still

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[29] Smith, "Septuagint."

[30] Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven, 1989* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1991), 25.

follow the trail of the Septuagint translators and attempt to understand the way they worked and consider the problems they may have faced.[31]

Though there was no one translation model that Septuagint translators followed, Sebastian Brock suggests that there were translation models contemporary with the beginnings of the Septuagint translations. They were divided into literary and non-literary categories where the literary texts were translated freely while legal documents were translated in a literal, word-for-word manner.[32] He proposes that the Septuagint, specifically the Pentateuch, would have fallen somewhere in between a literary text and a legal text, which made it difficult for the translators to choose which model to follow.[33] Emanuel Tov and Benjamin Wright question Brock's theory that the Septuagint translator would have known of any other translations, whether translations of the Septuagint or of any other document, and they suggest that the translators likely had no model at all.[34] On the other hand, James Aitken points out that the translation technique found in the Septuagint is typical of translation in general, not only legal translation. This is evident in the fact that Egyptian translation features are all paralleled in the Septuagint, and because of this, Aitken goes further to suggest that it is an overstatement to indicate that the Septuagint was a unique project.[35] Conversely, it was a typical translation for its time.

Regardless of how intentional or unintentional any particular Septuagint translator was in terms of the level to which their translator adhered to their Hebrew *Vorlage*, it is essential for one to understand the translation technique before drawing any other conclusions from the text. Recognizing the various ways a translation can correspond with its source text (or deviate from it) helps one avoid drawing false conclusions about the Septuagint. Having a nuanced understanding of the Septuagint translators' techniques is essential for acquiring accurate conclusions on any subject that concerns the Septuagint.

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[31] Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50, rev. ed. (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), xiii-xv.

[32] Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *Oudetestamentische Studiën* 17 (1972): 11.

[33] Sebastian P. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979): 71-72.

[34] B. G. Wright III, "The Jewish Scriptures in Greek: The Septuagint in the Context of Ancient Translation Activity," in *Biblical Translation in Context*, ed. F. W. Knobloch (Bethesda: University of Maryland, 2002), 3-18; Emanuel Tov, *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran*, Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 331.

[35] James K. Aitken, "The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods," in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013*, eds. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 292.

## 1.4.3.2 Translation Technique in the LXX-Psalms

The translation technique of LXX-Psalms has been a subject of much debate. First, there is the group that simply views the LXX-Psalms as an interlinear translation of the Hebrew. Pietersma explains this approach saying, "The linguistic relationship of the Greek text to the Hebrew text is one of dependence and subservience… Its translation is literal, if literalness is understood to refer to a high degree of consistency in one-to-one equivalence."[36] This conclusion concerning the translation technique in LXX-Psalms is also popular among other scholars. Ilmari Soisallon-Soininen, conducted a study on infinitives in the Septuagint and places Psalms in the category of slavishly rendered books along with 4 Kingdoms, Judges, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Ecclesiastes, and the Minor Prophets.[37] Raija Sollamo similarly places the Psalms in the fourth and most slavish category of Septuagint books in her analysis of the Septuagint's renderings of Hebrew semiprepositions.[38] Elsewhere, she adamantly argues that "the Greek translation of the Psalter exhibits the almost total opposite of good literary style," even going as far as to say it is unidiomatic and clumsy.[39] Martin Flashar even questions whether or not the Psalms translator was adequate enough in his knowledge of Biblical Hebrew to produce an intelligible Greek translation. He argues that the odd Greek found in LXX-Psalms is the result of the translator attempting to preserve the Hebrew syntax found in his *Vorlage* and that he was very mechanical in his general approach to translation.[40]

The close adherence to the Hebrew text has led some scholars to associate LXX-Psalms with the *kaige*-style translations. The *kaige* tradition is a grouping of translations that share a similar translation technique represented in the Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal

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[36] Albert Pietersma, "Psalms," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 542. See also Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, SCST 53, eds. W. Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 38-39.

[37] Iiknari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 177-90.

[38] Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 19 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 280-89.

[39] Raija Sollamo, "Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter: The Use and Non-Use of Possessive Pronouns in Renderings of Hebrew Coordinate Items with Possessive Suffixes" in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, eds. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 53.

[40] Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche wissenschaft* 32.4 (1912): 183.

Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr). Dominique Barthélemy referred to this translation technique as *kaige*, though Thackeray had already recognized the technique and categorized the books displaying *kaige* features as "Literal or unintelligent versions."[41]

The name *kaige* comes from the distinctive translation feature in these texts rendering גם/וגם with καί γε.[42] However, translating גם/וגם with καί γε is just one of many translation features Barthélemy identified as characteristic of the *kaige* tradition. The purpose of the *kaige* revisions was to correct the Septuagint to a more precise version of the original Hebrew.[43] Most consider the ensuing syntax of this translation technique as awkward and 'barbaric'.[44] Aitken, on the other hand, points out the sophistication of the *kaige* tradition noting that this translation style, specifically the rendering of גם/וגם with καί γε, is evidence of the translators' knowledge of literary Greek which would be appreciated among the cultural circle of translators.[45]

There are some textual features typically associated with *kaige* texts that appear in the LXX-Psalms, including the staple rendering of גַּם with καὶ γάρ.[46] This has led some to consider the LXX-Psalms as an early stage of the *kaige* tradition. Peter Gentry, on the other hand, has pointed out that even though the LXX-Psalms belongs to "a group of translations characterized by formal equivalence," the connections with the *kaige* tradition are very weak.[47] I agree with Gentry on this critique of the LXX-Psalms' association with *kaige* texts.

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[41] Thackeray, *Grammar*, 13.

[42] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton, trouvés dans le desert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions greques de la Bible rélisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien*, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 10, eds. G. W. Anderson, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1963), x-xii.

[43] Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 141.

[44] P. D. McLean, "The Kaige Text of Reigns," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, eds. A. Pietersma, and B. G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 271.

[45] James K. Aitken, "The Origins of ΚΑΙ ΓΕ," in *Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A. L. Lee*, eds. James K. Aitken and Trevor V. Evans (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 40.

[46] S. Olofsson, "The Kaige Group and the Septuagint Book of Psalms," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Cambridge, 1995*, SBLSCS, 45, ed. B. A. Taylor (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 198.

[47] Peter J. Gentry, "The Greek Psalter and the καίγε Tradition: Methodological Questions," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, eds. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 87.

As Aitken has noted, the *kaige* features found in the Psalms are natural Greek and evidence the translator's knowledge of literary Greek.[48]

While many scholars mentioned above have suggested that the LXX-Psalms translator was uneducated and slavishly rendered his *Vorlage*, others have pointed out various aspects of creativity in the LXX-Psalms. In fact, Muraoka's assessment of the LXX-Psalms translator is completely opposed to what others have noticed. He suggests that the translator does not aim at consistent translation equivalence, but rather "has a pool of related or synonymous words or phrases which he draws upon."[49] Muraoka also argues that the so-called "freedom" with which the translator operates reflects his theological bias and his interest in biblical soteriology, implying that creating an isomorphic translation was not the aim of the LXX-Psalms translator.[50] I agree with Muraoka that the LXX-Psalms translator had liberty in how he rendered his Hebrew text, but I still think that his aim was to create an isomorphic translation, even though the final outcome contains some additional features not represented in the Hebrew. In the chapters that follow, I show how the LXX-Psalms translator creatively worked within that isomorphic approach, using a variety of Greek verbs to render Hebrew verbs with functions that are dependent on their context. Though isomorphic in his translation technique, I argue that the translator demonstrated his creativity and understanding of the Hebrew by not confining himself to a single rendering.

The best description of the LXX-Psalms translation technique is more likely somewhere between these two extremes. Those in the first group who dwell on the "slavish" and "Hebraistic" nature of the LXX-Psalms translator tend to overlook subtle elements of creativity within a so-called "literal" translation. Those in the second group have recognized these creative features but have undermined the level of influence the source text had on the translator. A third group, in which I place this study, considers the translation technique of the LXX-Psalms to be mostly consistent with the Hebrew *Vorlage* but with a certain degree of

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[48] Aitken, "ΚΑΙ ΓΕ," 40. In later chapters of this dissertation, I point out the LXX-Psalms translator's frequent use of Greek particles that heighten the register of the translation, much like the translation of גַּם with καὶ γάρ.

[49] Takamitsu Muraoka, "Pairs of Synonyms in the Septuagint Psalms" in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, eds. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 43.

[50] Muraoka, "Pairs of Synonyms," 42. Eberhard Bons also recognizes the literary nature of the LXX-Psalms, suggesting that it cannot be explained by a slavish translation of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. See Eberhard Bons, "Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter," in *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, eds. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht GmbH & Co., 2011).

freedom and creativity.[51] For example, Shaper takes this moderate position in his analysis of the translation technique in LXX-Psalms. He emphasizes that the translation is "remarkably consistent and precise," but it also demonstrates "fine stylistic sensitivity", and that the general linguistic skill of the translator was high.[52]

Jennifer Jones also recognizes that the translation of the LXX-Psalms "both respects the integrity of its *Vorlage* and reflects sensitivity to style."[53] She has identified several stylistic aspects of the LXX-Psalms such as sound and rhythm. The LXX-Psalms translator "would have not only been exposed to the spoken Koine of his day, but also to compositional style via Greek literature" in his Greek education, and Jones suggests that this exposure "could have created a level of stylistic awareness for what would have been considered attractive in a Greek composition."[54] What I have done in this project further supports this claim that the LXX-Psalms translator was not only aware, but capable of producing a Greek translation that respects the Hebrew *Vorlage* and is also sensitive to Greek style. Instead of noting features like sound and rhythm as Jones has, I highlight the ways in which the translator has done so in communicating volition and mood in the Greek verbal system.

## 1.5    Preliminary Remarks

This dissertation focuses specifically on the translation of Hebrew volitives (i.e., the cohortative, imperative, and jussive) and the use of Greek non-indicative moods (i.e., the subjunctive, optative, imperative, and the future indicative) in the LXX-Psalms. For the Hebrew volitives, I have identified each example in the Psalms and which Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator uses to render them. For the Greek non-indicative moods (plus the future indicative), I have identified each example in the LXX-Psalms and which Hebrew forms they translate. They are grouped in two parts: Part II focuses on the Hebrew volitive forms and Part III focuses on the Greek non-indicatives.

In each chapter, I provide at least one chart to visualize the data. One important note on the charts, though, is that they depict the Hebrew form found in the MT and the Greek of the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms. This means that it is possible that there are

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[51] James Aitken, "Psalms," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 325.

[52] Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe 76 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1995), 31-33.

[53] Jennifer Brown Jones, *Translation and Style in the Old Greek Psalter: What Pleases Israel's God*, Septuagint Monograph Series 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 33.

[54] Jones, *Old Greek Psalter*, 26-27.

examples that are obscured by textual variants. Since the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX-Psalms is earlier than the MT, the Greek in the LXX-Psalms may be representative of an earlier, or at times different, reading of the Hebrew Psalms. Therefore, the charts should be understood with this caveat. I have discussed alternate readings in the following chapters where this seems to be the case so that the charts will not be misinterpreted.

One obvious difference between the Hebrew Psalms in the MT versus the LXX-Psalms is the sequencing of the individual Psalms. The numbering of the Psalms does not always align, so I have chosen to use the designation *LXX-Psalm* when referencing the Greek text (i.e., LXX-Psalm 118:1) and *Psalm* (i.e., Psalm 119:1) when referencing the MT. Since this dissertation is primarily focused on the Greek, whether the Greek rendering of volitives or the Greek non-indicative moods, I default to using the LXX-Psalms designation for most references except where I only intend to discuss the Hebrew.

I provide numerous examples in the following chapters to visualize what the statistics in the charts represent. As I stated above, I use the MT for the Hebrew text and the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms for the Greek text. For English translations, I primarily use the NRSV for the translation of the Hebrew and NETS for the translation of the Greek. I modify these translations at times when they are not rendered in a way that is not clear concerning my discussion. I note these modifications in brackets following the translation, as in "[modified from NETS]".

## Part II: The Rendering of Hebrew Volitives

The focus of this section of my dissertation is the Hebrew volitive forms (i.e., the cohortative, imperative, and jussive). As the name indicates, Hebrew volitives involve the mood of the speaker. As opposed to the rest of the verbal system that typically communicates verbal action, volitive verbs in Biblical Hebrew communicate one's volition or will. The purpose of this section is to analyze the ways in which the LXX-Psalms translator chose to render the volitive forms into Greek. I will execute my analysis by observing each volitive in the Hebrew Psalms, looking at the cohortative, imperative, and jussive separately. Then I will consider the Greek forms with which the LXX-Psalms translator rendered the cohortative, imperative, and jussive to have a better understanding of how he interpreted Hebrew volitives.

Section III considers the reverse data, looking first at the various moods in Greek (subjunctive, optative, imperative, and future indicative) and what they translate. Since the Greek moods do not perfectly overlap with the Hebrew volitives and do not create a precise word-to-word correspondence, a thorough study requires one to look at the data from both perspectives.

## 2. The Rendering of the Hebrew Cohortative

## 2.1    Introduction

The Hebrew cohortative is the volitive mood of the first person in Biblical Hebrew. Its morphology is based on the prefix conjugation and usually lengthened by the paragogic *qamets he* (הָ).[1] At times, however, the cohortative may appear as a simple prefix conjugation without the *qamets he*, in which case the meaning of the verb is determined by its context.[2]

Gesenius summarizes the meaning of the cohortative saying, "While the corresponding forms of the indicative rather express the mere announcement that an action will be undertaken, the cohortative lays stress on the determination underlying the action, and the personal interests in it."[3] Joüon and Muraoka explain this phenomenon saying that the cohortative is "either a manifestation of the speaker's will, or an appeal to someone else's will."[4] In other words, indicative verbs communicate the *realis* (action that is realized) and the Hebrew volitives communicate *irrealis*, or action that might or might not take place. It involves the speaker's will and determination and does not necessarily represent reality.

## 2.2    The Functions of the Hebrew Cohortative

When considering the various functions of the Hebrew cohortative, one should consider cohortatives in independent clauses and dependent clauses separately. In independent clauses one of the primary functions of the Hebrew cohortative is one of resolve or self-encouragement ("I will…").[5] In contexts where the speaker cannot effect the desired outcome but is relying on the consent of the addressee, the cohortative is used as a request ("May

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[1] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 127.

[2] Hélène M. Dallaire, *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2014), 110.

[3] W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley [GKC], *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 319.

[4] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 346.

[5] Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 573; GKC, 319.

I…").[6] Waltke and O'Connor also point out that "the sense is optative when the speaker's will involves dubiety, an indefinite potentiality ('I might/can…')."[7] The final use of the cohortative in independent clauses is one of encouragement when the speaker uses the plural to encourage/command others to do something ('Let us…').[8] In dependent clauses, the Hebrew cohortative is often used to communicate one's purpose or intended result when occurring after other volitional forms or after a question.[9] The cohortative is also used for conditional sentences both in the position of a protasis and an apodosis.[10] Often times, the cohortative will appear with the accompanying particle נָא, an additional modal element indicating politeness.[11]

These functions of the Hebrew cohortative appear frequently throughout the Psalms. The psalmists often will use the cohortative to express his will or desire in a way that is not too forceful. In some ways, it is a more polite way to verbalize one's desire than when a speaker uses the Hebrew imperative. By doing so, the speaker hopes that the addressee will accommodate to his expressed will or desire communicated by the cohortative.

The LXX-Psalms demonstrate that there are many ways to communicate the overall sense of the Hebrew cohortative into Greek. The next section will consider each Greek form the LXX-Psalms translator used to translate the Hebrew cohortative throughout the Psalter. I will give attention to each of those Greek forms on their own and consider the LXX-Psalms translator's reasoning for choosing those forms.

## 2.3    Translating the Cohortative

The following chart represents each way the Hebrew cohortative is rendered throughout the LXX-Psalms:

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[6] GKC, 320; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[7] Waltke and O'Connor, Syntax, 573.

[8] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[9] GKC, 322; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575.

[10] GKC, 323; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575.

[11] Dallaire, *Volitives*, 120.

**Table 2.1: Translating the Cohortative**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Future Indicative | 154 | 69.7% |
| Aorist Indicative | 22 | 9.9% |
| Subjunctive | 22 | 9.9% |
| Optative | 7 | 3.2% |
| Imperfect | 7 | 3.2% |
| Participle | 3 | 1.4% |
| No Translation | 3 | 1.4% |
| Present Indicative | 2 | 0.9% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.5% |
| Total | 221 | |

Since the Hebrew cohortative is one of the modal forms in Biblical Hebrew, along with the imperative and jussive, one might expect to see the LXX-Psalms translator utilize non-indicative verbs to translate it. However, the Greek future indicative appears to be the translator's default choice, which is formally, but not functionally part of the indicative system. The translator only uses non-indicative verbs (formally speaking) to translate the Hebrew cohortative thirteen percent of the time, using the subjunctive a total of twenty-one times and the optative a total of seven times. The translator's decision to default to the Greek future indicative is not altogether surprising for reasons that will be discussed in the following section, but using the Greek aorist indicative second-most frequently is likely not what one would have predicted. I will explore reasons behind these translation decisions in the following sections.

### 2.3.1 The Future Indicative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the future indicative seventy percent of the time to translate the Hebrew cohortative. Many grammarians consider the future indicative to be aspect-neutral since it appears both in contexts that refer to action as a whole and action that is ongoing.[12] The future indicative is similar to other moods in that it often expresses will or

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[12] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 425. T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of*

feeling rather than an action that has already been realized.[13] Taking these things into consideration, the Greek future indicative is an effective way for the translator to appropriately communicate the sense of a Hebrew cohortative into Greek.

There are examples of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek future indicative to translate the Hebrew cohortative in a variety of contexts.[14] I have identified at least three functions of the cohortative that the LXX-Psalms translator renders with the Greek future indicative. First, consider these examples from LXX-Psalm 4:9 and LXX-Psalm 9:2-3 where the LXX-Psalms translator translates a cohortative of resolve with the future indicative:

בְּשָׁלוֹם יַחְדָּו **אֶשְׁכְּבָה וְאִישָׁן** כִּי־אַתָּה יְהוָה לְבָדָד לָבֶטַח תּוֹשִׁיבֵנִי: (Psalm 4:9)
I will both lie down and sleep in peace; for you alone, O LORD, make me lie down in safety.

ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ **κοιμηθήσομαι** καὶ **ὑπνώσω**, ὅτι σύ, κύριε, κατὰ μόνας ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι κατῴκισάς με. (LXX-Psalm 4:8)
In peace altogether, I will lie down and sleep, because you alone, O Lord, settled me in hope.

**אוֹדֶה** יְהוָה בְּכָל־לִבִּי **אֲסַפְּרָה** כָּל־נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ **אֶשְׂמְחָה וְאֶעֶלְצָה** בָךְ **אֲזַמְּרָה** שִׁמְךָ   (Psalm 9:2-3)
עֶלְיוֹן:
 I will give thanks to the LORD with my whole heart; I will tell of all your wonderful deeds. **2** I will be glad and exult in you; I will sing praise to your name, O Most High.

**Ἐξομολογήσομαί** σοι, κύριε, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου, **διηγήσομαι** πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου· **3** **εὐφρανθήσομαι** καὶ **ἀγαλλιάσομαι** ἐν σοί, **ψαλῶ** τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ὕψιστε. (LXX-Psalm 9:2-3)
I will acknowledge you, O Lord, with my whole heart; I will tell of all your wonderful deeds. **3** I will be glad and will rejoice in you; I will make music to your name, O Most High.

The cohortative of resolve is the most common function of the cohortative in the Psalms and the LXX-Psalms translator most frequently chooses to render this function of the cohortative with the Greek future indicative. The future indicative effectively communicates this notion

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*Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 284; Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek vol. 1, ed. D.A. Carson (New York: Peter Lange, 2010), 413; F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 178.

[13] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 872.

[14] John H. Sailhamer, *The Translational Technique of the Greek Septuagint for the Hebrew Verbs and Participles in Psalms 3-41*, Studies in Biblical Greek, vol. 2 (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 98.

of resolve in this function of the cohortative since it presents a future action as virtually certain.[15] Muraoka says that this prospective function of the future indicative references "what is likely, is destined, or is going to happen."[16] Therefore, this prospective function of the future indicative aligns well with the cohortative of resolve. This translation decision helps communicate the certainty that the intended action will indeed take place, whereas the other Greek verb forms such as the potential optative would not have communicated the certainty as effectively.[17]

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the Greek future indicative to translate the cohortative when functioning as a request. Consider this example from LXX-Psalm 60:5:

**אָגוּרָה** בְאָהׇלְךָ עוֹלׇמִים **אֶחֱסֶה** בְסֵתֶר כְּנׇפֶיךָ סֶּלׇה: (Psalm 61:5)
Let me abide in your tent forever, find refuge under the shelter of your wings. *Selah*

**παροικήσω** ἐν τῷ σκηνώματί σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, **σκεπασθήσομαι** ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου. διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 60:5)
I will sojourn in your covert forever, I will find shelter in the shelter of your wings. *Interlude on strings* [modified from NETS]

Psalm 61 is a prayer, and the cohortative verbs in verse 5 are requesting something from the Lord. The LXX-Psalms translator utilized the volitive function of the Greek future indicative, which is similar to the functions of a subjunctive or an optative,[18] to translate this particular sense of the Hebrew cohortative.

Another function of the Hebrew cohortative translated by the Greek future indicative is the encouragement function, which can be seen in LXX-Psalms 19:6:

**נְרַנְּנׇה** | בִּישׁוּעׇתֶךָ וּבְשֵׁם־אֱלֹהֵינוּ **נִדְגֹּל** יְמַלֵּא יְהוׇה כׇל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶיךָ: (Psalm 20:6)
May we shout for joy over your victory, and in the name of our God set up our banners. May the LORD fulfill all your petitions.

**ἀγαλλιασόμεθα** ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ ἡμῶν **μεγαλυνθησόμεθα**. πληρώσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου. (LXX-Psalm 19:6)
We shall rejoice in your deliverance, and in our God's name we shall glory. May the Lord fulfill all your requests.

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[15] Boas, et al., *Grammar*, 425.

[16] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

[17] Boas, et al., *Grammar*, 425.

[18] Robertson, *Grammar*, 876.

This encouragement function of the Hebrew cohortative often appears in the first-person plural where the speaker is trying "to instigate or encourage each other to some action."[19] As in the example above, the volitive function of the Greek future indicative closely corresponds with this particular nuance of the cohortative. The action of the cohortative verbs has not yet been realized and the speakers are summoning others to join them in the desired action. Therefore, the translator utilizes the volitive function of the future indicative since it effectively communicates the sense of encouragement indicated by the cohortative.

When the Hebrew cohortative follows another volitional form and communicates purpose or intended result, the LXX-Psalms translator sometimes renders this cohortative function with the Greek future indicative. Consider the following examples:

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה חָנֵּנִי וַהֲקִימֵנִי **וַאֲשַׁלְּמָה לָהֶם**: (Psalm 41:11)
But you, O LORD, be gracious to me, and raise me up, that I may repay them.

σὺ δέ, κύριε, ἐλέησόν με καὶ ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ **ἀνταποδώσω** αὐτοῖς. (LXX-Psalm 40:11)
But as for you, O Lord, have mercy on me, and raise me up, and I will repay them.

אֱלֹהִים הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ וְהָאֵר פָּנֶיךָ **וְנִוָּשֵׁעָה**: (Psalm 80:4)[20]
Restore us, O God; let your face shine, that we may be saved.

ὁ θεός, ἐπίστρεψον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ **σωθησόμεθα**. (LXX-Psalm 79:4)
O God, bring us back, and show your face, and we shall be saved.

In Psalm 41:11, the psalmist uses the Hebrew imperative (חָנֵּנִי) directed toward God to plead for his grace, and the cohortative (וַאֲשַׁלְּמָה) in the final clause expresses the reason he is pleading for this ("so that I may repay them"). Psalm 80 also begins with an imperative (הֲשִׁיבֵנוּ) asking God for restoration, and the cohortative again reveals the purpose ("that we may be saved"). In both verses, LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew imperatives with Greek imperatives, and then translates the cohortatives of purpose with Greek future indicatives. These examples resemble what Muraoka places in his future indicative functioning as a "pledge, decision, determination." These future indicative verbs follow an

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[19] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[20] This exact verse is repeated again in Psalm 80:8 and 20.

imperative, thus making them reassuring promises according to Muraoka.[21] This use of the Greek future indicative communicates the same sense of purpose indicated by the Hebrew cohortative preceded by a Hebrew imperative. There may also be some theological reasons for this translation decision. By using the Greek future indicative, the LXX-Psalms translator is expressing a confident expectation for salvation.

The frequent use of the Greek future indicative to represent the Hebrew cohortative demonstrates how much the LXX-Psalms translator correlated the functions of these two verb-forms. While they do not align in every way, there are many parallel functions of the Hebrew cohortative and Greek future indicative as suggested by the variety of cohortative usages represented by the future indicative throughout the LXX-Psalms. Since there is no one-to-one correspondence, the LXX-Psalms translator was forced to use Greek forms that communicated various degrees of certainty. It is possible that when using the Greek future indicative to render Hebrew cohortatives, there is greater expectation that the action will be realized.

## 2.3.2   The Aorist Indicative

Another Greek verb form that the LXX-Psalms translator uses to translate the Hebrew cohortative is the aorist indicative. The LXX-Psalms translator uses the aorist indicative twenty-two times for this purpose. While this translation choice is the second-most frequent for the Hebrew cohortative, it occurs 132 times less than the future indicative. In the following section, I will attempt to explain the reasoning behind the LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek aorist indicative.

One way the LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek aorist indicative to translate the Hebrew cohortative is when the cohortative appears in the protasis or apodosis of a sentence. This is a declarative use of the cohortative which brings out the contingency of the verbal action.[22] Consider the following examples:

רַבּוֹת עָשִׂיתָ ׀ אַתָּה ׀ יְהוָה אֱלֹהַי֮ נִפְלְאֹתֶ֡יךָ וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֶ�—יךָ אֵלֵ֗ינוּ אֵ֥ין ׀ עֲרֹ֬ךְ אֵלֶ֗יךָ  (Psalm 40:6)
אַגִּ֥ידָה וַאֲדַבֵּ֗רָה עָ֝צְמ֗וּ מִסַּפֵּֽר:

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[21] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 289-290.

[22] Dallaire, *Volitives*, 112.

You have multiplied, O LORD my God, your wondrous deeds and your thoughts toward us; none can compare with you. Were I to proclaim and tell of them, they would be more than can be counted.

πολλὰ ἐποίησας σύ, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, καὶ τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς σου οὐκ ἔστιν τίς ὁμοιωθήσεταί σοι· **ἀπήγγειλα** καὶ **ἐλάλησα**, ἐπληθύνθησαν ὑπὲρ ἀριθμόν. (LXX-Psalm 39:6)

Many things you made, O Lord my God, your wonders. And as for your thoughts—there is none that will be like you. I proclaimed and told; they multiplied beyond number.

כִּי | לֹא־תַחְפֹּץ זֶבַח **וְאֶתֵּנָה** עוֹלָה לֹא תִרְצֶה: (Psalm 51:18)

For you will not delight in sacrifice, or I would give it; you will not be pleased with a burnt offering. (ESV)

ὅτι εἰ ἠθέλησας θυσίαν, **ἔδωκα** ἄν· ὁλοκαυτώματα οὐκ εὐδοκήσεις. (LXX-Psalm 50:18)

Because if you had wanted sacrifice, I would have given it; with whole burnt offerings you will not be pleased.

 Psalm 40:6 is an example of the cohortative in the protasis position and Psalm 51:18 provides an example of the cohortative in the apodosis position. It is interesting that the LXX-Psalms translator renders the cohortative verbs in both verses with the aorist indicative since the aorist indicative most often communicates single, complete actions.[23] The aorist verbs in Psalm 40:6 indicate an unrealizable wish, and although it is not the typical function of an aorist, the aorist can take on a modal nuance to express counterfactual actions as it has here.[24] The Hebrew cohortatives appear in the context of an unrealizable wish, and the LXX-Psalms translator utilizes this modal use of the aorist indicative to communicate the counterfactual (contrary-to-fact) action.

The cohortative in Psalm 51:18 is in the apodosis position, again expressing the contingency of an action. The LXX-Psalms translator renders the cohortative (וְאֶתֵּנָה) with an aorist indicative (ἔδωκα) and the particle ἄν which signals uncertainty. This specific decision concerning the Greek aorist translating the Hebrew cohortative was influenced by the translator's decision to render לֹא with εἰ, which is likely the result of the translator reading the Hebrew particle לֻא instead of לֹא. The basic function of the particle לֻא is to mark a

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[23] Boas, et al., *Grammar*, 417.

[24] Boas, et al., *Grammar*, 442.

statement as hypothetical.[25] Rendering this particle with εἰ then led the translator to translate the cohortative verb with the Greek aorist indicative since εἰ plus an indicative suggests that the premise is assumed to be true.[26] This example underlines the fact that the translator was translating Hebrew sentences, not individual words, and therefore had the liberty to utilize whichever tense and mood was most appropriate for its context.

Another example of the aorist indicative translating the Hebrew cohortative is found in LXX-Psalm 38:2 which is a questionable occurrence:

אָמַ֗רְתִּי אֶֽשְׁמְרָ֣ה דְרָכַי֮ מֵחֲט֪וֹא בִלְשׁ֫וֹנִ֥י **אֶשְׁמְרָ֣ה** לְפִ֣י מַחְס֑וֹם בְּעֹ֖ד רָשָׁ֣ע לְנֶגְדִּֽי׃ (Psalm 39:2)
I said, "I will guard my ways that I may not sin with my tongue; I will keep a muzzle on my mouth as long as the wicked are in my presence."

Εἶπα Φυλάξω τὰς ὁδούς μου τοῦ μὴ ἁμαρτάνειν ἐν γλώσσῃ μου· **ἐθέμην** τῷ στόματί μου φυλακὴν ἐν τῷ συστῆναι τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν ἐναντίον μου. (LXX-Psalm 38:2)
I said, "I will guard my ways, that I may not sin with my tongue; I set a watch to my mouth, when the sinner organized against me."

There are two Hebrew cohortative verbs in this verse functioning as a resolve. The first (אֶשְׁמְרָה) is rendered with a Greek future indicative (φυλάξω), which is common as the previous section demonstrated. The second cohortative (אֶשְׁמְרָה) is translated with the aorist indicative (ἐθέμην), even though the cohortative appears have the same function as the first one in the verse. The BHS adds a note, however, that the translator may have read אָשִׂימָה (meaning *to put, place, or set*) instead of אֶשְׁמְרָה. Allen Ross explains that this translation decision may have been due to the next textual difficulty in the verse. He says, "For 'muzzle,' מַחְסוֹם, the Greek version has 'a guard, a watch' (φυλαχήν). The interpretation of 'guard' may have influenced the interpretation of the verb to 'I set.'"[27] I agree with Ross that the textual difficulties in this verse influenced the translator's decisions. Therefore, it is difficult to discern in this verse what influenced the LXX-Psalms translator to render a Hebrew cohortative with an aorist indicative.

The LXX-Psalms translator demonstrates his creativity by utilizing these lesser common functions the Greek aorist indicative to render Hebrew cohortatives. Instead of only

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[25] John Huehnergard, "Asseverative *la* and Hypothetical *lu/law* in Semitic," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103 (1983), 592.

[26] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 758.

[27] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 1 (1-41)*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2011), 837.

using the aorist when referring to single, completed actions (the default function of an aorist), he uses it in more complex contexts that are still natural usages of the aorist indicative. This is a testament to both his creativity and his depth of knowledge of both verbal systems.

### 2.3.3  The Subjunctive Mood

The LXX-Psalms translator also renders the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek subjunctive mood twenty-two times which accounts for ten percent of the Hebrew cohortatives. There are several examples of the Greek subjunctive mood translating Hebrew cohortatives when communicating purpose/intended result. Consider the following examples:

לְמַ֤עַן **אֲסַפְּרָ֗ה** כָּֽל־תְּהִלָּתֶ֥יךָ בְּשַֽׁעֲרֵ֥י בַת־צִיּ֑וֹן אָ֝גִ֗ילָה בִּישׁוּעָתֶֽךָ׃ (Psalm 9:15)
So that I may recount all your praises, and, in the gates of daughter Zion, rejoice in your deliverance.

ὅπως ἂν **ἐξαγγείλω** πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τῆς θυγατρὸς Σιων· ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου. (LXX-Psalm 9:15)
So that I may proclaim all your praises in the gates of daughter Sion; I will rejoice in your deliverance.

הָשַׁ֣ע מִמֶּ֣נִּי **וְאַבְלִ֑יגָה** בְּטֶ֖רֶם אֵלֵ֣ךְ וְאֵינֶֽנִּי׃ (Psalm 39:14)
Turn your gaze away from me, that I may smile again, before I depart and am no more.

ἄνες μοι, ἵνα **ἀναψύξω** πρὸ τοῦ με ἀπελθεῖν καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ὑπάρξω. (LXX-Psalm 38:14)
Let me be, that I may revive before I depart and be no more.

תְּרַנֵּ֣נָּה שְׂ֭פָתַי כִּ֣י **אֲזַמְּרָה**־לָּ֑ךְ וְ֝נַפְשִׁ֗י אֲשֶׁ֣ר פָּדִֽיתָ׃ (Psalm 71:23)
My lips will shout for joy when I sing praises to you; my soul also, which you have rescued.
ἀγαλλιάσονται τὰ χείλη μου, ὅταν **ψάλω** σοι, καὶ ἡ ψυχή μου, ἣν ἐλυτρώσω. (LXX-Psalm 70:23)
My lips will rejoice, when I make music to you; my soul also, which you redeemed.

All three of these examples of Greek subjunctive verbs translating Hebrew cohortatives are influenced by the way in which the LXX-Psalms translator rendered the particles preceding the verbs. In the example from Psalm 9:15, the translator renders the Hebrew particle לְמַעַן

with ὅπως ἄν. The Hebrew particle לְמַעַן is commonly used to indicate a purpose or result,[28] as is the Greek particles ὅπως ἄν.[29] The particle ἄν is most often followed by a non-indicative verb, which is perhaps what led the LXX-Psalms translator to render the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek subjunctive. Similarly, the Greek particles ἵνα (LXX-Psalm 38:14) and ὅταν (LXX-Psalm 70:23) also indicate purpose and are mostly followed by Greek non-indicative moods. Therefore, the LXX-Psalms translator's decision regarding the Hebrew particles preceding the cohortative verbs is what led the translator to render the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek subjunctive rather than his default translation of the Hebrew cohortative, the Greek future indicative.

Another common function of the Hebrew cohortative translated by the Greek subjunctive is the cohortative of encouragement as seen in the following examples:

בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה עֹשֵׂנוּ׃ (Psalm 95:6)
O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the LORD, our Maker!

δεῦτε **προσκυνήσωμεν** καὶ **προσπέσωμεν** αὐτῷ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς· (LXX-Psalm 94:6)
O come, let us do obeisance and prostrate ourselves before him, and let us weep before the Lord, who made us.

זֶה־הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה יְהוָה נָגִילָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בוֹ׃ (Psalm 118:24)
This is the day that the LORD has made; let us rejoice and be glad in it.

αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἣν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος· **ἀγαλλιασώμεθα** καὶ **εὐφρανθῶμεν** ἐν αὐτῇ. (LXX-Psalm 117:24)
This is the day that the Lord made; let us rejoice and be glad in it.

In the examples above, the speaker is encouraging others to join him in his intended action, which is a common function of the Hebrew cohortative.[30] The LXX-Psalms translator thus utilizes the hortatory function of the Greek subjunctive mood to render this expression into Greek.[31] As noted above, the LXX-Psalms translator also often uses the Greek future indicative to render the encouragement function of the cohortative, especially in the first-person plural. These examples of the LXX-Psalms translator utilizing the subjunctive mood to render the same function of the cohortative reveals the fact that there is enough

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[28] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 598.

[29] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 772.

[30] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[31] Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 439.

correspondence among the Hebrew cohortative, the Greek future indicative, and the Greek subjunctive that the translator had multiple options from which to choose for his translation. This highlights the fact that the translator was not working off of a strict set of rules but had the liberty to be creative with his translation while maintaining a certain level of isomorphism.

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the subjunctive mood to render a Hebrew cohortative functioning as a request. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 38:5:

הוֹדִּיעֵנִי יְהוָֹה ׀ קִצִּי וּמִדַּת יָמַי מַה־הִיא **אֵדְעָ֖ה** מֶה־חָדֵל אָֽנִי׃ (Psalm 39:5)
LORD, let me know my end, and what is the measure of my days; let me know how fleeting my life is.

Γνώρισόν μοι, κύριε, τὸ πέρας μου καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν μου, τίς ἐστιν, ἵνα **γνῶ**, τί ὑστερῶ ἐγώ. (LXX-Psalm 38:5)
Make known to me, O Lord, my limit, and the number of my days—what it is—that I may know what I lack.

The Hebrew cohortative often occurs in examples such as these where the speaker is reliant on the addressee for the desired action to occur.[32] The LXX-Psalms translator sometimes renders this function of the cohortative with the Greek future indicative,[33] but in LXX-Psalm 38:5 he uses the Greek subjunctive mood. The addition of the word ἵνα suggests that the LXX-Psalms translator interpreted this final colon as a purpose clause ("that I may know") rather than a simple request ("let me know"). By using ἵνα, a non-indicative mood would naturally follow which explains why he used the subjunctive mood. Since this verse begins with a Hebrew imperative, the translator rightly interpreted the following cohortative as purpose or result.[34]

Overall, the LXX-Psalms translator uses a variety of functions of the Greek subjunctive mood to translate a variety of functions of the Hebrew cohortative. These two verbal forms overlap in many ways, but the most common reason for the LXX-Psalms translator choosing the subjunctive mood over other compatible options was his decision to

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[32] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[33] As in Psalm 61:5 discussed above.

[34] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577. Perhaps this example should have been listed under the purpose/result section above, but since it was unique in that it was in the broader context of a request, I included it as a separate section.

utilize Greek particles such as ἵνα, ὅπως ἄν, and ὅταν, which naturally lead to a non-indicative verb.


### 2.3.4  The Optative Mood

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek optative mood seven times, which only accounts for three percent of the cohortative's total occurrences. Five of these examples are in clauses of negation as in the following examples:

אֱלֹהַי בְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי אַל־**אֵב֫וֹשָׁה** אַל־יַעַלְצ֖וּ אֹיְבַ֣י לִֽי׃ (Psalm 25:2)
O my God, in you I trust; do not let me be put to shame; do not let my enemies exult over me.

ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθα· μὴ **καταισχυνθείην**, μηδὲ καταγελασάτωσάν μου οἱ ἐχθροί μου. (LXX-Psalm 24:2)
In you I trust; may I not be put to shame, nor let my enemies deride me.

יְהוָה אַל־**אֵב֫וֹשָׁה** כִּ֣י קְרָאתִ֑יךָ יֵבֹ֥שׁוּ רְ֝שָׁעִ֗ים יִדְּמ֥וּ לִשְׁאֽוֹל׃ (Psalm 31:18)
Do not let me be put to shame, O LORD, for I call on you; let the wicked be put to shame; let them go dumbfounded to Sheol.

κύριε, μὴ **καταισχυνθείην**, ὅτι ἐπεκαλεσάμην σε· αἰσχυνθείησαν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ καταχθείησαν εἰς ᾅδου. (LXX-Psalm 30:18)
O Lord, may I not be put to shame, because I called on you; may the impious be shamed and be brought down to Hades.

בְּךָ־יְהוָ֥ה חָסִ֑יתִי אַל־**אֵב֥וֹשָׁה** לְעוֹלָֽם׃ (Psalm 71:1)
In you, O LORD, I take refuge; let me never be put to shame.

Ὁ θεός, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα, μὴ **καταισχυνθείην** εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. (LXX-Psalm 70:1)
O God, in you I hoped; may I never be put to shame.

In each of the above examples, the LXX-Psalms translator renders the phrase אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה ("let me never be put to shame") with μὴ καταισχυνθείην ("may I never be put to shame").[35] Once again, the negative particle μή naturally influences the translator's decision to use a non-indicative verb. One observation worth noting concerning these verses is that it is rare for the Hebrew cohortative to follow the negative particle אַל. The Hebrew jussive primarily follows אַל but on five occasions in the Psalms, the cohortative follows. The LXX-Psalms translator distinguishes these occasions by rendering the negated Hebrew cohortative with the Greek

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[35] For other examples, see also Psalms 25:20 and 31:2.

optative mood rather than the subjunctive mood which he uses in the more common construction of a negated jussive.[36] It is also possible that μὴ καταισχυνθείην is a Greek idiom which was common enough in the Greek language that the LXX-Psalms translator used it to render אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה, even though it is not his grammatical default translation of the Hebrew cohortative.[37]

There are two other examples of the LXX-Psalms translator using the optative mood to translate Hebrew cohortatives. First, consider this example from LXX-Psalm 68:15.

> הַצִּילֵנִי מִטִּיט וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה **אִנָּצְלָה** מִשֹּׂנְאַי וּמִמַּעֲמַקֵּי־מָיִם׃ (Psalm 69:15)
> Rescue me from sinking in the mire; let me be delivered from my enemies and from the deep waters.

> σῶσόν με ἀπὸ πηλοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐμπαγῶ· **ῥυσθείην** ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους τῶν ὑδάτων· (LXX-Psalm 68:15)
> Save me from the mud so that I shall not get stuck; may I be rescued from those who hate me and from the depth of waters.

In this example, the verse begins with a Hebrew imperative (הַצִּילֵנִי "Rescue me") which the translator renders with an aorist imperative (σῶσόν "Save me"). The purpose is then indicated by a negated cohortative (וְאַל־אֶטְבָּעָה "sinking in the mire") which the translator renders with a subjunctive (ἵνα μὴ ἐμπαγῶ "so that I shall not get stuck"). The next colon then begins with another Hebrew cohortative (אִנָּצְלָה "let me be delivered") functioning as a request, and the translator renders this cohortative with a Greek optative (ῥυσθείην). Since the optative often expresses a wish or a prayer that is desirable and possible,[38] it accurately reflects the meaning of the Hebrew cohortative in this context.

The final example of the optative mood translating the Hebrew cohortative is found in LXX-Psalm 138:9.

> אֶשָּׂא כַנְפֵי־שָׁחַר אֶשְׁכְּנָה בְּאַחֲרִית יָם׃ (Psalm 139:9)
> If I take the wings of the morning and settle at the farthest limits of the sea.

> **ἐὰν ἀναλάβοιμι** τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ' ὄρθρον καὶ κατασκηνώσω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης (LXX-Psalm 138:9)

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[36] For further discussion on this topic, see chapter 6 on the Greek optatives in the LXX-Psalms.

[37] See also Jeremiah 17:18 for an example of this translation.

[38] Albert Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 41.

If I were to take up my wings at dawn and make my covert at the farthest limits of the sea.

The cohortative in this example appears in the protasis of the sentence, setting up the "if" clause. The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render אֶשָּׂא with ἐὰν ἀναλάβοιμι reveals the fact that he understood the cohortative אֶשָּׂא to be functioning as the protasis. This interpretation reveals an advanced understanding of the Hebrew verbal system by the translator since the cohortative functioning as a protasis is rare. Josua Blau suggests that the only examples of this function in the Hebrew Bible are in Job 16:6, 19:18, and Psalm 139:8.[39] In LXX-Psalm 138:8, the translator renders the protasis cohortative with the subjunctive mood, but in the next verse (the example above), there is another example of the cohortative in the protasis position, this time rendered by a Greek optative. The reasoning for the optative instead of the subjunctive is not clear, but the irreal nature of the optative helps bring out the conditionality of the Hebrew cohortative.

Though the translator only uses the optative mood on seven occasions, I would suggest that where he did choose to use the optative mood reveals much about his understanding of the Hebrew verbal system. The examples of the optative translating the cohortative in negated clauses brings out this less-common Hebrew construction (אַל plus cohortative) by using a less-common Greek construction (μὴ plus optative). The final example from LXX-Psalm 138:9 demonstrates the LXX-Psalms translator's advanced knowledge of the Hebrew verbal by recognizing a rare function of the Hebrew cohortative and appropriately rendering it into Greek.

## 2.3.5   The Imperfect Indicative

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the imperfect indicative to render the Hebrew cohortative seven times which accounts for three percent of cohortative verbs in the Psalms. Consider the following examples:

וְאֶתְהַלְּכָה בָרְחָבָה כִּי פִקֻּדֶיךָ דָרָשְׁתִּי׃ (Psalm 119:45)
I shall walk at liberty, for I have sought your precepts.

καὶ **ἐπορευόμην** ἐν πλατυσμῷ, ὅτι τὰς ἐντολάς σου ἐξεζήτησα. (LXX-Psalm 118:45)

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[39] Joshua Blau, "Studies in Hebrew Verb Formation" *Hebrew Union College Annual* 42 (1971), 134.

And I would walk in spaciousness, because your commandments I sought.[40]

לְמַעַן אַחַי וְרֵעָי אֲדַבְּרָה־נָּא שָׁלוֹם בָּךְ: (Psalm 122:8)
For the sake of my relatives and friends I will say, "Peace be within you."

ἕνεκα τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου καὶ τῶν πλησίον μου ἐλάλουν δὴ εἰρήνην περὶ σοῦ· (LXX-Psalm 121:8)
For the sake of my brothers and my fellows, I would surely speak of peace concerning you.

In both examples above, it appears that the LXX-Psalms translator utilizes the habitual function of the Greek imperfect indicative in his translation. There is no specific function of the Hebrew cohortative that would cause one to expect the translator to use the imperfect indicative, but the fact that the cohortative is communicating the resolve of the speaker to do something continually, the Greek imperfect adequately communicates that resolve. However, the Greek imperfect typically describes an event which was happening in past time rather than the future.[41] Some of the Hebrew verbs translated by the Greek imperfect are reflexive stems such as the *hitpael* (LXX-Psalm 118:45 and 47), which likely had some influence over the translation.

One example of the Greek imperfect indicative translating the Hebrew cohortative is found in the midst of a verse impacted by textual difficulties:

אֶזְכְּרָה נְגִינָתִי בַּלַּיְלָה עִם־לְבָבִי אָשִׂיחָה וַיְחַפֵּשׂ רוּחִי: (Psalm 77:7)
I commune with my heart in the night; I meditate and search my spirit.

νυκτὸς μετὰ τῆς καρδίας μου ἠδολέσχουν, καὶ ἔσκαλλεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου. (LXX-Psalm 76:7)
At night I would commune with my heart, and I would probe my spirit.

There are several textual difficulties in this verse. The LXX-Psalms translator joins the first cohortative in the verse (אֶזְכְּרָה) with the previous verse, which causes verse 6 to read "I considered the days of old, and the ancient years; I remembered and meditated."[42] Consequently, the rest of verse 7 is rendered "I would commune with my heart by night; I

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[40] See also LXX-Psalm 118:46, 47, and 48.

[41] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 259.

[42] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 2 (42-89)*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2013), 632.

would diligently search my spirit."[43] This change was due to the translator reading נְגִינָתִי ("my song") as וְהָגִיתִי ("and I meditated"). In examples such this one with uncertainty concerning the text, it is difficult to assess the translation technique and discern why one form was chosen over another.

The LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek imperfect indicative to translate Hebrew cohortatives is somewhat perplexing. However, it still appears to emphasize the translator's creativity by using unexpected forms to render the Hebrew cohortative. While the Greek imperfect was not the translator's most common choice to render Hebrew cohortatives, when he does so, the habitual nature of the imperfect seems to add an element to the text that the future indicative (the default translation for Hebrew cohortatives) would not have emphasized.

## 2.3.6  The Present Indicative

Another Greek form that translates the Hebrew cohortative in the LXX-Psalms is the present indicative. This translation only occurs twice which accounts for just one percent of the total occurrences. The first example is found in LXX-Psalm 49:7:

שִׁמְעָה עַמִּי | וַאֲדַבֵּרָה יִשְׂרָאֵל **וְאָעִידָה** בָּךְ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ אָנֹכִי: (Psalm 50:7)
Hear, O my people, and I will speak, O Israel, I will testify against you. I am God, your God.

Ἄκουσον, λαός μου, καὶ λαλήσω σοι, Ισραηλ, καὶ **διαμαρτύρομαί** σοι· ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός σού εἰμι ἐγώ. (LXX-Psalm 49:7)
Hear, O my people, and I will speak to you, O Israel, and I testify against you. God, your God, I am.

This verse begins with the imperative (שִׁמְעָה "Hear") and is translated by a Greek imperative (Ἄκουσον "Hear"), which is then followed by a chain of verbs. Immediately following the initial command is a cohortative (וַאֲדַבֵּרָה "I will speak") translated with the expected Greek future indicative (λαλήσω "I will speak"). However, the next cohortative (וְאָעִידָה "I will testify") is rendered with the Greek present indicative (διαμαρτύρομαί "I testify"). Both of

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[43] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 632. See also Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), 613.

the succeeding Hebrew verbs are formally marked as cohortatives and are functioning as cohortatives of resolve, so the LXX-Psalms translator would have known how to interpret the verbs.[44] It is interesting that the translator utilized two different Greek forms instead of using the Greek future indicative for both since he so often uses the future indicative to indicate resolve. However, this may be reflective of the classical Greek usage of a future indicative followed by a present, where the present indicates simultaneity.[45] So in this particular example, the LXX-Psalms translator is suggesting that the testifying will happen simultaneously with the speaking.

The final example of the Hebrew cohortative being translated by a Greek present indicative is found in LXX-Psalm 80:9:

> שְׁמַע עַמִּי **וְאָעִידָה** בָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־תִּשְׁמַע־לִי׃ (Psalm 81:9)
> Hear, O my people, while I admonish you; O Israel, if you would but listen to me!

> ἄκουσον, λαός μου, καὶ **διαμαρτύρομαί** σοι· Ισραηλ, ἐὰν ἀκούσῃς μου (LXX-Psalm 80:9)
> Hear, O my people, and I am testifying against you; O Israel, if you would hear me!

Just like Psalm 50:7, this verse begins with the command to hear (שְׁמַע), which is then followed by the cohortative וְאָעִידָה ("while I admonish you"). As discussed elsewhere, Hebrew volitives that follow an imperative communicate purpose or intended result.[46] The translator renders the Hebrew imperative with a Greek imperative (ἄκουσον), and the cohortative with the present indicative (διαμαρτύρομαί). This appears to be an example of the instantaneous present since it "can refer to a single action begun and completed at (approximately) the moment of speaking."[47] In this specific context, the present indicative seems more appropriate than the LXX-Psalms translator's default rendering of Hebrew cohortatives with the future indicative because the "testifying" takes place instantaneously with the "hearing."

Though it is rare, the use of the Greek present indicative to translate Hebrew cohortatives in these examples appears to be an intentional, calculated decision by the LXX-Psalms translator. His typical rendering of Hebrew cohortatives with the Greek future

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[44] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 170; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

[45] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 257n4; Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 414.

[46] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

[47] Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 414.

indicative would not have communicated the immediacy of the action as efficiently as the Greek present indicative. It would be hard to argue that the LXX-Psalms translator interpreted these verbs as basic Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs since in two of the three examples, the *qamets he* suffix makes the cohortative explicit. Therefore, this rendering of Hebrew cohortatives with the present indicative is a testament to the LXX-Psalms translator's sophisticated ability to find ways to accurately communicate the subtle nuances of Hebrew into Greek.

### 2.3.7   The Participle

There are three examples of the Greek participle translating the Hebrew cohortative, only accounting for one percent of the Hebrew cohortatives in the Psalms. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 2:7:

> **אֲסַפְּרָה** אֶל חֹק יְהוָֹה אָמַֹר אֵלַי בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ׃ (Psalm 2:7)
> I will tell of the decree of the LORD: He said to me, "You are my son; today I have begotten you."

> **διαγγέλλων** τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου Κύριος εἶπεν πρός με Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε· (LXX-Psalm 2:7)
> By proclaiming the Lord's ordinance: The Lord said to me, 'My son you are; today I have begotten you.

This verse begins with a Hebrew cohortative of resolve (אֲסַפְּרָה "I will tell"),[48] and the translator renders it with the Greek participle (διαγγέλλων "by proclaiming"). Muraoka documents many examples in the Septuagint of the Greek circumstantial participle preceding its lead verb as it does here in LXX-Psalm 2:7, but most of the verbs underlying the Greek participle are Hebrew consecutive preterite verbs.[49] Two of Muraoka's examples for this construction translate Hebrew volitives. In Genesis 13:17, the Greek circumstantial participle translates the Hebrew imperative, and in Genesis 18:21, it translates the Hebrew cohortative as in Psalm 2:7. The function of the Greek circumstantial participle and the Hebrew cohortative overlap in that they both can communicate the speaker's motivation or purpose,[50]

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[48] Ross, *Psalms 1*, 207.

[49] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 385. See his listed examples from Genesis 3:6, 4:1, 6:2, 12:18, and Exodus 2:11 for examples of the Greek circumstantial participle translating the Hebrew consecutive preterite.

[50] Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 606.

but this is not the typical translator of Hebrew cohortative verbs for the LXX-Psalms translator.

Another example of the Greek participle translating the Hebrew cohortative is found in LXX-Psalm 89:12:

לִמְנוֹת יָמֵינוּ כֵּן הוֹדַע **וְנָבִא** לְבַב חָכְמָה׃ (Psalm 90:12)
So teach us to count our days that we may gain a wise heart.

ἐξαριθμήσασθαι τὴν δεξιάν σου οὕτως γνώρισον καὶ τοὺς **πεπεδημένους** τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐν σοφίᾳ. (LXX-Psalm 89:12)
Make thus known to reckon up your right hand and those having been fettered in heart by wisdom. [modified from NETS]

The Hebrew cohortative (וְנָבִא "that we may gain") in this verse functions to communicate purpose, and the LXX-Psalms translator seems to render it with the Greek participle (πεπεδημένους "those fettered"). The Greek of this verse is clearly different from the Hebrew, but Ross provides a convincing explanation as to why this happened. He suggests that the Hebrew verb הוֹדַע ("teach") was taken to mean "make known," and יָמֵינוּ ("our days") was read as יְמִינְךָ ("your right hand"). Also, the hiphil cohortative וְנָבִא "bring back" was translated as πεπεδημένους ("fettered").[51] With so many textual issues, not much can be said concerning the translator's rationale behind this decision to translate the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek participle.

The final example of the Greek participle translating the Hebrew cohortative is in LXX-Psalm 117:19:

פִּתְחוּ־לִי שַׁעֲרֵי־צֶדֶק **אָבֹא־**בָם אוֹדֶה יָהּ׃ (Psalm 118:19)
Open to me the gates of righteousness, that I may enter through them and give thanks
to the LORD.

ἀνοίξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης· **εἰσελθὼν** ἐν αὐταῖς ἐξομολογήσομαι τῷ κυρίῳ. (LXX-Psalm 117:19)
Open to me gates of righteousness; entering in them, I will acknowledge the Lord. [modified from NETS]

This verse opens with a Hebrew imperative (פִּתְחוּ "Open") which is translated with the Greek imperative (ἀνοίξατέ "Open"). The verb that follows (אָבֹא "I may enter") in the next colon

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[51] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 3 (90-150)*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2016), 22-23.

should be interpreted as a Hebrew cohortative indicating purpose, even though it is not formally marked as such.[52] Instead of using the Greek future indicative or perhaps another non-indicative mood as one would expect based on how the LXX-Psalms translator has rendered Hebrew cohortatives elsewhere, he uses the Greek participle (εἰσελθών "entering") instead. This is another circumstantial participle, which Muraoka has pointed out is a typical use of the participle in Greek, but rare to the Hebrew or Aramaic participle.[53] While the LXX-Psalms translator did not often utilize this function of the Greek participle to render Hebrew cohortative verbs, its presence here is another testament to the translator's creativity. Muraoka also notes that many revisers and scribes utilized the circumstantial participle for "improving and polishing" the Greek text in front of them.[54] There is no reason to believe that this specific circumstantial participle is the result of a revision, but its existence does point to the LXX-Psalms translator's subtle way of improving the register of his translation.[55]

## 2.3.8   No Greek Translation

There are three occasions in the Psalms where there is a cohortative verb, but the LXX-Psalms translator does not indicate its existence in any way. To be clear, the charts throughout this dissertation represent the Hebrew of the MT and what appears to be its match in the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms. In most cases where there is a great degree of certainty concerning the Hebrew of the Psalm, the verbs in the LXX-Psalms are an accurate representation of the translator's rendering of the Hebrew verbs. Since we do not have the translator's *Vorlage*, however, the explanation for pluses and minuses or uncharacteristic translations may indicate a manuscript difference more so than an odd translation.

For example, in Psalm 13:6, not only is the cohortative not translated, but the entire verse is left out of the LXX-Psalms.

וַאֲנִי ׀ בְּחַסְדְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי יָגֵל לִבִּי בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ **אָשִׁירָה** לַיהוָה כִּי גָמַל עָלָי׃ (Psalm 13:6)
But I trusted in your steadfast love; my heart shall rejoice in your salvation.

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[52] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

[53] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 380.

[54] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 380.

[55] Ross suggests that the LXX-Psalms translator was probably interpreting the relationship between the two clauses. See Ross, *Psalms 3*, 441.

It is unusual for the LXX-Psalms translator to completely ignore an entire verse; therefore, it is likely that this verse was not in his *Vorlage*. Some suggest that the ending of this Psalm was a later addition which could explain why it was not in the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage*.[56] It is not characteristic for the LXX-Psalms translator to ignore entire verses, so it is reasonable to conclude that either it was a later addition to the Psalm, or it simply was not in the *Vorlage* for other reasons. There is also an additional line in the Rahlf's version of the LXX-Psalms not present in the Hebrew (καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ὑψίστου. "and I will sing psalms to the name of the Lord Most High"). This line is not included in the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms which suggests there was lack of manuscript evidence for its inclusion. One thing that is clear from both the leaving out of a line and the addition of a line at the end of this Psalm is that there are questions concerning the originality of the Psalm. Consequently, it does not contribute to the discussion of the translation of Hebrew cohortatives in the LXX-Psalms.

The first actual example of the Hebrew cohortative going untranslated in the LXX-Psalms occurs in Psalm 77:7:

חִשַּׁבְתִּי יָמִים מִקֶּדֶם שְׁנוֹת עוֹלָמִים: **אֶזְכְּרָה** נְגִינָתִי בַּלַּיְלָה עִם־לְבָבִי אָשִׂיחָה  (Psalm 77:6-7)
וַיְחַפֵּשׂ רוּחִי:
I contemplate the days past, years of long ago. I remember my songs in the night; with my heart, I contemplate; and I search my own self.[57]

διελογισάμην ἡμέρας ἀρχαίας καὶ ἔτη αἰώνια **ἐμνήσθην** καὶ ἐμελέτησα νυκτὸς μετὰ τῆς καρδίας μου ἠδολέσχουν, καὶ ἔσκαλλεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου. (LXX-Psalm 76:6-7)
I considered days of old, and years of long ago I remembered and meditated; At night I would commune with my heart, and I would probe my spirit.

There are several textual difficulties in these two verses, beginning with the rendering of the Hebrew cohortative at the start of Psalm 77:7. It is perhaps misleading to label the rendering of the Hebrew cohortative אֶזְכְּרָה as untranslated since it appears that the LXX-Psalms translator joined it with the previous verse, translating it with ἐμνήσθην ("I remembered"). There are also issues with the Hebrew word נְגִינָתִי ("my music/song") which the translator read as וְהָגִיתִי ("and I meditated") rendering into Greek with καὶ ἐμελέτησα. Ross explains

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[56] deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 161.

[57] The NRSV did not capture the complexity of the verse, so this translation was borrowed from deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 613.

that the subject of the Hebrew text ("my spirit") is the object in the Greek translation ("and diligently searched my spirit").[58] Additionally, there is the issue of the person of the verbs in Psalm 77:7. Tanner explains that this line is problematic because "the 1cs verb *contemplate* is followed by a 3ms piel verb and a feminine noun. Either the person or the number of the verb must be adjusted."[59] With so many issues surrounding the Hebrew cohortative in this verse, it is difficult to explain the LXX-Psalms translator's reasoning for rendering it (or not rendering it) the way he did.

The final example of the Hebrew cohortative going untranslated in the LXX-Psalms is found in Psalm 101:1.

לְדָוִד מִזְמוֹר חֶסֶד־וּמִשְׁפָּט אָשִׁירָה לְךָ יְהוָה **אֲזַמֵּרָה**: (Psalm 101:1)
I will sing of loyalty and of justice; to you, O LORD, I will sing.

Τῷ Δαυιδ ψαλμός. Ἔλεος καὶ κρίσιν ᾄσομαί σοι, κύριε· (LXX-Psalm 100:1)
Pertaining to Dauid. A Psalm. Of mercy and of justice I will sing to you, O Lord.

It appears that the final cohortative in this verse (אֲזַמֵּרָה "to sing praise") was simply left out of the LXX-Psalms translation. Since the LXX-Psalms translator usually renders each word of verse, it is likely that this verb was either overlooked by the translator, or it was not in his *Vorlage*. Either way, it is not probable that the LXX-Psalms translator intentionally ignored the final cohortative.

These examples of "non-translations" of Hebrew cohortatives do not contribute much to the discussion of volition and mood in the two verbal systems. They do, however, highlight the fact that it is rare for the LXX-Psalms translator to deviate from an isomorphic translation. The few examples of uncertainty concerning the *Vorlage* of the LXX-Psalms, helps emphasize the overall consistency between the LXX-Psalms *Vorlage* and the MT. This consistency strengthens conclusions made in other sections concerning the ways in which the translator communicates volition and mood in the LXX-Psalms.

## 2.3.9  Nouns

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[58] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 632.

[59] deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 613.

There is one example in the LXX-Psalms of the translator rendering the Hebrew cohortative with a Greek noun:

אָמְרוּ בְלִבָּם **נִינָם** יָחַד שָׂרְפוּ כָל־מוֹעֲדֵי־אֵל בָּאָרֶץ: (Psalm 74:8)
They said to themselves, "We will utterly subdue them"; they burned all the meeting places of God in the land.

εἶπαν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν **ἡ συγγένεια αὐτῶν** ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό Δεῦτε καὶ κατακαύσωμεν πάσας τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. (LXX-Psalm 73:8)
They said in their heart—the clan of them together—"Come, and let us burn all the feasts of God from off the land."

The Hebrew verb I have highlighted as a cohortative is questionable, but most English translations interpret it as a cohortative of resolve as demonstrated above from the NRSV. Based on its form and its vocalization, נִינָם is actually a noun (ינה) with a pronominal suffix, which is why the LXX-Psalms translator renders it with a noun and a possessive pronoun (ἡ συγγένεια αὐτῶν). Ross points out that some scholars prefer to join this word with the next line reading, "Let all their progeny be burned," but this requires more changes to the vocalization than reading it as a verb (נִינֵם "to oppress, subdue") as most commentators and English translations have done.[60] Considering the actual form of נִינָם rather than the way modern translators interpret it, it is clear that the LXX-Psalms translator did not translate a Hebrew cohortative with a noun, but properly recognized that נִינָם is a noun with a pronominal suffix, even though that reading is more difficult.

## 2.4    Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the various ways in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew cohortative. The Greek future indicative served as the default translation of the Hebrew cohortative, which highlighted the modal nuance of the future indicative. The LXX-Psalms translator used the future indicative to translate many uses of the Hebrew cohortative, including the cohortative of resolve, requests, encouragement, and purpose/intended result. Therefore, it is clear that the functions of the Greek future indicative and the Hebrew cohortative overlap significantly, though not completely.

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[60] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 577.

The translator also used the Greek aorist indicative to render the Hebrew cohortative twenty-two times, and although that only accounts for ten percent of Hebrew cohortative verbs in the Psalms, it is not insignificant. Most often, the Greek aorist indicative communicates single, completed actions, but the LXX-Psalms translator utilizes less-common functions of the aorist indicative to communicate the proper sense of the Hebrew cohortative. For example, he used a modal nuance of the Greek aorist in contexts that expressed counterfactual actions. Looking at the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek aorist indicative to translate the Hebrew cohortative also highlighted the fact that the translator was translating words in the context of sentences, which means his translation of other words of the sentence sometimes led to his use of the Greek aorist indicative. He specifically used the aorist indicative after translating a Hebrew particle with the Greek particle εἰ, which indicates the premise of the sentence to be true. Therefore, the translator used these less common but natural functions of the aorist indicative to communicate the proper nuance of the Hebrew cohortative, thus demonstrating his creativity and an advanced knowledge of both verbal systems.

The LXX-Psalms translator also used the Greek subjunctive mood twenty-one times to translate Hebrew cohortative verbs in the Psalms. Like the future indicative, the LXX-Psalms translator uses the subjunctive for a variety of cohortative uses such as resolve, requests, encouragement, and purpose/intended result. He uses the hortatory function of the Greek subjunctive at times when he could have used the default future indicative, but most of the time, the Greek subjunctive is found in contexts following Greek particles such as ἵνα, ὅπως ἄν, and ὅταν, which naturally lead to a non-indicative verb.

Several other Greek verb forms are used to translate the Hebrew cohortative in the LXX-Psalms. The LXX-Psalms translator uses the optative, primarily after translating the Hebrew particle אַל with μή. The other Greek forms used to translate the Hebrew cohortative are often found in contexts where there are textual difficulties, thus making it difficult to understand what led to that decision.

Overall, the ways in which the LXX-Psalm translator renders the Hebrew cohortative is a testament to his creativity and advanced knowledge of both the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems. He demonstrated an ability to recognize not only the typical functions of the Hebrew cohortative, but also those that were more ambiguous. He also demonstrated his creativity by using less common functions of Greek forms. Furthermore, by analyzing the ways in which

the LXX-Psalms translator rendered this particular volitive form (the Hebrew cohortative), one can see how the volitional/modal nuances of the two verbal systems correspond with one another.

# 3. The Rendering of the Hebrew Imperative

## 3.1    Introduction

In my last chapter, I discussed the ways in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders Hebrew cohortatives into Greek. I discovered through my examination that the LXX-Psalms translator preferred using the Greek future indicative when rendering the Hebrew volitives, at least for first-person, Hebrew cohortatives. The LXX-Psalms translator also used some unexpected forms to translate the Hebrew cohortative such as the aorist indicative. In this chapter, I will conduct a similar study on Hebrew imperatives, the Hebrew volitive of the second person. Just like the previous chapter, I will analyze each Hebrew imperative in the Psalms and observe each way in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew imperative into Greek.

The Hebrew imperative is used to form the second-person expression of volition when the statement is positive. To make a negative statement of volition in Hebrew, either the jussive is preceded by the Hebrew particle אַל, or the prefix conjugation will be preceded by לֹא. The imperative communicates urgency as it demands immediate action from the addressee.[1] In general, the Hebrew imperative is a stronger imposition of the speaker's will than that of the Hebrew cohortative or jussive. The Hebrew imperative is more direct, which is why social superiors tend to use it to direct or command social inferiors.

Since the function of the Hebrew imperative closely aligns with the basic function of the Greek imperative, the LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek imperative to translate it for eighty-nine percent of its total occurrences. Perhaps even more interesting, though, is the fact that the LXX-Psalms translator sometimes renders the Hebrew imperative with other miscellaneous forms in Greek such as adverbs/particles, the aorist indicative, the future indicative, and several other Greek forms. The following sections will observe the LXX-Psalms translator's decisions and consider what might have influenced his choices.

## 3.2    The Functions of the Hebrew Imperative

The Hebrew imperative primarily functions as a direct command where the speaker imposes his will on the addressee. Some suggest that the command function of the Hebrew imperative

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[1] Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 571.

implies urgency,[2] but urgency is communicated by the surrounding context more so than the form itself.[3] The Hebrew imperative also functions to grant permission, which occurs often when following a cohortative or a jussive of permission requested.[4] In some contexts, the Hebrew imperative can also make a request or a wish. The remainder of this chapter will observe which Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator preferred when rendering the variety of functions of the Hebrew imperative into Greek.

## 3.3   Translating the Hebrew Imperative

The following chart represents each way in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew imperative throughout the LXX-Psalms:

### Table 3.1: Translating the Hebrew Imperative

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
| --- | ---: | ---: |
| Imperative | 621 | 89% |
| Adverb/Particles | 24 | 3.4% |
| Aorist Indicative | 20 | 2.8% |
| No Translation | 14 | 2.0% |
| Future Indicative | 4 | 0.6% |
| Noun | 4 | 0.6% |
| Optative | 3 | 0.4% |
| Imperfect Indicative | 2 | 0.3% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.1% |
| Present Indicative | 1 | 0.1% |
| Infinitive | 1 | 0.1% |
| Pronoun | 1 | 0.1% |
| Total | 696 | |

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[2] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571.

[3] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 349.

[4] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571; Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 350. Several Greek grammars argue that the Greek imperative also functions to grant permission at times. See A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 946-949; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 485-490; Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 445. However, I noted in chapter 7 on the Greek imperative that it is important to recognize that the surrounding context is what gives the Greek imperative a permissive function, not the form itself. See Joseph D. Fantin, "May the Force Be with You: Volition, Direction, and Force: A Communicative Approach to the Imperative Mood," *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 7 (2018), 181.

It is clear that the LXX-Psalms translator preferred using the Greek imperative when translating the Hebrew imperative, but the other miscellaneous forms used indicate that the author had some control over his rendering.


### 3.3.1  The Greek Imperative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek imperative 621 times to translate the Hebrew imperative, which is eighty-nine percent of its total occurrences. This is likely due to the fact that the basic functions of the Hebrew and Greek imperatives overlap, perhaps more than any other two Hebrew and Greek verb forms. Both express a command with significant force in comparison to other forms communicating mood or volition. Therefore, this was the default decision for the LXX-Psalms translator.

While the Greek imperative is certainly the preferred translation of the Hebrew imperative, there are several words often repeated throughout the Psalms that impact the final numbers on the chart. For example, consider the Hebrew imperative הַלְלוּ ("praise") in the following example:

יִרְאֵי יְהוָה ׀ **הַלְלוּהוּ** כָּל־זֶרַע יַעֲקֹב כַּבְּדוּהוּ וְגוּרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ כָּל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ (Psalm 22:24)
You who fear the LORD, praise him! All you offspring of Jacob, glorify him; stand in awe of him, all you offspring of Israel!

Οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον, **αἰνέσατε** αὐτόν, ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ιακωβ, δοξάσατε αὐτόν, φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ισραηλ (LXX-Psalm 21:24)
You who fear the Lord, praise him! All you offspring of Iakob together glorify him; let all the offspring of Israel fear him.

This word appears forty-eight times in the Psalms, and except for those occurring as the title of the Psalm as in Psalm 111:1 (הַלְלוּ יָהּ "Hallelujah"), the translator always renders it with the Greek imperatives αἰνεῖτε or αἰνέσατε.

Another example of a word that frequently occurs in the Psalms and is consistently translated with a Greek imperative is שְׁמַע ("hear"), as in LXX-Psalm 26:7:

שְׁמַע־יְהוָה קוֹלִי אֶקְרָא וְחָנֵּנִי וַעֲנֵנִי׃ (Psalm 27:7)
Hear, O LORD, when I cry aloud, be gracious to me and answer me!

**εἰσάκουσον**, κύριε, τῆς φωνῆς μου, ἧς ἐκέκραξα· ἐλέησόν με καὶ εἰσάκουσόν μου. (LXX-Psalm 26:7)
Listen, O Lord, to my voice with which I cried aloud; have mercy on me, and listen to me!

Again, this word occurs often in the Psalms (thirty-eight times), and the imperative form is always translated with the Greek imperative εἰσάκουσον ("Hear"). There are several other Hebrew imperative words that repeat often in the Psalms and are translated with Greek imperatives such as זַמְּרוּ and שִׁירוּ, both meaning "to sing." Though these words repeat often throughout the Psalms, the LXX-Psalms translator still makes the decision to render the Hebrew imperative of command with a Greek imperative. This does not indicate a lack of creativity from the translator. The force of the Hebrew and Greek imperatives is so closely aligned that this translation best communicated the proper sense of the original.

### 3.3.2  Adverbs/Particles

There are twenty-four instances where the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew imperative with some type of Greek adverb or particle. For example, the LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek adverb δεῦτε seven times to translate the Hebrew imperative. For six of these instances, he uses δεῦτε to translate the Hebrew imperative לְכוּ "to walk, go" and he uses it once to translate בֹּאוּ "to come":

> לְכוּ נְרַנְּנָה לַיהוָה נָרִיעָה לְצוּר יִשְׁעֵנוּ׃ (Psalm 95:1)
> O come, let us sing to the LORD; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation!

**Δεῦτε** ἀγαλλιασώμεθα τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀλαλάξωμεν τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν· (LXX-Psalm 94:1)[5]
Come, O children; hear me; the fear of the Lord I will teach you.

> בֹּאוּ נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה וְנִכְרָעָה נִבְרְכָה לִפְנֵי־יְהוָה עֹשֵׂנוּ׃ (Psalm 95:6)
> O come, let us worship and bow down, let us kneel before the LORD, our Maker!

**δεῦτε** προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ ποιήσαντος ἡμᾶς· (LXX-Psalm 94:6)
O come, let us do obeisance and prostrate ourselves before him, and let us weep before the Lord, who made us.

In the examples above, the imperatives לְכוּ and בֹּאוּ are functioning as a command or an invitation and the translator renders them with the Greek interjection δεῦτε. δεῦτε is working alongside the following verbs in each example telling the reader what it is they are inviting them to do, and it the examples above, the following verb is a Greek hortative subjunction

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[5] See also Psalms 34:12; 46:9; 66:5, 16; and 83:5.

proposing joint action, which T. Muraoka says is equivalent to ἄγε (δή) or φέρε (δή) in Classical Greek.[6] The LXX-Psalms translator could have used another Greek imperative to translate these Hebrew imperatives like he does the majority of the time, but by using these Greek interjections, he is able to maintain a translation that is consistent with his isomorphic preferences and at the same time produce a higher quality Greek text.

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the particle ταχύ ("quickly") to translate the Hebrew imperative מַהֵר ("to hasten") on several occasions as in the following example:

וְאַל־תַּסְתֵּר פָּנֶיךָ מֵעַבְדֶּךָ כִּי־צַר־לִי **מַהֵר** עֲנֵנִי: (Psalm 69:17)
Do not hide your face from your servant, for I am in distress—make haste to answer me.

μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδός σου, ὅτι θλίβομαι, **ταχὺ** ἐπάκουσόν μου. (LXX-Psalm 68:17)
Do not turn away your face from your servant; because I am in affliction, quickly hearken to me.[7]

Once again, the LXX-Psalms translator could have used a Greek imperative to translate the Hebrew imperative, but by using the particle ταχύ, a particle frequently found in Classical Greek, he heightens the register of the Greek while maintaining his isomorphic translation technique. In Genesis 19:22, the LXX-Genesis translator rendered מַהֵר with the Greek imperative σπεῦσον ("to hasten"). The LXX-Psalms translator, therefore, did not lack suitable options when translating מַהֵר, which suggests his decision to render it with ταχύ was a stylistic decision. He avoids double imperatives by using the adverbs, which allows him to functionally have two imperatival statements, although there is only one formally.

The most common Greek interjection rendering a Hebrew imperative is Αλληλουια, which is a transliteration of the Hebrew הַלְלוּ יָה "Hallelujah/Praise the Lord." Since the title הַלְלוּ יָה occurs frequently throughout the Psalms and the translator always uses Αλληλουια in that context, it is important to note how this decision factors in to the total number of particles translating the Hebrew imperative. One example occurs in LXX-Psalm 112:1:

הַלְלוּ יָהּ | הַלְלוּ עַבְדֵי יְהוָה הַלְלוּ אֶת־שֵׁם יְהוָה: (Psalm 113:1)
Praise the LORD! Praise, O servants of the LORD; praise the name of the LORD.

**Αλληλουια**. Αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες, κύριον, αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου· (LXX-Psalm 112:1)

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[6] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 309, 569.

[7] See also Psalms 102:3 and 143:7.

Hallelouia. Praise the Lord, O servants; praise the name of the Lord.[8]

Most examples of rendering הַלְלוּ יָהּ with Ἀλληλουια occur as the title of the Psalm with the exception of LXX-150:6, where it forms an inclusio occurring at the end of the Psalm. This accounts for eleven of the twenty-four occurrences of Greek adverbs/particles (in this case a transliteration) translating the Hebrew imperative. LXX-Psalm 112:1 demonstrates that when the LXX-Psalms translator encountered הַלְלוּ יָהּ outside of the title where he would use the transliteration Ἀλληλουια, he used the standard Greek imperative αἰνεῖτε ("to praise") to render the Hebrew imperative.

While the chart above seems to indicate that the LXX-Psalms translator made frequent use of Greek particles and interjections when translating the Hebrew imperative in relation to forms other than the Greek imperative, the frequency of this translation decision is impacted by often repeated words in the Psalms. There are only four particles/interjections that translate the Hebrew imperative: δεῦτε ("come"), ταχύ ("quickly"), Ἀλληλουια ("Hallelujah"), and καλῶς ("skillfully"). These words often repeat throughout the Psalms and the LXX-Psalms translator was consistent in his rendering of them.

### 3.3.3   The Aorist Indicative

There are twenty examples of the Greek aorist indicative translating the Hebrew imperative, which accounts for just less than three percent of its total occurrences. Several examples of the Greek aorist indicative translating the Hebrew imperative are due to text-critical issues. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 4:2:

> בְּקָרְאִ֡י **עֲנֵ֤נִי** ׀ אֱלֹ֘הֵ֤י צִדְקִ֗י בַּ֭צָּר הִרְחַ֣בְתָּ לִּ֑י חָ֝נֵּ֗נִי וּשְׁמַ֥ע תְּפִלָּתִֽי׃ (Psalm 4:2)
> Answer me when I call, O God of my right! You gave me room when I was in distress. Be gracious to me, and hear my prayer.

> Ἐν τῷ ἐπικαλεῖσθαί με **εἰσήκουσέν μου** ὁ θεὸς τῆς δικαιοσύνης μου· ἐν θλίψει ἐπλάτυνάς μοι· οἰκτίρησόν με καὶ εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μου. (LXX-Psalm 4:2)
> When I would call, the God of my righteousness listened to me. In affliction you gave me room. Have compassion on me, and listen to my prayer.

The BHS editors note that the LXX-Psalms translator read the Hebrew imperative עֲנֵנִי ("Answer me") as the suffix conjugation עָנַנִי ("he answered me"), thus translating it as

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[8] See also Psalms 106:1; 111:1; 112:1; 135:1; 146:1; 147:1; 148:1; 149:1, 150:1, 6.

εἰσήκουσέν μου ("he answered me").[9] This example is helpful because it demonstrates in a single verse how the translator would have translated עֲנֵנִי if he read it as an imperative as he did the other verbs in the verse. He translated the Hebrew imperative חָנֵּנִי ("be gracious to me") with the Greek imperative οἰκτίρησόν με ("be gracious to me"). Furthermore, he translated the Hebrew imperative וּשְׁמַע ("and hear") with the Greek imperative εἰσάκουσον ("listen"). It is possible to conclude from the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of these other Hebrew imperatives in the verse that if he was reading the Hebrew imperative עֲנֵנִי, he would have rendered it as a Greek imperative, but either he mistakenly read the suffix conjugation עֲנָנִי or his reading tradition supported this alternative vocalization.

While most examples of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering the Hebrew imperative with a Greek aorist indicative are due to text-critical issues explained by reading the Hebrew imperative as a suffix conjugation,[10] there are some examples that are more difficult to explain. For example, consider the rendering of the Hebrew imperative in LXX-Psalm 59:10:

מוֹאָב ׀ סִיר רַחְצִי עַל־אֱדוֹם אַשְׁלִיךְ נַעֲלִי עָלַי פְּלֶשֶׁת הִתְרֹעָעִי: (Psalm 60:10)
Moab is my washbasin; on Edom I hurl my shoe; over Philistia I shout in triumph.

Μωαβ λέβης τῆς ἐλπίδος μου, ἐπὶ τὴν Ιδουμαίαν ἐκτενῶ τὸ ὑπόδημά μου, ἐμοὶ ἀλλόφυλοι **ὑπετάγησαν**. (LXX-Psalm 59:10)
Moab is a cauldron of my hope; on Idumea I will put my sandal; to me allophyles were subjugated.

The BHS editors suggest reading the first-person prefix conjugation אֶתְרוֹעָע instead of the hitpolel imperative הִתְרֹעָעִי, basing this suggestion off of the Syriac and Psalm 108:10 which is almost identical to Psalm 60:10. However, this still does not explain the LXX-Psalms translator's reasoning for rendering a Hebrew imperative with an aorist indicative. Ross suggests that instead of reading הִתְרֹעָעִי from the root רוע ("to raise a shout"), the LXX-Psalms translator took the verb from רָעַע ("to break").[11] This suggestion at least clarifies the LXX-Psalms translator's word choice, but it does not allow one to draw any major conclusions about his reasoning for rendering the Hebrew imperative with the aorist indicative.

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[9] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 1 (1-41)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2011), 229.

[10] There are several other examples of the translator rendering the Hebrew imperative with an aorist indicative as if it were a suffix conjugation. See Psalms 8:2; 22:9; 27:8; 30:11 (x3); 90:14, 15; 115:9, 11.

[11] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 2 (42-89)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2011), 337.

These examples demonstrate that when the LXX-Psalms translator rendered Hebrew imperatives with the aorist indicative, it was mostly due to text-critical issues rather than a deliberate choice to interpret the Hebrew imperatives in an unconventional way. This also supports further the conclusion that the LXX-Psalms translator's preferred translation for Hebrew imperatives was the Greek imperative.

## 3.3.4   No Greek Translation

There are fourteen examples of the LXX-Psalms translator not rendering a Hebrew imperative found in the MT. For twelve instances in the LXX-Psalms where there is no translation of the Hebrew imperative occur when the Psalm ends with הַלְלוּ־יָהּ ("Praise the Lord"), as in the following example from Psalm 113:9:

מוֹשִׁיבִי | עֲקֶרֶת הַבַּיִת אֵם־הַבָּנִים שְׂמֵחָה הַלְלוּ־יָהּ: (Psalm 113:9)
He gives the barren woman a home, making her the joyous mother of children. Praise the LORD!

ὁ κατοικίζων στεῖραν ἐν οἴκῳ μητέρα τέκνων εὐφραινομένην. (LXX-Psalm 112:9)
It is he who establishes a barren one in a home, a gladdened mother of children.

It is most likely that the final הַלְלוּ־יָהּ ("Praise the Lord") was not included in the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage*. There are many other examples I have pointed out where the translator either renders הַלְלוּ־יָהּ with the Greek imperatives αἰνεῖτε or αἰνέσατε, or transliterated with Ἀλληλουια. However, in this example and many others, the LXX-Psalms do not contain a translation for the final הַלְלוּ־יָהּ, likely because it was not in his *Vorlage*.[12]

Another example of the Hebrew imperative going untranslated in the LXX-Psalms is found in Psalm 90:17:

וִיהִי | נֹעַם אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ עָלֵינוּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֵינוּ כּוֹנְנָה עָלֵינוּ וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֵינוּ כּוֹנְנֵהוּ: (Psalm 90:17)
Let the favor of the Lord our God be upon us, and prosper for us the work of our hands—O prosper the work of our hands!

καὶ ἔστω ἡ λαμπρότης κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν κατεύθυνον ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς. (LXX-Psalm 89:17)
And let the splendor of the Lord our God be upon us and prosper upon us the work of our hands.

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[12] The other Psalms where the translator does not indicate the existence of the final הַלְלוּ־יָהּ are Psalms 104:35, 105:45, 106:48, 105:18, 116:19, 117:2, 135:21, 146:10, 147:20, 148:14, 149:9.

In this verse, the LXX-Psalms translator did not repeat the verb כּוֹנְנָה ("prosper") as it is repeated in the MT. Instead, the Psalm ends with the second colon of the verse.[13] Once again, it is not common for the LXX-Psalms translator to intentionally neglect words from the Hebrew, which suggests that this final Hebrew verb כּוֹנְנֵהוּ was not in his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

One final example to consider where the LXX-Psalms translator does not render the Hebrew imperative is from Psalm 71:12:

אֱלֹהִים אַל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי אֱלֹהַי לְעֶזְרָתִי **חֽוּשָׁה**׃ (Psalm 71:12)
O God, do not be far from me; O my God, make haste to help me!

ὁ θεός, μὴ μακρύνῃς ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ· (LXX-Psalm 70:12)
O God, do not be far from me.

The Rahlfs-Hanhart edition of the Septuagint actually includes a translation of the final colon (εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου πρόσχες "O my God, attend to helping me!") with a note indicating that Codex Vaticanus omits this phrase. In this edition, the aorist imperative verb πρόσχες translates חֽוּשָׁה. In the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms, the Greek imperative is left out, noting again in the apparatus that it is omitted in Codex Vaticanus. It is beyond the purpose of this dissertation to determine whether or not this final phrase was in the Old Greek, but if it were, the manuscript evidence we have seems to suggest that the LXX-Psalms translator used his default translation, the Greek imperative, to render this Hebrew imperative.

Overall, when there is an absence of a translation for the Hebrew imperative in the LXX-Psalms, text-critical issues are at hand, not interpretive issues. Based on the manuscript evidence indicated by the BHS and Göttingen editors, the Hebrew imperatives in the above examples are questionable. Therefore, the lack of translation for the Hebrew imperative was not an interpretive maneuver, rather the LXX-Psalms translator was more likely working in his standard isomorphic fashion and these imperatives were not in his *Vorlage*.

### 3.3.5  The Future Indicative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek future indicative four times to translate the Hebrew imperative. As the previous chapter on the Hebrew cohortative pointed out, the future indicative is similar to other non-indicative moods in that it often expresses will or

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[13] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 3 (90-150)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2016), 24.

feeling rather than an action that has already been realized.[14] While the LXX-Psalms translator preferred using the Greek imperative to translate the Hebrew imperative, it is not altogether surprising to find some miscellaneous examples of the Greek future indicative translating Hebrew imperatives, another Hebrew volitional form. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 36:3:

בְּטַח בַּיהוָה וַעֲשֵׂה־טֹוב שְׁכָן־אֶרֶץ **וּרְעֵה** אֱמוּנָה׃ (Psalm 37:3)
Trust in the LORD, and do good; so you will live in the land, and enjoy security.

ἔλπισον ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ ποίει χρηστότητα καὶ κατασκήνου τὴν γῆν, καὶ **ποιμανθήσῃ** ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῆς· (LXX-Psalm 36:3)
Hope in the Lord, and keep doing kindness, and encamp in the land, and you will be tended by its wealth.

The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render the Hebrew imperative וּרְעֵה ("enjoy") with the Greek future indicative ποιμανθήσῃ ("you will be tended") is likely due to his interpretation of וּרְעֵה as the result of the preceding imperatives (בְּטַח "Trust" and וַעֲשֵׂה "do") in the verse. The LXX-Psalms translator interprets the writer as saying to trust in the Lord and do good, and the result is that you will live and enjoy security. Muraoka points out that the Greek future indicative can function as a "pledge, decision, or determination," and when future indicative verbs follow an imperative, it makes them reassuring promises.[15]

It is also important to note that the way the LXX-Psalms translator renders the end of this verse may have influenced the decision to render וּרְעֵה ("enjoy") with the future indicative. It appears that the LXX-Psalms translator read the final word אֱמוּנָה ("security") as הֲמוֹנָה ("abundance, wealth").[16] This word appears later in verse 16 of this Psalm where the translator uses the same Greek word to translate it (πλούτῳ). Therefore, this textual difficulty could have impacted the way in which the LXX-Psalms translator interpreted וּרְעֵה.

Another example of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 44:12-13:

וְיִתְאָו הַמֶּלֶךְ יָפְיֵךְ כִּי־הוּא אֲדֹנַיִךְ **וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי־לֹו׃** וּבַת־צֹר ׀ בְּמִנְחָה פָּנַיִךְ יְחַלּוּ (Psalm 45:12)
עֲשִׁירֵי עָם׃
And the king will desire your beauty. Since he is your lord, bow to him; the people of Tyre will seek your favor with gifts, the richest of the people.

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[14] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 872.

[15] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 289-290.

[16] Ross, *Psalms 1*, 797.

ὅτι ἐπεθύμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ κάλλους σου, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κύριός σου. καὶ **προσκυνήσουσιν** αὐτῷ θυγατέρες Τύρου ἐν δώροις, τὸ πρόσωπόν σου λιτανεύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 44:12-13)
Because the king desired your beauty, because he is your lord. And daughters of Tyre will do obeisance to him with gifts; your face the rich of the people (13) will entreat.

The syntax of this verse is complicated by the fact that there is no verb at the beginning of verse 13 in the Hebrew. It simply says, "And the daughter of Tyre with a gift." Attempting to resolve this textual difficulty, the LXX-Psalms translator reads the verb at the end of verse 12 (וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי־לֹו "bow to him") with the beginning of verse 13 causing it to read, "And the daughters of Tyre will do obeisance to him." The problem is that this then causes verse 12 to be incomplete: "Because the king desired your beauty, because he is your lord."[17] The fact that the LXX-Psalms translator uses a future indicative is interesting because he usually renders the root חוה with a Greek imperative.[18] Here, however, he not only translates it as a future indicative, but he also translates it as a third person rather than second person. In light of these complications, it appears that the LXX-Psalms translator utilized the Greek future indicative in the second person in an attempt to make sense of a difficult Hebrew construction and that context over text-form took priority.

One final example of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 55:8:

עַל־אָוֶן **פַּלֶּט**־לָמֹו בְּאַף עַמִּים | **הֹורֵד** אֱלֹהִים: (Psalm 56:8)
So repay them for their crime; in wrath cast down the peoples, O God!

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς **σώσεις** αὐτούς, ἐν ὀργῇ λαοὺς **κατάξεις**, ὁ θεός. (LXX-Psalm 55:8)
On no account will you save them; in wrath you will bring down peoples, O God!

This is another example of a more complex Hebrew construction that led to an uncommon translation of the Hebrew imperative by the LXX-Psalms translator. Ross points out that the Hebrew phrase lacks meaning the way it is written, which led the LXX-Psalms translator to read אַיִן ("nothingness") instead of אָוֶן ("iniquity"), translating it with τοῦ μηθενὸς ("on no account"), a reading also supported by the Syriac and Jerome.[19] Another possible emendation Beth Tanner notes is reading פַּלֵּס ("to weight out") instead of פַּלֵּט ("escape"), which is what

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[17] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 65.

[18] See Psalms 29:2; 97:7; 99:9 for more examples.

[19] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 267.

the NRSV reads in the above translation.[20] The second Hebrew imperative verb in the verse הוֹרֵד ("cast down") is also translated with a Greek future indicative κατάξεις ("you will bring down"). With the textual difficulties of this verse, however, little can be said concerning the LXX-Psalms translator interpretation of Hebrew imperatives.

Though the volitional function of the Greek future indicative may align with the Hebrew imperative in some ways, each of the four examples are in close proximity to textual difficulties that could have influenced the LXX-Psalms translator's interpretive decisions. The example from Psalm 37:3 at least highlighted the possibility of using the Greek future indicative to indicate purpose when translating a sequence of Hebrew volitive forms. However, the other three examples are unclear although all appear to be in direct response to complications in the Hebrew.

### 3.3.6  Nouns

There are four examples in the LXX-Psalms of the translator using a Greek noun to render the Hebrew imperative. The first two examples are found in LXX-Psalm 58:13b-14 where the translator renders the Hebrew imperative כַּלֵּה ("consume") with the Greek noun συντέλεια ("consummation"):

> כַּלֵּה בְחֵמָה֮ כַּלֵּה וְאֵינֵ֥מוֹ וְיֵדְע֗וּ כִּֽי־אֱ֭לֹהִים מֹשֵׁ֣ל בְּיַעֲקֹ֑ב לְאַפְסֵ֖י הָאָ֣רֶץ סֶֽלָה׃ (Psalm 59:14)
> Consume them in wrath; consume them until they are no more. Then it will be known to the ends of the earth that God rules over Jacob. *Selah*

> καὶ ἐξ ἀρᾶς καὶ ψεύδους διαγγελήσονται **συντέλειαι** ἐν ὀργῇ **συντελείας**, καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξουσιν· καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δεσπόζει τοῦ Ιακωβ, τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς. διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 58:13b-14)
> And from curse and lie consummations will be noised abroad, in wrath of consummation, and they will be no more. And they will know that God is master over Iakob, over the ends of the earth. *Interlude on strings*

I included the end of LXX-Psalm 48:13 because the translator slightly alters the lines in his interpretation of the Hebrew.[21] The BHS editors suggest reading כֻּלָּם ("all of them") in place of the second verb, but it is clear that the LXX-Psalms translator still read the appropriate

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[20] Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), 482.

[21] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 320.

root כלה, but instead of interpreting it as a verb he interpreted it as a noun, rendering it with the Greek noun συντέλεια.

The next example of a Greek noun translating a Hebrew imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 73:11:

לָ֤מָּה תָשִׁ֣יב יָדְךָ֣ וִימִינֶ֑ךָ מִקֶּ֖רֶב חֵיקְךָ֣ **כַלֵּֽה**׃ (Psalm 74:11)
Why do you draw back your hand, even your right hand? From the midst of your chest, destroy! (NET)

ἵνα τί ἀποστρέφεις τὴν χεῖρά σου καὶ τὴν δεξιάν σου ἐκ μέσου τοῦ κόλπου σου εἰς **τέλος**; (LXX-Psalm 73:11)
Why do you turn away your hand, and your right hand from within your bosom, totally?

In this verse, the LXX-Psalm translator did not read כַלֵּה ("destroy") as a piel imperative as it is written in the MT but interpreted the basic meaning of כלה ("complete") and translated it with τέλος ("end").[22] Since the LXX-Psalms translator would have been reading an unpointed text, the decision not to read כלה as an imperative is understandable as the Hebrew consonants would have been identical.

The final example of a Greek noun translating a Hebrew imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 140:3:

שִׁיתָ֣ה יְהוָ֣ה שָׁמְרָ֣ה לְפִ֑י נִ֝צְּרָ֗ה עַל־דַּ֥ל שְׂפָתָֽי׃ (Psalm 141:3)
Set a guard over my mouth, O LORD; keep watch over the door of my lips.

θοῦ, κύριε, φυλακὴν τῷ στόματί μου καὶ θύραν **περιοχῆς** περὶ τὰ χείλη μου. (LXX-Psalm 140:3)
Set a guard over my mouth, O Lord, and a door of constraint about my lips.

There are questions surrounding two of the Hebrew words in this verse. The first word in question is שָׁמְרָה ("guard"), which could be interpreted as a Hebrew imperative or a feminine singular noun. deClaissé-Walford suggests that reading it as a noun is more syntactically appropriate since it follows the imperative שִׁיתָה ("set") at the beginning of the verse.[23] The second word in question is the Hebrew imperative נִצְּרָה ("watch"), which the LXX-Psalms translator renders with the Greek noun περιοχῆς ("door"). The BHS editors suggest reading the noun וּנִצְּרָה to parallel שָׁמְרָה ("a guard") in the first colon, but the LXX-Psalms translator

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[22] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 578.

[23] deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 973.

rearranges the final colon to read θύραν περιοχῆς περὶ τὰ χείλη μου ("a door of constraint about my lips").[24]

The above examples have shown that when the LXX-Psalms translator rendered Hebrew imperatives with Greek nouns, it was most often attributed to the way in which he vocalized the Hebrew consonants. The long form of Hebrew imperatives (with a *qamets he* ending) resembles a feminine singular noun which has the same *qamets he* suffix. Whether it was the close resemblance of the Hebrew feminine noun with the imperative or the unusual Hebrew syntax that influenced the translator, it is clear that these translations were not the result of an inadequate knowledge of the Hebrew language on the part of the LXX-Psalms translator. He rendered the vast majority of Hebrew imperatives in ways that demonstrate a clear understanding of this verbal form, and in these rare instances where he uses the Greek noun instead, it is clear that the syntax or vocalization of the Hebrew word was questionable and the translator's desire was to render the Hebrew in a way that was sensitive to how it would be read in Greek.

### 3.3.7  The Optative Mood

There are three examples of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering the Hebrew imperative with a Greek optative. Typically, the Greek optative is less forceful than the Hebrew imperative which is why it does not appear more often. However, as a non-indicative mood, it appeals to the will of another person, similar to the general function of the Hebrew imperative. Consider the examples from LXX-Psalm 127:5-6:

יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן **וּרְאֵה** בְּטוּב יְרוּשָׁלָ‍ֽםִ כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃ **וּרְאֵה**־בָנִים לְבָנֶיךָ שָׁלוֹם  (Psalm 128:5-6)
עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

> [5] The LORD bless you from Zion. May you see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the
> days of your life. [6] May you see your children's children. Peace be upon Israel!

**5** εὐλογήσαι σε κύριος ἐκ Σιων, καὶ **ἴδοις** τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ιερουσαλημ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· **6** καὶ **ἴδοις** υἱοὺς τῶν υἱῶν σου. εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ. (LXX-Psalm 127:5-6)
[5] May the Lord bless you from Sion, and may you see the good of Ierousalem all the days of your life. [6] And may you see your sons' sons. Peace be upon Israel!

In both verses, the Hebrew imperative וּרְאֵה ("may you see") is rendered with the Greek imperative ἴδοις ("may you see"). Though the dominant use of the imperative involves direct

[24] Ross, *Psalms 3*, 852.

commands, it is sometimes used in the context of a wish as it is in Psalm 128:5-6.[25] The LXX-Psalms translator recognized this less-common function of the Hebrew imperative and instead of using his default rendering (the Greek imperative), he translated it based on its specific function in Psalm 128:5-6 and used a Greek optative. The LXX-Psalms translator could have used the default Greek imperative in this context since the Greek imperative in some contexts can indicate a wish or entreaty.[26] By using the optative mood, the LXX-Psalms translator produced a more natural Greek translation. Instead of defaulting to the Greek imperative and forcing it in a context that rarely occurs in Greek, the translator varied from the default translation and utilized a Greek mood that accurately conveyed the sense of the Hebrew imperative in this context. This further shows that the LXX-Psalms translator was not mindlessly translating the Hebrew but was interpreting it and intentionally choosing Greek verb forms that aligned best with the Hebrew in any given context.

### 3.3.8   The Imperfect Indicative

Two Hebrew imperatives are translated by Greek imperfect indicative verbs in the LXX-Psalms, and both occur in LXX-Psalm 141:5.

**הַבֵּיט** יָמִין | **וּרְאֵה֮** וְאֵין־לִ֫י מַכִּיר אָבַד מָנוֹס מִמֶּנִּי אֵין דּוֹרֵשׁ לְנַפְשִׁי׃ (Psalm 142:5)
Look on my right hand and see—there is no one who takes notice of me; no refuge remains to me; no one cares for me.

**κατενόουν** εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ **ἐπέβλεπον**, ὅτι οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἐπιγινώσκων με· ἀπώλετο φυγὴ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὴν ψυχήν μου. (LXX-Psalm 141:5)
I would look to my right and would observe that there was no one who recognized me; escape vanished from me, and there was no one to seek out my soul.

The most basic use of the Greek imperfect indicative is to present a past action as ongoing.[27] However, in certain contexts the imperfect also has a modal nuance that expresses counterfactual actions.[28] Perhaps this is the LXX-Psalms translator's intended meaning for the imperfect indicative verbs in LXX-Psalm 141:5. He may be using this function of the Greek imperfect to clarify that though the psalmist feels like no one recognizes him, this is

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[25] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571.

[26] Robertson, *Grammar*, 946-949.

[27] Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 415.

[28] Boas, et. al., *Grammar*, 442.

contrary-to-fact and the truth is that the Lord does recognize him. The problem with this proposition is that this function does not parallel any function of the Hebrew imperative.

Ross provides a text-critical explanation for this rendering of the Hebrew imperative that may be more probable. First, he points out the fact that the imperfect reading of the verbs finds manuscript support from the Dead Sea Scroll *11QPsᵃ*, but the alternative option Ross proposes is to interpret הַבֵּיט ("Look") as an infinitive absolute and make it a finite verb, and change the second verb וּרְאֵה ("see") to the infinitive absolute form, which is what the BHS editors suggest.[29]

This example either demonstrates a creative use of the imperfect indicative by the LXX-Psalms translator, or another example of textual difficulties influencing the translator's rendering of Hebrew verbs. Since the Hebrew imperative does not have a counterfactual function as the Greek imperfect indicative, reading the הַבֵּיט and וּרְאֵה as infinitives is probably best in this example.

## 3.3.9  Participles

The LXX-Psalms translator renders one occurrence of the Hebrew imperative as a Greek participle in LXX-Psalm 43:5:

אַתָּה־הוּא מַלְכִּי אֱלֹהִים צַוֵּה יְשׁוּעוֹת יַעֲקֹב׃ (Psalm 44:5)
You are my King and my God; command victories for Jacob. [modified from NRSV]

σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεύς μου καὶ ὁ θεός μου, ὁ **ἐντελλόμενος** τὰς σωτηρίας Ιακωβ·
(LXX-Psalm 43:5)
You are my very King and my God, he who commands acts of deliverance for Iakob.

It is clear in this example that the presence of the Greek participle is not due to the LXX-Psalms translator's interpretation of the Hebrew imperative. There are several variant readings that account for this rendering. First, instead of reading אֱלֹהִים ("God"), the LXX-Psalms translator reads אֱלֹהַי ("my God"),[30] which aligns with Aquila's translation of this phrase: "O God of me."[31] The final *mem* from אֱלֹהִים is read with the following word, thus

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[29] Ross, *Psalms 3*, 866.

[30] Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary 19 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 331.

[31] deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 410.

making it a Hebrew participle מְצַוֶּה, a reading not only supported by the LXX-Psalms, but also the Syriac.[32] Ross contests the idea from other commentators who suggest that the imperative found in the MT is impossible in this context. He notes, "While the form in the MT is abrupt, it is not out of harmony with the context. The entire psalm is an earnest plea for God to demonstrate his kingship."[33] I agree with Ross that the original Hebrew imperative is not out of place, but this does not change the notion that the LXX-Psalms translator was rendering what he interpreted as a Hebrew participle. Nowhere else does he use a Hebrew participle to translate the Hebrew imperative, so the alternative reading of אֱלֹהִים with אֱלֹהַי and מְצַוֶּה instead of צַוֵּה is the best possible explanation for this rendering.

## 3.3.10 The Present Indicative

The Hebrew imperative is possibly rendered by a Greek present indicative verb on one occasion in LXX-Psalm 95:8, but the morphology is ambiguous and it could simply be another imperative.

> הָבוּ לַיהוָה כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ שְׂאוּ־מִנְחָה וּבֹאוּ לְחַצְרוֹתָיו: (Psalm 96:8)
> Ascribe to the LORD the glory due his name; bring an offering, and come into his courts.

ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ἄρατε θυσίας καὶ **εἰσπορεύεσθε** εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς αὐτοῦ· (LXX-Psalm 95:8)
Bring to the Lord glory due his name; raise offerings, and enter into his courts.

I discussed in earlier chapters that when other Hebrew volitives follow an imperative, it indicates purpose or result. When an imperative follows another imperative, Thomas Lambdin notes that it is possible that the two imperatives are consequent on one another.[34] This is how the LXX-Psalms translator appears to have interpreted the final imperative of this verse. He translates וּבֹאוּ ("come") with the Greek present indicative εἰσπορεύεσθε ("enter"). This combination of the Greek imperative with the present indicative indicates the fact that this action of raising offerings and entering into his courts is ongoing or continuous.[35]

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[32] Craigie and Tate, *Psalms*, 331.

[33] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 44.

[34] Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 1971), 119.

[35] Andreas J. Köstenberger, Benjamin L. Merkle, and Robert L. Plummer, *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek: An Intermediate Study of the Grammar and Syntax of the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2016), 257.

Therefore, the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of this sequence of Hebrew imperatives with a Greek imperative plus a present indicative (if that is what he intended) could further support the notion that he was not as interested in mirroring the Hebrew grammar into Greek, but allowed himself to translate the meaning of the Hebrew in a way that read well in Greek.

### 3.3.11 Infinitives

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek infinitive once to render the Hebrew imperative. Consider this example from LXX-Psalm 30:3:

> הַטֵּה אֵלַי ׀ אָזְנְךָֿ מְהֵרָה **הַצִּילֵנִי** הֱיֵה לִּי ׀ לְצוּר־מָעוֹז לְבֵית מְצוּדוֹת לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי: (Psalm 31:3)
> Incline your ear to me; rescue me speedily. Be a rock of refuge for me, a strong fortress to save me.

> κλῖνον πρός με τὸ οὖς σου, τάχυνον τοῦ **ἐξελέσθαι** με· γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ εἰς οἶκον καταφυγῆς τοῦ σῶσαί με. (Psalm 30:3)
> Incline your ear to me; be quick to deliver me. Become to me a protector–god and a house of refuge, to save me.

The Hebrew imperative הַצִּילֵנִי ("rescue me") is rendered with the Greek article τοῦ plus the infinitive ἐξελέσθαι ("to deliver"). Muraoka notes that in contexts such as this one, τοῦ does not bear its normal genitive or ablative function but serves as a grammatical marker much like the English word *to* before an infinitive. He suggests that this use of τοῦ is not a Semitism, "but is rather a continuation of the final τοῦ infinitive known to Classical Greek."[36] The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render the Hebrew imperative with an infinitive is interesting since it is not the norm, but it is reminiscent of the τοῦ infinitive in Classical Greek.

### 3.3.12 Pronoun

The final category for this chapter is the pronoun, and we witness one occurrence of a Greek interrogative pronoun translating the Hebrew imperative:

> יֵשֵׁב עוֹלָם לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת **מַן** יִנְצְרֻהוּ: (Psalm 61:8)
> May he be enthroned forever before God; appoint steadfast love and faithfulness to watch over him!

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[36] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 365.

διαμενεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ· ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ **τίς** ἐκζητήσει;
(LXX-Psalm 60:8)
He will remain forever before God; his mercy and truth, who will seek out?

This rendering of the Hebrew imperative is likely due to textual difficulties. Most translators treat the second verb in the final clause יִנְצְרֻהוּ ("to watch") as an infinitive to resolve the difficult construction.[37] However, the BHS apparatus questions the originality of the Hebrew imperative מַן ("appoint") suggesting that its existence may be due to dittography. The LXX-Psalms translator interpreted מַן as an interrogative pronoun[38] and translated it with the Greek interrogative pronoun τίς. It is possible that the difficult Hebrew construction is what led the LXX-Psalms translator to render מַן in this way, but what is clear is that he did not interpret מַן as a Hebrew imperative.

## 3.4    Conclusion

There are not many Hebrew verb forms that overlap with Greek verb forms to the extent that the Hebrew and Greek imperatives overlap. This chapter has shown that the LXX-Psalms translator recognized the congruent functions of the Hebrew and Greek imperative and rarely deviates from this default translation.

Many of the examples where he does deviate from the default translation of a Hebrew imperative with a Greek imperative are due to words repeated often throughout the Psalms which he consistently renders with the same Greek word such as δεῦτε translating the Hebrew imperative לְכוּ ("come") or ταχύ ("quickly") translating the Hebrew imperative מַהֵר ("to hasten"). The Hebrew title הַלְלוּ יָה also occurs frequently throughout the Psalms and the translator always renders it with the transliteration Αλληλουια.

Other instances when the translator renders the Hebrew imperative with something other than the Greek imperative are primarily due to text-critical issues. This chapter has shown that in the other miscellaneous translations of the Hebrew imperative, it is likely that the either the LXX-Psalms translator vocalized the Hebrew consonants differently than what is found in the MT, or the translator's *Vorlage* differs from the MT.

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[37] deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner, *Psalms*, 511.

[38] See Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 315-329 for more on Hebrew interrogatives.

The chart above visualizing the various Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator uses to translate the Hebrew imperative already shows the translator's overwhelming preference to translate the Hebrew imperative with the Greek imperative. However, the other miscellaneous translations give the impression that even though he preferred translating the Hebrew imperative with the Greek imperative, he would sometimes use other forms, perhaps because those forms provided a better match for the function of the Hebrew imperative in those specific contexts. While that may be true for some of the examples, the often-repeated Hebrew imperatives rendered with the same Greek imperative throughout the Psalms, and the many examples where there are textual uncertainties concerning the Hebrew imperative only solidifies the LXX-Psalms translator's preference for the Greek imperative. Therefore, the distribution reflected in the chart above must be understood in light of this caveat.

## 4. The Rendering of the Hebrew Jussive

### 4.1    Introduction

The last two chapters have analyzed the Greek translation of the Hebrew volitives for the first and second person in the Psalms, namely the cohortative and the imperative. In this chapter, I discuss the Greek translation of the Hebrew jussive. The prior two chapters on the Hebrew cohortative and the imperative showed that the LXX-Psalms translator had a strong preference for which Greek form he used to render the cohortative or imperative. For the cohortative, the LXX-Psalms translator primarily utilized the Greek future indicative, using it to render seventy percent of the Hebrew cohortative verbs. He rendered the Hebrew imperative primarily with the Greek imperative, accounting for eighty-nine percent of its total occurrences. I take a similar approach in this analysis of the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of Hebrew jussives, but because the jussive appears in both the second and third person, it is more complex and multiple charts are necessary.

The Hebrew jussive occurs primarily in the third and second persons, and rarely in the first person.[1] In the Psalms, however, only third and second person jussives are present. Hebrew jussives fall into two morphological categories: primarily and secondarily marked jussives.[2] The primary marking of the jussive involves a morphological shortening of the prefix conjugation. Secondarily marked jussives are indicated by separate volitional particles connected to the jussive, such as the negative particles אַל or נָא, which occur often throughout the Psalms. In some contexts, verbs that are morphologically a prefix conjugation should be interpreted as a jussive, even when it is neither primarily or secondarily marked as such.

### 4.2    The Functions of the Hebrew Jussive

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[1] There are no first-person jussives in the Psalms, but for more on first person jussives, see Hélène M. Dallaire, *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2014), 92-93. See also P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 348 where Joüon and Muraoka question the legitimacy of first-person jussives.

[2] H. H. Hardy II, Matthew McAffee, and John D. Meade, *Going Deeper with Biblical Hebrew: An Intermediate Study of the Grammar and Syntax of the Old Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, forthcoming), 243.

The third-person Hebrew jussive generally functions to denote the speaker's will or wish "to express a more or less definite desire that something should or should not happen."[3] The second-person jussive is similar in function, but primarily communicates negative commands accompanied by the negative particle אַל. The precise nuance of a jussive, however, is largely dependent on the social status of the speaker in relation to the addressee. On one hand, the jussive indicates a command, exhortation, or an order when a superior is speaking to an inferior.[4] On the other hand, the jussive indicates an urgent request, prayer, or a request for permission when an inferior is addressing a superior.[5]

Each of these functions are found often throughout the Psalms. While the LXX-Psalms translator showed great preference for specific Greek forms when translating the Hebrew cohortative (preferring the Greek future indicative) and the Hebrew imperative (preferring the Greek imperative), there is much more variety in the translation of Hebrew jussives as the next section will demonstrate. The variety is due to the broad range of functions the jussive embodies as the speaker's relationship to the addressee alters the meaning of the jussive. The differences between the second- and third-person jussives have also influenced the broad range of Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator chose to render the Hebrew jussive.

In the following discussion, I provide a chart with all the statistics combined to see the overall distribution of Greek verbs used to translate the Hebrew jussive. I also offer separate charts for Hebrew jussives that are morphologically marked as jussives and those that are functionally jussives. Finally, I also provide separate charts for the second- and third-person jussives and how the LXX-Psalms translator renders each form. Having charts to visualize the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of second- and third-person jussives, or formally marked and unmarked jussives gives a better representation of how the translator interpreted this Hebrew volitive form.

## 4.3    Translating the Hebrew Jussive

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[3] W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley [GKC], *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 321.

[4] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 348; Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 568; Dallaire, *Volitives*, 95-96.

[5] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 348; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568; Dallaire, *Volitives*, 95-96.

I have constructed five charts to best visualize the data. The first chart pictures the overall translation of the Hebrew jussive, regardless of its form or person:

**Table 4.1: Translating the Hebrew Jussive**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 167 | 42.7% |
| Future Indicative | 74 | 18.9% |
| Subjunctive | 69 | 17.6% |
| Optative | 62 | 15.9% |
| Aorist Indicative | 15 | 3.8% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.5% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 391 | |

At first glance, it appears that the LXX-Psalms translator prefers the Greek imperative as his default translation for the Hebrew jussive, followed in frequency by the Greek future indicative, subjunctive, and optative. It is clear from these primary translation decisions that the LXX-Psalms translator primarily utilized non-indicative verbs to render the Hebrew jussive.[6]

Since some of the Hebrew jussives are formally marked as jussives, the second chart pictures only those that have this morphological distinction:

**Table 4.2: Translating Morphologically Jussive Verbs**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 25 | 31% |
| Future Indicative | 17 | 21% |
| Subjunctive | 16 | 20% |
| Optative | 11 | 13% |
| Aorist Indicative | 10 | 1% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.1% |
| Total | 80 | |

The next chart pictures the Hebrew jussives that are either secondarily marked as jussives (see above) or are interpreted as jussives based on their context:

**Table 4.3: Translating Functionally Jussive Verbs**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|

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[6] The Greek future indicative is unique since it is different from other indicative verbs, containing a modal nuance. See chapter 8 for more on the Greek future indicative.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 142 | 46% |
| Future Indicative | 57 | 18.1% |
| Subjunctive | 53 | 16.8% |
| Optative | 51 | 16.5% |
| Aorist Indicative | 5 | 14.3% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.3% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 314 | |

These two charts show that the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of Hebrew jussives was consistent and did not vary based on the Hebrew jussives that are formally marked versus those that are contextually jussive. The translator preferred the imperative, but also used the future indicative and the non-indicative moods to render both types of Hebrew jussives.

More variation exists when considering the second-person versus the third-person Hebrew jussives and the LXX-Psalms translator never changes the number of the verbs. The next two charts picture these distinctions:

**Table 4.4: Translating the Second-Person Jussive**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Subjunctive | 62 | 75% |
| Imperative | 18 | 22% |
| Aorist Indicative | 2 | 2% |
| Optative | 1 | 1% |
| Total | 83 | |

**Table 4.5: Translating the Third-Person Jussive**

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 149 | 48% |
| Future Indicative | 74 | 24% |
| Optative | 61 | 20% |
| Aorist Indicative | 13 | 4% |
| Subjunctive | 7 | 2% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.6% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 308 | |

At first glance, it is somewhat surprising that the LXX-Psalms translator preferred using the imperative for third-person Hebrew jussives rather than those in the second person. The Greek imperative is more direct and forceful than the other non-indicative moods, and this

may be why the LXX-Psalms translator primarily uses it to translate Hebrew jussives in the third person, since the third person is naturally less direct. Using the Greek imperative for the second person might have been too forceful, which could have led the translator to using the Greek subjunctive for those in the second person. At the same time, the optative and indicative moods are also preferred primarily when translating third-person jussives with only four examples translating the second-person jussive. It is clear that the number of the verb was a major factor in the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the Hebrew jussive.

The following section will consider the reasoning behind these translation choices made by the LXX-Psalms translator when rendering the Hebrew jussive. Even though there are more distinctions to be made about the various types of Hebrew jussive (marked/unmarked, second/third person), I will still base the following sections on the primary chart looking at the translation of Hebrew jussives as a whole and make reference to the number of the verb where it is pertinent to the discussion. as needed.

## 4.3.1  The Greek Imperative

The most frequent translation of Hebrew jussives in the LXX-Psalms is the Greek imperative. The LXX-Psalms translator used this Greek form often, regardless of whether or not the Hebrew verb was formally marked as a jussive or if context suggested it was a jussive. He primarily uses the Greek imperative to translate third-person jussives. There are only seventeen instances where the translator renders the second-person jussive with the Greek imperative, but there are 148 instances of him using the Greek imperative to translate third-person jussives.

In the majority of the LXX-Psalms translator's renderings of the second-person jussive with a Greek imperative, he translates a negative Hebrew command introduced by the negative particle אַל as in the following example from LXX-Psalm 36:1:

אַל־תִּתְחַר בַּמְּרֵעִים אַל־תְּקַנֵּא בְּעֹשֵׂי עַוְלָה׃ (Psalm 37:1)
Do not fret because of the wicked; do not be envious of wrongdoers.

**Μὴ παραζήλου** ἐν πονηρευομένοις **μηδὲ ζήλου** τοὺς ποιοῦντας τὴν ἀνομίαν· (LXX-Psalm 36:1)
Do not fret among wicked people, nor be envious of those that do lawlessness.

In general, the Hebrew particle אַל is the negative of prohibition and is used with the jussive and cohortative,[7] And the LXX-Psalms translator typically renders it with some form of μή. The particle μή also introduces a prohibition and is usually followed by either a present imperative or an aorist subjunctive.[8] In this example, אַל plus the jussive is translated with μή plus the Greek imperative. One must consider what influences the LXX-Psalms translator's decision to use the Greek imperative instead of the subjunctive to render the jussive in examples such as these. What this example and the other examples of the translator rendering אַל plus the jussive with μή plus an imperative is the speaker's relationship to the addressee. When μή plus an imperative occurs, the verse is addressing other people. On the other hand, when the translator uses μή plus a subjunctive, the verse is addressing God.[9]

The LXX-Psalms translator rarely uses the Greek imperative to render second-person jussives outside of prohibitions, but one example is found in LXX-Psalm 30:25:

חִזְקוּ וְיַאֲמֵץ לְבַבְכֶם כָּל־הַמְיַחֲלִים לַיהוָה׃ (Psalm 31:25)
Be strong, and let your heart take courage, all you who wait for the LORD.

ἀνδρείζεσθε, καὶ **κραταιούσθω** ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν, πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ κύριον. (LXX-Psalm 30:25)
Take courage, and let your heart be strong, all you who hope in the Lord.

This verse begins with the Hebrew imperative חִזְקוּ ("be strong") and is followed by the Hebrew jussive וְיַאֲמֵץ ("take courage"). This construction of an imperative followed by a Hebrew volitive is common in Biblical Hebrew, and the second verb (the jussive in this instance) indicates purpose or result.[10] The wording of the Hebrew indicates that taking courage naturally leads to being strong, and the LXX-Psalms translator renders both of these verbs with Greek imperatives since they contain equal force in contexts such as Psalm 31:25. This example demonstrates the LXX-Psalms translator's ability to interpret Hebrew syntax that is not perfectly paralleled in Greek and translate it in a way that communicates the proper

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[7] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 568.

[8] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 445. Boas, et. al. go as far as to say that the imperative is used only in the present stem and the subjunctive in the aorist stem for prohibitions. While this is generally true throughout the LXX-Psalms, there are some exceptions such as Psalm 146:3 which uses the perfect imperative, or Psalms 59:12, 70:12, 79:1, 119:116, 138:8, and 141:4 which uses the present subjunctive in a prohibition.

[9] I provide examples of this in the subjunctive section on the translator's rendering of the Hebrew jussive with the subjunctive mood.

[10] Dallaire, *Volitivies*, 79; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

force. There were other non-indicative moods available to the LXX-Psalms translator, but by choosing the imperative over other non-indicative moods, he retains the proper force intended by the original psalmist.[11]

The LXX-Psalms translator also renders third-person jussives with third-person imperatives on several occasions. Consider this example from LXX-Psalm 13:7:

מִי יִתֵּן מִצִּיּוֹן יְשׁוּעַת יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשׁוּב יְהוָה שְׁבוּת עַמּוֹ **יָגֵל** יַעֲקֹב **יִשְׂמַח** יִשְׂרָאֵל: (Psalm 14:7)
O that deliverance for Israel would come from Zion! When the LORD restores the fortunes of his people, let Jacob rejoice; let Israel be glad. [Modified from NRSV]

τίς δώσει ἐκ Σιων τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Ισραηλ; ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι κύριον τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ **ἀγαλλιάσθω** Ιακωβ καὶ **εὐφρανθήτω** Ισραηλ. (LXX-Psalm 13:7)
Who shall give out of Sion the deliverance of Israel? When the Lord returns the captivity of his people, let Iakob rejoice and Israel be glad.

Translating the third-person jussive with an imperative occurs far more often than translating second-person jussives with an imperative, though the sense of the second person seems to align more with the sense of a Greek imperative. The Greek third person imperative is used to communicate indirectly "to some entity which is not involved in direct communication with the speaker."[12] In LXX-Psalm 13:7, it is not clear why the LXX-Psalms translator did not render the Hebrew jussive verbs with a Greek optative or subjunctive, but by using the imperative, he clearly intended for the volitives to be interpreted as commands.[13]

These examples have shown that the LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek imperative intentionally as a way to communicate the proper force of a Hebrew jussive when it is necessary. There are no Greek forms that perfectly overlap with the Hebrew jussive, so the LXX-Psalms translator had to decide which Greek verb was most appropriate for the variety of contexts in which the Hebrew jussive exists. For forty-two percent of the Hebrew jussive verbs in the Psalms, the translator chose to use the imperative whether that was to communicate the proper force of a prohibition, to bring out the appropriate nuance of a volitive sequence or bring out greater force due to some other aspect of the text other than the verb.

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[11] Joseph D. Fantin, "May the Force Be with You: Volition, Direction, and Force: A Communicative Approach to the Imperative Mood," *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 7 (2018), 181.

[12] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven, Peeters, 2016), 328.

[13] It is difficult to translate third-person imperatives in a way that does not sound like a simple suggestion. It's important to remember that the third-person imperative is still a command with great force. See Dana M. Harris, *An Introduction to Biblical Greek Grammar: Elementary Syntax and Linguistics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2020), 384.

## 4.3.2  The Future Indicative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek future indicative seventy-two times to translate the Hebrew jussive, which accounts for eighteen percent of all jussives in the Psalms. All occurrences of this translation appear in the third person. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 131:9:

כֹּהֲנֶיךָ יִלְבְּשׁוּ־צֶדֶק וַחֲסִידֶיךָ יְרַנֵּנוּ׃ (Psalm 132:9)
Let your priests be clothed with righteousness, and let your faithful shout for joy.

οἱ ἱερεῖς σου **ἐνεδύσονται** δικαιοσύνην, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοί σου **ἀγαλλιάσονται**. (LXX-Psalm 131:9)
Your priests will clothe themselves with righteousness, and your devout will rejoice.

The Hebrew jussive verbs in this verse are functioning as an urgent request, communicating the desire of the psalmist but not necessarily what is real at the time of speaking.[14] The Greek future indicative also refers to the *irreal*, but with a greater degree of certainty than the Hebrew jussive communicates. The LXX-Psalms translator uses this basic prospective function of the future indicative on several occasions to render the Hebrew jussive. The prospective function of the future indicative refers to what is likely, is destined, or is going to happen.[15] This function overlaps with the *irrealis* nature of the Hebrew jussive, and since there is no exact parallel in Greek, the LXX-Psalms translator uses this function of the future indicative to communicate the proper sense of the Hebrew jussive.

Another example of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew jussive is found in LXX-Psalm 82:17:

מַלֵּא פְנֵיהֶם קָלוֹן וִיבַקְשׁוּ שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה׃ (Psalm 83:17)
Fill their faces with shame, so that they may seek your name, O LORD.

πλήρωσον τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ἀτιμίας, καὶ **ζητήσουσιν** τὸ ὄνομά σου, κύριε. (LXX-Psalm 82:17)
Fill their faces with dishonor, and they will seek your name, O Lord.

In this example, the Hebrew jussive וִיבַקְשׁוּ ("they may seek") follows the Hebrew imperative ("Fill") which indicates purpose or result.[16] As is his default, the translator renders the

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[14] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568.

[15] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

[16] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

Hebrew imperative with the Greek imperative πλήρωσον ("fill"), but renders the Hebrew

jussive with the Greek future indicative ζητήσουσιν ("they will seek"). Muraoka points out

that the injunctive future is often juxtaposed with an imperative, which seems to be how the

LXX-Psalms translator is using it in this example.[17]

The Greek future indicative is even used on two occasions to render Hebrew verbs in

the third person negated by אַל, which are typically interpreted as jussives:

> גַּם מִזֵּדִים ׀ חֲשֹׂךְ עַבְדֶּךָ **אַל־יִמְשְׁלוּ־בִי** אָז אֵיתָם וְנִקֵּיתִי מִפֶּשַׁע רָב: (Psalm 19:14)
> Keep back your servant also from the insolent; do not let them have dominion over
> me. Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression.

> αὶ ἀπὸ ἀλλοτρίων φεῖσαι τοῦ δούλου σου· ἐὰν μή μου **κατακυριεύσουσιν**, τότε
> ἄμωμος ἔσομαι καὶ καθαρισθήσομαι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας μεγάλης. (LXX-Psalm 18:14)
> Also from strangers spare your slave! If they will not exercise dominion over me, then
> I shall be blameless and be cleansed from great sin.

> יָבֹא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַל־יֶחֱרַשׁ אֵשׁ־לְפָנָיו תֹּאכֵל וּסְבִיבָיו נִשְׂעֲרָה מְאֹד: (Psalm 50:3)
> Our God comes and does not keep silence, before him is a devouring fire, and a
> mighty tempest all around him.

> ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ οὐ **παρασιωπήσεται**· πῦρ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ καυθήσεται, καὶ κύκλῳ
> αὐτοῦ καταιγὶς σφόδρα. (LXX-Psalm 49:3)
> ²ᵇ God will come conspicuously, ³ our God—and he will not pass by in silence; a fire
> will burn before him, and all around him is a mighty tempest—very much.

Hebrew verbs following אַל are typically interpreted as jussives even when they are not

formally marked as such, but in these examples, it is possible for them to retain their prefix

conjugation value, which is how the LXX-Psalms translator seems to render them. Though it

is rare, Waltke and O'Connor point out that in poetry, there are some cases where אַל is used

instead of the Hebrew particle לֹא "to give a more energetic nuance or for stylistic

embellishment."[18] Since the LXX-Psalms translator rendered the negated forms that should

be interpreted as jussives correctly throughout the Psalms, it is noteworthy that his awareness

of this rare stylistic function of אַל led him to translate it differently than the other prefix

conjugation verbs in this construction.

The LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew

jussives demonstrates a creative strategy for translating a Hebrew form not entirely paralleled

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[17] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 285.

[18] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 569. See also Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 348-349.

in Greek. He utilizes the Greek future indicative in instances where there is a great degree of certainty that the action will be realized while he used other Greek forms when the Hebrew jussive communicated an action that was less certain to be realized. It is possible that there is some theological motivation to this rendering, at least in some examples. When the Hebrew says that God will do something, the LXX-Psalms translator may use the future indicative because he believes that it is more certain that something will happen. If nothing else, the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the future indicative to translate Hebrew jussives at least demonstrates that there were multiple Greek verb forms that could communicate the sense of the Hebrew jussive depending on the context.

### 4.3.3   The Subjunctive Mood

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the subjunctive mood sixty-nine times to translate the Hebrew jussive. Similar to the imperative, many of these examples are found within negative prohibitions containing the Hebrew particle אל which the translator renders with μή, as in the following example from LXX-Psalm 73:19:

**אַל־תִּתֵּן** לְחַיַּת נֶפֶשׁ תּוֹרֶךָ חַיַּת עֲנִיֶּיךָ **אַל־תִּשְׁכַּח** לָנֶצַח׃ (Psalm 74:19)
Do not deliver the soul of your dove to the wild animals; do not forget the life of your poor forever.

μὴ **παραδῷς** τοῖς θηρίοις ψυχὴν ἐξομολογουμένην σοι, τῶν ψυχῶν τῶν πενήτων σου μὴ **ἐπιλάθῃ** εἰς τέλος. (LXX-Psalm 73:19)
Do not deliver a soul that acknowledges you to the wild animals; the souls of your needy do not forget totally.

As I explained above concerning the negative prohibitions translated with Greek imperatives, a non-indicative mood naturally follows the Greek particle μή, and the Greek subjunctive is the most common rendering of negative prohibitions in the Psalms.[19] The most common reason for choosing the Greek subjunctive rather than the imperative to translate negative prohibitions is the speaker's relationship to the addressee. When the translator uses μή plus the subjunctive to translate the Hebrew negative prohibition, the verse is usually addressing God. The imperative mood is used in these instances when addressing other people.

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[19] The subjunctive translates the Hebrew verb following אל sixty-five times in the LXX-Psalms (fifty-five percent of all 118 occurrences).

There is one example of the Greek subjunctive translating the Hebrew jussive negated by the Hebrew particle בַּל rather than אַל in LXX-Psalm 139:11:

יִמּ֥וֹטוּ עֲלֵיהֶ֗ם גֶּֽחָ֫לִ֥ים בָּאֵ֥שׁ יַפִּלֵ֑ם בְּ֝מַהֲמֹר֗וֹת בַּל־יָקֽוּמוּ׃ (Psalm 140:11)

Let burning coals fall on them! Let them be flung into pits, no more to rise!

πεσοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄνθρακες, ἐν πυρὶ καταβαλεῖς αὐτούς, ἐν ταλαιπωρίαις **οὐ μὴ ὑποστῶσιν**. (LXX-Psalm 139:11)

Coals will fall on them; with fire you will throw them down; in misery they will not bear up.

Similar to the way the LXX-Psalms translator renders אַל with μή, he also renders בַּל with the emphatic negation οὐ μή in LXX-Psalm 139:11, which leads to the non-indicative verb.[20] This particular rendering of בַּל with οὐ μή should not be overlooked. John Lee points out the fact that this emphatic negation was rare in literature of that period and was something used only "occasionally for effect by some writers."[21] It is fitting that the translator used a less-common form of negation with elevated style (οὐ μή) to render a negative particle in Hebrew (בַּל) that is also rare and used in higher register texts.

These examples of the negated subjunctive translating a Hebrew jussive have shown that the LXX-Psalms translator strongly preferred the Greek subjunctive mood when rendering prohibitions in the Psalms. Specifically, he uses the Greek subjunctive when translating second-person Hebrew jussives in the context of a prohibition. There are only three examples of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek subjunctive to render third-person Hebrew jussives.[22] Outside of the context of a prohibition, the LXX-Psalms translator never uses the Greek subjunctive to translate Hebrew jussives.

### 4.3.4  The Optative Mood

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[20] H. E. Dana and Julius R. Mantey, *A Manual Grammar of the Greek New Testament* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1927), 172.

[21] John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 55.

[22] Psalms 34:6; 121:3 (x2).

Another Greek form the LXX-Psalms translator often uses to render Hebrew jussive verbs is the Greek optative mood. Sixty-one out of sixty-two occurrences are in the third person as in Psalm 67:2:

אֱלֹהִים יְחָנֵּנוּ וִיבָרְכֵנוּ יָאֵר פָּנָיו אִתָּנוּ סֶלָה׃ (Psalm 67:2)
May God be gracious to us and bless us and make his face to shine upon us, *Selah*.

Ὁ θεὸς **οἰκτιρήσαι** ἡμᾶς καὶ **εὐλογήσαι** ἡμᾶς, **ἐπιφάναι** τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 67:2)
May God have compassion on us and bless us and display his face to us, *Interlude on strings*.

In this example, there are two Hebrew verbs that are jussive in meaning (יְחָנֵּנוּ "be gracious" and וִיבָרְכֵנוּ "bless") and one jussive that is formally marked as such (יָאֵר "shine"). The LXX-Psalms translator interprets each verb as a jussive in the context of a prayer.[23] Therefore, the optative mood was a fitting choice since the optative denotes the speaker's desire, wish, or prayer.[24]

This form is also used to render the Hebrew jussive in the context of a prohibition, as in LXX-Psalm 68:7:

**אַל־יֵבֹשׁוּ** בִי | קֹוֶיךָ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת **אַל־יִכָּלְמוּ** בִי מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ (Psalm 69:7)
Do not let those who hope in you be put to shame because of me, O Lord GOD of hosts; do not let those who seek you be dishonored because of me, O God of Israel.

μὴ **αἰσχυνθείησαν** ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντές σε, κύριε κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, μὴ **ἐντραπείησαν** ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ οἱ ζητοῦντές σε, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ (LXX-Psalm 68:7)
May those who wait for you not be put to shame because of me, O Lord, Lord of hosts; may those who seek you not be embarrassed because of me, O God of Israel.

Notice that the Hebrew jussive verbs in this verse are in the third person. The optative mood is the LXX-Psalms translator's preferred rendering of prohibitions with the third-person Hebrew jussive, although he often uses the imperative as discussed above. It is noteworthy that the LXX-Psalms translator tends to use the Greek optative when addressing God, unlike the imperative which he uses when addressing other people. It appears that the LXX-Psalms translator considered the force of the subjunctive and optative moods to be more appropriate for an inferior addressing a superior, and an imperative for superiors addressing inferiors.[25]

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[23] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568.

[24] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 321. For other examples, see Psalms 33:22, 109:14-15, 113:2, 115:14, and 119:172.

[25] See also chapter 6 on the optative mood for more on the possibility of αἰσχυνθείησαν ("be put to shame") being a Greek idiom that the translator preferred using when translating יֵבֹשׁוּ.

There is one example in the LXX-Psalms of the translator rendering a second-person Hebrew jussive with a Greek optative in LXX-Psalm 40:3:

יְהוָה ׀ יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ וִיחַיֵּהוּ יְאֻשַּׁר בָּאָרֶץ וְאַל־**תִּתְּנֵהוּ** בְּנֶפֶשׁ אֹיְבָיו: (Psalm 41:2)
The LORD protects them and keeps them alive; they are called happy in the land. You do not give them up to the will of their enemies.

κύριος διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν καὶ ζήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ μακαρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ μὴ **παραδῴη** αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθροῦ αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 40:3)
May the Lord carefully guard him and quicken him and make him happy in the land, and may he not give him up into his enemy's hands.

There are several Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs in this verse and the translator renders all of them with the Greek optative mood. First, יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ ("protect") is rendered with the Greek optative διαφυλάξαι ("guard"), וִיחַיֵּהוּ ("keep") is rendered with the optative ζήσαι ("quicken"), and יְאֻשַּׁר ("happy") is rendered with the optative μακαρίσαι ("happy"). The translator interprets each of these first three Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs with a modal sense,[26] which is likely due to the presence of the אַל construction that follows. The particle אַל most often negates the jussive, so the translator renders תִּתְּנֵהוּ ("give up"), which is jussive in meaning since it is negated by אַל, with the Greek optative παραδῴη ("give up"), in order that the verb mood might be maintained.

The LXX-Psalms translator's use of the optative mood plays a unique role in the rendering of Hebrew jussive verbs. It communicates the sense of the third person jussive directed at God (a superior) in a way that is less direct (and therefore more polite) than the Greek imperative, which the translator used when rendering jussives spoken by a superior to an inferior. Not only is using the less-forceful optative mood a sign of respect, but using a Greek form that was less common at the time of this translation served to enhance the overall quality of the Greek in the LXX-Psalms.[27]

## 4.3.5   The Aorist Indicative

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew jussive with the Greek aorist indicative fifteen times, accounting for four percent of its total occurrences, with thirteen rendering

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[26] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 506.

[27] See chapter 6 for more on the decline of the optative mood.

third-person verbs. Several of the examples are due to text-critical issues, as in LXX-Psalm 9:10:

וִיהִי יְהוָה מִשְׂגָּב לַדָּךְ מִשְׂגָּב לְעִתּוֹת בַּצָּרֶה: (Psalm 9:10)
The LORD is a stronghold for the oppressed, a stronghold in times of trouble.

καὶ **ἐγένετο** κύριος καταφυγὴ τῷ πένητι, βοηθὸς ἐν εὐκαιρίαις ἐν θλίψει· (LXX-Psalm 9:10)
And the Lord became a refuge for the needy, a helper at opportune times in affliction.

Instead of reading the jussive וִיהִי, the LXX-Psalms translator read the consecutive preterite form, וַיְהִי, which only differs in vocalization.[28] Another example of the translator reading the consecutive preterite form instead of a jussive is found in LXX-Psalm 17:12:

יָשֶׁת חֹשֶׁךְ | סִתְרוֹ סְבִיבוֹתָיו סֻכָּתוֹ חֶשְׁכַת־מַיִם עָבֵי שְׁחָקִים: (Psalm 18:12)
He made darkness his covering around him, his canopy thick clouds dark with water.

καὶ ἔθετο σκότος ἀποκρυφὴν αὐτοῦ, κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἡ σκηνὴ αὐτοῦ, σκοτεινὸν ὕδωρ ἐν νεφέλαις ἀέρων. (LXX-Psalm 17:12)
And he made darkness his hideaway; around him was his tent, dark water in clouds of air.

This time, the variation is not due to vocalization since there is no *vav* preceding יָשֶׁת ("made"). This verse is a quotation of 2 Samuel 22:12 which begins with the consecutive preterite וַיָּשֶׁת ("put"). While there is some variation in the Greek translation of 2 Samuel 22:12, the verb is the same which implies that both translators read the verb similarly. Either the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage* also contained this consecutive preterite form, or the translator was familiar with this other reading and translated accordingly.[29]

LXX-Psalm 38:9 also provides an example of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek aorist indicative to render a Hebrew jussive in a questionable context.

מִכָּל־פְּשָׁעַי הַצִּילֵנִי חֶרְפַּת נָבָל אַל־תְּשִׂימֵנִי: (Psalm 39:9)
Deliver me from all my transgressions. Do not make me the scorn of the fool.

ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου ῥῦσαί με, ὄνειδος ἄφρονι **ἔδωκάς** με. (LXX-Psalm 38:9)
From all my acts of lawlessness rescue me! As a reproach to a fool you gave me.

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[28] Another example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering וַיְהִי with the aorist indicative is found in Psalm 104:20.

[29] See also Psalm 45:12 for an example of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek aorist indicative to translate a Hebrew jussive read as a consecutive preterite.

Here is another example of a second-person jussive negated by the particle אַל, except this time, the LXX-Psalms translator does not render the negative particle at all, thus making it a positive statement: "you gave me."[30] The BHS editors suggest this is due to haplography, which is most likely the case since the LXX-Psalms translator is consistent in his rendering of the Hebrew particle אַל with μή, and the following verb with a non-indicative Greek verb. Therefore, the aorist indicative in the translation of this verse is not an indication of a unique interpretation of the Hebrew jussive.

There are other examples, however, that are not so easily explained with text-critical conclusions. For example, consider LXX-Psalm 77:28:

יַסַּע קָדִים בַּשָּׁמָיִם וַיְנַהֵג בְּעֻזּוֹ תֵימָן׃ (Psalm 78:28)
He caused[31] the east wind to blow in the heavens, and by his power he led out the south wind.

**ἀπῆρεν** νότον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐν τῇ δυναστείᾳ αὐτοῦ λίβα (LXX-Psalm 77:28)
He removed a south wind from heaven, and he led on, by his dominance, a southwest wind.

The Hebrew word יַסַּע ("caused to blow") is a hiphil verb that is jussive only in form. The LXX-Psalms translator renders it as if it were a suffix conjugation using the aorist indicative ἀπῆρεν ("caused to blow"). There are several other examples of hiphil verbs that are morphologically jussives but translated with the aorist indicative.[32] Unfortunately, commentators do not discuss the reasoning behind this variation. However, Hardy and McAffee point out the fact that there are seventy-one instances of the shortened/apocopated third-person form not functioning volitionally. In many of these examples, the verbs suggest perfect action which "could be explained as vestiges of an old preterite."[33] It seems likely that the LXX-Psalms translator must have been aware of these archaic shortened forms that denote perfective action based on his use of the aorist indicative, which also communicates perfective action. This demonstrates an advanced knowledge of not only Biblical Hebrew from the LXX-Psalms translator, but the Hebrew language as a whole. What may have

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[30] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 1 (1–41)*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2011), 839.

[31] I did not alter the NRSV translation of יַסַּע because it is jussive in form only and the NRSV recognizes the perfective action denoted by these archaic forms, just as the LXX-Psalms translator did.

[32] See Psalms 47:4, 71:21, and 107:29.

[33] Hardy II and McAffee, *Going Deeper*, 247–248.

appeared to be a random translation or a translation that was possibly misguided by textual variants is actually a clear display of the translator's understanding of Hebrew verbs that are rare in Biblical Hebrew.

### 4.3.6   The Participle

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek participle twice to translate the Hebrew jussive. The first example is found in LXX-Psalm 34:19:

אַל־יִשְׂמְחוּ־לִי אֹיְבַי שֶׁקֶר שֹׂנְאַי חִנָּם יִקְרְצוּ־עָיִן: (Psalm 35:19)
Do not let my treacherous enemies rejoice over me, or those who hate me without cause wink the eye.

μὴ ἐπιχαρείησάν μοι οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδίκως, οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεὰν καὶ **διανεύοντες** ὀφθαλμοῖς. (LXX-Psalm 34:19)
May those who unjustly are my enemies not be happy over me, those who hate me without cause and those who wink with the eyes.

This verse begins with a negated jussive (יִשְׂמְחוּ "rejoice") which the LXX-Psalms translator renders with the Greek optative (ἐπιχαρείησάν "be happy"). This is followed by a participle in the Hebrew (שֹׂנְאַי "those who hate me") translated with the Greek participle (οἱ μισοῦντές με "those who hate me"). The Hebrew jussive (יִקְרְצוּ "wink") is part of the original request, which was not to allow the writer's enemies to rejoice, and now to not allow the writer's enemy to wink the eye, which would suggest superiority over the writer.[34] Instead of interpreting the jussive as part of the request, the LXX-Psalms translator interprets it as another description of the writer's enemy. The enemies are those who hate him, and those who wink they eye at him. Based on the consonants, יִקְרְצוּ is clearly a prefix conjugation verb (jussive in meaning) and not a Hebrew participle. This translation is uncharacteristic of the LXX-Psalms translator and is difficult to determine why he did not use another optative as he did earlier in the verse. Because of the consonants in the MT clearly marking this as a prefix conjugation, it leads me to think that the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage* may have had a variant. Yet, no manuscript evidence would indicate this textual variant.

Another example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering a Hebrew jussive with a Greek participle is found in LXX-Psalm 57:5:

חֲמַת־לָמוֹ כִּדְמוּת חֲמַת־נָחָשׁ כְּמוֹ־פֶתֶן חֵרֵשׁ יַאְטֵם אָזְנוֹ: (Psalm 58:5)

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[34] Ross, *Psalms 1*, 773.

They have venom like the venom of a serpent, like the deaf adder that stops its ear.

θυμὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίωσιν τοῦ ὄφεως, ὡσεὶ ἀσπίδος κωφῆς καὶ **βυούσης** τὰ ὦτα αὐτῆς (LXX-Psalm 57:5)
They have wrath in the likeness of the snake, like an adder, deaf and plugging its ears.

In this example, the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew word יַאְטֵם ("stops") with the Greek participle βυούσης ("plugging"). The jussive יַאְטֵם is only jussive in its grammatical form (i.e., the way it is marked), but not in meaning. Therefore, it is no surprise that the LXX-Psalms translator rendered it with something other than the default Greek non-indicative/future indicative. Based on its consonants, it is possible that the LXX-Psalms translator read it as a Hebrew prefix conjugation. The imperfective aspect of the Greek participle would align well with the Hebrew prefix conjugation. Creating less certainty regarding the translator's *Vorlage*, however, is the presence of the conjunction καί in his translation. There is no *vav* in the Hebrew, but it is uncharacteristic for the LXX-Psalms translator to insert words not attested for in the Hebrew text. An easy explanation for this *vav* is that the translator's *Vorlage* had either a simple conjunctive *vav* or a consecutive preterite. The imperfective aspect of the Greek participle would suggest that a simple *vav* is most likely since the translator most often renders the Hebrew consecutive preterite with a Greek aorist indicative.[35]

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[35] There are two other Hebrew jussives that some would say are rendered by Greek participles. First, the translator renders what many would consider a Hebrew jussive with a Greek participle in Psalm 71:21. The verse begins with a verb marked as a Hebrew jussive תֶּרֶב, but this is one of the shortened/apocopated third-person forms that do not function volitionally, and the translator renders it with the Greek aorist indicative (see the discussion in section "Aorist Indicative" above). In the second colon of the verse, the verb וְתִסֹּב is a continuation of the so-called jussive that began the verse, and even though it is not marked as a jussive, many who interpret the first verb (תֶּרֶב) as a jussive would also interpret וְתִסֹּב as a jussive since it is connected by the conjunctive *vav*. Nonetheless, the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of these two verbs with the aorist indicative and the participle show that these are not to be understood as Hebrew jussives.

The second Hebrew jussive many would suggest is translated with a Greek participle is found in Psalm 85:9. The final expression of this verse where the negated jussive appears וְאַל־יָשׁוּבוּ ("but let them not turn back") seems out of place (see Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 2 (42-89)*, Kregel Exegetical Library [Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2013], 769). The LXX-Psalms translator renders the final phrase with καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπιστρέφοντας πρὸς αὐτὸν καρδίαν ("and to those who turn to him their heart"). The LXX-Psalms rendering makes more sense in context, but it appears to be following a different tradition and since the MT is still readable, most scholars do not suggest adopting the LXX-Psalms reading over the MT (see Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, and Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament [Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2014], 656). In light of this textual variant, this example does not reflect the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of a Hebrew jussive with a Greek participle and should not be included in the count.

### 4.3.7 The Imperfect

There is one example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering the Hebrew jussive with an imperfect indicative in LXX-Psalm 24:21:

תֹּם־וָיֹשֶׁר **יִצְּרוּנִי** כִּי קִוִּיתִיךָ׃ (Psalm 25:21)
May integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait for you.

ἄκακοι καὶ εὐθεῖς **ἐκολλῶντό** μοι, ὅτι ὑπέμεινά σε, κύριε. (LXX-Psalm 24:21)
The innocent and upright would attach themselves to me, because I waited for you.

There are no functions of the Hebrew jussive that would cause one to expect the LXX-Psalms translator to render it with the imperfect indicative. The jussive in Psalm 25:21 is functioning normally for a jussive, expressing the speaker's desire for integrity and uprightness to preserve him. The Greek imperfect does communicate the fact that it is the desire of the writer for these things to have continual effects, but it typically describes an event happening in past time rather than future time.[36] With this being an isolated case of the Greek imperfect indicative translating the Hebrew jussive, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about what might have motivated the translator to render it in such unusual fashion.


## 4.4    Conclusion

There are several conclusions to draw from the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the Hebrew jussive. The leading factor in what influenced the translator's rendering of the jussive was the distinction between second- and third-person jussives. For second-person jussives, the translator strongly preferred using the subjunctive mood and for third-person jussives, the translator strongly preferred using the imperative mood. These preferences suggest that the Greek imperative in the second person would have been too strong to appropriately communicate the sense of the jussive except when the second-person jussive appears in the context of a negative command, in which case the LXX-Psalms translator rendered it with the Greek imperative. To communicate the volition of the second-person jussive more appropriately, the translator used the subjunctive mood. The translator renders third-person jussives primarily with the Greek imperative, which is less direct and less forceful than a

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[36] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 259.

second-person imperative, thus making it an effective way to render greater degrees of force within the Hebrew jussive without going too far.

Another significant component to the LXX-Psalms translator's choices when rendering Hebrew jussives was the social relationship between the speaker and addressee. The LXX-Psalms translator primarily uses the imperative when a superior is speaking to an inferior, and he uses the subjunctive or the optative when an inferior is speaking to a superior. So, in the Psalms, when the writer is speaking to other people with a jussive, the translator renders the verb with a Greek imperative. But when the writer is speaking to God, he uses one of the other non-indicative moods.

Using the various Greek moods to differentiate between the second and third person and between the social relationship between the speaker and the addressee is a testament to the LXX-Psalms translator's creativity. Having no perfect parallel for the Hebrew jussive in the Greek language, the LXX-Psalms translator was able to communicate the appropriate nuance of the jussive with an adjustment to the mood of the verb. This decision was based on a combination of the person of the Hebrew jussive and the social relationship between the speaker and addressee. This creativity which was executed with precision would not have been possible without the translator having an advanced knowledge of the Hebrew language. His rendering of the shortened/apocopated jussives with the aorist indicative also demonstrated an advanced knowledge of the Hebrew language as he recognized these archaic forms and deviated from his default translation. The odd translations that did not effectively communicate the sense of the jussive were mostly due to textual variants and were likely influenced by a difference in the translator's *Vorlage*.

## Part III: The Non-Indicative Greek Moods

One distinction between the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems is that Hebrew verbs are more ambiguous than Greek verbs. The Greek verb is grammatically encoded for tense, voice, mood, person, and number while the Hebrew verb is only marked for stem, conjugation, person, and number. These categories do not align in a way that the Greek translators could have matched the Hebrew verb in every way. Additionally, the Greek translators had to use Greek verbs that were marked for things that may have only been implied by the Hebrew verb. Therefore, one way we can learn more about how the Greek translators interpreted the Hebrew verbal system is by analyzing which forms were used to translate the Hebrew verbs. One way to do this is by observing how Greek moods correspond with the Hebrew original.

Hebrew verbs are rarely marked for modality, but it is often implied in other ways. The marked forms include the cohortative, imperative, and jussive. The cohortative is marked with *qamets he* at the end of the word as in אוֹמְרָה (Ps. 42:10) and is sometimes followed by the particle נָא; the volitive form of the first person used to convey an entreaty or request.[1] The imperative is most often used in the second person and is used for commands in similar fashion to other languages. The volitive form of the third person is the jussive, and it expresses all nuances of 'will': "command, exhortation, advice, invitation, permission…, wish, prayer, request for permission, etc."[2]

Other times, however, modality is indicated by other syntactic and lexical devices.[3] First of all, the prefix conjugation in Biblical Hebrew sometimes conveys volition, even when it is not marked as a cohortative, imperative, or jussive.[4] It has the capability to characterize action as *potential* where action is controlled by the will of the subject or it is determined by some antecedent event.[5] There are also many particles that can convey volition. For example, the particles אִם and לוּ are used in conditional clauses and causation is sometimes indicated with the particle כִּי.

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[1] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 346.

[2] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 348.

[3] Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 347.

[4] S. R. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses: And Some other Syntactical Questions*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 29.

[5] Driver, *Tenses*, 30.

In Greek, verbs grammatically encode either the indicative, subjunctive, imperative, or optative moods. Verbs in the indicative mood express a definite and absolute statement. The other three are related in that they do not express something as a fact, but they are distinct in the way in which they express the action of the verb. The subjunctive expresses a desire or aim, the imperative conveys a command or prohibition, and the optative communicates a wish or desire of the grammatical subject.[6] The function of the imperative in Greek shares the basic function of Hebrew imperatives. The subjunctive and optative moods, however, do not have a verbal equivalent in Hebrew. The morphology of Greek verbs encodes which mood was intended by the speaker, making it less ambiguous than Biblical Hebrew verbs.

This section of my dissertation analyses the non-indicative moods of the Greek language and how they are used throughout the LXX-Psalms. I have examined every non-indicative verb in the LXX-Psalms, considering which Hebrew forms they translate and how often. The following chapters in Section II consider each mood on its own and discuss why the LXX-Psalms translator may have chosen that mood to render the underlying Hebrew form. I consider the functions of the Greek mood and how they overlap with the Hebrew verb forms they translate, attempting to explain the LXX-Psalms translator's rationale. Where the translation decision is unclear, I also consider manuscript evidence that may support an alternate reading or even a repointing of the Hebrew word that would explain the unusual translation. At times, the LXX-Psalms translator's decisions were easily explained, but many examples were unclear.

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[6] A. F. Christidis, *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 594.

## 5. The Subjunctive Mood in Translation

### 5.1    Introduction

In this chapter, I analyze the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek subjunctive mood by considering which Hebrew verb forms led to this translation choice. There are no Hebrew verb forms that directly correspond with the Greek subjunctive mood, but several of them at least overlap with it to some degree. Many times, there are several Greek verb forms with functions that overlap with a given Hebrew verb form, so the translator had to make a decision. Considering why he chose the Greek subjunctive mood in this chapter will shed light on how he interpreted the Hebrew verbal system.

### 5.2    The Functions of the Subjunctive Mood

The primary value of the subjunctive mood is to express the speaker's will or wish.[1] Robertson describes the subjunctive as "the mood of doubt, of hesitation, of proposal, of prohibition, of anticipation, of expectation, of brooding hope, of imperious will."[2] There are many functions of the subjunctive that overlap with the volitive forms in Biblical Hebrew, especially the cohortative and the jussive. Additionally, there are many aspects of the subjunctive mood that overlap with particular modal functions of the Hebrew prefix conjugation.

Scholars differ in how they divide the functions of the subjunctive mood, but the functions that nearly all grammarians recognize are 1) hortatory, 2) prohibition, and 3) deliberative.[3] The hortatory subjunctive is essentially an exhortation proposing joint action, translated into English with the phrase "let us."[4] It shares the same basic function of the Hebrew cohortative, which is the volitive form of the first person. The subjunctive of prohibition is a negative command and is preceded by the particle μή. In the aorist tense, it

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[1] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 309.

[2] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 928.

[3] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 439-440.

[4] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 309.

often replaces the imperative as their functions are almost identical.[5] Finally, the deliberative subjunctive is used to ask a rhetorical question in Greek.[6]

## 5.3     The Distribution of the Subjunctive Mood in the LXX-Psalms

There are 245 Greek verbs in the subjunctive mood in the Göttingen edition of LXX-Psalms. A close analysis of the translator's use of the subjunctive mood will shed light on how the ancient translator of LXX-Psalms interpreted modality in the Hebrew verbal system and how he utilized specific verb forms to communicate modality in the Greek. The following discussion will focus on which Hebrew verb forms the Greek subjunctive translates and how modality implied in the Hebrew verbs is made explicit in the Greek verbs.

The following chart represents all verbs in the subjunctive mood throughout the LXX Psalms:

**Table 5.1: The Subjunctive Mood in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 125 | 52.7% |
| Jussive | 69 | 29% |
| Cohortative | 22 | 9.3% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 10 | 4.2% |
| No Hebrew[7] | 5 | 2.1% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 1.7% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.4% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.4% |
| Total | 237 | |

The subjunctive mood appears in both the present and aorist tense in the LXX-Psalms, and the following two charts represent this distinction:

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[5] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk [BDF] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 172. See also Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 469.

[6] Robertson, *Grammar*, 934; BDF, 186.

[7] There are five instances where the Greek subjunctive mood appears with no Hebrew in the MT to account for it. As I stated in my introduction, the charts and statistics for the Greek moods are based on what those verbs appear to translate in the Hebrew MT. Therefore, it is possible that the LXX-Psalms contain words (or even verses) that do not appear in the MT. That does not mean that the LXX-Psalms translator made up the word or words that are not represented in the MT, but that his Vorlage was likely different since it is uncharacteristic for him to deviate from his Hebrew manuscript.

**Table 5.2: The Present Subjunctive in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Jussive | 12 | 46% |
| Prefix Conjugation | 10 | 38.5% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 2 | 7.7% |
| Noun | 1 | 3.8% |
| Participle | 1 | 3.8% |
| Total | 26 | |

**Table 5.3: The Aorist Subjunctive in the LXX-Psalms**

| Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 115 | 55.8% |
| Jussive | 57 | 27.7% |
| Cohortative | 22 | 10.7% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 8 | 3.9% |
| No Translation | 5 | 2.4% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 1.9% |
| Total | 211 | |

The charts above reveal much about the LXX-Psalms translator's preferences for when he uses the Greek subjunctive mood. The most frequent Hebrew form he translates with the Greek subjunctive is the prefix conjugation. The prefix conjugation has a wide range of functions which I will discuss below, and many of these functions expressing some sort of uncertainty or contingency aligned well with the Greek subjunctive mood. The LXX-Psalms translator also used the Greek subjunctive mood to render Hebrew volitives. The modal nuance to these Hebrew forms is best communicated by the non-indicative moods in Greek, and though the LXX-Psalms translator uses the other non-indicative moods and the future indicative more often to render these forms, there were certain contexts in which he preferred the subjunctive mood. There are several other miscellaneous forms that the LXX-Psalms translator renders with the subjunctive mood, and I will consider each of them in the following discussion.

## 5.4    Translating the Prefix Conjugation

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek subjunctive mood 125 times to translate the Hebrew prefix conjugation, which accounts for fifty-three percent of all subjunctive-mood

verbs in the LXX-Psalms. The aorist subjunctive translates the prefix conjugation 115 times, and the present subjunctive translates the prefix conjugation ten times. The contexts in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders the prefix conjugation with a subjunctive most often are relative/conditional clauses, and clauses of negation.

## 5.4.1  Translating Relative and Conditional Clauses

There are several Hebrew particles that, when interpreted in conjunction with the accompanying verb, often lead to a non-indicative verb in Greek. One such example is in the translators rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation preceded by the relative particle אֲשֶׁר, as in LXX-Psalm 1:3.

> וְהָיָ֗ה כְּעֵץ֮ שָׁת֪וּל עַֽל־פַּלְגֵ֫י מָ֥יִם אֲשֶׁ֤ר פִּרְי֨וֹ ׀ יִתֵּ֬ן בְּעִתּ֗וֹ וְעָלֵ֥הוּ לֹֽא־יִבּ֑וֹל וְכֹ֖ל אֲשֶׁר־**יַעֲשֶׂ֣ה** (Psalm 1:3)
> יַצְלִֽיחַ׃
>> He is like a tree planted by streams of water that yields its fruit in its season, and its leaf does not wither. In all that he does, he prospers. (Psalm 1:3)
>
> καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορρυήσεται· καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν **ποιῇ**, κατευοδωθήσεται. (LXX-Psalm 1:3)
> And he will be like the tree that was planted by the channels of waters, which will yield its fruit in its season, and its leaf will not fall off. And in all that he does, he will be prosperous.

The Psalmist is describing the man who does not associate with the wicked and delights in the law of the Lord. He uses the simile of a tree in 1:3, suggesting that those who delight in the Lord are like a healthy tree. He ends the simile saying "καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, κατευοδωθήσεται. ('And in all that he does, he will be prosperous.')" The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render the prefix conjugation with the subjunctive is connected to his decision to render the Hebrew relative particle אֲשֶׁר with ὅσα ἄν. The Hebrew particle אֲשֶׁר is a relative marker that introduces an attributive clause.[8] The Greek particle ἄν is similar in function and is found in generalizing relative clauses and often precede subjunctive verbs. Muraoka notes that "the subjunctive of this kind is indicative of a theoretical possibility or likelihood and affiliated to a protasis of a conditional statement."[9] So in Psalm 1, the prosperity is possible under the condition that the right path is chosen.

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[8] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 331.

[9] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 316.

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the subjunctive mood to translate Hebrew prefix

conjugation verbs in clauses containing the particle כִּי, as in LXX-Psalm 22:4:

גַּם כִּי־**אֵלֵךְ** בְּגֵיא צַלְמָוֶת לֹא־אִירָא רָע כִּי־אַתָּה עִמָּדִי שִׁבְטְךָ וּמִשְׁעַנְתֶּךָ הֵמָּה יְנַחֲמֻנִי: (Psalm 23:4)
Even though I walk through the darkest valley,  I fear no evil; for you are with me;
your rod and your staff— they comfort me.

ἐὰν γὰρ καὶ **πορευθῶ** ἐν μέσῳ σκιᾶς θανάτου, οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακά, ὅτι σὺ μετ᾽
ἐμοῦ εἶ· ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου, αὐταί με παρεκάλεσαν.
For even if I walk in the midst of death's shadow, I will not fear evil, because you are
with me; your rod and your staff—they comforted me.

The Hebrew particle כִּי is used for a broad range of functions in subordinating clauses. It is

used in conditional clauses, result clauses, causal clauses, exceptive clauses, and temporal

clauses.[10] In this example, כִּי gives a slight reinforcement to the affirmation made in the

Psalm,[11] and the LXX-Psalms translator renders this with the Greek particle ἐάν.  While כִּי

and ἐάν do not perfectly overlap in function, they share the function of indicating a

theoretical possibility or likelihood, which naturally leads the translator to render the

following verb with a Greek non-indicative, and in this case, he uses the subjunctive mood.[12]

Another Greek particle that overlaps with the Hebrew particle כִּי is ὅταν, which is

another recurrent rendering of כִּי by the LXX-Psalms translator. Consider one example from

LXX-Psalm 126:5:

אַשְׁרֵי הַגֶּבֶר אֲשֶׁר מִלֵּא אֶת־אַשְׁפָּתוֹ מֵהֶם לֹא־יֵבֹשׁוּ כִּי־יְדַבְּרוּ אֶת־אוֹיְבִים בַּשָּׁעַר: (Ps. 127:5)
Blessed is the man who fills his quiver with them! He shall not be put to shame when
he speaks with his enemies in the gate.

μακάριος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς πληρώσει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν· οὐ
καταισχυνθήσονται, **ὅταν λαλῶσι** τοῖς ἐχθροῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πύλῃ. (Ps. 126:5)
Happy the person who will satisfy his desire with them. They shall not be put to
shame when they speak with their enemies in a gate.

The LXX-Psalms translator renders כִּי with ὅταν, an adverb of time that contains a

conditional force.[13] There were many ways that the translator could have rendered the

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[10] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 632-646.

[11] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 581.

[12] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 316.

[13] BDF, 237.

Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs, but he chose to use a combination of Greek particles and verbs to communicate the appropriate nuance intended by the Hebrew.

One final example to consider is the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation preceded by the particle אִם, as in LXX-Psalm 80:9:

שְׁמַע עַמִּי וְאָעִידָה בָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אִם־**תִּשְׁמַע**־לִי׃ (Psalm 81:9)
Hear, O my people, while I admonish you; O Israel, if you would but listen to me!

ἄκουσον, λαός μου, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαί σοι· Ισραηλ, ἐὰν **ἀκούσῃς** μου. (LXX-Psalm 80:9)
Hear, O my people, and I am testifying against you; O Israel, if you would hear me!

The Hebrew prefix conjugation often contains irreal modal nuances, especially when it is used in conjunction with particles such as אִם that express uncertainty or contingency.[14] The LXX-Psalms translator renders this particle with ἐάν and the modal prefix conjugation תִּשְׁמַע with the Greek subjunctive ἀκούσῃς. It is clear from this example and the ones above that the LXX-Psalms translator is working in such a way that goes beyond translating individual words but interprets those words in light of its context.

## 5.4.2   Translating Clauses of Negation

There are several ways in which the LXX-Psalms translator utilizes the subjunctive mood in clauses of negation. The two most common negative particles in the Hebrew Psalms are לֹא and אַל. The particle לֹא most often negates the prefix conjugation and אַל most often negates the Hebrew jussive (see section 4.3.2.1). The subjunctive does not frequently appear in negative clauses beginning with לֹא, but consider this example from LXX-Psalm 17:39:

אֶמְחָצֵם **וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ** קוּם יִפְּלוּ תַּחַת רַגְלָי׃ (Psalm 18:39)
I thrust them through, so that they were not able to rise; they fell under my feet.

ἐκθλίψω αὐτούς, καὶ **οὐ μὴ δύνωνται** στῆναι, πεσοῦνται ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου. (Ps. 17:39)
I will much afflict them, and they will not be able to stand; they shall fall under my feet.

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[14] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 510.

The LXX-Psalms translator most often renders לֹא with οὐ or οὐκ followed by an indicative verb. Sometimes, however, he renders לֹא with οὐ μή to intensify a negation.[15] In this example, the translator's decision to render לֹא with the intensified οὐ μή naturally led to his rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation with a Greek subjunctive.[16]

Two other types of prefix conjugation verbs the LXX-Psalms translator renders with the subjunctive mood are those negated by the particles בַּל and פֶּן:

אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ בַּל־אֶמּוֹט לְדֹר וָדֹר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־בְרָע: (Psalm 10:6)
They think in their heart, "We shall not be moved; throughout all generations we shall not meet adversity."

εἶπεν γὰρ ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ Οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεὰν ἄνευ κακοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 9:27)
For he said in his heart, "I shall not be shaken, from generation to generation without adversity"

הַבִּיטָה עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי הָאִירָה עֵינַי פֶּן־אִישַׁן הַמָּוֶת: (Psalm 13:4)
Consider and answer me, O LORD my God! Give light to my eyes, [lest I] sleep the sleep of death. (Modified from NRSV)

ἐπίβλεψον, εἰσάκουσόν μου, κύριε ὁ θεός μου· φώτισον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, μήποτε ὑπνώσω εἰς θάνατον. (LXX-Psalm 12:4)
Regard; listen to me, O Lord my God! Give light to my eyes, lest I sleep unto death.

These two Hebrew particles are rare in Biblical Hebrew but share the same basic function as לֹא or אַל.[17] בַּל appears almost exclusively in poetry and is the poetic synonym of לֹא.[18] Since it communicates such a strong negation, the LXX-Psalms translator renders it with the emphatic οὐ μὴ, thus leading him to render the following verb with the subjunctive mood. Waltke and O'Connor compare פֶּן to the Latin telic particles, pointing out how "they are not used with the indicative mood, the mood of certainty, but with the subjunctive, the mood of contingency."[19] Clearly, the LXX-Psalms translator agrees with this interpretation as he

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[15] BDF, *Grammar*, 184. See also John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 54-58.

[16] For more examples, see LXX-Psalms 65:18, 77:7, 77:8, 78:6, 88:31, 88:32. Many of the other examples are found in conditional sentences, where the Greek subjunctive mood naturally fits. There are several examples of the negation taking place within a clause beginning with אִם translated with εἰ or ἐάν.

[17] N. J. Tromp, "The Hebrew Particle בַּל," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 21 (1981), 277-287.

[18] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 571.

[19] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 511.

renders פֶּן with μήποτε and the prefix conjugation (אִישַׁן "lest I sleep") with the subjunctive mood (ὑπνώσω "lest I sleep").

This section on the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation primarily shows his nuanced understanding of Hebrew verbs. With translations such as the LXX-Psalms that align closely with the Hebrew, it is easy to overlook the translator's interpretive choices. However, his use of the subjunctive mood to translate the prefix conjugation in irreal contexts shows that he understood the broad range of functions within the prefix conjugation. Additionally, his use of the subjunctive mood to translate prefix conjugation verbs in clauses of negation reveals that he did not simply translate words but translated sentences. He considered the entire context of the verbs, and through his use of Greek particles and non-indicative verbs (in this case the subjunctive), he creates a translation that is both faithful to the Hebrew but sensitive to how his rendering reads in Greek.

## 5.5    Translating Hebrew Volitives

Thirty-eight percent of the Greek subjunctive mood verbs in the LXX-Psalms are due to the translator's rendering of Hebrew volitives. I discuss each volitive form separately (in descending order of occurrences) in the following sections.

### 5.5.1   Translating the Jussive

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew jussive with the subjunctive mood sixty-nine times (29% of all subjunctive verbs) with twelve occurrences translating the present subjunctive and fifty-seven occurrences translating the aorist subjunctive. With the Hebrew jussive expressing volition,[20] it is not surprising that the translator uses a mood that expresses contingency or probability like the subjunctive mood.[21]

In all sixty-nine occurrences of the subjunctive mood translating the Hebrew jussive, the underlying Hebrew verb is negated by the particle אַל which the translator renders with μή. Consider the following examples:

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה **אַל־תִּרְחָק** אֱיָלוּתִי לְעֶזְרָתִי חוּשָׁה׃ (Psalm 22:20)
But you, O LORD, do not be far off! O you my help, come quickly to my aid!

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[20] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568.

[21] BDF, *Grammar*, 183; Wallace, *Grammar*, 461.

σὺ δέ, κύριε, **μὴ μακρύνῃς** τὴν βοήθειάν μου, εἰς τὴν ἀντίλημψίν μου πρόσχες.
(Psalm 21:20)
But you, O Lord, do not put my help far away! Attend to my support!

סָמְכֵנִי כְאִמְרָתְךָ וְאֶחְיֶה וְאַל־תְּבִישֵׁנִי מִשִּׂבְרִי: (Psalm 119:116)
Uphold me according to your promise, that I may live, and let me not be put to shame
in my hope!
ἀντιλαβοῦ μου κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου, καὶ ζήσομαι, καὶ **μὴ καταισχύνῃς** με ἀπὸ τῆς
προσδοκίας μου. (Psalm 118:116)
Support me according to your saying, and I shall live, and do not put me to shame due
to my expectation.[22]

The Hebrew particle אַל is used to express prohibition or dissuasion.[23] When אַל precedes the
jussive, it functions as the negative imperative.[24] The most emphatic negation in Hebrew,
though, is the particle לֹא.[25] It is used to communicate objective and unconditional negation.[26]
There are also two primary negative particles in Greek. Οὐ functions as a neutral negative
and expresses "something that is factually not the case" and μή is the subjective negative,
"expressing something about what is desired or hoped."[27] Οὐ negates "the reality of an
alleged fact,"[28] while μή denies "hypothetically and with reserve."[29] The former particle is
most frequently found accompanying the indicative mood while the latter accompanies the
other moods.

There are clear parallels between the particles of negation between Hebrew and Greek
which helps explain the translator's choice to mostly translate לֹא with οὐ and אַל with μή.
However, the parallels between the verbs that follow these particles are not as clear. What
typically follows both לֹא and אַל is a prefix conjugation verb. The prefix conjugation verb on
its own does not convey any particular mood. It is flexible and its mood is determined by the
context surrounding it. In Greek, though, the mood of the verb is embedded in the
morphology. The verb itself is marked for mood, so when analysing translations of the more

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[22] See also LXX-Pss. 26:9; 56:1; 57:1; 58:1; 70:12; 74:1; 82:2; 94:8; 118:31; 137:8; 140:4.

[23] W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley [GKC], *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English Edition
(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 321; Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 568.

[24] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 567.

[25] GKC, 317.

[26] Ibid., 478.

[27] Boas, et. al., *Cambridge Grammar*, 648.

[28] Robertson, *Grammar*, 1156.

[29] Dana and Mantey, *Grammar*, 265.

ambiguous Hebrew verbs in the LXX-Psalms, we get insight to the translator's interpretation of the Hebrew. In these particular examples, it is clear that the translator interpreted the Hebrew verbs based on what surrounds them. In Greek, οὐ usually precedes verbs in the indicative mood while μή precedes verbs in the non-indicative moods. Therefore, the translator's interpretation of these negative constructions rendering אל with μή led to his translation of the prefix conjugation with the subjunctive mood. What was implicit in the Hebrew verb is now explicit in the Septuagint.

## 5.5.2  Translating the Cohortative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek subjunctive mood to translate Hebrew cohortative verbs twenty-two times (9.3% of all subjunctive verbs). All twenty-two occurrences are aorist tense subjunctives. It is worth noting that the subjunctive mood is not the translator's preferred rendering of the Hebrew cohortative. He primarily translates Hebrew cohortative verbs with the Greek future indicative for seventy percent of its total occurrences, using the subjunctive mood for only ten percent of its total occurrences (see chapter 2). One of the factors that influenced the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek subjunctive mood is again his rendering of certain Hebrew particles with Greek particles that require a non-indicative mood. Consider the following examples:

לְמַעַן **אֲסַפְּרָה** כָּל־תְּהִלָּתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעֲרֵי בַת־צִיּוֹן אָגִילָה בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ: (Psalm 9:15)
That I may recount all your praises, that in the gates of the daughter of Zion I may rejoice in your salvation.

ὅπως ἂν **ἐξαγγείλω** πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τῆς θυγατρὸς Σιων· ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου. (Psalm 9:15)
So that I may proclaim all your praises in the gates of daughter Sion; I will rejoice in your deliverance.

תְּרַנֵּנָּה שְׂפָתַי כִּי **אֲזַמְּרָה**־לָּךְ וְנַפְשִׁי אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ: (Psalm 71:23)
My lips will shout for joy, when I sing praises to you; my soul also, which you have redeemed.

ἀγαλλιάσονται τὰ χείλη μου, ὅταν **ψάλω** σοι, καὶ ἡ ψυχή μου, ἣν ἐλυτρώσω. (Psalm 70:23)
My lips will rejoice, when I make music to you; my soul also, which you redeemed.

In examples such as these, it is not the Hebrew verb alone influencing the translator's decision to use subjunctive verbs. The Hebrew particles are also taken into consideration. When the translator renders particles such as לְמַעַן (9:15) with ὅπως ἂν, the Greek requires a

subjunctive mood in the following verb. Likewise, when כִּי (71:23) is understood temporally and rendered by the translator as ὅταν, a subjunctive verb must follow.

Another interesting example where the translation of a Hebrew particle may have influenced the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the Hebrew cohortative is in LXX-Psalm 72:17:

עַד־אָבוֹא אֶל־מִקְדְּשֵׁי־אֵל **אָבִינָה** לְאַחֲרִיתָם: (Psalm 73:17)
Until I went into the sanctuary of God; then I discerned their end.

ἕως εἰσέλθω εἰς τὸ ἁγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ **συνῶ** εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 72:17)
Until I went into the sanctuary of God, and perceived their end.

In this example, the cohortative takes on one of its basic functions to express the will or strong desire of the speaker. Waltke and O'Connor explain that if the speaker has the ability to perform the action, "it takes on the coloring of resolve ('I will…')."[30] While the Greek translator could have used the more common rendering of cohortatives (i.e., the future indicative), he instead uses the Greek subjunctive. In this instance, it appears that the temporal adverb ἕως may have influenced this translation since ἕως precedes a verb that "indicates a future contingency from the perspective of the time of the main verb."[31]

Not all renderings of the Hebrew cohortative with the Greek subjunctive are influenced by particles. There are two cohortative verbs in Psalm 2:3 translated by the subjunctive mood:

**נְנַתְּקָה** אֶת־מוֹסְרוֹתֵימוֹ **וְנַשְׁלִיכָה** מִמֶּנּוּ עֲבֹתֵימוֹ: (Psalm 2:3)
Let us burst their bonds apart and cast away their cords from us.

**Διαρρήξωμεν** τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ **ἀπορρίψωμεν** ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν.
Let us burst their bonds asunder and cast their yoke from us.

The two cohortatives in this verse occur in independent clauses and they are first-person plural. This usually indicates that the speaker is attempting to initiate action or encourage others to action.[32] This explains the translator's use of a non-indicative verb, utilizing the aorist subjunctive. However, there are two different functions of the cohortative represented

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[30] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[31] Wallace, *Grammar*, 479; Robertson, *Grammar*, 931.

[32] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

in Psalm 2. Earlier in LXX-Psalm 2:8, the cohortative is rendered with the more common translation of cohortatives, the future indicative:

שְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי **וְאֶתְּנָה** גוֹיִם נַחֲלָתֶךָ וַאֲחֻזָּתְךָ אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ׃ (Psalm 2:8)
Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage, and the ends of the earth your possession.

αἴτησαι παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ **δώσω** σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς·
Ask of me, and I will give you nations as your heritage, and as your possession the ends of the earth.

In 2:8, the cohortative follows an imperative. When a jussive or cohortative follow an imperative, the second volitional form usually indicates the purpose or result.[33] Though וְאֶתְּנָה is marked as a cohortative, the translator understands the function of a cohortative following an imperative and renders it accordingly with a future indicative. The variety in translations of a single grammatical form indicates that the LXX-Psalms translator, though considered "slavish" by most scholars, translates with both content and grammatical context and in mind. In the case of Psalm 2:8, the translator's theological understanding of God's ability and promise does not allow for a vague subjunctive.

Another example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering the Hebrew cohortative with a Greek subjunctive is found in LXX-Psalm 33:4:

גַּדְּלוּ לַיהוָה אִתִּי **וּנְרוֹמְמָה** שְׁמוֹ יַחְדָּו׃ (Psalm 34:4)
Oh, magnify the LORD with me, and let us exalt his name together!

μεγαλύνατε τὸν κύριον σὺν ἐμοί, καὶ **ὑψώσωμεν** τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. (LXX-Psalm 33:4)
O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together.

This example, when compared to the translator's rendering of the cohortative in Psalm 2:8, demonstrates the way in which the number of the verb can influence the translation. There are some similarities between the cohortative וּנְרוֹמְמָה in Psalm 34:4 and וְאֶתְּנָה in Psalm 2:8. Both verses begin with an imperative and the cohortatives follow. In 2:8, the translator rendered the first-person singular cohortative with a future indicative, bringing out the function of the cohortative as an indicator of the result of the imperative action. In LXX-Psalm 33:4, with what appears to be parallel syntax to 2:8, the translator renders the cohortative with an aorist

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[33] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577; H. M. Orlinsky, "On the Cohortative and Jussive after an Imperative or Interjection in Biblical Hebrew," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 31 (1940-41), 371-82.

subjunctive, but this time the cohortative is first-person plural. The writer is inviting others to join him in magnifying the Lord, so the translator uses the subjunctive since the first-person plural cohortative seeks to encourage others to some action.[34]

## 5.6    Translating the Suffix Conjugation

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek subjunctive to translate the Hebrew suffix conjugation ten times throughout the Psalms. The primary reason he uses the Greek subjunctive in these examples is due to the context of the verse which led to using particles that require a non-indicative mood. Two of the examples are found in clauses of negation:

תָּמֹךְ אֲשֻׁרַי בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתֶיךָ בַּל־נָמוֹטּוּ פְעָמָי׃ (Psalm 17:5)
My steps have held fast to your paths; my feet have not slipped.

κατάρτισαι τὰ διαβήματά μου ἐν ταῖς τρίβοις σου, ἵνα μὴ **σαλευθῶσιν** τὰ διαβήματά μου. (LXX-Psalm 16:5)
Restore my steps in your paths, lest my steps be shaken.

שָׁם נָפְלוּ פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן דֹּחוּ וְלֹא־יָכְלוּ קוּם׃ (Psalm 36:13)
There the evildoers lie prostrate; they are thrust down, unable to rise.

ἐκεῖ ἔπεσον οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν, ἐξώσθησαν καὶ οὐ μὴ **δύνωνται** στῆναι. (LXX-Psalm 35:13)
There those who practice lawlessness fell; they were thrust out and will be unable to stand.

In these two examples, the negative particles בַּל and לֹא are rendered with ἵνα μή and οὐ μή, which are renderings that naturally work in conjunction with non-indicative moods. I have discussed negative particles above in both the section on the prefix conjugation and the jussive, but what differentiates the earlier examples with this section is that the Hebrew contains a suffix conjugation. The Hebrew particle לֹא primarily negates the prefix conjugation, and בַּל is said to be synonymous to לֹא, though it is rarer and almost exclusively appears in Hebrew poetry.[35] When used in conjunction with the suffix conjugation, לֹא signals a simple counterfactual just as it is when preceding a prefix conjugation.[36] Other than the

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[34] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573. For other examples of the first-person plural cohortative being translated by a subjunctive, see LXX-Psalm 94:1-2, 94:6, and 117:24.

[35] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 571.

[36] H. H. Hardy II, Matthew McAffee, and John D. Meade, *Going Deeper with Biblical Hebrew: An Intermediate Study of the Grammar and Syntax of the Old Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, forthcoming), 473.

tense of the verb, there is no difference between these examples and the ones discussed earlier in this chapter. The subjunctive is doing the same thing as it was when translating negative clauses with the prefix conjugation and the jussive.

The same is also true for non-negated clauses. The LXX-Psalms translator renders the interrogative particle לָמָה ("why") which precedes a suffix conjugation verb with ἵνα τί, which precedes a subjunctive-mood verb in LXX-Psalm 42:2. As we saw earlier in this chapter, the particle כִּי again is rendered with ὅταν, thus leading to the subjunctive mood, this time rendering a suffix conjugation in LXX-Psalm 57:11 and twice in LXX-Psalm 70:24. Lastly, the translator uses the particle ἄν as part of his rendering of בְּיוֹם ("in the day of"): ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ("in the day when…"). The verb that follows happens to be a suffix conjugation (צַר "distress") rendered with a present subjunctive (θλίβωμαι "afflicted"). The subjunctive mood verbs in these examples appears because the Hebrew particles and the suffix conjugation communicated an action in a way that aligned well with the Greek particles working with the subjunctive mood verbs.

There is one example of the subjunctive mood translating the suffix conjugation in LXX-Psalm 73:8 that appears to be due to a textual variant:

אָמְרוּ בְלִבָּם נִינָם יָחַד שָׂרְפוּ כָל־מוֹעֲדֵי־אֵל בָּאָרֶץ׃ (Psalm 74:8)
They said to themselves, "We will utterly subdue them"; they burned all the meeting places of God in the land.

εἶπαν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν ἡ συγγένεια αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό Δεῦτε καὶ **κατακαύσωμεν** πάσας τὰς ἑορτὰς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. (LXX-Psalm 73:8)
They said in their heart—the clan of them together—"Come, and let us burn all the feasts of God from off the land."

The BHS editors suggest that the LXX-Psalms translator read the first-person Hebrew volitive וְנִשְׂרֹף, a reading also supported by the Syriac.[37] Based on the LXX-Psalms translator's tendencies to render volitives with a non-indicative verb, I think this alternative reading is likely what was in his *Vorlage*. This section has shown that the translator will sometimes render the suffix conjugation with a Greek subjunctive, but each of the other examples have had accompanying particles that led to that translation whereas LXX-Psalm

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[37] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 2 (42-89)*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2013), 577.

73:8 has no such particles. If the translator's *Vorlage* read שָׂרְפוּ ("they burned") like the MT does, he most likely would have translated this with an aorist indicative.

This section on the suffix conjugation does not add much to what has already been said in the prefix conjugation and volitive sections, but it does show that the combination of particles and a subjunctive-mood verb does not exclusively occur when translating the prefix conjugation and volitive forms. It may be rare, but the translator does not allow the verb's conjugation alone to dictate the combination of mood and tense when there are accompanying particles that may alter these facets of the verb.

## 5.7    Translating the Infinitive Construct

There are only four times in the LXX-Psalms that a Greek subjunctive mood verb translates the Hebrew infinitive construct. In all four examples, the Hebrew infinitive occurs in a temporal clause indicated by a preposition. See the following examples:

אֶרְדּוֹף אוֹיְבַי וְאַשִּׂיגֵם וְלֹא־אָשׁוּב עַד־כַּלּוֹתָם׃ (Psalm 18:38)
I pursued my enemies and overtook them; and did not turn back until they were consumed.

καταδιώξω τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου καὶ καταλήμψομαι αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ ἀποστραφήσομαι, ἕως ἂν **ἐκλίπωσιν·** (LXX-Psalm 17:38)
I will pursue my enemies and overtake them, and I will not turn away until they fail.

בִּפְרֹחַ רְשָׁעִים ׀ כְּמוֹ עֵשֶׂב וַיָּצִיצוּ כָּל־פֹּעֲלֵי אָוֶן לְהִשָּׁמְדָם עֲדֵי־עַד׃ (Psalm 92:8)
Though the wicked sprout like grass and all evildoers flourish, they are doomed to destruction forever.

ἐν τῷ ἀνατεῖλαι τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ὡς χόρτον καὶ διέκυψαν πάντες οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀνομίαν, ὅπως ἂν **ἐξολεθρευθῶσιν** εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. (LXX-Psalm 91:8)
When the sinners sprang up like grass also all who practice lawlessness popped up so that they may be destroyed forever and ever.[38]

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the preposition and the infinitive construct separately, but it is clear through his translation that he acknowledges the way in which they relate to one another.  Temporal prepositions often accompany the Hebrew infinitive construct.[39] At least part of the reason the translator rendered the infinitive construct with the subjunctive mood in

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[38] The other examples of the Greek subjunctive translating the Hebrew infinitive are found in LXX-Psalm 19:10 and 36:33.

[39] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 604-605.

these verses, unlike the other 286 occurrences of the infinitive construct, is because of the way in which he rendered the prepositions. He deviates from his typical isomorphic rendering and translates the prepositions with a preposition plus the particle ἄν, which appears with the subjunctive mood to indicate action that is irreal or uncertain.

Like many other renderings discussed in this chapter, the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the subjunctive mood to translate the Hebrew infinitive construct shows us that the translator does not slavishly translate words but interprets those words in light of their context and translates accordingly. His interpretation of these prepositions working in conjunction with the infinitive construct led to him using a Greek mood that indicated the irreal.

## 5.8    Translating Nouns

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the Greek subjunctive mood to translate a noun in LXX-Psalm 47:4:

> אֱלֹהִים בְּאַרְמְנוֹתֶיהָ נוֹדַע לְמִשְׂגָּב׃ (Psalm 48:4)
> Within her citadels God has made himself known as a fortress.

> ὁ θεὸς ἐν ταῖς βάρεσιν αὐτῆς γινώσκεται, ὅταν **ἀντιλαμβάνηται** αὐτῆς.
> (LXX-Psalm 47:4)
> Within its bastions God is known, when he supports it.

This example is similar to the examples in the previous section on the infinitive construct. In this verse, the לְ preposition in לְמִשְׂגָּב functions temporally and the LXX-Psalms translator renders it with the Greek particle ὅταν. Again, the particle ὅταν naturally occurs in conjunction with a non-indicative verb, so instead of translating the noun with a noun, as he usually does, he renders it with a verb for this unique function.[40]

## 5.9    Translating Participles

The final Hebrew form that the LXX-Psalms translator renders with a Greek subjunctive is the Hebrew participle in LXX-Psalm 49:22:

> בִּינוּ־נָא זֹאת שֹׁכְחֵי אֱלוֹהַּ פֶּן־אֶטְרֹף וְאֵין מַצִּיל׃ (Psalm 50:22)
> Mark this, then, you who forget God, lest I tear you apart, and there be none to deliver!

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[40] Ross, *Psalms 2*, 124.

σύνετε δὴ ταῦτα, οἱ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, μήποτε ἁρπάσῃ καὶ μὴ **ᾖ** ὁ ῥυόμενος· (Psalm 49:22)
Mark this, then, you who forget God, or he will seize you, and there will be no one to rescue.

This use of εἰμί in constructions containing the Hebrew particle אֵין is common in the LXX-Psalms. This use of the subjunctive, however, is rare. The surrounding context helps explain why the subjunctive appears. In the clause just before the present subjunctive, the translator uses μήποτε to translate the Hebrew particle פֶּן and follows that with the aorist subjunctive. The next clause begins with אֵין which is the adverb of non-existence and is rendered by μή and the subjunctive mood naturally follows. Instead of translating אֵין with οὐκ ἔστιν which is more common in the LXX-Psalms, the translator appears to have used μή since וְאֵין was a continuation of the Psalmist's thought in the preceding clause.

## 5.10   Conclusion

The subjunctive-mood verbs in the LXX-Psalms tell us much about the translator's knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew. It is clear that the translator is not slavishly working through the Hebrew while translating in mimetic fashion. Instead, he is interpreting the Vorlage and is sensitive to how it is read and understood in the Greek language. This is especially seen in the LXX-Psalms translator's robust use of Greek particles which enhance the overall register of the translation. He uses Greek particles plus the subjunctive mood in contexts involving negation, conditionality, contingency, and uncertainty. Often times, he does so in contexts where the Hebrew verb is formally ambiguous, but through his understanding of the Hebrew verbal system he is able to render it with Greek verbs that make explicit what was less obvious in the Hebrew verb.

This chapter has also shown that the translator consistently looks beyond the verb itself to provide a translation to best communicate what the meaning of the Hebrew. A slavish translator would most likely use one Greek form for each Hebrew form, but the LXX-Psalms translator recognizes other parts of the sentence that specify how it should be understood. Instead of simply translating words, the LXX-Psalms translator was more focused on the broader context and translated sentences, and he translated sentences in light of their broader context.

## 6. The Optative Mood in Translation

### 6.1    Introduction

In my previous chapter, I analyzed the use of the subjunctive mood in the LXX-Psalms. Though the translation of the Psalms is in many ways isomorphic, the translator utilized a variety of moods in his translation, thus demonstrating his creativity in subtle ways. While the translation technique appears to be word-for-word in most of the Psalms, the use of the subjunctive mood reveals the fact that the translator correctly interpreted the Hebrew verbs in light of their context. Outside of Hebrew volitives, Hebrew verbs are not marked to indicate the mood of the speaker. Other factors in the Hebrew language, such as particles, inform the way in which Hebrew verbs should be interpreted. The LXX-Psalms translator recognized these Hebrew particles and translated the Hebrew verbs into Greek accordingly utilizing the subjunctive mood.

This chapter on the optative mood builds on the conclusion from the previous chapter that the translator, while maintaining an isomorphic translation technique, found subtle ways to bring out the meaning of Hebrew verbs. Most of the occurrences of the optative mood in the LXX-Psalms translate Hebrew volitives. Others, however, are not as obvious and require a closer analysis. Outside of the volitive mood, the most common verbal form translated by a Greek optative is the Hebrew prefix conjugation. The prefix conjugation has a broad range of functions, and the translator often brings out these different functions by rendering them with verbs in the optative mood. There are also examples of the translator using the optative mood to render the converted forms—the consecutive preterite and the *veqatal*—and there are a small number of instances where the translator utilizes the optative mood to render non-verbal forms in the Hebrew.

### 6.2    The Decline of the Optative

Over time, the use of the optative mood in Greek literature became increasingly rarer. Moulton uses very strong language to speak of the decline of the optative saying that "Hellenistic Greek took care to abolish this singularity in a fairly drastic way."[1] While there is evidence for the decline of the optative, Moulton overstated this negative trend by going as far as to say it was abolished.

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[1] James H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1930), 165.

Nevertheless, the optative mood was indeed falling out of use, at least to some extent, in the Hellenistic period.[2] Wallace suggests that the reason the optative was dying out in the Koine period was because its function was too subtle for people learning Greek as a second language to fully understand it.[3] This solution, however, fails to recognize that those who spoke Koine Greek at this time mastered it at a high level. A better explanation for the decline of the optative is that its various functions overlap with the other grammatical forms and so it was not needed.

Mandilaras explains that the notion of the optative could be perfectly expressed by the other forms such as the future indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative; therefore, the optative was no longer needed and it was only a matter of time before these other verbal forms overtook the optative mood, thus causing it to fall into disuse.[4] For example, the future indicative was often used in similar contexts to the volitive optative in a wish or prayer, as in LXX-Psalm 18:15:

> καὶ **ἔσονται** εἰς εὐδοκίαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ στόματός μου καὶ ἡ μελέτη τῆς καρδίας μου ἐνώπιόν σου διὰ παντός, κύριε βοηθέ μου καὶ λυτρωτά μου.
>> And the sayings of my mouth shall become good pleasure, and the meditation of my heart is before you always, O Lord, my helper and my redeemer.

The subjunctive mood shares the function of expressing conditionality or potentiality with the optative, as seen in Luke 4:7:

σὺ οὖν ἐὰν **προσκυνήσῃς** ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, ἔσται σοῦ πᾶσα.
> If you, then, will worship me, it will all be yours."

The function of the Greek imperative mood also overlaps with the optative when its potential function takes on the imperatival sense. A great example is found in Matthew 3:15:

> ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν **ἄφες** ἄρτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. τότε ἀφίησιν αὐτόν.

[2] Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Syntax*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1963), 118; Robert W. Funk, *A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek*, vol. 2 (Missoula: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), 652; Constantine R. Campbell, *Verbal Aspect and Non-Indicative Verbs: Further Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament*, Studies in Biblical Greek 15 (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 67; Francis T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and byzantine Periods*, vol. 2 (Milano: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino-La Goliardica, 1981), 359; Vasilios G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in Greek Non-Literary Papyri,* Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), 287; B. F. C. Atkinson, *The Greek Language* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1933), 99; A. F. Christidis, *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 616.

[3] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 462.

[4] Mandilaras, *Non-Literary Papyri*, 287; Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Singapore: Longman Publishing Group, 1997), 130.

But Jesus answered him, "Let it be so now; for it is proper for us in this way to fulfill all righteousness." Then he consented.

One will notice from these examples that the function of the optative mood shared several commonalities with other Greek forms. Because of this close relation, the other more common forms eventually overtook the optative mood, at least to some extent. Therefore, when a writer does select the optative mood, it is intentional and should signal something to the reader. Evans points out that the various functions of the optative mood declined at different rates, and the two functions that lasted the longest were the volitive and potential uses.[5]

Mandilaras suggests that the only function that survives in Modern Greek is the volitive in the expression μὴ γένοιτο, and the only reason it has survived is because of the language of the church.[6] However, Evans notes a similar phrase containing the optative used in Modern Greek: θεός φυλάξοι, which is not as learned as μὴ γένοιτο and is used more casually.[7] Though Evans points out a flaw in the Mandilaras' statement about μὴ γένοιτο being the only attestation of the optative in Modern Greek, he affirms Mandilaras' suggestion that its survival is due to the language of the church.

Evans strengthens Mandilaras' statement by providing a wealth of data in support of it. He first gathers all of the New Testament occurrences, pointing out that the New Testament authors employed the optative to reinforce a rhetorical question, much like the classical usage.[8] Evans also notes the Church Fathers' use of the optative, pointing out that it is not simply a biblical usage, but rather a feature of "high" style, or an Atticism.[9] The evidence leads Evans to suggest, along with Mandilaras, that it was the influence of the Church that kept the optative mood alive in the Greek language through these stereotyped phrases.

While the frequency of using the optative mood certainly declined, it was not abolished altogether. In fact, when writers used the optative mood, it tended to be associated with a high register of Greek.[10] Though infrequent, when authors did choose to use rare

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[5] T. V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 176.

[6] Mandilaras, *Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, 277.

[7] T. V. Evans, "The Last of the Optatives," *Classical Philology* 98 (2003): 72.

[8] Evans, "The Last of the Optatives," 75.

[9] Evans, "The Last of the Optatives," 76.

[10] Evans, "The Last of the Optatives," 78.

grammatical forms that had died out instead of a form that is more common to the contemporary use of the language, it elevates the register and literary quality of their piece.

## 6.3    The Functions of the Optative Mood

There are at least three primary functions of the optative mood in ancient Greek language: the volitive, potential, and comparative.[11] However, some have chosen to divide up the syntactical categories differently adding an oblique function of the optative[12] and dividing the potential optative into two categories: potential and conditional.[13] The most prominent of the various functions is the volitive optative. This common use of the optative mood appears in independent clauses to express a wish or a prayer that is desirable and possible.[14] A good example of this function is found in Sophocles *Aj*. 550:

ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος
*Ah, boy, mayest thou prove more fortunate than thy sire.*[15]

This volitive use of the optative mood was still prominent in the Greek language after the classical period. Several examples are found in papyri and biblical literature (e.g. 1 Th 3:11), but it is also one of the only uses of the optative that survives in Modern Greek, mostly in stereotyped phrases such as μὴ γένοιτο.[16]

The potential/conditional optative are found in certain types of conditional sentences. As opposed to third class conditional sentences which involve ἐάν plus a verb in the subjunctive mood (See chapter 5), the fourth-class conditional sentences contain εἰ plus a verb in the optative mood. Goodwin called these "Future Conditions," and he distinguished

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[11] Marieke Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 183 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 150.

[12] See F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk [BDF] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 386 and Wallace, *Grammar*, 483.

[13] Wallace, *Grammar*, 483-484.

[14] Wallace, *Grammar*, 481; Albert Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 41.

[15] Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 406.

[16] Mandilaras, *Non-Literary Papyri*, 277. See also Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek in the New Testament*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 167 (Tübigen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), *passim*.

between the third and fourth class as *more vivid* (third class) and *less vivid* (fourth class).[17]
Boyer helpfully points out that Goodwin did not mean more or less vivid in terms of
probability, but rather more or less distinctness and definiteness of concept.[18] In short, the
primary purpose of the fourth-class conditional sentence is to denote a possible condition in
the future. The protasis consists of the particle εἰ plus the optative mood. The apodosis also
contains a verb in the optative mood along with the particle ἄν to express contingency.[19]

The potential optative, found in the apodosis of a fourth-class conditional sentence, is
most often used to describe action that is dependent on a particular set of circumstances or
conditions.[20] It describes what could or might happen as a result of something else.[21] The
potential optative is most prominent in Classical Greek, but Acts 17:18 provides an example
of its survival in the post-classical period:

> τινες ἔλεγον, Τί ἂν θέλοι ὁ σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν;
> Some were saying, "What would this babbler say?"[22]

Whereas the potential optative is found in the apodosis, the conditional optative is in the
protasis, or the *if* clause. When the optative mood is introduced by εἰ in the protasis of a
fourth-class conditional sentence, it takes on a conditional function. In these cases, the
optative expresses a possible contingency.[23] This function of the optative is also rare in post-
classical Greek, but one example is found in 1 Peter 3:14:

> ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι.
> But even if you should suffer for righteousness' sake, *you are* blessed.

Even though the fourth-class conditional sentences are rare, containing an optative in both the
protasis and apodosis, the conditional optative still occurs in sentences where the conditional

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[17] William W. Goodwin, *A Greek Grammar* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 300-301. See also Evert van
  Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical
  Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 441-442.

[18] James L. Boyer, "Third (and Fourth) Class Conditions," *Grace Theological Journal* 3.2 (1982): 170. See also
  Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*,
  Studies in Biblical Greek, vol.1 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 307.

[19] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 699.

[20] James L. Boyer, "The Classification of Optatives: A Statistical Study," *Grace Theological Journal* 9.1 (1988):
  133.

[21] Funk, *Hellenistic Greek*, 652.

[22] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 484.

[23] R. H. Horn, *The Use of the Subjunctive and Optative Moods in the Non-Literary Papyri* (Diss.), Philadelphia
  1926, 161: cited in Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 701.

clause is mixed, just like the potential optative. The optative may occur in the protasis with something different in the apodosis, or vice versa. It is also possible to find conditional optatives in sentences where there is no apodosis, in which case the whole apodosis, including its optative, is simply implied.[24]

The oblique function of the optative describes the use of the optative in indirect questions after a secondary tense.[25] Christidis explains that if the main verb of a sentence involving indirect speech is a past tense, the verb in the indirect speech has to be either transposed into an optative or remain in the indicative or subjunctive.[26] Wallace points out a good example of the verb in indirect speech being transposed to an optative Luke 8:9:

> Ἐπηρώτων δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τίς αὕτη εἴη ἡ παραβολή.
> His disciples began asking him what this parable might mean.[27]

In instances such as Luke 8:9, the subjunctive or indicative could have been used to give the meaning greater immediacy by retaining some of the features of the direct speech. However, the writer uses the optative mood to express less immediacy in the indirect clause, which Christidis suggests is a strategy a writer would use "as if it were something for which the speaker was unwilling to bear absolute responsibility."[28]

These are the primary uses of the optative mood, though other subtle functions do exist. For example, the potential optative is sometimes used in an imperatival sense. Note Aeschylus *Ch*. 105-7:

> Λέγοις ἄν, εἴ τι τῶνδ᾽ ἔχεις ὑπέρτερον :: … λέξω
> If you have a better proposal, speak!

Using the optative here is more cautious and polite than the imperative, which would be more forceful.[29] However, despite the several nuanced functions of the Greek optative displayed in the examples above, many of these functions became less frequent as the Greek language developed.

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[24] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 484.

[25] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 483.

[26] Christidis, *Ancient Greek*, 594.

[27] Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 483.

[28] Christidis, *Ancient Greek*, 594.

[29] Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics*, 42.

## 6.4    The Optative in the Septuagint

Little has been written on the use of the optative in the Septuagint in particular. Moulton expresses great hope in a proper treatment of the optatives in the Septuagint in Thackeray's "much-needed grammar," but the project never came to fruition.[30] Before giving a treatment of the optatives in the Greek Pentateuch, Evans laments that Thackeray never managed to publish a syntax volume, leaving readers with very few comments on the optative in his *Introduction, Orthography, and Accidence* volume.[31]

Turner notes that there are 539 occurrences of the optative in the Septuagint.[32] Books with more attestations of the optative include the Pentateuch with eighty occurrences, the Psalms with 108, 123 in Job, and fourteen occurrences in the book of Ruth.[33]

Turner's statistics reveal that the vast majority of optatives in the Septuagint occur with the volitive function.[34] Many of these are found in prayers, such as LXX-Psalm 32:22:

יְהִי־חַסְדְּךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ כַּאֲשֶׁר יִחַלְנוּ לָךְ׃ (Psalm 33:22)
Let your steadfast love, O Lord, be upon us, even as we hope in you.

**γένοιτο** τὸ ἔλεός σου, κύριε, ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σέ.
May your mercy, O Lord, be upon us, even as we hoped in you.

This does not necessarily come as a surprise since the Greek optative mood adequately expresses the syntax of the Hebrew jussives that are often the underlying form being translated (see 6.6.1 below).

The potential and conditional optatives are also found in the Septuagint. On example is found in Job 31:35:

מִי יִתֶּן־לִי ׀ שֹׁמֵעַ לִי
Oh, that I had one to hear me!

τίς ἄν **δῷη** ἀκούοντά μου
Who might grant someone to hear me?

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[30] Moulton, *Prologomena*, 194.

[31] Evans, *Greek Pentateuch*, 175.

[32] Turner, *Syntax*, 119.

[33] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven, Peeters, 2016), 321.

[34] Turner, *Syntax*, 119.

Here, the optative is expressing potentiality about something that is possible or likely. [35] These types of optatives occur a total of sixty-seven times in the Septuagint according to Turner's statistics.[36]

As it was discussed in the previous section, these functions of the optative were less common at the time the Septuagint was being translated. More common forms such as the future indicative, the subjunctive, and the imperative eventually overtook the optative mood. There are many places in the Septuagint where other forms were used in places where the optative could have been used. For example, the subjunctive mood is used in the form of a wish, which could have been rendered with the optative in Wisdom of Solomon 2:6:

> δεῦτε οὖν καὶ **ἀπολαύσωμεν** τῶν ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ **χρησώμεθα** τῇ κτίσει ὡς ἐν νεότητι σπουδαίως,
> > Come, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that exist, and let us make good use of the creation as in youth.

In the LXX-Psalms, the translator uses the optative mood somewhat frequently, especially in prayers. However, in LXX-Psalm 34:5 he uses the imperative:

> **γενηθήτωσαν** ὡσεὶ χνοῦς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀνέμου, καὶ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐκθλίβων αὐτούς,
> > Let them be like dust in front of the wind, and an angel of the Lord driving them on.

These examples are the types of translations that serve as evidence of the decline of the optative mood. It is important to note, however, that these translations alone do not prove the decline in the use of the optative. The other Greek forms used in contexts where the optative is sometimes used would have been natural Greek, even in the classical period when the optative mood was more common. What is important to note here is the alternative translation options the translator had at his disposal. Additionally, it is important to note that the LXX-Psalms translator does use the optative mood in some instances when these other forms were perhaps more prominent, and he heightens the register of the Greek by using a less-common verb form.

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[35] Muraoka, *Septuagint Greek*, 324.

[36] Turner, *Syntax*, 119.

## 6.5    The Distribution of the Greek Optative in the LXX-Psalms

There are 108 Greek verbs in the optative mood in the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms. As with the subjunctive mood, a close analysis of the translator's use of the optative mood helps one discern the translator's understanding of modality in the Hebrew verbal system.

**Table 6.1: The Optative Mood in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Jussive | 62 | 56.4% |
| Prefix Conjugation | 27 | 25% |
| Interjection | 8 | 7.2% |
| Cohortative | 7 | 6.3% |
| Imperative | 2 | 1.8% |
| veqatal | 2 | 1.8% |
| Consecutive Preterite | 1 | 0.9% |
| Adjective | 1 | 0.9% |
| Total | 110 | |

## 6.6    Translating Hebrew Volitives

Of the 111 optatives in the LXX-Psalms, sixty-five percent of them translate Hebrew volitives. We saw in the last chapter that when the LXX-Psalms translator utilized the subjunctive mood, he used it to translate Hebrew volitives thirty-seven percent of the time. Put differently, the subjunctive mood translates Hebrew volitives eighty times out of 232 occurrences and the optative mood translates Hebrew volitives seventy-two times out of 111 occurrences. This is evidence of the fact that the LXX-Psalms translator saw a strong connection between the Hebrew volitives and the Greek non-indicative moods. Both deal with action not yet realized, thus making the non-indicatives a logical translation choice.

### 6.6.1   Jussive

Hebrew jussive verbs most often underlie Greek optative verbs in the LXX-Psalms. Out of the 111 optative mood verbs, sixty-two render Hebrew jussives. This includes both verbs that are jussive in form and jussive in meaning. Not all jussives in Biblical Hebrew are marked explicitly as such. However, many prefix conjugation verbs are jussive in meaning, thus leaving the translator with an interpretive decision to make concerning how to render these

verbal forms. This section will not discuss the various ways the translator renders jussives throughout the Psalms (see chapter 4 for more on this). Here I will discuss the sixty-two instances of the translator utilizing the optative mood to render Hebrew jussives and consider what may have led to this decision.

Of these sixty-two optatives in the LXX-Psalms, only ten are formally jussives. The other fifty-two are jussive by meaning and through context. There are several uses of the jussive, and many of them overlap with the uses of the Greek optative. In general, jussive verbs indicate the speaker's wish or will.[37] Waltke and O'Connor list several nuances of the jussive's function. The jussive can have the force of a command, exhortation, counsel, invitation, or permission; it can qualify or circumscribe an imperative, have the sense of an order, an urgent request, a prayer, or a benediction.[38] Overlapping the jussive's function is the Greek volitive optative which, as mentioned above, involves the speaker's desire expressed in a wish or a prayer. This is the most prominent function of the optative mood and an appropriate translation for many of the functions of the Hebrew jussive.

Another relevant aspect of the jussive is the relationship of the speaker to the addressee, which partially determines the force of the jussive. For example, when a jussive is used by a superior to an inferior, it takes the force of a command or exhortation. When an inferior uses the jussive to address a superior, it has the softer tone of a request.[39] In Greek, the optative mood is more appropriate for contexts when an inferior is addressing a superior since it is not as direct as an imperative. Whereas a Greek imperative is more associated with a command (see chapter 7 on Greek imperatives), the optative involves more of a wish or a request and is also the verb form that is least tied to reality.

In the LXX-Psalms, the optative mood primarily translates Hebrew jussives negated by אַל, jussives used in the context of a request, and finally in benedictions. These three usages will be discussed below.

### 6.6.1.1    Negation

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[37] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 347.

[38] Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 568-569.

[39] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568.

There are two common forms of negative commands in Biblical Hebrew. One form is the negative particle לֹא plus a prefix conjugation. The other is the negative particle אַל plus the jussive.[40] The imperative is never negated in Biblical Hebrew. While it is possible to negate an imperative in Greek, the LXX-Psalms translator tends to preserve this distinction between imperatives and other forms in his rendering. Thus, eight of the optatives translating Hebrew jussives are due to the negation of the jussive. For example:

<div dir="rtl">אַל־יֹאמְרוּ בְלִבָּם הֶאָח נַפְשֵׁנוּ אַל־יֹאמְרוּ בְּלַעֲנוּהוּ: (Psalm 35:25)</div>
Do not let them say to themselves, "Aha, we have our heart's desire." Do not let them say, "We have swallowed you up."

μὴ **εἴπαισαν** ἐν καρδίαις αὐτῶν Εὖγε εὖγε τῇ ψυχῇ ἡμῶν· μηδὲ **εἴπαισαν** Κατεπίομεν αὐτόν. (LXX-Psalm 34:25)
May they not say in their hearts, "Good, good for our soul!" Nor may they say, "We swallowed him up."

<div dir="rtl">אַל־יֵבֹשׁוּ בִי | קֹוֶיךָ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה צְבָאוֹת אַל־יִכָּלְמוּ בִי מְבַקְשֶׁיךָ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: (Psalm 69:7)</div>
Do not let those who hope in you be put to shame because of me, O Lord GOD of hosts; do not let those who seek you be dishonored because of me, O God of Israel.

μὴ **αἰσχυνθείησαν** ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντές σε, κύριε κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, μὴ **ἐντραπείησαν** ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ οἱ ζητοῦντές σε, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ (LXX-Psalm 68:7)
May those who wait for you not be put to shame because of me, O Lord, Lord of hosts; may those who seek you not be embarrassed because of me, O God of Israel.[41]

These examples demonstrate again that the translator allowed the surrounding context to influence his translation. Apart from LXX-Psalm 108:14, in every example of the optative translating jussives negated by אַל the Hebrew verb is a prefix conjugation interpreted as a jussive. The translator consistently renders the Hebrew negative particle אַל with μή or μηδέ, thus leading to a non-indicative verb in the Greek, of which he chose the optative to parallel the Hebrew verbal system.

While there are many more examples in the LXX-Psalms of the subjunctive mood following μή or μηδέ, a verb following μή in the optative mood is not unusual. This raises the question as to what influenced the translator's decision to render Hebrew jussive verbs in a negative construction following אַל with an optative rather than the subjunctive.

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[40] Hélène Dallaire, *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic, vol. 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 29.

[41] See also LXX Ps. 34:19, 24; 40:3; 108:14.

Both in the examples above and in most other occurrences of the optative translating negative Hebrew constructions, the optatives occur in a context where the psalmist is requesting some type of rescue or deliverance from God. Consider the other examples:

**אַל־יִשְׂמְחוּ־לִי** אֹיְבַי שֶׁקֶר שֹׂנְאַי חִנָּם יִקְרְצוּ־עָיִן: (Psalm 35:19)
Do not let my treacherous enemies rejoice over me, or those who hate me without cause wink the eye.

μὴ **ἐπιχαρείησάν** μοι οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδίκως, οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεὰν καὶ διανεύοντες ὀφθαλμοῖς. (LXX-Psalm 34:19)
May those who unjustly are my enemies not be happy over me, those who hate me without cause and [even] wink with the eyes. (Modified from NETS)

שָׁפְטֵנִי כְצִדְקְךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי **וְאַל־יִשְׂמְחוּ־לִי**: (Psalm 35:24)
Vindicate me, O LORD, my God, according to your righteousness, and do not let them rejoice over me.

κρῖνόν με κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην σου, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, καὶ μὴ **ἐπιχαρείησάν** μοι· (LXX-Psalm 34:24)
Vindicate me, O Lord my God, according to your righteousness, and may they not be happy over me.

יְהוָה | יִשְׁמְרֵהוּ וִיחַיֵּהוּ יְאֻשַּׁר בָּאָרֶץ **וְאַל־תִּתְּנֵהוּ** בְּנֶפֶשׁ אֹיְבָיו: (Psalm 41:3)
The LORD protects them and keeps them alive; they are called happy in the land. You do not give them up to the will of their enemies.

κύριος διαφυλάξαι αὐτὸν καὶ ζήσαι αὐτὸν καὶ μακαρίσαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ μὴ **παραδῴη** αὐτὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθροῦ αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 40:3)
May the Lord carefully guard him and quicken him and make him happy in the land, and may he not give him up into his enemy's hands.

Since these examples demonstrate the translator rendering Hebrew jussives preceded by the negative particle אַל with an optative verb when asking God for deliverance, it leads one to believe that the translator may be utilizing the optative for a particular type of request to a superior–one that involves a request for God not to allow someone else to do something that would negatively affect them.

LXX-Psalm 34 provides a good case study for this investigation. Although the Psalm contains twenty jussives, most of the jussives (ten) are rendered by imperatives,[42] eight by optatives,[43] and two by subjunctives.[44] It is important to note that YHWH is the addressee of

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[42] LXX-Ps. 34:4 (x4), 5, 8 (x2), 26, 27.

[43] LXX-Ps. 34:19, 24, 25 (x2), 26 (x2), 27 (x2).

[44] LXX-PS. 34:22 (x2).

this Psalm as a whole. The speaker's inferior status appears to influence the way in which he speaks to YHWH. Though he uses the Hebrew imperative for the opening verses of the Psalm, the deferential language allows the psalmist to politely make the command. This deference is shown by the psalmist following the first imperative of the Psalm with a term of address (רִיבָה יְהוָה אֶת־יְרִיבַי "Contend, O LORD, with those who contend with me") rather than directly making an order.[45] Similar examples can also be found in verses 17, 22, 23, and 24 of this Psalm. This deferential language confirms that the speaker in this Psalm is inferior to the addressee.

The ten jussives translated with a Greek imperative involve the psalmist making a request that may or may not happen. Most of them are requesting that God let something negative happen to the psalmist's adversaries. For example, consider LXX-Psalm 34:4:

יֵבֹשׁוּ וְיִכָּלְמוֹ מְבַקְשֵׁי נַפְשִׁי יִסֹּגוּ אָחוֹר וְיַחְפְּרוּ חֹשְׁבֵי רָעָתִי׃ (Psalm 35:4)
Let them be put to shame and dishonor who seek after my life. Let them be turned back and confounded who devise evil against me.

**αἰσχυνθήτωσαν** καὶ **ἐντραπήτωσαν** οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχήν μου, **ἀποστραφήτωσαν** εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ **καταισχυνθήτωσαν** οἱ λογιζόμενοί μοι κακά. (LXX-Psalm 34:4)
Let them be shamed and embarrassed who seek my soul. Let them be turned back, rearwards, and be put to shame who devise evil against me.[46]

The psalmist, speaking to God, requests that his enemies "be put to shame and dishonor" and for them to "be turned back and confounded". These are requests that reflect the desire of the psalmist, not necessarily the reality of what will take place.

On the other hand, the translator renders negated Hebrew jussives with optatives in LXX-Psalm 34 as seen in the examples listed above. In these instances, the psalmist is requesting for positive things not to happen to his adversaries. He requests in verses 19, 24, and 25 for God not to allow his enemies to find satisfaction in their fight against him. And finally in verses 26 and 27, the translator uses the optative in the same way he uses the imperative, requesting for God to let something happen to someone else. In verse 26, he requests for God to let his adversaries to be put to shame. In verse 27, he requests for God to let those who want to see him justified shout for joy and be glad. One thing all the optatives in LXX-Psalm 34 have in common is that they are translating third-person jussives, which

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[45] Hélène Dallaire, *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic, vol. 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 22-23.

[46] See also LXX-Psalm 34:5, 6, 8, 26, 27.

may indicate why the translator rendered these particular jussives with an optative rather than an imperative or subjunctive.

The two examples of the subjunctive mood in LXX-Psalm 34 are unique in that they are translating second-person jussives in a negated clause, and they are both asking God himself not to do something. They both appear in LXX-Psalm 34:22:

רָאִיתָה יְהוָה אַל־תֶּחֱרַשׁ אֲדֹנָי אַל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי: (Psalm 35:22)
You have seen, O LORD; do not be silent! O Lord, do not be far from me!

εἶδες, κύριε, **μὴ παρασιωπήσῃς**, κύριε, **μὴ ἀποστῇς** ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ· (LXX-Psalm 34:22)
You saw, O Lord; do not pass by in silence! O Lord, do not be far from me!

The only difference between Hebrew verbs in this verse and the verbs in verse 25 (listed above) is that verse 22 contains second-person jussives while verse 25 contains third-person jussives. There are two negative constructions with אַל plus a jussive in both verses. Both verses translate אַל with μή or μηδέ. However, the following verbs in verse 22 are translated as subjunctives while they are translated as optatives in verse 25. It is not unusual to see either of these moods follow μή or μηδέ since μή governs all non-indicative moods, so what led the translator to render one verse with verbs in the subjunctive mood while translating the other verse with optative mood verbs? The only difference here that may be influencing this distinction is the fact that in verse 22, the psalmist uses second-person jussives. The psalmist is asking God not to be silent or to be far from him.[47] He's asking God himself not to do something. On the other hand, in verses like verse 25 where the optative occurs, the Psalmist is requesting for God not to let someone else say or do something, translating third-person jussives.

The last instance of an optative translating a negated jussive verb is found in LXX-Psalm 108:14, which is the only one not requesting some type of deliverance or rescue from God.

יִזָּכֵר | עֲוֹן אֲבֹתָיו אֶל־יְהוָה וְחַטַּאת אִמּוֹ אַל־תִּמָּח: (Psalm 109:14)
May the iniquity of his father be remembered before the LORD, and do not let the sin
of his mother be blotted out.

ἀναμνησθείη ἡ ἁμαρτία τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἔναντι κυρίου, καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ **ἐξαλειφθείη**· (LXX-Psalm 108:14)

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[47] For similar examples of subjunctive verbs used in this way, see LXX-Psalms 6:2, 9:33, 21:12, 21:20, 24:7, 25:9, 26:9, 26:12, 27:1, 27:3, 37:2, 37:22, 38:13, 39:18, 43:24, 50:13, 54:2, 58:6, 58:12, 68:15, 68:18, 69:6, 70:9, 70:12, 70:18, 73:19, 73:23, 78:8, 82:2, 101:3, 101:25, 118:8, 118:10, 118:19, 118:31, 118:43, 118:116, 131:10, 137:8, 139:9, 140:8, 142:2, 142:7.

May the lawlessness of his fathers be remembered before the Lord, and may the sin of his mother not be blotted out.

Here the translator renders the negated jussive with an optative in an imprecatory psalm, wishing for the sins of the wicked person's mother not to be blotted out. Like the Hebrew jussive, the optative is describing action that has not yet been realized, though it is his desire for it to be so.

### 6.6.1.2       Wish or Request

The translator most often utilized the Greek optative to translate jussives that are simply expressing a wish or making a request as the following examples demonstrate:

יֵבֹ֤שׁוּ ׀ וְיִבָּהֲל֣וּ מְ֭אֹד כָּל־אֹיְבָ֑י יָ֝שֻׁ֗בוּ יֵבֹ֥שׁוּ רָֽגַע׃ (Psalm 6:11)
All my enemies shall be ashamed and struck with terror; they shall turn back, and in a moment be put to shame.

**αἰσχυνθείησαν** καὶ **ταραχθείησαν** σφόδρα πάντες οἱ ἐχθροί μου, **ἀποστραφείησαν** καὶ **καταισχυνθείησαν** σφόδρα διὰ τάχους. (LXX-Psalm 6:11)
May all my enemies be ashamed and be very much troubled; may they be turned back and, in a moment, be very much put to shame.

יֵבֹ֣שׁוּ וְיַחְפְּרוּ֮ מְבַקְשֵׁ֪י נַ֫פְשִׁ֥י יִסֹּ֣גוּ אָ֭חוֹר וְיִכָּלְמ֑וּ חֲ֝פֵצֵ֗י רָעָתִֽי׃ (Psalm 70:3)
Let those be put to shame and confusion who seek my life. Let those be turned back and brought to dishonor who desire to hurt me.

**αἰσχυνθείησαν** καὶ **ἐντραπείησαν** οἱ ζητοῦντές μου τὴν ψυχήν, **ἀποστραφείησαν** εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ **καταισχυνθείησαν** οἱ βουλόμενοί μοι κακά (LXX-Psalm 69:3)
May those be put to shame and embarrassment who seek my life. May those be turned back and be put to shame who wish my hurt.

תָּב֣וֹא תְּחִנָּתִ֣י לְפָנֶ֑יךָ כְּ֝אִמְרָתְךָ֗ הַצִּילֵֽנִי׃ (Psalm 119:170)
Let my supplication come before you; deliver me according to your promise.

**εἰσέλθοι** τὸ ἀξίωμά μου ἐνώπιόν σου· κατὰ τὸ λόγιόν σου ῥῦσαί με. (LXX-Psalm 118:170)
May my request come before you; according to your saying rescue me.

All of these examples are basic functions of the jussive, though not all of them are marked as jussives.[48] Still, however, the translator rightly interprets the meaning of the verbs and translates accordingly with a non-indicative mood. The psalmist is making a request from the Lord or wishing for something to take place that has not yet happened. Therefore, the

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[48] Dallaire, *Syntax of Volitives*, 96.

indicative mood would not have communicated the wanted action effectively. The optative mood, however, communicates to the reader that the action of the verb has not yet been realized, though it is the desire of the speaker.

### 6.6.1.3    *Blessing*

Another use of the optative mood translating jussives appears in the context of blessings, though this use is less frequent in the Psalms.

**יֹסֵף** יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם עֲלֵיכֶם וְעַל־בְּנֵיכֶם: (Psalm 115:114)
May the LORD give you increase, both you and your children.

**προσθείη** κύριος ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς, ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς ὑμῶν· (LXX-Psalm 113:22)
May the Lord add to you, to you and your sons.

**יְבָרֶכְךָ** יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן וּרְאֵה בְּטוּב יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם בֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ: (Psalm 128:5)
The LORD bless you from Zion. May you see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life.

**εὐλογήσαι** σε κύριος ἐκ Σιων, καὶ ἴδοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ιερουσαλημ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· (LXX-Psalm 127:5)
May the Lord bless you from Sion, and may you see the good of Ierousalem all the days of your life.

The translator utilizes the optative mood when translating blessings or benedictions for the same reasons he used the optative to translate the jussive in the context of a wish or desire. The action of the verb has not yet been realized, thus making a Greek indicative incompatible. The irreal nature of the optative mood helpfully captures the psalmists' usage of Hebrew jussives used in the context of a benediction.

### 6.6.2  Cohortative

As I pointed out in chapter two, the LXX-Psalms translator most often renders Hebrew cohortatives with a Greek future indicative. Out of the 221 occurrences of the Hebrew cohortative, the translator only uses the optative mood on seven occasions. Consider the following examples:

אֱלֹהַי בְּךָ בָטַחְתִּי אַל־**אֵבוֹשָׁה** אַל־יַעַלְצוּ אֹיְבַי לִי: (Psalm 25:2)
O my God, in you I trust; do not let me be put to shame; do not let my enemies exult over me.

ἐπὶ σοὶ πέποιθα· μὴ **καταισχυνθείην**, μηδὲ καταγελασάτωσάν μου οἱ ἐχθροί μου. (LXX-Psalm 24:2)
In you I trust; may I not be put to shame, nor let my enemies deride me.

שָׁמְרָה נַפְשִׁי וְהַצִּילֵנִי אַל־**אֵבוֹשׁ** כִּי־חָסִיתִי בָךְ: (Psalm 25:20)
O guard my life, and deliver me; do not let me be put to shame, for I take refuge in you.

φύλαξον τὴν ψυχήν μου καὶ ῥῦσαί με· μὴ **καταισχυνθείην**, ὅτι ἤλπισα ἐπὶ σέ. (LXX-Psalm 24:20)
O guard my soul, and rescue me; may I not be put to shame, because I hoped in you.

בְּךָ יְהוָה חָסִיתִי אַל־**אֵבוֹשָׁה** לְעוֹלָם בְּצִדְקָתְךָ פַלְּטֵנִי: (Psalm 31:2)
In you, O LORD, I seek refuge; do not let me ever be put to shame; in your righteousness deliver me.

Ἐπὶ σοί, κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ **καταισχυνθείην** εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με. (LXX-Psalm 30:2)
In you, O Lord, I hoped; may I never be put to shame; in your righteousness rescue me, and deliver me.

יְהוָה אַל־**אֵבוֹשָׁה** כִּי קְרָאתִיךָ יֵבֹשׁוּ רְשָׁעִים יִדְּמוּ לִשְׁאוֹל: (Psalm 31:18)
Do not let me be put to shame, O LORD, for I call on you; let the wicked be put to shame; let them go dumbfounded to Sheol.

ὕριε, μὴ **καταισχυνθείην**, ὅτι ἐπεκαλεσάμην σε· αἰσχυνθείησαν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ καταχθείησαν εἰς ᾅδου. (LXX-Psalm 30:18)
O Lord, may I not be put to shame, because I called on you; may the impious be shamed and be brought down to Hades.

בְּךָ־יְהוָה חָסִיתִי אַל־**אֵבוֹשָׁה** לְעוֹלָם: (Psalm 71:1)
In you, O LORD, I take refuge; let me never be put to shame.

Ὁ θεός, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα, μὴ **καταισχυνθείην** εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. (LXX-Psalm 70:1)
O God, in you I hoped; may I never be put to shame.

In each of these examples, the translator utilizes the optative mood to translate Hebrew cohortative verbs preceded by the negative particle אַל. This construction is somewhat unusual in the Hebrew Psalms. Most frequently, the verb following אל is a jussive, but in these six examples the cohortative follows.[49]

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[49] The negative particle אל appears a total of 118 times in the Psalms.

This is also true outside of the Psalms. For example, there are 108 occurrences of the particle אַל in the Pentateuch and jussive verbs follow 101 times. The cohortative only follows אַל twice in Genesis 21:16 and Numbers 11:15.

אַל־אֶרְאֶה בְּמוֹת הַיָּלֶד  (Genesis 21:16)
Do not let me look on the death of the child.

Οὐ μὴ ἴδω τὸν Θάνατον τοῦ παιδίου μου. (LXX-Genesis 21:16)
I will not look upon the death of my child.

וְאַל־אֶרְאֶה בְּרָעָתִי: (Numbers 11:15)
and do not let me see my misery."

ἵνα μὴ ἴδω μου τὴν κάκωσιν. (LXX-Numbers 11:15)
I may not see my suffering.

We can conclude from this that when the translator of the LXX-Psalms encountered the particle אַל, it was unusual to find a cohortative verb. This raises the question as to how the translator might render this unusual construction. The examples from the Pentateuch show the translator rendering אַל with μή and then translating the cohortative verb with a Greek verb in the subjunctive mood. However, the translator of the Psalms renders אַל with μή and then translates the cohortative with a Greek verb in the optative mood. It is also interesting that the LXX-Psalms translator decided to render אַל plus a cohortative with μή plus an optative since it is much more common to find a subjunctive following the particle μή. Typically, μή governs the subjunctive mood, though it can govern any non-indicative mood. Muraoka points out that one can expect an optative to follow μή with a desiderative optative, which is found in a number of places throughout the Septuagint.[50]

The example above from LXX-Psalm 24:2 provides an interesting example of how the LXX-Psalms translator rendered אַל plus a jussive versus אַל plus a cohortative. The translator renders the first אַל with the Greek particle μή, and then proceeds to translate the cohortative verb with the Greek optative. For the second occurrence of אַל, the translator similarly utilizes the particle μηδέ, but he translates the following jussive verb with a subjunctive.

It is intriguing that the translator varies the way he renders the Hebrew volitives in a single verse. He could have opted for the more common construction with μή plus the

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[50] Muraoka, *Septuagint Greek*, 703. See also BDF, 220.

subjunctive mood, as the translator of the Pentateuch did in the examples above. But instead, he chose to use the optative mood to translate the Hebrew cohortative. In Hebrew, the cohortative is the only volitional form for the first person. Even though the subjunctive can be used in the first person, perhaps the translator chose the optative mood to highlight this distinction in his *Vorlage*. It is possible that the LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render the cohortatives with an optative was a way of distinguishing the variety of forms in his *Vorlage*. Since there was a change in the Hebrew, the translator reflected that change in the Greek.

Another possible explanation is that μὴ καταισχυνθείην ("may I not be put to shame") was simply a common translation of אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה ("do not let me be put to shame"). Each example listed above contains the same basic translation of this phrase. The Greek phrase μὴ καταισχυνθείην may have been a common idiom associated with shame, and the LXX-Psalms translator considers the meaning of this idiom to be equivalent to the meaning of אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה.

### 6.6.3 Imperative

There are two instances where the Septuagint translator utilizes the optative mood to translate the Hebrew imperative:

יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה מִצִּיּוֹן **וּרְאֵה** בְּטוּב יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם כֹּל יְמֵי חַיֶּיךָ׃ (Psalm 128:5)
The LORD bless you from Zion. May you see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life.

εὐλογήσαι σε κύριος ἐκ Σιων, καὶ **ἴδοις** τὰ ἀγαθὰ Ιερουσαλημ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου· (LXX-Psalm 127:5)
May the Lord bless you from Sion, and may you see the good of Ierousalem all the days of your life.

וּרְאֵה־בָנִים לְבָנֶיךָ שָׁלוֹם עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל׃ (Psalm 128:6)
May you see your children's children. Peace [be] upon Israel!

καὶ **ἴδοις** υἱοὺς τῶν υἱῶν σου. εἰρήνη ἐπὶ τὸν Ισραηλ. (LXX-Psalm 128:6)
And may you see your sons' sons. Peace [be] upon Israel!

When one thinks of an imperative, a direct command is usually what comes to mind as this is the most common use of the Hebrew imperative.[51] If that were the only function of the

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[51] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571.

Hebrew imperative, the Greek optative would not be the most obvious translation since optatives generally express a wish.[52] However, the Hebrew imperative is not limited to direct commands. It can also grant permission or convey a request or a wish.[53] The LXX-Psalms translator, aware of these less-common functions of the Hebrew imperative, used the optative mood to convey these other functions into Greek as seen in the examples above.

In these two examples from LXX-Psalm 127:5-6, the translator renders the Hebrew imperative וּרְאֵה with the Greek optative ἴδοις. A Hebrew jussive (יְבָרֶכְךָ) is the first verb in this verse, thus וּרְאֵה is best interpreted as an indirect imperative.[54] The וּ at the beginning of וּרְאֵה connects it with the preceding clause and expresses "the notion of purpose or consecution," making the verb an indirect or logically subordinate volitive.[55] With that interpretation, perhaps a better translation of the Hebrew would read: "The LORD bless you from Zion so that you may see the prosperity of Jerusalem all the days of your life, and so that you may see your children's children."

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew jussive at the beginning of verse 5 and the subsequent Hebrew imperatives with verbs in the Greek optative mood. He translates the *vav* attached to both verbs with καί, which is the most common translation of the Hebrew *vav* conjunction. However, the Greek conjunction καί can also go beyond the basic use of the conjunction and express the notion of purpose even though it does not function in this way as often as *vav* does in Hebrew.[56] Therefore since the Hebrew *vav* plus an imperative can indicate purpose, the Greek καί plus an optative can also communicate a desired purpose as it is in this benediction.

The Greek optatives translating the Hebrew imperatives in these two verses demonstrates that the translator recognized the notion of purpose indicated by the Hebrew conjunction *vav*. The decision to translate these Hebrew imperatives with Greek optatives exhibits the translator's creative ability to both preserve the specific nuance of purpose in the Hebrew and bringing out the fact that this is only a desired purpose at this point by utilizing

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[52] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 321.

[53] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571.

[54] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 355.

[55] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 352.

[56] BDF, 227.

the optative. Since the desire of the psalmist has not yet been realized, the irrealis nature of the optative was a fitting and creative translation choice.

The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render Hebrew volitives with the optative mood may seem like an obvious choice, but that should not discount his intentional decision to use the optative mood. As chapters 2-4 pointed out, the LXX-Psalms translator used multiple non-indicative moods to render the Hebrew volitives and the optative mood was just one of many options. When he did use the optative mood, he did so with intentionality because the optative communicated something in a specific way that seemed most fitting for that context.

## 6.7    Translating the Prefix Conjugation

There are twenty-six examples of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs with Greek verbs in the optative mood. Though the Greek optative primarily translates Hebrew volitives, it is noteworthy that the translator utilizes the optative to translate the Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs twenty-five percent of the time.

The Hebrew Prefix Conjugation has a broad range of meaning making it difficult to provide a concise definition. Waltke and O'Connor suggest that the only generalization for the prefix (non-perfective) conjugation must be expressed negatively: "the non-perfective conjugation stands over against the perfective conjugation."[57] They do, however, suggest that the prefix conjugation has two major values: "to signify either an imperfective situation in past and present time, or a dependent situation. In the latter use, the situation may be dependent on the speaker, the subject, or another situation."[58] In dependent situations, they further divide the function of the prefix conjugation into two uses: 1) Modal uses where the speaker does not impose their will on the subject, and 2) volitional uses in which the speaker does impose their will on the subject.[59]

The prefix conjugation is not formally marked to indicate modal uses so this interpretation must be determined by the context.[60] The modal uses of the Hebrew prefix

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[57] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 502.

[58] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 502.

[59] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 502.

[60] John Huehnergard, "The Early Hebrew Prefix-Conjugations," *Hebrew Studies* 29 (1988), 22.

conjugation can be regarded as real (corresponding with the Greek indicative) or irreal (corresponding with the Greek subjunctive and optative).[61] The volitional use of the Hebrew prefix conjugation, where the speaker imposes their will on the subject, is functionally similar to the Hebrew imperative. However, "the force with which the speaker is able to make the imposition depends on the social distance between speaker and addressee."[62] With its broad range of function, the prefix conjugation can be rendered appropriately by both Greek indicatives and non-indicatives depending on the context. Just as the translator utilized the subjunctive mood to communicate the irreal sense of the Hebrew prefix conjugation (see chapter 5), he also does so with the Greek optative mood. The following section will consider several examples of the Greek optative translating the Hebrew prefix conjugation.

The most common translation of the Hebrew prefix conjugation in the LXX-Psalms is the Greek future indicative. Since the Greek future indicative can indicate certain modalities, it often communicates many of the modal aspects of the Hebrew prefix conjugation (see chapter 8).[63] On occasion, however, the LXX-Psalms translator chooses to render the Hebrew prefix conjugation with the Greek optative. Consider the following examples:

תִּמְצָא יָדְךָ לְכָל־אֹיְבֶיךָ יְמִינְךָ תִּמְצָא שֹׂנְאֶיךָ: (Psalm 21:9)
Your hand will find out all your enemies; your right hand will find out those who hate you.

**εὑρεθείη** ἡ χείρ σου πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου, ἡ δεξιά σου **εὕροι** πάντας τοὺς μισοῦντάς σε. (Psalm 20:9)
May your hand be found for all your enemies; may your right hand find all those who hate you.

חַרְבָּם תָּבוֹא בְלִבָּם וְקַשְּׁתוֹתָם תִּשָּׁבַרְנָה: (Psalm 37:15)
Their sword shall enter their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.

ἡ ῥομφαία αὐτῶν **εἰσέλθοι** εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν **συντριβείησαν**. (Psalm 36:15)
May their sword enter into their own heart, and their bows be crushed.

גַּם־אֵל יִתָּצְךָ לָנֶצַח יַחְתְּךָ וְיִסָּחֲךָ מֵאֹהֶל וְשֵׁרֶשְׁךָ מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים סֶלָה: (Psalm 52:7)
But God will break you down forever; he will snatch and tear you from your tent; he will uproot you from the land of the living. *Selah*
διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς καθελεῖ σε εἰς τέλος· **ἐκτίλαι** σε καὶ **μεταναστεύσαι** σε ἀπὸ σκηνώματος καὶ τὸ ῥίζωμά σου ἐκ γῆς ζώντων. διάψαλμα. (Psalm 51:7)

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[61] GKC, *Grammar*, 313; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 506.

[62] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 509.

[63] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

Therefore God will break you down completely; may he snatch you and make you flee from a covert, and your rootedness from the land of the living.

For these examples, the Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs are "used to represent a real situation which arises as a consequence of some other situation."[64] This is different from the modal and volitional uses of the Hebrew prefix conjugation, but the translator chooses to communicate them as an unrealized desire by using Greek optative mood verbs.

There are several other examples of the Greek optative translating Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs which are functioning with a modal or volitional sense as the following verses demonstrate:

כְּהִנְדֹּף עָשָׁן תִּנְדֹּף כְּהִמֵּס דּוֹנַג מִפְּנֵי־אֵשׁ **יֹאבְדוּ** רְשָׁעִים מִפְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים: (Psalm 68:3)
As smoke is driven away, so drive them away; as wax melts before the fire, let the wicked perish before God.

ὡς ἐκλείπει καπνός, ἐκλιπέτωσαν· ὡς τήκεται κηρὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρός, οὕτως **ἀπόλοιντο** οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 67:3)
As smoke vanishes, let them vanish; as wax melts from before fire, so may sinners perish from before God.

הַרְאֵנוּ יְהוָה חַסְדֶּךָ וְיֶשְׁעֲךָ **תִּתֶּן־לָנוּ**: (Psalm 85:8)
Show us your steadfast love, O LORD, and grant us your salvation.

δεῖξον ἡμῖν, κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου καὶ τὸ σωτήριόν σου **δῴης** ἡμῖν. (LXX-Psalm 84:8)
Show us, O Lord, your mercy, and your deliverance may you grant us.

אַחֲלַי **יִכֹּנוּ** דְרָכָי לִשְׁמֹר חֻקֶּיךָ: (Psalm 119:5)
O that my ways may be steadfast in keeping your statutes!

ὄφελον **κατευθυνθείησαν** αἱ ὁδοί μου τοῦ φυλάξασθαι τὰ δικαιώματά σου. (LXX-Psalm 118:5)
O that my ways may be directed to keep your statutes!

The Hebrew prefix conjugation in Psalm 68:3 reveals the desire of the speaker for something not yet realized. He uses smoke as an example of what he desires for the wicked (i.e., that they vanish). Therefore, the LXX-Psalms translator renders this modal use of the prefix conjugation with the modal-comparative function of the Greek optative mood.[65]

In Psalm 85:8, the first verb in the verse is an imperative, which the Greek translator also renders as an imperative. The next verb is a prefix conjugation, and the Greek translator

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[64] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 511.

[65] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 325.

renders it with a Greek optative. The translator could have rendered both verbs with the imperative since the second verb is paralleled with the first. Perhaps the reason for the change is to do as the Hebrew did and restate this request in a slightly different way. The verse begins with the sense of an urgent command, but since the psalmist is speaking to God, he politely softens the tone by first using deferential language (יְהוָה) and then a verb that is less direct. This softening of tone is reflected in the Greek not only with the deferential language, but also by the switch in moods from the imperative to the optative.

Psalm 119:5 begins with the interjection אַחֲלַי ("Oh that!") and is followed by a prefix conjugation verb. This interjection communicates that what follows is not an actualised event and that it is only the desire of the speaker. Therefore, the Greek translator renders the prefix conjugation with the optative mood, accurately expressing that wish in Greek.

The LXX-Psalms translator's use of the optative mood to render the Hebrew prefix conjugation demonstrates that the LXX-Psalms translator appropriately understood how the prefix conjugation functioned in various contexts. When the modal function of the prefix conjugation appears in the context of a wish or prayer, he often uses the optative mood to communicate the proper tone of the Hebrew.

## 6.8    Translating Interjections

There are nine other occurrences of the optative mood that have not been addressed, and eight of those are the common optative γένοιτο which translates the Hebrew interjection אָמֵן. Consider the following example:

> בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה ׀ אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵהָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם אָמֵן ׀ וְאָמֵן: (Psalm 41:14)
> Blessed be the LORD, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting. Amen and Amen.

> Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. **γένοιτο γένοιτο**. (LXX-Psalm 40:14)
> Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting. *May it be; may it be.*[66]

The Hebrew interjection אָמֵן is used to express wishes in the Hebrew Bible.[67] Though it is not a typical finite verb, the Greek optative γένοιτο carries the same sense *may it be*. By utilizing

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[66] See also LXX-Psalms 71:19, 88:53, and 105:48.

[67] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 324.

the optative mood to communicate the sense of this interjection, the translator demonstrates that his translation technique was not bound by the exact grammar of the Hebrew. Understanding the sense of what the Hebrew communicated, he renders that sense with an appropriate Greek form for that particular function.

## 6.9    Translating Converted Forms

The converted forms in Hebrew include the *veqatal* and the consecutive preterite. Converted forms include a *vav* prefix on either a suffix conjugation (*veqatal*) or a prefix conjugation (consecutive preterite). When the *vav* is added to the suffix or prefix conjugations, the value of the verb changes. For the *veqatal*, the suffix conjugation takes on the values of a prefix conjugation. Conversely, the consecutive preterite assumes the values of a suffix conjugation.[68] At times, however, the prefixed *vav* can just be a simple *vav* and the verb will retain its normal meaning. The prefix or suffix conjugation verbs with a simple *vav* have already been discussed above. This section only considers the converted forms in the Psalms as seen in the following examples:

בַּבֹּקֶר יָצִיץ וְחָלָף לָעֶרֶב יְמוֹלֵל וְיָבֵשׁ׃ (Psalm 90:6)
> In the morning it flourishes and is renewed; in the evening it fades and withers.

τὸ πρωὶ ἀνθήσαι καὶ **παρέλθοι**, τὸ ἑσπέρας ἀποπέσοι, σκληρυνθείη καὶ **ξηρανθείη**. (LXX-Psalm 89:6)
> In the morning may it flourish and pass; in the evening may it fall, become hard and wither.

אִם־גָּמַלְתִּי שׁוֹלְמִי רָע וָאֲחַלְּצָה צוֹרְרִי רֵיקָם׃ (Psalm 7:5)
> If I have repaid my ally with harm or plundered my foe without cause.

εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδοῦσίν μοι κακά, **ἀποπέσοιν** ἄρα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου κενός (LXX-Psalm 7:5)
> If I repaid those who repaid me with evil, then may I fall away empty from my enemies.

In Psalm 90:6, both *veqatal* verbs follow a prefix conjugation verb, and as Waltke suggests, "The (con)sequential *wqtl* usually takes on the sense of the preceding non-perfective."[69] The Septuagint translator understood that the prefix conjugation and the *veqatal* verbs in this

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[68] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 357.

[69] Waltke, *Syntax*, 527.

verse share the same function and chose to translate all of the verbs in this verse according to their common sense rather than making distinctions between the grammatical forms. The unusual part about the Septuagint translation, though, is that the translator renders all of the verbs in the optative mood. It is most common for the translator to render prefix conjugation verbs with the future indicative which would have been fitting for a verse talking about something that will happen at a future time. Instead of portraying the event as something that is certain to happen, in this case the years coming to pass, the translator renders it as if it is his desire or wish that these things would come to pass, though whether or not that will happen is uncertain.

It is difficult to discern why the translator utilized the optative mood in this case since this verse is the one and only time the translator uses it to render the Hebrew *veqatal*. It could be the fact that other non-indicative forms were employed earlier in the Psalm (i.e., the Greek subjunctive in verse 3) or perhaps it was the translator's desire to bring out the irreal nature of these Hebrew verbs by rendering them with the Greek mood that is furthest from reality. Considering the subject matter of the verse, the optative seems odd since it is talking about the transience of a thousand years to God. Unfortunately, there is no good explanation for what led the translator to use the optative mood in this verse. Nevertheless, the author felt free to deviate from his standard practice and to render the verbs in a way that was grammatically consistent even if unexpected.

In LXX-Psalm 7:5, the Septuagint translator renders the Hebrew consecutive preterite with the Greek optative mood. The verse begins with the Hebrew conditional particle אִם which introduces the protasis of a conditional clause.[70] The verb following אִם is a Hebrew suffix conjugation, but the next clause begins with the consecutive preterite. One function of the consecutive preterite is to follow suffix conjugation verbs that are hypothetical or conditional.[71] The Septuagint translator rendered the particle אִם into Greek with the particle εἰ which is common in oaths and asseverations.[72] Since this verse is describing an irreal situation, a non-indicative verb is not surprising even though an indicative still could have been used following the particle εἰ.

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[70] C. van Leeuwen, "Die Partikel אִם," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 18 (1973), 16.

[71] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 557.

[72] BDF, 189.

## 6.10    Translating Adjectives

The final example of the optative translates a pair of predicate adjectives instead of a Hebrew verb.

הַלְלוּ יָהּ ׀ כִּי־ט֭וֹב זַמְּרָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי־נָ֝עִים **נָאוָה תְהִלָּֽה**׃ (Psalm 147:1)
Praise the LORD! How good it is to sing praises to our God; for he is gracious, and a song of praise is fitting.

Αλληλουια· Αγγαιου καὶ Ζαχαριου. Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ψαλμός· τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν **ἡδυνθείη** αἴνεσις. (LXX-Psalm 146:1)
Praise the Lord, because a melody is a good thing; to our God may praise be pleasing.

In this verse, the Greek optative ἡδυνθείη translates the adjectives נָעִים נָאוָה. The Septuagint translator does not translate the Hebrew particle כִּי which precedes the two Hebrew predicate adjectives. Instead, the translator understands אֱלֹהֵינוּ to be the beginning of the last line. The translator then expresses the desire or wish that our praise to God will be pleasing.

This is a unique usage of the optative mood. It is not typical for the LXX-Psalms translator to render adjectives with verbs, though it seldomly appears elsewhere in the Septuagint. But in the context of this Psalm, the translator employs the optative mood to express these adjectives as a desire of the Psalmist. Perhaps he thought that since he could not speak for God and say that their praise was pleasing to him, he communicated that it is his desire for their praise to be pleasing to God.

## 6.11    Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the optative mood throughout the Psalter. I have highlighted various aspects of the Hebrew language that would have led the translator to utilize the optative mood when other more common moods were available to him. Not only did the translator render Hebrew volitives with the Greek optative mood, as one would expect, he also utilized the optative mood to translate subtle nuances of the prefix conjugation that required a more advanced level of interpretation which reflects his creativity. Also, the translator's interpretation of the rare function of the Hebrew conjunction *vav* demonstrates his advanced interpretive ability. However, the translator's interpretation of these more subtle nuances of the Hebrew language should not overshadow the effectiveness of his use of the optative mood where one would expect it (i.e., the Hebrew volitives). While the translator strategically used the Greek optative mood to translate Hebrew volitives where

it was appropriate, where he does not use the optative mood is also important. The translator is creative with his use of the Greek optative while still using it in a way that reflects natural Greek usage.

The fact that the optative mood occurs so frequently in the Psalms is evidence of the freedom with which the translator was able to approach his work. Though other more common moods were available to him as he translated the Psalms, his choosing of the optative mood points to the creative freedom he used to render the meaning of various Hebrew forms into Greek with the optative mood at appropriate times. The variety of Hebrew forms underlying the optative mood in the LXX-Psalms demonstrates that the occurrences of the optative mood were not simply a standard/formulaic use of a word. The optative was chosen intentionally by the translator because it communicated something unique that would not have been expressed by other moods. Additionally, by using the optative mood heightens the overall register of his work.

## 7. The Greek Imperative Mood

### 7.1 Introduction

The last two chapters have looked at the other non-indicative moods in the LXX-Psalms: the subjunctive and the optative. In those chapters, I highlighted the LXX-Psalms translator's creative use of non-indicative mood verbs to translate a variety of Hebrew forms. The obvious instances where a Greek non-indicative mood would be used are for Hebrew volitives since they express action that has not yet been realized, much like the Greek non-indicative moods. There were many other Hebrew forms, however, that required more intuition and creativity on the part of the translator. Though some Hebrew verbs are grammatically marked as volitives, many others are simply a prefix conjugation functioning as a volitive. For these forms, the LXX-Psalms translator interpreted the verbs as volitives and utilized non-indicative mood verbs in Greek to render the meaning of the Hebrew more effectively.

In this chapter, I analyze the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek imperative mood in his translation by considering what Hebrew verb-forms led to this decision. While Hebrew does not have a verb form that directly corresponds with the Greek subjunctive and optative moods, it does have an imperative that functions similarly to the Greek imperative. The distribution of the Greek imperative for Hebrew verb forms varies far less than the other non-indicative moods with nearly 70% of the occurrences translating the Hebrew imperative. Still, however, there are other Hebrew forms the translator renders with the Greek imperative that may require a closer analysis to understand the translator's motivation behind the decision.

### 7.2     The Functions of the Greek Imperative

The primary function of the second-person Greek imperative is as a command.[1] A.T. Robertson calls it "the mood of the assertion of one's will over another or the call of one to exert his will."[2] The imperative is often used to express urgency in situations when a superior

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[1] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk [BDF] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 195.

[2] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 946. See also Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 445-446.

is speaking to an inferior in social rank.[3] There is greater force behind the imperative in comparison to other Greek moods, which allows the Greek speaker to express his desire for someone to respond by doing whatever it is he commands the other to do. Similar to the command function for the Greek imperative is the use of the imperative for prohibitions. Prohibitions are simply negative commands introduced by the particle μή, intended to forbid an action.[4]

Though the imperative as a command or prohibition are general functions of the imperative as a whole, some grammars have attempted to give those categories greater nuance. For example, A.T. Robertson and Daniel B. Wallace identify functions such as entreaty, permission, and concession or condition, which are also functions that are identified in the *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*.[5] Joseph D. Fantin, however, suggests that these additional categories are flawed and tend to "obscure and minimize the command nuance of the imperative mood."[6] He argues that when an author chooses to use one particular form (the imperative in this case) over another verb form, there must be some reason. I agree with Fantin on this critique, and this chapter on the Greek imperative in the LXX-Psalms will support this claim.

Before listing the functions of the imperative, Robertson discusses the "Disappearance of the Imperative Forms," and what the alternatives are. He suggests that the future indicative functioning as a volitive future is the equivalent of the imperative itself in the Hellenistic time period.[7] Another alternative Robertson identifies for the imperative mood is the subjunctive.[8] To support this claim, Robertson highlights uses of the subjunctive used with ἵνα in an imperatival sense and the use of μή plus a subjunctive in prohibitions. Other alternatives to the imperative in the Hellenistic era that Robertson identifies include the optative, the infinitive, and even the participle. Robertson is correct in his assessment that other verb forms sometimes overlap with the function of the Greek imperative. However,

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[3] J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: I. Prolegomena* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), 173.

[4] Robertson, *Grammar*, 947. See also Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 487.

[5] Robertson, *Grammar*, 946-949; Wallace, *Grammar*, 485-490; Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 445.

[6] Joseph D. Fantin, "May the Force Be with You: Volition, Direction, and Force: A Communicative Approach to the Imperative Mood," *Biblical and Ancient Greek Linguistics* 7 (2018), 181.

[7] Robertson, *Grammar*, 943.

[8] Robertson, *Grammar*, 943.

while the rising popularity of other verb forms may have decreased the overall use of the imperative mood, one should not ignore a writer's intention when the imperative is used. If these alternative forms tell us anything about the imperative mood, it is that when writers did use the imperative mood, they did so with intention.

As Fantin suggested, if we consider the imperative to have been displaced by these other forms since they can communicate a request or permission in the same way as the imperative, we miss the author's purpose in choosing the imperative. With other forms available, we must consider why it was that the author communicated using the imperative. We should also be careful not to minimize the command nuance of the imperative when it appears in contexts where Robertson's alternative forms could have been used.[9] By viewing the imperatives and these alternate forms as equals, the force of the imperative is lost.

Even though the imperative does involve more force than other moods, that is not to say that it is impolite.[10] T. Muraoka argues, "The traditional label *imperative* should not mislead us; it does not necessarily imply rudeness, discourtesy, some form of breach of the social etiquette."[11] He goes on to point out how no society would order their god or gods around, but the imperative is often used in biblical literature in contexts addressed to God, even in the second person. While it is important to note that the imperative is not disrespectful or rude, we must take care to avoid weakening the overall force of the imperative. Fantin points out that there are differences in force, but this is indicated by the meaning of the verb, not the imperative itself.[12]

Fantin suggests three ways in which a Greek writer or speaker can weaken the force of the imperative in a sentence. The first weakening strategy involves an imperative preceded by an introductory word for asking (like *please* in English), as in 1 Thessalonians 5:14:

Παρακαλοῦμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, νουθετεῖτε τοὺς ἀτάκτους
And we *beg* you, brethren, **instruct** the lazy [undisciplined].[13]

Based on my findings, this weakening strategy does not appear in the LXX-Psalms. In the LXX-Psalms, the translator was committed to an isomorphic translation, which could have

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[9] Fantin, "Force," 181.

[10] Boas, et al., *Grammar*, 445.

[11] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven, Peeters, 2016), 330.

[12] Fantin, "Force," 188.

[13] Fantin, "Force," 189.

constrained his ability to insert such weakening strategies when they were not present in the Hebrew. It may also be that this particular strategy is more frequent in narrative texts and the poetic nature of the Psalms does not lend itself to this method as often.

The second weakening strategy Fantin proposes is indirect third person verbs, contending that "the third person can shift the focus away from direct confrontation."[14] In such examples, the subject is not the person, but an object that is presented in a passive form. He provides an example from Ephesians 4:31:

> πᾶσα πικρία καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ κραυγὴ καὶ βλασφημία ἀρθήτω ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν σὺν πάσῃ κακίᾳ.
> Let all bitterness and anger and wrath and outcry and blasphemy be removed from you and all worry.

Evidence from the LXX-Psalms supports Fantin's observation about third-person Greek imperatives. There are several examples of the Psalmist using the third-person imperative, perhaps to avoid direct confrontation. Consider LXX-Psalm 30:25, for example:

> חִזְקוּ וְיַאֲמֵץ לְבַבְכֶם כָּל־הַמְיַחֲלִים לַיהוָה: (Psalm 31:25)
> Be strong, and let your heart take courage, all you who wait for the LORD.

> ἀνδρείζεσθε, καὶ **κραταιούσθω** ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν, πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ κύριον. (LXX-Psalm 30:25)
> Take courage, and let your heart be strong, all you who hope in the Lord.

The underlying Hebrew undoubtedly has some level of influence on the translator, but the translator intentionally chose the Greek imperative mood in this case. As previous chapters have shown, the translator often utilizes the Greek optative and subjunctive moods to translate Hebrew jussives, but here, the translator chooses the imperative mood.  As Porter has suggested, "The third person Greek imperative is as strongly directive as the second person."[15] Thus, the verb itself contains equal force to a second person imperative, but the fact that it is a third-person imperative "shifts the focus away from direct confrontation."[16]

The final weakening strategy put forth by Fantin is the use of terms of honor. "It is common for inferiors to preface an imperative," suggests Fantin, with an honorific term in

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[14] Fantin, "Force," 191.

[15] Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., BLG 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 55; cited in Fantin, "Force," 191.

[16] Fantin, "Force," 191.

order to acknowledge the superiority of the hearer before the imperative is used."[17] He cites John 17:1 as evidence for this strategy.

> [Jesus prays and says]: πάτερ, ἐλήλυθεν ἡ ὥρα· δόξασόν σου τὸν υἱόν
> "*Father*, the hour has come, **glorify** your son."

This particular weakening strategy appears often in the LXX-Psalms, likely due to the fact that this concept of deferential language is common in the Hebrew language.[18] In many Psalms, the psalmist is an inferior speaking to a superior as in the following example:

> וְעַתָּה מְלָכִים הַשְׂכִּילוּ הִוָּסְרוּ שֹׁפְטֵי אָרֶץ׃ (Psalm 2:10)
> Now therefore, O kings, be wise; be warned, O rulers of the earth.

> καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, **σύνετε· παιδεύθητε**, πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. (LXX-Psalm 2:10)
> And now, O kings, be sensible; be instructed, all you who judge the earth.

By deferring to his superior addressing him as βασιλεῖς, the psalmist weakens the force of the upcoming imperative verbs. There are numerous examples of this particular weakening strategy found throughout the Psalms. At times, the psalmist is addressing kings as he did in the example above. There are also abundant examples of the psalmist addressing God, using deferential language before making a command as a politeness strategy.[19]

## 7.3    The Distribution of the Greek Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

There are 816 Greek verbs in the imperative mood in the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms. Consider the various Hebrew forms underlying the Greek imperative in the chart below:

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[17] Fantin, "Force," 192.

[18] See Hélène Dallaire, *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose*, Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic, vol. 9 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014), 22-23.

[19] For more on polite versus impolite speech, see Richard J. Watts, *Politeness*, Key Topics in Socio Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 20.

**Table 7.1 The Greek Imperative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 624 | 71.9% |
| Jussive | 170 | 19.6% |
| PC | 36 | 4.2% |
| Non-verbs | 20 | 2.3% |
| Converted Forms | 5 | 0.6% |
| Infinitives | 4 | 0.6% |
| SC | 5 | 0.6% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.2% |
| Total | 866 | |

As one would expect, the majority of Greek imperatives are used to translate the Hebrew imperative. This is no surprise since many of the functions of the Hebrew and Greek imperatives overlap with one another.[20] This was likely an easy decision for the LXX-Psalms translator.[21] Twenty percent of the occurrences of Greek imperatives translate the Hebrew jussive. This includes both second person (19) and third person (143) jussive forms. The LXX-Psalms translator is consistent in retaining the person (second or third person) of the Hebrew verbs. Translating the second person jussive with a Greek imperative does not come as a surprise, but those translating the third person jussives will require a closer look. The remainder of occurrences of the Greek imperative mood only account for eleven percent of its usage, but it will be interesting to see what might have led the LXX-Psalms translator to use the Greek imperative even here.

It should be noted that in the statistics above, I have combined all Greek imperatives in the Septuagint Psalms. Two important distinctions that may be helpful are present versus aorist imperatives and second versus third person imperatives. The tables below provide this data:

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[20] See Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 571-572.

[21] See chapter 3 for more on the Hebrew imperative. The Hebrew imperative is rendered by the Greek imperative for 89% of its total occurrences.

**Table 7.2 The Present Imperative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperative | | 114 | 67.1% |
| Jussive | | 30 | 17.6% |
| Other | | 24 | 14.1% |
| PC | | 1 | 0.6% |
| Participle | | 1 | 0.6% |
| | Total | 170 | |

**Table 7.3 The Aorist Imperative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperative | | 496 | 71.2% |
| Jussive | | 137 | 19.7% |
| Non-Verbs | | 15 | 2.2% |
| PC | | 33 | 4.7% |
| Converted Forms | | 5 | 0.7% |
| SC | | 5 | 0.7% |
| Infinitives | | 4 | 0.6% |
| Participle | | 1 | 0.1% |
| | Total | 696 | |

**Table 7.4 The Second Person Imperative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imperative | | 616 | 90.7% |
| Jussive | | 26 | 3.8% |
| Non-verbs | | 17 | 2.5% |
| PC | | 6 | 0.9% |
| SC | | 6 | 0.9% |
| Infinitives | | 4 | 0.6% |
| Converted Forms | | 2 | 0.3% |
| Participle | | 2 | 0.3% |
| | Total | 679 | |

**Table 7.5 The Third Person Imperative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jussive | | 144 | 77% |
| PC | | 30 | 16% |
| Imperative | | 6 | 3.2% |
| Non-Verbs | | 3 | 1.6% |
| Converted Forms | | 3 | 1.6% |
| SC | | 1 | 0.5% |
| | Total | 187 | |

Aspect is the primary difference between present and aorist imperatives. Present imperatives convey an ongoing action to be carried out while aorist imperatives convey the action as a whole.[22] Robertson suggests that when a deity is addressed, the aorist imperative is regularly used, but when requests are addressed by men to men, either the present or the aorist can be expected.[23] My research in the Psalms supports this proposition, though there were two exceptions. It is true that when men are addressed, examples of both the aorist and present are abundant. However, there is one example of the present imperative being used to address God:

> **הַאֲשִׁימֵם ׀** אֱלֹהִים יִפְּלוּ מִמֹּעֲצוֹתֵיהֶם בְּרֹב פִּשְׁעֵיהֶם הַדִּיחֵמוֹ כִּי־מָרוּ בָךְ׃ (Psalm 5:11)
> Make them bear their guilt, O God; let them fall by their own counsels; because of their many transgressions cast them out, for they have rebelled against you.

> **κρῖνον** αὐτούς, ὁ θεός· ἀποπεσάτωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν διαβουλίων αὐτῶν· κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβειῶν αὐτῶν ἔξωσον αὐτούς, ὅτι παρεπίκρανάν σε, κύριε. (LXX-Psalm 5:11)
> Judge them, O God; let them fall by their own schemes; in accordance with their many impieties cast them out, because they embittered you, O Lord.

Other than these two examples, Robertson's suggestion that aorist imperatives are the primary imperative used when speaking to God is true in the LXX-Psalms. The present imperative is more often used when speaking to men. In the two exceptions, there is no clear reason for the translator deviating from his default translation.

As mentioned above in the discussion on weakening strategies, the primary difference between second and third person imperatives is one of directness. While the imperative-mood verb form itself is still one with great force, its appearance in the third person is less confrontational than a second person imperative.[24]

For the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss examples of the imperative mood in the LXX-Psalms based on the way in which the translator utilized the imperative mood to render a variety of Hebrew forms.

## 7.4    Translating Hebrew Volitives

### 7.4.1  Translating Imperatives

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[22] Boas, Rijksbaron, Huitink, Bakker, *Grammar*, 343, 436.

[23] Robertson, *Grammar*, 948.

[24] Fantin, "Force," 191.

Nearly ninety percent of the imperatives in the LXX-Psalms translate Hebrew volitives. Sixty-nine percent translate Hebrew imperatives while twenty percent translate Hebrew jussives. There is much overlap between the functions of the Greek imperatives with Hebrew imperatives. Like the functions for Greek imperatives listed above, the Hebrew imperative is mostly used for direct commands, though in some contexts it can also grant permission, convey requests, or make a wish.[25] The following examples demonstrate the translator rendering Hebrew imperatives with Greek imperatives:

לַמְנַצֵּחַ לְדָוִד בַּיהֹוָה ׀ חָסִיתִי אֵיךְ תֹּאמְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי **נוּדוּ** הַרְכֶם צִפּוֹר: (Psalm 11:1)
In the LORD I take refuge; how can you say to me, "Flee like a bird to the mountains."

Ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πέποιθα· πῶς ἐρεῖτε τῇ ψυχῇ μου **Μεταναστεύου** ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ὡς στρουθίον; (LXX-Psalm 10:1)
In the Lord I trust; how will you say to my soul, "Flee to the mountains like a sparrow"?

**שִׂמְחוּ** בַיהֹוָה **וְגִילוּ** צַדִּיקִים **וְהַרְנִינוּ** כָּל־יִשְׁרֵי־לֵב: (Psalm 32:11)
Be glad in the LORD and rejoice, O righteous, and shout for joy, all you upright in heart.

**εὐφράνθητε** ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ **ἀγαλλιᾶσθε**, δίκαιοι, καὶ **καυχᾶσθε**, πάντες οἱ εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ. (LXX-Psalm 31:11)
Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, O righteous, and boast, all you upright in heart.

The above examples are straightforward and unsurprising. These two examples exhibit direct commands with a Hebrew imperative, rendered by a Greek imperative functioning in the same way. This is representative of most of the rendering of Hebrew imperatives in the Psalms, and as the second example from Psalm 32:11 demonstrates, both the aorist and the present Greek imperatives are employed to render the command function of the Hebrew imperative. As mentioned above, the only difference between an aorist and present imperative is one of aspect, which is exhibited in Psalm 32:11. There are three Hebrew imperatives (שִׂמְחוּ, וְגִילוּ, and וְהַרְנִינוּ) with no clear distinction in terms of the grammatical form. However, the translator renders the first imperative (שִׂמְחוּ) with a Greek aorist imperative (εὐφράνθητε) and the second two Hebrew imperatives (וְהַרְנִינוּ and וְגִילוּ) with present imperatives (ἀγαλλιᾶσθε and καυχᾶσθε). The command εὐφράνθητε views the desired action as a whole, but ἀγαλλιᾶσθε and καυχᾶσθε consider the desired action in progress.

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[25] Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 571. For further discussion on the functions of the Hebrew imperative, see chapter 3.

While the command function of the Hebrew imperative is most prevalent in the Psalms, there are also examples of the Hebrew imperative in the context of requests as in the following examples.

קוּמָ֣ה אֱלֹהִים֮ שָׁפְטָ֪ה הָ֫אָ֥רֶץ כִּֽי־אַתָּ֥ה תִנְחַ֗ל בְּכָל־הַגּוֹיִֽם׃ (Psalm 82:8)
Rise up, O God, judge the earth; for all the nations belong to you!

**ἀνάστα**, ὁ θεός, **κρῖνον** τὴν γῆν, ὅτι σὺ κατακληρονομήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. (LXX-Psalm 81:8)
Rise up, O God, judge the earth, because you will gain possession of all the nations.

שִׁמְעָֽה־תְפִלָּתִ֨י ׀ יְהֹוָ֡ה וְשַׁוְעָתִ֨י ׀ **הַאֲזִ֗ינָה** אֶֽל־דִּמְעָתִי֮ אַֽל־תֶּחֱרַ֥שׁ כִּ֤י גֵ֣ר אָנֹכִ֣י עִמָּ֑ךְ תּ֝וֹשָׁ֗ב כְּכָל־אֲבוֹתָֽי׃ (Psalm 39:13)
Hear my prayer, O LORD, and give ear to my cry; do not hold your peace at my tears. For I am your passing guest, an alien, like all my forebears.

**εἰσάκουσον** τῆς προσευχῆς μου, κύριε, καὶ τῆς δεήσεώς μου **ἐνώτισαι**· τῶν δακρύων μου μὴ παρασιωπήσῃς, ὅτι πάροικος ἐγώ εἰμι παρὰ σοὶ καὶ παρεπίδημος καθὼς πάντες οἱ πατέρες μου. (LXX-Psalm 38:13)
Listen to my prayer, O Lord, and to my petition give ear; do not pass by my tears in silence, because I am a sojourner with you, and a visiting stranger, like all my fathers.

In both examples, the psalmist is speaking to God, giving us an example of an inferior speaking to a superior. He uses deferential language as a sign of respect, but still expresses the urgency of his request by using an imperative. It is true that this fits into the "request" function of the Hebrew imperative described Waltke and O'Connor,[26] but perhaps it would be best still to interpret the imperatives in the above examples as commands with great force, but respectfully weakened by the deferential language that follows. Since this is also possible in the Greek,[27] the LXX-Psalms translate the Hebrew imperatives with Greek imperatives.

## 7.4.2  Translating Jussives

The LXX-Psalms translator also uses the Greek imperative to translate Hebrew jussives. This use of the Greek imperative accounts for twenty percent (162 occurrences) of its occurrences in the LXX-Psalms. Nineteen of the Greek imperatives translate second-person jussives while 143 translate third-person jussives. Three second-person Greek imperatives translate third

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[26] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 571.

[27] See Fantin, "Force," 181.

person Hebrew jussives[28] and one third-person Greek imperative translates a second-person Hebrew jussive.[29]

The first example to consider exhibits a Greek imperative translating a second-person jussive:

אַל־תָּרִימוּ לַמָּרוֹם קַרְנְכֶם תְּדַבְּרוּ בְצַוָּאר עָתָק: (Psalm 75:6)
Do not lift up your horn on high, or speak with insolent neck.

μὴ **ἐπαίρετε** εἰς ὕψος τὸ κέρας ὑμῶν, μὴ **λαλεῖτε** κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀδικίαν. (LXX-Psalm 74:6)
Do not lift up your horn on high; do not speak injustice against God.

אַל־תִּגְּעוּ בִמְשִׁיחָי וְלִנְבִיאַי אַל־תָּרֵעוּ: (Psalm 105:15)
Do not touch my anointed ones; do my prophets no harm.

Μὴ **ἅπτεσθε** τῶν χριστῶν μου καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ **πονηρεύεσθε**. (LXX-Psalm 104:15)
Do not touch my anointed ones, and among my prophets do no harm.

The Hebrew second-person jussive in these examples are preceded by the negative particle אַל. This is a normal construction in Biblical Hebrew and functions as a negative imperative.[30] Each occurrence of the Greek present imperative translating a Hebrew second-person jussive are also found in constructions similar to the one above.

The Hebrew jussives underlying the aorist imperatives are much different, however. Consider the following examples:

שָׁפְטֵנִי אֱלֹהִים ׀ וְרִיבָה רִיבִי מִגּוֹי לֹא־חָסִיד מֵאִישׁ־מִרְמָה וְעַוְלָה תְפַלְּטֵנִי: (Psalm 43:1)
Vindicate me, O God, and defend my cause against an ungodly people; from those who are deceitful and unjust deliver me!

Κρῖνόν με, ὁ θεός, καὶ δίκασον τὴν δίκην μου ἐξ ἔθνους οὐχ ὁσίου, ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἀδίκου καὶ δολίου **ῥῦσαί** με. (LXX-Psalm 42:1)
Vindicate me, O God, and defend my cause from a nation not devout; from a person, unjust and deceitful, rescue me!

יְהוָה הַט־שָׁמֶיךָ וְתֵרֵד גַּע בֶּהָרִים וְיֶעֱשָׁנוּ: (Psalm 144:5)
Bow your heavens, O LORD, and come down; touch the mountains so that they smoke.

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[28] LXX-Pss. 19:10, 50:14, 89:16.

[29] LXX-Ps. 50:20.

[30] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 348.

κύριε, κλῖνον οὐρανούς σου καὶ **κατάβηθι**, ἅψαι τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ καπνισθήσονται· (LXX-Psalm 143:5)
O Lord, tilt your heavens, and come down; touch the mountains, and they will smoke.

The two examples above involve a sentence that begins with the Hebrew imperative, which is translated by a Greek imperative. It is then followed by a Hebrew prefix conjugation, which is also translated by a Greek imperative. In such contexts where a verbal form is not preceded by its subject or a negative particle, it is normally either a jussive or a cohortative according to Waltke and O'Connor.[31] This is true even when a prefix conjugation form is not formally marked as a jussive or a cohortative. The two examples listed above are not unique. Each occurrence of the aorist imperative translating Hebrew second-person jussives is preceded by another imperative at the beginning of the sentence.[32]

The LXX-Psalms translator's use of Greek aorist imperatives to translate Hebrew second-person jussives is an excellent display of his understanding of the Hebrew text. The Hebrew prefix conjugation is ambiguous in many ways with a variety of functions as discussed in previous chapters. The LXX-Psalms translator understood these various nuances, as seen in his rendering of the second-person jussive with Greek aorist imperative verbs. Once again, this is further proof that the LXX-Psalms translator looked beyond individual words when translating, but appropriately interpreted those words and forms considering their surrounding context. There is also a strong variation between the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of second and third person jussives. A strong correlation exists between the Hebrew second-person jussive and the Greek aorist imperative. Both are direct with great force, and it is clear that the translator saw the overlap between these two forms.

## 7.5    Translating Non-Verbs

The Hebrew volitives account for nearly ninety percent of what underlies the Greek imperatives in the LXX-Psalms, but there are a few miscellaneous categories that are worth noting. Going in descending order in terms of occurrences, the Greek imperative is used five

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[31] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

[32] For other examples, see LXX-Pss. 50:20; 53:3; 63:2; 139:2; 139:5.

percent of the time (forty occurrences) to translate something other than a verb in the Hebrew. There are three instances where there is no clear underlying Hebrew for the present imperative:

וַהֲדָרְךָ֙ ׀ צְלַ֤ח רְכַ֗ב עַֽל־דְּבַר־אֱ֭מֶת וְעַנְוָה־צֶ֑דֶק וְתוֹרְךָ֖ נוֹרָא֣וֹת יְמִינֶֽךָ׃ (Psalm 45:5)
In your majesty ride on victoriously for the cause of truth and to defend the right; let your right hand teach you dread deeds.

καὶ ἔντεινον καὶ κατευοδοῦ καὶ **βασίλευε** ἕνεκεν ἀληθείας καὶ πραΰτητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ὁδηγήσει σε θαυμαστῶς ἡ δεξιά σου. (LXX-Psalm 44:5)
And draw, and prosper, and become king for the sake of truth and meekness and righteousness, and your right hand will guide you marvelously.

הוֹד֗וּ לְאֵ֥ל הַשָּׁמָ֑יִם כִּ֖י לְעוֹלָ֣ם חַסְדּֽוֹ׃ (Psalm 136:26)
O give thanks to the God of heaven, for his steadfast love endures forever.

ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. **ἐξομολογεῖσθε** τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν κυρίων, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 135:26)
Acknowledge the God of the sky, because his mercy is forever. Acknowledge the Lord of lords, because his mercy is forever.

הַ֥לְלוּ יָ֨הּ ׀ כִּי־ט֗וֹב זַמְּרָ֥ה אֱלֹהֵ֑ינוּ כִּֽי־נָ֝עִים נָאוָ֥ה תְהִלָּֽה׃ (Psalm 147:1)
Praise the LORD! How good it is to sing praises to our God; for he is gracious, and a song of praise is fitting.

Αλληλουια· Αγγαιου καὶ Ζαχαριου. **Αἰνεῖτε** τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ψαλμός· τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν **ἡδυνθείη** αἴνεσις. (LXX-Psalm 146:1)
Hallelujah! Of Haggaios and Zacharias. Praise the Lord, because a melody is a good thing; to our God may praise be pleasing.

The reasoning for the Greek present imperatives in these examples varies. The first Greek imperative in LXX-Psalm 44:5 appears in a rather difficult Hebrew construction. There is no clear underlying Hebrew for the imperative βασίλευε "become king." This is not the only word in question for this verse and the surrounding verses. deClaissé-Walford has pointed out that there is a general consensus that these verses have been significantly corrupted in the transmission process.[33] That would explain why the imperative βασίλευε has no clear underlying Hebrew in this verse.

The second example from above of the Greek present imperative with no clear underlying Hebrew is simply due to the addition of a line at the end of the Psalm. In Hebrew, there is only one line in the final verse, but the LXX-Psalms contains a parallel line. The first

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[33] Nancy deClaissé-Walford, Rolf A. Jacobson, Beth LaNeel Tanner, *The Book of Psalms*, The New International Commentary on the Old Testament (Grand Rapids: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2014), 322.

line says to acknowledge the God of the sky, and the second line parallels this one saying to acknowledge the Lord of lords. It is unclear as to whether or not the LXX-Psalms translator's Hebrew *Vorlage* contained this extra line or if this addition arose from the translator's own addition. Since adding supplemental lines to a text is not typical for the LXX-Psalms translator, I would argue that his *Vorlage* likely contained the final line of this Psalm.

The third example is interesting because the translator typically renders the Hebrew title הַלְלוּ יָהּ with the Greek transliteration Αλληλουια. He still does so in LXX-Psalm 146:1, but this time he follows it with a translation of הַלְלוּ יָהּ, using the Greek imperative αἰνεῖτε. There are other examples of Psalms that are titled with הַלְלוּ יָהּ but the first word of the Psalm is הַלְלוּ, which the translator translates with αἰνεῖτε.[34] What makes LXX-Psalm 146:1 unique is that הַלְלוּ יָהּ is only the title and הַלְלוּ is not repeated to begin the Psalm as it is in the other cases where Αἰνεῖτε appears. The translator seems to recognize that in LXX-Psalm 146:1, הַלְלוּ יָהּ is functioning both as a title and as the first words of the Psalm. Instead of only transliterating it with Αλληλουια as he does in other Psalms, he also translates it for the opening line of the Psalm.

There are much more attestations of the aorist imperative translating non-verbs (fifteen) in the LXX-Psalms than present imperatives. Eight of these translate a Hebrew noun in some way. Sometimes the translator takes the idea of the noun and communicates it as a verb, as in the following examples:

מְמְתִים יָדְךָ ׀ יְהֹוָה מְמְתִים מֵחֶלֶד **חֶלְקָם** בַּחַיִּים וּצְפוּנְךָ תְּמַלֵּא בִטְנָם יִשְׂבְּעוּ בָנִים  (Psalm 17:14)
וְהִנִּיחוּ יִתְרָם לְעוֹלְלֵיהֶם:
> From mortals—by your hand, O LORD—from mortals whose portion in life is in this
> world. May their bellies be filled with what you have stored up for them; may their
> children have more than enough; may they leave something over to their little ones.

κύριε, ἀπὸ ὀλίγων ἀπὸ γῆς **διαμέρισον** αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν. καὶ τῶν
κεκρυμμένων σου ἐπλήσθη ἡ γαστὴρ αὐτῶν, ἐχορτάσθησαν υἱῶν καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὰ
κατάλοιπα τοῖς νηπίοις αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 16:14)
O Lord, from few things from earth separate them in their lives. And with your hidden
things their belly was filled; they were fed with sons, and they left the remnants to
their infants.

קוּמָה **עֶזְרָתָה** לָּנוּ וּפְדֵנוּ לְמַעַן חַסְדֶּךָ: (Psalm 44:27)
> Rise up to our help. Redeem us for the sake of your steadfast love. (Modified from
> NRSV)

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[34] See LXX-Psalms 148:1 and 150:1.

ἀνάστα, κύριε, **βοήθησον** ἡμῖν καὶ λύτρωσαι ἡμᾶς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου. (LXX-Psalm 43:27)
Rise up, O Lord; help us, and redeem us for the sake of your name.

דִּרְשׁוּ יְהוָה **וְעֻזּוֹ** בַּקְּשׁוּ פָנָיו תָּמִיד: (Psalm 104:4)
Seek the LORD and his strength; seek his presence continually.

ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον καὶ **κραταιώθητε**, ζητήσατε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός. (LXX-Psalm 104:4)
Seek the Lord and be strengthened; seek his face continually.

For each of these examples, the general sense of the noun is communicated verbally. In LXX-Psalm 16:14, the idea of חֶלְקָם (portion) is communicated with the Greek verb διαμέρισον (to divide or separate).[35] LXX-Psalm 43:27 takes the Hebrew noun עֶזְרָתָה (help) and translates it with the Greek imperative βοήθησον (help). Finally, LXX-Psalm 104:4 translates the Hebrew noun וְעֻזּוֹ (his strength) and translates it with the Greek passive imperative κραταιώθητε (be strengthened).[36] This is perhaps an example of the liberty the LXX-Psalms translator embraced as these are not likely forms that would have been mistaken as verbs.

Some Greek imperatives appear in portions of a verse that do not appear in the Hebrew text. Consider LXX-Psalms 21:2 and 30:2:

אֵלִי אֵלִי לָמָה עֲזַבְתָּנִי רָחוֹק מִישׁוּעָתִי דִּבְרֵי שַׁאֲגָתִי: (Psalm 22:2)
My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? Why are you so far from helping me, from the words of my groaning?

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, **πρόσχες** μοι· ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με; μακρὰν ἀπὸ τῆς σωτηρίας μου οἱ λόγοι τῶν παραπτωμάτων μου. (LXX-Psalm 21:2)
God, my God, attend to me; why did you forsake me? Far away from my deliverance are the words of my transgressions.

בְּךָ יְהוָה חָסִיתִי אַל־אֵבוֹשָׁה לְעוֹלָם בְּצִדְקָתְךָ פַלְּטֵנִי: (Psalm 31:2)
In you, O LORD, I seek refuge; do not let me ever be put to shame; in your righteousness deliver me.

Ἐπὶ σοί, κύριε, ἤλπισα, μὴ καταισχυνθείην εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ **ἐξελοῦ** με. (LXX-Psalm 30:2)
In you, O Lord, I hoped; may I never be put to shame; in your righteousness rescue me, and deliver me.

In LXX-Psalm 21:2, an imperatival statement is made before the question is asked. There is nothing underlying this statement in Hebrew, and no known Hebrew manuscripts include this

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[35] The Syriac also translates this noun as a verb.

[36] The Syriac also translates this noun as a verb.

statement. It is possible that the translator added this statement on his own, but this is unlike his typical isomorphic tendencies. Therefore, a different *Vorlage* may be the cause of this variant. LXX-Psalm 30:2, on the other hand, is easier to explain. This verse is almost identical to LXX-Psalm 70:2 (Psalm 71:2), in which the Hebrew reads בְּצִדְקָתְךָ תַּצִּילֵנִי וּתְפַלְּטֵנִי ("In your righteousness deliver me and rescue me"). The translator could have been working with a Hebrew *Vorlage* that included the word תַּצִּילֵנִי in Psalm 31:2, or he could have added this line by mistake due to his familiarity with Psalm 71:2.

One other example where the LXX-Psalms translator appears to use a Greek imperative where there is no clear underlying Hebrew is in LXX-Psalm 140:5.

> יֶהֶלְמֵנִי־צַדִּיק ׀ חֶסֶד וְיוֹכִיחֵנִי שֶׁמֶן רֹאשׁ אַל־יָנִי רֹאשִׁי כִּי־עוֹד וּתְפִלָּתִי בְּרָעוֹתֵיהֶם: (Psalm 141:5)
> Let the righteous strike me; let the faithful correct me. Never let the oil of the wicked anoint my head, for my prayer is continually against their wicked deeds.

> παιδεύσει με δίκαιος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ ἐλέγξει με, ἔλαιον δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὴ **λιπανάτω** τὴν κεφαλήν μου, ὅτι ἔτι καὶ ἡ προσευχή μου ἐν ταῖς εὐδοκίαις αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 140:5)
> A righteous one shall discipline me with mercy and correct me, but let not a sinner's oil anoint my head, because my prayer is continually against their contentment.

The Hebrew of Psalm 141:5 is difficult, which is what led the committee for the NRSV (the translation provided above) to utilize the Septuagint's rendering. Here it is likely that the difficulty of the Hebrew caused the translator to do his best to render the meaning of the Hebrew into sensible Greek, which meant giving himself some liberty to use Greek words that may not have a corresponding lexeme in the Hebrew verse.

In LXX-Psalm 30:3, there is an example of a Greek imperative being used to render a Hebrew adverb:

> הַטֵּה אֵלַי ׀ אָזְנְךָ מְהֵרָה הַצִּילֵנִי הֱיֵה לִּי ׀ לְצוּר־מָעוֹז לְבֵית מְצוּדוֹת לְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי: (Psalm 31:3)
> Incline your ear to me; rescue me speedily. Be a rock of refuge for me, a strong fortress to save me.

> κλῖνον πρός με τὸ οὖς σου, **τάχυνον** τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι με· γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν καὶ εἰς οἶκον καταφυγῆς τοῦ σῶσαί με. (LXX-Psalm 30:3)
> Incline your ear to me; be quick to deliver me. Become to me a protector–god and a house of refuge, to save me.

Here the LXX-Psalms translator chooses to render the Hebrew adverb מְהֵרָה (quickly) with the Greek imperative τάχυνον (to do quickly). The adverb מְהֵרָה only appears three times in the Psalms (Psalm 31:3, 37:2, 147:15), and the LXX-Psalms translator does something

slightly different each time it appears, but in all three instances, the same basic root is used. Psalm 31:3 is rendered with a Greek imperative, Psalm 37:2 with a Greek adverb (ταχὺ), and Psalm 147:15 with a Greek noun (τάχους).

One final example of the Greek imperative translating a non-verb comes in LXX-Psalm 102:14:

כִּי־הוּא יָדַע יִצְרֵנוּ זָכוּר כִּי־עָפָר אֲנָחְנוּ׃ (Psalm 103:14)
For he knows how we were made; he remembers that we are dust.

ὅτι αὐτὸς ἔγνω τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν· **μνήσθητι** ὅτι χοῦς ἐσμεν. (LXX-Psalm 102:14)
Because he knew our makeup. Remember that we are dust!

The Hebrew adjective זָכוּר is rendered by the Greek imperative μνήσθητι. The BHS notes this translation in its apparatus and suggests the translator vocalized the consonants differently as זְכוֹר, which would be a Hebrew imperative. I agree with this note because the shorter form of the imperative (זְכֹר) with only the *holem* rather than the *holem-vav* appears frequently in the Psalms and is always translated with μνήσθητι as in LXX-Psalm 102:14. There is also one instance in LXX-Psalm 131:1 where the longer form of the imperative (זְכוֹר) appears and is also translated by the Greek imperative μνήσθητι.

This section has shown that when the translator appears to have deviated from the Hebrew, there is likely a variant in the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage*. His consistent closeness to the Hebrew throughout the Psalms leads one to conclude that where substantial deviation occurs, it is not likely due to the translator taking the liberty to add something to the Hebrew text.

## 7.6    Translating the Prefix Conjugation

The Greek imperative is only used thirty-six times (4.2 %) to translate Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs. Considering the imperfective aspect of the Hebrew prefix conjugation, it was surprising that only one of these twenty-four Greek imperatives are in the present tense. This occurs in LXX-Psalm 67:4, along with some other Greek aorist imperatives:

וְצַדִּיקִים יִשְׂמְחוּ יַעַלְצוּ לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְיָשִׂישׂוּ בְשִׂמְחָה׃ (Psalm 68:4)
But let the righteous be joyful; let them exult before God; let them be jubilant with joy.

Καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι **εὐφρανθήτωσαν**, **ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν** ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, **τερφθήτωσαν** ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ. (LXX-Psalm 67:4)

And let the righteous be glad; let them rejoice before God; let them delight with gladness.

This verse begins with the subject rather than the typical verb-subject-object pattern, and the subject is then followed by a Hebrew prefix conjugation that is translated by a Greek imperative. The Hebrew prefix conjugation often functions as a request,[37] and the LXX-Psalms translator appears to interpret the prefix conjugation verbs as such in LXX-Psalm 67:4. As discussed above, the primary difference between Greek present and aorist imperatives is the verbal aspect, and this verse supports this conclusion. The Greek aorist imperatives (εὐφρανθήτωσαν and τερφθήτωσαν) both communicate action as a whole while the Greek present imperative (ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν) communicates action that is ongoing and must be repeated. LXX-Psalm 67:4 exhorts readers to be glad and delight as a whole, and it exhorts the readers to do so by rejoicing throughout their lives.

One important clarification to make concerning the twenty-five occurrences of the Greek imperative translating the Hebrew prefix conjugation is that twenty-one are third-person imperatives while only four are second-person imperatives. Below are some examples of the third-person Greek imperative.

כָּל־הָאָרֶץ ׀ **יִשְׁתַּחֲווּ** לְךָ וִיזַמְּרוּ־לָךְ **יְזַמְּרוּ** שִׁמְךָ סֶלָה: (Psalm 66:4)
All the earth worships you; they sing praises to you, sing praises to your name. *Selah*

πᾶσα ἡ γῆ **προσκυνησάτωσάν** σοι καὶ ψαλάτωσάν σοι, **ψαλάτωσαν** τῷ ὀνόματί σου. Διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 65:4)
Let all the earth do obeisance to you and make music to you; let them make music to your name.

**יָקוּם** אֱלֹהִים **יָפוּצוּ** אוֹיְבָיו וְיָנוּסוּ מְשַׂנְאָיו מִפָּנָיו: (Psalm 68:2)
Let God rise up, let his enemies be scattered; let those who hate him flee before him.

**Ἀναστήτω** ὁ θεός, καὶ **διασκορπισθήτωσαν** οἱ ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ φυγέτωσαν οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 67:2)
Let God rise up, and let his enemies be scattered, and let those who hate him flee from before him.

**יִמָּלֵא** פִי תְּהִלָּתֶךָ כָּל־הַיּוֹם תִּפְאַרְתֶּךָ: (Psalm 71:8)
My mouth is filled with your praise, and with your glory all day long.

**Πληρωθήτω** τὸ στόμα μου αἰνέσεως, ὅπως ὑμνήσω τὴν δόξαν σου, ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειάν σου. (LXX-Psalm 70:8)

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[37] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 509.

Let my mouth be filled with praise, that I may sing a hymn to your glory, all day long to your magnificence.

LXX-Psalm 65 begins with the *hifil* imperative הָרִיעוּ (make a noise), which the translator renders with the Greek imperative ἀλαλάξατε. This appears to set the tone for the entire Psalm, even though some verbs are not formally imperatives. Therefore, in LXX-Psalm 65:4, instead of the translator rendering the prefix conjugation verbs with the present or future indicative, he utilizes the Greek imperative to better communicate the proper emphasis.

LXX-Psalm 67:2 is another example of the prefix conjugation functioning as a wish or a request. Previous chapters have discussed how the translator often will use a Greek subjunctive or a Greek optative to communicate this sense of the Hebrew prefix conjugation, and here is an example of the translator utilizing the volitional force of the imperative to communicate the wish or request.

There are three examples of the Greek second-person imperative translating the Hebrew prefix conjugation:

הַצִּילֵנִי מֵאֹיְבַי | אֱלֹהָי מִמִּתְקוֹמְמַי **תְּשַׂגְּבֵנִי**: (Psalm 59:2)
Deliver me from my enemies, O my God; protect me from those who rise up against me.

Ἐξελοῦ με ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου, ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπανιστανομένων ἐπ' ἐμὲ **λύτρωσαί** με· (LXX-Psalm 58:2)
Deliver me from my enemies, O God, and redeem me from those who rise up against me.

בְּצִדְקָתְךָ **תַּצִּילֵנִי וּתְפַלְּטֵנִי** הַטֵּה־אֵלַי אָזְנְךָ וְהוֹשִׁיעֵנִי: (Psalm 71:2)
In your righteousness deliver me and rescue me; incline your ear to me and save me.

Ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου **ῥῦσαί** με καὶ **ἐξελοῦ** με, κλῖνον πρός με τὸ οὖς σου καὶ σῶσόν με. (LXX-Psalm 70:2)
In your righteousness, rescue me, and deliver me; incline your ear to me, and save me.

Psalm 59:2 begins with a Hebrew imperative, which is translated with a Greek imperative in the Septuagint. The final verb in the Hebrew is a prefix conjugation, and the translator renders it as an imperative. Since this verb appears in the context of a prayer that begins with an imperative, the translator appears to render the prefix conjugation with a Greek imperative rather than an indicative since the action will only be actualized if God chooses to answer this request. Waltke and O'Connor call this function of the prefix conjugation a non-perfect of

injunction, and it is used to express "the speaker's will in a positive request or command."[38] The other example in LXX-Psalm 70:2 is similar in that it, too, is a prayer of deliverance. The translator renders two Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs with a Greek second-person aorist imperative.[39]

The LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of the prefix conjugation with the Greek imperative provides further evidence for the fact that he understood subtle nuances that are not marked, but only implied in the Hebrew text. The Hebrew prefix conjugation has a broad range of functions and depending on how the Hebrew writer intended to use it, the translator could have rendered it as an indicative or a non-indicative in Greek. But not only does the translator recognize the uses of the prefix conjugation where a Greek non-indicative is most appropriate, he also recognizes the intended force of the Hebrew volition and translates accordingly.

## 7.7    Translating Converted Forms

Only five occurrences (0.6%) of the Greek imperatives in the LXX-Psalms translate the Hebrew converted forms, namely the consecutive preterite and *veqatal*. As discussed in chapter 6 on the optative mood, when the *vav* conjunction is added to a prefix or suffix conjugation, the value of the verb changes. Prefix conjugation verbs with *vav* take on the value of a suffix conjugation and suffix conjugation verbs with *vav* take on the value of a prefix conjugation.[40] All five of the converted forms are aorist imperatives and all but one of them (LXX-Psalm 137:3) are in the third person.

הַבִּיטוּ אֵלָיו וְנָהָרוּ וּפְנֵיהֶם אַל־יֶחְפָּרוּ׃ (Psalm 34:6)
Look to him, and be radiant; so your faces shall never be ashamed.

προσέλθατε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ **φωτίσθητε**, καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ. (LXX-Psalm 33:6)
Come to him, and be enlightened, and your faces shall never be put to shame.

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[38] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 509.

[39] These two verses are also examples of the discussion above on the aorist imperative being used when deity is addressed.

[40] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 357. There are times in which a simple *vav* conjunction is attached to a prefix or suffix conjugation without converting the value of the verb. For such examples, I have included them in either the prefix or suffix conjugation categories.

The LXX-Psalms translator renders the *veqatal* (וְנָהֲרוּ) in Psalm 34:6 with an aorist

imperative (φωτίσθητε), thus understanding the *veqatal* to contain some level of volition.

Waltke and O'Connor suggest that in some contexts, the *veqatal* "with a consecutive notion

takes on a subordinate volitional force."[41] This function of the *veqatal* is perhaps what takes

place in Psalm 34:6, but the Hebrew is not clear. The verse begins with a third person suffix

conjugation verb (הִבִּיטוּ) and is followed by a third person *veqatal* (וְנָהֲרוּ). However, the

LXX-Psalms translator renders both verbs in the second person, translating both verbs with

an aorist imperative. Instead of the suffix conjugation הִבִּיטוּ beginning the sentence, some

Hebrew manuscripts do have the imperative, הַבִּיטוּ. Allen P. Ross suggests that if the suffix

conjugation is taken as an imperative, then it is required that the next verb (וְנָהֲרוּ) be taken as

an imperative as well (וּנְהָרוּ).[42]

Another example of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek imperative to

translate converted forms is found in LXX-Psalm 108:10:

וְנוֹעַ יָנוּעוּ בָנָיו **וְשִׁאֵלוּ וְדָרְשׁוּ** מֵחָרְבוֹתֵיהֶם: (Psalm 109:10)
May his children wander about and beg; may they be driven out of the ruins they
inhabit.

σαλευόμενοι μεταναστήτωσαν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ **ἐπαιτησάτωσαν, ἐκβληθήτωσαν** ἐκ
τῶν οἰκοπέδων αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 108:10)
As they totter, let his sons wander about and beg; let them be driven out of their
homesteads.

The two Greek aorist imperatives translating a *veqatal* in LXX-Psalm 108:10 are more

straightforward. The *veqatal* verbs follow a jussive, and as I discussed in chapter 6 on the

optative mood, "The (con)sequential *wqtl* usually takes on the sense of the preceding non-

perfective."[43] In Psalm 109:10, the *veqatal* verbs take on the sense of the preceding jussive,

and the translator renders them with Greek imperatives to carry on the appropriate volition.

The translator could have chosen to use the subjunctive or optative moods, but instead chose

to utilize the third-person imperative which also effectively communicates the sense of a

jussive. Though this is only one example, it further shows that the LXX-Psalms translator

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[41] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 532.

[42] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms: Volume 1 (1-41)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2011),
744 n.4. See also Peter C. Craigie and Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 1-50*, Word Biblical Commentary 19,
second ed. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004), 277 and deClaissé-Walford, Jacobson, and Tanner,
*Psalms*, 322.

[43] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 527.

was not limited in his options for rendering Hebrew verbs. The translator interpreted the function of the verb in its context and translated accordingly.

The next example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering a converted form with the Greek imperative is in LXX-Psalm 108:28:

יְקַלְלוּ־הֵמָּה֮ וְאַתָּ֪ה תְבָ֫רֵ֥ךְ קָ֤מוּ ׀ **וַיֵּבֹ֗שׁוּ** וְֽעַבְדְּךָ֥ יִשְׂמָֽח׃ (Psalm 109:28)
Let them curse, but you will bless. Let my assailants be put to shame; may your servant be glad.

καταράσονται αὐτοί, καὶ σὺ εὐλογήσεις· οἱ ἐπανιστανόμενοί μοι **αἰσχυνθήτωσαν**, ὁ δὲ δοῦλός σου εὐφρανθήσεται. (LXX-Psalm 108:28)
They will curse, but you will bless. Let my opponents be put to shame, but your slave will be glad.

In LXX-Psalm 108:28, a third-person aorist imperative (αἰσχυνθήτωσαν) translates the Hebrew consecutive preterite (וַיֵּבֹשׁוּ). The phrase in question is קָמוּ וַיֵּבֹשׁוּ ("they have stood and have been put to shame") which the translator renders with a participle and an imperative (οἱ ἐπανιστανόμενοί μοι "let my opponents me be put to shame"). It is possible that the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage* varied from what is written in the MT. Leslie Allen suggests that in light of the LXX-Psalms rendering, the Hebrew text should be emended to read קָמַי יֵבֹשׁוּ ("may my adversaries be ashamed"). This emendation is further supported by the fact that the translator most often renders consecutive preterite verbs isomorphically, including a translation of the prefixed *vav* with the Greek conjunction καί.

The final example of the LXX-Psalms translator rendering a converted form with the Greek imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 137:3:

בְּי֣וֹם קָרָ֭אתִי **וַֽתַּעֲנֵ֑נִי** תַּרְהִבֵ֖נִי בְנַפְשִׁ֣י עֹֽז׃ (Psalm 138:3)
On the day I called, you answered me, you increased my strength of soul.

ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρᾳ ἐπικαλέσωμαί σε, ταχὺ **ἐπάκουσόν** μου· πολυωρήσεις με ἐν ψυχῇ μου ἐν δυνάμει. (LXX-Psalm 137:3)
In the day I call upon you, hearken to me quickly; you will care for me with power in my soul.

This example is also difficult to explain. The aorist imperative ἐπάκουσόν translates the consecutive preterite וַתַּעֲנֵנִי, thus making this Hebrew phrase more of a petition.[44] There are no known Hebrew manuscripts that would support an emendation to the MT, but it is possible that the translator's *Vorlage* read differently. It is also possible that this was an interpretive

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[44] Ross, *Psalms*, 800.

decision made by the translator, but this is not clear. Perhaps the former option is most probable since the LXX-Psalms translator characteristically renders his *Vorlage* isomorphically.

This section has shown that the LXX-Psalms translator recognized when the Hebrew converted forms were meant to convey volition and translated them accordingly. It also suggests that even though the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage* appears to have matched the MT in the majority of the text, there are some more obscure verses where the Hebrew is less clear and the translator's rendering of the verb is best explained by the variant reading.

## 7.8    Translating the Suffix Conjugation

There are five instances where the Greek imperative translates the Hebrew suffix conjugation. Four of them are in the second person,[45] one is in the third person,[46] and they are all aorist imperatives. In the first example from LXX-Psalm 26:9, there are several verbs of volition in the underlying Hebrew.

אַל־תַּסְתֵּ֬ר פָּנֶ֨יךָ ׀ מִמֶּנִּי֮ אַל־תַּט־בְּאַ֗ף עַ֫בְדֶּ֥ךָ עֶזְרָתִ֥י הָיִ֑יתָ אַל־תִּטְּשֵׁ֥נִי וְאַל־תַּ֖עַזְבֵ֣נִי  (Psalm 27:9)
אֱלֹהֵ֣י יִשְׁעִֽי׃
    Do not hide your face from me. Do not turn your servant away in anger, you who have been my help. Do not cast me off, do not forsake me, O God of my salvation!

μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς ἐν ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου· βοηθός μου **γενοῦ**, μὴ ἀποσκορακίσῃς με καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με, ὁ θεὸς ὁ σωτήρ μου. (LXX-Psalm 26:9)
Do not turn your face from me. Do not turn away from your slave in wrath; be my helper. Do not damn me, and do not abandon me, O God, my savior.

The Hebrew contains several negative commands with the particle אַל plus a jussive. The verse begins with two negative commands (אַל־תַּסְתֵּר "Do not hide" and אַל־תַּט־בְּאַף "Do not turn away") which are translated with μή plus a subjunctive (μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς "Do not turn" and μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς "Do not turn away"). This is then followed by a Hebrew suffix conjugation (הָיִיתָ "been") which is translated with the Greek imperative (γενοῦ "be" as a positive command). Finally, the verse ends with two more negative commands (אַל־תִּטְּשֵׁנִי "Do not cast me off" and וְאַל־תַּעַזְבֵנִי "Do not forsake me") which the translator renders again with μή plus a subjunctive (μὴ ἀποσκορακίσῃς με "Do not damn me" and μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με "Do not

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[45] LXX-Psalms 26:9, 67:29, 67:31, and 118:120.

[46] LXX-Psalm 68:33.

abandon me"). This function of the suffix conjugation is what Waltke and O'Connor call the precative perfective or perfective of prayer. This function appears "in reference to situations the speaker prays for and expects to be realized."[47] In the context of numerous commands, it appears that the translator chose to render the one verb which was not a command (the suffix conjugation הָיִיתָ) as an imperative (γενοῦ) to maintain the volitional tone of the verse.

Another example of the Greek imperative translating the Hebrew suffix conjugation is found in LXX-Psalm 67:29.

> **צַוֵּה** אֱלֹהֶיךָ עֻזֶּךָ עוּזָּה אֱלֹהִים זוּ פָּעַלְתָּ לָּנוּ׃ (Psalm 68:29)
> Summon your might, your God; show your strength, O God, as you have done for us before. (Modified from NETS)

> **ἔντειλαι**, ὁ θεός, τῇ δυνάμει σου, δυνάμωσον, ὁ θεός, τοῦτο, ὃ κατειργάσω ἡμῖν. (LXX-Psalm 67:29)
> Command your power, O God; make powerful, O God, that which you wrought for us.

The explanation for the imperative here is straightforward. Instead of reading צַוֵּה as a piel suffix conjugation, the LXX-Psalms translator, using an unvocalized Hebrew manuscript might have read it as the Hebrew imperative צַוֵּה ("command"). Ross points out, however, that this reading requires more than just revocalizing צוה since it would require changing the text from אֱלֹהֶיךָ ("Your God") to אֱלֹהִים ("God").[48] If taken as a suffix conjugation, this verb could still be interpreted as a precative perfect and translated with an imperative, just as in LXX-Psalm 26:9. However, the LXX-Psalms translator does not account for the pronominal suffix on in אֱלֹהֶיךָ which leads me to believe that the translator's *Vorlage* contained אֱלֹהִים and the imperative צַוֵּה.

The next example of a Greek imperative translating the Hebrew suffix conjugation is found in LXX-Psalm 67:31.

> גְּעַר חַיַּת קָנֶה עֲדַת אַבִּירִים ׀ בְּעֶגְלֵי עַמִּים מִתְרַפֵּס בְּרַצֵּי־כָסֶף **בִּזַּר** עַמִּים קְרָבוֹת יֶחְפָּצוּ׃ (Psalm 68:31)
> Rebuke the wild animals that live among the reeds, the herd of bulls with the calves of the peoples. Trample under foot those who lust after tribute; scatter the peoples who delight in war.

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[47] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 494.

[48] Ross, *Psalms*, 468.

ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς θηρίοις τοῦ καλάμου· ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν ταύρων ἐν ταῖς δαμάλεσιν τῶν λαῶν τοῦ μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆναι τοὺς δεδοκιμασμένους τῷ ἀργυρίῳ· **διασκόρπισον** ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα. (LXX-Psalm 67:31)
Rebuke the wild animals of the reeds; the gathering of the bulls is among the heifers of the peoples in order that those tested by silver not be shut out. Scatter nations that want wars.

Once again, the translator encounters another suffix conjugation functioning as a precative perfect and renders it with the Greek imperative. This example is similar to LXX-Psalm 67:29 in the sense that it is found within a verse containing other volitives, and as Waltke and O'Connor have suggested, "This use of the perfective form can be recognized by the presence of other unambiguous forms in the context signifying a volitional mood,"[49] which in this case are the Hebrew volitives. Therefore, interpreting the suffix conjugation as a precative perfect and translating it with a Greek imperative is another example of the LXX-Psalms translator understanding less common nuances of Hebrew verb forms.

Another occurrence of the Greek imperative translating the Hebrew suffix conjugation is found in LXX-Psalm 68:33.

רָאוּ עֲנָוִים יִשְׂמָחוּ דֹּרְשֵׁי אֱלֹהִים וִיחִי לְבַבְכֶם: (Psalm 69:33)
Let the oppressed see it and be glad; you who seek God, let your hearts revive.

**ἰδέτωσαν** πτωχοὶ καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν· ἐκζητήσατε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ζήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν (LXX-Psalm 68:33)
Let the poor see it and be glad; seek God, and your soul shall live.

The editors of BHS suggest reading רָאוּ either as a jussive (יִרְאוּ "let them see") or as an imperative (רְאוּ "see"). The LXX-Psalms translator renders it in such a way that either of these options would make sense. He uses the third-person imperative, which can translate both volitional forms–the jussive or the imperative. Even if it was meant to be a suffix conjugation with a hypothetical nuance, as Ross suggests,[50] the translators use of an irreal mood is a creative way to go about rendering this rare function of the suffix conjugation into Greek.

The final example of the Greek imperative translating the Hebrew suffix conjugation is found in LXX-Psalm 118:120.

סָמַר מִפַּחְדְּךָ בְשָׂרִי וּמִמִּשְׁפָּטֶיךָ יָרֵאתִי: (Psalm 119:120)
My flesh trembles for fear of you, and I am afraid of your judgments.

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[49] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 494.

[50] Ross, *Psalms*, 493.

**καθήλωσον** ἐκ τοῦ φόβου σου τὰς σάρκας μου· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν κριμάτων σου ἐφοβήθην. (LXX-Psalm 118:120)
Nail down my flesh from fear of you, for I was afraid of your judgments.

Due to the differences in meaning between סָמַר ("to tremble") and καθήλωσον ("to nail down"), this example is difficult to explain. It does not seem likely that any particular function of the Hebrew suffix conjugation would have led the translator to render it with a Greek imperative, unless he understood it to be another precative perfect as discussed in the examples above. Even if that is the case, the reasoning for using καθήλωσον is not clear. I searched for other examples for both סָמַר and καθήλωσον, but these are the only appearances of both words in the LXX-Psalms. The Hebrew root סמר only appears once in the Hebrew Bible outside of the Psalms in Job 4:15 as a piel prefix conjugation (תְּסַמֵּר), and there the LXX-Job translator renders it with the Greek aorist indicative ἔφριξαν ("to tremble"). I found no other examples of the root καθηλόω in the LXX-Psalms nor the Hebrew Bible. Unfortunately, there is no adequate explanation for this translation decision.

## 7.9    Translating Infinitives

There are four Greek imperatives, all aorist and all second person, that translate Hebrew infinitives.[51] There are two types of infinitives in Biblical Hebrew: the infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct. The infinitive is a verbal noun of action or of state according to Joüon and Muraoka.[52] At times it functions more as a noun and other times it functions more like a verb. Two of the Hebrew infinitives are absolute (LXX-Psalms 16:5 and 64:11) and two are construct (LXX-Psalm 31:7 and 32:3).

**תָּמֹךְ** אֲשֻׁרַי בְּמַעְגְּלוֹתֶיךָ בַּל־נָמוֹטוּ פְעָמָי: (Psalm 17:5)
My steps have held fast to your paths; my feet have not slipped.

**κατάρτισαι** τὰ διαβήματά μου ἐν ταῖς τρίβοις σου, ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶσιν τὰ διαβήματά μου. (LXX-Psalm 16:5)
Restore my steps in your paths, lest my steps be shaken.

אַתָּה | סֵתֶר לִי֙ מִצַּר תִּצְּרֵנִי רָנֵּי **פַלֵּט** תְּסוֹבְבֵנִי סֶלָה: (Psalm 32:7)
You are a hiding place for me; you preserve me from trouble; you surround me with glad cries of deliverance. *Selah*

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[51] LXX-Psalms 16:5, 31:7, and 64:11.

[52] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 390.

σύ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με· τὸ ἀγαλλίαμά μου, **λύτρωσαί** με ἀπὸ τῶν κυκλωσάντων με. διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 31:7)
You are my refuge from affliction that besets me—my enjoyment, redeem me from those that encircle me!

שִׁירוּ־לוֹ שִׁיר חָדָשׁ הֵיטִיבוּ נַגֵּן בִּתְרוּעָה: (Psalm 33:3)
Sing to him a new song; play skillfully on the strings, with loud shouts.

ᾄσατε αὐτῷ ᾆσμα καινόν, καλῶς **ψάλατε** ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ. (LXX-Psalm 32:3)
Sing to him a new song; make music skillfully, with shouting.

תְּלָמֶיהָ רַוֵּה נַחֵת גְּדוּדֶיהָ בִּרְבִיבִים תְּמֹגְגֶנָּה צִמְחָהּ תְּבָרֵךְ: (Psalm 65:11)
You water its furrows abundantly, settling its ridges, softening it with showers, and blessing its growth.

τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς **μέθυσον**, **πλήθυνον** τὰ γενήματα αὐτῆς, ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσεται ἀνατέλλουσα. (LXX-Psalm 64:11)
Intoxicate its furrows! Multiply its crops; it will be glad with its drops, when it sprouts.

There are times in which the infinitive absolute can stand in place of other verb forms.[53] One such possibility is to replace a command form, and this particular function of the Hebrew infinitive absolute is likely what led the LXX-Psalms translator to the infinitive absolute with the Greek imperative in LXX-Psalm 16:5. The Hebrew begins with the infinitive absolute (תָּמֹךְ) which is represented by the aorist imperative (κατάρτισαι). The writer of Psalm 16 is petitioning to God, requesting divine intervention. It begins with a Hebrew imperative in verse 1, and in verse 2 the writer uses a jussive. Therefore, the command function of the Hebrew infinitive absolute in verse 5 is an appropriate interpretation considering the surrounding context, which is perhaps what led the translator to translate it with a Greek imperative.

The command function of the infinitive at least explains a possible motive for utilizing the Greek imperative in LXX-Psalm 64:11 as well, but this Psalm is primarily a declaration of praise without any petitions or commands. The Hebrew infinitive appears to be functioning more like a finite verb, which is another common function of the infinitive absolute.[54] Still, this example from LXX-Psalm 16:5 demonstrates the translator's high level of proficiency in Hebrew, knowing the various (and less common) nuances of an already rare verb form.

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[53] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 593.

[54] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 594.

## 7.10   Translating Participles

The final section in this chapter deals with Hebrew participles. There are two occasions
where the Greek imperative is used to translate Hebrew participles. Participles in Biblical
Hebrew most often function either adjectively (as in "a *consuming* fire" in Deuteronomy
4:24) or substantively ("a walking man").[55] There is one Greek present imperative (LXX-
Psalm 112:3) and one aorist imperative (LXX-Psalm 64:3), and both are in the Greek second
person.

**שֹׁמֵעַ** תְּפִלָּה עָדֶיךָ כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָבֹאוּ׃ (Psalm 65:3)
O you who answer prayer! To you all flesh shall come.

**εἰσάκουσον** προσευχῆς μου· πρὸς σὲ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἥξει. (LXX-Psalm 64:3)
Listen to my prayer! To you all flesh shall come.

מִמִּזְרַח־שֶׁמֶשׁ עַד־מְבוֹאוֹ **מְהֻלָּל** שֵׁם יְהוָה׃ (Psalm 113:3)
From the rising of the sun to its setting the name of the LORD is to be praised.

ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν **αἰνεῖτε** τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. (LXX-Psalm 112:3)
From the sun's rising to its setting, praise the name of the Lord!

The Hebrew of Psalm 65:3 begins with the participle שֹׁמֵעַ ("you who hear") used as a
vocative fits within the more common substantival use of the Hebrew participle.[56] Many of
the ancient translations such as the Septuagint, the Syriac, and Jerome instead read this verse
as a petition "hear my prayer," but Ross suggests that this does not fit the hymnic nature of
this section.[57] In other words, the Psalm is overall a song declaring praise to God and taking
this verse as a petition would be inconsistent with the remainder of the Psalm. Ross may be
correct asserting that the imperative within this hymn would be unusual, but based on the
translator's tendency toward isomorphic translation in the LXX-Psalms and the manuscript
evidence from the Syriac and Jerome, it is likely that there was a variant Hebrew reading
tradition supporting the imperative, even if that vocalization is not preferred.

The imperative in LXX-Psalm 112:3 (αἰνεῖτε) translates a Pual passive participle
(מְהֻלָּל). The LXX-Psalms translator renders this verse as a command rather than a statement.
There is no Hebrew evidence to suggest that a different *Vorlage* for the LXX-Psalms

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[55] Jo Ann Hackett, *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2010), 109. For
a more detailed discussion on the functions of the Hebrew participles, see Waltke and O'Connor,
*Syntax*, 614-631.

[56] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 386; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 614.

[57] Ross, *Psalms*, 412.

rendering. Unfortunately, it is not clear why the translator chose to use a present imperative. It is possible that this was to capture the ongoing nature of the praising called for by the Hebrew Psalm. It does not explain, however, why the translator uses a verb in the active voice rather than the passive as seen in the Hebrew. Perhaps this should be seen as a display of creativity by the LXX-Psalms translator.

## 7.11   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the translator's use of the Greek imperative mood in the LXX-Psalms, looking at the various Hebrew forms underlying this particular mood. The majority of the examples (nearly 90%) demonstrated the translator's use of the imperative to translate Hebrew volitives, which was unsurprising. Still, however, the translator utilized the imperative mood to translate volitives even when it was not obvious. Since not all Hebrew volitives are formally marked as such, the translator had to make interpretive decisions based on the surrounding context to decide on an appropriate translation of the Hebrew into Greek. The translator worked skillfully in this way, demonstrating an advanced understanding of these less obvious occurrences of the Hebrew volitives.

Though the remainder of the Hebrew verbs underlying the Greek imperative only accounted for approximately ten percent of the verbs overall, the translator's skill is highlighted even more when looking at the other forms he chose to render with the Greek imperative. Some of the appearances of the Greek imperative contribute to text-critical discussions since it would suggest a different reading, or at least a different vocalization of the Hebrew. Other appearances of the Greek imperative revealed an advanced knowledge of subtle and technical aspects of the Hebrew verbal system that would have required a sophisticated understanding of the language.

Going beyond just observing the mood (the Greek imperative) as a whole, the translator's utilization of the various versions of this mood whether that is the tense (present or aorist) or the person (second or third) also highlights his creativity. The LXX-Psalms translator effectively communicates the proper aspect intended by the Hebrew verb forms by intentionally choosing the most appropriate tense in light of the context. He also makes frequent use of the third-person imperative where the force of the imperative communicated the intended force in the Hebrew better than the subjunctive or optative moods.

In summary, the translator's use of the imperative mood reveals a robust understanding of the Hebrew verbal system and an advanced, creative utilization of the Greek verbal system as he uses this mood to render a variety of forms in the Hebrew Psalms. The translator's decision to use the imperative mood appears to be thoughtful and intentional, using it both at times when it was an obvious and expected translation choice, and in contexts that were more nuanced.

## 8. The Future Indicative in Translation

### 8.1    Introduction

In the preceding chapters, I have considered the use of non-indicative moods (i.e., subjunctive, optative, and imperative) in the LXX-Psalms. The LXX-Psalms translator utilizes these moods to translate a variety of Hebrew forms, even beyond Hebrew volitive verbs where one would expect a non-indicative in Greek. The translator has demonstrated an advanced knowledge of subtle nuances of the Hebrew verbal system and has creatively rendered them into Greek in a way that effectively communicates the reading of the Hebrew text, but in a way that is understandable and of good quality Greek.

While this section has primarily focused on non-indicative moods, I found that the LXX-Psalms translator frequently employed the Greek future indicative to render Hebrew volitives into Greek. Consequently, a chapter specifically focusing on the future indicative and how it is used more broadly in the LXX-Psalms may give more insight as to how the translator used this form. The default use of the Greek future indicative was to translate Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs, but the LXX-Psalms translator also uses it often to render the Hebrew jussive and cohortative.

### 8.2    The Functions of the Future Indicative

The Greek future indicative is unique in many ways. First of all, the future indicative is considered by many to be aspect-neutral, meaning that it can refer to a single action as a whole, or to an ongoing or repeated action in the future.[1] Porter clarifies that while the future is used in contexts where aspectual choice is made, aspect is not grammaticalized in the future tense, thus making it aspectually vague.[2] Muraoka states it even stronger suggesting that "the future is not an exponent of any aspect."[3]

Robertson suggests that "the future indicative is not merely a tense in the true sense of that term, expressing the state of the action. It is almost a mode on par with the subjunctive

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[1] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 425. T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 284.

[2] Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, Studies in Biblical Greek vol. 1, ed. D.A. Carson (New York: Peter Lange, 2010), 413.

[3] T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 284.

and imperative."[4] He goes on to cite several scholars who have classified the future indicative entirely as a mood such as Delbrück and Giles.[5] The future indicative contains the qualities of both mood and tense. Concerning modality, it expresses will and feeling, but concerning tense, the future indicative expresses the state of the action according to Robertson.[6] Blass and Debrunner suggest that the future indicative "is the only tense which expresses only a level of time and not an *Aktionsart* so that completed and durative action are not distinguished."[7]

What is clear is that the future is unique regarding its aspectual value compared to other tenses in Greek such as the present or aorist, for example. It is also unique as it relates to other moods like the subjunctive, optative, or imperative. Though it is called a future *indicative*, its function does not completely parallel the function of other indicatives or any of the other moods. Because of its distinctive function within the Greek verbal system, it is better to consider it on its own rather than force it into the other aspectual or modal categories. This broad range of functions can be seen in the way the LXX-Psalms translator utilizes it to render a variety of Hebrew forms in the Psalms.

Before moving on to the LXX-Psalms, however, it would be helpful to give a summary of the basic functions of the future indicative. First, the most basic function is what most call the prospective function.[8] This function is used to refer to action that is likely or going to happen.[9] Another function that nearly all grammars identify with the future indicative is the volitional function of,[10] used when one makes a wish, a request, or a command. While these are the two primary functions of the future indicative recognized by most grammars, others have highlighted more subtle nuances of the future indicative that

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[4] A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 872.

[5] Robertson, *Grammar*, 872.

[6] Robertson, *Grammar*, 873.

[7] F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. Robert W. Funk [BDF] (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 178.

[8] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284; Boas et. al., *Grammar*, 425; Robertson, *Grammar*, 873; Dana M. Harris, *An Introduction to Biblical Greek Grammar: Elementary Syntax and Linguistics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2020), 325; Andreas J. Köstenberger, Benjamin L. Merkle, and Robert L. Plummer, *Going Deeper with New Testament Greek: An Intermediate Study of the Grammar and Syntax of the New Testament* (Nashville: B&H Academic, 2016), 270.

[9] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 425.

[10] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 288; Boas et al., *Grammar*, 426; Robertson, *Grammar*, 874; Harris, *Grammar*, 325; Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer, *Grammar*, 271.

could arguably be placed into one of the above functions. For example, some recognize a gnomic future indicative in contexts to express "that which is to be expected under certain circumstances."[11] A deliberative function of the future indicative is also identified by some. This function is found within questions to convey uncertainty regarding the response.[12]

In this chapter, I discuss what potentially motivated the LXX-Psalms translator to render Hebrew verbs with the Greek future indicative. Even though it is primarily the default translation of the prefix conjugation, the LXX-Psalms translator creatively uses it to render other forms that are perhaps less obvious but he does so in a way that is natural to Greek.

## 8.3    The Distribution of the Future Indicative in the LXX-Psalms

There are 1,128 future indicative verbs in the Göttingen edition of the LXX-Psalms.

**Table 8.1: The Future Indicative in the LXX-Psalms**

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 824 | 69.5% |
| Cohortative | 154 | 12.9% |
| Jussive | 74 | 6.2% |
| Converted Forms | 52 | 4.4% |
| Non-Verbs | 31 | 2.6% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 30 | 2.5% |
| Participle | 13 | 1.1% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 0.3% |
| Imperative | 4 | 0.3% |
| Total | 1186 | |

The vast majority of Greek future indicatives in the LXX-Psalms are used to translate the Hebrew prefix conjugation (70%). The frequency of this use of the future indicative is intriguing considering the fact that most would assume that the imperfective aspect of the Greek present indicative would communicate well the imperfective aspect of the prefix conjugation. In the section that follows, I observe this translation choice and seek to determine why the translator saw the future indicative as their preferred option. I also discuss the translator's use of the future indicative to translate Hebrew volitives, which account for approximately nineteen percent of its occurrences in the LXX-Psalms. While nineteen

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[11] BDF, 178; Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer, *Grammar*, 273.

[12] Robertson, *Grammar*, 875; Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer, *Grammar*, 272.

percent may seem insignificant compared to the seventy-three percent used to render the Hebrew prefix conjugation, it still accounts for 232 occurrences which is far more than any other Hebrew verb-form the future indicative translates. Even though the future indicative is not a proper mood in the same sense as the other non-indicative moods, I still extend my discussion to include the other Hebrew forms translated by the future indicative to give a clearer picture of how the translator employed this unique verb form. I also discuss the less-frequently paired options, attempting to determine whether the LXX-Psalms translator was deliberately using a rare function of the future indicative or if the Hebrew form in the LXX-Psalms translator's *Vorlage* possibly differed from the form in the MT.

## 8.4 Translating the Prefix Conjugation

The Greek future indicative most often translates the Hebrew prefix conjugation. This use accounts for seventy percent, or 824 occurrences. In this section, I discuss a selection of examples to demonstrate the translator's use of the Greek future indicative to translate the Hebrew prefix conjugation, arguing that the ambiguity of the future indicative aligns well with the ambiguity of the prefix conjugation. Both forms possess a wide variety of functions and moods, thus making the Greek future indicative a creative rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation.

First, consider the following examples which contain several examples of the Greek future indicative rendering Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs:

וְהָיָ֗ה כְּעֵץ֮ שָׁת֪וּל עַֽל־פַּלְגֵ֫י מָ֥יִם אֲשֶׁ֤ר פִּרְי֨וֹ ׀ יִתֵּ֬ן בְּעִתּ֗וֹ וְעָלֵ֥הוּ לֹֽא־יִבּ֑וֹל וְכֹ֖ל אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂ֣ה (Psalm 1:3) יַצְלִֽיחַ׃

They are like trees planted by streams of water, which yield their fruit in its season, and the leaves do not wither. In all that they do, they prosper.

καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων, ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ **δώσει** ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ **ἀπορρυήσεται**· καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, **κατευοδωθήσεται**. (LXX-Psalm 1:3)
And he will be like the tree that was planted by the channels of waters, which will yield its fruit in its season, and its leaf will not fall off. And in all that he does, he will prosper.

רְצוֹן־יְרֵאָ֥יו יַעֲשֶׂ֑ה וְֽאֶת־שַׁוְעָתָ֥ם יִ֝שְׁמַ֗ע וְיוֹשִׁיעֵֽם׃ (Psalm 145:19)
He fulfills the desire of all who fear him; he also hears their cry, and saves them.

θέλημα τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν **ποιήσει** καὶ τῆς δεήσεως αὐτῶν **ἐπακούσεται** καὶ **σώσει** αὐτούς. (LXX-Psalm 144:19)

The will of all who fear him he will do, and to their petition he will hearken and will save them.

The Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs in the examples above highlight the most common function of this verb form, which is to express future time.[13] The LXX-Psalms translator, therefore, chooses to primarily use the Greek future indicative throughout the Psalms to render this basic Hebrew function of the prefix conjugation into Greek.

There are hundreds of examples in the LXX-Psalms of this use of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew prefix conjugation. In many ways, this was the translator's default use of the future indicative. However, there are many other ways in which the translator utilizes this mood, even within the prefix conjugation. One such example is the translator's use of the future indicative to translate Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs within a deliberative context. Waltke and O'Connor call this function the *non-perfective of deliberation* and suggest that it "denotes the speaker's or subject's deliberation as to whether a situation should take place."[14] For Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs functioning in this way, the translator utilized the Greek future indicative, as in LXX-Psalm 87:11:

הֲלַמֵּתִים תַּעֲשֶׂה־פֶּלֶא אִם־רְפָאִים יָקוּמוּ ׀ יוֹדוּךָ סֶּלָה׃ (Psalm 88:11)
Do you work wonders for the dead? Do the shades rise up to praise you? *Selah*

Μὴ τοῖς νεκροῖς **ποιήσεις** θαυμάσια; ἢ ἰατροὶ ἀναστήσουσιν, καὶ ἐξομολογήσονταί σοι; (LXX-Psalm 87:11)
Surely, you shall not work wonders for the dead? Or will physicians raise up, and they will acknowledge you? (Modified from NETS)

The translator makes use of the deliberative function of the Greek future indicative to translate the deliberative function of the Hebrew prefix conjugation. This function of the future indicative is widely recognized in studies on the Greek verbal system,[15] so this translation choice should come as no surprise.

Another common use of the Hebrew prefix conjugation that the translator renders with the Greek future indicative is what Waltke and O'Connor call the *non-perfective of*

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[13] P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2016), 337.

[14] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 508. See also W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley [GKC], *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd English Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910), 316.

[15] See Robertson, *Grammar*, 875; Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer, *Grammar*, 272.

*injunction*, which "expresses the speaker's will in a positive request or command."[16] An example can be found in LXX-Psalm 50:9:

תְּחַטְּאֵנִי בְאֵזוֹב וְאֶטְהָר תְּכַבְּסֵנִי וּמִשֶּׁלֶג אַלְבִּין׃ (Psalm 51:9)
Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

**ῥαντιεῖς** με ὑσσώπῳ, καὶ καθαρισθήσομαι· **πλυνεῖς** με, καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι. (LXX-Psalm 50:9)
You will sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed; you will wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Since the Greek future indicative can also be used for commands and requests,[17] the translator utilizes it to render the Hebrew prefix conjugation when it occurs in contexts such as the one above. This verse is interesting because it contains two types of future indicatives used in two different ways. Not only does it have the commands which are highlighted in the verse above, but καθαρισθήσομαι ("I shall be clean") also translates a prefix conjugation with a prefixed *vav* indicating result, which is also a function of the future indicative. Another example can be found in LXX-Psalm 5:12:

וְיִשְׂמְחוּ כָל־חוֹסֵי בָךְ לְעוֹלָם יְרַנֵּנוּ וְתָסֵךְ עָלֵימוֹ וְיַעְלְצוּ בְךָ אֹהֲבֵי שְׁמֶךָ׃ (Psalm 5:12)
But let all who take refuge in you rejoice; let them ever sing for joy. Spread your protection over them, so that those who love your name may exult in you.

καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ σέ· εἰς αἰῶνα ἀγαλλιάσονται, καὶ **κατασκηνώσεις** ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ καυχήσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντες οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸ ὄνομά σου. (LXX-Psalm 5:12)
And let all who hope in you be glad; forever they will rejoice, and you will encamp among them, and those who love your name will boast in you.

The way in which the LXX-Psalms translator renders the verbs in this verse reveals more about his interpretation of the prefix conjugation. The verse begins with a Hebrew jussive (וְיִשְׂמְחוּ) which the translator renders with an aorist imperative (εὐφρανθήτωσαν). This then leads the translator to recognize the volitional use of the other prefix conjugation verbs that follow and chooses to render them with the volitional function of the future indicative.

The Greek future indicative may appear to be the default translation for the Hebrew prefix conjugation, but that should not discount the creativity of this translation choice. There are several other Greek verb forms that the translator could have chosen to render the wide

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[16] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 509.

[17] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 288; Boas et al., *Grammar*, 426; Robertson, *Grammar*, 874; Harris, *Grammar*, 325; Köstenberger, Merkle, and Plummer, *Grammar*, 271.

variety of functions for the Hebrew prefix conjugation such as the present tense, the imperfect tense, or the non-indicative moods. However, it should be noted that the meaning of the Hebrew prefix conjugation can be ambiguous. Likewise, the future indicative is ambiguous in many of the same ways such as time, aspect, and mood. This makes the translator's decision to render the Hebrew prefix conjugation with the Greek future indicative not only adequate, but also creatively resourceful.

## 8.5    Translating Hebrew Volitives

The translator renders the Hebrew volitive for approximately nineteen percent of the occurrences of the Greek future indicative in LXX-Psalms. I will analyze the translation of each Hebrew volitive (the cohortative, the jussive, and the imperative) separately to give a clearer impression of how the LXX-Psalms translator understood these forms.

### 8.5.1   Translating the Cohortative

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek future indicative 154 times (12.9%) to translate the Hebrew Cohortative. As previous chapters have shown, the translator also uses the Greek subjunctive and optative moods when translating Hebrew cohortatives, but the future indicative was his preferred translation in most cases.[18]

The use of the Greek future indicative is not limited to translating just one function of Hebrew cohortatives. The most common cohortative function the future indicative translates is the cohortative of resolve. Consider this example from LXX-Psalm 9:3:

אֶשְׂמְחָה וְאֶעֶלְצָה בָךְ אֲזַמְּרָה שִׁמְךָ עֶלְיוֹן׃ (Psalm 9:3)
I will be glad and exult in you; I will sing praise to your name, O Most High.

εὐφρανθήσομαι καὶ ἀγαλλιάσομαι ἐν σοί, ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου, ὕψιστε. (LXX-Psalm 9:3)
I will be glad and will rejoice in you; I will make music to your name, O Most High.

This example is helpful because the verbs in Hebrew are cohortative in both form and meaning. The *qamets-he* at the end of the word makes the cohortative explicit, giving the translator clear direction that these verbs should be interpreted as volitives. When appearing

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[18] The translator uses the Greek future indicative to translate sixty-five percent (92/142) of the Hebrew cohortatives in the Psalms. For more on the other Greek verbs used to translate Hebrew cohortatives, see chapter 2 in the previous section.

in independent clauses such as the example from Psalm 9:3, the cohortative is used to express the will or desire of the speaker. Waltke and O'Connor point out that "in cases where the speaker has the ability to carry out an inclination it takes on the coloring of resolve."[19] This makes the future indicative an easy choice in verses such as this one. The Hebrew is clearly meant to be volitional due to the marking of the verb, so instead of using a Greek present or an aorist indicative, the translator utilizes the volitional nuance of the future indicative.[20] In this specific example from LXX-Psalm 9:3, the translator recognized the resolve of the original psalmist communicated by the Hebrew cohortatives, and thus translated these forms with the Greek volitive future indicative to communicate the speaker's will or purpose.[21]

There are also examples of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew cohortatives when the cohortatives are making a wish or request. Consider the following examples:

**נְרַנְּנָ֤ה** ׀ בִּ�‏ישׁוּעָתֶ֗ךָ וּבְשֵֽׁם־אֱלֹהֵ֥ינוּ נִדְגֹּ֑ל יְמַלֵּ֥א יְ֝הוָ֗ה כָּל־מִשְׁאֲלוֹתֶֽיךָ׃ (Psalm 20:6)
May we shout for joy over your victory, and in the name of our God set up our banners. May the LORD fulfill all your petitions.

**ἀγαλλιασόμεθα** ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου καὶ ἐν ὀνόματι θεοῦ ἡμῶν μεγαλυνθησόμεθα. πληρώσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου. (LXX-Psalm 19:6)
We shall rejoice in your deliverance, and in our God's name we shall glory. May the Lord fulfill all your requests.

**אָג֣וּרָה** בְאָהָלְךָ֣ עֽוֹלָמִ֑ים אֶֽחֱסֶ֓ה בְסֵ֖תֶר כְּנָפֶ֣יךָ סֶּֽלָה׃ (Psalm 61:5)
Let me abide in your tent forever, find refuge under the shelter of your wings. *Selah*

**παροικήσω** ἐν τῷ σκηνώματί σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, σκεπασθήσομαι ἐν σκέπῃ τῶν πτερύγων σου. διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 60:5)
I will sojourn in your covert forever, find shelter in the shelter of your wings. *Interlude on strings*

In the examples above, the cohortatives are functioning as a request.[22] It is difficult to point to one function of the Greek future indicative that parallels this request function of the Hebrew cohortative. As I discussed above, the prospective function of the future indicative simply involves what lies before the speaker.[23] In the verses above, the future could be taken as a

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[19] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[20] Robertson, *Grammar*, 924.

[21] Robertson, *Grammar*, 874.

[22] For more on this function of the Hebrew cohortative, see Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 573.

[23] Robertson, *Grammar*, 873.

prospective future that is merely temporal, but with the cohortative underlying it in the Hebrew, these future indicatives are better interpreted as volitive future indicatives, used in examples such as the ones above to communicate the will of the speaker.[24]

Another function of the Hebrew cohortative the LXX-Psalms translator translates with the Greek future indicative is the cohortative of purpose as the following examples demonstrate:

הָשַׁע מִמֶּנִּי **וְאַבְלִיגָה** בְּטֶרֶם אֵלֵךְ וְאֵינֶנִּי׃ (Psalm 39:14)
Turn your gaze away from me, that I may smile again, before I depart and am no more.

ἄνες μοι, ἵνα **ἀναψύξω** πρὸ τοῦ με ἀπελθεῖν καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ὑπάρξω. (LXX-Psalm 38:14)
Let me be, that I may revive before I depart and be no more.

וְאַתָּה יְהוָה חָנֵּנִי וַהֲקִימֵנִי **וַאֲשַׁלְּמָה** לָהֶם׃ (Psalm 41:11)
But you, O LORD, be gracious to me, and raise me up, that I may repay them.

σὺ δέ, κύριε, ἐλέησόν με καὶ ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ **ἀνταποδώσω** αὐτοῖς. (LXX-Psalm 40:11)
But as for you, O Lord, have mercy on me, and raise me up, and I will repay them.

סְעָדֵנִי **וְאִוָּשֵׁעָה** וְאֶשְׁעָה בְחֻקֶּיךָ תָמִיד׃ (Psalm 119:117)
Hold me up, that I may be safe and have regard for your statutes continually.

βοήθησόν μοι, καὶ **σωθήσομαι** καὶ μελετήσω ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασίν σου διὰ παντός. (LXX-Psalm 118:117)
Help me, and I shall be saved and shall meditate on your statutes continually.

When Hebrew cohortatives appear in dependent clauses following another volitional form, it often contains the nuance of purpose or intended result.[25] Since the Greek volitive future indicative communicates the purpose or will of the speaker in the first person,[26] the translator utilizes it in contexts such as the ones above where the Hebrew cohortative functions in the same way.

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[24] Robertson suggests that in the first person, "the volitive future really includes purpose (will)." Robertson, *Grammar*, 874.

[25] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 575.

[26] Robertson, *Grammar*, 874.

## 8.5.2   Translating the Jussive

The Greek future indicative is also used to translate a significant number of Hebrew jussives. There are seventy-four total occurrences of this rendering which accounts for approximately six percent of the future indicatives. The Greek future indicative is mostly limited to translating third-person jussive forms, but on three occasions (in two verses) the translator uses it to translate a second-person jussive as seen in the following examples:

וְלֹא־נָסוֹג מִמֶּךָ **תְּחַיֵּנוּ** וּבְשִׁמְךָ נִקְרָא: (Psalm 80:19)
   Then we will never turn back from you; give us life, and we will call on your name.

καὶ οὐ μὴ ἀποστῶμεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, **ζωώσεις** ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐπικαλεσόμεθα. (LXX-Psalm 79:19)
And we will never turn away from you; you will revive us, and we will call on your name.

בְּרוֹק בָּרָק **וּתְפִיצֵם** שְׁלַח חִצֶּיךָ **וּתְהֻמֵּם**: (Psalm 144:6)
   Make the lightning flash and scatter them; send out your arrows and rout them.

ἄστραψον ἀστραπὴν καὶ **σκορπιεῖς** αὐτούς, ἐξαπόστειλον τὰ βέλη σου καὶ **συνταράξεις** αὐτούς. (LXX-Psalm 143:6)
Flash a lightning flash, and you will scatter them; send out your arrows, and you will throw them into disarray.

In the first example from LXX-Psalm 79:19, the second person jussive is used much like an imperative to communicate an urgent request.[27] Most second-person jussives in the psalms are found in contexts of negation with the particle אַל, and in most cases the translator renders the second-person jussive with either a subjunctive or an imperative since he translates אַל with οὐ μὴ mostly precedes non-indicatives but can also be used with the future indicative.[28] In this example, the translator uses the Greek future indicative, and the reasoning is not altogether clear because it is intensifying and valid grammatically.

This chapter, thus far, has discussed the volitional nature of the future indicative in Greek, so this translation decision is not a complete misnomer. It is important to note that what I have identified in the Hebrew text as a jussive in meaning may simply be a Hebrew

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[27] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 348; Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 568.

[28] See Matthew 16:22. Also, see chapter 4 on how the Hebrew jussive is translated.

prefix conjugation. Whether it should be taken as a jussive or a prefix conjugation, however, the future indicative adequately conveys the urgent request intended by the Hebrew psalmist.

The example from LXX-Psalm 143:6 is similar to LXX-Psalm 79:19, but in this verse both lines begin with a Hebrew imperative (בְּרוֹק and שְׁלַח) which are then followed by the jussive verbs (וּתְפִיצֵם and וּתְהֻמֵּם). It should be noted, though, that these two Hebrew verbs could also be interpreted as a prefix conjugation since they are not formally marked as jussives. However, since the Hebrew imperative begins each clause, the verbs that follow will contain volitional force. Waltke and O'Connor suggest, "Where a prefix-conjugation form is not morphologically marked in such a context, it may be taken as having jussive or cohortative force."[29] In such scenarios, the jussive will signify purpose or result as it does in LXX-Psalm 143:6. While the translator could have translated these forms with non-indicative moods as he sometimes does, his decision to use the Greek future indicative is intriguing. The ambiguity of the Greek future indicative aligns well with the ambiguity of the Hebrew verbs which could be taken either as a prefix conjugation or as a jussive.

Other than these three examples of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew second-person jussive, there are many more examples of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew third-person jussive (seventy-six). First, consider Psalm 5:12 where the Hebrew verbs are similar in function to the previous example from Psalm 144:6:

וְיִשְׂמְחוּ כָל־חוֹסֵי בָךְ לְעוֹלָם יְרַנֵּנוּ וְתָסֵךְ עָלֵימוֹ וְיַעְלְצוּ בְךָ אֹהֲבֵי שְׁמֶךָ: (Psalm 5:12)
But let all who take refuge in you rejoice; let them ever sing for joy. Spread your protection over them, so that those who love your name may exult in you.

καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ σέ· εἰς αἰῶνα **ἀγαλλιάσονται**, καὶ κατασκηνώσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ **καυχήσονται** ἐν σοὶ πάντες οἱ ἀγαπῶντες τὸ ὄνομά σου. (LXX-Psalm 5:12)
And let all who hope in you be glad; forever they will rejoice, and you will encamp among them, and those who love your name will boast in you.

This example is interesting because the first Hebrew verb (וְיִשְׂמְחוּ) is a third-person jussive rendered with the Greek imperative (εὐφρανθήτωσαν). However, the following third-person jussive (יְרַנֵּנוּ) is rendered with the Greek future indicative. The next verb is a Hebrew prefix conjugation (וְתָסֵךְ) translated by a Greek future indicative (κατασκηνώσεις), followed by another third-person jussive (וְיַעְלְצוּ) translated again with a Greek future indicative (καυχήσονται). It is important to note that the Hebrew jussives in this verse are only jussive

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[29] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

in meaning. They are not formally marked as such, so the translator had to make an interpretive decision regarding the volitional force of these verbs. With this Psalm involving an inferior making an urgent request to a superior (God), the translator appears to have rendered the verbs as volitives. The Greek imperative at the beginning of the verse sets the tone for what follows, and the future indicative is bringing out the hypothetical purpose or result of God granting his request.[30]

LXX-Psalm 118:175 is another example of how the translator utilizes the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew jussives:

תְּחִי־נַפְשִׁי וּתְהַלְלֶךָּ וּמִשְׁפָּטֶךָ יַעֲזְרֻנִי׃ (Psalm 119:175)
Let me live that I may praise you, and let your ordinances help me.

**ζήσεται** ἡ ψυχή μου καὶ **αἰνέσει** σε, καὶ τὰ κρίματά σου **βοηθήσει** μοι.
My soul shall live and praise you, and your judgments will help me.

In this example, the sentence begins with a Hebrew jussive that is formally marked as a jussive, thus lessening the ambiguity and making it clear for the LXX-Psalms translator. Even with the less ambiguous Hebrew verb, the translator still uses the future indicative to translate it in this example where the psalmist is making a request to God. I have shown in a previous chapter how the translator often uses the optative mood in contexts such as this one, but this example helps reveal the fact that there was no perfectly isomorphic system in which the LXX-Psalms translator was functioning. He had the liberty and creativity to use overlapping functions of different Greek verbs to translate a single grammatical form in Hebrew, and here he uses the volitive function of the future indicative.

The other Hebrew jussive verbs in this example are similar to the examples above. Following a Hebrew volitive to begin the sentence, there are two other Hebrew jussive verbs, but unlike the first one, these two are not formally marked as jussive. With these Hebrew jussives following a volitive to begin the sentence, the psalmist is communicating the hypothetical purpose or result of being granted his request.[31] Here, the translator uses the potential value of the future indicative since its function overlaps with the purpose/result function of the jussive.

There are many other examples of the LXX-Psalms translator utilizing the Greek future indicative to translate the Hebrew jussive, but to summarize this particular use of the

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[30] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

[31] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 577.

future indicative, the translator demonstrates a willingness to use the ambiguity of the future indicative as an effective translation of Hebrew jussives, especially when their function is also ambiguous due to formal marking of the verbs.

### 8.5.3 Translating the Imperative

While the translator made frequent use of the future indicative for Hebrew cohortatives and jussives, he did not frequently use it to translate the Hebrew imperative. Only four examples are found in the LXX-Psalms for this translation. The first comes from LXX-Psalm 36:3:

בְּטַח בַּיהוָה וַעֲשֵׂה־טֹוב שְׁכָן־אֶרֶץ **וּרְעֵה אֱמוּנָה**׃ (Psalm 37:3)
Trust in the LORD, and do good; so you will live in the land, and enjoy security.

ἔλπισον ἐπὶ κύριον καὶ ποίει χρηστότητα καὶ κατασκήνου τὴν γῆν, καὶ **ποιμανθήσῃ** ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῆς· (LXX-Psalm 36:3)
Hope in the Lord, and keep doing kindness, and encamp in the land, and you will be tended by its wealth.

It is difficult to assess exactly what the LXX-Psalms translator was doing with this verse. The part in question is the final phrase וּרְעֵה אֱמוּנָה. The NRSV says "enjoy security" but more precisely, it should read "shepherd faithfulness" or "feed on faithfulness." The Septuagint, however, translates וּרְעֵה אֱמוּנָה with καὶ ποιμανθήσῃ ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῆς ("and you will be tended by its wealth"). There appears to be some kind of textual discrepancy causing the translator to render it this way. The translator is consistent in his translation technique throughout the Psalms, so anytime there is a deviation from his mostly isomorphic approach it is usually due to either a textual variant or a difficult Hebrew construction. The Göttingen Psalms apparatus does not say anything concerning readings in other manuscripts for this phrase, but the BHS apparatus suggests that the LXX-Psalms translator was likely reading the noun הֲמֹונָה ("its abundance"). The imperative (וּרְעֵה), however, is not in question and it is surprising to see the translator shift this from an active voice to passive voice with the future passive indicative ("ποιμανθήσῃ"). Perhaps the textual difficulties in this verse is what led to an unusual translation on the part of the translator.

The next example of the Greek future indicative translating a Hebrew imperative is found in LXX-Psalm 44:13:

כִּי־הוּא אֲדֹנַיִךְ **וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי־לֹו**׃ וּבַת־צֹר ׀ בְּמִנְחָה פָּנַיִךְ יְחַלּוּ עֲשִׁירֵי עָם׃ (Psalm 45:12b-13)
Since he is your lord, bow to him; the people of Tyre will seek your favor with gifts,
the richest of the people.

**12b** ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ κύριός σου. ¹³ καὶ **προσκυνήσουσιν** αὐτῷ θυγατέρες Τύρου ἐν δώροις, τὸ πρόσωπόν σου λιτανεύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τοῦ λαοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 44:13)
…because he is your lord. And daughters of Tyre will do obeisance to him with gifts; your face the rich of the people will entreat.

The verse division and word order make this verse complex. The Hebrew has the imperative וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי at the end of verse 12 and reads "Since he is your lord, bow to him." However, the LXX-Psalms translator interpreted וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִי in light of verse 13 understood the daughters of Tyre as the subject. Allen Ross explains that the reason the translator associated it with the daughters of Tyre in verse 13 is because that colon has no verb (וּבַת־צֹר ׀ בְּמִנְחָה "And the daughter of Tyre with a gift"). However, this would leave the previous verse incomplete, reading "and since the king desires your beauty, because he is your lord…"[32] The future indicative is characteristic for this construction as the translator often uses the future indicative to indicate purpose or result.[33]

The final two examples of the Greek future indicative translating a Hebrew imperative are found LXX-Psalm 55:8.

עַל־אָוֶן **פַּלֶּט**־לָמוֹ בְּאַף עַמִּים ׀ **הוֹרֵד** אֱלֹהִים: (Psalm 56:8)
So repay them for their crime; in wrath cast down the peoples, O God!

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηθενὸς **σώσεις** αὐτούς, ἐν ὀργῇ λαοὺς **κατάξεις**, ὁ θεός. (LXX-Psalm 55:8)
On no account will you save them; in wrath you will bring down peoples, O God!

In this verse, the Greek future indicatives (σώσεις and κατάξεις) are used to translate the Hebrew imperatives (פַּלֶּט and הוֹרֵד) which appear to be functioning as a request. The syntax of the verse is rather difficult, but the translator utilizes the volitional function of the Greek future indicative to translate these Hebrew imperatives. The fact that both the Hebrew and the Greek should be taken volitionally is due to the deferential language ("O God") at the end of the verse. When an inferior is making an urgent request to a superior, this is a polite way to weaken the force of an imperative.[34] In chapter 7 on the Greek imperatives, I pointed out how the translator often preserved this language when translating imperatives in Hebrew. Even though it is rare, I would suggest that this is also possible for other volitional forms in Greek.

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[32] Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 2 (42-89)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2013), 65.

[33] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

[34] See chapter 7 for more on weakening strategies in conjunction with the Greek imperative.

To conclude this analysis of the translator's use of the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew volitives, it is clear that the translator effectively utilized the volitional nuance of the future indicative. He did so in contexts where volition was obvious, but he also did so in much more ambiguous contexts. His utilization of the future indicative to translate Hebrew jussives was particularly interesting since many Hebrew jussives are not formally marked as jussives, but simply look like a prefix conjugation. The Greek future indicative was an intriguing match since it too could function both as an indicative verb or with a modal sense.

## 8.6 Translating Converted Forms

The LXX-Psalms translator uses the Greek future indicative to translate converted forms (i.e., the consecutive preterite and *veqatal*) fifty-two times, which accounts for approximately four percent of the future indicative occurrences in the LXX-Psalms. As I discussed in previous chapters, the converted forms in Biblical Hebrew consist of a *vav* prefixed to either the prefix conjugation (consecutive preterite) or the suffix conjugation (*veqatal*).[35] When this takes place, the value of the verb is converted to take on the sense of the opposite form. The prefix conjugation takes on the value of the suffix conjugation and the suffix conjugation takes on the value of the prefix conjugation.[36] In the LXX-Psalms, there are twenty-three future indicative verbs that translate the consecutive preterite and twenty-nine that translate the *veqatal*. In most examples of the future indicative translating the consecutive preterite, the translator is usually rendering a situation that is successive to the preceding statement,[37] as in the following example:

וַיַּעְזְרֵם יְהֹוָה וַיְפַלְּטֵם יְפַלְּטֵם מֵרְשָׁעִים וְיוֹשִׁיעֵם כִּי־חָסוּ בוֹ: (Psalm 37:40)
The LORD helps them and rescues them; he rescues them from the wicked, and saves them, because they take refuge in him.

καὶ **βοηθήσει** αὐτοῖς κύριος καὶ **ῥύσεται** αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξελεῖται αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ σώσει αὐτούς, ὅτι ἤλπισαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. (LXX-Psalm 36:40)
And the Lord will help them and rescue them, and he will deliver them from sinners and save them, because they hoped in him.

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[35] It should be noted, however, that there are times in Biblical Hebrew where the simple *vav* conjunction is attached to a verb and the value of the original conjugation remains.

[36] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 357.

[37] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 547.

The preceding verse stated that the Lord was the refuge for the righteous, and in succession to that is the statement in this verse that the Lord rescues them and saves them. The translator chooses to use the prospective function of the future indicative to translate this function of the consecutive preterite. The prospective function indicates "what is likely, is destined, or is going to happen."[38] This allowed the LXX-Psalms translator to utilize the future indicative often in his translation of the consecutive preterite.

One example of the future indicative translating the consecutive preterite that is not as straightforward as in examples such as the one above is found in LXX-Psalm 108:17:

וַיֶּאֱהַב קְלָלָה **וַתְּבוֹאֵהוּ** וְלֹא־חָפֵץ בִּבְרָכָה **וַתִּרְחַק** מִמֶּנּוּ: (Psalm 109:17)
He loved to curse; let curses come on him. He did not like blessing; may it be far from him.

καὶ ἠγάπησεν κατάραν, καὶ **ἥξει** αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν εὐλογίαν, καὶ **μακρυνθήσεται** ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 108:17)
And he loved cursing, and it shall come on him. And he did not want blessing, and it shall be put far away from him.

The reason the NRSV translated the bolded consecutive preterite verbs as if they were Hebrew volitives is because they followed the suggested readings in the BHS apparatus. The BHS apparatus suggests that the Septuagint indicates these should not be taken as consecutive preterites but as a simple *vav* prefixed to a volitive. Leslie Allen explains their reasoning saying the "MT continues a series of past tenses from v 16 to the end of v 18, but תהי, 'may it be,' in v 19 suggests a repointing with weak *vav* here and in the case of ותבא, 'and may it come,' v 18, with the support of LXX."[39] While the jussive in verse 18 does strengthen this argument, I do not think it is necessary to emend the Hebrew in this case. These consecutive preterite forms could be taking on an ingressive or telic function, especially the second verb in question (וַתִּרְחַק) since it appears after a suffix conjugation.[40] Although the LXX-Psalms translator does often use the future indicative to translate Hebrew volitives, it is important to remember the complexity and flexibility of the future indicative. Yes, it often does translate Hebrew volitives, but it also translates verbs in many other

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[38] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 284.

[39] Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, Word Biblical Commentary vol. 21 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2002), 99.

[40] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 554.

contexts as well. I do think the suggested emendation is possible, but it may not be necessary based solely on the translation in the LXX-Psalms.

## 8.7　Translating Non-Verbs

There are thirty-one examples in the LXX-Psalms where the translator uses the future indicative to translate something that is not in the underlying Hebrew of the MT or to translate something other than a verb. The following examples demonstrate the future indicative with no clear underlying Hebrew:

וַיּוֹצִיאֵ֥נִי לַמֶּרְחָ֑ב יְחַ֝לְּצֵ֗נִי כִּ֘י חָ֥פֵֽץ בִּֽי׃ (Psalm 18:20)
He brought me out into a broad place; he delivered me, because he delighted in me.

καὶ ἐξήγαγέν με εἰς πλατυσμόν, ῥύσεταί με, ὅτι ἠθέλησέν με. [**ῥύσεταί** με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με.] (LXX-Psalm 17:20)
And he brought me out into spaciousness; he will rescue me, because he wanted me; [he will rescue me from my powerful enemy and from those who hate me]. [modified from NETS]

אָזְנַ֣יִם לָ֭הֶם וְלֹ֣א יַאֲזִ֑ינוּ אַ֝֗ף אֵין־יֶשׁ־ר֥וּחַ בְּפִיהֶֽם׃ (Psalm 135:17)
They have ears, but they do not hear, and there is no breath in their mouths.

ὦτα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐνωτισθήσονται, [ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ **ὀσφρανθήσονται**, χεῖρας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ **ψηλαφήσουσιν**, πόδας ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ **περιπατήσουσιν**, οὐ **φωνήσουσιν** ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν,] οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 134:17)
Ears they have and will not hear, [nostrils they have and will not smell, hands they have and will not feel, feet they have and will not walk, they will not call out their throat] for there is not even breath in their mouth. [modified from NETS]

The brackets in the Göttingen text in these two examples indicate that although some old manuscripts contain the Greek within the brackets, it is almost certain it was not part of the original text of the Greek Psalter.[41] Since adding commentary and going beyond the Hebrew text was not the regular translation technique of the LXX-Psalms translator, it is unlikely that he decided to change his approach in verses such as these. It is more likely that either his Hebrew *Vorlage* was different from the MT, or perhaps the additional text appeared in the transmission of the Old Greek as Rahlfs indicates with the brackets in the Göttingen text.

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[41] Alfred Rahlfs, eds. *Psalmi Cum Odis*. vol. XIV of Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 8: "Worte in eckigen Klammern finden sich in vielen alten Hss., gehören aber sicher nicht zum ursprünglichen Texte des griech. Psalters; in zweifelhaften Fällen habe ich keine Klammern gesetzt."

Therefore, these examples cannot provide new information about the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek future indicative.

There are other examples of the Greek future indicative appearing in contexts with no clear underlying Hebrew that are not as strongly doubted as the bracketed Greek in the examples above. Consider the following examples:

וַתִּתֶּן־לִ֗י מָגֵ֬ן יִשְׁעֶ֗ךָ וִימִֽינְךָ֥ תִסְעָדֵ֑נִי וְעַנְוַתְךָ֥ תַרְבֵּֽנִי׃ (Psalm 18:36)
You have given me the shield of your salvation, and your right hand has supported me; your help has made me great.

καὶ ἔδωκάς μοι ὑπερασπισμὸν σωτηρίας μου, καὶ ἡ δεξιά σου ἀντελάβετό μου, καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου ἀνώρθωσέν με εἰς τέλος, καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου, αὐτή με **διδάξει**. (LXX-Psalm 17:36)
And you gave me protection for my deliverance, and your right hand supported me, and your instruction set me straight completely; [and your instruction, it will teach me]. [modified from NETS]

כִּ֤י יְהוָ֨ה ׀ אֹ֘הֵ֤ב מִשְׁפָּ֗ט וְלֹא־יַעֲזֹ֥ב אֶת־חֲסִידָ֗יו לְעוֹלָ֥ם נִשְׁמָ֑רוּ וְזֶ֖רַע רְשָׁעִ֣ים נִכְרָֽת׃ (Psalm 37:28)
For the LORD loves justice; he will not forsake his faithful ones. The righteous shall be kept safe forever, but the children of the wicked shall be cut off.

ὅτι κύριος ἀγαπᾷ κρίσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα φυλαχθήσονται. ἄνομοι δὲ **ἐκδιωχθήσονται**, καὶ σπέρμα ἀσεβῶν ἐξολεθρευθήσεται· (LXX-Psalm 36:28)
Because the Lord loves justice and will not forsake his devout, they shall be kept safe forever. But the lawless shall be chased away, and the offspring of the impious shall be destroyed.

Since there are no brackets around the Greek future indicative verbs in question, this indicates that Rahlfs had less doubt (or perhaps no doubt) concerning the originality of the Greek text with no underlying Hebrew in the MT. The possibilities are the same for these types of examples as the ones discussed above: there was either a variant in the Hebrew *Vorlage* or the variant appeared in the transmission of the Greek. Since manuscript evidence is more certain surrounding the Greek text in this case, a variant in the Hebrew *Vorlage* is more likely the cause of this textual variant.

Because of the uncertainty regarding both the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts in these examples, we cannot learn much about the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek future indicative. However, there is no reason to believe that the translator was using the future indicative in a way that was unique to his typical use of it to translate Hebrew verbs like the prefix conjugation and volitional forms.

For some of the examples of the Greek future indicative translating a non-verb, it is not that the Hebrew is non-existent in the MT as in the examples above, but that the future indicative seems to translate a different part of speech. The following is an example of the Greek future indicative translating a Hebrew noun.

יְהֹוָה מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם וָעֶד אָבְדוּ גוֹיִם מֵאַרְצוֹ׃ (Psalm 10:16)
The LORD is king forever and ever; the nations shall perish from his land.

**βασιλεύσει** κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, ἀπολεῖσθε, ἔθνη, ἐκ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 9:37)
The Lord is king forever and forever and ever; you shall perish, O nations, from his land.

In this example, the LXX-Psalms translator was confronted with a verbless clause in the Hebrew, specifically, a clause of identification.[42] In English, we usually supply a being verb when translating these types of constructions. Greek also contains verbless clauses where the verb is implicit, but the LXX-Psalms translator decides to use a verb, stating here that the Lord will reign. While מֶלֶךְ could have been marked as a verb, it would have been a suffix conjugation or a participle unless there were originally other consonants that were not in the MT. I do not think a different reading is necessary in this example since the noun מֶלֶךְ in a clause of identification can take on verbal qualities. The LXX-Psalms translator's decision to render this verbless clause with a verb is an excellent example of his freedom to interpret the Hebrew and utilize whatever Greek constructions are most appropriate for its context.

There are other examples, however, where different marking of the Hebrew word is likely the cause for the LXX-Psalms translator rendering a noun with a Greek future indicative. Consider LXX-Psalm 64:8:

מַשְׁבִּיחַ ׀ שְׁאוֹן יַמִּים שְׁאוֹן גַּלֵּיהֶם וַהֲמוֹן לְאֻמִּים׃ (Psalm 65:8)
You silence the roaring of the seas, the roaring of their waves, the tumult of the peoples.

ὁ συνταράσσων τὸ κύτος τῆς θαλάσσης, ἤχους κυμάτων αὐτῆς. **ταραχθήσονται** τὰ ἔθνη (LXX-Psalm 64:8)
He who stirs the hollow of the sea, roars of its waves. The nations will be troubled.

The Göttingen apparatus does not give any indication that the LXX-Psalms translator worked with a Hebrew manuscript different from what we have in the MT. However, the BHS apparatus suggests that the LXX-Psalms translator read וַהֲמוֹן as יֶהֱמוּן, reading a *yod* rather

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[42] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 130.

than a *vav*. Misreading one letter for another letter that looks similar is a common scribal error and seems to be what has taken place in LXX-Psalm 64:8.

Another notable occurrence of the Greek future indicative translating a non-verb in the LXX-Psalms is in LXX-Psalm 36:26:

כָּל־הַיּוֹם חוֹנֵן וּמַלְוֶה וְזַרְעוֹ לִבְרָכָה: (Psalm 37:26)
They are ever giving liberally and lending, and their children become a blessing.

ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐλεᾷ καὶ δανείζει, καὶ τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ εἰς εὐλογίαν **ἔσται**. (LXX-Psalm 36:26)
All day long he is merciful and lends, and his offspring shall become a blessing.

This is a creative use of the Greek future indicative. The translator recognizes that the *lamed* preposition in לִבְרָכָה is functioning to mark an apposition (וְזַרְעוֹ)[43] and translates it with the being verb ἔσται. This is not a common use of the *lamed* preposition, but the translator creatively employs the Greek future indicative to effectively communicate the sense of the verse.

The examples of the translator using the Greek future indicative to translate something other than a verb in the Hebrew Psalms are not always clear. When the manuscript evidence (whether Hebrew or Greek) is not clear, it is likely safe to assume that the translator's *Vorlage* contained something he frequently translates with the Greek future indicative, even though we do not have that particular text. However, where manuscript evidence is more certain, the LXX-Psalms translator creatively uses the Greek future indicative to communicate the sense of more complex Hebrew constructions into sensible Greek.

## 8.8    Translating the Suffix Conjugation

The next category to discuss is the LXX-Psalms translator's use of the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs. There are thirty occurrences of this translation in total. Consider the following example:

כִּי יְהוָה ׀ אֹהֵב מִשְׁפָּט וְלֹא־יַעֲזֹב אֶת־חֲסִידָיו לְעוֹלָם נִשְׁמָרוּ וְזֶרַע רְשָׁעִים נִכְרָת: (Psalm 37:28)
For the LORD loves justice; he will not forsake his faithful ones. The righteous shall be kept safe forever, but the children of the wicked shall be cut off.

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[43] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 211.

ὅτι κύριος ἀγαπᾷ κρίσιν καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψει τοὺς ὁσίους αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα **φυλαχθήσονται**. ἄνομοι δὲ ἐκδιωχθήσονται, καὶ σπέρμα ἀσεβῶν **ἐξολεθρευθήσεται**· (LXX-Psalm 36:28)
Because the Lord loves justice and will not forsake his devout, they shall be kept safe forever. But the lawless shall be chased away, and the offspring of the impious shall be destroyed.

In this example, there are two Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs translated by the Greek future indicative. Waltke and O'Connor identify this particular function of the suffix conjugation as an accidental perfect. They explain, "With an *accidental perfective* a speaker vividly and dramatically represents a future situation both as complete and as independent."[44] Since this function of the Hebrew suffix conjugation involves a future situation, the LXX-Psalms translator's saw the Greek future indicative as an appropriate translation to adequately convey the meaning of these verbs. This translation further shows the creativity of the LXX-Psalms translator, and proficiency in his understanding of even the less common functions of a Hebrew verb.[45]

Another example of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek future indicative to translate the Hebrew suffix conjugation can be found in LXX-Psalm 76:10.

הֲשָׁכַח חַנּוֹת אֵל אִם־קָפַץ בְּאַף רַחֲמָיו סֶלָה׃ (Psalm 77:10)
Has God forgotten to be gracious? Has he in anger shut up his compassion?" *Selah*

ἢ **ἐπιλήσεται** τοῦ οἰκτιρῆσαι ὁ θεὸς ἢ **συνέξει** ἐν τῇ ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ; διάψαλμα. (LXX-Psalm 76:10)
Or will God forget to be compassionate? Or will he in his anger shut up his compassion?"

The verbs in this example appear in the context of a question. Again, there are two Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs translated by a Greek future indicative. Both verbs are preceded by the Greek disjunctive particle ἤ, which translates both the interrogative particle הֲ which begins the sentence, and then אִם which begins the next clause. LSJ points out that ἤ is often used in questions or deliberations, just as it is here in LXX-Psalm 76:10. The translator uses a

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[44] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 490.

[45] One important factor to consider about this particular verse is that it appears in the context of a Hebrew acrostic. The phrase ἄνομοι δὲ ἐκδιωχθήσονται ("but the lawless shall be chased away") in the LXX-Psalms does not appear in the MT, but the BHS apparatus notes its addition in the Septuagint. As Ross has pointed out, "Some commentators accept the addition because ἄνομοι would be the equivalent of עַוָּלִים, and thus provide the ע for the acrostic." See Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms, Volume 1 (1-41)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 2013), 800.

combination of the deliberative function of the particle ἤ and the deliberative function of the Greek future indicative to translate the suffix conjugation verbs in this verse.[46]

One final example to consider concerning the translator's decision to translate the Hebrew suffix conjugation with the Greek future indicative is found in LXX-Psalm 101:17.

> כִּי־בָנָה יְהוָה צִיּוֹן נִרְאָה בִּכְבוֹדוֹ: (Psalm 102:17)
> For the LORD will build up Zion; he will appear in his glory.

> ὅτι **οἰκοδομήσει** κύριος τὴν Σιων καὶ **ὀφθήσεται** ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 101:17)
> Because the Lord will build up Sion, and he will be seen in his glory.

The Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs in this verse are also examples of *accidental perfectives*, which are "especially frequent in prophetic address (hence it is also called the 'prophetic perfect' or 'perfective of confidence')."[47] Though the Greek future indicative is not exclusively used for future time contexts, in this case it was an appropriate translation of the accidental perfective function of the Hebrew suffix conjugation.

All of these examples have pointed to something important concerning the translation technique of the LXX-Psalms. They reveal the fact that though the LXX-Psalms are isomorphic in many ways, the translator did not have a strict, thoughtless approach to translating one Hebrew verb form with a corresponding Greek verb form without question. Instead, the translator interpreted the Hebrew suffix conjugation verbs in light of their context, making himself aware of the less common nuances of this particular type of Hebrew verb. At the same time, he did not only use the Greek future indicative when the Hebrew suffix conjugation function closely aligned with the default function of the future indicative. The translator creatively matched less common functions of the Hebrew suffix conjugation with a less common function of the future indicative.

## 8.9    Translating the Participle

There are thirteen instances of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek future indicative to translate Hebrew participles. One example is found in LXX-Psalm 18:7:

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[46] Muraoka only lists "Deliberative in the 1st pers." In his *Syntax of Septuagint Greek*. However, this example from LXX-Psalm 76:10 shows that this function of the future indicative may not be limited to the first person. See Muraoka, *Syntax*, 289.

[47] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 490.

מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם ׀ מוֹצָאוֹ וּתְקוּפָתוֹ עַל־קְצוֹתָם וְאֵין נִסְתָּר מֵחַמָּתוֹ: (Psalm 19:7)
Its rising is from the end of the heavens, and its circuit to the end of them; and nothing is hid from its heat.

ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡ ἔξοδος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ κατάντημα αὐτοῦ ἕως ἄκρου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς **ἀποκρυβήσεται** τὴν θέρμην αὐτοῦ. (LXX-Psalm 18:7)
From the sky's extremity is his starting point, and his goal is as far as the sky's extremity, and there is no one that will be hid from his heat.

According to Joüon and Muraoka, Hebrew participles are atemporal on their own, but when used as a predicate it becomes a temporal form, basically substituting for the prefix conjugation.[48] This predicate usage of the participle represents an action as a state, and that appears to be the function of the participle in Psalm 19:7. The translator's decision to render this Hebrew participle with a Greek future indicative is interesting. I believe this is an example where the Hebrew stem influenced the LXX-Psalms translator's decision. נִסְתָּר is a *niphal* participle which is a passive stem in Hebrew. The LXX-Psalms translator renders it with a ἀποκρυβήσεται, a future passive indicative. In the preceding verse, the *qal* participle יֹצֵא ("comes out") is rendered by the Greek present participle ἐκπορευόμενος ("coming out"). However, when the Hebrew Psalmist utilizes the *niphal* participle in LXX-Psalm 18:7, he uses the Greek future indicative. The Hebrew stem, along with the context of this verse, appears to be what led to his decision to use the Greek future passive indicative.[49]

Another example of the Greek future indicative translating a Hebrew participle is found in LXX-Psalm 67:36:

נוֹרָא אֱלֹהִים מִמִּקְדָּשֶׁיךָ אֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא נֹתֵן ׀ עֹז וְתַעֲצֻמוֹת לָעָם בָּרוּךְ אֱלֹהִים: (Psalm 68:36)
Awesome is God in his sanctuary, the God of Israel; he gives power and strength to his people. Blessed be God!

θαυμαστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ· ὁ θεὸς Ισραηλ αὐτὸς **δώσει** δύναμιν καὶ κραταίωσιν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός. (LXX-Psalm 67:36)
Admirable is God among his saints; the God of Israel, he will give power and strength to his people. Blessed be God!

In this example the LXX-Psalms translator renders a Hebrew participle that is functioning much like a prefix conjugation. Waltke and O'Connor say, "In reference to *present* time the participle also approximates the prefix conjugation but distinguishes itself by denoting a

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[48] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 380.

[49] A similar example can be found in LXX-Psalm 44:15 where the LXX-Psalms translator renders another Hebrew passive stem (the *hophal*) with a Greek future passive indicative.

continuing state of affairs (rather than iterative aspect) without any modal or volitional meaning."[50] It is not clear why the translator rendered this Hebrew participle with a Greek future indicative rather than a present indicative, but its rarity does not make it an inadequate translation. The prospective function of the future indicative captures the essence of what the Hebrew Psalm says in a way that reads well in Greek.

One final example of the LXX-Psalms translator using the future indicative to translate a Hebrew participle is found in LXX-Psalm 118:130:

פֵּתַח דְּבָרֶיךָ יָאִיר מֵבִין פְּתָיִים: (Psalm 119:130)
The unfolding of your words gives light; it imparts understanding to the simple.

ἡ δήλωσις τῶν λόγων σου φωτιεῖ καὶ **συνετιεῖ** νηπίους. (LXX-Psalm 118:130)
The exposition of your words will enlighten and will impart understanding to infants.

The Hebrew of this example begins with a prefix conjugation in the first colon (יָאִיר) which is translated with the Greek future indicative (δήλωσις). The second colon begins with the Hebrew participle (מֵבִין) which is also translated with a future indicative (συνετιεῖ). It is interesting that the translator did not distinguish the variation in the Hebrew verb forms by using differing verb forms in the Greek. I have noted elsewhere how the translator will often do so to mirror the Hebrew in that way. However, using the future indicative for both of these verbs may be a way for the translator to show the consistency in Hebrew stems from one colon to the next. Both Hebrew verbs are *hiphil* stem verbs which is the stem of causation.[51] This verse is talking about the effects of the impartation of God's words. They "enlighten" and "impart understanding." In some ways, the future indicative helps bring out the fact this enlightenment and understanding takes place as a result of hearing God's words.

While the explanation for the LXX-Psalms translator's decisions to render Hebrew participles with the Greek future indicative may not always be straightforward, it is clear that the translator utilized the Greek future indicative within the normal bounds of its usage in non-translation, postclassical Greek. He also managed to use it in a way that overlapped in some way with the typical functions of the Hebrew participle.

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[50] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 626.

[51] Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar*, 150.

## 8.10   Translating the Infinitive

There are four examples of the LXX-Psalms translator using the Greek future indicative to

translate the Hebrew infinitive. The first one is found in LXX-Psalm 39:6:

רַבּ֤וֹת עָשִׂ֨יתָ ׀ אַתָּ֤ה ׀ יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹהַי֮ נִֽפְלְאֹתֶ֥יךָ וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֶ֗יךָ אֵ֫לֵ֥ינוּ אֵ֤ין ׀ **עֲרֹ֬ךְ** אֵלֶ֗יךָ  (Psalm 40:6)
אַגִּ֥ידָה וַאֲדַבֵּ֑רָה עָ֝צְמ֗וּ מִסַּפֵּֽר׃
You have multiplied, O LORD my God, your wondrous deeds and your thoughts
toward us; none can compare with you. Were I to proclaim and tell of them, they
would be more than can be counted.

πολλὰ ἐποίησας σύ, κύριε ὁ θεός μου, τὰ θαυμάσιά σου, καὶ τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς σου
οὐκ ἔστιν τίς **ὁμοιωθήσεταί** σοι· ἀπήγγειλα καὶ ἐλάλησα, ἐπληθύνθησαν ὑπὲρ
ἀριθμόν. (LXX-Psalm 39:6)
Many things you made, O Lord my God, your wonders. And as for your thoughts—
there is none that will be like you. I proclaimed and told; they multiplied beyond
number.

The Hebrew infinitive in this example (עֲרֹךְ) is a verbal function of the infinitive which often

has a modal sense.[52] The LXX-Psalms translator chooses to render this verb with the Greek

future indicative, which also has a modal element to it as discussed at the beginning of this

chapter. This translation adequately communicates the intended sense of the Hebrew

infinitive in a way that the translator must have considered superior to the use of a Greek

infinitive which is a more common translation elsewhere in the LXX-Psalms.

Another example of the Greek future indicative translating the Hebrew infinitive is

found in LXX-Psalm 48:15:

כַּצֹּ֤אן ׀ לִשְׁא֣וֹל שַׁתּוּ֮ מָ֤וֶת יִ֫רְעֵ֥ם וַיִּרְדּ֘וּ בָ֤ם יְשָׁרִ֨ים ׀ לַבֹּ֗קֶר וְצִירָם **לְבַלּ֥וֹת** שְׁא֗וֹל  (Psalm 49:15)
מִזְּבֻ֥ל לֽוֹ׃
Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol; Death shall be their shepherd; straight to the
grave they descend, and their form shall waste away; Sheol shall be their home.

ὡς πρόβατα ἐν ᾅδῃ ἔθεντο, θάνατος ποιμαίνει αὐτούς· καὶ κατακυριεύσουσιν αὐτῶν
οἱ εὐθεῖς τὸ πρωῒ καὶ ἡ βοήθεια αὐτῶν **παλαιωθήσεται** ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ ἐκ τῆς δόξης
αὐτῶν. (LXX-Psalm 48:15)
Like sheep they were placed in Hades. Death shall be their shepherd, and the upright
shall exercise dominion over them at dawn, and help for them will grow old in Hades,
away from their glory.

The Hebrew of this verse is complex, and that is reflected in the LXX-Psalms translation. The

phrase concerning the translation of a Hebrew infinitive with a future indicative is וְצִירָם לְבַלּ֥וֹת

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[52] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 609.

("and their form shall waste away"), which the LXX-Psalms translator renders with καὶ ἡ βοήθεια αὐτῶν παλαιωθήσεται ("and help for them will grow old"). It is unclear why the translator chose to render וְצִירָם ("their image")[53] with βοήθεια αὐτῶν ("their help"). Most manuscripts follow the *Q^ere'* reading of וְצוּרָם ("their form"),[54] but that still does not explain what caused the translator to render it with this word. However, the Greek future indicative works well with this usage of the infinitive construct since "result clauses express a consequence of the main verb."[55] The predictive nuance of the Greek future indicative allows for the translator to render לְבַלּוֹת ("to waste away") with παλαιωθήσεται ("will grow old") since it effectively communicates that this would be the result of their descension to Sheol.

In LXX-Psalm 131:16, another Greek future indicative is used to translate a Hebrew infinitive:

וְכֹהֲנֶיהָ אַלְבִּישׁ יֶשַׁע וַחֲסִידֶיהָ רַנֵּן יְרַנֵּנוּ׃ (Psalm 132:16)
Its priests I will clothe with salvation, and its faithful will shout for joy.

τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτῆς ἐνδύσω σωτηρίαν, καὶ οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτῆς ἀγαλλιάσει **ἀγαλλιάσονται·** (LXX-Psalm 131:16)
Its priests I will clothe with deliverance, and its devout will rejoice with rejoicing.

This example consists of a Hebrew infinitive absolute, as opposed to the previous examples which were Hebrew infinitive constructs.[56] Here in Psalm 132:16, the infinitive רַנֵּן "to shout for joy" is used as an admonition in conjunction with the prefix conjugation יְרַנֵּנוּ. This type of construction is foreign for Greek, but the LXX-Psalms translator preserves it by rendering it with a noun and a future indicative (ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται "will rejoice with rejoicing"). It is not an exact parallel to the Hebrew, but this is a creative way for the translator to both preserve this unique Hebrew construction while at the same time effectively communicating its meaning in Greek.

## 8.11   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the many uses of the Greek future indicative throughout the LXX-Psalms. The LXX-Psalms translator employed this verb form both in places one would expect

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[53] The NRSV says "their form," following the *Q^ere'* reading.

[54] Ross, *Psalms, vol. 2*, 141.

[55] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 607.

[56] Waltke and O'Connor, *Syntax*, 587.

to find a future indicative, but also in some less obvious contexts. The statistics reveal the fact that the default function of the Greek future indicative was to translate Hebrew prefix conjugation verbs. This translation choice should not be dismissed, though, just because it was the translator's default function. This translation decision still reveals the translator's creativity and contextual awareness. When other Greek forms such as the present indicative were available, the translator instead chose the future indicative to translate the prefix conjugation, which is a fitting choice since the function of the Hebrew prefix conjugation has a level of ambiguity, just like the Greek future indicative.

Since the Greek future indicative also functions as a mood separate from the indicative, the translator often used the future indicative to translate Hebrew volitives. What was interesting about this translation decision, though, was that the translator did not only use the future indicative for the most common functions of the Hebrew volitives, but also those with more nuance such as the cohortative of purpose, a cohortative function that appears far less in the Psalms than its typical request function. Additionally, the translator used the future indicative for less-obvious Hebrew jussive verbs as well. Hebrew jussives are not always formally marked as jussives, which leaves a lot of room for interpretation. In many of these instances, the translator uses a uniquely ambiguous Greek form (the future indicative) to translate an ambiguous Hebrew form like the unmarked jussives.

This chapter also examined the translator's use of the Greek future indicative in less obvious contexts where the LXX-Psalms translator uses it to translate forms such as the suffix conjugation, participles, and more. One thing the use of the future indicative in these contexts teaches us is that though the LXX-Psalms are isomorphic in many ways, it is not thoughtless. The translator intentionally used the future indicative when it effectively communicated the sense of less-common functions of Hebrew verb forms, and he did so in a way that was within the bounds of normal usage of the Greek future indicative in non-translation Greek.

## 9. Conclusion

### 9.1    Summary of Content

By looking at the Hebrew volitives and Greek non-indicatives, this dissertation has presented a unique examination of the translation of verbs in the LXX-Psalms. I have provided an analysis that considers volition and mood from both the Hebrew and Greek perspectives. Looking at the data from both viewpoints gives a clearer understanding of how the LXX-Psalms translator understood both the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems.

In Part II, "The Hebrew Volitive Forms", I considered the Hebrew volitives and which Greek forms the LXX-Psalms translator used to render them. The data revealed that the translator was not slavish to specific verb forms, as some have suggested,[1] and that he used a variety of Greek forms to render the appropriate contextual meaning of the Hebrew volitives. Each chapter in Part II showed that the LXX-Psalms translator usually had a default Greek form which he uses to render the Hebrew volitives, but the translator was not bound to those default options and would often deviate when meaning and context required it. For example, the translator defaulted to using the volitional nuance of the Greek future indicative for the Hebrew cohortative (chapter 2). However, he also used the aorist indicative when the cohortative occurred in an apodosis, a context in which the Greek aorist can take on a modal nuance to express counterfactual actions.[2] Additionally, the LXX-Psalms translator rendered the cohortative with the Greek subjunctive in contexts where the irreal action was indicated by surrounding Hebrew particles which the LXX-Psalms translator rendered with Greek particles that required a non-indicative mood. Because there was no perfect Greek counterpart to the cohortative, the LXX-Psalms translator chose Greek verb forms that best matched the function of the cohortative in that context.

This same approach was used for the Hebrew imperative and the Hebrew jussive as well. The LXX-Psalms translator even used many of the same Greek forms he used to render

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[1] Iiknari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 177-90; Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 19 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 280-89; Raija Sollamo, "Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter: The Use and Non-Use of Possessive Pronouns in Renderings of Hebrew Coordinate Items with Possessive Suffixes" in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J.V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 53; Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche wissenschaft* 32.4 (1912): 183.

[2] Evert van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, Mathieu de Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 442.

the Hebrew cohortative to translate the other Hebrew volitives, which further shows that there was no one-to-one correspondence and that a single Greek verb form may be a suitable match for multiple Hebrew verb forms in the right contexts. Overall, the LXX-Psalms translator's renderings of the Hebrew volitives demonstrated an acute awareness of the most common functions to the most subtle functions of the Hebrew volitives.

In Part III, "The Greek Non-Indicative Moods", I analyze the non-indicative Greek moods (plus the future indicative) and consider which Hebrew forms the LXX-Psalms translator renders with them. Just like the translator had preferences for which Greek forms he used as his default to translate particular Hebrew verbs, he also had preferences for which Hebrew forms he rendered with a given Greek verb form. Without looking at the data from both perspectives, it would have been easy to come away with false conclusions. For example, the data from the Hebrew volitive section may give the impression that the LXX-Psalms translator most frequently used the non-indicative Greek moods and the future indicative to render Hebrew volitives since they are the most frequent renderings of the Hebrew volitives themselves. However, the data from Part III reveals that the Greek non-indicative moods and the future indicative most often render the Hebrew prefix conjugation. The only non-indicative mood for which this is not true is the Greek imperative, which the translator primarily uses to render the Hebrew imperative.

## 9.2    Contributions and Conclusions

### 9.2.1  The Translator's Hebrew Knowledge

This double-edged analysis reveals much concerning translation technique in the LXX-Psalms. First, there were several elements of his translation that revealed an advanced knowledge of Biblical Hebrew as in his rendering of the Hebrew prefix conjugation, for example. There is a broad range of functions for the prefix conjugation, so the most effective way to render it into Greek is largely dependent on its context. Even though I did not have the space for a chapter specifically devoted to the Hebrew prefix conjugation, the chapters on the Greek moods showed that the translator had an advanced understanding of how it functioned. Often, the LXX-Psalms translator rendered it with the future indicative which takes on many of the same functions as the prefix conjugation. But when the prefix conjugation was found in volitional contexts, the translator would frequently render it with the non-indicative moods. For example, the LXX-Psalms translator would often use the optative mood to render the

Hebrew prefix conjugation in the context of prayer, which was not only a natural Greek rendering, but it also enhanced the overall register by using a less-common mood.

One particularly impressive example of the LXX-Psalms translator's advanced knowledge of Biblical Hebrew was his rendering of Hebrew jussives with the aorist indicative. There were four instances where the translator used the aorist indicative to render what morphologically appeared to be a Hebrew jussive, but the translator was aware of the fact that these were remnants of an old preterite denoting perfective action and translated accordingly. His rendering shows that he recognized an archaic form, which further supports the claim that he had an advanced knowledge of Biblical Hebrew.

This allows one to make conclusions concerning the education of the LXX-Psalms translator. Many scholars attribute the LXX-Psalms translator's close adherence to the Hebrew *Vorlage* to unintelligence and a lack of education.[3] However, the way in which he renders complex Hebrew forms and constructions into natural Greek suggests otherwise. Therefore, the data in this dissertation supports the claim that the Septuagint translators were likely educated to a similar extent as the scribal class in their society.[4]

### 9.2.2  Translation Technique

This study has shown that the LXX-Psalms translator was mostly consistent in his isomorphic rendering of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, but strict isomorphism is too general to characterize the translation as he also shows a considerable amount latitude in some ways.[5] For example, he

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[3] See Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive*, 177-90; Sollamo, *Semiprepositions*, 280-89; Sollamo, "Possessive Pronouns," 53; Martin Flashar, "Septuagintapsalter," 183; Albert Pietersma, "Psalms," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 542; Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, SCST 53, ed. W. Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 38-39.

[4] Jennifer Brown Jones, *Translation and Style in the Old Greek Psalter: What Pleases Israel's God*, Septuagint Monograph Series 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 27; James K. Aitken, "The Septuagint and Egyptian Translation Methods," in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. Martin Meiser and Michaël N. van der Meer, SBLCS 64 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 294; James K. Aitken, "The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch," in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, ed. James K. Aitken, Katharine J. Dell, and Brian A. Mastin, BZAW 420 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 520; Jennifer Dines, "Grand Words for Grand Subjects: Bureaucratic and Literary Influences in the Style of the Septuagint," *Semitica et Classica* 5 (2012): 69-81.

[5] Jean Maurais, "The Quest for LXX Deuteronomy's Translator: On the Use of Translation Technique in Ascertaining the Translator's *Vorlage*," in E. Bons, M. Geiger, F. Ueberschaer, M. Sigismund, and M. Meiser (eds.), *Die Septuaginta—Geschichte, Wirkungen,* WUNT 444 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 199.

follows the word order of the Hebrew but was flexible in how he rendered the Hebrew verbs. His understanding of the function of Hebrew verbs in their context allowed him to make decisions based on which Greek form best communicated the sense of the Hebrew. So, even though he often retained the word order of the Hebrew, this study has revealed that he was not slavish in the way he rendered Hebrew verbs.

This analysis has also shown that the LXX-Psalms translator was not just translating words, but he was translating words in light of sentences, and sentences in light of paragraphs and large co-texts. He did not robotically render one word at a time but made translation decisions by reading words in their larger contexts. One way in which this was especially evident was in his rendering of Hebrew particles and their accompanying verbs. For example, the function of the Hebrew prefix conjugation is ambiguous on its own, meaning that the morphology does not indicate its function, but by interpreting the proper volition and mood indicated by the surrounding Hebrew particles, the LXX-Psalms translator was able to choose Greek verbs that are most appropriate for the context. Additionally, he considered the social relationship between the characters in the Psalms when rendering his text. He chose Greek moods that communicated the appropriate level of force. For example, he did not use second-person imperatives when an inferior was speaking to a superior. Instead, he would use the subjunctive or the optative moods which are less forceful.

By considering the LXX-Psalms translator's rendering of volition and mood in the LXX-Psalms, the translation technique is best described as close but creative. It is not necessary, or appropriate, to designate the LXX-Psalms translation as slavish or unintelligent. As Jennifer Jones has argued, the key aspects that describe the LXX-Psalms translator's technique is the "consistency of the quantitative translational approaches and the diversity…in the qualitative approaches."[6] Jones recognizes the closeness of the LXX-Psalms to the Hebrew *Vorlage*, but she identifies several stylistic components that are testaments to the translator's creativity and sensitivity to the Greek. My findings on the translator's rendering of volition and mood in the verbal systems further support this conclusion.

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[6] Jones, *Old Greek Psalter*, 231.

## 9.3   Areas for Future Research

There are many subjects that this project did not have the time or space to address. As it concerns the verbal systems, using this same methodology to study the Hebrew non-volitive verbal forms and the Greek indicative mood in the LXX-Psalms would be profitable. It would give a clearer picture of the verbal systems as a whole rather than one specific element of it. Just as there were limits to only viewing the verbal system solely from a Hebrew or Greek perspective, there are also limits to looking at the Hebrew volitives and Greek non-indicatives alone. One example to illustrate this, and perhaps the most pertinent one, is the Hebrew prefix conjugation. Since many of the Greek non-indicatives translate the Hebrew prefix conjugation in the Psalms, it would be helpful to know if the prefix conjugation is rendered with other Greek verbs that were not addressed in this study. Furthermore, the other verbal forms need to be considered as well to give a full-orbed perspective of how the LXX-Psalms translator understood the verbal systems. The Hebrew suffix conjugation needs to be considered, along with participles and infinitives from both languages.

Applying this method to other parts of speech would also have interpretational benefit. Just as the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems do not perfectly align, neither do the nouns and adjectives, and a study looking at how the LXX-Psalms translator renders the Hebrew nouns and adjectives would offer even more insight into the translation technique of the LXX-Psalms.

Looking beyond the LXX-Psalms, this dissertation has highlighted the importance of considering data from both the Hebrew and Greek perspectives. Yes, the source text is in Hebrew, but by only focusing on how the translator renders Hebrew forms in a translation could color one's conclusions on how the translator employs the Greek verbal system. Moreover, if one bases his or her study on the Greek perspective alone, the data could potentially be misleading since there is no one-to-one correspondence between the two verbal systems and many forms and functions overlap.

## 9.4   Conclusion

In conclusion, the way in which the LXX-Psalms translator communicated volition and mood in his translation has demonstrated the sophistication of his work. His close adherence to the Hebrew *Vorlage* provides insight as to how he understood the function of Hebrew volitives. His translation showed that to properly translate the meaning of Hebrew volitives, one must

look beyond the grammatical form and consider the word in light of its context. The LXX-Psalms translator's ability to do this and his utilization of various Greek verb forms to communicate the proper sense of the Hebrew is evidence of an advanced knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek. This study has also showed that an isomorphic translation does not eliminate all possibilities for creativity. The LXX-Psalms translator found ways to vary his translation, such as using non-default translations for a Hebrew volitive and using a variety of Greek particles in conjunction with the verbs. In doing so, the LXX-Psalms translator heightens the register of his work, even while maintaining close adherence to his *Vorlage*.

# Appendix 1: Collection of Tables

## 2.1 Translating the Hebrew Cohortative

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Future Indicative | 154 | 69.7% |
| Aorist Indicative | 22 | 9.9% |
| Subjunctive | 22 | 9.9% |
| Optative | 7 | 3.2% |
| Imperfect | 7 | 3.2% |
| Participle | 3 | 1.4% |
| No Translation | 3 | 1.4% |
| Present Indicative | 2 | 0.9% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.5% |
| Total | 221 | |

## 3.1 Translating the Hebrew Imperative

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 621 | 89% |
| Adverb/Particles | 24 | 3.4% |
| Aorist Indicative | 20 | 2.8% |
| No Translation | 14 | 2.0% |
| Future Indicative | 4 | 0.6% |
| Noun | 4 | 0.6% |
| Optative | 3 | 0.4% |
| Imperfect Indicative | 2 | 0.3% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.1% |
| Present Indicative | 1 | 0.1% |
| Infinitive | 1 | 0.1% |
| Pronoun | 1 | 0.1% |
| Total | 696 | |

## 4.1 Translating the Hebrew Jussive

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 167 | 42.7% |
| Future Indicative | 74 | 18.9% |
| Subjunctive | 69 | 17.6% |
| Optative | 62 | 15.9% |
| Aorist Indicative | 15 | 3.8% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.5% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 391 | |

## 4.2 Translating Morphologically Jussive Verbs

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 25 | 31% |
| Future Indicative | 17 | 21% |
| Subjunctive | 16 | 20% |
| Optative | 11 | 13% |
| Aorist Indicative | 10 | 1% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.1% |
| Total | 80 | |

## 4.3 Translating Functionally Jussive Verbs

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 142 | 46% |
| Future Indicative | 57 | 18.1% |
| Subjunctive | 53 | 16.8% |
| Optative | 51 | 16.5% |
| Aorist Indicative | 5 | 14.3% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.3% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 314 | |

## 4.4 Translating the Second-Person Jussive

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Subjunctive | 62 | 74% |
| Imperative | 18 | 20% |
| Aorist Indicative | 2 | 2% |
| Optative | 1 | 1% |
| Participle | 1 | 1% |
| Total | 84 | |

## 4.5 Translating the Third-Person Jussive

| Greek Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 148 | 48% |
| Future Indicative | 74 | 24% |
| Optative | 61 | 20% |
| Aorist Indicative | 13 | 4% |
| Subjunctive | 7 | 2% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.6% |
| Imperfect | 1 | 0.3% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.3% |
| Total | 310 | |

## 5.1 The Subjunctive Mood in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 125 | 52.7% |
| Jussive | 69 | 29% |
| Cohortative | 22 | 9.3% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 10 | 4.2% |
| No Hebrew | 5 | 2.1% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 1.7% |
| Noun | 1 | 0.4% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.4% |
| Total | 237 | |

## 5.2 The Present Subjunctive in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Jussive | 12 | 46% |
| Prefix Conjugation | 10 | 38.5% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 2 | 7.7% |
| Noun | 1 | 3.8% |
| Participle | 1 | 3.8% |
| Total | 26 | |

## 5.3 The Aorist Subjunctive in the LXX-Psalms

| Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 115 | 55.8% |
| Jussive | 57 | 27.7% |
| Cohortative | 22 | 10.7% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 8 | 3.9% |
| No Translation | 5 | 2.4% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 1.9% |
| Total | 211 | |

## 6.1 The Optative Mood in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Jussive | 62 | 55.9% |
| Prefix Conjugation | 27 | 24% |
| Interjection | 8 | 7.2% |
| Cohortative | 7 | 6.3% |
| Imperative | 3 | 2.7% |
| veqatal | 2 | 1.8% |
| Consecutive Preterite | 1 | 0.9% |
| Adjective | 1 | 0.9% |
| Total | 111 | |

## 7.1 The Greek Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 624 | 71.9% |
| Jussive | 170 | 19.6% |
| PC | 36 | 4.2% |
| Non-verbs | 20 | 2.3% |
| Converted Forms | 5 | 0.6% |
| Infinitives | 4 | 0.6% |
| SC | 5 | 0.6% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.2% |
| Total | 866 | |

## 7.2 The Present Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 114 | 67.1% |
| Jussive | 30 | 17.6% |
| Other | 24 | 14.1% |
| PC | 1 | 0.6% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.6% |
| Total | 170 | |

## 7.3 The Aorist Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 496 | 71.2% |
| Jussive | 137 | 19.7% |
| Non-Verbs | 15 | 2.2% |
| PC | 33 | 4.7% |
| Converted Forms | 5 | 0.7% |
| SC | 5 | 0.7% |
| Infinitives | 4 | 0.6% |
| Participle | 1 | 0.1% |
| Total | 696 | |

## 7.4 The Second Person Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Imperative | 616 | 90.7% |
| Jussive | 26 | 3.8% |
| Non-verbs | 17 | 2.5% |
| PC | 6 | 0.9% |
| SC | 6 | 0.9% |
| Infinitives | 4 | 0.6% |
| Converted Forms | 2 | 0.3% |
| Participle | 2 | 0.3% |
| Total | 679 | |

## 7.5 The Third Person Imperative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Jussive | 144 | 77% |
| PC | 30 | 16% |
| Imperative | 6 | 3.2% |
| Non-Verbs | 3 | 1.6% |
| Converted Forms | 3 | 1.6% |
| SC | 1 | 0.5% |
| Total | 187 | |

## 8.1 The Future Indicative in the LXX-Psalms

| Hebrew Form | Number | Percent |
|---|---|---|
| Prefix Conjugation | 824 | 69.5% |
| Cohortative | 154 | 12.9% |
| Jussive | 74 | 6.2% |
| Converted Forms | 52 | 4.4% |
| Non-Verbs | 31 | 2.6% |
| Suffix Conjugation | 30 | 2.5% |
| Participle | 13 | 1.1% |
| Infinitive | 4 | 0.3% |
| Imperative | 4 | 0.3% |
| Total | 1186 | |

## Appendix 2: List of References

### The Cohortative

Future Indicative: LXX-Psalms 2:8; 4:9; 7:18; 9:2; 9:3 (x3); 9:15; 12:6; 16:15; 17:50; 19:6; 20:14 (x2); 21:23; 25:6 (x3); 30:8 (x3); 33:2 (x2); 38:14; 40:11; 41:10; 42:4; 44:18; 49:7; 49:21; 50:15; 53:8; 54:7 (x2); 54:18; 56:8 (x2); 56:9; 58:10; 58:18; 59:8 (x2); 60:5; 60:9; 64:5; 65:6; 65:16; 68:31; 70:22; 72:15; 74:10; 76:12; 76:13; 77:2 (x2); 79:4; 79:8; 79:20; 84:9; 85:12; 88:2; 100:1; 100:2 (x2); 103:33 (x2); 107:2 (x2); 107:3; 107:8 (x2); 118:15; 118:17; 118:27; 118:44; 118:73; 118:88; 118:117 (x2); 118:125; 118:134; 118:145; 118:146; 131:7; 138:9; 143:9 (x2); 144:1; 144:2; 144:5; 145:2 (x2)

Aorist Indicative: LXX-Psalms 2:3 (x2); 9:15; 24:2; 26:6; 30:2; 30:18; 33:4; 38:2; 38:5; 39:6 (x2); 41:5 (x2); 50:18; 54:3; 56:5; 68:15 (x2); 70:1; 70:23; 72:17; 76:2; 76:4 (x3); 76:6; 82:13; 87:16; 89:14 (x2); 94:1 (x2); 94:2; 94:6 (x2); 117:24 (x2); 118:15; 118:18; 118:34; 118:115; 118:163; 121:9; 138:8

Subjunctive Mood: LXX-Psalms 2:3 (x2); 9:15; 33:4; 38:5; 38:14; 68:15; 70:23; 72:17; 82:13; 94:1 (x2); 94:2; 94:6 (x2); 117:24 (x2); 118:115; 138:8; 138:9

Optative Mood: LXX-Psalms 24:2; 24:20; 30:2; 30:18; 68:15; 70:1

Imperfect: LXX-Psalms 54:9; 76:7; 118:45; 118:46; 118:48; 121:8

Participle: LXX-Psalm 2:7; 89:12; 117:119

No Translation: LXX-Psalm 12:6; 76:6-7; 100:1

Noun: LXX-Psalm 73:8

### The Hebrew Imperative

Greek Imperative: LXX Psalms 2:8; 2:10 (x2); 2:11 (x2); 2:12; 3:8 (x2); 4:2 (x2); 4:4; 4:5 (x2); 4:6 (x2); 5:2 (x2); 5:3; 5:9 (x2); 5:11 (x2); 6:3 (x2); 6:5 (x3); 6:9; 7:2 (x2); 7:7 (x3); 7:8; 7:9; 9:12 (x2); 9:14 (x2); 9:20; 9:21; 9:33 (x2); 9:36; 10:1; 11:2; 12:4 (x3); 15:1; 16:1 (x3); 16:6 (x2); 16:7 (x2); 16:8; 16:13 (x5); 18:14; 19:10; 20:14; 21:20; 21:21; 21:22; 21:24 (x3); 23:7 (x2); 23:9 (x2); 24:4 (x2); 24:5 (x2); 24:6; 24:7; 24:16 (x2); 24:17; 24:18 (x2); 24:19; 24:20 (x2); 24:22; 25:1; 25:2 (x3); 25:11 (x2); 26:7 (x3); 26:11 (x2); 26:14 (x3); 27:2; 27:4 (x3); 27:9 (x4); 28:1 (x3); 28:2 (x2); 29:5 (x2); 30:2; 30:3 (x2); 30:10; 30:16; 30:17 (x2); 30:24; 30:25; 31:11 (x3); 32:1; 32:2 (x2); 32:3; 33:4; 33:9 (x2); 33:10; 33:12; 33:14; 33:15 (x4); 34:1 (x2); 34:2 (x2); 34:3 (x2); 34:17; 34:23 (x2); 34:24; 35:11; 36:3 (x3); 36:4; 36:5 (x2); 36:7 (x2); 36:8 (x2); 36:27 (x3); 36:34 (x2); 36:37 (x2); 37:23; 38:5; 38:9; 38:11; 38:13 (x2); 38:14; 39:14 (x2); 40:5 (x2); 40:11 (x2); 41:6; 41:12; 42:1 (x2); 42:3; 42:5; 43:24 (x2); 43:27 (x2); 44:4; 44:5; 44:11 (x4); 45:9; 45:11 (x2); 46:2 (x2); 46:7 (x4); 46:8; 47:13 (x3); 47:14 (x2); 48:2 (x2) 49:5; 49:7; 49:14 (x2); 49:15; 49:22; 50:3 (x2); 50:4 (x2); 50:11 (x2); 50:12 (x2); 50:14; 50:16; 50:20; 53:3; 53:4 (x2); 53:7; 54:2; 54:3 (x2); 54:10 (x2); 54:23; 55:2; 56:2 (x2); 56:9 (x2); 58:2; 58:3 (x2); 58:5 (x2); 58:6; 58:12 (x2); 59:4; 59:7 (x2); 59:13; 60:2 (x2); 61:6; 61:9 (x2); 63:2; 65:2 (x2); 65:3; 65:5; 65:8 (x2); 65:16; 67:5 (x4); 67:27; 67:29; 67:31; 67:33 (x2); 67:34; 67:35; 68:2; 68:14; 68:15; 68:17 (x2); 68:18; 68:19

(x3); 68:24; 68:25; 68:28; 69:2; 69:6; 70:2 (x2); 70:3; 70:4; 70:11 (x2); 71:1; 73:2; 73:3; 73:18; 73:20; 73:22 (x3); 75:12 (x2); 77:1 (x2); 78:6; 78:9 (x3); 78:11; 78:12; 79:2 (x2); 79:3 (x2); 79:4 (x2); 79:8 (x2); 79:15 (x4); 79:20 (x2); 80:2 (x2); 80:3 (x2); 80:4; 80:9; 80:11; 81:3; 81:4 (x2); 81:8 (x2); 82:10; 82:12; 82:14; 82:17; 83:9 (x2); 83:10 (x2); 84:5 (x2); 84:8; 85:1 (x2); 85:2 (x2); 85:3; 85:6 (x2); 85:11 (x2); 85:16 (x4); 85:17; 87:3; 88:48; 88:51; 89:3; 89:13 (x2); 89:17; 93:2 (x2); 93:8; 95:1 (x2); 95:2 (x3); 95:3; 95:7 (x2); 95:8 (x2); 95:9 (x2); 95:10; 96:7; 96:10; 96:12 (x2); 97:1; 97:4 (x4); 97:5; 97:6; 98:5 (x2); 98:9 (x2); 99:1; 99:2 (x2); 99:3; 99:4 (x3); 101:2; 101:3 (x2); 102:2; 102:14; 102:20; 102:21; 102:22 (x2); 103:1; 103:35; 104:1 (x2) ; 104:2 (x3); 104:3; 104:4 (x2); 104:5; 104:15; 105:1; 105:4 (x2); 105:47 (x2); 106:1; 107:3; 107:6; 107:7 (x2); 107:13; 108:6; 108:21; 108:22; 108:26 (x2); 109:1; 109:2; 112:1 (x2); 113:9; 114:4; 114:7; 116:1 (x2); 117:1; 117:19; 117:25 (x2); 117:27; 117:29; 118:12; 118:17; 118:18; 118:22; 118:25; 118:26; 118:27; 118:28; 118:29 (x2); 118:33; 118:34; 118:35; 118:36; 118:37 (x2); 118:38; 118:39; 118:40; 118:49; 118:58; 118:64; 118:66; 118:68; 118:73; 118:86; 118:88; 118:94; 118:107; 118:108 (x2); 118:115; 118:116; 118:117; 118:122; 118:124 (x2); 118:125; 118:132 (x2); 118:133; 118:134; 118:135 (x2); 118:144; 118:145; 118:146; 118:149 (x2); 118:153 (x2); 118:154 (x3); 118:156; 118:159 (x2); 118:169; 118:170; 118:176; 119:2; 121:6; 122:3 (x2); 124:4; 125:4; 129:2; 129:6; 130:3; 131:1; 131:8; 133:1; 133:2 (x2); 134:1 (x2); 134:3; 134:19 (x2); 134:20 (x2); 135:1; 135:2; 135:3; 135:26; 136:3; 136:7 (x3); 138:19; 138:23 (x4); 138:24 (x2); 139:5; 139:7; 140:1 (x2); 140:3; 140:9; 141:7 (x2); 141:8; 142:1 (x3); 142:7; 142:8 (x2); 142:9; 142:10; 143:5 (x2); 143:6 (x2); 143:7 (x3); 143:11 (x2); 145:1; 145:3; 147:1 (x2); 148:1 (x2); 148:2 (x2); 148:3 (x2); 148:4; 148:7; 149:1; 150:1 (x2); 150:2 (x2); 150:3 (x2); 150:4 (x2; 150:5 (x2)

Adverb/Particles: LXX-Psalm 32:3; 34:12; 46:9; 66:5; 66:16; 83:5; 94:1; 94:6; 68:17; 102:3; 106:1; 111:1; 112:1 (x2); 135:1; 143:7; 146:1; 147:1; 148:1; 149:1; 150:1; 150:6

Aorist Indicative: LXX-Psalm 4:2; 8:2; 21:9; 22:9; 27:8; 30:11 (x3); 55:9; 59:10; 90:14; 89:14; 90:15; 93:1; 113:7 115:9; 115:11

No Translation: LXX-Psalms 70:12; 90:17; 104:35, 105:45, 106:48, 105:18, 113:9; 116:19, 117:2, 135:21, 146:10, 147:20, 148:14, 149:9

Future Indicative: LXX-Psalms 36:3; 44:13; 55:8 (x2)

Noun: LXX-Psalm 58:13b-14; 73:11; 140:3

Optative: LXX-Psalm 7:7; 127:5; 127:6;

Imperfect Indicative: LXX-Psalm 141:5 (x2)

Participle: LXX-Psalm 43:5

Present Indicative: LXX-Psalm 95:8

Infinitive: LXX-Psalm 30:3

Pronoun: LXX-Psalm 60:8

**The Hebrew Jussive**

Greek Imperative: LXX-Psalms 4:5; 5:11; 5:12; 7:10; 9:20 (x2); 9:21; 13:7 (x2); 16:2; 19:10; 21:9 (x2); 24:2; 26:14; 30:19; 30:25; 31:9; 32:8 (x2); 33:3 (x2); 34:4 (x3); 34:5; 34:6; 34:8 (x2); 34:26; 34:27 (x2); 35:12 (x2); 36:1 (x2); 36:7; 36:8; 39:17 (x2); 42:1; 47:12 (x2); 48:17; 50:14; 50:20; 53:3; 54:16; 58:13; 61:11 (x2); 63:2; 65:7; 66:4 (x2); 66:5 (x2); 66:6 (x2); 68:16 (x3); 68:23; 68:24; 68:26 (x2); 68:28; 68:29 (x2); 68:35; 69:5 (x4); 70:13 (x3); 71:3; 71:17; 73:21; 74:5 (x2); 74:6 (x2); 78:8; 78:10; 78:11; 79:18; 82:18 (x3); 82:19; 85:17 (x2); 87:3; 89:16; 89:17; 95:11 (x3); 96:1 (x2); 96:7; 97:7; 98:1 (x2); 98:3; 101:2; 102:2; 103:31; 104:3; 104:15; 106:2; 106:8; 106:15; 106:21; 106:22 (x2); 106:31; 106:32 (x2); 108:6; 108:7; 108:8; 108:9; 108:10; 108:11 (x2); 108:12 (x2); 108:13 (x2); 108:15; 108:19; 117:2; 117:3; 117:4; 118:76; 118:77; 118:78; 118:79; 118:80; 118:122; 118:133; 118:169; 118:173; 121:7; 123:1; 128:1; 128:5 (x2); 128:6; 129:2; 139:2; 139:5; 140:2; 143:5; 148:5; 148:13; 149:2 (x2); 149:3 (x2); 150:6

Future Indicative: LXX-Psalms 5:12 (x2); 7:8; 12:6; 18:15; 21:27; 23:7; 23:9; 24:9; 31:6; 34:8; 39:18; 44:5; 44:6; 49:2; 49:3; 52:7 (x2); 57:8 (x2); 58:14; 60:8; 63:11 (x2); 68:33; 71:4 (x2); 71:5; 71:6; 71:7; 71:8; 71:9 (x2); 71:10 (x2); 71:11 (x2); 71:15 (x4); 71:16 (x3); 71:17 (x3); 71:19; 73:21; 75:12; 79:19; 82:17; 95:12 (x2); 97:8 (x2); 103:31; 106:43 (x2); 118:175 (x3); 131:9 (x2); 133:3; 139:10; 139:11 (x2); 139:12 (x2); 140:5 (x2); 140:10; 142:10; 143:5; 143:6 (x2); 149:5 (x2)

Subjunctive: LXX-Psalms 6:2 (x2); 9:33; 21:12; 21:20; 24:7; 25:9; 26:9 (x4); 26:12; 27:1; 27:3; 33:6; 34:22 (x2); 37:2 (x2); 37:22 (x2); 38:13; 39:18; 43:24; 50:13 (x2); 54:2; 56:1; 57:1; 58:1; 58:6; 58:12; 68:18; 69:6; 70:9 (x2); 70:12; 70:18; 73:19 (x2); 73:23; 74:1; 78:8; 82:2 (x2); 94:8; 101:3; 101:25; 108:1; 118:8; 118:10; 118:19; 118:31; 118:43; 118:116; 120:3 (x2); 131:10; 137:8; 139:9 (x2); 139:11; 140:4; 140:8; 142:2; 142:7

Optative: LXX-Psalms 6:11 (x4); 7:6 (x4); 11:4; 16:2; 19:2 (x2); 19:3 (x2); 19:4; 19:5 (x2); 19:6; 30:18 (x2); 32:22; 34:19; 34:24; 34:25 (x2); 34:26 (x2); 34:27 (x2); 35:12; 39:15 (x3); 39:17 (x2); 40:3; 66:2 (x3); 68:7 (x2); 68:25; 69:3 (x4); 69:4; 103:34; 108:7; 108:8; 108:14 (x2); 108:15; 112:2; 113:22; 118:41; 118:170; 118:172; 127:5; 136:5; 136:6

Aorist Indicative: 9:10; 17:12; 38:9 (x2); 42:3 (x2); 44:12; 46:4; 68:30; 70:21; 77:26; 103:20; 106:29; 106:33; 118:171

Participle: LXX-Psalms 34:19; 57:5; 70:21; 84:9

Imperfect Indicative: LXX-Psalm 24:21

Noun: LXX-Psalm 121:6

**The Subjunctive Mood**

Prefix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 1:3; 2:12 (x2); 7:3; 7:13; 9:27; 9:36; 9:39; 12:4; 12:5 (x2); 15:4 (x2); 15:8; 16:4; 17:39; 20:8; 20:12; 22:4; 24:3; 25:4; 26:3 (x2); 27:1; 29:7; 29:13 (x2); 31:2; 33:23; 36:24; 36:33 (x2); 37:17; 39:10; 39:12; 40:12; 47:14; 48:10; 48:16; 48:17 (x2); 48:19; 49:12 (x2); 49:22; 50:6 (x2); 54:24; 55:10; 56:2; 58:12; 58:16; 59:7; 61:3; 61:11;

67:14; 67:24; 70:18; 72:17; 74:3; 77:6; 77:7 (x2); 77:8; 77:44; 78:10; 79:19; 80:9; 82:5 (x2); 88:31 (x2); 88:32; 88:34 (x2); 88:35 (x2); 89:3; 90:12; 93:12 (x2); 93:13; 93:15; 94:2; 94:6; 94:7; 101:1 (x2); 101:3; 104:45 (x2); 107:7; 109:1; 111:8 (x2); 113:10; 118:6; 118:11; 118:71; 118:80; 118:93; 118:101; 118:121; 118:171; 124:3; 126:1 (x2); 126:2; 126:5; 129:3; 131:5; 131:12; 136:4; 136:5; 136:6 (x2); 137:7; 138:6; 138:7 (x2); 138:8; 138:19; 139:9; 140:10; 141:8

Jussive: LXX-Psalms 6:2 (x2); 9:33; 21:12; 21:20; 24:7; 25:9; 26:9 (x4); 26:12; 27:1; 27:3; 33:6; 34:22 (x2); 37:2 (x2); 37:22 (x2); 38:13; 39:18; 43:24; 50:13 (x2); 54:2; 56:1; 57:1; 58:1; 58:6; 58:12; 68:18; 69:6; 70:9 (x2); 70:12; 70:18; 73:19 (x2); 73:23; 74:1; 78:8; 82:2 (x2); 94:8; 101:3; 101:25; 108:1; 118:8; 118:10; 118:19; 118:31; 118:43; 118:116; 120:3 (x2); 131:10; 137:8; 139:9 (x2); 139:11; 140:4; 140:8; 142:2; 142:7

Cohortative: LXX-Psalms 2:3 (x2); 9:15; 33:4; 38:5; 38:14; 68:15; 70:23; 72:17; 82:13; 94:1 (x2); 94:2; 94:6 (x2); 117:24 (x2); 118:115; 138:8; 138:9

Suffix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 16:5; 35:13; 42:2; 57:11; 70:24 (x2); 73:8; 101:3; 137:3

No Hebrew: LXX-Psalms 27:3; 36:10 (x2); 38:14; 71:7

Infinitive: LXX-Psalm 17:38; 19:10; 36:33; 91:8

Noun: LXX-Psalm 47:4

Participle: LXX-Psalm 49:22

## The Optative Mood

Jussive: LXX-Psalms 6:11 (x4); 7:6 (x4); 11:4; 16:2; 19:2 (x2); 19:3 (x2); 19:4; 19:5 (x2); 19:6; 30:18 (x2); 32:22; 34:19; 34:24; 34:25 (x2); 34:26 (x2); 34:27 (x2); 35:12; 39:15 (x3); 39:17 (x2); 40:3; 66:2 (x3); 68:7 (x2); 68:25; 69:3 (x4); 69:4; 103:34; 108:7; 108:8; 108:14 (x2); 108:15; 112:2; 113:22; 118:41; 118:170; 118:172; 127:5; 136:5; 136:6

Prefix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 20:9 (x2); 36:15 (x2); 40:3 (x2); 40:4; 51:7 (x2); 62:6; 66:7; 66:8; 67:3; 82:15; 84:8; 89:5; 89:6 (x3); 113:16; 118:5; 119:3 (x2); 122:2; 134:18; 138:9

Interjection: LXX-Psalms 40:14 (x2); 71:19 (x2); 88:53 (x2); 105:48 (x2)

Cohortative: LXX-Psalms 24:2; 24:20; 30:2; 30:18; 68:15; 70:1

Imperative: LXX-Psalms 7:7; 127:5; 127:6

veqatal: LXX-Psalm 89:6 (x2)

Consecutive Preterite: LXX-Psalm 7:5

Adjective: LXX-Psalm 146:1

## The Imperative Mood

Hebrew Imperative: LXX Psalms 2:8; 2:10 (x2); 2:11 (x2); 2:12; 3:8 (x2); 4:2 (x2); 4:4; 4:5 (x2); 4:6 (x2); 5:2 (x2); 5:3; 5:9 (x2); 5:11 (x2); 6:3 (x2); 6:5 (x3); 6:9; 7:2 (x2); 7:7 (x3); 7:8; 7:9; 9:12 (x2); 9:14 (x2); 9:20; 9:21; 9:33 (x2); 9:36; 10:1; 11:2; 12:4 (x3); 15:1; 16:1 (x3); 16:6 (x2); 16:7 (x2); 16:8; 16:13 (x5); 18:14; 19:10; 20:14; 21:20; 21:21; 21:22; 21:24 (x3); 23:7 (x2); 23:9 (x2); 24:4 (x2); 24:5 (x2); 24:6; 24:7; 24:16 (x2); 24:17; 24:18 (x2); 24:19; 24:20 (x2); 24:22; 25:1; 25:2 (x3); 25:11 (x2); 26:7 (x3); 26:11 (x2); 26:14 (x3); 27:2; 27:4 (x3); 27:9 (x4); 28:1 (x3); 28:2 (x2); 29:5 (x2); 30:2; 30:3 (x2); 30:10; 30:16; 30:17 (x2); 30:24; 30:25; 31:11 (x3); 32:1; 32:2 (x2); 32:3; 33:4; 33:9 (x2); 33:10; 33:12; 33:14; 33:15 (x4); 34:1 (x2); 34:2 (x2); 34:3 (x2); 34:17; 34:23 (x2); 34:24; 35:11; 36:3 (x3); 36:4; 36:5 (x2); 36:7 (x2); 36:8 (x2); 36:27 (x3); 36:34 (x2); 36:37 (x2); 37:23; 38:5; 38:9; 38:11; 38:13 (x2); 38:14; 39:14 (x2); 40:5 (x2); 40:11 (x2); 41:6; 41:12; 42:1 (x2); 42:3; 42:5; 43:24 (x2); 43:27 (x2); 44:4; 44:5; 44:11 (x4); 45:9; 45:11 (x2); 46:2 (x2); 46:7 (x4); 46:8; 47:13 (x3); 47:14 (x2); 48:2 (x2) 49:5; 49:7; 49:14 (x2); 49:15; 49:22; 50:3 (x2); 50:4 (x2); 50:11 (x2); 50:12 (x2); 50:14; 50:16; 50:20; 53:3; 53:4 (x2); 53:7; 54:2; 54:3 (x2); 54:10 (x2); 54:23; 55:2; 56:2 (x2); 56:9 (x2); 58:2; 58:3 (x2); 58:5 (x2); 58:6; 58:12 (x2); 59:4; 59:7 (x2); 59:13; 60:2 (x2); 61:6; 61:9 (x2); 63:2; 65:2 (x2); 65:3; 65:5; 65:8 (x2); 65:16; 67:5 (x4); 67:27; 67:29; 67:31; 67:33 (x2); 67:34; 67:35; 68:2; 68:14; 68:15; 68:17 (x2); 68:18; 68:19 (x3); 68:24; 68:25; 68:28; 69:2; 69:6; 70:2 (x2); 70:3; 70:4; 70:11 (x2); 71:1; 73:2; 73:3; 73:18; 73:20; 73:22 (x3); 75:12 (x2); 77:1 (x2); 78:6; 78:9 (x3); 78:11; 78:12; 79:2 (x2); 79:3 (x2); 79:4 (x2); 79:8 (x2); 79:15 (x4); 79:20 (x2); 80:2 (x2); 80:3 (x2); 80:4; 80:9; 80:11; 81:3; 81:4 (x2); 81:8 (x2); 82:10; 82:12; 82:14; 82:17; 83:9 (x2); 83:10 (x2); 84:5 (x2); 84:8; 85:1 (x2); 85:2 (x2); 85:3; 85:6 (x2); 85:11 (x2); 85:16 (x4); 85:17; 87:3; 88:48; 88:51; 89:3; 89:13 (x2); 89:17; 93:2 (x2); 93:8; 95:1 (x2); 95:2 (x3); 95:3; 95:7 (x2); 95:8 (x2); 95:9 (x2); 95:10; 96:7; 96:10; 96:12 (x2); 97:1; 97:4 (x4); 97:5; 97:6; 98:5 (x2); 98:9 (x2); 99:1; 99:2 (x2); 99:3; 99:4 (x3); 101:2; 101:3 (x2); 102:2; 102:14; 102:20; 102:21; 102:22 (x2); 103:1; 103:35; 104:1 (x2) ; 104:2 (x3); 104:3; 104:4 (x2); 104:5; 104:15; 105:1; 105:4 (x2); 105:47 (x2); 106:1; 107:3; 107:6; 107:7 (x2); 107:13; 108:6; 108:21; 108:22; 108:26 (x2); 109:1; 109:2; 112:1 (x2); 113:9; 114:4; 114:7; 116:1 (x2); 117:1; 117:19; 117:25 (x2); 117:27; 117:29; 118:12; 118:17; 118:18; 118:22; 118:25; 118:26; 118:27; 118:28; 118:29 (x2); 118:33; 118:34; 118:35; 118:36; 118:37 (x2); 118:38; 118:39; 118:40; 118:49; 118:58; 118:64; 118:66; 118:68; 118:73; 118:86; 118:88; 118:94; 118:107; 118:108 (x2); 118:115; 118:116; 118:117; 118:122; 118:124 (x2); 118:125; 118:132 (x2); 118:133; 118:134; 118:135 (x2); 118:144; 118:145; 118:146; 118:149 (x2); 118:153 (x2); 118:154 (x3); 118:156; 118:159 (x2); 118:169; 118:170; 118:176; 119:2; 121:6; 122:3 (x2); 124:4; 125:4; 129:2; 129:6; 130:3; 131:1; 131:8; 133:1; 133:2 (x2); 134:1 (x2); 134:3; 134:19 (x2); 134:20 (x2); 135:1; 135:2; 135:3; 135:26; 136:3; 136:7 (x3); 138:19; 138:23 (x4); 138:24 (x2); 139:5; 139:7; 140:1 (x2); 140:3; 140:9; 141:7 (x2); 141:8; 142:1 (x3); 142:7; 142:8 (x2); 142:9; 142:10; 143:5 (x2); 143:6 (x2); 143:7 (x3); 143:11 (x2); 145:1; 145:3; 147:1 (x2); 148:1 (x2); 148:2 (x2); 148:3 (x2); 148:4; 148:7; 149:1; 150:1 (x2); 150:2 (x2); 150:3 (x2); 150:4 (x2; 150:5 (x2)

Jussive: LXX-Psalms 4:5; 5:11; 5:12; 7:10; 9:20 (x2); 9:21; 13:7 (x2); 16:2; 19:10; 21:9 (x2); 24:2; 26:14; 30:19; 30:25; 31:9; 32:8 (x2); 33:3 (x2); 34:4 (x3); 34:5; 34:6; 34:8 (x2); 34:26; 34:27 (x2); 35:12 (x2); 36:1 (x2); 36:7; 36:8; 39:17 (x2); 42:1; 47:12 (x2); 48:17; 50:14; 50:20; 53:3; 54:16; 58:13; 61:11 (x2); 63:2; 65:7; 66:4 (x2); 66:5 (x2); 66:6 (x2); 68:16 (x3); 68:23; 68:24; 68:26 (x2); 68:28; 68:29 (x2); 68:35; 69:5 (x4); 70:13 (x3); 71:3; 71:17; 73:21; 74:5 (x2); 74:6 (x2); 78:8; 78:10; 78:11; 79:18; 82:18 (x3); 82:19; 85:17 (x2); 87:3; 89:16; 89:17; 95:11 (x3); 96:1 (x2); 96:7; 97:7; 98:1 (x2); 98:3; 101:2; 102:2; 103:31; 104:3;

104:15; 106:2; 106:8; 106:15; 106:21; 106:22 (x2); 106:31; 106:32 (x2); 108:6; 108:7; 108:8; 108:9; 108:10; 108:11 (x2); 108:12 (x2); 108:13 (x2); 108:15; 108:19; 117:2; 117:3; 117:4; 118:76; 118:77; 118:78; 118:79; 118:80; 118:122; 118:133; 118:169; 118:173; 121:7; 123:1; 128:1; 128:5 (x2); 128:6; 129:2; 139:2; 139:5; 140:2; 143:5; 148:5; 148:13; 149:2 (x2); 149:3 (x2); 150:6

Prefix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 9:11; 9:18; 17:47; 19:4; 24:3; 57:2; 58:2; 64:6; 65:4 (x3); 65:18; 66:8; 67:2 (x3); 67:3; 67:4 (x3); 68:33; 70:2 (x2); 70:8; 88:14 (x2); 101:19; 101:24; 108:27; 108:29 (x2); 137:4; 137:5; 144:10 (x2); 144:21

Non-verbs: LXX-Psalms 16:14; 21:2; 30:2; 30:3; 34:3; 39:16; 43:27; 44:5; 54:16; 64:11; 79:16; 89:16; 102:14; 104:4; 135:26; 140:5; 146:1; 150:6

Converted Forms: LXX-Psalms 33:6; 108:10 (x2); 108:28; 137:3

Infinitives: LXX-Psalms 16:5; 31:7; 32:3; 64:11; 85:4

Suffix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 26:9; 67:29; 67:31; 68:33; 118:120

Participle: LXX-Psalms 64:3; 68:33

## The Future Indicative

Prefix Conjugation: 1:2; 1:3 (x3); 1:5; 1:6; 2:4 (x2); 2:5 (x2); 2:9 (x2); 2:12; 3:6; 3:7; 4:4; 4:7; 4:9; 5:3; 5:4 (x3); 5:6; 5:7; 5:8 (x2); 5:12; 5:13; 6:6; 6:7 (x2); 7:9; 7:10; 7:13; 7:17 (x2); 7:18; 8:4; 9:2; 9:4 (x2); 9:9 (x2); 9:19 (x2); 9:25; 9:26; 9:31; 9:34; 9:36; 10:1; 10:6; 11:5; 11:6 (x3); 11:8 (x2); 12:2 (x2); 12:3 (x2); 12:4; 12:5; 13:7; 14:1; 14:5; 15:7; 15:9; 15:10 (x2); 16:8; 16:15; 17:2; 17:3; 17:4 (x2); 17:7; 17:18; 17:20; 17:21 (x2); 17:26 (x2); 17:27 (x2); 17:28 (x2); 17:29 (x2); 17:30 (x2); 17:38 (x3); 17:39 (x2); 17:43 (x2); 17:44 (x2); 17:49: (x2); 17:50; 18:6; 18:13; 18:14; 19:6; 18:13; 18:14; 19:6; 19:7; 19:8; 20:2 (x2); 20:6; 20:7 (x2); 20:10 (x3); 20:11; 20:13 (x2); 21:3; 21:23; 21:26; 21:27 (x3); 21:28 (x3); 21:30; 21:31 (x2); 21:32; 22:1; 22:4; 22:6; 23:3 (x2); 23:5; 24:8; 24:9; 24:12; 24:13 (x2); 24:15; 25:5; 25:6; 25:12; 26:1 (x2); 26:3; 26:4; 26:8; 27:5 (x2); 27:7; 28:8; 28:11 (x2); 29:2; 29:6; 29:9; 29:10 (x2); 29:13; 30:4 (x2); 30:5; 30:6; 31:8 (x3); 31:10; 32:16; 32:17; 32:21; 33:3; 33:11; 33:12; 33:19; 33:20; 33:22; 34:9 (x2); 34:10; 34:13; 34:17; 34:18 (x2); 34:28; 35:7; 35:8; 35:9 (x2); 35:10; 36:2 (x2); 36:4; 36:5; 36:9 (x2); 36:11; 36:13 (x2); 36:17; 36:18; 36:19 (x2); 36:20; 36:21; 36:22 (x2); 36:24; 36:28; 36:29 (x2); 36:30 (x2); 36:31; 36:34 (x2); 36:40 (x2); 37:16; 37:19 (x2); 38:4; 39:4 (x2); 40:2; 40:6; 40:9; 41:3 (x2); 41:5; 41:6; 41:7; 41:9; 41:12; 42:4; 42:5; 43:6 (x2); 43:7 (x2); 43:9; 43:10; 43:22; 44:13; 44:15; 44:16 (x2); 44:17; 44:18; 45:3; 45:6 (x2); 45:10 (x2); 45:11 (x2); 47:8; 47:15; 48:4 48:5 (x2); 48:6; 48:8 (x2); 48:10 (x2); 48:11; 48:14; 48:16; 48:18 (x2); 48:19 (x2); 48:20 (x2); 49:3; 49:4; 49:8; 49:9; 49:13 (x2); 49:15 (x2); 49:21 (x2); 49:23 (x2); 50:9 (x4); 50:10 (x2); 50:15; 50:16; 50:17 (x2); 50:18; 50:19; 50:21 (x2); 51:7; 51:7; 51:8 (x3); 51:11 (x2); 52:7; 53:7; 53:8; 54:7; 54:11; 54:18; 54:20; 54:23; 54:24 (x2); 55:4 (x2); 55:5 (x3); 55:7 (x3); 55:10; 55:11 (x2); 55:12 (x2); 55:13; 56:10 (x2); 57:6; 57:8; 57:9; 57:10; 57:11 (x2); 57:12; 58:7 (x3); 58:8; 58:9; 58:11 (x2); 58:13; 58:15 (x3); 58:16; 58:17 (x2); 59:8; 59:10; 59:11; 59:12; 59:14; 60:5; 60:7; 60:8; 61:13; 62:4; 62:5 (x2); 62:6; 62:8; 62:10; 62:11 (x2); 62:12 (x2); 63:5 (x2); 63:6; 64:2; 64:3; 64:4; 64:5; 64:9; 64:11; 64:12 (x2); 64:13 (x2); 64:14 (x3); 65:3; 65:6; 65:13 (x2); 65:15 (x2); 66:5; 67:10; 67:12; 67:15; 67:17; 67:20; 67:22; 67:23

(x2); 67:30; 67:32 (x2); 67:34; 68:31; 68:32; 68:36 (x2); 68:37 (x2); 70:14; 70:15; 70:16 (x2); 70:17; 70:22; 70:23; 70:24; 71:13 (x2); 71:14; 72:5; 72:10 (x2); 72:20; 72:27; 73:10 (x2); 74:3; 74:9; 74:10; 74:11 (x2); 75:8; 75:11 (x2); 75:8; 75:11 (x2); 76:8 (x2); 77:6 (x2); 77:7; 77:19; 77:38 (x3); 77:64; 78:5 (x2); 78:13 (x2); 79:17; 79:19; 80:10 (x2); 80:13; 80:16; 81:5; 81:8; 82:15; 82:16 (x2); 83:5; 83:7; 83:8 (x2); 83:12 (x2); 84:6 (x2); 84:7 (x2); 84:9 (x2); 84:13 (x2); 84:14 (x2); 85:9 (x2); 85:11; 85:12; 86:4; 86:5; 86:6; 87:11 (x3); 87:12; 87:13; 87:14; 88:2; 88:3 (x2); 88:5; 88:6; 88:7 (x2); 88:13; 88:15; 88:16; 88:17 (x2); 88:18; 88:22 (x2); 88:23; 88:24; 88:25; 88:27; 88:28; 88:29; 88:32; 88:35; 88:36; 88:37; 88:47 (x2); 88:49 (x3); 89:5; 90:1; 90:2 (x2); 90:3; 90:4 (x2); 90:5; 90:7 (x2); 90:8 (x2); 90:10 (x2); 90:12; 90:13; 90:14 (x2); 90:15 (x4); 90:16 (x2); 91:5; 91:7 (x2); 91:10 (x2); 91:12; 91:13 (x2); 91:14; 91:15 (x2); 92:1; 93:3; 93:4 (x3); 93:7 (x2); 93:10; 93:14 (x2); 93:16 (x2); 93:20; 93:21 (x2); 93:23; 94:11; 95:10 (x2); 95:13; 96:3 (x2); 96:10; 97:9; 100:2; 101:14; 101:15; 101:16; 101:19; 101:27 (x5); 101:28; 101:29 (x2); 102:5; 102:9 (x2); 102:15; 102:16; 103:5; 103:6; 103:7 (x2); 103:9 (x2); 103:10; 103:11 (x2); 103:12 (x2); 103:13; 103:16; 103:17; 103:20; 103:22; 103:23; 103:28 (x2); 103:29 (x3); 103:30 (x3); 103:34; 104:11; 105:2 (x2); 106:42 (x2); 107:4 (x2); 107:8; 107:10; 107:11; 107:12; 107:14; 108:28 (x2); 108:30 (x2); 109:2; 109:4; 109:6; 109:7 (x2); 110:1; 110:5; 111:2 (x2); 111:5; 111:6 (x2); 111:7; 111:9; 111:10 (x3); 113:13 (x2); 113:14 (x2); 113:15 (x3); 113:25; 113:26; 114:1; 114:2; 115:3; 115:4 (x2); 115:8; 115:9; 117:6 (x2); 117:7; 117:17 (x3); 117:19; 117:20; 117:21; 117:28 (x2); 118:2; 118:7; 118:8; 119:9; 118:16 (x2); 118:17; 118:33; 118:34; 118:42; 118:74 (x2); 118:77; 118:78; 118:82; 118:84; 118:101; 118:116; 118:130; 118:144; 120:1; 120:4 (x2); 120:6; 120:7 (x2); 120:8; 121:1; 124:1; 124:3; 124:5; 125:2; 125:5; 125:6; 126:5; 127:2; 127:4; 129:3; 129:8; 131:3 (x2); 131:4; 131:7; 131:11 (x2); 131:12 (x2); 131:14; 131:15 (x2); 131:16; 131:17; 131:18 (x2); 134:14 (x2); 134:16 (x2); 134:17; 136:8; 136:9; 137:1 (x2); 137:2 (x2); 137:3; 137:7; 137:8; 138:10 (x2); 138:11; 138:12 (x2); 138:14; 138:16; 138:18 (x2); 138:20; 139:13; 139:14 (x2); 140:4; 141:3 (x2); 141:8; 142:2; 142:8; 142:11 (x2); 142:12; 144:1; 144:2; 144:4 (x2); 144:6 (x2); 144:7 (x2); 144:11 (x2); 144:19 (x3); 144:20; 144:21; 145:4 (x2); 145:9 (x2); 145:10; 146:2; 147:4; 147:6; 147 (x4); 148:6; 149:4

Cohortative: LXX-Psalms 2:8; 4:9; 7:18; 9:2; 9:3 (x3); 9:15; 12:6; 16:15; 17:50; 19:6; 20:14 (x2); 21:23; 25:6 (x3); 30:8 (x3); 33:2 (x2); 38:14; 40:11; 41:10; 42:4; 44:18; 49:7; 49:21; 50:15; 53:8; 54:7 (x2); 54:18; 56:8 (x2); 56:9; 58:10; 58:18; 59:8 (x2); 60:5; 60:9; 64:5; 65:6; 65:16; 68:31; 70:22; 72:15; 74:10; 76:12; 76:13; 77:2 (x2); 79:4; 79:8; 79:20; 84:9; 85:12; 88:2; 100:1; 100:2 (x2); 103:33 (x2); 107:2 (x2); 107:3; 107:8 (x2); 118:15; 118:17; 118:27; 118:44; 118:73; 118:88; 118:117 (x2); 118:125; 118:134; 118:145; 118:146; 131:7; 138:9; 143:9 (x2); 144:1; 144:2; 144:5; 145:2 (x2)

Jussive: LXX-Psalms 5:12 (x2); 7:8; 12:6; 18:15; 21:27; 23:7; 23:9; 24:9; 31:6; 34:8; 39:18; 44:5; 44:6; 49:2; 49:3; 52:7 (x2); 57:8 (x2); 58:14; 60:8; 63:11 (x2); 68:33; 71:4 (x2); 71:5; 71:6; 71:7; 71:8; 71:9 (x2); 71:10 (x2); 71:11 (x2); 71:15 (x4); 71:16 (x3); 71:17 (x3); 71:19; 73:21; 75:12; 79:19; 82:17; 95:12 (x2); 97:8 (x2); 103:31; 106:43 (x2); 118:175 (x3); 131:9 (x2); 133:3; 139:10; 139:11 (x2); 139:12 (x2); 140:5 (x2); 140:10; 142:10; 143:5; 143:6 (x2); 149:5 (x2)

Converted Forms: LXX-Psalms 1:3; 7:16; 9:31; 17:24 (x2); 17:25; 18:14; 24:11; 27:1; 28:5; 28:6; 28:9; 33:8; 36:6; 36:10; 36:11; 36:40 (x2); 40:6; 45:10; 48:11; 48:15; 49:6; 54:18; 58:16; 63:8; 63:11; 64:9; 68:36 (x2); 70:14; 76:13; 79:6; 88:5; 88:24; 88:26; 88:30; 88:33; 89:10; 91:11; 93:23; 105:48; 108:17 (x2); 111:10 (x2); 136:9; 140:6; 142:7; 142:12; 148:14

Non-Verbs: LXX-Psalms 9:37; 12:6; 15:11; 17:20; 17:36; 36:26; 36:28; 51:8; 61:2; 63:7; 64:8; 65:2; 67:5; 68:31; 70:8; 74:2; 82:2; 88:23; 90:4; 102:16; 105:47; 117:28; 118:91; 127:2; 134:17 (x4); 144:5; 149:6; 151:3

Suffix Conjugation: LXX-Psalms 9:37; 13:4; 28:10; 33:21; 36:28 (x2); 36:38 (x2); 43:9; 52:5; 52:6; 54:19; 59:11; 72:7; 74:2 (x2); 74:3; 76:9; 76:10 (x2); 76:20; 79:6; 83:4; 101:17 (x2); 106:42; 107:11; 109:6; 138:16; 145:4

Participle: LXX-Psalms 18:7; 33:8; 33:23; 36:12 (x2); 38:7; 44:15; 67:36; 73:9; 118:130; 118:162; 120:5; 138:20

Infinitive: LXX-Psalms 39:6; 48:15; 55:8; 131:16

Imperative: LXX-Psalms 36:3; 44:13; 55:8

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