

THE DISCOURSE PRAGMATIC FUNCTION OF
'EN TΩI + INFINITIVE IN POST-CLASSICAL GREEK:
A WINDOW INTO TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE IN SEPTUAGINT GENESIS

by

MATTHEW GLASS

B.A., Christian Ethics, Union University, 2004
M.A., Biblical Studies, Reformed Theological Seminary, 2019

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ABSTRACT

The syntactic construction ἐν τῷ + infinitive has a discourse pragmatic function that can be clearly defined. Post-classical Greek compositional texts demonstrate that the Septuagint Genesis translator used the construction consistently with conventional Greek usage. It encoded presuppositional, identifiable topical information that cognitively anchored asserted information. It refers anaphorically to a text-internal or text-external state of affairs that is active in the discourse register while communicating the occasion in time for its predicator. Due to its bi-directional function, it adds coherence. As one of several renderings in the Septuagint for the Hebrew אֵין + infinitive construction and other Hebrew constructions, its usage was not arbitrary but displayed an awareness of its function within the Post-classical Greek linguistic system. Understanding its function within the clause and the broader discourse, especially in contrast with other renderings for the Hebrew אֵין + infinitive, gives a window into translation technique in Septuagint Genesis.

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SIGLA AND ABBREVIATIONS

Sigla

1x, 2x, etc.	referent appears one time (1x), two times (2x), etc., depending on the numeral preceding x.
+	with; typically used for syntactic constructions like "ἐν τῷ + infinitive"
↪	cause

Abbreviations

AG	Ancient Greek
BCE	before Common Era
BDF	Blass, Friedrich, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk. <i>A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> . Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1961.
BH	biblical Hebrew
c.	circa
CE	Common Era
CG	Classical Greek
EG	Epic Greek
Gen	LXX Genesis translator
IS	information structure
LSB	<i>Legacy Standard Bible</i>
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NETS	<i>New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>
NT	New Testament
PC	Post-classical
SS	structural semantics
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> ® Digital Library, ed. Maria C. Pantelia (University of California) online at http://www.tlg.uci.edu

Papyri abbreviations are according to the designations found online at:
papyri.info/docs/checklist

Literary sources are cited based on the titles found online at:
loebclassics.com

Literary sources are abbreviated based on the titles found online at:
stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Much nonsense has been written, without a sufficient knowledge of the Koine, about the Hebraisms of the Greek Bible."¹

–Raija Sollamo

1.1. Introduction

The Septuagint Pentateuch is a Greek translation from a Hebrew *Vorlage* that began in the first half of the third century BCE. Due to its historical position as the largest extant corpus of Greek prose from the Hellenistic era, it provides insight into the development of PC Greek.² As an exemplar of PC Greek, its text-linguistic character indicates that the LXX translators were well-educated and could capably use conventional Greek.³ However, influence from the source text also occurred, which is common in translated texts. Influence from the Hebrew *Vorlage* is sometimes labelled "Hebraism" or "Semitism." This influence is evinced by the usage of certain lexemes and syntactic constructions and is the result of translation technique.⁴ This translation technique gave the LXX a style that distinguished it in some ways from contemporary compositional texts. Due to serial fidelity (following Hebrew word order) and isomorphic correspondence with the source text (using grammatical forms similar to those in Hebrew), it has been observed that the LXX contains a higher frequency of parataxis and nominal clauses and a lower frequency of participial phrases such as the genitive absolute.⁵ Most syntactic patterns indicative of LXX Greek, though, are not unusual and well-attested in Greek compositional corpora. Since the publication of documentary sources such as papyri and inscriptions, enormous insight has been gained concerning PC non-literary Greek. Scholars now recognize that Hebrew influence was less pronounced than once thought because many features of biblical Greek that were assumed to be

¹ Raija Sollamo, "Some 'Improper' Prepositions, such as ἐνώπιον, ἐναντίον, ἔναντι, etc., in the Septuagint and Early Koine Greek," *VT* 25 (1975): 776.

² James K. Aitken and Marieke Dhont, "The Septuagint with the History of Greek: An Introduction," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 54 (2023): 444.

³ John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011-2012*, (Oxford: Oxford University, 2018), 123-72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵ Eberhard Bons, "The Septuagint and Greek Style," *The T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, eds. William A. Ross and W. Edward Glenny (London: T&T Clark, 2021), 94.

unconventional have been found in these documentary sources.⁶ However, some have argued that LXX Greek exhibits certain syntactic structures with greater frequency than is the case in compositional texts.⁷ This type of influence, called positive interference, refers to conventional syntax that was used with greater frequency because "it happens to resemble a feature in the source language."⁸ When the LXX's syntax is considered as a whole, it is generally recognized that the LXX contains middle-level PC Greek that evinces a distinctive biblical style due to translation technique.⁹ Therefore, Septuagint Greek's diversity of style warrants analysis in relation to both contemporaneous Greek and its *Vorlage*. This task requires investigation of the Greek compositional corpora and the underlying Hebrew.

1.2. Statement of Research Problem & Question

The study of LXX syntax is still in early development.¹⁰ This thesis will examine one syntactic construction that was used in the LXX over five hundred times: ἐν τῷ + infinitive. The construction has often been characterized as a Hebraism.¹¹ It was utilized in the Pentateuch as a rendering for the Hebrew אֲנִי + infinitive construction approximately one fourth of the time (less than half the time in the LXX as a whole). Additionally, it was on occasion used as a rendering for other Hebrew syntactic constructions. Many scholars have concluded that close formal correspondence with the Hebrew אֲנִי + infinitive construction and

⁶ Trevor Evans, "The Nature of Septuagint Greek: Language and Lexicography," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison Salveson and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University, 2021), 96.

⁷ Ibid., 94.

⁸ Aitken and Dhont, "The Septuagint within the History of Greek," 441.

⁹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 269.

¹⁰ Trevor Evans, "The Grammarian Cannot Wait: Thackeray, Muraoka, and the Analysis of Septuagint Syntax," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 54 (2023): 562.

¹¹ This was particularly true before the advent of computer technology to aid in the linguistic study of AG corpora. See Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1961), 208; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Logos Bible Software, 2006), 1069-72; Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek: Illustrated by Examples*, trans. Joseph Smith S. J. (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963), 133-35; Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Syntax*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), 144-46; Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1965), 81-83; Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), 340-41; T. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 334-35.

a temporal semantic relationship with its predicator¹² (the usual way the Hebrew construction was used) are evidence that it is a Hebraism in the LXX. The form, function, and semantics in the LXX, they argue, can be explained as the result of a translation technique that borrowed from the source text. Is this conclusion warranted, though, by a textual comparison of PC compositional texts and the LXX?

1.3. Statement of Purpose

The goal of this thesis is to discern if the above conclusion about the use of ἐν τῷ + infinitive is valid. To examine the validity of that conclusion, or lack thereof, it will be necessary to compare the usage of the syntactic construction in PC compositional texts with the LXX. Given the hundreds of attestations in compositional texts and especially in the LXX, it will be necessary to narrow the scope of analysis. Therefore, the analysis will focus on texts from Polybius and documentary sources (papyri and inscriptions) to determine the default function of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in the PC Greek linguistic system. This analysis will then be compared to texts from LXX Genesis to determine if the usage of the syntactic construction in LXX Genesis was the result of borrowing from the Hebrew *Vorlage*, or if there was/were some other reason(s) that can explain its usage in the LXX.

1.4. Statement of Hypothesis

This thesis will argue that Gen employed ἐν τῷ + infinitive in a manner consistent with conventional Greek in compositional PC texts, demonstrating a clear understanding of its discourse-pragmatic function and structural semantics.

1.5. Statement & Explanation of Methodology

This thesis will employ information structure analysis (i.e., discourse pragmatics) within the framework of corpus linguistics. IS analysis is a functional approach to language that seeks to describe the conditions under which specific grammatical structures are used.

¹² Some scholars argue that the Greek corpora outside biblical Greek do not use the syntactic construction to indicate a temporal semantic relationship with a predicator. The textual data in this thesis will demonstrate that a temporal semantic relationship with a predicator is prototypical.

This type of analysis is most effectively conducted within the context of a natural language corpus. Unlike arbitrarily produced sentences, a natural language corpus provides valuable insight into how native speakers use language. It serves as the best indicator of how a language grammaticalizes meaning through linguistic forms and creates coherent, cohesive communication by structuring information. Therefore, it is essential to outline these two methodologies in greater detail as they will guide the analysis of the textual data in this thesis.

1.5.1. *Information Structure Analysis*

Two approaches to linguistic analysis are relevant for this thesis. The first approach analyzes language by examining its syntactic structure. This approach describes syntactic structure not simply "for its own sake,"¹³ but also to determine the meaning in the text, i.e., structural semantics. The structural semantic approach identifies four categories to which all syntactic forms belong: subject, predicator, complement, and adjunct.¹⁴ Within each of these syntactic categories are various levels of complexity and formal structures. The structural semantic approach, therefore, aims to describe the forms and structures of phrases, clauses, and sentences and their semantic relationship. However, the structural semantic approach does not describe *why* particular forms and structures are used in contrast to others within a language, especially when two different formal structures are capable of encoding the same meaning.

The second approach analyzes language to answer why a particular structure is used in contrast to other choices within the linguistic system and how that structure functions in communication. This is the functional approach to linguistic analysis, and IS analysis is one such functional approach. However, IS analysis does not discard the structural semantic approach, but is based upon it.¹⁵ Therefore, the description of linguistic forms and structures

¹³ Robert A. Dooley, "Functional Approaches to Grammar: Implications for SIL Training" (manuscript). Cited in Stephen H. Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek: A Coursebook on the Information Structure of the New Testament Greek*, 2nd ed. (Dallas: SIL International, 2000), vii. Dooley viewed the structural approach as describing structure essentially "for its own sake."

¹⁴ S. E. Porter and M. B. O'Donnell, "Building and Examining Linguistic Phenomena in a Corpus of Representative Papyri," in *The Language of the Papyri*, eds. T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University, 2010), 299.

¹⁵ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, viii.

provided by a structural semantic approach is used as the basis upon which to explain how specific constituents are utilized within a sentence to contribute to the coherence of the discourse. Additionally, IS analysis aims to explain the linguistic conditions that engender the use of certain constituents as opposed to others within a linguistic system.

This thesis utilizes IS analysis as it is outlined in Knud Lambrecht's work on the topic.¹⁶ His work, though perhaps dated, was influential on Stephen Levinsohn and Steven Runge, both of whom have written on discourse analysis in New Testament Greek.¹⁷ His work has also been influential on other scholars who have written on IS, as is evident by the citations in *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*.¹⁸ Lambrecht defines IS as "[t]hat component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts."¹⁹ This definition is lexically dense because Lambrecht is attempting to summarize his methodology succinctly. A clarification of this definition will be helpful.

Lambrecht argues that cross-linguistically, there are basic elements shared by all acts of communication. At the very least, communication occurs between a speaker and a listener. These interlocutors can communicate successfully when they understand each other's utterances. Any *new information* added throughout their discourse must be added to already *given information* for that information to be appropriately understood.²⁰ Coherence results when this is done successfully. Perhaps this principle can be illustrated by the communication that occurred recently when someone gave driving directions. The person

¹⁶ Knud Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1994).

¹⁷ Levinsohn's work is cited above. See Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2010). A comparison of the first and second editions of Levinsohn's *Discourse Features* demonstrates this point. Runge also articulated Lambrecht's influence on his own work in a personal conversation.

¹⁸ Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2016).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁰ Although Lambrecht uses these terms, he also states that they have caused "great confusion" (*Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 46). So, he uses other terms more frequently for the sake of clarification and to better nuance his position. These terms will be outlined in the following discussion.

who gave directions needed to begin with a location that was known to the listener. Otherwise, the listener would be lost. Only when a commonly known location was shared between the interlocutors could the directions proceed successfully. The person who gave directions stated:

(1) "From here, *there's an intersection a hundred meters up ahead.*"

The person giving directions assumed the listener already knew the denotation of the word "here," which did not need to be uttered. It would have been assumed by both interlocutors that the listener would proceed from their current location. The word, then, is presuppositional based upon their shared physical location in the "utterance-external world." So, new information about the intersection was added to the given information. Once the new information was communicated (i.e., activated within the discourse register), it became the given information to which the next chunk of new information was anchored. The person giving directions then said:

(2) "At the intersection, *make a left turn.*"

Once again, the constituent, "At the intersection," contained given information and was the basis for the addition of the new information, "make a left turn." Those same directions could have been communicated without the given information, "At the intersection." However, the addition of the given information enhanced the clarity and coherence of the utterance because it allowed the new information to be cognitively anchored to something the listener already knew.

Lambrecht argues that all communication proceeds in the same way as this brief conversation containing driving directions. Lambrecht's methodology uses terms that better nuance the ideas of "given information" and "new information." As the definition above indicates, the encoding of IS is connected to what the speaker²¹ assumes to be the mental state of the listener. This includes what the speaker assumes to be the ideational "common ground"²² between the interlocutors, and therefore what the speaker assumes the listener will cognitively identify in an utterance. Assumptions based on common ground are the reason that communication is much easier in general with people whom we know well, rather than

²¹ Reference to a speaker can be substituted with the word "author," listener with the word "reader."

²² Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 59.

with people with whom we are recently acquainted. Much of the conversation with new acquaintances is an attempt to discern their mental state: what they know, what they have experienced, where they have been, who they know, etc. Discerning these seemingly trivial details of information aids communication because they allow interlocutors to make appropriate assumptions and communicate coherently. Lambrecht nuances *given information–new information* with three categories: *presupposition–assertion* (which concern ideas in the text), *identifiability–activation* (which concern textual constituents), *topic–focus* (which concern how textual constituents relate pragmatically).²³

Table 1.5.1: Key Terms in IS

Given information	New state of information ²⁴
<i>Presupposition</i> (common ground)	<i>Assertion</i> (new ground)
<i>Identifiability</i> (active, accessible, ²⁵ inactive)	<i>Activation</i>
<i>Topic</i>	<i>Focus</i> (can include a "thetic topic")
+ – <i>Accentuation</i>	+ <i>Accentuation</i>

In these categories, the terms "presupposition," "identifiability," and "topic" – while not synonymous – nuance the idea of given information in various ways. The ideas in an utterance that a speaker assumes the listener will know or is willing to take for granted constitute a *presupposition*;²⁶ this information, as mentioned above, is what the speaker assumes to be the common ground with the listener. In the two texts above concerning driving directions, there are some shared ideas between the speaker and listener, although the ideational content is not very profound. The person giving directions assumed (due to shared physical space in the utterance-external world) that the person receiving directions knew where they were located spatially and understood how to proceed from their current location

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ There is a distinction between new information and a new state of information. New information can be defined as things not known before that are now asserted and made known. A new state of information, however, while including new information can also include things known before (i.e., given information) that are given a new relationship in a listener's mind. See Lambrecht (*Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 210) for a more extensive discussion.

²⁵ Information that is accessible can either be accessible *textually*, *situationally*, or *inferentially* (see Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 109).

²⁶ Lambrecht's definition of presupposition: "The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (*Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 52).

to another location. So, a cognitively identifiable constituent²⁷ was used in the utterance. The category *identifiability*, then, has to do with the grammaticalization of presuppositional information. The speaker giving directions uttered the prepositional phrase "from here" based upon the assumption that it would be identifiable to the listener. Information that possesses a status as presuppositional and cognitively identifiable is used as the *topic* of the utterance.²⁸ The topic is what the utterance is all about, and both speaker and listener must have a shared assumption concerning the "aboutness" of an utterance if successful communication is to occur. The topic of the first utterance in the driving directions would be something like, "[Where to go] from here."

The corresponding categorical terms, "assertion," "activation," and "focus," likewise nuance the idea of new information in various ways. An *assertion* contrasts with a presupposition. In the driving directions, the first sentence asserted that "there's an intersection a hundred meters up ahead." For the person who received the directions, this is new information. The newly asserted information *activates* its ideational referent within the driving directions discourse register.²⁹ Therefore, any subsequent anaphoric reference to the information will be identifiable to the listener. However, when it is in the process of activation, the new information will not be identifiable; this, then, will be reflected in the IS. Newly asserted information that is in the process of activation within the discourse register is the *focus* of an utterance. Lambrecht describes different types of focus structures: predicate-focus, argument-focus, and sentence-focus.³⁰ If there is no presuppositional topic, which is often the case at the beginning of communication or during transitions to new topics, then a topic must be asserted. When this is the case, the entire utterance is in focus (i.e., sentence-focus structure). These utterances are referred to as "thetic sentences," or "presentational sentences."³¹ *Topic* and *focus*, then, are not always binary since a sentence's topic can also be in focus.

²⁷ In a written text, it would be appropriate to use the words "textual constituent."

²⁸ The topic is not always presuppositional; see the following comment about "thetic sentences."

²⁹ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 74.

³⁰ Ibid., 222.

³¹ N. A. Bailey, "Thetic Constructions in Koine Greek: with special attention to clauses with εἰμί 'be', γίνομαι 'occur', ἔρχομαι 'come', ἰδοὺ/ἴδε 'behold', and complement clauses of ὁράω 'see'" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2009), 1.

There is a sociolinguistic dimension to the distinction between presupposition and assertion, between identifiable information and information that is being activated. James Paul Gee refers to this as a "social contract between the writer and reader."³² Speakers structure their utterances in such a way that listeners are expected to treat certain elements as common ground (regardless of whether the information was known by the listener). The expectation on the part of the speaker is that the listener would "address any comments or disagreements to the asserted information and simply take the assumed information for granted."³³ This basic reality about communication can become a tool used by speakers "to manipulate listeners and readers into not bringing up (or not thinking too much about) what they don't want brought up or thought about."³⁴ This is all accomplished by the way information is structured.

The final term listed above in Figure 1.5.1 is accentuation. Accentuation must be viewed as a pragmatic phenomenon that is distinct from focus. According to Lambrecht, "The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech."³⁵ In other words, focus concerns what the speaker wants the listener to know (the new state of information). Focus is connected directly to what the speaker perceives to be the mental state of the listener, and therefore what needs to be asserted and activated in the discourse. Accentuation, on the other hand, has nothing to do with the speaker's perception of the mental state of the listener, but everything to do with *what the speaker wants the listener to perceive as pragmatically salient*.³⁶ Therefore, accentuation certainly happens on constituents in the focal domain, but can also happen with constituents in the topical domain.³⁷ This point will be important in chapter five when considering various renderings that were used for the Hebrew $\text{א} + \text{infinitive}$ construction in LXX Genesis.

The mental state of interlocutors is shaped by two worlds. The first world is the text-external world. According to Lambrecht, the text-external world "comprises (i) speech

³² James Paul Gee, *Introducing Discourse Analysis: From Grammar to Society* (London: Routledge, 2018), 65.

³³ *Ibid.*, 65.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

³⁵ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 207.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 325. Pragmatic salience is also referred to as prominence.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 325.

participants, i.e., a speaker and one or several addressees, and (ii) a speech setting, i.e., the place, time, and circumstances in which a speech event takes place."³⁸ Returning to the texts about driving directions: if the person who gave directions – instead of making a statement such as "*there's an intersection a hundred meters up ahead*" – pointed to a landmark that both interlocutors could see, "*You see that up ahead*," then reference would be made to the text-external (utterance-external) world. Coherent communication would then proceed based upon the presupposition they both possessed due to their physical location. The second world that shapes the mental state of interlocutors is the text-internal world. This is the text-linguistic discourse world containing the ideas and textual constituents that constitute an instance of communication.

1.5.2. Ancient Greek Information Structure

Cross-linguistically, there are six linguistic means through which IS can be accomplished: intonation, lexemes, morphemes, particles, syntax, and word order.³⁹ Each language uses these means in different ways to encode IS. Some languages use only one of these linguistic means (e.g., intonation in English), while others use a combination that pragmatically interacts in language-specific ways.⁴⁰ Helma Dik has argued that AG primarily used word order to indicate IS.⁴¹ Her most recent monograph provides her updated schema for IS in AG: [Setting] – Topic – Focus – Verb – [Remainder].⁴² Her basic premise is that the setting and topic (both of which are given information) precede the focal constituent in the sentence. The focal constituent is then followed by the verb and what she terms the remainder constituents. Dejan Matić has shown that Dik's schema for IS is only valid 49% of

³⁸ Ibid., 36.

³⁹ Nicolas Bertrand, "Information Structure and Greek," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, vol. 2, ed. Georgios K. Giannakis (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 241. Bertrand does not list lexemes as a means of IS, but Lambrecht states that "the lexicon" can contribute (*Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 31). In AG, articles and pronouns played a role. See Geoffrey Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd ed. (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2010), 97, where he states that deictic pronouns were used to "control discourse structure."

⁴⁰ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 25, 31.

⁴¹ Helma J. M. Dik, "Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1995). Also, Helma J. M. Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue* (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007).

⁴² Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, 38.

the time in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.⁴³ Furthermore, he states that the schema does not accurately describe the other 51% of sentences due to "three major phenomena: (i) postverbal elements that do not fit the label 'pragmatically unmarked' (henceforth postverbal foci); (ii) more than just two elements before the verb (henceforth complexity of the left periphery); and (iii) elements between the focus expression and the verb (henceforth focus intruders)."⁴⁴ So, Matic's work on IS has built upon Dik's insights and has better nuanced her theory of AG discourse pragmatics. He has attempted to account for the discrepancies in her word order schema. Along with taking into consideration the role of syntax in IS,⁴⁵ he notes that intonation could have possibly played a role in AG.⁴⁶ However, scholars do not possess any evidence for the intonation patterns used by speakers of AG since native speakers ceased to exist millennia ago and they left no record of how they intonated their language to encode IS.

Dik's and Matic's scholarship possesses many insights related to IS in AG compositional texts. However, they provide little help for finding *intentionality* in the way the LXX translators pragmatically structured information, since word order in the LXX is largely dependent on the Hebrew source text. When the translators produced the Greek text, they had little concern for capturing the interface between word order and IS that was natural and intuitive to native Greek speakers. Scholars are only left with three linguistic means, then, for discovering intentionality in the way LXX translators pragmatically structured information: *particles*, *syntax*, and specific *lexemes*. In the usage of these three linguistic means, IS can often be discerned where the translator possessed multiple translation equivalents from which to choose to render the Hebrew *Vorlage*, especially when those renderings function differently on the level of discourse.⁴⁷ Therefore, the choice to use one specific rendering was also a choice not to use other possible renderings. There has already been some helpful

⁴³ Dejan Matic, "Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order," *Studies in Language* 27:3 (2003): 578.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 578.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 603.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 586.

⁴⁷ Marieke Dhont has argued that "a translator's decisions during the translation process are governed by a multidimensional interplay of various factors that are determined by the translator's context" ("Septuagint Translation Technique and Jewish Hellenistic Exegesis," in *T&T Clark Handbook of Septuagint Research*, eds. William A. Ross and W. Edward Glenny [London: T&T Clark, 2021], 24). Pragmatic IS is one factor.

scholarship done on how LXX translators used particles on the level of discourse.⁴⁸ There has also been some work done on how certain lexemes contribute to IS.⁴⁹ Similarly, this thesis will attempt to show IS using the linguistic means of syntax, particularly how a single Greek syntactic construction encodes IS. This involves not quite the same approach to the consideration of the role of syntax as that of Matic, who is more concerned with the relationship between IS and the constituent ordering of subject, predicator, complement, and adjunct.⁵⁰ But it is consistent with Lambrecht's concern to articulate the interface between syntax and IS.⁵¹

There are a variety of syntactic constructions that could be used to communicate the same propositional content. However, authors choose certain syntactic constructions due to the concerns of pragmatic IS.⁵² Chapter five will discuss that the same propositional content could be communicated using ἐν τῷ + infinitive, a participle, or a temporal conjunction + finite verb. However, each syntactic construction serves a different pragmatic function. When Gen chose one rendering and chose not to use the others, he was encoding a specific IS based upon the discourse context and the perspective that he was intending to communicate.

1.5.3. *Corpus Linguistics*

Porter and O'Donnell define corpus linguistics as "the computer-aided empirical study of naturally occurring language that has been collected into a representative sample, that is, the

⁴⁸ See Christopher J. Fresch, *Discourse Markers in Early Koine Greek: Cognitive-Functional Analysis and LXX Translation Technique* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2023). Some other scholarship cited by Fresch include Philippe Le Moigne, "Le livre d'Ésaïe dans la Septante: Ecdotique, stylistique, linguistique" (PhD diss., L'École pratique des hautes études, 2001); Frank Polak, "Context Sensitive Translation and Parataxis in Biblical Narrative," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom M. Paul, VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Claude Cox, "Tying It All Together: The Use of Particles in Old Greek Job," *BIOSCS* 38 (2005): 41–54; Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1982).

⁴⁹ Stephen H. Levinsohn, "Towards a Unified Linguistic Description of οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος," in *The Linguist as Pedagogue: Trends in the Teaching and Linguistic Analysis of the Greek New Testament*, eds. Stanley E. Porter and Matthew Brook O'Donnell (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2009), 206–219.

⁵⁰ Matic, "Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order," 629.

⁵¹ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 1-2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 9.

corpus."⁵³ This definition indicates that, as a method, corpus linguistics compiles a "representative sample" of naturally occurring language. As mentioned above, this naturally occurring language is contrasted with texts that are arbitrarily produced, such as those that were so often analyzed in generative grammar.⁵⁴ This is particularly important for studying IS because it is a grammatical component dependent on the discourse context in which utterances are found. So, the goal in studying a language corpus is to better understand how native speakers use language within a natural linguistic environment. Additionally, the definition indicates that corpus linguistics is an empirical study. Corpus linguistics is, therefore, inherently descriptive, and its conclusions about natural language are rooted in observations made about the data in the corpus. Finally, Porter and O'Donnell's definition indicates that corpus linguistics is computer-aided. To get an appropriate amount of data to justify making general conclusions about natural language, a large quantity of data must be analyzed. Only computer-aided technology allows linguists to appropriately analyze this large quantity of data. Otherwise, they would have to manually analyze thousands and thousands of documents just to find representative examples, which is what grammarians did before the advent of computer-aided technology. This is why they made statements at times that were based more on their intuition than on empirical data. They did not have the time to manually analyze all the data from AG corpora, therefore, their conclusions were often based on a few scattered texts and their intuitive understanding of the Greek language (which was frequently right). However, one reason why ἐν τῷ + infinitive in the LXX has been wrongly characterized as a Hebraism is perhaps due to the inability in previous generations to thoroughly analyze the AG corpora. This inability is no longer the case with computer-aided technology.

This thesis will examine texts in two PC Greek corpora. The first corpus consists of literary texts. These texts have been accessed using the online databases *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*⁵⁵ and the *Loeb Classical Library*.⁵⁶ The statistics for the usage of the construction

⁵³ S. E. Porter and M. B. O'Donnell, "Building and Examining Linguistic Phenomena in a Corpus of Representative Papyri," in *The Language of the Papyri*, eds. T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University, 2010), 289.

⁵⁴ See Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic Structures*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 15.

⁵⁵ <https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>

⁵⁶ <https://www.loebclassics.com>

by an author or a text in the PC Greek literary corpus will be given in chapter three, where it will be shown that the syntactic construction was used 397 times by 62 authors. Ideally, every single usage of the syntactic construction should be examined to fully demonstrate how the construction was used within the PC Greek linguistic system. However, there is not enough space in this thesis to appropriately carry out that task. Therefore, it is necessary to limit the scope of texts that will be discussed. Rather than discussing texts randomly, which could perhaps be beneficial, one author has been chosen: Polybius. Although this might run the risk of basing conclusions on a few scattered texts, Polybius's historical accounts represent a genre similar to that of LXX Genesis and are somewhat indicative of PC Greek prose.⁵⁷ Additionally, the corpus of texts found in documentary sources – papyri and inscriptions – will be discussed. These non-literary texts occupy a different language level than that of Polybius and are more telling of how Greek was used in everyday life, both in formal settings and in informal correspondence between individuals. Even though only twenty texts will be discussed from two different compositional corpora, the hope is that this will be a broad enough sample from a sociolinguistic perspective to elucidate the default function of the construction in the PC linguistic system.

1.6. Outline of the Study

Chapter two of this thesis will deal with several issues concerning linguistic and syntactic analysis. This chapter will be important because it will articulate key issues that are directly related to the analysis of the texts that contain the construction. Chapter two will begin with a summary of how grammarians have understood this construction (§2.2). This section will function as a literature review. Next, the presuppositions that guide this thesis will be outlined (§2.3). There will be three presuppositions that will be discussed. *First*, the language of the LXX – including its syntax – is a specimen of conventional PC Greek. *Second*, the LXX occupies a middle-level linguistic register and contains literary flourishes. *Third*, the LXX is a translation with Hebraic interference. The translated texts in the LXX were translated by competent translators who sought to faithfully render their *Vorlage*; therefore, the Greek language in the LXX, although conventional in the Hellenistic era, also contains

⁵⁷Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 97.

interference from the *Vorlage*. It is important to outline these presuppositions. One's assumptions have a controlling influence on any scientific enquiry concerning how the data are interpreted. For example, if one presupposes that "the syntax of the Septuagint is Hebrew rather than Greek,"⁵⁸ there will be a tendency to label syntactic constructions as Hebraisms. However, if one maintains that the LXX is generally conventional Greek that possesses Hebraic influence scattered throughout, then there will exist a more cautious approach in labelling syntactic units as Hebraisms.⁵⁹ Specific guidelines will be delineated that help identify Hebraic influence on the LXX's syntax. Finally, chapter two will conclude with a discussion of the construction's role in the IS of AG (§2.4). It is intentional that this discussion takes place before the discussion of PC Greek texts so that its conclusions might be seen in the texts that follow.

The third chapter will begin the analysis of PC Greek corpora. As mentioned above, two corpora in particular will be discussed: PC literary texts and PC documentary texts. To demonstrate how the construction functioned in the literary texts, ten different texts (eleven attestations) in Polybius will be described using pragmatic IS analysis. These texts contain almost half of the attestations of the syntactic construction in Polybius's corpus. Additionally, six texts (eight attestations) from non-literary papyri will be discussed as well as two inscriptions. These are the only ten attestations of ἐν τῷ + infinitive that could be found in documentary sources before the Common Era. Despite their small number, though, these texts are very important for grasping the prototypical way in which the syntactic construction was used by people who were native Greek speakers.

The fourth chapter will examine the twenty-three texts in LXX Genesis that use the syntactic construction. Through a close examination of these texts from a discourse pragmatic perspective, the thesis will demonstrate that ἐν τῷ + infinitive functioned in the same way in LXX Genesis as it did in the compositional Greek texts in chapter three. The texts will be analyzed in four sections. The first section will contain the seven texts where ἐν

⁵⁸ Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), viii-ix.

⁵⁹ See William Ross, *Post-classical Greek and Septuagint Lexicography* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2022), 40-62, for a helpful discussion of the "Hebrew-priority view" versus the "Greek-priority view" of the language of the LXX.

τῷ + infinitive was used as a translation equivalent for the Hebrew פָּ + infinitive construction, and καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δὲ or καὶ ἔσται was placed in the left periphery.⁶⁰ The second division will contain eleven other texts where ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used as a translation equivalent for the Hebrew פָּ + infinitive construction. The third division will contain three texts where ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used as a translation equivalent for various Hebrew constructions, and καὶ ἐγένετο or ἐγένετο δὲ or καὶ ἔσται was placed in the left periphery. Finally, the fourth division will contain two texts where ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used as a translation equivalent for various other Hebrew constructions.

The fifth chapter will look at the usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive from another perspective in LXX Genesis. This syntactic construction was one of eight renderings used to translate the Hebrew פָּ + infinitive construction. So, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate the functional differences, from a discourse pragmatic perspective, in the use of these other renderings. Other texts in LXX Genesis will be analyzed, and the IS that was encoded will be noted. Understanding the way ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used in contrast to these other renderings will further elucidate its default function within the AG linguistic system.

The sixth chapter, in conclusion, will offer a summary of the findings. The chapter will also consider two final issues related to the syntactic construction. *First*, the register to which the construction belongs will be discussed. Due to the infrequency of usage in the non-literary papyri and the more abundant usage in literary texts, the question of whether ἐν τῷ + infinitive belongs to a more literary register will be considered. *Second*, the issue of frequency will also be discussed. This syntactic construction was used quite often in the LXX. Scholars have often given even conventional Greek syntactic constructions the label Hebraism due to their unusually frequent usage in the LXX compared to compositional texts. *Third*, the conclusion will outline areas of further inquiry.

⁶⁰ These texts are considered together because καὶ ἐγένετο / ἐγένετο δὲ / καὶ ἔσται have a structural effect on ἐν τῷ + infinitive; however, there is no effect semantically.

CHAPTER 2: SYNTACTIC AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

"Greek syntax, not Hebrew, is the translators' starting point."⁶¹

– John A. L. Lee

2.1. Introduction

It is impossible to evaluate how ἐν τῷ + infinitive is used in LXX Genesis without having certain presuppositions about the language of the Septuagint. That has always been true for anyone attempting to analyze the Greek language used in the LXX. Like any scientific enquiry, though, the existing data – in this case, textual data – ought either to confirm one's presuppositions or the presuppositions need to be modified. This chapter on syntactic and linguistic analysis will present three parallel discussions. First, this chapter will briefly discuss how ἐν τῷ + infinitive has been described by several works on grammar and syntax. It is important to realize that the grammarians also possessed certain presuppositions about the language of the LXX. Many of them made judgments about the LXX's language based upon their educated intuition about AG, which was often shaped by CG usage, rather than by the PC textual data. Their methodology was understandable because they analyzed the Greek language at a time when technology did not yet exist to properly conduct corpus linguistics. They also only examined the Greek language from a structuralist perspective. This perspective is necessary, but it can never explain the functional use of language within discourse. These grammarians, though, have been influential regarding the view that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is a Hebraism.⁶² That view continues to be repeated based upon the authority of these previous influential scholars without being properly investigated in light of PC literary and non-literary corpora. Second, the underlying presuppositions in this thesis about the LXX's language will be outlined. These guiding assumptions will be justified to some degree and contrasted with other approaches to the language of the LXX. The relevance of these guiding assumptions for ἐν τῷ + infinitive will also be articulated. Third, the structural semantics and discourse pragmatics of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in the Greek corpora will be

⁶¹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 262.

⁶² For an example, see Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 334-35. Muraoka cites and seemingly misunderstands Turner when he concludes that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is a Hebraism without any comparison between LXX usage and compositional Greek. See discussion below in §2.2.9.

described. This linguistic description will be used in the subsequent chapters to analyze the Greek texts from the PC era. It is important to note that this description was composed in dialogue with the textual data rather than in isolation from it.

2.2. Grammatical and Syntactic Literature

This section outlines the way ἐν τῷ + infinitive has been described in some works on Greek grammar and syntax. The discussion is not comprehensive but representative of a few influential scholars who have written on Greek syntax. A few of the following scholars express certain conclusions about the way ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used in compositional Greek without providing textual data to support those conclusions. Instead, they cite other scholars who came to the same conclusions. This is understandable to a certain degree because, as mentioned above, many of these works were written at a time when computer technology did not exist to carry out corpus-based linguistic studies. However, it was also reminiscent of the way lexicographical studies were done in previous generations. Lee has stated, "Dependence on predecessors over several centuries is a clear feature of New Testament lexicography, and one that has potentially serious consequences."⁶³ The lexica were not completely in error; much of the content in the best lexicons helpfully defines lexemes and provides an invaluable basis for lexical semantics. But Lee argues that there were serious consequences because the lexica have been produced with "faulty material that has been simply handed on and not adequately tested."⁶⁴ The same could be stated about many of the syntactic explanations in works on Greek grammar and syntax, including explanations of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. This point will be clear in some of the statements made by the following authors.

2.2.1. Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert Funk (1896-1961)⁶⁵

BDF is concerned with NT Greek morphology and syntax from a structuralist perspective. It helpfully notes that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is consistently temporal in the NT. However, the authors state that Attic Greek did not use the syntactic construction to indicate

⁶³ John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography*, Studies in Biblical Greek, ed. D. A. Carson (New York: Peter Lang, 2003), 9.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 9.

⁶⁵ Friedrich Blass, Albert Debrunner, and Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1961), 208.

a temporal semantic relationship with its predicative.⁶⁶ They do not provide a relevant citation or any textual data to support that statement.⁶⁷ Instead, they express the assumption that Classical authors preferred participial constructions (unaware perhaps that those authors used ἐν τῷ + infinitive more than 300x times). They argue, for example, that ἐν τῷ σπεῖρειν αὐτόν in Matthew 13:4 would have been written as σπεῖροντος αὐτοῦ in CG.⁶⁸ They do note that the Hebrew פָּ + infinitive construction was used temporally.⁶⁹ Their conclusion, then, is that the LXX used the construction as a syntactic loan translation. Rather than using ἐν τῷ + infinitive according to Greek idiom, the translators decided to depart from conventional usage and use the construction as a rendering for פָּ + infinitive for the sake of formal equivalence. This will be a common explanation in some of the following authors, and it confirms the limitation of any linguistic explanation that does not consider corpus-based textual evidence. It also does not explain the texts in which ἐν τῷ + infinitive is used as a rendering for other Hebrew constructions.

2.2.2. A. T. Robertson (1914)⁷⁰

A. T. Robertson's discussion of ἐν τῷ + infinitive is embedded within a much larger discussion on the use of prepositions with infinitives. He states generally that preposition + article + infinitive is idiomatic Greek. According to him (contra BDF), it was "Attic in origin and literary."⁷¹ He argues that the article was necessary because there was no division between words in the orthography of AG. So, the article distinguished preposition + infinitive from an infinitive that had a prepositional prefix. Robertson cites several classical authors who attest ἐν τῷ + infinitive, but he does not discuss any of these authors' texts in which the syntactic construction is used. Nor does he cite any PC authors or texts. Even though he realizes that the construction was used in CG literary texts, he argues that it was

⁶⁶ Ibid., 208. The authors do not use this metalanguage.

⁶⁷ Debrunner cites Martin Johannessohn, *Der Gebrauch der Präpositionen in der Septuaginta* (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925), 335. However, Johannessohn does not discuss Attic usage at all, but only discusses the LXX.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 208. There is no doubt that CG authors used participle constructions more frequently than ἐν τῷ + infinitive. But frequency does not absolutely exclude using another construction.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 208.

⁷⁰ A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Logos Bible Software, 2006), 1069-72.

⁷¹ Ibid., 1069. His intuition seems to be correct.

not used with temporal semantics by those authors. This is also a statement that has often been recirculated. Robertson ends his discussion by stating that until Attic parallels are found containing the sense "during," his tentative conclusion – citing J. H. Moulton's second edition – is that it is "possible but unidiomatic Greek."⁷² Therefore, though aware that ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used by CG authors, he seemingly is not familiar with the actual texts in which the syntactic construction is used. Had he analyzed those texts, he would have found many examples where ἐν τῷ + infinitive contained the sense "during." Robertson also lived in an era in which attention to PC usage was in its early stages.

2.2.3. Maximilian Zerwick (1963)⁷³

Maximilian Zerwick attributes the frequency with which the syntactic construction was used in Luke to the LXX's influence; Luke was, in a sense, imitating the style of the LXX texts.⁷⁴ He states that the usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive "is of itself quite Greek," but then states that "its regular use in the temporal sense may be attributed to Hebrew influence."⁷⁵ So, like Robertson, he regards the temporal semantics so characteristic of the construction's usage in biblical Greek to be Hebraic. However, Zerwick does not cite any relevant CG or PC texts to demonstrate that usage in "the temporal sense" was Hebraic. He does cite secondary literature on Semitisms in Luke's Gospel.⁷⁶

2.2.4. Nigel Turner (1963)⁷⁷

Nigel Turner, like BDF and Zerwick, was primarily interested in NT Greek. Most of his discussion of the construction, then, centers on examples in Luke's corpus. He echoes Robertson, BDF, and others by stating that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is "non-classical,"⁷⁸ which ostensibly means that its usage in biblical Greek was different from that in CG rather than that it is not used at all in CG (which is how Muraoka seemingly interprets Turner). He

⁷² Ibid., 1072. See James Hope Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Vol. 1: Prolegomena*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), 249.

⁷³ Maximilian Zerwick, *Biblical Greek: Illustrated by Examples*, trans. Joseph Smith S. J. (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1963), 133-35.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 134.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 133.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 134.

⁷⁷ Nigel Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek: Syntax*, vol. 3 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963), 144-46.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 144.

argues that as a Hebraism it is “the usual LXX rendering of $\text{נ} \text{ c. infin. (Heb).}^{79}$ Turner was writing around the same time that Henry Gehman hypothesized that the LXX was an exemplar of a Jewish Greek dialect (albeit a transitional one). Turner himself embraced the same thesis and considered it to be the linguistic milieu in which the NT was written.⁸⁰ Since his fundamental perspective on the language of the LXX and NT was that they were thoroughly Hebraistic and not conventional Greek, he tended to have a maximal view of Hebraic influence on the Greek language employed in the biblical corpora.

2.2.5. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen (1965)⁸¹

Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen focuses his scholarship on the LXX's syntax. He notes that even though $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{infinitive}$ appeared very early in the Greek corpora, it was never used frequently.⁸² He argues that its meaning in Classical literature was causal.⁸³ But the Ptolemaic era, he adds, also provides evidence for a temporal usage: "The classical meaning is initially causal, but, for example, in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period, the temporal meaning is present."⁸⁴ From a translation-technical perspective, he notes that $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{infinitive}$ was natural Greek (“natürliche”) and at the same time a literal rendering of the Hebrew $\text{נ} + \text{infinitive}$.⁸⁵ He accurately points out that the LXX translators only used the

⁷⁹ Ibid., 144. It is uncertain what he means by "usual rendering." There are some books, like Psalms, where it is used as a rendering 75% of the time. However, the data show that it is very difficult to see $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{infinitive}$ generally as the "usual rendering" for the Hebrew $\text{נ} + \text{infinitive}$ since it is only used 28% of the time in the Pentateuch as a rendering for the Hebrew construction and less than half the time in the LXX as a whole. Therefore, rather than making general statements such as the one above, it is more helpful to make statements based upon a particular book in the LXX, especially when there is so much diversity in translation technique throughout the LXX.

⁸⁰ Stanley Porter, "Introduction," in *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, ed. Stanley Porter, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 60 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 28-29.

⁸¹ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1965), 81-83.

⁸² This is generally true; however, some authors did use it frequently, such as the Pythagorean philosopher pseudo-Theages (who used it more than 10x per 1,000 words compared to the LXX's 0.81x per 1,000 words). So, frequency is an issue of idiolect, having great variation from one author to the next even in compositional texts. See Appendix 1 for frequencies in PC Greek authors/texts.

⁸³ The data do not substantiate this claim. Temporal semantics, as noted in the introduction, is always in view when the syntactic construction is used, either temporal scope or temporal cause.

⁸⁴ Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, 81. ("Die klassische Bedeutung ist zunächst kausal, aber z.B. in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit ist die temporale Bedeutung vorhanden.").

⁸⁵ Ibid., 81.

construction as a translation equivalent for the Hebrew $\text{פ} + \text{infinitive}$ part of the time.

Therefore, it was not used as a stereotyped rendering. In his assessment, this shows that the translators were familiar with the syntactic construction and clearly understood how the phrase was used in idiomatic Greek, i.e., in a causal manner (from his perspective). So, they refrained from using it as a stereotyped rendering for the Hebrew construction. He states, "I would rather see the reason for the frequent rendering with other expressions in the fact that $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{Inf}$ was initially understood as causal."⁸⁶ In other words, they realized the construction primarily had a causal semantic value, so they were reluctant to use it as a stereotyped rendering for the Hebrew construction.⁸⁷

2.2.6. Basil Mandilaras (1973)⁸⁸

Basil Mandilaras focuses on PC non-literary papyri. However, he does interact with the LXX and NT in light of his analysis of the papyri. He notes that most NT grammars argue for Hebrew influence on the syntactic construction.⁸⁹ He cites Moulton (who also influenced Robertson's analysis). Mandilaras recognizes that the syntactic construction occurred in CG texts and that it was "fairly well-attested in the papyri" in the PC era.⁹⁰ He provides data for the use of thirty-seven prepositions in preposition + article + infinitive constructions. His data are presented in a table. He lists the prepositions with their article in the left column, then notes whether the syntactic constructions are attested in Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Hellenistic writers, papyri, and the New Testament.⁹¹ Only $\text{εἰς τὸ} + \text{infinitive}$ and $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{infinitive}$ are attested in the works of each of the authors or corpora. He concludes,

In particular, εἰς τὸ with the infinitive has gained a greater flexibility in the papyri, and presents a wider usage than is shown in the NT. This construction has been considered by NT scholars as a unique idiosyncrasy due to Semitic influence, but this assumption must

⁸⁶ Ibid., 81-82. ("Den Anlass zu der häufigen Wiedergabe mit anderen Ausdrücken würde ich eher darin sehen, dass $\text{ἐν τῷ} + \text{Inf}$, *zunächst* kausal aufgefasst wurde.").

⁸⁷ The thesis is arguing that it was not used by the translators as a stereotyped rendering *because it encoded a different pragmatic information structure than the Hebrew construction*, not because the translators knew it really functioned causally in the Greek linguistic system and therefore only intermittently and reluctantly used it due to its formal similarities with the Hebrew construction.

⁸⁸ Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri* (Athens: Ministry of Culture and Sciences, 1973), 308-351.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 344.

⁹⁰ "Well-attested" may not be the case. It was used 8x in the papyri before the CE, which seems fairly infrequent.

⁹¹ Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, 339-40.

be rejected as the papyri also show this usage. Nevertheless, ἐν τῷ with the infinitive seems to have suffered from Semitic influence as both its treatment and its meaning differ from that of Classical Greek and papyri.⁹²

But he adds a footnote stating that Moulton and Turner were "inclined to give Semiticism much greater significance than it really had with regard to this construction."⁹³

2.2.7. Stanley Porter (1989)⁹⁴

Stanley Porter's analysis is thorough and rooted in his view of verbal aspect, which is operative in infinitive constructions. Aspectual issues are important because they are a part of the syntactic construction's semantics. Porter notes that the construction was a natural translation of the Hebrew $\text{פ} + \text{infinitive}$; additionally, he finds no Hebrew interference on the construction's verbal aspect. He lists several reasons for this conclusion. First, biblical Greek contains present and aorist infinitives. This choice was non-existent in Hebrew, therefore the LXX translators (when using the construction as a rendering for the Hebrew construction) made a conscious choice as to which aspect to grammaticalize. Second, Porter recognizes that the construction's usage with temporal semantics is attested "occasionally" in older Greek, i.e., CG. He notes that this sense became more frequent during the PC era to which biblical Greek belonged.⁹⁵ Third, the construction's function in biblical Greek is not only temporal but can be semantically related to its predicator in other ways, as well (i.e., cause, result). Additionally, Porter comments on the way the construction was used in the NT, "Thus even the apparently stereotyped and LXX-dependent ἐν τῷ + Infinitive is better seen

⁹² Ibid., 340-41. Chapter three will examine the papyrus texts and chapter four will examine LXX Genesis texts. These texts, it will be argued, use the syntactic construction in the same way to pragmatically structure information. Therefore, Mandilaras's conclusion must be rejected.

⁹³ Ibid., 341. This is true with regard to ἐν τῷ + infinitive; however, Moulton and Turner did not share the same view about the Greek language in the LXX and NT. Moulton tended to have a more positive view. See Stanley Porter, "History of Scholarship on the Language of the Septuagint," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta / The Language of the Septuagint*, vol. 3 of *Handbuch zur Septuaginta*, eds. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 16-22.

⁹⁴ Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, ed. D. A. Carson, Studies in Biblical Greek (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1989), 124-25.

⁹⁵ He notes Mandilaras's papyri list in support of the temporal use! While the texts themselves do demonstrate "the temporal use," Mandilaras – as mentioned above – does not come to the same conclusion from those texts as Porter does. It is also debatable that the "temporal sense" became more frequent in the PC era; my own examination of Classical texts has found no difference in usage from either the perspective of information structure analysis or structural semantics.

as an instance of *Semitic enhancement*, not interference" (*emphasis added*).⁹⁶ Fourth, Porter discusses Luke's usage of the construction, which accounts for 38 out of the 52 attestations in the NT.⁹⁷ Luke, he notes, has some of the most "polished" Greek in the NT. Therefore, it would be unusual if he were simply "slavishly imitating Semitic style."⁹⁸ Porter then discusses how Luke often alters a syntactic pattern away from the Hebraic model; he gives several illustrations from Luke-Acts. His conclusion, then, seems to be that the syntactic construction – when used by itself – is natural Greek; however, when used with ἐγένετο, Luke seems to be capturing the "flavor of the LXX (enhancement)" by writing in a biblical style.⁹⁹

2.2.8. Daniel Wallace (1996)¹⁰⁰

Like several other scholars mentioned above, Wallace focuses his analysis on NT Greek. He only discusses the way ἐν τῷ + infinitive is used in the NT without any indication of whether or not it was conventional Greek or an example of Hebraic influence. His analysis is very helpful, though, for understanding the way the construction was used in the NT from a structuralist perspective. First, concerning prepositions in general, he states that they are, "extended adverbs."¹⁰¹ Then, he goes on to say, "But, unlike adverbs, they govern a noun and hence can give more information than a mere adverb can."¹⁰² When a preposition is combined with an infinitive, the adverbial force is further strengthened.¹⁰³ Second, he discusses three senses that the construction signifies in the NT: result (1x in Heb. 3:12), contemporaneous time, and means. He notably does not mention cause. Concerning time, the construction answers the question "when," indicating a contemporaneous temporal relationship between the syntactic construction's verbal action and its controlling verb (predicator). This is fairly common in the NT. He also notes that when translating it into English, the temporal force should be brought out by using "while" (for present infinitive)

⁹⁶ Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament*, 124.

⁹⁷ See Appendix 1 for statistics.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 125.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 125. This conclusion seems to be accurate.

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 595-96.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 356.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 589.

and "when" (for aorist infinitive) plus a verb.¹⁰⁴ Concerning means, it describes how an action is accomplished, answering the question "how."¹⁰⁵ The NT contains several examples (Acts 3:26; 4:30; Rom. 15:13; Eph. 6:17; Heb. 2:8, 8:13). Some of these examples, he notes, might be referring to contemporaneous time.

2.2.9. Takamitsu Muraoka (2016)¹⁰⁶

Takamitsu Muraoka's analysis is very brief for a syntactic construction that is used 534 times in the LXX. His discussion begins with a few verses that contain temporal semantics, then proceeds to a verse that could be taken as a conditional, and finally discusses three verses in which the construction indicates means. In connection with this discussion, he has a footnote that states, "On the statistics of ἐν τῷ + inf. in various corpora, see Turner 145. *This syntagm is unknown to CG, most likely a Hebraism...*" (emphasis added).¹⁰⁷ The statement, "This syntagm is unknown to CG," is ostensibly based on Turner's assessment that the syntactic construction was "non-classical" (mentioned above). However, as stated above, Turner most likely means that the construction was used differently in biblical Greek than it was in CG. But Muraoka interprets Turner's words to indicate that it did not exist in CG, which is mistaken. *TLG* contains more than 300 attestations of the syntactic construction from Classical literary texts. Additionally, Muraoka labels the syntactic construction a Hebraism without any textual data to substantiate his statement. Statements such as these that are not based on textual data make it imperative to investigate the language of the LXX using sound linguistic methodologies in the context of corpus linguistics.

2.3. Presuppositions about the Septuagint's Language

2.3.1. Hebrew-Priority vs. Greek-Priority

It is not surprising that divergent views about LXX syntax occur within a larger discussion about the LXX's language. Although debate over the LXX's language began in the 16th century, Porter notes that the topic began to receive more comprehensive focus in

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 595.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 598.

¹⁰⁶ Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 334-35.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 334.

academic literature in the 19th century.¹⁰⁸ The history of the debate and the names of the scholars involved are beyond the scope of this thesis, although some will be mentioned. Porter's essay entitled "History of Scholarship on the Language of the Septuagint" (cited below) gives a helpful overview of the topic and the different scholars involved. Two opposing perspectives developed early, and each perspective evaluated the textual data in the LXX using different approaches. These two perspectives continue to persist presently in one form or another. The first perspective approaches the data by giving greater significance to the Hebrew source text, perhaps due to certain presuppositions about translation. This perspective argues that Hebrew syntax and lexical usage determine meaning in the LXX. This view has been labeled recently by William Ross as "Hebrew-priority."¹⁰⁹ The second perspective approaches the data with greater emphasis on the Greek language, arguing that conventional Greek syntax and lexical usage determine meaning in the LXX. This view has been labeled "Greek-priority."¹¹⁰ As mentioned above, presuppositions influence how syntactic constructions such as ἐν τῷ + infinitive are interpreted. F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock's analysis of the LXX, for example, was greatly shaped by their presupposition that "the vocabulary is Greek and the syntax is Hebrew."¹¹¹ This presupposition affected the way they read the text and explained its syntax. As Lee has insightfully noted, "What we expect to see will have an impact on what we find when we try to analyze the Greek of the Pentateuch and the translators' methods."¹¹² Scholars who think the LXX's syntax is Hebrew will have a greater tendency to label constructions as Hebraisms. However, those who maintain that the LXX is generally conventional Greek with intermittent, even regular, Hebraic influence due to translation technique, exhibit a more cautious approach in using the

¹⁰⁸ Porter, "History of Scholarship on the Language of the Septuagint," 16.

¹⁰⁹ See Ross, *Post-classical Greek and Septuagint Lexicography*, 49. See especially pp. 40-62 for a helpful discussion of the two perspectives.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹¹¹ F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn, 1905), 41. This is likewise the assessment in LEH: "The syntax of the Septuagint is Hebrew rather than Greek" (Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, viii-ix).

¹¹² John A. L. Lee, "Back to the Question of Greek Idiom," in *The Legacy of Soisalon-Soininen: Towards a Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, eds. Tuukka Kauhanen and Hanna Vanonen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 24.

label Hebraism. This cautious approach takes for granted that LXX syntax is conventional Greek until one finds data to the contrary.

2.3.2. *Conventional Post-classical Greek*

The first presupposition of this thesis is that LXX Genesis is a specimen of conventional PC Greek. It has often been underestimated in this regard. However, according to Aitken and Dhont, the LXX is the largest extant corpus of PC Greek prose, although it is not significantly larger than some other corpora.¹¹³ The LXX, then, has much to teach scholars about the way the Greek language was used during the PC era. Since Hebrew Genesis was translated into Greek to be read by Greek speakers, the implication is that it was mostly intelligible to those who knew Greek. The intelligibility and coherence of certain parts of the LXX have perhaps been rightly questioned.¹¹⁴ Albert Pietersma, for example, is helpful to insist that examples of unintelligibility and incoherence should not be "swept under the rug."¹¹⁵ But scholars should never assume, no matter how profound their knowledge of AG, that unintelligibility and incoherence in their estimation is indicative that the text was unintelligible and incoherent to those who first received it. Unintelligibility must be demonstrated rather than assumed. As a specimen of PC Greek, the LXX is "in essence Greek with Hebrew interference, rather than Hebraic Greek into which idiomatic Greek occasionally intrudes."¹¹⁶ Even most examples of Hebrew interference are intelligible, making grammatical sense.

Affirming that LXX Genesis is a specimen of conventional PC Greek implies that there is some *diachronic connection* with the Greek manifested in the Classical era. Although errors have been made, especially in the 19th century, when comparing biblical Greek with CG, there is a close relationship between the varieties of Greek spoken during the Classical and PC eras. PC Greek did not arise in a vacuum. This means that scholars can often study

¹¹³ Aitken and Dhont, "The Septuagint within the History of Greek," 444. The total word count of the LXX is 623,782 compared to Polybius's *Histories* (316,866), Diodorus Siculus's historical work (464,305), and Dionysius Halicarnassus's history of Rome (415,573).

¹¹⁴ Albert Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 7.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹¹⁶ Lee, "Back to the Question of Greek Idiom," 24.

Classical usage to shed light on conventional language usage during the subsequent era. About the development of PC Greek during the Hellenistic era, Horrocks explains that the language employed for the administration of the Greek territories after Alexander's death was a developed form of Attic Greek.¹¹⁷ The Greek elites who administered these territories passed their language on to the inhabitants of the territories. Horrocks states, "We should therefore think of the PC Greek not simply as the written and spoken language of the Greco-Macedonian elite, but as a superordinate form of Greek standing at the pinnacle of a dialectal pyramid of lower-register varieties that now evolved under its influence and ultimately owed their identity to it."¹¹⁸ Although this statement only articulates part of the history of the Greek language, a diachronic connection between CG and PC Greek is a key element of that story. CG is upstream from PC Greek. Although the environment may be very different upstream, it belongs to the same stream. Lee's principle is helpful in this regard: "As a general principle, *all* evidence of Greek is potentially relevant and useful."¹¹⁹ Although the Greek in LXX Genesis possesses many differences compared to CG, both are specimens of the same language and therefore utilize the language in the same way in many regards.

However, affirming that LXX Genesis is conventional PC Greek also implies that there has been *diachronic development* from the Classical era to the PC era. Like every language, Greek experienced various changes over time. In addition to natural language change, there were a variety of other factors that contributed to change. This is why anyone familiar with CG literature will notice differences between Plato's Greek and the documentary sources from the Hellenistic era that occupy a middle to low register. But language change is less apparent in PC literary texts since these texts occupied a similar register. These texts were less affected by interference from other languages, as well. Language change is also less apparent in administrative texts that occupy a middle register, the register to which the LXX Pentateuch belongs. However, since there was still a great deal of development, the texts

¹¹⁷ Geoffrey Horrocks, "Phases of the Greek Language," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta / The Language of the Septuagint*, vol. 3 of *Handbuch zur Septuaginta*, eds. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 77.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 77.

¹¹⁹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 4-5. This statement does not ignore that diachronic language change occurred. See the discussion below where it is argued that there was in fact language change that occurred in the PC era and that textual data from that era is most relevant.

most relevant for comparison with LXX Genesis come from the PC era. Lee has also noted in this regard that "certain priorities and restrictions apply. The most obvious is that the evidence closest in time to the LXX carries the greatest weight."¹²⁰

Furthermore, affirming that LXX Genesis is conventional PC Greek is a denial that the Greek of the Pentateuch is a specimen of an Alexandrian Jewish dialect. Moisés Silva traces the Jewish-Greek dialect view to Edwin Hatch, who published *Essays in Biblical Greek* in 1889.¹²¹ Hatch seemed irritated that many scholars in his day were critiquing biblical Greek because it did not conform to Classical standards. Hatch pointed out that development had taken place in Greek since Plato's philosophical treatises and Herodotus's historical accounts, but he also argued that the cause for the distinctive nature of LXX Greek was that it was written by Greek speakers of a different ethnicity. He argued that the LXX and the NT "afford clear internal evidence that their writers, in most cases, were men whose thoughts were cast in a Semitic and not in a Hellenic mould."¹²² This view has seemed plausible to many.

There have been others, some of them prominent Greek scholars, who have been convinced by this thesis and have consequently viewed LXX Greek as an exemplar of an Alexandrian Jewish dialect that was vigorous in Egypt and Palestine. Despite the push-back Hatch received, first by T. K. Abbott¹²³ and then by H. A. A. Kennedy,¹²⁴ others followed in the 20th century with the same basic presupposition. Turner, who finished Moulton's multi-

¹²⁰ Ibid., 5. This principle is generally true but may not be absolute. There are literary elements that made their way into PC Greek texts that have their origin in CG; this is due in part to the great influence that the Attic dialect had on Alexander the Great and his administrators. Therefore, in order to validate certain arguments about the register of particular lexemes and syntactic constructions, it would be appropriate to use evidence from CG.

¹²¹ Moisés Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994), 57.

¹²² Edwin Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889), 10.

¹²³ T. K. Abbott, *Essays, Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891), 65-109.

¹²⁴ H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek: The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1895). Kennedy perhaps mistakenly placed both the LXX and NT in a colloquial register. This was no doubt due to the similarities he found in the language employed in biblical Greek and the language of the papyri. Kennedy writes, "But as regards the respective vocabularies, they are both children of the same parent, namely, the colloquial Greek of the time. This is the secret of their striking resemblance" (146).

volume work on New Testament Greek grammar and syntax, as mentioned above, approached biblical Greek with the same basic presupposition.¹²⁵ While Turner's primary focus was NT Greek, Princeton's Henry Gehman made the same argument about LXX Greek. But he argued that the dialect was temporary as Jews transitioned from speaking Aramaic to become Hellenized.¹²⁶

This view is plausible because biblical Greek is distinctive in many ways, both in its syntax and in the usage of its lexical stock. But the distinctive character of LXX Greek is not because there was an Alexandrian Jewish dialect before the LXX was translated, something akin to a Jewish creole. There is no external evidence outside biblical Greek to support that claim. Additionally, many of the "Semitisms" and "Hebraisms" in the LXX's syntax and vocabulary have been found in compositional Greek corpora. These facts were articulated by Abbott and Kennedy (mentioned above), and most emphatically demonstrated by Adolph Deissmann's work comparing ancient papyri, inscriptions, and ostraca from the PC era with the language of the LXX and NT.¹²⁷ Deissmann summarized the main points of this argument in an article published in *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. He argued that scholars have overstated the distinctive character of LXX Greek. After he had thoroughly studied the papyri, he considered them to be the richest examples of the way non-literary Hellenistic Greek was written and spoken. It was Greek "triggered by the thousand necessities and situations in the daily life of common people."¹²⁸ The papyri include many administrative documents that were written in non-literary official language. These papyri provide definitive evidence, Deissmann argued, that biblical Greek was a specimen of conventional PC Greek. He acknowledged that the LXX and NT contain novel terms and ways of using Greek vocabulary. However, the novelty is not related to the type of language the Jews spoke, i.e., "history-of-language," but to their religion, i.e., "history-of-

¹²⁵ Porter, "Introduction," *The Language of the New Testament*, 28-29.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹²⁷ See Adolph Deissmann, *Bibelstudien* (Marburg: Elwert, 1895); *idem*, *Neue Bibelstudien* (Marburg: Elwert, 1897); *idem*, *Licht vom Osten* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1908).

¹²⁸ Adolph Deissmann, "Hellenistic Greek with Special Consideration of the Greek Bible," in *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*, ed. Stanley Porter, Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series 60 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 52. This does not mean that Deissman considered the language of biblical Greek to be colloquial.

religion.”¹²⁹ Lee is one scholar who has built on Deissmann’s work. He has shown in two monographs that “the language of the LXX translators was essentially the Greek of their time.”¹³⁰ The usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in PC Greek corpora will likewise provide evidence for that same argument.

2.3.3. *Middle-level Register with Literary Elements*

The second presupposition is that LXX Genesis occupies a middle-level linguistic register and contains some literary elements. According to M. A. K. Halliday, register can be defined as a “functional variety of language.”¹³¹ Language is used in diverse ways according to social situation: bedtime stories, communication with a cashier, an academic paper, a sermon, and the President’s inaugural speech all require different language levels. People face numerous social settings in which communication occurs, and those settings have different expectations for language use. Syntax and lexical usage in a love letter, for example, will be very different than those in a master’s thesis. The lexical stock in any given language will have a wide utility; the same is true for syntactic structures. However, certain words and structures will be more register-specific, and therefore indicative of the register. If those words and ways of speaking are used in a social context that is incongruous, they will sound strange to native speakers.

The LXX contains a variety of registers. However, it is not always easy to determine the register of specific books or isolated pericopes since register is a sociolinguistic reality. Present scholars are far removed from the socio-cultural realities of the Jewish Hellenistic world; therefore, they struggle to see clearly when it comes to making observations about register since they lack the sociolinguistic intuitions that native speakers possess. The only way to proceed is to identify elements that are indicative of a particular register, which can be difficult, and search for those elements. Aitken and Dhont assert, “We are only in the early stages of understanding register in the PC period, thus complicating any absolute or generalizing statements made about the Septuagint.”¹³² That may be true, but it has not

¹²⁹ Ibid., 54.

¹³⁰ John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 14 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 1.

¹³¹ M. A. K. Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 4th ed., revised by Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 29.

¹³² Aitken and Dhont, “The Septuagint with the History of Greek: An Introduction,” 438.

stopped scholars (nor should it!) from attempting to identify various registers in the LXX. Henry Thackeray classified entire books according to register at the beginning of the 20th century.¹³³ Though not denying the possibility of multiple registers even within a single book, he classified books based on their overall register (what he called "style"): 1 Esdras, Daniel, Esther, Job, Proverbs, Wisdom, Epistle of Jeremiah, Baruch (3:9-end), and 2, 3, 4 Maccabees are all literary or Atticistic.¹³⁴ Furthermore, he stated that Tobit belongs to a vernacular register and the Pentateuch is somewhere in between. He called this middle register, "good κοινή Greek."¹³⁵ Scholars have not accepted every aspect of Thackeray's conclusions, but most have found them generally helpful.¹³⁶

Lee has reaffirmed Thackeray's assessment that generally the Pentateuch occupies a middle register. Lee's *The Greek of the Pentateuch* contains some description of the Pentateuch's register, providing examples of different types of variation. After decades of scholarly research on the language of the Pentateuch, he concludes that the Pentateuch translators "in general adopted a middle-level Koine Greek of their time, moderately educated but not literary and not colloquial or informal."¹³⁷ However, Lee nuances his argument, comparing the Greek in the Pentateuch with the middle-level administrative documents and personal correspondence in the Graeco-Egyptian papyri beginning in the third century BCE. The register can be called "formal," and it carries with it a certain dignity. He writes, "[W]e can observe features of vocabulary that reflect what may be termed 'officialese,' that is, the official style of the third century BCE, used in administration and in ordinary communication between educated Greek speakers."¹³⁸

¹³³ Henry Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek: According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1909), 12-16.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 14. Atticistic refers to the Atticist movement that began in the 1st century BCE; it was a literary movement that sought to imitate the Attic manner of speech during the Classical era, ostensibly in a pretentious way. Lee also adds Sirach, Isaiah, and "probably Ecclesiastes." See Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 90, fn. 40.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 14.

¹³⁶ Evans, "The Grammarian Cannot Wait: Thackeray, Muraoka, and the Analysis of Septuagint Syntax," 578. See also William Ross, "Some Problems with Talking about Septuagint Greek," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 53 (2022): 18.

¹³⁷ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 63.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 64.

Some logical inferences can be made about the Pentateuch translators' choice of register. First, they chose to translate the documents that governed the Jews' civic¹³⁹ and religious life into the same register as the documents that governed the civic life of people in Ptolemaic Egypt. The language level, then, would help signal its intended function to anyone who read the Pentateuch. In this way, even apart from its content, the register was intended to engender a certain response. Second, the translators wanted to use a register that was appropriate to the dignity of the Pentateuch's content, a difficult task if the vernacular language level was used. Discussing "order words," Lee writes, "[T]he Pentateuch translators chose the official-sounding (but not literary) terms of their day, as being appropriate to the generally formal, dignified character of the text they were translating."¹⁴⁰ Third, the translators wanted the Pentateuch to be clearly understood by their social and religious community. This would have been more difficult if the Pentateuch had been entirely rendered in a literary register that was only used by the most educated.¹⁴¹

Lee has also shown that the Pentateuch contains scattered literary elements in its syntactic structures and lexical stock. These elements demonstrate the translators' education because, as mentioned above, it was in the educational process in antiquity that students came into contact with literary texts, especially Classical literary texts. It is not unusual, then, that certain expressions would be taken up in an individual translator's written idiolectal style despite not being used in the vernacular. Regarding LXX Genesis, Lee identifies several lexemes and phrases that belong to a literary register. The first is the rare syntactic construction, attested in Genesis 37:35, that contains εἰς + genitive nominal: "εἰς ἄδου." Lee

¹³⁹ Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, "The Septuagint as *Nomos*: How the Torah Became a 'Civic Law' for the Jews of Egypt," in *Critical Studies in Ancient Law, Comparative Law and Legal History Studies in Honour of Alan Watson*, eds. John Cairns and Olivia Robinson (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2001), 192.

¹⁴⁰ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 65.

¹⁴¹ There were doubtless many well-educated Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt who, like Philo of Alexandria during the Roman Egyptian era, were competent in literary Hellenistic Greek. The LXX books of literary quality also demonstrate that reality. The point here is that the middle register was more clearly understood by a broader range of Jewish people with diverse educational backgrounds. While some have disputed the clarity and intelligibility of certain parts of the LXX, few argue that the Pentateuch lacks intelligibility. (See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Toward an Analysis of Translation Norms: A Sighting Shot," in *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 27-46, for an example of a scholar questioning the clarity of Deut. 19:16-21).

refers to this construction as a "literary archaism," and cites several textual references in EG (Homer, *Od.* 11.164) and CG (Sophocles, *OT* 1372; Aristophanes, *Frogs* 69; Euripides, *HF* 1101; Plato, *Apol.* 41a.1).¹⁴² The patterned expression of using the preposition εἰς with a nominal in the genitive could only have been learned by reading literary texts, as it was not conventional either in the Classical or PC eras. Additionally, certain literary particles found a place in the text of the LXX. Lee discusses γε (Gen. 18:13; 26:9; 37:10),¹⁴³ δὴ (Gen. 18:4; 27:34; 27:38),¹⁴⁴ and μὲν (Gen. 43:14; 44:8; 44:26).¹⁴⁵ He then ends the chapter on "Educated Language" by discussing some lexemes that belong to a literary register.¹⁴⁶ These are some linguistic elements that are particularly relevant to register analysis in LXX Genesis. In the conclusion of this thesis, we shall return to the question of the register of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Nothing can be stated definitively at this point, but this construction was used on occasion in documentary sources and used much more frequently in literary texts.

2.3.4. Translation with Hebraic Interference

One of the most obvious aspects of Septuagint studies is the fact that the Pentateuch, indeed most of the LXX, was a translation from Hebrew. This fact must be carefully

¹⁴² Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 91-92. His discussion of literary elements is in a chapter titled, "Educated Language." Therefore, some of the discussion concerns linguistic features that are not necessarily literary but require education to be proficient to use them. Listed above are only features that are specifically identified as belonging to a literary register.

¹⁴³ He writes, "The particle γε has all the signs of being a higher-register feature and stylistic flourish that one learnt how to use. It is found often in literary texts of the post-Classical period..." (Ibid., 93). The particle is used with ἄρα in the three texts cited above from Genesis. Lee refers to this as "old and formulaic" (Ibid., 94; he cites LSJ).

¹⁴⁴ Lee notes that this particle became a stereotyped rendering in later LXX books for the Hebrew emphatic particle אֵל. But this did not subtract from its literary quality. Therefore, it became a "component of the literary Greek" of some LXX authors (Ibid., 96), as well as a stereotype. This is one linguistic feature that demonstrates that common LXX renderings – even stereotypes – can belong to a literary register. This question will be taken up with reference to ἐν τῷ + infinitive in the conclusion.

¹⁴⁵ The usage of this particle has no relationship to the Hebrew *Vorlage* but conforms to Greek convention (Ibid., 98). Lee explains that the Classical usage was emphatic and that its common function, attested in Gen. 43:14, was to mark off the pronoun not simply as the subject of the verb but as introducing a change in topic from the previous sentences (Ibid., 99). This, in fact, is connected to how the particle could function to encode a certain information structure.

¹⁴⁶ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 111-20.

considered since it had a profound effect on the LXX's text-linguistic character.¹⁴⁷ This fact does not conflict with the reality that the LXX Pentateuch is a 3rd-century BCE specimen of PC Greek. But it is no ordinary specimen. Even Lee, whose scholarship has reinforced and nuanced Deissmann's and Thackeray's arguments that the Pentateuch is good Koine Greek, has stated, "The language of the LXX is plainly not normal Greek in many places."¹⁴⁸

Though the Pentateuch translators' education and competence are apparent in the text, even demonstrating excellent facility in using Greek idiomatic expression,¹⁴⁹ the text still contains Hebraisms. Lee and others have argued that many scholars have given an inordinate amount of weight to Hebraisms. They have reiterated Deissmann's hypothesis that certain syntactic structures and lexemes, though once thought to show Hebraic interference, are found in the Graeco-Egyptian papyri from the third century BCE. Trevor Evans, for example, writes, "The number of 'Hebraisms' or (more vaguely) 'Semitisms' is much more limited than has often been asserted."¹⁵⁰ Even with that qualification, the Semitic flavor of the LXX Pentateuch cannot be ignored.

It is, however, the Greek linguistic system that was used to translate the source text. So, every syntactic structure should be considered an ordinary part of the Greek linguistic system unless evidence can be offered to the contrary. Since it is Greek, it should be treated as conventional Greek unless it can be shown that it was not. On the topic of LXX lexicography, Emanuel Tov has stated that the "rule of thumb we follow is that as long as possible we record the words of the LXX as if that text were a regular Greek text, explaining the words – conjecturally – in the way which a Greek reader would have taken them."¹⁵¹ These comments are likewise relevant to LXX syntax. These comments are also, admittedly, more concerned with the "text-as-received" than with the "text-as-produced." However, the

¹⁴⁷ Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "In a Mirror, Dimly— Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006), 15-31, here 16-17.

¹⁴⁸ Lee, *A Lexical Study*, 1.

¹⁴⁹ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 123-72.

¹⁵⁰ Evans, "The Nature of Septuagint Greek: Language and Lexicography," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison Salveson and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University, 2021), 96.

¹⁵¹ Emanuel Tov, "Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings," in *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 117. Cited in Ross, *Post-classical Greek*, 52.

process of translation can never so neatly separate the two perspectives. When translators produce a text, they never completely lose sight of how their renderings will be understood by readers, especially since the translators themselves are its first readers. The fact that they produced a text that possesses numerous examples of idiomatic Greek demonstrates that point. Modern translation methodology is perhaps more concerned than the LXX translators with characteristics like clarity and naturalness, so that a translation's anticipated reception plays a role in the translation's production. However, it cannot be assumed that the LXX translators were purely concerned with a quantitative, stereotyped production of their source text without any concern for conventional Greek usage. The text shows otherwise.

Robert Hiebert has written extensively on LXX Genesis, both concerning its text-linguistic character as an ancient translation and concerning the translation principles that governed his work translating LXX Genesis into English for the NETS project. His conclusions about the Greek language in Genesis have come as the result of scrutinizing the LXX's text in comparison with the MT to discern the "text-as-produced," that is, the rationale behind each rendering when the translator produced the text. Methodologically, for Hiebert, the underlying Hebrew *Vorlage* functions as the "arbiter of meaning"¹⁵² between possible Greek meanings when the LXX is ambiguous. Also, his discussion on the Greek language in LXX Genesis often concerns Hebraic interference. As the LXX provides many examples of unconventional Greek, scholars and students of the LXX must identify what is conventional and what demonstrates Hebraic influence. Hiebert, then, does an excellent job helping scholars identify various ways in which the Hebrew linguistic system has influenced the textual realities of LXX Genesis. He identifies evidence of Hebraic influence in "literalistic translation"¹⁵³ (cf., Genesis 11:10, Σημ υἱὸς ἑκατὸν ἐτῶν, "Sem was a son of one hundred years;" he also discusses Genesis 14:15; 12:8; 19:29; 20:13), and "isolate translation"¹⁵⁴ (cf.,

¹⁵² This phrase is taken from the introduction to the NETS and is also cited by Hiebert; see Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright, "The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 26-30, here 27. For Robert Hiebert, see "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000): 76-93, here 79.

¹⁵³ Robert Hiebert, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," 80-82.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 83. Hiebert, in part quoting Albert Pietersma, defines isolate translation as, "a rendering that is based on the perceived meaning of an individual word 'in (virtual) semantic isolation' with etymology playing a key role."

Genesis 7:4, καὶ ἐξαλείψω πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξανάστασιν, ἣν ἐποίησα, "and everything that rises up, which I have made, I will wipe out"). Additionally, he identifies some other Hebraic elements: the usage of ἀνὰ μέσον...ἀνὰ μέσον as a rendering for בֵּין...בֵּין,¹⁵⁵ parataxis,¹⁵⁶ καὶ ἐγένετο as a rendering for וַיְהִי,¹⁵⁷ infinitive absolute + cognate finite verb,¹⁵⁸ εἰ as a rendering for כִּי in oaths,¹⁵⁹ pleonasms,¹⁶⁰ προστίθημι + infinitive as a rendering for יס + infinitive,¹⁶¹ ποιέω ἔλεος + prepositional phrase or dative as a rendering for עַם/תָּא דְּחַסְדִּי-חַסְדִּי,¹⁶² ἐκ χειρὸς as a rendering for מִיָּד,¹⁶³ ἐξιλάσθαι τὸ πρόσωπον as a rendering for כָּפַר פְּנֵי (pi'el),¹⁶⁴ χεῖλος as a rendering for שֵׁפֶץ,¹⁶⁵ and finally Οὐλαμλουζ as a rendering for לִזְרֹם אֵלָּה.¹⁶⁶

Since LXX Genesis provides many such examples where the Hebrew linguistic system has influenced the text-linguistic character of the LXX, it is necessary to identify the Hebraisms in the text and distinguish them from conventional Greek. This gives insight into translation technique and also isolates the usage of conventional Greek in the LXX. Therefore, to identify Hebraic interference in the LXX's syntax, Lee has argued that every rendering belongs to one of three groups: "(a) the Greek matches the Hebrew but is not natural Greek, and interference from Hebrew is certain; (b) the Greek matches the Hebrew, but Greek and Hebrew syntax coincide, so the result may or may not be due to interference; and (c) natural Greek is used contrary to the Hebrew, and interference is not possible."¹⁶⁷ Ἐν τῷ + infinitive falls under the second group. It is well attested in texts before, during, and after the period of the production of the LXX. The biggest question, then, concerns usage:

¹⁵⁵ Robert Hiebert, "Linguistic Interference in Septuagint Genesis," *JSCS* 55 (2022): 55-73, here 58-59. Cf. Genesis 1:4b.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 59-62. This feature is ubiquitous.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 62-63. This feature is also quite common.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 63-65. Cf. Genesis 2:16; 16:10; 18:10; 44:15.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 65-66. Cf. Genesis 14:22b-24.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 66-67. Pleonasm can involve the redundant use of pronouns or adverbs. Cf. Genesis 1:11; 10:14; 20:13.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 67-68. Cf. Genesis 4:2, 12; 8:12, 21 (2x); 18:29; 37:8; 38:26; 44:23.

¹⁶² Ibid., 68-69. Cf. Genesis 24:12; 24:14; 24:49; 40:14.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 69-70. Cf. Genesis 9:5.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 70-71. Cf. Genesis 32:21 (20).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 71. Cf. Genesis 11:1.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 72. Cf. Genesis 28:19.

¹⁶⁷ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 262. Lee reproduces the same schema for identifying Hebraic interference in Lee, "Back to the Question of Greek Idiom," 17.

how did it function and what were its semantics in the compositional texts compared to those of the LXX? The PC compositional textual data in chapter three, compared with the LXX Genesis data in chapter four, will demonstrate that Gen neither altered the construction's function nor its semantics. Therefore, there is no legitimate reason to attribute its usage in LXX Genesis to Hebraic interference, regardless of the frequency with which it was used. In the conclusion to this thesis, the issue of frequency will be addressed.

On the surface, ἐν τῷ + infinitive closely coincides with the Hebrew construction it most often renders. But it possesses some key differences when examined structurally. Each time ἐν τῷ + infinitive renders אֶל + infinitive, the LXX contains an addition. In Hebrew morphological conventions, the Hebrew construction combines the preposition and infinitive into one word; Greek has two separate words with the addition of an article. The Greek preposition ἐν renders the prepositional morpheme אֶל, the article τῷ renders nothing,¹⁶⁸ and the Greek infinitive renders the Hebrew infinitive. Additionally, each time the Greek construction is used as a translation equivalent, the translators have had to choose the most appropriate tense. The Hebrew linguistic system has no tense for infinitives. The result is that of the 23 times that the Greek construction appears in LXX Genesis (only 18 of which render אֶל + infinitive), the present tense is used 10 times and the aorist is used 13 times. Though the employment of different verb tenses is not always significant, these two do convey different verbal perspectives (i.e., verbal aspect) that could potentially affect semantics. Though ἐν τῷ + infinitive may structurally coincide with the Hebrew אֶל + infinitive construction to some degree, the similarities are arguably only superficial. There is even less coincidence with the other Hebrew constructions for which ἐν τῷ + infinitive is the counterpart. These issues will be returned to in chapter five.

2.4. Linguistic Analysis of 'Ev Tō + Infinitive

The following discussion has to do with a description of the construction from two different but complementary perspectives: structural semantic analysis and pragmatic IS analysis. As mentioned in the introduction, IS analysis is based on a structural semantic

¹⁶⁸ The article has a discourse pragmatic function that signals the construction's referent as identifiable. See discussion below.

analysis. Structural semantic analysis is fundamental and makes use of the metalanguage often used by grammarians to describe how grammatical structures encode meaning. That analysis will be followed by a pragmatic IS analysis to elucidate how the syntactic construction was used in discourse to create coherence and cohesion. The IS analysis will make use of the terminology outlined in the introduction.

2.4.1. *Structural Semantic Analysis of 'Ev Tō + Infinitive*

As mentioned in the previous section, the syntactic construction ἐν τῷ + infinitive is composed of three grammatical constituents: the preposition ἐν, the article τῷ, and an infinitive. In many texts, the infinitive possesses a subject and/or an object, both in the accusative case. But neither are necessary: the infinitive's subject can be the same as its predicator and the infinitive can be intransitive. The article's function will be discussed more extensively below in section 2.4.2. It was noted above that Robertson views the article as orthographically necessary. He argues that because only the majuscule script was used in AG texts, the article was needed to distinguish between a prepositional phrase with an infinitive and an infinitive with a prefixed preposition. Dennis Burk, though accepting Robertson's argument, also maintains that there are two additional structural reasons for the article: "(1) to mark the case of the infinitive and (2) to mark the infinitive as object of the preposition."¹⁶⁹ These might be legitimate reasons, but they seem somewhat suspect on the surface, even if the infinitive should be viewed completely as a substantive.¹⁷⁰ The only obvious reason why an infinitive would need to be associated with a particular case is to clarify its semantic relationship with its predicator when a preposition is used that takes more than one case as its object. However, this would be superfluous with prepositions that only take one case as their object. It is clear, as well, when an infinitive is the object of a preposition in texts that have *no article* between the preposition and the infinitive. There is no article because the prepositional phrases are generally encoding newly asserted

¹⁶⁹ Dennis Ray Burk, "A Linguistic Analysis of the Articular Infinitive in New Testament Greek" (Phd. diss., The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), 109.

¹⁷⁰ Recent research on PC articular infinitives indicates that "the articular infinitive retains its verbal character in the papyri, and is thus best considered 'verbo-nominal,'" rather than a substantive. See Klaas Bentein, "Going Nominal: the Ancient Greek Articular Infinitive Between Syntax and Context," in *Subordination and Insubordination in Post-Classical Greek: From Syntax to Context*, ed. Klaas Bentein, Eleonora Cattafi, and Ezra la Roi, 1–41 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2025), 1.

information. For example, the prepositional phrase εἰς ὕμνεῖν καὶ αἰνεῖν (to sing hymns and to praise) is found in 2 Esdras 22:24.¹⁷¹ The information communicated by the phrase is newly asserted in its context. It will be argued below, based on IS analysis, that the article possesses a certain discourse pragmatic function. The structuralist explanations provided by Robertson and Burk should not be discounted or ignored because they do provide some insight. However, pragmatic IS does perhaps provide greater explanatory power for the article's use in the syntactic construction.

As noted above, Wallace states, "Prepositions are, in some respects, extended adverbs."¹⁷² So, generally, ἐν τῷ + infinitive possesses an adverbial function, clarifying something about its predicator. Structurally, the syntactic construction is most often an adjunct (which is typical for prepositional phrases); however, there are some attestations of the construction used as the complement of an equative verb.¹⁷³ As an adjunct, it can occupy a pre-verbal or post-verbal position without changing the sentence's meaning. Its position, however, does affect its discourse function. Furthermore, as an adjunct, it can modify the predicator in a nuclear clause (i.e., the sentence's main clause) or the predicator in an embedded clause. As both an adjunct and complement, ἐν τῷ + infinitive encodes a temporal semantic relationship with its predicator's state of affairs (either temporal scope or temporal cause).¹⁷⁴ This specific temporal semantic relationship can be demonstrated in usages during the Classical and PC eras.

As noted above, some grammarians have stated that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is used causally in CG literature and that only language contact – in this case, contact with the Hebrew source text – changed its semantics in the LXX to indicate temporality. It is unclear how this notion developed, but it cannot be supported by textual data in the compositional Greek corpora. For

¹⁷¹ There is textual data that εἰς + infinitive was used with no article in CG (Philemon *Comic*. Fragment 193-94, εἰς θάμαρτάνειν), PC Greek (Choliambica Adespota, *Anonymus in turpilucrum*, line 85, εἰς ζῆν) and LXX Greek (Judges 6:11, εἰς ἐκφυγεῖν; 2 Esdras 22:24, εἰς ὕμνεῖν).

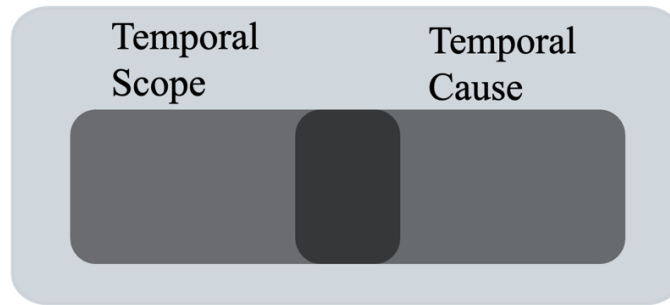
¹⁷² Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics*, 356.

¹⁷³ For an example, see *Nicomachean Ethics* 1169b.30-31: εἰ δὲ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ζῆν καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ("But if happiness consists in life and activity"). Translation taken from Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. H. Rackham, *Loeb Classical Library* 73 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), 529. See also Polybius in §3.2.11 below.

¹⁷⁴ In texts where ἐν τῷ + infinitive indicates cause, temporality is still not absent in the sense that cause is a "dynamic temporal relationship." See Jacques Moeschler, "Causality, Lexicon, and Discourse Meaning," *Rivista di Linguistica*, 15.2 (2003): 34.

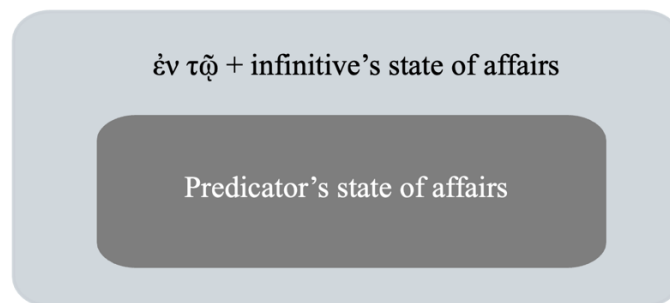
preposition + article + infinitive constructions, *διὰ τὸ* + infinitive and *παρὰ τὸ* + infinitive are typically used to indicate cause. In contrast, the default usage of *ἐν τῷ* + infinitive is intended to indicate the predicator's *occasion in time* (either temporal scope or temporal cause), the precise value being dependent on the lexical semantics of the infinitive and its predicator.

Figure 2.4.1.1. *Occasion in Time*



Occasion in time describes the relationship that *ἐν τῷ* + infinitive grammaticalizes with its predicator. More specifically, occasion in time can encode the semantic value of temporal scope (a state of affairs that provides the temporal boundary for another state of affairs) or temporal cause (a state of affairs that causes another state of affairs to occur in time). As the dark area indicates in Figure 2.4.1.1, there is an overlap between the two specific semantic values. This is the reason why, in some texts, an argument can be made for either. For example, in the sentence: "When the sun set, the temperature dropped," the temporal boundary for the temperature drop is *when the sun set*. However, the sunset also caused the temperature to drop. The similarities can be further illustrated by the following diagrams.

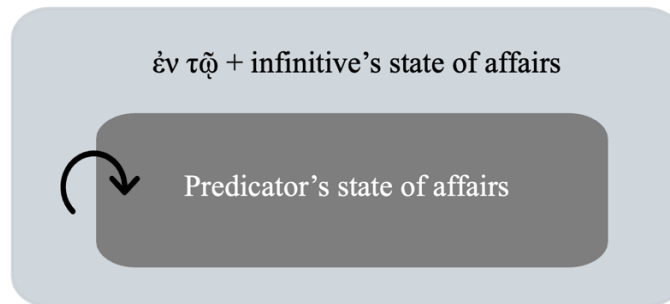
Figure 2.4.1.2. *Temporal Scope 1*



This diagram illustrates temporal scope, or what has been labelled "limitative" by some scholars. Coulter George, for example, writes concerning limitative adverbials that, "the limitative expression of time sets a temporal boundary and confines the action to a narrower

point or set of points that lies within that boundary."¹⁷⁵ In other words, the predicator's state of affairs is contained in the temporal boundary of the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Hence, the predicator happens *during* ἐν τῷ + infinitive. In George's analysis of various Greek corpora, "ἐν + D[ative] is typically limitative"¹⁷⁶ and is the "default limitative construction."¹⁷⁷ Compare the above diagram with the following:

Figure 2.4.1.3. Temporal Cause 1



Like the previous diagram, this diagram also illustrates that the predicator is contained in the temporal scope of the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive. But the predicator is also caused by ἐν τῷ + infinitive (symbolized by the ↷). This diagram, then, would most clearly represent the example sentence above. Consider also the following text from an Atticist grammarian during the PC era:

(1) Aelius Herodianus, *Περὶ παθῶν* 3.2.206.26

καὶ γὰρ ἡ Δημήτηρ γῆ ἐστι· ἡ δὲ γῆ διακόπτεται ἐν τῷ ἀροτριᾶσθαι.

For Demeter is the earth. And the earth is broken up when / because it is ploughed.

In the text, the construction ἐν τῷ + infinitive arguably gives both temporal scope and cause, illustrating Figure 2.4.1.3. As a result, the construction ἐν τῷ ἀροτριᾶσθαι could be translated by "when it is ploughed" or "because it is ploughed." Therefore, the predicator διακόπτεται ("broken up") occurs not only within the temporal boundary of ploughing, but also because of ploughing. This example also helps illustrate the importance of lexical semantics and verbal semantics to determine the exact relationship between ἐν τῷ + infinitive and its predicator. The lexeme that is translated "broken up" (διακόπτω) can refer to the

¹⁷⁵ Coulter H. George, *Expressions of Time in Ancient Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2014), 12.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 11.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 106. George also demonstrates that it can encode other semantic relationships, as well.

activity of breaking up the earth or the *state* of being broken up. In AG, the state of being broken up would typically be encoded using the perfect tense. Since the text above uses the present tense, it is referring to the activity.¹⁷⁸

If the perfect tense were used and it referred to the state of being "broken up," then Figure 2.4.1.3 would fail to capture the semantic relationship with ἐν τῷ + infinitive in text (1), since the state of being "broken up" would continue after the state of affairs encoded by ἐν τῷ + infinitive ceases. It would be better illustrated by the following diagram:

Figure 2.4.1.4. *Temporal Cause 2*

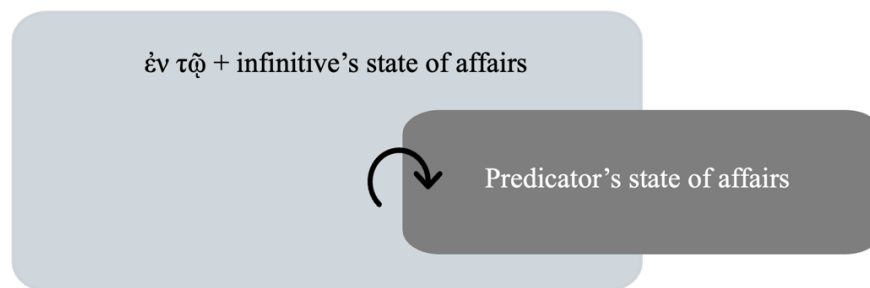
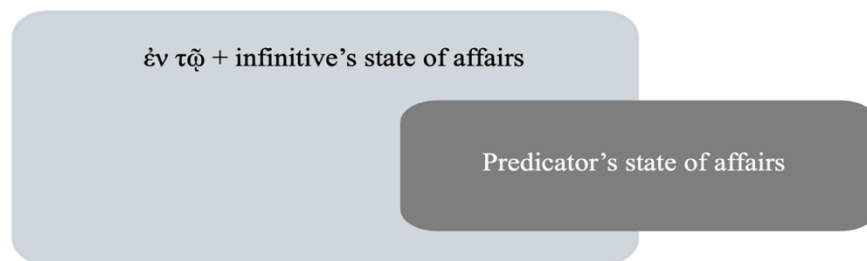


Figure 2.4.1.4 indicates that the predicator's state of affairs begins within the temporal boundary of the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive and is caused by that state of affairs (↷). But its duration continues after the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive ceases. The perfect tense, then, would have indicated that the state of being "broken up" began in the temporal boundary of ploughing but continues after the ploughing ceases.

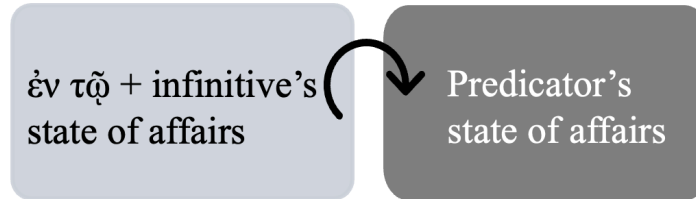
Figure 2.4.1.5. *Temporal Scope 2*



¹⁷⁸ This demonstrates the interaction between verbal aspect and lexical aspect (sometimes referred to as *Aktionsart*, actionality, or event type). Zeno Vendler's classification of lexical aspect has been influential. See Zeno Vendler, "Verbs and Time," *Philosophical Review* 66 (1957): 143-60. See also the discussion of actionality in Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be-Constructions* (Oxford: University of Oxford, 2016), 40-45.

This type of semantic relationship is also quite similar to another type of temporal scope. The only distinction between Figure 2.4.1.4 and Figure 2.4.1.5 is causation (↪). The semantic relationship that this diagram illustrates is that the predicator begins within the temporal boundary of the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive, but the predicator continues after the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive ceases. Finally, there is one other type of temporal cause semantic relationship that can be visualized using a diagram. There is no corresponding temporal scope semantic relationship for this type of temporal causal event type as far as the usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive is concerned.

Figure 2.4.1.6. Temporal Cause 3



This diagram illustrates that the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive causes the state of affairs of its predicator, but there is no overlap in time. The predicator occurs in direct causation sequentially after the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive. The textual data provide some rare examples of this type of semantic relationship. However, as mentioned above, there is no corresponding temporal scope relationship because it would not rightly be "scope" but "sequence." For temporal sequence, the AG linguistic system uses μετὰ τὸ + infinitive.¹⁷⁹ However, it was still appropriate to use ἐν τῷ + infinitive to indicate the type of causal relationship illustrated in Figure 2.4.1.6 because the cause itself is contained in (ἐν) the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ + infinitive.

2.4.2. Information Structure Analysis of 'Ev Tῷ + Infinitive

The textual data indicate that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is prototypically presuppositional information. In other words, the syntactic construction refers to information that the author assumes is held in common with the reader or expects to be taken for granted. Therefore, the state of affairs communicated by ἐν τῷ + infinitive is generally not newly asserted. It is

¹⁷⁹ The LXX uses this syntactic construction 101x. An example from Genesis 13:14: Ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν τῷ Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὸ διαχωρισθῆναι τὸν Λὼτ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (NETS: And God said to Abram after Lot had separated from him).

information that is already available to the reader in the text-internal world or the text-external world. As an illustration, consider the following example from a CG literary text:

(2) Xenophon, *Hellenica* 1.6.4.4

ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους
...that the Spartans had greatly erred when changing the admirals.¹⁸⁰

In the text, Lysander had been forced to give up his post as the Spartan fleet's admiral; the less experienced Callicratidas had replaced him. This change is reported in the sentences that precede the citation above. So, ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν communicates presuppositional information that has only recently been activated in the discourse and is therefore still freshly lit up in the reader's mind. By inserting the presuppositional information (which is redundant), Xenophon provides given information that helps bring coherence to the text because the newly asserted information ("greatly erred") is anchored ideationally to what has already been activated.

Second, the textual data indicate that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is prototypically an identifiable textual constituent. This is closely related to its presuppositional nature. However, it is necessary to distinguish between the two categories because presuppositional information concerns the ideas in the text, and identifiability concerns the cognitive recognition of textual constituents that have been used to grammaticalize those ideas. To grammaticalize identifiable information, ἐν τῷ + infinitive uses an article. This means that the syntactic construction is marked as an identifiable textual constituent. Scholars have plausibly made the argument that the Greek article's primary function is not to signal that a substantive is definite, but that it is identifiable.¹⁸¹ There is a distinction between the concept of definiteness and that of identifiability. Runge explains, "Definiteness is a binary grammatical category; something is either definite or not. Identifiability is a cognitive category concerned

¹⁸⁰ My own translation.

¹⁸¹ Evert Van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, and Mathieu De Bakker, *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 328-30. The grammarians list a number of reasons why a referent might be identifiable: 1) previously mentioned, 2) "obvious from the context or made specific by the immediate context," 3) "generally well-known," 4) "a species or class in its entirety," 5) "abstract concept," 6) name. They add the caveat regarding reason number 6 that often when the article is not present, it is not easy to account for but depends on the author's style (330).

with the degree of shared knowledge between a speaker and a hearer."¹⁸² This clarifies the article's function in general and accounts for how the article is functioning in the construction ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Stephen Levinsohn and Mark Dubis likewise state that "the presence of the article with infinitival expressions...marks them as identifiable and instructs the recipients to relate them to something in the prior context."¹⁸³ In Xenophon's text above, the phrase ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν would be identifiable to anyone reading the text because the state of affairs it grammaticalizes has just been activated in the discourse register. Readers would associate the action expressed by the infinitive, marked as identifiable with an article, with what had happened previously. Levinsohn's and Dubis's statement underscores the general anaphoric function of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. As mentioned above, the construction as a whole refers to a constituent that has recently entered the discourse register in the text-internal world or the text-external world.¹⁸⁴ In the same way that a pronoun makes anaphoric reference to an antecedent, ἐν τῷ + infinitive makes anaphoric reference to an antecedent that was either explicitly activated in the text, implicitly activated as part of a cognitive schema, or readily available to author and reader in the world outside the text.

Identifiable information can be further divided into various levels of activation status within the discourse register. Identifiable information can be *active* (therefore having no need to be accented or placed in a prominent position due to its recentness), *accessible* (may or may not need to be accented or placed in a prominent position, but still recently activated), or *inactive* (indicating a relatively greater need to be placed in a prominent or accented position since many events with much information have been communicated since its activation).¹⁸⁵ Inactive information could also be information that may not have been explicitly activated in the previous discourse but is connected systemically to other active and accessible ideas in

¹⁸² Steven E. Runge, "Towards a Unified Understanding of the Greek Article from a Diachronic, Cognitive Perspective," in *The Article in Post-Classical Greek*, ed. Daniel King (Dallas: SIL International, 2019), 129.

¹⁸³ Stephen H. Levinsohn and Mark Dubis, "The Use of the Greek Article in 1 Peter: A Case Study," in *The Article in Post-Classical Greek*, ed. Daniel King (Dallas: SIL International, 2019), 120.

¹⁸⁴ This is generally true about all cases of a preposition + article + infinitive.

¹⁸⁵ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 106-8. Lambrecht states that active information *could* be accented or placed in a prominent position, but there is no such need (106).

the discourse register. Prototypically, ἐν τῷ + infinitive pragmatically encodes identifiable information that is *active* within the discourse register.

Third, the textual data indicate that ἐν τῷ + infinitive prototypically communicates something about the topic. This construction can either be a part of the topic expression or it can give background information about the topic.¹⁸⁶ Stated negatively, ἐν τῷ + infinitive is normally not a part of an utterance's focus expression. The topic, as a whole, concerns the "aboutness" of an utterance;¹⁸⁷ the focus is what is being asserted concerning the topic. Therefore, as a textual constituent that is presuppositional and identifiable, ἐν τῷ + infinitive contributes relevant information about the topic. Using the text from Xenophon cited above, the topic would be something like *when the Spartans changed admirals*. The focus would be on what is asserted about that topic: *they erred greatly*.

As mentioned previously, ἐν τῷ + infinitive gives important temporal background information. In the text above, it is used to localize the Spartans' error to a point in time: *when they changed admirals* (ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους). Cognitive linguistics has emphasized that the Greek preposition ἐν "refers to the basic notion of containment."¹⁸⁸ Using this insight, then, it can be stated that every textual utterance using ἐν τῷ + infinitive shows that this syntactic construction expresses the occasion in time for its predicator's state of affairs or, rarely, expresses the occasion in time for a noun it modifies.¹⁸⁹ This occasion in time can be described as temporal scope (i.e., time within which something occurs) or temporal cause (i.e., one action/state in time that causes something else). Whether it contains temporal scope or temporal cause is dependent upon the semantics of the lexemes in the utterance.

¹⁸⁶ For a discussion of this terminology, see Matic, "Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure: Ancient Greek Word Order," 579.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 15.

¹⁸⁸ Richard A. Rhodes, "Greek Prepositions: A Cognitive Linguistic View," in *Postclassical Greek Prepositions and Conceptual Metaphor*, eds. William A. Ross and Steven E. Runge (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2022), 12-13.

¹⁸⁹ In chapter three, one text will illustrate the fact that the syntactic construction can modify a noun phrase. However, the noun phrase has an implicit, presupposed predicate and argument. See §3.2.5.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF POST-CLASSICAL COMPOSITIONAL TEXTS

"To study the Greek of the LXX 'as Greek' we need to know what that Greek is."¹⁹⁰

– John A. L. Lee

3.1. Introduction

Early PC Greek, often referred to as Hellenistic Koine Greek,¹⁹¹ is a developed form of the Attic dialect.¹⁹² Due to historical circumstances following the Persian War and cultural developments in Attica, Attic Greek enjoyed prestigious status among the Greek dialects. This was the reason it was "adopted by the all-conquering Macedonians and then carried throughout the East as an administrative and cultural language by the campaigns of Alexander the Great."¹⁹³ This does not mean that idiosyncratic features of other Greek dialects, such as the Ionic dialect, did not find their way into the Koine, nor that there were no developments in the language's lexical stock.¹⁹⁴ But it does mean that, by and large, PC Greek can trace its lexical usage, morphology, and syntax back to Attica. However, as Chrys Caragounis has noted, Koine Greek was a form of the language that replaced the nuance and complexity of its predecessor with a greater degree of simplicity and explicitness.¹⁹⁵ As the language of an empire, spoken not only by educated native speakers but also by those using it as a second language, Koine Greek also contained different registers. The term Koine refers to the language commonly spoken throughout an entire empire, namely the Greek language of the Hellenistic era, rather than a common dialect or register of the language, i.e., low-level colloquial language. PC Greek usage of various levels is found in literary texts, administrative documents, legal petitions, personal letters, and extant texts more indicative of everyday communication. This means that the Koine, like most languages, was used in various formal and informal ways.

¹⁹⁰ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 4.

¹⁹¹ PC Greek is dated to roughly 330 BCE - 600 CE while Hellenistic *Koine* Greek falls within the range of 330 BCE - 300 CE.

¹⁹² Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 4.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁹⁴ Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament: Morphology, Syntax, Phonology, and Textual Transmission* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 39.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

As noted above, Lee has demonstrated that the LXX generally contains middle-level PC Greek, occupying the same register as the thousands of Graeco-Egyptian administrative and legal documents that have been preserved in the sands of Egypt.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, the documentary papyri from the PC era provide the *best* texts to illuminate the usage of conventional Greek to compare to the Greek of the LXX. However, it has also been shown that the LXX translators could use "more educated expressions of literary quality."¹⁹⁷ Therefore, when necessary, the LXX must also be compared to literary texts to help illuminate its language. The literary texts were still used pedagogically during the era when the Pentateuch was translated. They functioned as "schoolroom texts" in the education of Greek speakers.¹⁹⁸ So, any discussion of the translators must take into consideration that literary texts from the Classical era were the basis for their education. Hence, the syntactic patterns and lexical usage in the literary texts no doubt left an imprint, whether conscious or not, on the educated class in Ptolemaic Egypt. The following analysis of Greek texts, then, will examine both literary texts and non-literary documentary sources. The literary texts provide an abundance of attestations of ἐν τῷ + infinitive (see table 3.1 below), which raises questions concerning the register to which the syntactic construction belongs. However, to limit the discussion to a manageable set of texts, this chapter will only examine ten texts from Polybius. As for documentary sources, they only occasionally attest to this syntactic construction. Therefore, all ten examples from these sources will be discussed below. In the discussion of each text, it will be necessary to clearly articulate the broader context in which the syntactic construction is found. This is necessary because the key to understanding how ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used is often within the discourse context and not simply within the sentence (although sometimes the construction refers anaphorically to a constituent in the same sentence). So, the discussion associated with each text will take into consideration as much or as little of the context needed to illuminate the IS.

¹⁹⁶ Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 64.

¹⁹⁷ Ross, *Postclassical Greek and Septuagint Lexicography*, 42.

¹⁹⁸ Boyd-Taylor, "In a Mirror, Dimly— Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times," 26-27. See also Lee regarding the translators' education in *The Greek of the Pentateuch*, 120. Lee states, "Reading Classical texts was part of the training, and that is revealed clearly in the evidence." See also Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 4-5.

Table 3.1: 'Ev Τῷ + Infinitive in PC Literary Authors before CE

Period of time ¹⁹⁹	Author (Number of Attestations)
IV-III BCE	Dinarchus (1x), Theophrastus (21x), Epicurus (6x), Menander (7x), Cleanthes (1x), Clearchus (2x), Duris (2x), Hecataeus (5x), Persaeus <i>Phil.</i> (1x), Demetrius Phalereus (1x), Timaeus <i>Hist.</i> (1x), Damoxenus <i>Comic.</i> (1x)
IV-II BCE	Charondas (1x)
IV-I BCE	Dioscurides (1x)
IV BCE-II CE	Diotogenes (1x)
III BCE	Erasistratus (2x), Lycon (2x), Chrysippus (47x), Euryphamus (3x), Metopus (5x), Straton (2x), Hieronymus <i>Hist.</i> (1x), Bryson (1x), Callicratidas (1x), Theages (12x)
III-II BCE	Polybius (24x), Aristophanes <i>Gramm.</i> (4x), Heraclides <i>Criticus</i> (1x), Philo Mechanicus (2x), Demetrius <i>Gramm.</i> (2x), Anonymus Photii (3x), Timaeus <i>Phil.</i> (1x), Aristocles <i>Paradox.</i> (1x)
III-I BCE	
II BCE	Agatharchides <i>Geogr.</i> (2x), Ezechiel (1x), Apollodorus <i>Gramm.</i> (1x), Antipater (2x), Demetrius Lacon (1x), Diogenes <i>Phil.</i> (2x), Anonymus Epicureus (1x), Heracleodorus <i>Gramm.</i> (1x), Comanus (3x), Dionysius Scytobrachion (1x)
II-I BCE	Posidonius <i>Phil.</i> (6x), Antiochus <i>Phil.</i> (1x)
II BCE - II CE	Ptolemaeus <i>Gramm.</i> (2x)
II BCE - III CE	Testamenta XII Patriarcharum (7x)
II BCE - IV CE	Diogenis Sinopensis <i>Epistulae</i> (4x)
I BCE	Diodorus Siculus (36x), Dionysius Halicarnassensis (31x), Arius Didymus (13x), Tryphon I <i>Gramm.</i> (1x), Philodemus (35x), ²⁰⁰ Philoxenus <i>Gramm.</i> (4x), Socrates (1x), Philo Judaeus (53x)
I BCE - I CE	Strabo (3x), Aristonicus <i>Gramm.</i> (5x), Dorotheus (1x), Pseudo-Archytas (9x), Antiochus <i>Astrol.</i> (1x), Vitae Adam et Evae (4x)
<i>Total</i>	<i>62 authors (397x)</i>

3.2. Post-classical Literary Texts

From the beginning of the PC era (ca. 330 BCE) until the Common Era, ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used 397 times by 62 authors in extant compositional texts as documented in *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. In this period, the corpus of literature in *TLG* contains 12,694,837 words (excluding the LXX). Therefore, this syntactic construction occurs 0.03 times per 1,000

¹⁹⁹ The period of time in the left column of Table 3.1 indicates either that the lifetimes of the authors straddled the centuries mentioned (in the case of two successive centuries), or that their precise lifespans is unknown.

²⁰⁰ The total number of usages in Philodemus includes one usage not found in *TLG*'s database but found in the Herculaneum papyri on papyri.info (P.Herc. 26).

words in the corpus as a whole. However, some authors employed it much more frequently than others, such as in the c. 2nd century BCE pseudepigraphal document *On the Virtues*, attributed to the Pythagorean philosopher Theages, who did so more than ten times per 1,000 words.²⁰¹ The issue of frequency, which is often used as an argument for Hebraic interference in LXX studies, must take into consideration that even in compositional texts, there is a great amount of variation from one author to the next. Conventional Greek does not exhibit any consistency in the frequency with which certain syntactic constructions are used. Frequency, then, is an issue of idiolect.²⁰²

Polybius's *The Histories* attests twenty-four occurrences of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Polybius was not the first to write prose during the PC era, but his historiography is a good exemplar of prose during that era. About him, Horrocks writes, "Polybius is in general very much a man of his times, both in his choice of vocabulary...and in his overall style, which exhibits the typical verbosity of the Hellenistic chancellery, most particularly in the complex sentence constructions which make characteristically heavy use of nominalized infinitives as an instrument of subordination."²⁰³ For these reasons, especially because of his use of infinitives for grammatical subordination, Polybius can provide insight into the prototypical function of the construction in the PC Greek linguistic system.

3.2.1. Polybius, *The Histories* 1.23.8

τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐποιεῖτο μὲν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ὡς εἰς ἐμβολήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ **συνεγγίζειν** θεωροῦντες τὸ συμβεβηκὸς περὶ τὰς προπλευούσας ναῦς, ἐξέκλινον καὶ διένευον τὰς τῶν ὀργάνων ἐπιβολάς.²⁰⁴

The rest of the Carthaginian force was making the advance as if for ramming. But **in the approach**,²⁰⁵ seeing what had happened to the leading ships, they veered off and dodged the attacks of the war engines.

²⁰¹ This is far more frequent than LXX Genesis's 0.71x per 1,000 words. There were 14 other authors of compositional texts that used the construction with a greater frequency than LXX Genesis.

²⁰² See Appendix 1 for frequencies in PC Greek authors/texts.

²⁰³ Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 97.

²⁰⁴ Polybius, *The Histories, Volume I: Books 1-2*, trans. W. R. Paton, rev. F. W. Walbank, Christian Habicht, *Loeb Classical Library* 128 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 70.

²⁰⁵ To reflect the fact that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is an identifiable constituent, English renderings will – even awkwardly – use "in" to translate the preposition and the direct article "the." All translations are my own.

Context:²⁰⁶ This text narrates a naval battle during the Punic War in 260 BCE.²⁰⁷ Under Hannibal Gisco's command, the Carthaginians had previously destroyed a Roman fleet under the command of Gnaeus, as they possessed greater experience and swifter vessels. Subsequently, the Roman commander Gaius Duilius took command of the Roman navy, and he constructed novel war machines (afterwards referred to as "ravens"). When Gnaeus sailed to meet the Carthaginians, they attacked him eagerly and confidently due to the superiority of their navy. But they were unaware of the Romans' novel war engines; as a result, the first thirty Carthaginian ships were taken. This was the first sea battle won by the Romans in the Punic Wars.

SS and IS:²⁰⁸ Structurally, the constituent ἐν τῷ συνεγγίζειν (in the approach) is an adjunct that modifies two finite verbs: ἐξέκλινον (they veered off) and διένευον (dodged). It provides the occasion in time (temporal scope) for these predicators.²⁰⁹ Therefore, it was in the temporal boundary of their approach that the Carthaginians veered off and dodged. The construction refers anaphorically to the prior sentence: "The rest of the Carthaginian force was *making the advance as if for ramming*" (ὥς εἰς ἐμβολήν). So, ἐν τῷ συνεγγίζειν should be viewed as presuppositional since advance for ramming (which necessarily involves an approach) has just been activated in the discourse register. The information has been grammaticalized with a constituent marked for identifiability. The syntactic construction belongs to the sentence's topic domain.²¹⁰

3.2.2. Polybius, The Histories 1.51.9

διεκπλεῖν μὲν οὖν διὰ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν καὶ κατόπιν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἤδη πρὸς ἑτέρους διαμαχομένοις, ὅπερ ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ἐστὶ πρακτικώτατον, ἀδυνάτως εἶχον, διὰ τε τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν πλοίων, προσέτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν πληρωμάτων.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ In the analysis of each text, the "Context" section will give background information (often text-external) and text-internal contextual information necessary for making sense of the IS.

²⁰⁷ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 63.

²⁰⁸ The analysis of SS and IS has been combined since IS is built upon syntactic structure and structural semantics.

²⁰⁹ See Félix-Marie Abel, *Grammaire du Grec Biblique: Suivie d'un Choix de Papyrus* (Paris: Lecoivre-Gabalda, 1927), 314. Abel cites this text as an example of the temporal usage. He writes, "l'hébreu en particulier pour les locutions où entre καὶ ἐγένετο, mais l'usage de ce ἐν temporel n'est pas absent de la Koine. Cf. Polyb. I, 28, 8." Credit belongs to Dirk Büchner for finding this reference.

²¹⁰ Sentences can possess any number of constituents in the topic domain with various levels of pragmatic salience.

²¹¹ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 156.

So, on the one hand, to sail through the enemy ships and then appear behind those already fighting against others, which in fact is most effective **in the waging of naval warfare**, was impossible both because of the heaviness of the ships and also the inexperience of the crews.

Context: This text likewise concerns a naval battle narrative between the Romans and Carthaginians during the First Punic War in 249 BCE.²¹² Under Publius Claudius Pulcher, the Roman fleet had attacked the Carthaginians at Drepana, Sicily, and had made a blunder. The ships came too far into the harbor before forming a line. Thus, they had unintentionally allowed the Carthaginians to sail past them out into the open sea. The ships of the Carthaginian fleet, under the command of Adherbal, were then able to form their line against the Romans with their back toward the open sea; this gave them significantly more space to maneuver. This text, then, is a description of the Roman fleet; the particular maneuver it describes was not only impossible for the Romans in this battle but was never accomplished by them in any battle.²¹³

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν is a complement to ἐστί (to be) within a dependent, explanatory clause. It provides the occasion in time (temporal scope) for ἐστί, its predicator. The utterance can be perceived as gnomic, so it does not refer to an actual event during the naval battle. But it still indicates that within the temporal boundary of naval warfare, gnomically speaking, the most effective maneuver is to sail through enemy ships engaged in battle and appear behind them. The entire context is concerned with narrating a naval battle, so ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν encodes presuppositional information that is marked for identifiability. Likewise, it belongs to the topic domain of the clause in which it is located.

3.2.3. Polybius, The Histories 1.62.4

μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον ἦν τις ἐλπίς ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, οὐδὲν τῶν παραβόλων ἢ δεινῶν δοκούντων εἶναι παρέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἐλπίδας, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ἡγεμόνων, ἐξήλεγεν.²¹⁴

For as long as there was some reasonable basis for hope in the situation, he left out nothing, however seemingly dangerous or dire. But as much as any other general, **in the waging of war**, he tested every hope of victory.

²¹² Ibid., 151.

²¹³ F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 114. Walbank says that this was, "a classic maneuver, but never employed by the Romans. Indeed, in Hellenistic times it tended to disappear with the adoption of boarding tactics, though the Rhodians used it successfully at Chios."

²¹⁴ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 186.

Context: In 241 BCE, during the First Punic War, the Carthaginians had suffered another naval defeat at the hands of the Romans. Fifty ships were sunk and seventy others captured, along with their crews (numbering around 10,000 men). Hanno had led these ships in an attempt to resupply Hamilcar and the troops at Eryx. The text cited above describes Hamilcar. He was a feared and respected general. As the text indicates, his general pattern in warfare was to try any possible way to win as long as there was still a reasonable chance of victory.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν (in the waging of war) is an adjunct that modifies the finite verb ἐξήλεγξεν (he tested). It denotes the occasion in time (temporal scope) for ἐξήλεγξεν, its predicator. The predicate is asserting Hamilcar's *habitus* in warfare. So, it is not referring to a single event. Nevertheless, the phrase ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν still indicates that within the temporal boundary of warfare, generally speaking, Hamilcar tested (ἐξήλεγξεν) every hope of victory. Furthermore, similar to the text in §3.2.2, since the entire context of the prepositional phrase is warfare, the phrase ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν (in the waging of war) encodes presuppositional information that is marked for identifiability. Additionally, the construction belongs to the topic/background domain.²¹⁵

3.2.4. Polybius, The Histories 2.29.3

τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης τῆς εἰς τοῦπισθεν ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι σωτηρίας. ἡ γὰρ τῆς ἀμφιστόμου τάξεως ιδιότης τοιαύτην ἔχει τὴν χρείαν.²¹⁶

But the most important thing, they were cut off completely from retreat towards the rear and safety **in the [case of] coming up short**;²¹⁷ for this peculiar position of facing both ways had this kind of disadvantage.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Lisa Brunetti, Kordula De Kuthy, Arndt Riester define the topic as "an expression denoting a special referential entity within the background, potentially the most salient one." See "The Information-Structural Status of Adjuncts: A Question-under-Discussion-Based Approach," *Discours* 28 (2021), 6. In this thesis, topic domain refers to the grammatical topic (i.e., topic constituent) and other constituents that provide background information about the topic constituent.

²¹⁶ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 342.

²¹⁷ The translation, "coming up short," is an attempt to render λείπω idiomatically.

²¹⁸ My own translation interprets what is denoted by ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι in a manner consistent with that of W. R. Paton in the *Loeb Classical Library* volume: "while, above all, they were absolutely cut off from retreat or any prospect of escape *in the case of defeat*, this being the peculiarity of this two-faced formation." Paton's translation, like the one above, adds the words "case of" to help clarify the conditional nature of what is communicated in the context.

Context: Polybius details a battle that occurred during the Celtic²¹⁹ invasion of Italy in 225 BCE.²²⁰ The Celts simultaneously fought two separate Roman military units at Telamon after inflicting heavy losses on other Romans and taking a large quantity of plunder, prisoners, cattle, and other spoils of war. In *The Histories* 2.26, Polybius records a decision made by one of the Celtic kings: knowing their good fortune might come to an end and satisfied with their haul, he decided it would be best to return to Gaul. However, their march away from one pursuing Roman unit led them into another oncoming unit. They were trapped between these two units and were forced to fight the Romans on two fronts, resulting in a precarious strategic position. Although the position had the advantage of not allowing any surprise attack behind them, it also cut them off from any ability to retreat if they were to come up short in the battle.

SS and IS: The sentence that contains ἐν τῷ + infinitive in this passage is structurally and semantically complex. The sentence's core predication (nuclear predicate) is not a finite verb, but a genitive absolute participle ἀποκεκλειμένης (cut off). This means that the participle clause is structurally independent but semantically dependent on another clause with a finite verb (the following clause with the finite verb ἔχει).²²¹ Ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι functions as an adjunct that modifies the predicate and one of its arguments, ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης... τῆς σωτηρίας (cut off completely...from safety). The construction is nested in the constituent τῆς σωτηρίας, indicating a close syntactic relationship. Semantically, the construction provides the occasion in time (conditional temporal scope) for ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης... τῆς σωτηρίας. In other words, if the Celts were not victorious [i.e., "coming up short"], they would be completely cut off from a path to safety within the temporal boundary of that defeat.

In the discourse context, Polybius discusses the battle (μάχη) between the Celts and the Romans. When readers engage with any report of a battle, such as this account, they

²¹⁹ Polybius used Κελτοί to refer to the Gauls and other ethnic groups in Western Europe. This was typical of Greek authors. However, the Romans more specifically used the Latin term *Galli* to refer to the Gauls and *Celtae* to refer to Celts. Polybius's usage has been retained in the comments in this thesis.

²²⁰ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 327.

²²¹ The genitive absolute clause does not have an explicit subject. Therefore, the subject is the same as the clause before it resulting in the rendering using the third person plural pronoun "they." See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 136.

generally take for granted that there were winners and losers, those who were killed and those who survived. This pragmatic phenomenon is called a cognitive schema. The constituent elements – denotata like winners, losers, casualties, and survivors – are made available²²² in the discourse register in conjunction with the discussion of war. Charles Fillmore explains a cognitive schema (or frame-linked referent): "By the term 'frame' I have in mind any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any of them you have to understand the whole structure in which it fits; when one of the things in such a structure is introduced into a text, or a conversation, all of the others are automatically made available."²²³ This is the reason why ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι was encoded as a textual constituent marked for identifiability. Polybius expects his readers to take it for granted as presuppositional information in the cognitive schema of war. The construction provides background information within the topic domain. Topic Domain = [marked topic: *the most important thing*²²⁴ + temporal background: *in the case of coming up short*]; focus = [THEY WERE CUT OFF COMPLETELY FROM RETREAT AND SAFETY.]

3.2.5. Polybius, The Histories 2.32.10

τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κελτῶν σφίσι συνόντας διαβιβάσαντες εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀνέσπασαν τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ ρείθρου γεφύρας, ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλιζόμενοι τὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἅμα δὲ μίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολείποντες ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τὴν ἐν τῷ νικᾶν, διὰ τὸ κατόπιν αὐτοῖς ἄβατον ὄντα παρακεῖσθαι τὸν προειρημένον ποταμόν.²²⁵

But sending those of the Celts with them to the other side, they pulled up²²⁶ the bridges on the river, both as a safeguard against those [Celts] and at the same time leaving for themselves one hope of escape, that is, **in the [achievement of] victory**, because the said river lying at their backs was not fordable.

²²² Being made "available" indicates that the constituent would be identifiable as a result of another concept being activated in the discourse register. To illustrate this point, Lambrecht uses the sentence, "Every time I go to the clinic, the doctor is someone different." The definite article is used with doctor because it is an identifiable textual constituent due to the word "clinic" being activated in the discourse register. When people hear "clinic," automatically doctor is made available.

²²³ Charles J. Fillmore, "Frame semantics," in *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, ed. Linguistics Society of Korea (Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Co., 1982), 111. Cited from Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 90.

²²⁴ The word order pragmatically marks it as the topic. For a discussion, see Dik, *Word Order in Greek Tragic Dialogue*, 38.

²²⁵ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume I, 350, 352.

²²⁶ Ostensibly, they removed the wooden boards (τὰς σανίδας) on the bridges like they did in *The Histories* 2.5.5.

Context: In *The Histories* 2.32, Polybius narrates the exploits of a Roman expeditionary force led by Publius Furius and Gaius Flaminius in 223 BCE. The Romans were attempting to completely remove the Celts from the Po Plain. The Cenomani, a tribe that had become their ally, accompanied the Romans to fight at the foot of the Alps against another tribe, the Insubres. However, being outnumbered, the Romans were wary of fighting with the Cenomani as their ally against the Insubres because both tribes came from the same nation. The Celts were notoriously treacherous, as well. So, the Romans sent the Cenomani across a river and pulled up the wooden boards on the bridges to prevent them from possibly turning against them in the heat of battle.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ νικᾶν functions slightly differently than in any previous text. While ἐν τῷ νικᾶν seems to be in apposition to μίαν...ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας (encoded using the article τὴν,²²⁷ which precedes ἐν τῷ νικᾶν), the phrase is also functioning as an adjunct (i.e., it can be moved to different positions in its clause without affecting meaning). Therefore, it is best to view this example as an adjunct that modifies not only the noun phrase to which it is in apposition, but the entire clause with its predicate and arguments: μίαν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολείποντες ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας (leaving for themselves one hope of escape). Concerning abstract nouns such as ἐλπίς and σωτηρία, Civilleri notes that, "Such nouns are semantically complex because their semantic-pragmatic function is not to refer to objects ('reference,' which is normally a property of nouns) but to predicate something."²²⁸ Therefore, the entire clause is lexically dense with words that predicate some state of affairs: leaving, hope, escape. Semantically, it could be stated that the Carthaginians are leaving (PRESENT) hope in victory; they have hope (PRESENT) for victory; and they have hope to escape (FUTURE) because of victory. The semantic relationship between the entire clause and ἐν τῷ νικᾶν is conceptually complex. It could be described as *contingent temporal cause*: escape will be achieved, hope will be realized, and leaving hope will cease if and when victory is achieved.

²²⁷ The article is a grammaticalized textual anaphora. See Cristina Guardiano, "The History of Greek Articles: A Syntactic Approach," in *The Article in Post-Classical Greek*, ed. Daniel King (Dallas: SIL International, 2019), 62.

²²⁸ Germana Olga Civilleri, "Abstract Nouns," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1, ed. Georgios K. Giannakis, 4-7 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 4.

As in previous texts, Polybius reports a military battle in *The Histories* 2.32. Also similar to §3.2.4, ἐν τῷ νικᾶν is marked for identifiability because the idea of victory belongs to the cognitive schema of warfare. Reading any narrative concerning warfare would implicitly make available certain ideas in the discourse register (cf. fn 225, 226). Therefore, the constituent ἐν τῷ νικᾶν grammaticalizes information that ought to be taken for granted (i.e., presuppositional information). Discerning the topic structure in this text is a bit more difficult since the sentence structure does not fall neatly into the topic/focus schema articulated by Dik. It can be concluded reasonably that ἐν τῷ νικᾶν is a non-obligatory element of the sentence's structure and provides background information, which generally belongs to the topic domain.

3.2.6. Polybius, *The Histories* 3.79.10

τῶν δ' ὑποζυγίων αὐτοῦ τὰ πλεῖστα πίπτοντα διὰ τοὺς πηλοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, μίαν παρεχόμενα χρεῖαν ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· καθεζόμενοι γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν σκευῶν σωρηδὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὕγρον ὑπερεῖχον, καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ βραχὺ μέρος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπεκοιμῶντο.²²⁹

Falling because of the mud, the majority of the Celts' [αὐτοῦ] pack animals perished, serving one use for the men **in their fall** [i.e., when they fell]: sitting on them and the heaped-up baggage, the men were above the water and in such a manner were able to get some sleep for a short part of the night.

Context: Hannibal led his troops south of Florence through a marshland between the Arno and the Apennines during the Second Punic War in 217 BCE. His army consisted of soldiers from various regions conquered by the Carthaginians. Leading the march through the wetlands were the Iberians and Libyans, who had experience in long, difficult marches. Due to their experience and the fact that they were the first to pass over the muddy ground, they were able to pass through the marshland with only a little misery. However, the Celts following behind them experienced overwhelming difficulty because of their lack of experience on long marches, and the wet ground had already been thoroughly broken up by the Iberians and Libyans.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν is an adjunct that modifies the participial phrase μίαν παρεχόμενα χρεῖαν (serving one use). Semantically, it clarifies the occasion in time for

²²⁹ Polybius, *The Histories, Volume II: Books 3-4*, trans. W. R. Paton, *Loeb Classical Library* 137 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 214.

the pack animals to serve a specific use. So, in the temporal boundary of falling, they provided a use. 'Εν τῷ πεσεῖν refers anaphorically to a textual referent in the sentence: πίπτοντα. The participle lit-up "falling" in the reader's consciousness, so ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν is presuppositional – encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability – and a part of the topic domain in its clause.

3.2.7. Polybius, The Histories 4.64.7

τῶν δὲ πειθαρχούντων, ἅμα τῷ τὴν πρώτην διαβῆναι σημαίαν βραχέα ταύτης καταπειράσαντες οἱ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἱππεῖς, ἐν τῷ ταύτην τε **μεῖναι** συνασπίσασαν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διαβαινούσας συμφράττειν τοῖς ὅπλοις πρὸς τὴν ὑφ'esτῶσαν.²³⁰

After his [Philip] orders were obeyed, as soon as the first company crossed, the Aetolian cavalry briefly skirmished with them; **while** the first company [ταύτην] **stood fast** fighting with shields interlocked, the second and third companies also crossed to close ranks with the hoplites facing resistance.

Context: In the text, Polybius narrates an incident in the Aetolian War (220-217 BCE) in which Philip V of Macedon led the Hellenic league against the Aetolians, Elians, and Spartans. The text itself describes a military maneuver by Philip's soldiers. The Aetolian cavalry attempted to attack their company after they had just crossed a river. The Aetolians were unsuccessful and forced to retreat. The soldiers who were attacked managed to hold their ground and even reinforced their position with additional companies, causing the attackers to withdraw.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ταύτην τε μεῖναι συνασπίσασαν (while the first company stood fast fighting with shields interlocked) is an adjunct that modifies the participle διαβαινούσας (crossed). It gives the occasion in time (temporal scope) for the participle, its predicator. In other words, it was within the temporal boundary of the first company standing fast that the second and third companies crossed. The construction refers anaphorically to the previous sentence, which states, "The king, perceiving their design [i.e., attacking them while they were crossing the river], ordered his peltasts to enter the river first and land on the other bank in close order *shield to shield* [συνησπικότητας] and company by company."²³¹ The sentence explains that Philip had ordered his troops to cross the river in close formation with

²³⁰ Ibid., 494.

²³¹ Ibid., 495.

their shields interlocked because he knew they would be attacked by the Aetolian cavalry as soon as they reached the other side. Therefore, they "stood fast" in that formation after being attacked on the other side. So, like other attestations of ἐν τῷ + infinitive, the syntactic construction is presuppositional information that is grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

3.2.8. Polybius, The Histories 5.52.8

οἱ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συνεπλέκοντο καὶ κατεπείραζον ἀλλήλων, ἐν δὲ τῷ συνάψαι τὰς παρ' ἀμφοῖν δυνάμεις ἀπέστησαν.²³²

At first, they were engaged *in combat* and were testing each other. But **when** the two *main* armies from both sides **rejoined them**, they separated.

Context: This text is set in 221 BCE during Antiochus III's advance through Mesopotamia to stop a rebellion led by a Mede named Molon. The text itself concerns a skirmish between the advance guard of Antiochus's army and the advance guard of those rebelling under Molon.

SS and IS: In this text, structurally, ἐν τῷ + infinitive is a part of an adjunctive clause that modifies the finite verb ἀπέστησαν (they separated) in the main clause (nuclear clause). It provides the occasion in time (temporal cause) for the predicator (see Figure 2.4.1.3). In the previous sentence, Polybius referred to the light infantry of both armies that had been sent as an advance guard: "He [Molon] was approaching the district in question at the very time that the king [Philip III] had left Apollonia with the whole of his army, and the light infantry of both, which had been sent on in advance, came into contact in crossing a certain range of hills."²³³ It is implicitly understood in warfare that if an advance guard is sent ahead of an army, the army will rejoin the advance guard at some point in time. Again, the anaphoric reference made by ἐν τῷ συνάψαι is to information that is a part of a cognitive schema that was activated in the discourse register through the assertion that the light infantry of both armies had been sent in advance. The information is, therefore, presuppositional and is grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. Additionally, it belongs to the sentence's topic domain.

²³² Polybius, *The Histories, Volume III: Books 5-8*, trans. W. R. Paton, *Loeb Classical Library* 138 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 138.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 139.

3.2.9. *Polybius, The Histories 6.42.2*

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες **ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν** ἡγοῦνται κυριώτατον τὸ κατακολουθεῖν ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότησιν²³⁴

For the Greeks, **when setting up camp**, primarily considered adapting *it* to the strengths of its location.

Context: This example is in a section that makes general observations about the Romans and the Greeks. In *The Histories* 6.41-42, Polybius described how the Romans and Greeks set up their camps in different ways. The Romans always set up camp in the same manner, with each person in the company in the same location relative to others. However, the Greeks set up camp differently, as the above text indicates.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν is an adjunct that gives the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator, ἡγοῦνται (consider). Therefore, semantically, it is in the temporal boundary (see Figure 2.4.1.2) in which they are setting up camp that the Greeks primarily consider adapting the camp to the strengths of the topography. The syntactic construction ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν makes anaphoric reference to a text-internal constituent in the previous two sentences. These sentences read, "It is very much the same thing in a Roman camp [στρατοπεδείας]. The Romans, by thus studying convenience in this matter, pursue, it seems to me, a course diametrically opposite to that usual among the Greeks."²³⁵ Therefore, ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν communicates presuppositional information that was grammaticalized using a grammatical constituent marked for identifiability. In this text, the syntactic construction forms part of the topical expression (topic = the Greeks setting up camp).

3.2.10. *Polybius, The Histories 21.4.5*

εἰ δὲ μὴ συνυπακούοιεν, πάντως διελήφει παραλιπὼν ταῦτα διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, σαφῶς γινώσκων διότι τὸ τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς οὐκ **ἐν τῷ χειρώσασθαι** τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος, ἀλλ' **ἐν τῷ** νικήσαντας τὸν Ἀντίοχον **κρατῆσαι** τῆς Ἀσίας.²³⁶

"But if they [Aetolians] did not submit, he [Lucius Cornelius Scipio] was determined in any case to leave these matters aside and cross over into Asia, knowing well that the goal of the war and the entire campaign was not **in subjugating** the Aetolian League, but **in conquering** Asia by defeating Antiochus."

²³⁴ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume III, 404.

²³⁵ Ibid., 405.

²³⁶ Polybius, *The Histories*, Volume V: Books 16-27, trans. W. R. Paton, *Loeb Classical Library* 160 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 278.

Context: This text is set in 190 BCE during Roman territorial expansion to occupy lands that were formerly ruled by Greeks during the Roman-Seleucid War. The Antiochus mentioned is Antiochus III the Great.

SS and IS: Structurally, the two syntactic constructions are complements. Even though they occupy a different structural position than what is typical, they still semantically indicate the occasion in time for a single predicator, ἐστὶ. The syntactic constructions communicate what was *not* the temporal cause and what was the temporal cause for reaching “the goal of the war” (see Figure 2.4.1.3). The first example tells what the goal is not: οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειρώσασθαι τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἔθνος (not in subjugating the Aetolian League). The second example explains what the goal is: ἐν τῷ...κρατῆσαι τῆς Ἀσίας (in conquering Asia). Semantically, this relationship might be described as contingent temporal realization. In other words, the goal of the war (from the Roman perspective) would only be realized if/when they conquered Asia.

As far as IS is concerned, the construction encodes presuppositional information. Although neither use of ἐν τῷ + infinitive has a direct textual antecedent, the context in its entirety describes how the Romans were waging war against the Aetolians and Seleucids in an attempt to gain dominance in the Ancient Mediterranean. Therefore, like several texts cited above, the two uses of ἐν τῷ + infinitive refer to a cognitive schema that has remained active throughout the discourse concerning Roman conquests. This is the reason the construction was encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

3.3. Post-classical Papyri

The following discussion will examine six texts with eight examples of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in papyri. These are the only six texts that have been found containing the syntactic construction in the papyri.²³⁷ This is quite infrequent when the total number of papyri is considered. Even though the papyri do not provide an abundance of examples, they are sufficient to demonstrate how the construction was used in conventional PC Greek.

²³⁷ See Appendix 1 for a comparison of the frequency in papyri with that in other texts from the PC era. As far as the papyri are concerned, the construction was used approximately 0.01 times per 1,000 words before the CE. This is much lower in frequency than the 0.71x per 1,000 words in LXX Genesis.

3.3.1. *PSI. 4.354, lines 9-11 (254 BCE)*

καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας τὰς ἡμιόνους ὅπως συναχθῇ εἰς Μοιθῦμιν ἐν τάχι, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῷ παραπορεύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα διαφορηθῇ ὑπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως.

Therefore, you will do well by sending the mules so that it [hay] might be taken quickly to Meidum so that, **in the king's passing**, it will not be carried off by the troops.²³⁸

Context: This text is an excerpt of a letter written in Philadelphia, Egypt, by Boubalos. He is writing to Zenon to discuss logistical details about Ptolemy's upcoming visit to Philadelphia. To prepare the place of assembly (ἀγορά), Boubalos had moved bundles of hay from the grounds where the assembly would gather to the side of the main road (ἐστὶν δὲ ἐν παρόδῳ). He asked Zenon to send mules to haul away the grass to Meidum so that when the king passed on his way to the assembly, the grass would not be carried off by the troops accompanying the king. The troops were opportunists and would snatch up free fodder for their livestock any chance they got.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ παραπορεύεσθαι is an adjunct in a dependent, purpose clause that modifies its predicator, the finite verb διαφορηθῇ. Semantically, the construction provides the occasion in time for its predicator. This relationship is best viewed as temporal scope, the king passing providing the temporal boundary.

Ἐν τῷ παραπορεύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα was encoded as a textual constituent marked for identifiability. The construction makes direct anaphoric reference to what had been stated at the beginning of Boubalos's letter: the king was coming (παραγείνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα) and he would be going to the place of assembly (ἀγορὰν), arriving via the main thoroughfare. Therefore, it was implicit that he had to pass where the grass bundles were stacked. Using ἐν τῷ + infinitive, Boubalos grammaticalizes information that would be presuppositional to Zenon. The clause's topic expression is "in the king passing;" the focus²³⁹ is on what is communicated by the predicate: grass being carried off (διαφορηθῇ). The information encoded by ἐν τῷ παραπορεύεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα was redundant. However, its usage helped to provide coherence to the communication with Zenon, anchoring asserted information to presuppositional information.

²³⁸ My own translation.

²³⁹ Lambrecht refers to this type of focus as predicate-focus structure. See Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 222ff.

3.3.2. *P.Cair.Zen. 3.59379, lines 1-3 (ca. 254-51 BCE)*

Ζήνωνι χαίρειν Ἀμεννεὺς ὕοφορβός. ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι ἡμῖν ἀναθρέψαι τὰ εἰς τὰ Ἀρσινόεια ἱερεῖα θεῖς οὖν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἐνέχυρον ἐπριάμην καὶ ἀνέθρεψα, ὅπως μηθὲν μοι ἐγκαλῆις.

To Zenon: greetings. Amenneus, a swineherd. **When it was ordered** for us to raise pigs for the Arsinoe festival sacrifices, having therefore a cloak *as* a pledge, I bought²⁴⁰ pigs and raised them, so that you might not find fault with me.

Context: This text is also one of the documents belonging to the Zenon archives. It has approximately the same date as the text in §3.3.1. After Amenneus, the pig herder, had obeyed Zenon's instructions, buying pigs to raise for an upcoming festival, two of the pigs had been stolen. When the thief was confronted, he claimed that a crocodile had eaten the pigs. So, Amenneus petitions Zenon to write letters to the village and the nomarch, Timotheos, asking that the issue be resolved.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι is an adjunct on the left periphery, framing the clauses that follow. The construction modifies the two finite verbs that are predicators, ἐπριάμην and ἀνέθρεψα. Semantically, the relationship between them is causal, i.e., "because it was ordered," however, a temporal semantic value is not completely absent. There was a temporal sequence between the construction and its predicators (see Figure 2.4.1.6). It was appropriate to use ἐν τῷ + infinitive to indicate the type of temporal causal relationship because the cause itself is contained in (ἐν) the state of affairs grammaticalized by ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι. Zenon's order was the occasion (in time) for Amenneus to buy and raise pigs.

The syntactic construction ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι was used at the beginning of the letter. So, it could not possibly be identifiable because of the text-internal world. It is identifiable due to Zenon's and Amenneus's previous communication, something external to the text above. It is not specified whether the communication was a previous letter or face-to-face oral communication. Either way, Zenon's instruction to Amenneus was still active in their conversational discourse register. So, the idea denoted by ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι is presuppositional, common ground information. The construction ἐν τῷ συνταγῆναι was used

²⁴⁰ The form is imperfect, but LSJ, 1463, states that it was used as an aorist in Attic Greek. Since the Greek in Ptolemaic Egypt would have been influenced by Attic Greek, then it is perhaps best viewed as aorist. It also best fits the context.

in the topic domain; the focus is the assertion that buying and raising pigs had occurred, so that Zenon would not find fault. This is a predicate-focus structure.

3.3.3. *P. Koeln. 8.327 (250 - 150 BCE)*

(1) Column 1.31-2.3

τὴν δὲ θερμασίαν ὀξεῖαν εἶναι εὐλογον πυρετοῦ συμπεσόντος, ἐπειδὴ ὁ σφυγμὸς ἐκ τῆς θερμασίας τῆς ἐν τῷ πυρέσσειν γινομένης ἐστὶν μείζων τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν.

It is reasonable that the heat is acute when fever occurs, since the pulse, from the heat generated during the fever, is greater than what is natural.

Context: This papyrus was found in Herakleopolis, Egypt. It is an unknown medical treatise that was cut in a half-circle and placed on the chest of a mummy. The content of the papyrus discusses causes of fevers and related symptoms, which have led some to suspect that it was "a lost treatise *Περὶ καυσωδῶν πυρετῶν* or, more simply, *Περὶ πυρετῶν*."²⁴¹ It is perhaps debatable whether or not the papyrus is a PC documentary text, since it may have been written by the Greek physician Erasistratus (c. 304 – c. 250 BCE), and belongs to the genre of medical prose. The text contains three examples of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. The first example is found in a sentence that begins in column 1.31 and ends in column 2.3 (these lines are all fragmentary, therefore they have been reconstructed). The second and third examples are in more complete sections of the papyrus, though they contain some fragmentation.²⁴²

²⁴¹ <https://papyri.info/dclp/59762>; accessed 16 September 2024. The quotation is taken from the papyrus's introduction.

²⁴² My own translation of column 1.8–3.16 (which contain all three uses of ἐν τῷ + infinitive): "And also, something is always carried along from the veins in the urine, and they fall into a coma, and since they do not retain urine in the bladder, they are constantly unable to urinate, and if they do urinate, they are unaware of it. Similarly, there are contractions around the stomach. Additionally, their mouths become phlegmatic, and because certain colors from the veins are carried to the mouth, and a black coating appears on their tongues, it is not unreasonable. In cases of burning fevers, it is like erysipelas around the liver, and in this condition, the heat generated by the infection is very intense. It is reasonable that the heat is acute when fever occurs, since the pulse, from the heat generated during the fever, is greater than what is natural. The pulse becomes more frequent, and there is also extreme dryness around the mouth, the tongue, and the skin all over the body in these fevers, since heat naturally causes dryness. And because the parts around the lungs and heart become more contracted and the dilation of the lungs increases and becomes more frequent, breathing also becomes more intense and frequent. Then, thirst occurs and in the heating [of] the internal places, it is also reasonable for them to become thirsty and desirous of a cold drink. When inflammation is present, it continuously causes sensations similar to those perceived by the senses, and because of the intense heat, a sense of perception follows, such that they become sleepless, and they become thin and

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ πυρέσσειν is an adjunct within another prepositional phrase. The construction is predicated on the adjectival participle τῆς γινομένης. Semantically, ἐν τῷ πυρέσσειν communicates the occasion in time (temporal cause) for the generation of heat. It was redundant to use, but its inclusion adds textual cohesion and ideational coherence. The noun phrase "burning fevers" (καυσώδεσιν πυρετοῖς) was attested previously in column 1.25 without the article. Therefore, it was encoded using an unidentifiable textual constituent because the author was activating the discussion of fevers in the discourse register.²⁴³ Thus, when ἐν τῷ πυρέσσειν is used in column 2.1, it refers anaphorically to the noun phrase "burning fevers" in column 1.25, as well as to the prior mention of fever in the same sentence (πυρετοῦ). The author had encoded presuppositional information as a part of the sentence's topic (fever/heat).²⁴⁴

(2) Column 2.23-29

γινομένης δὲ δίψης καὶ ἐν τῷ θερμαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιθυμητικούς τόπους,²⁴⁵ εὐλογον καὶ δίψας αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι καὶ ψυχροῦ ποτοῦ [drink] τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.

Then, thirst occurs and **in the heating [of]** the internal places, it is also reasonable for them to become thirsty and desirous of a cold drink.

SS and IS: Structurally, the construction ἐν τῷ θερμαίνεσθαι modifies the finite verb εὐλογον as its predicator. Semantically, it communicates the occasion in time (temporal cause) for its predicator. In other words, within the temporal boundary of the internal places heating, it is reasonable to be thirsty (see Figure 2.4.1.3). Before this text, θερμασία (heat) and its cognates were used 4x, and πυρετός (fever) and its cognates were also used 4x. It is

restless. This happens especially in cases of moist fevers, since the moisture in the veins is neither properly mixed nor evenly heated. Shivering is not unreasonable, for when the heat escapes some of the fluids will be cooled, and when these fluids fall into the arteries, they cause shivering."

²⁴³ Levinsohn and Dubis, "The Use of the Greek Article in 1 Peter: A Case Study," 101-126.

Levinsohn and Dubis are careful to explain that the absence of the article does not always indicate the constituent is unidentifiable. The article is often *not employed* on identifiable constituents to indicate pragmatic salience. The usage of πυρετοῦ in text (1) above is an example. So, while the presence of the article does indicate +identifiability, its absence does not indicate –identifiability.

²⁴⁴ See Matic, "Topic, Focus, and Discourse Structure," 579. He uses topic to refer to the denotatum/referent, topic expression to refer to a particular word or phrase within the utterance that encodes the topic, and topic position to refer to the constituent that occupies the topic's slot in information structure.

²⁴⁵ Τοὺς ἐπιθυμητικούς τόπους refer to the places where desires are located (see LSJ 634). The author, then, is connecting heat in the seat of desire with the desire (τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν) for a cold drink. This is a "reasonable" (εὐλογον) conclusion in his mind.

safe to conclude, also, that the topic of the entire medical treatise is fevers or body heat. Therefore, the topic is presuppositional, and it is active throughout the entire text. The construction in 2.25 (ἐν τῷ θερμαίνεσθαι) grammaticalizes a textual constituent that would, therefore, be cognitively identifiable to anyone reading the text, and it is marked as such using the article.

(3) Column 3.13-16

ἐγ γὰρ τῷ τὴν θερμασίαν διεκπίπτειν ἔσονταί τινα τῶν ὑγρῶν κατεψυγμένα
For **in the escaping [of] the heat**, some of the fluids will be cooled.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐγ τῷ τὴν θερμασίαν διεκπίπτειν modifies the paraphrastic construction ἔσονταί κατεψυγμένα (will be cooled). Semantically, it communicates the occasion in time for some of the bodily fluid cooling. In other words, it is within the temporal boundary (scope) of escaping heat that fluids cool. Additionally, the context indicates that escaping heat also causes the fluids to cool (see Figure 2.4.1.3). "Heat escaping" would be active in the discourse register as a part of the cognitive schema of fevers and body heat. Furthermore, readers' ordinary experience in the text-external world would establish the presupposition that any time something is heated, the heat inevitably must escape. Therefore, the presuppositional information was grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. The ideational content communicated by the constituent is a part of the text's topic domain.

3.3.4. *P.Tebt. 3.1.703, section 2.40-43 (ca. 210 BCE)*

ἅμα δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐφοδεύειν πειρῶ περιερχόμενος ἕκαστον παρακαλεῖν καὶ
εὐθαρσεστέρους παρασκευάζειν.

And at the same time, **in the inspection**, try going around to encourage each one and make *them* more courageous.

Context: This text was found in Tebtunis, Egypt. It has been given the title "Instructions of a Dioecetes to a Subordinate."²⁴⁶ In the instructions, the διοικητής directs his subordinate to inspect the water conduits and irrigation system in an agricultural area to ensure that proper maintenance is done and the entire system continues to operate smoothly.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ἐφοδεύειν is an adjunct that modifies the finite imperative verb πειρῶ (try) and its complementary infinitives παρακαλεῖν and παρασκευάζειν.

²⁴⁶ <https://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.tebt;3.1;703>; accessed 18 June 2024.

Semantically, it communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for the imperative. It is, then, within the temporal boundary of making inspections that encouragement was to occur (see Figure 2.4.1.2). The syntactic construction makes anaphoric reference to a text-internal constituent, the instructions that were given previously. Therefore, the information concerning the inspection is encoded using an identifiable textual constituent that is active in the discourse register. The newly asserted information – the imperative to "try going around *to encourage* each one and *to make* more courageous" – is anchored cognitively to identifiable information, semantically to a temporal boundary, and ideationally to information that is presuppositional. It is redundant information, but its inclusion adds coherence to the utterance.

3.3.5. UPZ. 1.110, lines 94-97 (21 September 164 BCE)

τίς γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀνάλιστος ἢ νωθρὸς ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι καὶ πράγματος διαφορὰν εὐρεῖν, ὃς οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτό γε δυνήσεται συννοεῖν;

For who is so silly or dull **in thinking** and **in ascertaining** the distinction of a matter, he will not even be able to understand this very thing?

Context: This text²⁴⁷ discusses a royal decree regarding agriculture that was issued because of the need to increase grain production. Capable laborers were ordered to help contribute. Also, fallow land was confiscated by the state and assigned to farmers willing to cultivate it.²⁴⁸ But the decree was not unreasonable: it was not intended to confiscate and redistribute the land of civil servants (i.e., officials, soldiers, manual laborers working on state projects, etc.) and people unable to do manual labor, as some people had so foolishly interpreted the decree. For these people were "worn out day and night" serving the state, and they had a legitimate reason for not contributing to increased grain production.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι...εὐρεῖν modifies the copula and its arguments: τίς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀνάλιστος ἢ νωθρὸς (who is so silly or dull). The construction gives the

²⁴⁷ My own translation of lines 84-97: "For perhaps what was said is thus fitting, inasmuch as it is foolish making the intent of the ordinance to suppose it necessary *that* even those who are worn out day and night in the city in public service and others who are unable, are forced to accept *that* their farms and property are taken as through the ordinance, having the sum total divided with one accord among everyone in the region who is a registered citizen. For who is so silly or dull in thinking and in ascertaining the distinction of a matter, he will not even be able to understand this very thing."

²⁴⁸ See J. G. Manning, *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt Under the Ptolemies, 305-30 BC* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2010), 124. He writes, "All land was either 'royal land,' directly managed by the king, or it was 'conceded' to others to work, and could be confiscated by the king as he desired."

occasion in time (temporal scope) for the verb and its arguments (see Figure 2.4.1.2). In other words, it was within the temporal boundary of thinking about and ascertaining the distinction of a matter – or rather, the inability to do so – that people demonstrated they were so silly and dull that they could not understand the decree's intent. The syntactic construction communicates information that ought to be taken for granted, i.e., presuppositional information, as it refers back to a previous sentence's description of how certain people were interpreting the royal decree. The information, then, is presuppositional and encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

3.3.6. *P.Oxy. 4.743, lines 35-38 (4 October 2 BCE)*²⁴⁹

ἐν τῷ δέ με περισπᾶσθαι οὐκ ἠδυνάσθην συντυχεῖν Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ Λιβικῷ ἵνα αὐτῷ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ὑποδείξω.

But upon my being distracted, I was unable to meet Apollonius the Libyan in order to inform him of these things.

Context: This papyrus was found in Oxyrhynchus and is titled "Letter to a Friend." The letter's author informs his friend that he was upset because another man named Helenos had lost his money. Due to dealing with issues related to the lost money, he was distracted and therefore unable to meet with another man named Apollonius the Libyan.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ με περισπᾶσθαι (upon me being distracted) is an adjunct that modifies the finite verb ἠδυνάσθην and its complementary infinitive συντυχεῖν (to meet). The construction provides the occasion in time (temporal cause) for its predicate, the finite verb ἠδυνάσθην and the infinitive συντυχεῖν (see Figure 2.4.1.3). Additionally, the construction refers to the situation described in the previous sentences, the loss of money and its repercussions in the author's life. Although it was never explicitly stated that the events caused a distraction or ought to impede the author from other activities, there are sociolinguistic implications for how the author is using a syntactic construction marked for identifiability. He wants the reader to understand why he might be unable to meet with

²⁴⁹ My own translation of lines 22-38: "For I am also completely upset that Helenos lost money. For when Damas arrived in Alexandria, we came to Epaphroditus, and it was discovered that he had neither received nor paid anything. So then, I want you to know this that I had given him orders to go to Takona for the sake of the produce [used as rent], and now I have sent him to collect them all and have entrusted to him the care of the whole matter. Whatever service he may require from you, assist him, as he will make an agreement in everything for you just as for me. But when I was distracted, I was unable to meet Apollonius the Libyan in order to inform him of these things."

Apollonius the Libyan, so he frames the utterance in such a way that its discourse pragmatic status will induce the reader to take it for granted as presuppositional information. James Paul Gee explains this linguistic phenomenon, "The grammatical choice as to what information to assert and what to assume sets up a social contract between the writer and reader. The reader is supposed to address any comments or disagreements with the asserted information and simply take the assumed information for granted...And, of course, speakers and writers can seek to use this social contract to manipulate listeners and readers into not bringing up (or not thinking too much about) what they don't want brought up or thought about."²⁵⁰ Therefore, in this text, the author does not want the reader to question why he would not be able to meet with Apollonius, but he wants the reader to assume it as presuppositional, given the extenuating circumstances. The information, then, was encoded using a grammatical constituent mark for identifiability. The constituent is topical.

3.4. Post-classical Inscriptions

Two inscriptions have been found that contain the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction, one in Pergamum dating to the Hellenistic era and the other in Egypt dating to the Ptolemaic era. Like the papyri, the construction was not used in inscriptions very frequently, but the two examples are sufficient to demonstrate how it was used in conventional PC Greek, particularly in more formal Greek.

3.4.1. *IvP II 252, lines 8-9 (2nd-1st century BCE)*

χορηγίαν ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κατασκευάσασθαι λουτῆρας δημοσίους δύο.
And he also provided funds **during the construction** [of] two public baths.

Context: This example is a part of an inscription found in Pergamum from the second or first century BCE. The inscription honors Metrodorus, son of Herakleon. He had served Pergamum well as its gymnasiarch (γυμνασίαρχος). He had been a patron for various civic projects, common for wealthy gymnasiarchs, and had taken care of young men's education at the gymnasium. This role brought him honor, evident by the inscription dedicated to him. The text above is contained in the description of his role as patron. There are three projects listed, with the third project's description containing the syntactic construction. The first

²⁵⁰ Gee, *Introducing Discourse Analysis*, 65.

project repaired (ἐπισκευῆς) temples, the second brought water channels into the city to provide water for public baths, and the third, discussed in conjunction with the phrase ἐν τῷ κατασκευάσασθαι, provided funds for constructing two public baths.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ κατασκευάσασθαι is an adjunct that modifies ἔθηκεν as its predicator. Semantically, the construction communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator. In more specific terms, ἐν τῷ κατασκευάσασθαι communicates the temporal boundary for Metrodorus's provision of funds. It would therefore be appropriate to use "during" as a rendering: And he also provided funds *during* the construction of two public baths. He may have provided funds for the other projects mentioned, but this specific utterance only discusses funds provided for the construction of the public baths.

Ἐν τῷ κατασκευάσασθαι was encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. Therefore, it grammaticalized information expected to be taken for granted (presuppositional), because of prior information in the inscription that discussed building, restoration (ἐπισκευῆς), and construction in the domain of civic projects. As an inscription displayed publicly, it would also be expected that its readers would be conscious of the public baths that had been constructed in the city. Therefore, its IS status as presuppositional information has both a text-internal rationale and a text-external rationale. Additionally, the syntactic construction belongs to the utterance's topic domain. If topic and focus were posed as a question (topic) and answer (focus):²⁵¹ "What did he provide during the construction (topic)? FUNDS FOR TWO PUBLIC BATHS (focus)."

3.4.2. *I.Prose. 30 (96 BCE)*

τὸ ἐν Ἀθρίβει τοῦ Ἀρκεντεχθαὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ λόγιμον ἀρχαιότατόν τε καὶ ἐνδοξότατον τῶν πλείστων ὑπάρχον τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τιμῶν τετευχέναι λείπεσθαι δὲ ἐν **τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον**, προστετάχαμεν ἐπιχωρῆσαι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἱερῷ ἐντὸς αὐτοῦ περιβόλου τὴν ἀσυλίαν καθάπερ ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Βουσίρει καὶ ἑτέροις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν·

while the temple in Athribis of *the god* Horus *is* on the one hand the first notable one to have been built – being both oldest and most glorious *and* possessing most other honors – but on the other hand was deficient in not being a [legally sanctioned] asylum, we determined to grant the right of asylum to this temple and its precincts just as also in Memphis, Bousiris, and other temples in other cities.

²⁵¹ In information structure analysis, this is referred to as a "question-under-discussion" approach. See Lisa Brunetti, et al., "The Information-Structural Status of Adjuncts: A Question-under-Discussion-Based Approach," 16-17.

Context: This example is part of an inscription found on a stele in Athribis, Egypt.²⁵² It contains the grant of asylum to the temple of Horus (Ἀρκεντεχθαῖ) by Ptolemy X Alexander (r. 107–88 BCE).

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον is an adjunct that modifies the infinitive λείπεσθαι (was deficient) as its predicator. Therefore, ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον communicates the occasion in time for the temple's deficiency. This is a causal semantic relationship that only peripherally possesses any temporal semantic value; however, temporality is not completely muted. One could argue that within the temporal boundary of the temple not possessing the right of asylum, it had cause for deficiency (see Figure 2.4.1.3 in chapter two).

The syntactic constituent ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον was encoded using an article, which marks it as an identifiable textual constituent. Therefore, the inscription's author expected his readers to treat the information as presuppositional. It is an indirect textual anaphor, since the prior context mentions other prominent temples being granted the right of asylum. It is implicit that these temples were once also in the state of not being legally sanctioned asylums before Ptolemy granted them the right of asylum.²⁵³ Additionally, there is a text-external rationale for the information status of ἐν τῷ μὴ εἶναι ἄσυλον. The first readers of the stele would have been aware that the temple formerly did not possess the right of asylum. The language of the inscription was certainly composed with these readers in mind. Therefore, there are text-internal and text-external reasons for understanding the syntactic construction's usage in the text to be presuppositional. Additionally, it is a part of the topic domain in the sentence.

²⁵² My own translation of the entire inscription: "King Ptolemy, who is also *called* Alexander. After Ptolemy, the Kinsman and governor of Egypt, reported to us *that* all the temples in Egypt have indeed received great benefactions from our ancestors, including some of the prominent ones having been bestowed the right of asylum, *while* the temple in Athribis of *the god* Horus *is* on the one hand the first notable one to have been built – being both oldest and most glorious *and* possessing most other honors – but on the other hand was deficient in not being a [legally sanctioned] asylum, we determined to grant the right of asylum to this temple and its precincts just as also in Memphis, Bousiris, and other temples in other cities. Therefore, let it be done accordingly."

²⁵³ This was done throughout the Ptolemaic era for various temples, even synagogues (cf. I.Asylia 228).

3.5. Summary

Structurally, the construction is typically used as an adjunct in the texts discussed in this chapter. However, the texts also provide examples of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in a complement structural position. Semantically, though, the construction always indicates occasion in time for its predicator. Its more specific semantic nuances are dependent on the contextual use of lexical constituents. Sometimes the nuance is causal, sometimes limitative (providing temporal scope); sometimes the contexts are simply reporting events, sometimes the contexts are conditional, and sometimes the contexts are gnomic. Pragmatically, though, the construction always communicates presuppositional information that was marked for identifiability with the article.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF SEPTUAGINT GENESIS TEXTS

"[The] translators...tried to put into Greek dress what they believed God intended to say to his people."²⁵⁴

—John William Wevers

4.1. Introduction

Gen produced a text that generally rendered the Hebrew *Vorlage* phrase by phrase with very little divergence either in the constituent ordering of clause and sentence or in the lexical semantics of its renderings. This translation technique was rooted in the translator's view that the Hebrew book of Genesis, as the first book of the Torah (indeed the entire Tanakh), was especially sacred. As Wevers has noted, this "meant that the translators considered their task thoughtfully, did not simply put Hebrew words into equivalent Greek lexemes, but tried to put into Greek dress what they believed God intended to say to his people."²⁵⁵ The result was a text that was intelligible to those who read it, characterized by close alignment with the source text on the one hand and conventional Greek usage on the other hand. These two aspects of translation technique are not mutually exclusive. Wevers asserts, "Their translation may not have been perfect, but it made sense to [the translators]; they did not create nonsense, and when the modern reader is puzzled, the fault must lie with him or her, not with the translator. It means that the student of LXX must try to understand what the translators meant rather than stand in arrogant judgment over their product."²⁵⁶

Due to the Greek translation's close alignment with its Hebrew *Vorlage*, some scholars have found support for the interlinear paradigm in the text-linguistic structure of LXX Genesis. For example, Hiebert writes, "The overall assessment of Greek Genesis is that, lexically and syntactically, it is a strict, quantitative representation of its source text. Thus, the concept proposed in NETS discussions of the Septuagint (LXX) as an interlinear translation is an apt metaphor for this book because of the significant degree of dependence on the Hebrew that it exhibits."²⁵⁷ First, it is not self-evident that if a translation has a

²⁵⁴ John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), xii.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, xii.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, xiii-xiv.

²⁵⁷ Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Genesis: To the Reader," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, eds. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University, 2007), 1.

"significant degree of dependence" on its source text that it can be metaphorically characterized as an interlinear. Every translation is significantly dependent on its source text. If a translation was not, then it would not be considered a translation. Second, there are a variety of linguistic features throughout LXX Genesis that can be used as evidence to support the hypothesis of an interlinear paradigm. Hiebert helpfully identifies many of those features in various essays.²⁵⁸ However, when those features are considered within the total lexical and syntactical usage in LXX Genesis, it is perhaps not apparent that those features are indicative of the entire text. The most dominant linguistic feature that supports the interlinear metaphor is arguably serial fidelity, that is, the tendency of LXX Genesis to closely follow the Hebrew word order. Any discussion of word order in the LXX, though, must also take into consideration that AG, as an inflectional language, was quite flexible in the order and arrangement of its grammatical constituents. Although Gen did not use word order to pragmatically structure information, his serial fidelity did not affect sentence structure or semantics. Given the great diversity in Greek word order from one author to the next and one sentence to the next, the translator chose to closely follow the Hebrew word order because it was just as viable as any other word order on the level of semantics, and it fulfilled traditional assumptions about faithfulness in the translation of sacred texts.²⁵⁹ Therefore, typically the word order in each sentence in LXX Genesis is both dependent on its source text and ordinarily encodes meaning according to the conventions of AG.

An illustration might be appropriate for articulating the nature of the Greek in LXX Genesis. In Bali, Indonesia, it is quite easy to tell when one enters a Hindu house. The structure of the house and the materials used to build it are the same as those of any other house. However, there are certain features of a Hindu house that make it distinct, such as the decorations scattered throughout the house and the little altars where offerings are made. It is the same with LXX Genesis. The syntactic structures and lexical material used to render the text are, by and large, conventional Greek. For the most part, they do not differ from those in PC compositional texts. However, there are certain features scattered throughout the text,

²⁵⁸ Ibid., 3-4. See also the discussion on pp 49-50.

²⁵⁹ Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 20.1 (2004): 81. Brock writes, "In the case of the biblical translator, for whom 'the very word order is a mystery,' reproduction of the word order of the source language is essential."

little Hebraic linguistic "decorations," that give LXX Genesis a distinctive biblical style. These features are possibly an intentional aspect of the translator's strategy to "foreignize" the text for his readers,²⁶⁰ so that when Jews in third-century BCE Alexandria read the text, they realized that they were being led behind the text to a different time, culture, and linguistic milieu.

The selective usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive by Gen, however, is not one such Hebraic linguistic "decoration." This construction appears twenty-three times in LXX Genesis. It is used eighteen times as a rendering for the Hebrew אֵל + infinitive and five times as a rendering for various other Hebrew constructions (see figure 4 below). In these texts, ἐν τῷ + infinitive occurs ten times in subordination to ἐγένετο or ἔσται plus another finite verb in a dependent clause. This is an idiosyncratic sentence structure that is only attested in biblical Greek (as the following discussion will articulate). However, the discussion of the texts below using IS analysis will indicate that Gen's usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive was not idiosyncratic. He employed it in a manner consistent with the PC Greek compositional texts in chapter 3. The following discussion is divided into four groups of texts:

- 1) Texts that use ἐν τῷ + infinitive as a rendering for אֵל + infinitive *and subordinate the construction* to ἐγένετο or ἔσται + finite verb [8x],
- 2) Texts that use ἐν τῷ + infinitive as a rendering for other Hebrew constructions *and subordinate the construction* to ἐγένετο or ἔσται + finite verb [3x],
- 3) Texts that use ἐν τῷ + infinitive as a rendering for אֵל + infinitive [10x],
- 4) Texts that use ἐν τῷ + infinitive as a rendering for other Hebrew constructions [2x].

In the discussion of each text, it will be necessary to clearly articulate the broader context in which the syntactic construction is found. This is necessary because the key to understanding how ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used is often within the discourse context and not simply within the sentence (although sometimes the construction refers anaphorically to a

²⁶⁰ John Barton, *The Word: How We Translate the Bible – And Why It Matters* (New York: Basic Books, 2023), 72-73. Barton writes, "Any translation inevitably acculturates the source text to some degree within the target language's norms, but [for Venuti] this is to be resisted as much as possible, not affirmed. The translator's task, he argues, is not to create the text the author would have produced in our culture, but to render the text in all its alien character. Consequently, Venuti favors 'foreignizing' translations."

constituent in the same sentence). So, the discussion of each text will take into consideration as much or as little of the context needed to illuminate the IS.

Table 4.1: 'Ev τῷ + Infinitive in Genesis

No.	Verse	Hebrew <i>Vorlage</i>	Hebrew syntax	+ καὶ ἐγένετο, ἐγένετο δὲ, καὶ ἔσται	Tense
1	4:8	בְּהִיוֹתָם	בּ + Infinitive	+	Pres.
2	9:14	בְּעֲנִי	בּ + Infinitive	+	Pres.
3	11:2	בְּנִסְעָם	בּ + Infinitive	+	Aor.
4	19:16	בְּחִמְלָת	בּ + noun	-	Aor.
5	19:29	בְּשִׁחָת	בּ + Infinitive	+	Aor.
6	19:29	בְּהִפָּד	בּ + Infinitive	+	Aor.
7	19:33	בְּשִׁכְבָּהּ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
8	19:33	וּבְקוֹמָהּ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
9	19:35	בְּשִׁכְבָּהּ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
10	19:35	וּבְקוֹמָהּ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
11	24:52	כְּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעַ	כּ + rel. pron. + Qal verb	+	Aor.
12	28:6	בְּבִרְכּוֹ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Pres.
13	32:20	בְּמִצְאָתָם	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
14	32:26	בְּהִיאָבְקוֹ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Pres.
15	34:15	לְהַמָּל	לְ + infinitive	-	Aor.
16	34:22	בְּהִמּוּל	בּ + Infinitive	-	Aor.
17	35:1	בְּבִרְחָהּ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Pres.
18	35:7	בְּבִרְחוֹ	בּ + Infinitive	-	Pres.
19	35:17	בְּלִדְתָּהּ	בּ + Infinitive	+	Pres.
20	35:18	בְּצֵאתָ	בּ + Infinitive	+	Pres.
21	38:28	בְּלִדְתָּהּ	בּ + Infinitive	+	Pres.
22	42:35	מְרִיקִים	Hiphil ptc. absolute	+	Pres.
23	44:31	כְּרִאוֹתָי	כּ + infinitive	+	Aor.

4.2. 'Eγένετο (ἔσται) + 'Ev τῷ + Infinitive (Rendering בּ + Infinitive)

The existential use of ἐγένετο (ἔσται) to form a dependent clause with another finite verb is a unique feature of biblical Greek and can rightly be labeled a Hebraism.²⁶¹ Structurally, ἐν

²⁶¹ Hiebert, "Genesis: To the Reader," 3. It is this use of ἐγένετο (ἔσται) and not the usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive that needs to be viewed as a Hebraism. In OG texts, ἐγένετο (ἔσται) + finite verb occurs 49x with ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Slightly more than 20% of those usages are in LXX Genesis (10x). The syntax, then, is more frequent in LXX Genesis than any other book in the LXX. Total uses in the LXX: Gen (10x), Num (2x), Ies (1x), Judg (3x), Routh (2x), 1Rgns (2x), 2Rgns (6x), 3Rgns (3x), 4Rgns (4x), 1Suppl (2x), 2Suppl (5x), 2Esd (1x), Esa (1x), Iezek (4x), Sous (1x), Dan (2x).

τῷ + infinitive modifies both ἐγένετο (ἔσται) and the finite verb. As an adjunct, it gives temporal information about ἐγένετο (ἔσται) + finite verb. LXX Genesis attests a much higher frequency of this sentence structure than any other book in the Pentateuch; the only other examples are in Numbers (2x). In the NT, Luke was arguably imitating not only the style of the LXX in general when he used the same sentence structure but also LXX Genesis specifically. Although the Greek compositional corpora do provide examples of the existential use of ἐγένετο,²⁶² it was not used to subordinate another finite verb in a dependent clause. In the compositional corpora, the existential use of ἐγένετο is found almost exclusively in literary texts. Gen, then, was ostensibly attempting to give a quantitative representation of וַיְהִי (וַיְהִי) in the Hebrew text while at the same time imitating the style found in historical literary authors like Thucydides. Although the result with a finite verb is a Greek construction that had never before been attested in compositional texts, the text itself was still comprehensible within the Greek linguistic system. As Wevers states above, it was not nonsense. About the Hebraic use of ἐγένετο, Liana Tronci says that, "the καὶ ἐγένετο constructions were calqued on BH in the LXX and were used in the NT, since they met some structural configuration of γί(γ)νομαι already existing in Classical Greek."²⁶³ Consider the following texts that use ἐν τῷ + infinitive as a rendering for וַ + infinitive and subordinate the construction to ἐγένετο or ἔσται + finite verb:

4.2.1. Genesis 4:8

וַיְהִי בַּיּוֹמָם בְּשָׂדֶה וַיִּקָּם קַיִן אֶל-הָבֶל אָדָם בְּרֵיכָהוּ:

LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοῦς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνέστη Κάιν ἐπὶ Ἀβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν.

NETS: And it came about **when they were** in the plain, that then Kain rose up against his brother Habel and killed him.

²⁶² Some examples in literary texts: Calliphon, *Testimonia* 1.22; Thucydides, *Historiae* 1.19.1.6, 1.82.6.2, 1.100.1.1; Herodotus, *Historiae* 1.190.5; TM 65795, column 17.3 (literary papyrus). One possible textual example in non-literary documentary sources was found: PSI.6.601.

²⁶³ Liana Tronci, "Contact-induced change and language-internal factors: the καὶ ἐγένετο type as a case-study," *Papers On Ancient Greek Linguistics: Proceedings of the Ninth International Colloquium on Ancient Greek Linguistics*, eds. Martti Leiwo, Marja Vierros & Sonja Dahlgren (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2020), 177-204, here 178.

Context: Genesis 4:8 begins with the statement, καὶ εἶπεν Κάιν πρὸς Ἄβελ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον (NETS: "And Kain said to his brother Habel, 'Let us go through into the plain'").²⁶⁴ The construction occurs in the following sentence.

SS and IS: Structurally, the two prepositional phrases ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ are adjuncts that provide the occasion in time (*temporal scope*) and the physical location for the predicator καὶ ἐγένετο...ἀνέστη Κάιν...καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν (And it happened...that Kain rose up...and killed). In other words, ἐν τῷ + infinitive indicates the temporal boundary within which Kain rose up and killed his brother. Taken as a single informational unit, the two prepositional phrases ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ (when they were on the plain) therefore refer anaphorically to Kain's statement in the previous sentence. Since Kain had invited his brother to cross onto the plain, the fact that they would *be* on the plain is presuppositional to those reading the narrative. Therefore, Gen used an identifiable textual constituent (τῷ εἶναι) to encode that presupposition.

4.2.2. Genesis 9:14

וְהָיָה בָּעָנָן עֶנְנִי עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְנִרְאָה הַקֶּשֶׁת בַּעֲנָן:

LXX: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ συννεφεῖν με νεφέλας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὀφθήσεται τὸ τόξον μου ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ,

NETS: And it shall be that **when I gather clouds** over the earth, my bow shall be seen in the cloud,

Context: This text contains words spoken by God to Noah and his family after they came out of the ark. God renewed the creation covenant with Noah and gave the bow as a covenant sign representing the promise to never again destroy the earth by flood.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ συννεφεῖν με is an adjunct that gives the occasion in time (*temporal scope*) for its semantic predicator, the verb ὀφθήσεται ("shall be seen"; structurally καὶ ἔσται...ὀφθήσεται). Therefore, within the temporal boundary in which the clouds were gathered, the bow would be seen. The syntactic construction refers anaphorically to a textual constituent in Genesis 9:13, "I set my bow *in the cloud* [ἐν τῇ νεφέλῃ]." The syntactic construction with its object, ἐν τῷ συννεφεῖν με νεφέλας (when I gather clouds), denotes

²⁶⁴ A more idiomatic translation compared to that of the NETS (which renders the text according to its own stated translation principles) that takes into consideration a cognitive linguistic perspective of εἰς: "Let us go across *onto* the plain." See Rhodes, "Greek Prepositions: A Cognitive Linguistic View," 20.

cloud formation. In the worldview communicated by the text, the existence of *the cloud* is an indication that God has gathered the cloud. Therefore, in 9:14, the syntactic construction would at least communicate information that is presuppositional due to its textual representation in 9:13. However, its presuppositional status in 9:14 is only due in part to its antecedence in the previous verse in 9:13.²⁶⁵ Notice that νεφέλη is also marked for identifiability in 9:13. This is because the translators assumed every reader would know about the existence of clouds because of their common experience in the text-external world. This would also be true of many other things that are part and parcel of common human experience. Textual anaphora and identifiable textual constituents do not necessarily have a structural antecedent to which they refer.²⁶⁶ In 9:14, though, the syntactic construction is marked for identifiability both due to its structural antecedent in 9:13 and the fact that Gen assumes that its denotatum ought to be taken for granted.

4.2.3. Genesis 11:2

וַיְהִי בְּנִסְעָם מִקֵּדֶם וַיִּמָּצְאוּ בְּקֶעֶז בְּאֶרֶץ שִׁנְעָר וַיָּשְׁבוּ שָׁם:

LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσαι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εὗρον πεδῖον ἐν γῇ Σενναὰρ καὶ κατώκησαν ἐκεῖ.

NETS: And it came about **as they moved** from the east that they found a plain in the land of Sennaar and settled there.

Context: This attestation is found in the narrative about the Tower of Babel. Chapter 10 has already mentioned Sennaar being settled by Nebrod and his descendants (10:9-10). Furthermore, chapter 10 – after listing the descendants of Sem, Cham, and Iapheth and the places where they settled – closes with the summary statement, "from these the islands of the nations were scattered abroad on the earth after the flood" (NETS).

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ κινήσαι αὐτοὺς is an adjunct that semantically provides the occasion in time (temporal cause) for its predicators, the finite verbs εὗρον (they found) and κατώκησαν (they settled). While it is within the temporal boundary of moving eastward

²⁶⁵ Remember Lambrecht's definition of pragmatic presupposition in chapter 1: "The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered" (Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 52).

²⁶⁶ For a discussion of anaphora in AG, see Paul Kiparsky, "Greek Anaphora in Cross-Linguistic Perspective," *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 12 (2012): 84–117. Kiparsky states concerning *discourse anaphors* that they "need not have a structural antecedent" (85). Several of the texts discussed in this thesis demonstrate the validity of that statement.

that they found a plain and settled there, their movement also caused them to find and settle on the plain. However, the temporal causal relationship with each finite verb is slightly different. The semantic relationship with εὑρον can be illustrated with Figure 2.4.1.3, while the semantic relationship with κατόκησαν can be illustrated with Figure 2.4.1.4 (since the state of affairs denoted by κατόκησαν continues after the state of affairs denoted by ἐν τῷ κινῆσαι αὐτοὺς ceases). The syntactic construction communicates presuppositional information due to what has already been added to the discourse register in Genesis 10. The construction grammaticalizes this presupposition using a textual constituent that is marked for identifiability. The construction also pragmatically encodes the sentence's topic.

4.2.4. Genesis 19:29

וַיְהִי בַשָּׁחַת אֱלֹהִים אֶת־עָרֵי הַכָּנָר וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת־אֲבְרָהָם וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־לוֹט מִתּוֹךְ הַהֶהָרִים בְּהַר לֹט:
וַיִּזְכֹּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת־אֲבְרָהָם וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת־לוֹט מִתּוֹךְ הַהֶהָרִים בְּהַר לֹט:

LXX: καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι τὸν θεὸν πάσας τὰς πόλεις τῆς περιοίκου ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν Λώτ ἐκ μέσου τῆς καταστροφῆς ἐν τῷ καταστρέψαι κύριον τὰς πόλεις, ἐν αἷς κατόκει ἐν αὐταῖς Λώτ.

NETS: And it came about **when God annihilated** all the cities of the neighboring region that God remembered Abraam and sent Lot out of the midst of the overthrow **when the Lord overthrew** the cities which Lot used to dwell in.

Context: These two attestations of the syntactic construction are found in the narrative about Sodom and Gomorra's destruction. In 19:24-25, it is stated that the Lord rained fire and sulfur from heaven on the two cities to overthrow them. In 19:28, Abraam is described as seeing the flame of the land going up like the vapor of a furnace.

SS and IS: The two syntactic constructions, ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι and ἐν τῷ καταστρέψαι, each head temporal adjunctive clauses that report the same event. But the semantic relationship that each construction has with its predicator is different. Both constructions grammaticalize the occasion in time. The first one, ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι, provides *the temporal scope* for its predicator ἐμνήσθη (remembered; see Figure 2.4.1.2) while the second one, ἐν τῷ καταστρέψαι, furnishes *the temporal cause* for its predicator ἐξαπέστειλεν (sent; see Figure 2.4.1.3). The two prepositional phrases demonstrate that temporal scope and temporal cause are based upon the lexical semantics of ἐν τῷ + infinitive and its predicator. This arguably offers a clearer perspective than those of some of the grammarians discussed in chapter two. They view the syntactic construction itself as absolutely encoding a particular semantic relationship with its predicator in certain corpora of AG. Thus, the argument is that CG used

ἐν τῷ + infinitive to indicate cause, and the LXX employed it distinctively to indicate temporality in imitating Hebrew syntax and semantics. A more nuanced view would be that the syntactic construction only encodes meaning based on the lexical semantics of the infinitive and predicator, constrained by the structural semantics of the prepositional phrase. When lexemes are different, such as ἐμνήσθη (remembered) and ἐξέπεμψεν (sent), then the specific semantic relationship also changes accordingly.

Both ἐν τῷ ἐκτρίψαι and ἐν τῷ καταστρέψαι refer anaphorically to the event recorded in 19:24-25. Therefore, both syntactic constructions communicate presuppositional information that is grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. The constructions also communicate topical information for their respective clauses that are joined by καί.

4.2.5. Genesis 35:17

וַיְהִי בַּקֶּשֶׁתָּהָּ וַתִּלְדֵּם לְרָחֵל אֶת־בְּנִי־גְדָּהּ לֵךְ בָּן:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ σκληρῶς αὐτὴν τίκτειν εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα Θάρσει, καὶ γὰρ οὗτός σοί ἐστιν υἱός.

NETS: And it came about **while she was giving birth with difficulty** that the midwife said to her, "Take courage, for this one also is a son for you."

Context: This text is taken from the narrative of Rachel giving birth to Benjamin.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ σκληρῶς αὐτὴν τίκτειν is an adjunct that modifies both ἐγένετο at the beginning of the sentence and εἶπεν (as is the case with every usage of the construction with ἐγένετο); semantically, its primary predicator is εἶπεν. An argument could be made for either temporal cause or temporal scope as the semantic relationship between ἐν τῷ τίκτειν and εἶπεν. It is possible to perceive the predicator as being caused by the ἐν τῷ + infinitive clause: the midwife spoke and said "Take courage..." *because* Rachel was giving birth with difficulty (see Figure 2.4.1.3). It is also possible to perceive the predicator as taking place within the temporal boundary of the state of affairs denoted by the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction: the midwife spoke and said "Take courage..." *while* Rachel was giving birth with difficulty (see Figure 2.4.1.2). Whether the semantic relationship is best described as temporal scope or cause, the syntactic construction communicates the occasion

in time for its predicator. The construction makes anaphoric reference²⁶⁷ to an event activated in the discourse register in the previous verse: ἔτεκεν Ῥαχὴλ καὶ ἐδυστόκησεν ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ (Rachel gave birth, and she experienced severe birth pangs in the birth). The clause is used as background in 35:17 to provide a temporal frame for the midwife's speech. Consistent with the discourse pragmatic function of ἐν τῷ + infinitive, ἐν τῷ τίκτειν communicates information that is presuppositional, grammaticalizing a textual constituent marked as identifiable (active in the discourse register), and topical.²⁶⁸

4.2.6. Genesis 35:18

וַיְהִי בַצֹּאת נַפְשָׁהּ כִּי מָתָה וַתִּקְרָא אֶת־שֵׁם בְּנִיָּהּ לֵאמֹר בֶּן־אֶיֱמִי:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀφιέναι αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπέθνησκειν γάρ, ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου· ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν Βενιαμίν.

NETS: And it came about **as she was giving up her soul**, for she was dying, that she called his name Son-of-my-pain, but his father called him Benjamin.

Context: This text is the next verse in the narrative of Rachel giving birth to Benjamin.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ἀφιέναι αὐτὴν τὴν ψυχὴν is an adjunct that gives the occasion in time (temporal scope; see Figure 2.4.1.2) for its predicator ἐκάλεσεν (called). Within the temporal boundary in which she was giving up her soul, Rachel called the child's name Son-of-my-pain. This attestation is perhaps the most difficult to explain from the perspective of pragmatic IS. The ideational content communicated by the syntactic construction has not been activated previously in the discourse register. However, it is perhaps anticipated by the words in 35:16, "Rachel gave birth, and she experienced severe birth pangs in the birth" (ἔτεκεν Ῥαχὴλ καὶ ἐδυστόκησεν ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ). Although experiencing severe birth pangs (ἐδυστόκησεν) in the ancient world did not explicitly indicate the mother would not survive,²⁶⁹ it perhaps might be expected in a nomadic, pastoral culture. Furthermore, the imperfective aspect of the present infinitive indicates that Rachel was in the process of giving up her soul as it had not yet actually occurred. Considering the typical function of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in discourse, the translator used the construction because he wanted his readers to take it for granted (i.e., consider it presuppositional) that

²⁶⁷ 'En τῷ + infinitive is not the only anaphora in the clause. The pronoun αὐτὴν and the adverb σκληρῶς likewise point backwards to the finite verb ἐδυστόκησεν in the previous sentence.

²⁶⁸ The topic would be something like what happened while Rachel was giving birth with difficulty.

²⁶⁹ Hippocrates, *Epidemics* 2, 4-7, ed. and trans. Wesley D. Smith, *Loeb Classical Library* 477 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 36-37. This mother survived.

Rachel's severe birth pangs and difficulty giving birth would indicate that she was in the process of giving up her soul.²⁷⁰ Her possible death would have been activated, therefore, as a part of the cognitive schema of giving birth with severe pain and great difficulty in the ancient world. This information was therefore grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. This information also communicates something about the topic, namely, "What Rachel did when she was giving up her soul."

4.2.7. *Genesis 38:28*

וַיְהִי בִלְדָתָהּ וַיִּתְּנוּ יָדָהּ וַתִּקַּח הַמִּלְדָּת וַתִּקְשֹׁר עַל-יָדָהּ שְׁנֵי לֶאמֹר זֶה יֵצֵא רֹאשׁוֹנָה:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ **τίκτειν αὐτήν** ὁ εἷς προεξήνεγκεν τὴν χεῖρα· λαβοῦσα δὲ ἡ μαῖα ἔδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ κόκκινον λέγουσα Οὗτος ἐξελεύσεται πρότερος.

NETS: And it came about **as she was giving birth** that the one put forth his hand, and taking it, the midwife bound scarlet material on his hand, saying, "This one will come out earlier."

Context: This attestation is found in the narrative about Ioudas impregnating Thamar. In 38:27, the text states, "Now it came about at the time she was giving birth, that then she had twins in her womb."

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ τίκτειν αὐτήν is an adjunct that gives the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator προεξήνεγκεν (put forth). Within the temporal boundary in which Thamar was giving birth, one of her twins put forth his hand. As is the case with many other attestations, this is background information that provides a temporal frame for the nuclear clause (i.e., main clause). This construction refers anaphorically to the constituent in 38:27, ἡνίκα ἔτικτεν (at the time she was giving birth). It contains presuppositional information that is already active in the discourse register. Therefore, it has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. The information is also topical.

²⁷⁰ The collocation ἀφίημι + ψυχή was used in AG compositional texts as an idiom to indicate that death had occurred, especially when used with the perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect – while typically indicating death – could also indicate that someone was giving their life for or with another without the implication of death. See Esdras A 4:21 and Josephus *Antiquities* 11:52 for two examples in Jewish compositional texts. So, there was some ambiguity with its usage in the imperfective aspect. However, the context in Gen. 35:18 does make it clear that the process of death was intended, most obviously with the clause following ἐν τῷ + infinitive: ἀπέθνησκειν γάρ ("for she was dying"). This clause uses a finite verb to explicitly communicate newly asserted information.

4.3. 'Εγένετο (ἔσται) + 'Εν τῷ + Infinitive (Rendering Other Hebrew Constructions)

4.3.1. Genesis 24:52

וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע עֶבֶד אַבְרָהָם אֶת־דְּבָרֵיהֶם וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ אֶרְצָה לַיהוָה:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν παῖδα τὸν Ἀβραὰμ τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτῶν
προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κυρίῳ.

NETS: Now it came about **when the servant of Abraam heard** their words that he did obeisance upon the ground to the Lord.

Context: This text is found in the narrative about the journey of Abraam's servant to Mesopotamia to find a wife for Isaak in Nachor's family, Abraam's people. After meeting Rebekka, the servant then met her father Bathouel and brother Laban. He explained the purpose of his journey and how, ostensibly, Rebekka was the answer to his prayer. Then, Laban and Bathouel responded with the words, "This ordinance has come from the Lord; therefore, we shall not be able to speak against you bad for good. Look, Rebekka is before you; take her, leave quickly, and let her be wife to your lord's son, as the Lord has spoken" (24:50-51).

SS and IS: Structurally, the syntactic construction is an adjunct that provides the occasion in time (temporal cause) for the predicator *προσεκύνησεν* (did obeisance). Therefore, what Laban and Bathouel said caused the servant to do obeisance upon the ground (see Figure 2.4.1.6). This should be viewed as background information that provides a temporal causal frame for the nuclear clause (i.e., one state of affairs that causes another state of affairs in a temporal sequence). The fact that 24:50 reports that Laban and Bathouel replied to the servant implies that he heard their words. The construction ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι in v. 52 thus signifies information that should be taken for granted due to the context; therefore, it is presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. It encodes information that is a part of the utterance's pragmatic topic.

4.3.2. Genesis 42:35

וַיֹּאמְרוּ הֵם מִרְיָקִים שְׂקִיָּהֶם וְהִנֵּה־אֵישׁ צָרוּר־כֶּסֶף בְּשָׁלְוֹ וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת־צָרָתָם וְהָיוּ כַּסְפִּיהֶם חֶמֶד וְאֶבֶר:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ κατακενοῦν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σάκκους αὐτῶν καὶ ἦν ἐκάστου ὁ δεσμὸς τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐν τῷ σάκκῳ αὐτῶν· καὶ εἶδον τοὺς δεσμοὺς τοῦ ἀργυρίου αὐτῶν, αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν.

NETS: Now it came about **as they were emptying their sacks** that then each one's bundle of money was in their sack. And they saw their bundles of money, they and their father, and they were afraid.

Context: This attestation of ἐν τῷ + infinitive is found in the narrative about Ioseph and his brothers. The brothers had just returned home to their father, Iakob, in the land of Chanaan.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ κατακενοῦν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σάκκους αὐτῶν is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator ἦν (was), which must be understood from the perspective of the brothers (in reality, the money was there the entire time, not just when they emptied the sacks). Within the temporal boundary in which the brothers emptied their sacks, each one discovered his money was there. In the narrative, it is implicit that when the brothers' sacks (σάκκους) were filled with grain and their money returned (42:25), those same sacks would be emptied after the brothers returned home. So, ἐν τῷ κατακενοῦν αὐτοὺς τοὺς σάκκους (as they were emptying their sacks) is the presupposed context in which the brothers would discover what is anticipated in the flow of the narrative: the discovery of their money. This anticipation is heightened by the mention of one brother's discovery during the journey home in 42:26-28. He opened his bag (μάρσιππος)²⁷¹ to feed the donkeys and found to his surprise that his money had been returned. His brothers were likewise startled. Readers anticipate that the same discovery will take place when the other brothers empty their sacks. Therefore, the syntactic construction ἐν τῷ κατακενοῦν communicates presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. The information is topical in 42:35.

²⁷¹ There are three different Greek lexemes that were inconsistently used to render three different Hebrew lexemes in this context: ἀγγεῖον renders יָד in 42:25; σάκκος renders שַׂק in 42:25; μάρσιππος renders שַׂק in 42:27; μάρσιππος renders מִשְׂבָּע in 42:27; μάρσιππος renders מִשְׂבָּע in 42:28; σάκκος renders שַׂק in 42:35. An ἀγγεῖον is a type of container used for holding grain or fluids; σάκκος generally refers to a type of heavy fabric from which various objects can be made; μάρσιππος is a bag or pouch perhaps made of flax or hemp. Each of these had a different function with respect to the cargo that was packed on a donkey. The translator was ostensibly aware of the different function of each and therefore used the rendering that he felt best fit the context. It is possible that an ἀγγεῖον and a μάρσιππος were packed within a σάκκος, which would cover and secure the cargo on the donkey.

4.3.3. *Genesis 44:31*

וְהָיָה כִּי־אֵין הַנַּעַר וְנָמָת וְהוֹרִידוּ עֲבָדָי אֶת־שִׁיבַת עֲבָדָי אֲבִינוּ בְּיָגוֹן בְּיָלָשׁ:

LXX: καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ ὄν τὸ παιδάριον μεθ' ἡμῶν τελευτήσῃ, καὶ κατὰξουσιν οἱ παῖδές σου τὸ γῆρας τοῦ παιδός σου πατρός δὲ ἡμῶν μετ' ὀδύνης εἰς ᾄδου.

NETS: then it shall be that **when he sees** the youngster is not with us, he will perish, and your servants will bring down the old age of your servant, our father, with grief to Hades.

Context: This text is part of the conversation between Ioseph and his brothers on their second visit to Egypt. They had brought Benjamin back with them and refilled their grain stocks. Then, they set out for Chanaan. However, the servant in charge of Ioseph's house pursued them, claiming that they had stolen Ioseph's silver cup (which he had placed in Benjamin's baggage). So, the brothers were brought back to Ioseph and told that Benjamin must remain in Egypt as a slave for his supposed crime. Ioudas then spoke directly to Ioseph and attempted to explain that Benjamin must not remain in Egypt, for their father Iakob would surely die of grief if that were to happen.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time (conditional temporal cause) for its predicator τελευτήσῃ (he will perish). In other words, if Iakob sees that Benjamin is not with his brothers, it will cause him to perish (see Figure 2.4.1.6). The phrase ἐν τῷ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν μὴ ὄν τὸ παιδάριον μεθ' ἡμῶν (when he sees the youngster is not with us) refers anaphorically to the previous sentence. In 44:30, Ioudas states, "So now if I go in to your servant, our father, and the youngster be not with us" (NETS). As presuppositional information in 44:31, the Greek phrase cited above has been encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. It is the pragmatic topic of the sentence.

4.4. 'En τῷ + Infinitive (Rendering א + Infinitive)

4.4.1. *Genesis 19:33*

וַתִּשָּׂאֵן אֶת־אֲבִיהֶן יֵן בְּלִילָהּ הוּא וַתִּבֹּא הַבְּכִירָה וַתִּשְׁכַּב אֶת־אֲבִיהָ וְלֹא־יָדָע בִּשְׁכָבָהּ וּבְקוּמָהּ:

LXX: ἐπότισαν δὲ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν οἶνον ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην, καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναστῆναι.

NETS: And they gave their father wine to drink on this night, and the elder, when she had gone in, lay with her father that night, and he did not know **when she lay down** and **got up**.

Context: This text is a part of the narrative describing Lot and his daughters in the aftermath of the destruction of Sodoma and Gomorra. Fearing they would never find husbands and produce offspring, his daughters inebriated Lot and had sexual relations with him. This text specifically narrates the episode regarding the older daughter, which explains the origin of the Moabites.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναστῆναι is the complement of its predicator, the finite verb ἤδει. Semantically, it communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for ἤδει. In other words, it was within the temporal boundary of his daughter lying down and getting up (and what transpired in between) that Lot lacked knowledge. The Greek prepositional phrase cited above refers anaphorically to information that is freshly activated in the previous clause in 19:33, "and the elder, when she had gone in, lay with her father that night..." (NETS). The fact that she "lay with her father that night" implies that she lay down and got up; the phrase also euphemistically alludes to sexual relations. So, the prepositional phrase communicates presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

4.4.2. Genesis 19:35

וַתִּשְׁקִינָן גַּם בְּלַיְלָהּ הַהוּא אֶת־אֲבִיהֶן יַיִן וַתִּקֶּם הַצְעִירָה וַתִּשְׁכַּב עִמּוֹ לַלַּיְלָהּ בְּשֹׁכְבָהּ וּבְקִמָּהּ:

LXX: ἐπότισαν δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν οἶνον, καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἡ νεωτέρα ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἤδει ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναστῆναι.

NETS: And they gave their father wine to drink on that night also, and the younger, when she had gone in, lay with her father, and he did not know **when she lay down and got up**.

Context: This text is also a part of the narrative describing Lot and his daughters in the aftermath of the destruction of Sodoma and Gomorra. Fearing they would never find husbands and produce offspring, his daughters inebriated Lot and had sexual relations with him. This text specifically narrates the episode regarding the younger daughter, which explains the origin of the Ammanites.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναστῆναι is the complement of its predicator, the finite verb ἤδει. Semantically, it communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for ἤδει, even though it is a complement. In other words, it was within the temporal boundary of his daughter lying down and getting up (and what transpired in between) that

Lot lacked knowledge. The phrase ἐν τῷ κοιμηθῆναι αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναστῆναι (when she lay down and got up) refers anaphorically to information that has just been activated in the previous clause in 19:35, "and the younger, when she had gone in, lay with her father..." (NETS). The fact that she "lay with her father" implies that she lay down and got up; the phrase also euphemistically alludes to sexual relations. So, the Greek prepositional phrase cited above communicates presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

4.4.3. Genesis 28:6

וַיֵּרָא עֵשָׂו כִּי־בָרַךְ יִצְחָק אֶת־יַעֲקֹב וַיֵּשֶׁל אֹתוֹ פָּדָן אַרְמִי לְקַח־לּוֹ מִשָּׁם אִשָּׁה בְּבָרְכוֹ אֹתוֹ וַיֵּצֵא עָלָיו לְאֵמֶר
לְאִתְּקַן אִשָּׁה מִבָּנוֹת בְּנָעַן:

LXX: Εἶδεν δὲ Ἡσαὺ ὅτι εὐλόγησεν Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ καὶ ἀπόχετο εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν Συρίας λαβεῖν ἑαυτῷ ἐκεῖθεν γυναῖκα ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν αὐτόν καὶ ἐνετείλατο αὐτῷ λέγων Οὐ λήμψῃ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ τῶν θυγατέρων Χανάν, NETS: Now Esau saw that Isaak blessed Iakob and that he was on his way to Mesopotamia of Syria to take a wife from there for himself, that **as he was blessing him he also commanded** him, saying, "You shall not take a wife from the daughters of Chanaan..."

Context: This text is a part of the narrative concerning Esau and Iakob. As the text indicates, Isaak had blessed Iakob and sent him on his way to Mesopotamia to find a wife.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν is an adjunct that articulates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator καὶ ἐνετείλατο (he also commanded). Within the temporal boundary in which Isaak blessed Iakob, he issued him a command concerning a wife (see Figure 2.4.1.2). The prepositional phrase ἐν τῷ εὐλογεῖν makes anaphoric reference to the blessing mentioned directly after the ὅτι in 28:6: εὐλόγησεν Ἰσαὰκ τὸν Ἰακώβ (Isaak blessed Iakob). Therefore, the phrase communicates presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked as identifiable.

4.4.4. Genesis 32:20 (19)

וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־הַשָּׂנִי אֶת־הַשְּׁלִישִׁי אֶת־כָּל־הַהֲלָכִים אַחֲרֵי הָעֶזְרִים לְאֵמֶר פְּדָר הָהָה תִּדְבָּרוּן אֶל־עֵשָׂו
בְּמִצְאָתוֹ:

LXX: καὶ ἐνετείλατο τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς προπορευομένοις ὀπίσω τῶν ποιμνίων τούτων λέγων Κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο λαλήσατε Ἡσαὺ ἐν τῷ εὐρεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτόν.

NETS: And he commanded the first and the second and the third and all who were going on behind these flocks, saying, "Speak in accordance with this word to Esau **when you find him**.

Context: This text is a part of the narrative of Iakob's return to Chanaan when he met with his brother Esau after many years. He sent several herdsmen ahead of him after learning that Esau was on his way to meet him (32:6). The herdsmen were driving flocks of sheep, rams, and goats, and herds of cows, bulls, camels, donkeys, and foals as a gift for Esau. Iakob entrusted them with a message, explaining that all the flocks and herds were intended for him.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ εὐρεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator λαλήσατε (speak). Within the temporal boundary having to do with when they find Esau, the servants are to speak the message given by Iakob (see Figure 2.4.1.2). The Greek prepositional phrase cited above contains information that is presuppositional not only to the readers of Genesis, but also to the servants who hear Iakob's words. They are aware that they are being sent to bring a gift and a message to Esau. Naturally, they anticipate finding him. So, the prepositional phrase refers anaphorically to something in the text-external world (from the perspective of the hearers of Iakob's message). It refers to their task of finding Esau and offering him some of Iakob's flocks and herds. The translator of Genesis has grammaticalized this presuppositional information using a textual constituent that is active in the discourse register and marked for identifiability. It is a part of the utterance's topic.

4.4.5. Genesis 32:26 (25)

וַיֵּרָא כִּי לֹא יָכֹל לוֹ וַיִּגַע בְּכַף־יָרְכּוֹ וַתִּקַּע כַּף־יָרְךָ יַעֲקֹב בְּהִשָּׁתָּקוֹ עָמוּ:

LXX: εἶδεν δὲ ὅτι οὐ δύναται πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ἥψατο τοῦ πλάτους τοῦ μηροῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνάρκησεν τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ Ἰακώβ ἐν τῷ παλαίειν αὐτὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ.

NETS: And he saw that he was not powerful against him, and he touched the flat part of his thigh, and the flat part of Iakob's thigh became numb as he wrestled with him.

Context: This text is taken from the narrative of the wrestling match with Iakob.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ παλαίειν is an adjunct that modifies the finite verb ἐνάρκησεν and articulates the occasion in time when the flat part of Iakob's thigh became numb (ἐνάρκησεν τὸ πλάτος τοῦ μηροῦ Ἰακώβ). This is a temporal causal semantic relationship. The wrestling match with Iakob caused the numbness in his thigh (see Figure 2.4.1.4). The phrase ἐν τῷ παλαίειν refers anaphorically to the previous verse, where the same verb is used in finite form to communicate newly asserted information: καὶ ἐπάλαιεν ἄνθρωπος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἕως πρωῒ (and a man was wrestling with him until morning).

Therefore, when ἐν τῷ + infinitive is used in 32:26 (25), referring to information freshly activated in the discourse register in the previous verse, it is both presuppositional in terms of its ideational content and identifiable in terms of its text-linguistic form. The information belongs to the topic domain.

4.4.6. Genesis 34:22

אַחַד־בָּנֵי־יַאקֹב לָנוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים לְשִׁבְתָּ אֲתָנוּ לְהִיּוֹת לָעַם אֶחָד בְּהִמּוּל לָנוּ כְּלִי־זָכָר כְּאִשְׁרָהּ הֵם נִמְלִים:

LXX: μόνον ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοιωθήσονται ἡμῖν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τοῦ οἰκεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν ὥστε εἶναι λαὸν ἓνα, ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι ἡμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν, καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ περιτέμνηται.

NETS: Only in this will the people become like us to live with us so as to be one people, **when** every male of ours **is circumcised**, as they also have been circumcised.

Context: After the incident involving Iakob's daughter Dina, who was defiled by Sychem, Hemmor sought to arrange for the marriage of the two of them. Iakob's sons – particularly Symeon and Leui – in their response gave the impression that this could happen, and that they would settle and intermarry with the inhabitants of the land on the condition that the Chorrite (Hivite) men be circumcised. The terms were pleasing to Hemmor and Sychem, and Sychem quickly fulfilled his obligation because of his devotion to Dina. The text cited above, then, contains part of the speech by Hemmor and Sychem to the other Chorrite men in their city.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι has the finite verb ὁμοιωθήσονται as its predicator. The construction possesses a temporal causal relationship with its predicator; the relationship could also be described as conditional. In other words, if the Chorrite men fulfilled the condition of circumcision, it would cause Iakob's people to become one people with them. In this conditional causal relationship, there is also a temporal sequence (see Figure 2.4.1.6). So, the syntactic construction provides the occasion in time for its predicator with the more specific semantic relationship of temporal cause set within a conditional context.

The use of the phrase ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι is certainly presuppositional to readers who are privy to the agreement between Iakob's sons, Hemmor, and Sychem (cf. v. 15). However, it appears in a speech by Hemmor and Sychem to the other men in their city. This then indicates that the translator also considers this information to be presuppositional to the Chorrite men who heard the speech, even though they were not present when the agreement

was made. From Gen's perspective, it is not hard to assume that the Chorrite men would have heard the news of Sychem's circumcision. The Chorrites, then, would have possessed this information due to the realities of their text-external world, i.e., news spreading among them by word of mouth. So, when Hemmor and Sychem spoke, the other Chorrites would have cognitively identified the referent of ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι because they already knew what Sychem had done. However, the location of ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι within the structure of the text might give some pause for viewing it as presuppositional. After all, it is a clausal constituent in what is an assertion about how the Hebrews would become like Chorrites and dwell among them as one people. So, the construction appears to be in the focal position rather than in the topical position, which is unusual.

Lambrecht deals with this type of issue. In clarifying precisely what the focus of an utterance is, he states that, "The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech."²⁷² It is perhaps most plausible to view the information communicated by ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι as information that ought to be taken for granted, since the Chorrites had heard about Sychem's circumcision to obtain a bride. However, *who* would be circumcised so that the Hebrews and the Chorrites would become one people was not taken for granted. Therefore, this verse does not answer the question, "What must happen for the Hebrews to become like the Chorrites?" It answers the question, "Who must be circumcised for the Hebrews to become like the Chorrites?" It is a subtle distinction, but it fits best with the discourse pragmatics of how ἐν τῷ + infinitive is consistently used. The only information, then, that might be new is what follows ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι: every male of ours (ἡμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν), just as they also have been circumcised (καθὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ περιτέμνηται).²⁷³ Lambrecht refers to this type of focus-structure as argument-focus structure, which has as its core the identification of a referent.²⁷⁴ However, it is just as possible that the Chorrites were aware of this stipulation, as well. If that is the case, then it would not be new information.

²⁷² Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 207.

²⁷³ Ibid., 209-10. These pages give a more detailed explanation of the same issue.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 222ff.

4.4.7. Genesis 35:1

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל-יַעֲקֹב קוּם עָלֶיךָ בֵּית-אֵל וְשֹׁב-בְשִׁם וְעֲשֵׂה-שֵׁם מִן-בָּמֹת לְאֵל הַנֶּרְאָה אֵלֶיךָ בְּבֶרֶתְךָ מִפְּנֵי
עֲשֵׂוֹ אָחִיךָ:

LXX: Εἶπεν δὲ ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Ἰακώβ Ἀναστὰς ἀνάβηθι εἰς τὸν τόπον Βαιθήλ, καὶ οἴκει ἐκεῖ, καὶ ποιήσον ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήριον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὁφθέντι σοι **ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε** ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἑσαὺ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

NETS: Now God said to Iakob, “Arise, go up to the place Baithel, and reside there, and make an altar there to the God who appeared to you **when you were fleeing** from the presence of your brother Esau.”

Context: This text is a part of the Genesis narrative about Iakob. After Symeon and Leui had slaughtered the Chorrite men, God once again spoke to Iakob and commanded him to return to Baithel and make an altar (Gen. 35:1).

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time (temporal scope) for its predicator, the participle ὁφθέντι (appeared). It is within the temporal boundary in which Iakob was fleeing that God appeared to him (see Figure 2.4.1.2).

The referent for the Greek prepositional phrase was activated in the discourse register in Genesis 28. Therefore, ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε refers to a verbal antecedent that, from the perspective of the readers, is *no longer active* but is accessible several chapters earlier. But even though several chapters have already passed since the event that took place at Baithel, the speech continues a recurrent theme in the conversational register between God and Iakob: Iakob’s fear of Esau. Each conversation between God and Iakob before 35:1 is set against the background of flight from Esau in fear (28:2ff) or journeying towards Esau in fear (32:3-33:3). Iakob’s prayer mentions his fear of being killed by Esau the last time he spoke with God (32:11[12]), a fear that was understandable because of Esau’s murderous threat that had caused Iakob to flee in the first place (27:41-28:5). So, when ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε is used in 35:1, though its referent was several chapters prior, it picks up on the theme that has come to the fore in every conversation between God and Iakob. Iakob’s character develops and matures throughout the narrative, but his fear of his brother has continued with little change. In Genesis 35:1, then, *fleeing from Esau* is still active in the conversational register of God and Iakob. This would be akin to running into a friend at the grocery store and hearing about the damage caused by their recent house fire. The topic of the house fire would still be active in subsequent conversations with the friend, regardless of how much time had passed. In

Genesis 35:1, then, the use of the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction demonstrates that the translator was tracking conversations over several chapters and encoding IS based upon the pragmatic consideration of the interlocutors involved.

According to the IS encoded in the conversation between God and Iakob, God expected the information grammaticalized in the phrase ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε to be taken for granted by Iakob. As presuppositional information, it has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent that is active in the discourse register and marked for identifiability. The information is topical in the utterance.

4.4.8. Genesis 35:7

וַיִּבֶן שָׁם מִזְבֵּחַ וַיִּקְרָא לְמָקוֹם אֵל בֵּית־אֵל כִּי שָׁם נִגְלוּ אֵלָיו הַאֱלֹהִים בְּבָרָתוֹ מִפְּנֵי אֶסָּו׃

LXX: καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου Βαιθήλ· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπεφάνη αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἡσαὺ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ.

NETS: And there he built an altar and called the name of the place Baithel, for there God had revealed himself to him **when he was fleeing** from the presence of his brother Esau.

Context: This text is also part of the narrative in Genesis about Iakob. Genesis 35:7 records the event of Iakob returning and building the altar. He built it there because that is where God had revealed himself when Iakob was fleeing (ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτὸν) from Esau. This refers to the same event as that described in Genesis 35:1.

SS and IS: Ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν is an adjunct that modifies its predicator ἐπεφάνη and articulates its occasion in time (temporal scope). In other words, God *revealed* himself to Iakob within the temporal boundary of *when he was fleeing* from Esau. The prepositional phrase's use in Genesis 35:7 is understandable because, from the reader's perspective, its referent had just been reactivated in the discourse register in 35:1. So, it possessed an active status in 35:7, making its usage appropriate. The phrase ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτὸν, then, refers to presuppositional information that has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent that is active in the discourse register and therefore marked for identifiability. It is topical, as well.

4.5. 'En τῷ + Infinitive (Rendering Other Hebrew Constructions)

4.5.1. *Genesis 19:16*

וַיִּתְמַהֲמְהוּ וַיִּחְזְקוּ הָאַנְשִׁים בְּנֶדְוּ וּבְנִדְאֲשָׁתוֹ וּבְנִדְ שְׁתֵּי בָנֹתָיו בְּחִמְלַת²⁷⁵ תְּהָה עָלָיו וַיִּצְאָהוּ וַיִּנְחָהוּ
מִחוּץ לָעִיר:

LXX: καὶ ἐταράχθησαν· καὶ ἐκράτησαν οἱ ἄγγελοι τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν δύο θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ, ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι κύριον αὐτοῦ.

NETS: And they were confounded, and the angels seized his hand and his wife's hand and his two daughters' hands, **as the Lord spared him**.

Context: This text is a part of the narrative about the destruction of Sodoma and Gomorra. In the text's background is the discussion that took place between Abraam and God in Genesis 18. Abraam pleaded with the Lord to spare the cities of Sodoma and Gomorra if a certain number of righteous people were found in the cities. In the end, God agreed not to destroy the cities if as few as ten righteous people could be found. In chapter nineteen, Lot's reception of the angels contrasts with the Sodomites' reception. Lot did obeisance before them, welcomed them into his home, and prepared a feast. The Sodomites wanted to rape them. Privy to the conversation between Abraam and God in chapter eighteen, readers take it for granted that the Lord intended to spare Lot and destroy the Sodomites. Furthermore, the angels' words in 19:15 confirm that assumption: "Rise, take your wife and the two daughters whom you have, and get out, lest you also be destroyed together with the lawlessness of the city" (NETS).

SS and IS: Structurally, like other attestations of ἐν τῷ + infinitive, the prepositional phrase is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time for its predicator ἐκράτησαν (seized). It is debatable whether it more specifically communicates temporal scope or temporal cause. But the perfective verbal aspect of the infinitive (if it is an infinitive), perhaps leads one to view the phrase as communicating the temporal scope of its predicator (see Figure 2.4.1.2). Due to information that ought to be taken for granted as the narrative unfolds, ἐν τῷ φείσασθαι should be viewed as encoding presuppositional information that is already active in the discourse register. The construction most immediately makes anaphoric

²⁷⁵ This may *not* be an infinitive; if it is not, then Gen's usage of ἐν τῷ + infinitive may possibly have been because the Hebrew word appeared to him as an infinitive and not a noun. The word חִמְלָה is only used 2x in the Tanakh (Genesis 19:16; Isaiah 63:9).

reference to the angels' speech in 19:15, which demonstrates the Lord's intention to spare Lot and his family. Therefore, the phrase has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

4.5.2. *Genesis 34:15*

אַחֲרֵי־כֵן אָמַרְתָּ לְיִשְׁכָּרְיָהוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר

LXX: ἐν τούτῳ ὁμοιωθησόμεθα ὑμῖν καὶ κατοικήσομεν ἐν ὑμῖν, ἐὰν γένησθε ὡς ἡμεῖς καὶ ὑμεῖς **ἐν τῷ περιτμηθῆναι** ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν,

NETS: In this we will become like you and settle among you, if you, even you, become like us **when** every male of yours **has been circumcised**,

Context: After the incident in which Iakob's daughter Dina was defiled by Sychem, Hemmor sought to arrange a marriage between them. Iakob's sons – particularly Symeon and Leui – agree to give Dina in marriage, settle among the Chorrites, and intermarry with the inhabitants of the land on the condition that the Chorrite (Hivite) men be circumcised. This text is taken from Symeon and Leui's speech to Hemmor and Sychem.

SS and IS: Structurally, ἐν τῷ περιτμηθῆναι ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν²⁷⁶ is an adjunct that communicates the occasion in time (temporal cause) for its predicator γένησθε (become). In other words, when the circumcision occurs for every male, it would cause the Chorrites to become like the Hebrews (see Figure 2.4.1.6). The information encoded by ἐν τῷ περιτμηθῆναι ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν is anticipated by Symeon and Leui's words in the preceding verse, "We will not be able to carry out this matter, to give our sister to a man who has a foreskin, for it is a disgrace to us" (NETS). This information should be viewed as active in the discourse register (as a part of the schema activated by refusing to give their sister to a man with a foreskin) and presuppositional. Therefore, it has been grammaticalized using a textual constituent marked for identifiability.

Similar to the text in §4.4.6, on the surface, the syntactic construction appears to be newly asserted information. However, it must not be viewed in that manner. As it was stated above, Lambrecht deals with this type of issue. In clarifying precisely what the focus of an utterance is, he states that, "The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken

²⁷⁶ The Greek expression here could be harmonized to the Hebrew of the parallel statement in 34:22 (which uses אֲ + Infinitive). The Hebrew of the current verse is an epexegetical lamed plus infinitive, that may be understood in terms of the English gerund "by being circumcised."

for granted at the time of speech."²⁷⁷ It is perhaps most plausible to view the information communicated by ἐν τῷ περιτέμνεσθαι as information that ought to be taken for granted since Hemmor and Sychem had just heard that Dina would not be given to an uncircumcised man. The new state of information, then, is that the Hebrews will become like the Chorrites and settle among them if the Chorrites become like them. This new state of information is cognitively anchored to what is presuppositional, i.e., the topic of circumcision that was implicitly activated in the discourse register in 34:14. However, *who* would be circumcised so that the Hebrews and the Chorrites would become one people was not taken for granted. Therefore, like the discussion of the text in §4.4.6, this text does not answer the question, "What must happen for the Hebrews to become like the Chorrites." It answers the question, "Who must be circumcised for the Hebrews to become like the Chorrites." The assertion that brought a new state of information is that it was not just Sychem in taking Dina as a wife, but it is every male among them. It is a subtle distinction, but it fits best with the discourse pragmatics of how ἐν τῷ + infinitive is consistently used. Lambrecht refers to this type of focus-structure as argument-focus structure, which has as its core the identification of a referent.²⁷⁸

4.6. Summary

Structurally, ἐν τῷ + infinitive is most typically an adjunct in LXX Genesis. However, the construction is a complement in two passages (19:33 and 19:35). Semantically, though, it always indicates occasion in time for its predicator. More specific semantic nuances are dependent on the lexemes used in different contexts. Sometimes the nuance is causal, sometimes limitative (providing temporal scope). At times, the contexts are reporting events, while at other times, they are conditional. Pragmatically, though, the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction always communicates presuppositional information that is marked for identifiability with the article. This usage is consistent with that in the compositional Greek texts discussed in chapter three.

²⁷⁷ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 207.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 222ff.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF OTHER GREEK RENDERINGS

"[H]is linguistic skills are demonstrated through his semantic differentiation and his ability to use a variety of Greek terms or expressions depending on contextual demands."²⁷⁹

– Mark W. Scarlatta

5.1. Introduction

In the introduction of this thesis, it was stated that Septuagint Greek should be analyzed in relation to contemporary PC Greek and the underlying Hebrew source text. This task requires investigation of Greek compositional corpora and the LXX's Hebrew source text, particularly regarding how each Hebrew construction was rendered using various Greek lexemes and phrases in ways that made sense to the translator. Mark Scarlatta remarks, "Although the translator of Genesis closely adhered to the Hebrew text, his linguistic skills are demonstrated through his semantic differentiation and his ability to use a variety of Greek terms or expressions depending on contextual demands."²⁸⁰ The goal in chapter three was to explain how ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used in PC compositional corpora contemporaneous with the LXX. The comparison of those texts with LXX Genesis demonstrates that Gen used ἐν τῷ + infinitive with the same discourse pragmatic function and structural semantics. He used a natural Greek syntactic construction in a manner consistent with its conventional usage. The renderings in LXX Genesis routinely pay attention to what is taking place in the narrative beyond the level of the sentence, even tracking a conversation over several chapters to give a rendering that best communicates the information status of a certain constituent that is still active in the discourse register from the perspective of the conversation's interlocutors. This is perhaps one indication that Gen considered the broader discourse context when rendering the Hebrew text.

There were several other renderings that Gen used for the Hebrew אֶת + infinitive construction. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to analyze every one of those texts. However, having some understanding of the way those other Greek renderings function in the Greek linguistic system can also further reinforce what the textual data has shown about

²⁷⁹ Mark W. Scarlatta, "Genesis," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 13-28, here 16-17.

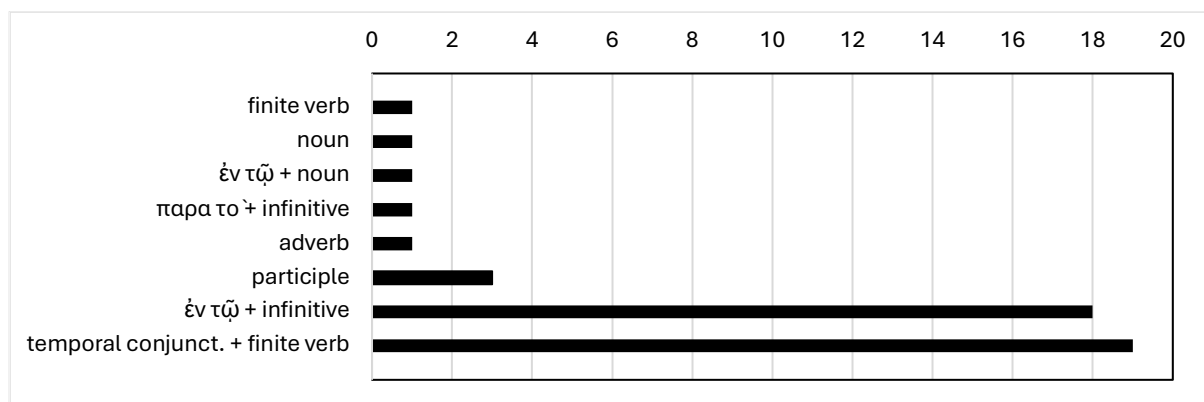
²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

ἐν τῷ + infinitive. This opens the window wider into the translation technique used in LXX Genesis. The reason why one equivalent was used to the exclusion of others, as mentioned earlier, is certainly multidimensional and involves several factors.²⁸¹ It is impossible to completely know the rationale behind every rendering. However, in this thesis, that issue is addressed from the perspective of IS analysis. From that perspective, choosing one rendering and thus not choosing another would have been determined by discourse pragmatic concerns. It would not have been an arbitrary decision. Even though ἐν τῷ + infinitive exhibits close formal correspondence with פֿ + infinitive, there would have been compelling reasons in certain contexts to choose particular renderings because of the discourse context. Therefore, knowing how the other translation equivalents function will also further clarify the differences between ἐν τῷ + infinitive and פֿ + infinitive. The Hebrew construction was more flexible and less marked from a discourse pragmatic perspective.

Simon Dik has stated, "Whenever there is some overt difference between two constructions X and Y, start out on the assumption that this difference has some kind of functionality in the linguistic system."²⁸² Cross-linguistically, grammatical structure provides various ways to communicate the same ideational content. However, structures vary depending on discourse pragmatic needs. In languages like AG, in which syntax constitutes one means of encoding IS, different syntactic constructions often instantiate different pragmatic functions. This was true of the renderings that were used to translate the Hebrew פֿ + infinitive construction, which occurs 45x in Genesis. The frequencies of the various renderings used to translate the Hebrew construction are depicted in the table below.

²⁸¹ Dhont, "Septuagint Translation Technique and Jewish Hellenistic Exegesis," 24.

²⁸² Simon C. Dik, *The Theory of Functional Grammar, Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*, 2nd ed., ed. Kees Hengeveld (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), 18.

Table 5.1: Frequency of Renderings for $\tau\omega\iota$ + infinitive in LXX Genesis

Within AG as a linguistic system, there were choices about the utilization of linguistic forms based on how a language producer wanted to construe the pragmatic salience of a constituent. Pragmatic salience is unrelated to inherent salience but instead depends on what the language producer desires to accentuate or not. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, accentuation is distinct from focus, although there is some relationship. An utterance's focus, by default, possesses pragmatic salience and is therefore typically grammaticalized using certain linguistic forms that are more marked for accentuation. However, topical constituents can also be construed with greater or lesser degrees of pragmatic salience according to the way grammatical forms function within the linguistic system. This means that certain forms marked for accentuation can be utilized to communicate the same ideational content as other forms that are unmarked for accentuation. Katja Hetterle has argued that adverbial clauses "in a language can show different degrees of downgrading," so that there is "a continuum approach to subordination."²⁸³ She argues that adverbial phrases and clauses created using participles and infinitives, for example, are more downgraded than constructions using finite verbs.²⁸⁴ The more downgraded a construction, the less accentuation or pragmatic salience it would possess. This is another area in which syntax and IS intersect. Different choices within the linguistic system are found within what Hetterle labels a "downgrading hierarchy."²⁸⁵

²⁸³ Katja Hetterle, *Adverbial Clauses in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 155.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 155. She views nominalized forms as having the highest degree of downgrading (170). Therefore, they would have the least amount of pragmatic salience unless located within an utterance's focus.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 147-196. She discusses the downgrading hierarchy in the entire chapter.

This hierarchy can be viewed as conceptualizing what linguistic forms are used for the most pragmatically salient information and what forms are used for the least pragmatically salient information. Information that is active in the discourse register is typically grammaticalized with no accentuation because it is freshly lit up in a listener's consciousness and therefore requires less salient linguistic marking to be cognitively recalled. However, a language producer can choose to grammaticalize an active constituent using an accentuated form if there is a desire to give that constituent greater pragmatic salience. This often happens for states of affairs that possess inherent salience, even though the information is already active in the discourse register. Often, these states of affairs are communicated at the beginning of a discourse unit in presentational sentences or at the end of a discourse unit in a summary statement. So, the inherent salience and position in the discourse make it appropriate to use a linguistic form that is marked for elevated pragmatic salience.

For Gen, choosing to use one rendering as opposed to others within the downgrading hierarchy was a choice to present the constituent with greater or lesser degrees of pragmatic salience. It is difficult to arrange the renderings in *Figure 5.1* in a strict hierarchy since not all the forms can function structurally in the same manner. The following, though, is an attempt to construct a downgrading hierarchy of finite verbs, non-finite verbs, and nominals that were used as renderings for $\tau\omega\iota$ + infinitive, starting with those that might be used for the most pragmatically salient information and then proceeding to those that might be used for the least pragmatically salient information: 1) finite verb, 2) temporal conjunction + finite verb, 3) participle, 4a) $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega\iota$ + infinitive,²⁸⁶ 4b) $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha \tau\omega$ + infinitive, 4c) adverb, 5) $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega$ + noun, 6) noun. Representative examples of each translation equivalent will be discussed below.

²⁸⁶ Using Hetterle's insight – cited above – that there is "a continuum approach to subordination," I regard $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega\iota$ + infinitive to be more downgraded than a participle. I base this conclusion on the data in chapter three where five texts with $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega\iota$ + infinitive subordinated to a participle (Polybius, *The Histories* 2.29.3, 2.32.10, 2.79.10, 4.64.7, P.Koeln 8.327 text 2). The same, therefore, would be true of every preposition + article + infinitive such as $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha \tau\omega$ + infinitive. I also conclude – and this is less relevant for this chapter – that $\epsilon\nu \tau\omega$ + infinitive is more downgraded than a simple infinitive since the textual data also show that this construction can be subordinated to an infinitive (Polybius, *The Histories* 3.89.6; I. Prose 30).

5.2. Discourse Pragmatic Function of Other Greek Renderings

5.2.1. Finite Verb

(1) Genesis 42:15

בְּאֵת תְּבַקְּנוּנִי הָיָה פְּרִיעָה אֶם-תִּצָּצֶה מִן הַמָּוֶה אִם-בְּבֹיֶה אֶחָיִכֶם הִקְלֵן הַנֶּה:

LXX: ἐν τούτῳ φανεῖσθε· νῆ τὴν ὑγίειαν Φαραώ, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθητε ἐντεῦθεν, ἐὰν μὴ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ὑμῶν ὁ νεώτερος ἔλθῃ ὧδε.

NETS: In this you shall manifest yourselves: by the health of Pharaο, you shall not depart from this place unless your younger brother **comes** here!

This is the only place in LXX Genesis where a finite verb is used to render $\text{ב} + \text{infinitive}$. In the context, Joseph was speaking to his brothers when they first came to buy grain in Egypt. They had informed him of their father's health and their younger brother Benjamin. Joseph then accused them of being spies as a pretense for demanding that Benjamin be brought to Egypt. The information grammaticalized by ἔλθῃ possesses a different pragmatic status than what was seen previously in texts with ἐν τῷ + infinitive. The verb communicates newly asserted information, and therefore, it was fitting to use a linguistic form that was marked for accentuation. Runge has stated, "The finite action is the most prominent one."²⁸⁷ Therefore, newly asserted information is often communicated using a finite verb. Newly asserted information can also be grammaticalized using non-finite forms, however, the information possesses more accentuation when a finite verb is used. As newly asserted information in a conditional clause, the finite verb is a part of the clause's focus, what Lambrecht calls predicate-focus structure.²⁸⁸

5.2.2. Temporal Conjunction + Finite Verb

As Figure 5.1 indicates, a temporal conjunction + finite verb was used 19x as a rendering for $\text{ב} + \text{infinitive}$ in LXX Genesis. The translator employed either ὅτε + finite verb or ἡνίκα + finite verb with no apparent distinction in choice between the two temporal conjunctions. Therefore, this syntactic construction was the most frequent rendering, being used 1x more than ἐν τῷ + infinitive. There are clear similarities in the structural semantics of a temporal conjunction + finite verb and ἐν τῷ + infinitive, and there are also clear differences in the way the two syntactic constructions function pragmatically. Like the example above

²⁸⁷ Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, 245.

²⁸⁸ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 222. Lambrecht states that the predicate-focus structure is the default focus-structure.

involving a finite verb, the choice of a temporal conjunction + finite verb also signals elevated pragmatic salience, and thus accentuation. From the perspective of IS, there are some plausible reasons for going with this option to signal elevated pragmatic salience. One reason is that the construction is appropriate to use when grammaticalizing newly asserted information. Its use in passages like Gen. 42:15 discussed above is fitting because the newly asserted information is grammaticalized utilizing a form appropriate to its discourse pragmatic status. There are four places in LXX Genesis (Gen. 30:42; 36:24; 42:21; 45:1) in which a temporal conjunction + finite verb is employed, ostensibly for this reason. Consider the following passage, taken from Esau's genealogy in Genesis 36, as a good example of how the construction grammaticalizes newly asserted information:

(2) Genesis 36:24

וְאֵלֶּה בְּנֵי־צִבְעֹן וְאֵתָהּ וַעֲגָה הָיָה עִנָּה אֲשֶׁר מָצָא אֶת־הַיָּמִם בְּמִדְבָּר בְּרִעְתָּן אֶת־הַחֲמֹרִים לְצִבְעֹן אָבִיו:
 LXX: καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ Σεβεγών· Αἰὲ καὶ Ὠνά· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Ὠνάς, ὃς εὗρεν τὸν Ἰαμὶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, **ὅτε ἔνεμεν** τὰ ὑποζύγια Σεβεγών τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.
 NETS: And these are the sons of Sebegon: Aie and Onan; this is the Onas who found Iamin in the wilderness, **when he was pasturing** the draft animals of his father Sebegon.

Most of the sons mentioned in the genealogy have no role in the unfolding narrative in Genesis. The names and relevant details about them are only mentioned here. Therefore, the information communicated about them is generally newly asserted. The syntactic construction ὅτε ἔνεμεν renders בְּ + infinitive (בְּרִעְתָּן) and is likewise newly asserted. It gives important information about the text's focal constituent—that is, it provides the occasion in time for its predicator εὗρεν (the same structural semantics as for ἐν τῷ + infinitive). It has been rendered, though, using a syntactic construction that makes its elevated pragmatic salience apparent as newly asserted information.

A second reason for choosing a temporal conjunction + finite verb to signal elevated pragmatic salience concerns the state of affairs being communicated. As mentioned above, information that is active in the discourse register is typically grammaticalized with no accentuation because it is freshly lit up in a listener's consciousness. Therefore, the information requires less salient linguistic marking to be cognitively recalled. A language producer, though, can choose to encode an active constituent using an accentuated form if there is a desire to give that constituent greater pragmatic salience. To use the metalanguage

of IS analysis, this has less to do with the speaker's perception of the listener's cognitive state (such as presupposition and assertion) and more to do with *what the speaker wants the listener to perceive as important*. As mentioned previously, this is not only done with focus constituents but with topic constituents, as well.²⁸⁹ This often happens for states of affairs that possess inherent salience – and therefore greater importance within the overall flow of a discourse – even though the information may already be active in the discourse register. As it will be seen below, these states of affairs are routinely communicated at discourse boundaries, either at the beginning of a discourse unit in a presentational sentence or at the end of a discourse unit in a summary statement. In the employment of a temporal conjunction + finite verb in LXX Genesis, the states of affairs occupy these positions within discourse units because they provide inherently salient temporal information about the entire discourse unit.

Table 5.2.2: Temporal conjunction + Finite Verb Rendering Salient States of Affairs

Reference	State of Affairs (<i>When</i> + ...)	Predicator + Arguments	Position in Discourse Unit
Gen. 2:4	creation originated	"This is the book of the origin of heaven and earth"	beginning
Gen. 12:4	movement from Mesopotamia	"Abram was seventy-five years"	beginning
Gen. 16:16	Hagar bore Ismael	"Abram was eighty-six years"	end
Gen. 17:24	Abraam circumcised himself	"Abraam was ninety-nine years"	end
Gen. 17:25	Abraam circumcised Ismael	"his son Ismael was thirteen years"	end
Gen. 21:5	Isaak was born	"Abraam was a hundred years"	<i>middle</i>
Gen. 25:20	Isaak took Rebekka	"Isaak was forty years"	beginning
Gen. 25:26	Rebekka bore sons	"Isaak was sixty years"	end
Gen. 33:18	movement from Mesopotamia	"Iakob came to Salem"	beginning
Gen. 34:25	Chorrites were in circumcision pain	"Symeon and Leui took each one his dagger and entered into the city"	beginning
Gen. 35:9	arrival from Mesopotamia	"God appeared to Iakob"	beginning

²⁸⁹ Lambrecht, *Information Structure and Sentence Form*, 325.

Gen. 35:22	Israel dwelt in the land	"Rouben went and lay with Balla"	beginning
Gen. 38:5	Ioudas's wife bore sons	"she was in Chasbi"	end
Gen. 41:46	Ioseph stood before Pharaο	"Ioseph was thirty years"	beginning
Gen. 48:7	movement from Mesopotamia	"your mother Rachel died"	end

Additionally, when the information in these states of affairs is communicated using a temporal conjunction + finite verb as a rendering for $\text{ἐν} + \text{infinitive}$, the Genesis texts indicate that the information does nothing to move the narrative forward within the internal sequence of events. Levinsohn notes that this type of information creates an "action discontinuity" in narrative.²⁹⁰ This is not unusual for information that is presuppositional, as the previous analysis of $\text{ἐν} \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$ has demonstrated. In a sense, the information functions as a sort of temporal topic announcement, what perhaps might be labelled the discourse unit's temporal frame topic,²⁹¹ locating other events (some or all) in the discourse unit within its temporal frame of reference. The data seems to indicate, then, that there is a distinction in the usage of a temporal conjunction + finite verb and $\text{ἐν} \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$. Whereas $\text{ἐν} \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$ communicates less pragmatically salient information that provides the occasion in time for its predicator as *one event* in the internal sequence of a discourse unit, a temporal conjunction + finite verb (grammaticalizing an inherently salient state of affairs) communicates the occasion in time for *a sequence of events* in a discourse unit. Therefore, the information plays a much bigger role pragmatically due to its importance within the flow of the discourse. A close examination of the texts in LXX Genesis will confirm this generalization about the discourse function of a temporal conjunction + finite verb compared to the $\text{ἐν} \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$ construction. Consider the following textual example:

(3) Genesis 33:18

וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֹם עִיר שְׁכֵם אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן בְּבֹאָו מִפְּדֹן אָרָם וַיֵּחַן אֶת־פָּנָי הָעִיר:

²⁹⁰ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 188. He writes, "...action discontinuities are to be discerned when a sentence describes an event that fails to move the narrative forward to the next action in sequence. This happens when simultaneous events or restatements are involved."

²⁹¹ The term "frame topic" is taken from Daniel Büring, "(Contrastive) Topic," in *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, eds. Caroline Féry and Shinichiro Ishihara (Oxford: Oxford University, 2016), 64-85, here 84.

LXX: καὶ ἦλθεν Ἰακώβ εἰς Σαλήμ πόλιν Σικίμων, ἥ ἐστὶν ἐν γῇ Χανάν, **ὅτε ἦλθεν** ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας Συρίας, καὶ παρενέβαλεν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πόλεως.

NETS: And Iakob came to Salem, a city of Sikima, which is in the land of Chanaan, **when he came** from Mesopotamia of Syria, and he encamped facing the city.

This text is taken from a short discourse unit in Genesis 33:18-20. Although ὅτε ἦλθεν ("when he came") structurally modifies the predicator ἦλθεν at the beginning of 33:18, semantically all the other predicators in the discourse unit also happen within its temporal scope. The entire unit states, "And Iakob *came* to Salem, a city of Sikima, which is in the land of Chanaan, when he came [ὅτε ἦλθεν] from Mesopotamia of Syria, and he *encamped* facing the city. And from Hemmora, Sychem's father, he *acquired* for one hundred lambs the portion of the field, there where he had set up his tent, and there he *set up* an altar and *invoked* the God of Israel" (33:18-20). So, the sequence of events in the discourse unit – Iakob *came* to Salem, *encamped*, *acquired* the portion of the field, *set up* an altar, and *invoked* God – all occur within the temporal scope of ὅτε ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ("when he came from Mesopotamia"). It is appropriate that states of affairs that are more inherently salient, such as Iakob's movement from Mesopotamia, would be encoded using a syntactic structure that is more pragmatically salient, accentuating its pragmatic status to fit with its significance in the narrative.

5.2.3. Participle

LXX Genesis contains three texts in which a participle is used as a rendering for $\text{ἔν} + \text{infinitive}$ (Gen. 27:5; 30:38; 50:17). These texts do not use the participle as a circumstantial frame on the left periphery, a common occurrence in compositional Greek. Gen could have employed participles in this manner when translating $\text{ἔν} + \text{infinitive}$ so long as fidelity to the Hebrew word order allowed for that, but Gen instead chose a temporal conjunction + finite verb or $\text{ἐν} \tau\omega + \text{infinitive}$ to create a frame on the left periphery. All three texts that use a participle employ it in the post-nuclear position, following the Hebrew *Vorlage's* word order. While this does not affect semantics, there is a pragmatic difference between pre-nuclear and post-nuclear participle positions. Levinsohn argues that the pre-nuclear anarthrous participle always grammaticalizes background information. However, this is not necessarily true for the

post-nuclear anarthrous participle,²⁹² especially when these participles illuminate an additional aspect of the nuclear state of affairs or communicate newly asserted information connected to the nuclear state of affairs. Pragmatically, then, Levinsohn argues that there is *continuity* of situation between the nuclear state of affairs and the state of affairs grammaticalized by the participle.²⁹³

It needs to be reiterated that the same ideational content that could be communicated with ἐν τῷ + infinitive can also be communicated using a participle. Apart from any pragmatic considerations, ἐν τῷ + infinitive could be replaced with a participle in every text in chapters two and three without any effect on semantics. However, ἐν τῷ + infinitive is syntactically marked as an identifiable textual constituent. Anarthrous participles, in contrast, are not syntactically marked as identifiable textual constituents, therefore participles can either communicate presuppositional information or newly asserted information. Pragmatically, they are more flexible. However, none of the passages in LXX Genesis in which a participle is used as a rendering for ᾗ + infinitive communicate newly asserted information.

Furthermore, this thesis argues that ἐν τῷ + infinitive makes explicit a temporal relationship with its predicator (whether considered temporal scope or temporal cause), whereas an anarthrous participle only grammaticalizes circumstantial information about its predicator. Any conclusion concerning a participle's semantic relationship with its predicator as indicating attendant circumstance, cause, concession, condition, manner, means, purpose, or time must be concluded from the context.²⁹⁴ Participles, then, are also more flexible semantically compared to the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction. Every semantic relationship that can be grammaticalized using various Greek prepositions + article + infinitive can be grammaticalized using a participle. Preposition + article + infinitive grammaticalizes a more specific semantic relationship that is determined by the semantics of the *preposition* and the *lexical semantics* of the infinitive and its predicator. But participles are more semantically dependent on context. Therefore, the semantic relationship between participle and predicator

²⁹² Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 181.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 13, fn 10.

²⁹⁴ Robert W. Funk, *A Beginning-Intermediate Grammar of Hellenistic Greek. Part II: Syntax* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1973), 669.

is determined by *context* and the *lexical semantics* of participle and predicator. Albert Rijksbaron says concerning participles in adjunctive phrases, "The interpretation of such participle constructions is determined by the context and by the semantic characteristics of the states of affairs involved. Some of these various semantic functions may be made explicit by means of adverbs occurring either with the participle or with the main verb."²⁹⁵ Consider the following passages in which a participle is used to translate the Hebrew $\text{פ} + \text{infinitive}$ in LXX Genesis:

(4) Genesis 50:17

וַיִּבְכֶּה יוֹסֵף בְּדִבְרֵם אֲלָיו:

LXX: καὶ ἔκλαυσεν Ἰωσήφ **λαλούντων** αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτόν.

NETS: And Ioseph wept as they were speaking to him.

The participle in this verse is the head of a genitive absolute construction. It contains presuppositional information that is already active in the discourse register, as Ioseph's brothers' speech has been reported in the preceding verses. As mentioned above, the construction is unmarked syntactically for identifiability. So, the fact that *λαλούντων* grammaticalizes an identifiable textual constituent is only apparent from the context. The NETS translation inserts "as" to plausibly render the semantic relationship²⁹⁶ between the predicator *ἔκλαυσεν* and *λαλούντων*. This indicates temporal scope. In other words, it is within the temporal boundary of their speech to him that he wept. Ioseph's weeping ostensibly continued after they stopped speaking. It might be rendered, "And Ioseph wept *because* they were speaking to him." But that would be less accurate since Ioseph wept not because they were speaking to him, but because of their speech's content. Regardless, *λαλούντων αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτόν* gives circumstantial information about Ioseph's weeping. Since it involves a participle, there is continuity between the nuclear state of affairs, Ioseph's weeping, and the genitive absolute's state of affairs. This continuity would not have been present had the translator used *ἐν τῷ + infinitive*.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁵ Albert Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek: An Introduction*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 122.

²⁹⁶ Genitive absolute constructions are structurally independent of the nuclear clause, but semantically dependent.

²⁹⁷ See Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, 188-189.

5.2.4. Παρὰ τό + Infinitive

LXX Genesis has one text that employs παρὰ τό + infinitive as a rendering for עַל + infinitive (Gen. 29:20). The Greek construction is very similar to that of ἐν τῷ + infinitive from an IS perspective. Both constructions grammaticalize presuppositional information that is marked syntactically for identifiability. Such information is already active in the discourse register and belongs to an utterance's topical domain. However, it grammaticalizes a specific relationship with its predicator that is different than that associated with ἐν τῷ + infinitive. Generally, παρὰ τό + infinitive indicates a *cause* or *motive* that is associated, at least in the LXX, with abstract states of affairs (cf. Deut 7:8; 9:28; 2 Rgns 10:3).²⁹⁸ So there is some overlap in this regard with the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction, but παρὰ τό + infinitive does not grammaticalize any sort of temporal nuance in its semantic relationship with its predicator; it is very close in this respect to the causal function that is encoded with διὰ τό + infinitive. The following example also illustrates how the Hebrew עַל + infinitive construction can be used to indicate cause.

(5) Genesis 29:20

וַיַּעֲבֹד יַעֲקֹב בְּרַחֵל שִׁבְעָ שָׁנִים וַיְהִי כִּעֲיִנִּי כִּנְאֻמִּים בְּאֵתָהּ אֵתָהּ:

LXX: καὶ ἐδούλευσεν Ἰακώβ περὶ Ῥαχὴλ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐπτά, καὶ ἦσαν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡμέραι ὀλίγαι **παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτήν.**

NETS: And Iakob was subject seven years for Rachel, and they were in his sight like a few days **because he loved her.**

Genesis 29:18 states, "Now *Iakob loved Rachel*, and he said, 'I will be subject to you seven years for your younger daughter Rachel.'" The construction παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτήν, then, refers to the clause "Iakob loved Rachel" anaphorically. Therefore, the syntactic construction grammaticalizes presuppositional information using an identifiable textual constituent. As argued above, it creates a causal semantic relationship with its predicator. Thus, the construction explains what caused the seven years of labor to seem like a few days in Iakob's sight. Παρὰ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτήν does not encode any sort of event, activity, or accomplishment that can function to communicate the temporal cause or scope of a

²⁹⁸ This is consistent with one example of παρὰ τό + accusative according to LSJ, "more generally of the margin *by* which an event occurs, i.e. of the necessary and sufficient cause or motive" (Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996], 1304).

predicator in the narrative like ἐν τῷ + infinitive can. It communicates an abstract emotional state that is causal.

5.2.5. Adverb

There is only one passage in LXX Genesis that employs an adverb as a rendering for אָ + infinitive. Adverbs are typically not used in the LXX to render that Hebrew construction, but due to the context of the verse, it is appropriate. Generally, the Hebrew אָ + infinitive construction provides adverbial information, so an adverb can be appropriately used as a functional equivalent.

(6) Genesis 35:17

וַיְהִי בְּהַקְשָׁתָהּ בְּלִדְתָּהּ וַתֹּאמֶר לָהּ הַמַּיְלֶדֶת אֶל־תִּירְאִי כִּי־גַם־יָהּ לְךָ בֵּן:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ σκληρῶς αὐτὴν τίκτειν εἶπεν αὐτῇ ἡ μαῖα Θάρσει, καὶ γὰρ οὗτός σοί ἐστιν υἱός.

NETS: And it came about while she was giving birth **with difficulty** that the midwife said to her, "Take courage, for this one also is a son for you."

In this verse that was discussed in chapter four, ἐν τῷ + infinitive is employed to render the second of two consecutive אָ + infinitive constructions (בְּהַקְשָׁתָהּ בְּלִדְתָּהּ). The second one is rendered using ἐν τῷ + infinitive, and the first one — the intransitive Hiphil — is rendered using the adverb.

5.2.6. 'En τῷ + Noun

There is a single instance in Genesis in which ἐν τῷ + noun is the counterpart to אָ + infinitive. There is no semantic or pragmatic difference between ἐν τῷ + infinitive and ἐν τῷ + noun, especially when the noun itself semantically predicates a verbal process. Consider the following text:

(7) Gen. 35:16

וַיְהִי־עַד מָבִית אֵל גִּן־הַיְעוֹד בְּבֶרֶת־הָאָרֶץ לְבֹא אֶפְרָתָה וַתֵּלֶד רָחֵל וַתִּקֶּשׁ בְּלִדְתָּהּ:

LXX: ἐγένετο δὲ ἡνίκα ἤγγισεν χαβράθα εἰς γῆν ἐλθεῖν Ἐφράθα, ἔτεκεν Παχὴλ καὶ ἐδυστόκησεν ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ.

NETS: Now it came about when he drew near Chabratha to go to the land of Ephratha, that Rachel gave birth, and she experienced severe birth pangs **in the birth**.

The construction ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ communicates a verbal process with the noun τοκετός (birth). This is evident from the noun's lexical semantics and from the fact that it possesses the same denotation as the finite verb in the preceding nuclear clause ἔτεκεν ("gave birth"). The following verse, Genesis 35:17 (cf. §5.2.5; also discussed in chapter four), uses ἐν τῷ +

infinitive in describing the same event. Like ἐν τῷ + τίκειν, ἐν τῷ τοκετῷ refers anaphorically to presuppositional information. Its text-internal antecedent is ἔτεκεν, information that was newly asserted in the previous clause using a finite verb. Since the information is freshly lit up in the reader's consciousness, it is then encoded using a textual constituent marked for identifiability. Why, then, would the translator use ἐν τῷ + noun instead of ἐν τῷ + infinitive? While one cannot be certain, the fact that there are three Hebrew בָּ + infinitive constructions in proximity to one another in Genesis 35:16-17 (one at the end of 35:16 and two near the beginning of 35:17) may have something to do with it. Only וַיְהִי at the beginning of 35:17 separates the three constructions. Therefore, due to that proximity, it may not be surprising that the translator, for the sake of Greek style, would choose to render one construction using ἐν τῷ + noun, one with ἐν τῷ + infinitive, and one with an adverb.²⁹⁹ He has therefore translated the text's meaning accurately with a variety of Greek renderings.

5.2.7. Noun

Finally, there is a single passage in LXX Genesis in which a noun appears as a counterpart to בָּ + infinitive.

(8) Genesis 21:16

וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתֵּשֶׁב לָהּ מִנְּגַד הַרְחֵק כְּמַטְחָנִי קִשְׁת׃ כִּי אָמְרָהּ אֶל־אֶרְצָהּ בְּמֹות הַיָּלֵד וַתֵּשֶׁב מִנְּגַד אֶת־קֶלֶהּ וַתִּבְכֶּה׃

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

NETS: And after departing she sat down opposite him a good way off, about a bowshot, for she said, "I will not look upon **the death** of my child." And she was seated opposite him, and the child cried out and wept.

One English translation renders Hagar's words in the Hebrew text, "Do not let me see *when* the child *dies*" (LSB). This translation perhaps captures the temporal nuance encoded with בָּ + infinitive. However, Gen decided to use a rendering that is structurally less complex than ἐν τῷ + infinitive, though he still appropriately conveyed the meaning of the text. There

²⁹⁹ See Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have– and Be– Constructions*, 17. Bentein discusses how periphrastic constructions were sometimes used for style variation. If *varatio* can explain the text-linguistic make-up of compositional texts, it can perhaps explain some of the renderings chosen by the LXX translators, as well.

may have been some structural reasons for not using ἐν τῷ + infinitive since generally this construction is employed as an adjunct, though there are some scattered examples of its usage as a complement.³⁰⁰ This may be an example, then, in which the translator chose a particular rendering because it was the simplest solution. It could also be the case that Gen read the Hebrew word as a noun, which is quite possible, and read the אַ prefix as a marker of the object.

5.3. Summary

In the discussion regarding the rendering of the Hebrew אַ + infinitive construction, this chapter has data in support of the quotation at the beginning of the chapter that the translator used "a variety of Greek terms or expressions depending on contextual demands."³⁰¹ Discourse pragmatics certainly played a role in determining what renderings were chosen. Most obvious, perhaps, is the distinction between the choice of a finite verb – whether it be a finite verb by itself (1x) or temporal conjunction + finite verb (19x) – and that of ἐν τῷ + infinitive. The textual data have demonstrated, especially concerning these constructions, that the translator appears to have kept the discourse context in mind when considering what terms and expressions to utilize. Even though ἐν τῷ + infinitive provided the most formally quantitative rendering of the grammatical forms of the Hebrew, it did not become a stereotype due to its IS status within the AG linguistic system.

³⁰⁰ In the twelve occurrences of ἐν τῷ + infinitive in Polybius discussed in chapter three, two are in the complement position. Of the twenty-three cases in LXX Genesis, only two are in the complement position. The papyri and inscriptions attest no examples.

³⁰¹ Scarlatta, "Genesis," 17.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION A WINDOW INTO TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

“If the translator varies his rendering according to the context, then his attention to the context is a form of consistency.”³⁰²

– Theo A. W. van der Louw

6.1. Summary of Findings

To provide a small window into the translation technique used in LXX Genesis, I have attempted to examine the way a single syntactic construction was used in various PC Greek corpora. For this investigation, two compositional corpora (PC literary texts and PC documentary sources) were compared to LXX Genesis. There are many differences in these texts in terms of sentence structure. Polybius and authors of epigraphic texts typically employ more complex sentence structures and levels of subordination, while papyri and LXX Genesis contain simpler sentence structures with a higher frequency of finite verbs. However, the structural semantics and discourse pragmatic function of ἔν τῷ + infinitive were consistent throughout these corpora despite the variation in syntactic complexity.

Although the primary goal of this thesis has been to investigate the discourse pragmatic function of ἔν τῷ + infinitive, IS analysis cannot be neatly separated from structural semantics.³⁰³ Structural semantics provides the basis for understanding the meaning of linguistic structures, while IS builds upon this foundation in the exploration of how those structures are used to convey information effectively in different discourse contexts. Therefore, the structural semantics of the ἔν τῷ + infinitive construction have been prominent in the linguistic analysis of this thesis. As the textual data have shown, this construction is most frequently an adjunct. Yet both Polybius and LXX Genesis provide examples in which the construction is a complement. However, the semantic relationship with a predicator – whether adjunct or complement – has consistently been described as *occasion in time* with certain more specific nuances. It has been argued that these nuances – *temporal scope* and *temporal cause* – are contingent on the lexical semantics of both ἔν τῷ +

³⁰² Theo A. W. van der Louw, “The Evolution of the Greek Genesis Translator,” in *Die Septuaginta – Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz*, eds. Martin Meiser, Michaela Geiger, Siegfried Kreuzer, and Marcus Sigismund (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 146-57, here 149.

³⁰³ Levinsohn, *Discourse Features of New Testament Greek*, viii.

infinitive and its predicator. This provides a clearer perspective than that of some grammarians, as has been argued in chapter two. It has been noted that they regard the ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction itself to grammaticalize in every instance a particular semantic relationship with its predicator in certain corpora of AG. The argument is that CG employs ἐν τῷ + infinitive to indicate cause, and the LXX uses it distinctively to indicate temporality, borrowing from the structural semantics of Hebrew. However, in this thesis, it has been argued that this construction only encodes meaning based on the lexical semantics of the infinitive and its predicator, constrained by the syntax of the prepositional phrase.

Pragmatically, the textual data have shown that ἐν τῷ + infinitive is prototypically used to grammaticalize presuppositional information in discourse. This is information that a speaker intends to be taken for granted because it represents common ground assumptions shared by the speaker and the listener. In the AG linguistic system, presuppositional information is marked as identifiable using the article. Therefore, the entire syntactic construction denotes information that ought to be identifiable to a listener or reader. Furthermore, the information communicated using ἐν τῷ + infinitive belongs to the topic domain in an utterance. In other words, it encodes information that indicates what an utterance is about. Generally, the information denoted by ἐν τῷ + infinitive is not accentuated; it is information that possesses less pragmatic salience compared to that of other grammatical forms.

This lack of pragmatic salience is apparent in chapter five, where ἐν τῷ + infinitive has been compared to other renderings in LXX Genesis of the Hebrew אֲשֶׁר + infinitive construction. Syntactically, the ἐν τῷ + infinitive counterpart is a “downgraded” form that routinely communicates information that is fresh within the discourse register. Therefore, it does not need to be accentuated. Additionally, it is only used to provide occasion in time for a single state of affairs within a narrative sequence of events. In contrast, finite verbs are used to communicate more pragmatically salient information either because the information is in the process of being activated in the discourse register or because the information denotes a state of affairs that provides the occasion in time for multiple events within a narrative sequence. The textual data, then, support the argument that Gen was consistent in his renderings, using syntactic constructions according to the discourse pragmatic value that best fit the context.

As van der Louw asserts, “If the translator varies his rendering according to the context, then his attention to the context is a form of consistency.”³⁰⁴

6.2. Translation Issues

6.2.1. *The Issue of Register*

It was observed in chapter two that scholars and students of AG are far removed from the socio-cultural realities of the Hellenistic world. Therefore, it is difficult for them to make appropriate observations about register since they lack the sociolinguistic intuitions that native speakers possess. However, they do possess the textual data left behind by those native speakers. Using these data, then, they can proceed by identifying lexical and syntactic constituents that are restricted to a particular register or that are employed more frequently than others in a particular register. The complex nature of this task is the reason why “[w]e are only in the early stages of understanding register in the PC period.”³⁰⁵ In chapter two, it was noted as well that LXX Genesis occupies a middle-level linguistic register and contains some literary elements. This conclusion was drawn based on careful studies by many scholars of extant texts from the Graeco-Ptolemaic era in Egypt. One task of linguists working in LXX studies is to identify what belongs to a middle-level linguistic register and what is constitutive of literary Greek. Though much of the lexical stock and many syntactic structures in any given language will have wide utility, certain words and structures are more register-specific.

The question at hand, then, is whether ἐν τῷ + infinitive is a syntactic construction that was used across registers in AG or is it a literary construction. Answering this question definitively is very difficult, but the attempt to do so might lead to further insight into the translation technical profile of LXX translators in general, and Gen more specifically. The fact that it occurs only occasionally in documentary sources (which tend to be low to middle-level registers) and more frequently in literary texts might constitute support for the conclusion that it belongs to a literary register. However, one of the documentary sources cited in this thesis is a personal letter from a pig farmer. Based on the assumption that pig

³⁰⁴ van der Louw, “The Evolution of the Greek Genesis Translator,” 149.

³⁰⁵ Aitken and Dhont, “The Septuagint with the History of Greek: An Introduction,” 438.

farmers would not have had access to the same sort of education and schoolroom texts that were available to LXX translators and the educated elite in Ptolemaic Egypt, it is hard to imagine that a pig farmer could or would use syntax that was characteristic of a literary register. Therefore, the tentative conclusion of this thesis is that Ἐν τῷ + infinitive is a syntactic construction that was utilized across registers within the AG linguistic system. It is possible that the publishing of additional documentary sources will provide more attestations of this syntactic construction in these sources and give a more complete picture of AG. But this construction was perhaps not widely used because it was more specific semantically, indicating occasion in time for its predicator, whereas a construction involving an adverbial participle, though less specific semantically, can be used to indicate various semantic relationships with a predicator depending on the context. The wide semantic utility of adverbial participles and the low frequency of the Ἐν τῷ + infinitive construction are indicative of Zipf's meaning frequency law, which states that cross-linguistically, constituents with more meaning possibility tend to be used more frequently than those with a more limited semantic range.³⁰⁶ In this regard, the adverbial participle is a workhorse able to grammaticalize the various semantic values that can also be grammaticalized by several different prepositions + [article] + infinitive.

6.2.2. *The Issue of Frequency*

Another issue that is related to Gen's translation technique is the issue of frequency. In the introduction of this thesis, it was stated that some scholars have argued that LXX Greek exhibits certain syntactic structures with greater frequency than is the case in compositional texts.³⁰⁷ This type of influence, called positive interference, refers to conventional syntax that is evinced more commonly because "it happens to resemble a feature in the source language."³⁰⁸ Would, then, the common occurrence of Ἐν τῷ + infinitive in LXX Genesis be an example of "positive interference?"

³⁰⁶ Ramon Ferrer-i-Cancho and Michael S. Vitevitch, "The Origins of Zipf's Meaning-Frequency Law," *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 69, issue 11 (2018): 1369-79, here 1369.

³⁰⁷ Evans, "The Nature of Septuagint Greek: Language and Lexicography," 94.

³⁰⁸ Aitken and Dhont, "The Septuagint within the History of Greek," 441.

While its usage in LXX Genesis is more frequent than in the majority of compositional Greek texts, this issue needs to be considered carefully. From the beginning of the PC era (ca. 330 BCE) until the Common Era, ἔν τῷ + infinitive was used 397 times by 62 authors in extant compositional texts included in the *TLG* database. This corpus, excluding the LXX, contains 12,694,837 words. Therefore, this syntactic construction occurs 0.03 times per 1,000 words in the corpus as a whole. This is far less frequent than 0.71 times per 1,000 words in LXX Genesis. So, comparing LXX Genesis with the extant literary texts from the PC era, it would appear that the frequency of its usage in the LXX is an example of positive interference. However, some PC authors used it much more frequently than others, such as the Pythagorean philosopher Theages. He employed the construction more than 10 times per 1,000 words, which is far more frequent than is the case in LXX Genesis. Additionally, there are fourteen other authors of compositional texts (see Appendix 1) who used the construction with a greater frequency than the translator of LXX Genesis. Proponents of the argument for frequency of usage, which is often employed as an argument for Hebraic interference in LXX studies, must take into consideration the fact that even in compositional texts, there is a great amount of variation from one author to the next. Conventional Greek does not exhibit any consistency in the frequency with which certain syntactic constructions are used. Frequency, then, is an issue of idiolect.

6.3. Areas for Further Research

The conclusions in this thesis about the structural semantics and discourse pragmatic function of ἔν τῷ + infinitive need to be scrutinized in the light of a much larger database of AG texts. Ideally, this would mean investigating more thoroughly not only PC Greek literary texts but also CG literary texts. There are approximately 300 attestations of this construction in CG literary texts, the study of which would provide further insight into its structural semantics and discourse pragmatic function. This could provide evidence to contradict the assertion that it was only used causally during that era of the Greek language. The IS distinction between ἔν τῷ + infinitive and constructions using finite verbs in compositional Greek texts and in other books of the LXX also needs to be further explored. Moreover, other books in the LXX need to be examined to see how the respective translators of those books

utilized ἐν τῷ + infinitive within the AG linguistic system as one of several possible renderings of הַ + the infinitive construct. It is possible that other translators, such as the translator of the Psalter, used it as a stereotyped rendering without considering its information structural status. But only an examination of textual data can demonstrably validate or invalidate that hypothesis.

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APPENDIX 1: 'Ev Τῷ + Infinitive Frequency in Post-Classical Texts

Num.	Author/Text	Attestations	Total Words	Frequency per 1,000 words
	PC Literature ³⁰⁹	397	12,694,837	0.03x
	Papyri ³¹⁰	9 ³¹¹	~812,429	~0.01x
1	Dinarchus	1	19,019	0.05x
2	Theophrastus	21	217,058	0.09x
3	Epicurus	6	27,815	0.21x
4	Menander	7	80,882	0.08x
5	Cleanthes	1	9,746	0.10x
6	Clearchus	2	10,068	0.20x
7	Duris	2	5,108	0.39x
8	Hecataeus	5	13,418	0.37x
9	Persaeus <i>Phil.</i>	1	1,865	0.54x
10	Demetrius Phalereus	1	4,457	0.22x
11	Timaeus Hist.	1	25,466	0.04x
12	Damoxenus <i>Comic.</i>	1	1,626	0.62x
13	Charondas ³¹²	1	860	1.16x
14	Dioscurides	1	1,431	0.69x
15	Diotogenes	1	1,645	0.61x
16	Erasistratus	2	19,583	0.10x
17	Lycon	2	910	2.20x
18	Chrysippus	47	192,890	0.24x
19	Euryphamus	3	722	4.16x
20	Metopus	5	1,428	3.50x
21	Straton	2	7,618	0.26x
22	Hieronymus	1	1,019	0.98x
23	Bryson	1	216	4.63x
24	Callicratidas	1	1,250	0.80x
25	Theages	12	1,129	10.63x
26	Polybius	24	316,866	0.08x

³⁰⁹ This takes into consideration compositional literary texts BCE and excludes the LXX. Statistics were taken from *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*.

³¹⁰ This takes into consideration papyri BCE. The total word count is only an approximation as there are no precise statistics available. There is only the total word count for all papyri from 8th century BCE to 8th century CE (4,513,494; <https://www.trismegistos.org/words/about.php>). On papyri.info, 18% of total uses of the conjunction καί is attested BCE; the same percentage is true for the article ὁ and the verb εἰμί. So, the total word count for papyri BCE in this table is based on 18% of the total word count in all papyri. Obviously, this can only give an approximation.

³¹¹ This total number adds one additional papyrus that is not discussed in this thesis because it is from a literary register before the PC era.

³¹² Compositional texts that contain the same or higher frequency than LXX Genesis are highlighted. There are 14 authors/texts in the compositional PC corpus before the CE that contain a higher frequency than LXX Genesis. LXX and NT frequencies are included at the end.

27	Aristophanes	4	47,279	0.08x
28	Heraclides	1	2,730	0.37x
29	Philo Mechanicus	2	18,955	0.11x
30	Demetrius	2	5,025	0.40x
31	Anonymus Photii	3	1,993	1.51x
32	Timaeus Phil.	1	4,659	0.21x
33	Aristocles Paradox.	1	790	1.27x
34	Agatharchides Geogr.	2	18,995	0.11x
35	Ezechiel	1	1,632	0.61x
36	Apollodorus Gramm.	1	12,636	0.08x
37	Antipater	2	4,273	0.47x
38	Demetrius Lacon	1	3,248	0.31x
39	Diogenes Phil.	2	10,655	0.19x
40	Anonymus Epicureus	1	2,394	0.42x
41	Heracleodorus	1	4,524	0.22x
42	Comanus	3	2,409	1.25x
43	Dionysius Scytobrachion	1	11,229	0.09x
44	Posidonius	5	139,273	0.04x
45	Antiochus Phil.	1	1,060	0.94x
46	Ptolemaeus Gramm.	2	9,088	0.22x
47	Testamenta XII Patriarcharum	7	20,255	0.35x
48	Diogenis Sinopensis Epistulae	4	8,863	0.45x
49	Diodorus Siculus	36	464,305	0.08x
50	Dionysius Halicarnassensis	31	415,573	0.07x
51	Arius Didymus	13	28,655	0.45x
52	Tryphon I Gramm.	1	13,807	0.07x
53	Philodemus	35	164,519	0.21x
54	Philoxenus Gramm.	4	37,165	0.11x
55	Socrates	1	734	1.36x
56	Philo Judaeus	53	449,267	0.12x
57	Strabo	3	324,136	0.01x
58	Aristonicus	5	117,050	0.04x
59	Dorotheus	1	28,658	0.03x
60	Pseudo-Archytas	9	12,749	0.71x
61	Antiochus Astrol.	1	9,094	0.11x
62	Vitae Adam et Evae	4	6,573	0.61x
63	LXX	534 ³¹³	623,782	0.86x
64	LXX Genesis	23	32,567	0.71x
65	NT	52	137,938	0.38x
66	Luke/Acts	38	37,879	1.003x

³¹³ The total attestations in the LXX (and total word count) are based on A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, 9th ed. (Stuttgart: Württemberg Bible Society, 1935).