Beyond Translation Technique:

Linguistic Approaches to the Septuagint's Translation of the Aramaic Verbal System in Old Greek Daniel, Theodotion Daniel, and 2 Esdras



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Thesis and Abstracts Submitted to
The Faculty of Oriental Studies
For the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Michaelmas Term 2019

94,037 Words

Abstract

This thesis applies four distinct linguistic methods to the philological data mined from translation technique of the Aramaic verbal system in Old Greek Daniel, Theodotion Daniel, and 2 Esdras. After briefly setting the present work within the context of previous studies (ch. 1), an exhaustive catalogue of the Aramaic verbal forms and their Greek translations occur, followed by the Greek forms and the Aramaic forms they translate (ch. 2). Chapter 3 applies linguistic typology and typological studies of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) to the enigmatic Aramaic prefix conjugation (PC). Chapter 4 uses the concepts of language contact to explore Aramaic dialect differences (both lexical and grammatical) between the Aramaic of the Bible and the spoken Aramaic of the translators. Chapter 5 applies the concepts of idiolect as developed in forensic linguistics to Greek verbal syntax in the pluses of Old Greek Daniel, which in turn informs our understanding of the textual problem that is Old Greek Daniel 4-6. Chapter 6 problematizes minority translation equivalents in terms of Relevance Theory, showing how translators' use aspectual choice functions as a procedural constraint to guide their readers toward intended inferences. The closing chapter (ch. 7) reviews the conclusions of the work and suggests new avenues for research.

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis applies four distinct linguistic methods to the philological data mined from translation technique of the Aramaic verbal system in Old Greek Daniel, Theodotion Daniel, and 2 Esdras. Chapter 1 outlines some previous work, offers some critiques, and differentiates itself from previous scholarship. Chapter 2 first provides a sketch of tense, aspect, and modality, fundamental concepts for all subsequent research. Immediately following, an exhaustive catalogue of the Aramaic verbal forms and their Greek translations occurs, followed by the Greek forms and the Aramaic forms they translate. This data, though tedious and exhaustive, is the necessary foundation upon which the synthesis chapters can take place.

Chapter 3 applies linguistic typology and typological studies of tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) to the enigmatic Aramaic prefix conjugation (PC). Beginning with future temporal reference then moving backwards through the present temporal sphere into the past, the data shows how the grammaticalization of TAM, in particular future temporal reference and past habitual correlate with the prominence each language assigns tense, aspect, or modality. It is suggested that the data best fits with a modal-prominent understanding of the PC, even in past time. Based on translation technique, some pluses in Old Greek Daniel (OGD) may conceal other occurrences, which we attempt to reconstruct.

Chapter 4 uses the concepts of language contact to explore potential Aramaic dialect differences (both lexical and grammatical) between the Aramaic of the Bible and the spoken Aramaic of the translators. Because the idea is novel, we make the case inductively; first suggesting loss of knowledge of Persian and Akkadian loans reveals a caesura between the Aramaic of the Bible (both Ezra and Daniel). In turn, this allows dialect variation to develop, which may be seen in nine lexical items. Based on these observations, we investigate two

striking features of the Aramaic verbal system and their translations into Greek: 1) Aramaic participles as historic presents, 2) the periphrastic construction הוה + active/t-stem participle. The Greek translators may suggest that the former was a regional variety and the second has further grammaticalized between the time of composition and translation.

Chapter 5 applies the concepts of idiolect as developed in forensic linguistics to Greek verbal syntax in the pluses of Old Greek Daniel, which in turn informs our understanding of the notorious textual problem that is OGD 4-6. We examine five features of verbal syntax in the pluses of OGD 4-6 that suggest the translator was not working from a Semitic *Vorlage*, but was, in fact, composing Greek. These features (perfect indicatives, periphrastic constructions, circumstantial participles, and articular absolute infinitives) are generally of a higher register, which, coupled with other textual indicators, help identify the social and religious background of the translator.

Chapter 6 problematizes minority translation equivalents in terms of Relevance Theory, a cognitive-communicative theory of language that is predicated on the thesis that code-theory lacks sufficient explanatory power. It is suggested that linguistic meaning is more than the sum total of its parts, yet translators, by electing non-obligatory aspectual choices in the target language can make the text more relevant, constraining the inferential process, and thereby guiding readers to the intended interpretation. Of special interest is perhaps the first application of the concept of mirativity to TAM in Ancient Greek. In turn, the aspectual choices available in the Greek language correlate typologically with aspect prominent languages; their absence suggests Aramaic is not aspect prominent. The closing chapter (ch. 7) reviews the conclusions of the work and suggests new avenues for future research.

Acknowledgements

The end of this thesis brings to a close more than an arduous academic exercise, but a life chapter that, though unknown at the time, had already began as my secondary education was coming to a close. The full details of that transition belong to another time and place, but I would not want to miss the opportunity to acknowledge the pivotal guidance Pastor Dewey Griffith gave. Neither of us knew at the time that half-serious attendance at his Greek course aimed at working-class laymen would be the first step toward an Oxford thesis.

If nothing else, those conversations piqued an interest in studying scripture in the original. They led to a bachelor's degree that solidified these desires, provided the requisite philological training in Hebrew and Greek within the context of biblical and theological studies broadly conceived. Dr. David Croteau, Dr. Wayne Brindle, and Dr. Donald Fowler deserve special mention as my first Greek and Hebrew teachers, their commitment to careful exegesis, and the influence they had during these formative years.

As those initial studies were ending, I still remember exact time and place where the idea for the present research agenda struck. The origins of this thesis trace back to a footnote I read in Michael Shepherd's *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic* (§3.1.5). That initial epiphany would inspire two distinct Master's theses ("Theodotion's Translation of the Aramaic Verbal System in Daniel 2:4b-3:33: Translation Technique, Verbal Aspect, and Narrative Prominence" and "The Meaning and Function of the Participle within the Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic"). Dr. David Alan Black, who supervised the former, introduced me to the study of the Septuagint and (among other professors) expanded my horizons to the world of general linguistics. His eclectic approach to linguistics, in part, motivated my willingness to adopt the numerous linguistic approaches in these pages. Dr. Mark Rooker guided my second M.A. thesis. His expertise in

historical Hebrew grammar is well known, and the training I received from him in Hebrew philology continues to be a source of inspiration. Perhaps most importantly, Dr. Rooker pushed me (with his trademark subtlety) toward the Oxford DPhil and the potential academic freedom it would offer.

It was Professor Jan Joosten's characteristicly imaginative work that primarily drew me to Oxford. A philological maven, Professor Joosten has been a constant source of inspiration and guidance. His hands-off approach created the ideal environment in which to attempt to apply novel approaches to philological data. At the same time, always willing to offer sage advice, his keen insights have strengthened the research in ways I could not have foreseen. Perhaps, if this work is successful, it will occasionally reach those heights Professor Joosten's decades of field-leading research has set. Reading texts with Professor Joosten in his text-criticism, Hebrew, and Dead Sea Scrolls seminars was one of the most rewarding intellectual exercises of my time in Oxford. The title of this work *Beyond Translation Technique* is a nod to his *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond* and the influence his thinking has had on my own.

I would be remiss if I failed to mention Oxford's lively research atmosphere. A large portion of year one subsisted in many hours spent with Professor David Taylor reading texts in various Aramaic dialects (particularly Syriac) spanning the language's first two millennia. The work I attempt here simply would not be possible without his generous input. Professor Alison Salvesen kindly worked with me through a close reading of Old Greek Daniel 1-7 (Trinity Term 2016). Many of the questions I seek to answer here began in reading and discussing the text together (especially chapters 2 and 3). Oxford's weekly Old Testament/Hebrew Bible seminars

chaired by Professor Hindy Najman offered a rich intellectual community. In the midst of this highly specialized work, they were a source of balance.

Perhaps more significant than these academic influences have been the support from family, friends, and churches on both sides of the pond. We did not know the rich blessings we would find when we first came to Oxford Baptist Chapel. Pastor Morlan, Julianna, and their brood of children welcomed my wife Hannah and me with unexpected hospitality. That small chapel was our family for three years in Oxford and the thing we miss most about the city. While there, I had the privilege of leading the University bible study. Phillip (now DPhil candidate in Chemistry) and the other students were a source of deep spiritual fellowship and refreshment from what was often a lonely journey. Space prevents mention of everyone from that ragtag church community, but I mention in particular the Irish traveler community, in whom God has put his grace on display. They were a constant reminder of the world beyond academia

On the American side of the pond, Dr. Berry and West Fork Fellowship constantly prayed for us and generously contributed to our four-month research stay in Jerusalem. For a large portion of this research, we skyped every Saturday so they could learn Greek and better steward God's word. Distance has kept us from more time together than we would have liked; now that this thesis is complete, perhaps that will change. This last year we have spent in the church in which I grew up, Osborne Baptist Church. That community has shaped me profoundly for well over two decades. Pastor Steve Griffith has helped me in more ways I could mention and some I would rather not.

Friends on both sides of the pond provided an oasis from focused research. In Oxford, Matt Albanese and Vladimir Olivero were a source of encouragement and friendship and they remain so. Vladimir, in particular, helped me better understand the meme-ing of the world. The

Walthalls always welcomed us with Southern hospitality every single time we came back to the U.S.A. Zack, Kayla, and their growing family, are always good for a laugh and spiritual encouragement. Brian and Ainsley helped me find my way around Istanbul when I was at Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations for intensive study of Hittite and Akkadian. While there, Selim Adali introduced me to legendary Turkish hospitality, long dinners, and late evening conversations over all things ancient and theological fueled by Turkish coffee. Sean and Chelsey let me come stay at their quaint parish in the middle of a soybean field when I needed to get over writers block. There are many others I could mention.

Luke Beavers, my cousin, and an up and coming NT academic in his own right helped me find my way around Duke's libraries during the last year of research and writing. My father-in-law, Bill Ponceroff, visited us yearly, even during our summer in Israel. His financial support throughout our time in Oxford was invaluable; we could not have done it without him. The work here has often kept us from spending more time with our niece and nephew, Henson and Lottie. They remain bewildered over why I would have taken this "job" if I knew I had to write such a long book. They are not the only ones! At least now, we have more time to play.

This thesis is a reflection of the decades long love and support of my parents, Terry and Cheryl Daniel, have poured into my life. They have sacrifice immensely to make this dream a reality. I cannot express the extent of my thankfulness for their financial funding and spiritual guidance without which this research would not have been possible. Most importantly, they first taught me to read the bible.

Our three-year absence has meant missed birthdays, holidays, and even funerals. Grandparents have gotten older; some have passed away. It is time we can never get back, but we will try to make up for some of it. Times like these invite reflection on where our family has

come. Just two generations ago, my "Paw-paw" (grandfather) grew up plowing fields with a mule in the Appalachian mountains of West Virginia. He did not have the privilege of continuing his education past the 10th grade, but joined the Navy at age 17. We've come a long way, haven't we?

My deepest sense of gratitude remains for my dear wife Hannah. We first met the summer before I left for university. Throughout the entirety of our relationship from courting to 7 years of marriage, I have been working towards this moment. She has joyfully foregone many comforts a wife under normal circumstances would expect. While in Oxford she willingly worked jobs well below her pay-grade, lived in less-than-ideal university housing, and commuted everywhere on a bike. She gave up time with family and left behind friends to support me in this calling. She is a constant encouragement, source of deep friendship and love—my co-heir of the grace of life. I dedicate this work to her.

This last year of writing has taken place in the same rural, small town in which I grew up, where the deer often outnumber the people—the only place I really belong. This secluded retreat has provided the necessary isolation where I work best. It is most fitting, then, that I write these words on the same land where I was raised, attending the same church I grew up in, surrounded by the people I love most.

To Hannah
true to her name

Chapter 1

Introduction

Under the curse of Babel, reeling from deportation and diaspora, Hebrew—the language of creation—began a long journey toward extinction.[1] The holy tongue waned, as Aramaic waxed. That language only understood by social elites in Jerusalem during the pre-exilic period (2 Kings 18:26) became an international *lingua franca* to the point that in the 5th century, correspondence between Jews in Elephantine and Jerusalem was conducted in Aramaic. Not many years later, when Alexander the Great subdued the once mighty empires of the ANE (ca. 333 BCE), the linguistic context for Jews living in Egypt transformed once more. Now for their sacred texts to be understood, the Pentateuch required translation into Greek—the newly enthroned imperial language. Aramaic would become part of Jewish scriptures in the books of Ezra and Daniel, pivotal at Qumran, the language of Jesus, and continued a central role in Jewish religious life in the production of the Targumim and the Talmud. Simultaneously, its loss of hegemonic status with the demise of the Achemenid Empire allowed a flowering of distinct regional dialects that endure to the present. After the Hellenistic period witnessed the production of the Septuagint and then the work of Philo and Josephus, Greek, in contrast, never gained the same status in Jewish religious life, though, like Aramaic, it continued a rich and storied history of its own. Within this multivariate linguistic context, the present study examines the Septuagint's translation technique of the Aramaic verbal system in Old Greek Daniel (OGD), Theodotion Daniel (THD), and 2 Esdras.[2]

[1] See generally Steve Weitzman, "Why Did the Qumran Community Write in Hebrew?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119:1 (1999), 35-45.

[2] Here I assume the approach developed by the Finnish school, pioneered principally by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen and Anneli Aejmelaeus, among others. Translation technique is "a human intellectual process," concerned with "how the translators worked, what their working habits were, what their ideals were and what their level of

1.1 Previous Studies

Several times and in many ways, scholars have conducted similar studies on individual verbal forms, sections of books, and even entire divisions of the Hebrew Bible. On the whole, despite their many laudable features, these studies suffer from at least one of the following shortcomings: 1) an underdeveloped articulation of the Hebrew verbal system; 2) an inadequate understanding of the Greek verbal system; 3) a weak linguistic framework; 4) inability to produce consequential results of any interest to scholars outside the narrow field of Septuagint translation technique.

Perhaps the first attempt in this regard is the discipline-founding work of I. Soissalon-Soininen on the infinitive.[3] The approach concentrates on a single form, the Hebrew infinitive, and exhaustively describes and documents its Greek equivalents (as well as the Greek infinitives which do not translate Hebrew infinitives). He is able to show differences between individual books, the Apocryphal literature, and Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The findings show that no book is entirely "literal" or entirely "free." Furthermore, by including material of composed and translation Greek, the constraining nature of the source text comes to light. Perhaps most significantly, Soisallon-Soininen was able to demonstrate how detailed attention to minute detail has implications for the translation and intricate recessional activity of Samuel-Kings. The volume, however, has little to say about longstanding debates in Hebrew and Greek verbal syntax, or discussions of tense, aspect, and modality in general linguistics.

The ensuing decades would witness articles on the general subject, but not until John Sailhamer's work on the Psalms does the first large scale work on the translation technique of the

competence was" (Raija Sollamo "The Origins of LXX Studies in Finland," *Scandonavian Journal of the Old Testament* 10.2 [1996], 165).

[3] Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965).

entire verbal network materialize.[4] For Sailhamer, biblical poetry presents the verbal system outside of the narrative context, which guides temporal interpretation, and in so doing presents particular challenges for the translator.[5] Sailhamer presents exhaustive, if sometimes dull, data, interspersed with commentary, considering textual variants, possible Aramaic influence, and interpretive significance, particularly for eschatology. For Sailhamer,

> Tense is also at the heart of one of the central social and religious issues of early Judaism, eschatology. There were doubtless other important issues that made their way into the LXX Psalms tradition, but this study has been most successful in describing the influence of eschatology on the choice of equivalencies by considering the feature of past and future tense.[6]

The paradigmatic example, Psalm 37:12, has future indicatives (παρατηρήσεται, βρύξει) translating Hebrew participles (זֹמֵם, חֹרֵק), in line with Psalms pesher from Qumran (4Q171 II 13-18).[7] For Sailhamer this suggests a common eschatological interest, but perhaps in light of the unexpected translation equivalence we should at least consider that the Psalms Vorlage had *yqtl* forms instead of participles. As with Soisallon-Soininen, the reader is left guessing the author's theory of the Hebrew and Greek verbal systems, which are assumed but never articulated.

The beginning of the current millennium witnessed the publication of two book length studies on various elements of Greek verbal syntax in the Pentateuch, provoked in part by the

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

[5] Sailhamer also claims, "There are indications in his work that the wide range of equivalencies in the LXX grew out of a reasonably well-informed knowledge of the Hebrew verb rather than a desperate attempt to give Hebrew verb a sense within the psalm" but we are not often told the semantic specifics of that understanding (Ibid., 208-209).

[6] Ibid., 214. Though not a work on translation technique per se, Holger Gzella's tome on the Greek Psalter also pays careful attention to the verbal system (*Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta Psalters* [Berlin Wien: Philo, 2002]). He does devote considerable attention to translation and verbal semantics (126-133).

[7] Sailhamer, *Translation Technique*, 156-160.

recent debate in aspect studies on the Greek of the New Testament.[8] Writing at the same time, Evans and Voitila conduct detailed studies on the semantics and pragmatics of various Greek verbal forms; Evans on the perfect indicative, optative mood, relative frequencies of the imperfect and aorist indicatives, and periphrastic tense forms; Voitila on the present and imperfect indicatives, forms that do not correspond exactly to any Hebrew form. Evans pursues those "Greek features (verbal and other) which lack obvious motivation from the Hebrew text" that "tend to escape the net of specialists in translation technique."[9] He concludes, as suggested by the subtitle of his book, that the LXX "represents essentially idiomatic Greek, in accord with the usage of the early Koine vernacular."[10] Hebrew influence is limited principally to "frequencies of occurrence of the Greek verbal forms."[11] The verbal syntax of the Septuagint is not "Hebrew rather than Greek."[12]

In the same vein, Voitila pays careful attention to four contributing factors "le texte source, l'interprétation par le traducteur de celui-ci, sa competence de la langue grecque et le texte cible."[13] He concludes, in part:

> Par la suite, l'analyse a vérifié l'influence, d'une part, du texte source en function de l'interprétation qu'en a fait le traducteur et, d'autre part, des conventions d'emploi grecques des forms utilisées dans la traduction. À cet égard, aussi bien l'habileté des traducteurs à observer différentes nuances du texte, que la capacité de s'eloigner, selon les

[8] See Stanley Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament with Reference to Tense and Mood* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), Buist Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford: Oxford, 1990) and the subsequent tsunami of literature they provoked in their wake.

[9] Trevor Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford, 2001), 6.

[10] Ibid., 259.

[11] Ibid., 260.

[12] Ibid., 1

[13] Anssi Voitila, *Présent et imparfait de l'indicatif dans le Pentateque grec: une étude sur la syntaxe de traduction* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 233.

> exigences de la langue grecque, de la lettre du texte de depart et d'anticiper la suite des événements, ont joué.[14]

The translators themselves are most competent in the Greek use of the present and imperfect. And his conclusions about the nature of the Greek of the Pentateuch comports with that of Evans.

In one sense, the observations of Voitilla, and especially Evans, are foundational in our conceptualization of the language of the Septuagint, but in another, they are rather mundane, particularly given the fact that they are written nearly a century after Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten*,[15] which brought to bear the recent papyrus discoveries to the nature of the Greek of the bible. Many of their observations can be intuitively inferred from simply reading the texts.

The most recent comprehensive study is Roger Good's work on Chronicles.[16] The exhaustive, clearly presented data is impressive. Good's contention that "the translator was informed by contemporary spoken Hebrew" is promising. Good claims the translation of the verbal forms provides "insight into the Hebrew of the time of the translator, which was the primary influence on his understanding of the Hebrew verbs."[17]

> Some Hebrew participles were translated by present indicative forms, some *yiqtol* durative forms in the past were replaced by periphrastic participles, the introductory וַיְהִי sometimes was omitted or not translated, a few past *yiqtol*/*wayyiqtol* forms were considered as futures, infinitive absolutes were interpreted as other forms and some *w^{e}qatal* consecutive forms were considered as past forms (i.e., contemporize [*sic*]).

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908).

[16] Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[17] Ibid., 248.

Some of these observations are more convincing, others less so. Good makes an assumption here that the translator's *Vorlage* possessed a וַיְהִי and omitted it. Perhaps the form was already absent in the parent text? The same logic holds for "*yiqtol* durative forms in the past…replaced by periphrastic participles." As for the other examples, maybe they are slips of the pen subconsciously influenced by the translator's spoken tongue, but then again because they are minority translation equivalents, they could result from scribal fatigue.[18] Good also makes observations about the Greek text produced in translation, particularly the lack of circumstantial participles and historic present that "demonstrate that the translation of Chronicles was more literal."[19] All of this is evident from casually reading the text. Is it any wonder Emmanuel Tov has written, "As a rule, such studies contain no earth-shaking conclusions"?[20]

1.2 Uniqueness and Plan of the Present Study

A study of the translation technique of the Aramaic verbal system presents obvious differences, the language of the source text primarily. Recent work on the Aramaic verbal system (see ch. 2) affords ample conversation partners in a way that would not have been possible a mere two decades ago. The second major difference with this study is the possibility of working with the product of three distinct translators OG, TH, and 2 Esdras and the potential value that presents.

Beyond these obvious differences, and the value of the previous scholarship on the subject notwithstanding, the present study makes conscious departure in both method and

[18] Good's comments about the participle are perplexing, as already in pre-exilic Standard Biblical Hebrew the participle is the dominant means of expressing the real present.

[19] Ibid., 247-248.

[20] Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the LXX in the Past and Present." Pages 337-359 in *VI Congress of the International Organization far Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1987: 348.

analysis. Documenting translation equivalents remains the cornerstone (ch. 1), but the goal is to venture into methodological territory beyond translation technique. To this end, we apply four distinct linguistic methods to salient features of data mined from translation technique, which constitute the four main chapters. The first chapter frames data from translation technique in the context of linguistic typology. A second chapter exploits the concepts of language contact to probe questions of the translators' spoken Aramaic dialect and possible differences with his Aramaic source text. Forensic linguistics, a sub-discipline of applied linguistics, serves as the framework within which to examine verbal syntax in the pluses of OGD in light of one of the thorniest text-critical problems in the Hebrew Bible (Daniel 4-6). A concluding chapter investigates minority translation strategies in terms of relevance theory, a cognitive-communicative approach to human communication.

Also in contradistinction to previous works, the focus on the semantics of the source language, Aramaic, features more prominently, particularly in the first two chapters. As such, the first chapter asks what semantic insight translation technique can offer to the semantics of the much debated Aramaic Prefix Conjugation; chapter two uses translation technique to answer questions about Aramaic dialectology in the late second/early first century BCE. The third chapter exploits translation technique to illuminate the status of the textual character of the Aramaic *Vorlage*. The final chapter asks how translation technique functions in interpreting these Aramaic texts for a new Hellenistic generation.

Chapter 2

Data and Definitions

The definitions and especially the data found here form the foundation for all subsequent research. This chapter systematically catalogues the translation technique of 2 Esdras and both OG and TH Daniel for the Aramaic verbal system.[21] Exhaustiveness and full transparency are the aim. Due to the complex relationship between the Greek texts and their Aramaic *Vorlage,* particularly in Daniel 4-6, many verbal forms do not have a Greek counterpart in OGD and conversely, many Greek forms in OGD do not have an identifiable *Vorlage* in the Masoretic Text (MT) of Daniel. These factors necessitate cataloguing the data forwards and backwards, so to speak: from Aramaic to Greek and then from Greek to Aramaic. This approach permits accurate documentation of all of the minuses and pluses in a systematic fashion. Because this study involves one of the most difficult textual problems in the Hebrew Bible and aims to apply the data to said textual question, it is important to employ the most accurate editions of the Greek texts of 2 Esdras and OG and TH Daniel as found in the Göttingen editions of Hanhart and Ziegler-Munnich, respectively.[22] Since electronic, grammatically tagged editions of these texts do not exist,[23] all of the data must be recorded by hand.[24] The descriptive work here represents the basis for the detailed syntheses in the ensuing chapters.

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[21] The text of 1 Esdras, a collage of material from Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, sometimes contains material closely following an Aramaic *Vorlage* similar to MT, but often rewrites the material to such an extent that its value to the present study is limited.

[22] Robert Hanhart, ed., *Esdrae liber II* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Joseph Ziegler and Olivier Munnich, eds., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 2nd ed (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

[23] Accordance bible software has recently began to add grammatically tagged editions of the Göttingen editions. 2 Esdras exists, but OG and TH Daniel do not.

[24] Electronic texts are also often inaccurate, regularly containing errors of parsing that skew statistics. See for example, προσφυέντος (OG Daniel 7:20) where Bibleworks parses as a present participle, when it is obviously an aorist participle (see Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [Leuven: Peeters, 2009],

The first part of this chapter documents the translation equivalents of the Suffix Conjugation (SC), Prefix Conjugation (PC), active participle, t-stem participle, passive participle/verbal adjective, various periphrastic constructions, imperative, and infinitive verbal forms. Each section begins with the more "isomorphic" translations of 2 Esdras and THD and then moves on to the more "idiomatic" and textually difficult translation of OGD. Though this structure does not follow the historical order of the translations (OG was translated before TH), it allows the reader to observe the typical translation equivalents of these wooden translations as a backdrop to the freer translation of OGD.

In the following charts, each translation equivalent is given with percentages rounded to the nearest hundredth percent. If a text contains a significant amount of minuses that potentially skew the perception of the translation equivalents, as is often the case for OGD, additional figures for the main translation equivalents are supplied immediately following the tables. For each Aramaic form, an exhaustive list of documented occurrences are provided with each translation equivalent. In cataloguing the Aramaic forms, the Masoretic pointing as represented in the Leningrad Codex and reproduced in BHS is assumed. Since verse numbers in OG and TH Daniel do not always align, for the sake of simplicity BHS versification is followed. When the Greek translation of an Aramaic verbal form occurs in a different verse, the verse of the Aramaic form is listed first followed by the verse number in the Greek texts.[25] Yet, before cataloging the forms, it is necessary to provide a linguistic sketch of both the tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) and a snapshot of the Aramaic and Greek verbal Systems

600). Moreover, I often find myself in disagreement with the analysis of Tov-Polak in OG Daniel 4-6 (Emanuel Tov and Frank Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text* [2005]).

[25] Unlike the work of Good, the present work does not differentiate translation equivalents in narrative main clauses, reported speech main clauses, and subordinate clauses, though in the following chapters clause distinctions are taken into account where relevant (*Septuagint's Translation*, 77ff).

2.1 The Linguistic System of Concepts: Tense, Aspect, and Modality[26]

"A tense, or an aspect, [or mood]" according to John Hewson, "is a position in a mental, a *conceptual* system."[27] That is to say, morphological forms do not "constitute the verbal system" just as the game of chess is not the chess pieces, but the moves they make on a chessboard, to borrow Saussure's well-known example.[28] Furthermore, notes Hewson "individual concepts [tense, aspect, and modality] are formally represented by morphosyntactic markers, and one of the central issues where the tense system of a particular language...is concerned, and where tense in general is concerned, is what the system of concepts is, what the system of markers is, and how they relate."[29] To extend Saussare's metaphor, the present section deals with the possible moves on the chessboard, the linguistic "system of concepts," before proceeding to address the individual chess pieces of Aramaic and Greek and their distinct "system of markers" in the data section, before in-depth syntheses in the ensuing chapters.

2.1.1 Time, Tense, and Aspect

Time and tense, though intimately related, are distinct. As Jespersen has argued,

> It is important to keep the two concepts time and tense strictly apart. The former is common to all mankind and is independent of language; the latter varies from language to

[26] An unfathomably vast literature exists on the categories of tense, aspect, and modality. Over a decade ago, Robert Binnick's online bibliography of "Tense, Aspect, Aktionsart, and Related Areas" included "around 8000 articles (articles, chapters, mss., reports, working papers and conference presentations) and 1000 monographs (monographs, longer reports, and theses)" (http://www.utsc.utoronto.ca/~binnick/TENSE/Bibliography.html; accessed May 2, 2017).

[27] John Hewson, "Tense," in *The Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, edited by Robert I. Binnick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 509.

[28] See Ferdinand de Sassaur, *Course in General Linguistics*, ed. Charles Bally and Sechehaye, trans. Wade Baskin (New York: Fontana, 1974), 22-23, 89, 110; Hewson, "Tense," 509.

[29] Ibid.

> language and is the linguistic expression of time-relations, so far as these are indicated in verb forms.[30]

Likewise, tense and aspect both have to do with time, but each relates to time in different ways.[31] Comrie defines tense as "grammaticalization of location in time."[32] Similarly, Bhat speaks of tense as "an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the *temporal location* of an event (or situation)."[33] Linguists generally maintain that distinctions are necessary to differentiate between deictic tense and non-deictic tense, what is otherwise called absolute and relative tense.[34] Deictic or absolute tenses relate the temporal location of an event "with the event of uttering the sentence that denotes the event."[35] In contrast, non-deictic or relative tenses relate the temporal location of an event "with some other event which is specified in the sentence itself."[36] The result is that a distinct set of terminology is needed for each category. For deictic tenses, Bhat uses the terms past, present (or non-past), and future, but for non-deictic tenses the terms prior, simultaneous, and posterior.[37]

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[30] Otto Jespersen, *Essentials of English Grammar* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1933), 230, as quoted in Jo-Wang Lin, "Tenselessness," *Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, ed. Robert I. Binnick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 669.

[31] Robbert I. Binnick notes the close relationship between tense and aspect, "Tense is so closely interwoven with aspect that no account of tense alone can hope to adequately account for the uses of verb forms" (*Time and the Verb: A Guide to Tense and Aspect* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991], 456).

[32] Bernard Comrie, *Tense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1.

[33] D. N. S. Bhat, *The Prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood*, Studies in Language Companion Series 49 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999), 13.

[34] Ibid., 28-31.

[35] Ibid., 43, 15-20.

[36] Ibid., 43, 20-31.

[37] Ibid., 28.

Comrie's now classical formulation, defines aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation,"[38] or as Bhat similarly describes aspect as indicting "the *temporal structure* of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time." [39] Comrie conceives of aspect, primarily in terms of a perfective/imperfective binary where perfective aspect "indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation."[40] Imperfective aspect, in contrast, "pays essential attention to the internal structure of a situation."[41] This perfective/imperfective distinction that is so prevalent in some of the linguistic literature[42] can be misleading, although Bhat maintains that this is "the most important aspectual distinction that occurs in the grammars of natural languages."[43] According to Henriëtte de Swart, "The perfective/imperfect contrast is often viewed as the typologically most prominent aspectual distinction, but not all languages fit this binary approach."[44] Moreover, "many other languages display rich aspectual systems that are

[38] Bernard Comrie, *Aspect*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,) 3.

[39] Bhat, *Prominence*, 43.

[40] Comrie, *Aspect*, 16.

[41] Ibid. It is important to note, as Thomson does, that "when Comire and others explain aspect as a 'view' they are speaking of a view of the temporal structure of the situation" (27).

[42] But see chapter 3 where he addresses the difficult nature of the "perfect" (not to be confused with perfective aspect). He notes that "many linguists doubt whether the perfect should be considered as aspect at all" (Aspect, 52).

[43] Bhat, *Prominence*, 44. See also, Henriëtte de Swart, "Verbal Aspect," *Oxford Handbook of Tense and Aspect*, 752-780.

[44] Ibid., 760.

difficult to relate to the perfective/imperfective or the perfect/non-perfect distinction."[45] Hewson argues for "a range of aspectual representations,"[46] as seen in the following figure:[47]

A[B----------C----------D]E

The letters A, B, C, D, and E represent "five cardinal positions," relating to an event whose beginning and end are represented by the square brackets.[48] In this model, A signifies "Prospective aspect" where the subject stands "in a position before the event;" B signifies "Inceptive aspect" where the subject stands "at the very beginning of the event;" C signifies "Progressive aspect," representing "the subject with the event in progress;" D signifies "Perfective aspect" where the subject stands "in the position of completing the event;" and E signifies "perfect, or Transcendent, or Retrospective aspect" where the subject stands "in a position after the event."[49] English, for example possesses A, C, E[50] and perhaps D,[51] as seen on the following examples borrowed from Christopher Thompson: "I walk, walked", "I am/was walking", "I have/had walked". Hewson's figure and Thomson's English examples point to the distinct, yet often interrelated nature of tense and aspect (whether grammaticalized or

[45] Ibid., 763.

[46] Hewson, "Tense," 511.

[47] Hewson John and Vit Bubenik, *Tense and Aspect in Indo-European Languages: Theory, Typology, Diachrony*. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 145 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 14.

[48] Hewson, "Tense," 511. The figure comes from Hewson and Bubenik, *Tense and Aspect*, 14.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Christopher Thomson, "What is Aspect?: Contrasting Definitions in General Linguistics and New Testament Studies," in *The Greek Verb Revisited: A Fresh Approach for Biblical Exegesis*, ed. Steven Runge and Christopher Fresch (Bellingham: Lexham, 2016), 24.

lexicalized). In sum, "aspect is concerned with the representation of the time *contained* in the event, and tense with the representation of the time that *contains* the event."[52]

2.1.2 Aspect and *Aktionsart*

A further distinction delineates the concepts aspect and *Aktionsart*.[53] Bache has noted the confusion that has arisen from the failure to keep these distinct, yet intimately related concepts separate. A common distinction in the literature between aspect and Aktionsart is that the former is a subjective category, involving "the speaker/writer's choice between a 'perfective' or 'imperfective' description of the situation referred to by a verb," while the latter is an objective category "in that it involves the actual constituency of the situation described."[54] Yet, Bache maintains that *Aktionsart* is not entirely objective, nor is aspect entirely a subjective choice, as indicated by syntactic and semantic evidence.[55] Freedom regarding aspectual choice is only possible when situations are "durative," or non-punctual;[56] "atelic," that is, imperfective constructions that do not "refer to the results or goal of a process or an activity;"[57] or "non-stative," since stative situations "are so vague or so extended in time that they resist variation of description."[58] Bache goes further to argue that even with cases that meet these criteria "there may sometime be little or no real choice between the aspects because of contextual or emotional

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[52] Hewson, "Tense," 511.

[53] See Comrie, *Aspect*, 6-7 n4, where he lists two distinct uses of the term *Aktionsart*. Comrie suggests utilizing the concept "inherent meaning" (ibid., 14), while Llyons substitutes "aspectual character" (John Llyons, Semantics [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977], 2:706). Bache critiques them both for conflating them both into the category of aspect.

[54] Carl Bache, "Aspect and Aktionsart: Towards a Semantic Distinction." *Journal of Linguistics* 18:1 (1982), 64.

[55] Ibid., 66.

[56] Ibid., 68

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid., 69.

considerations."[59] As a result, aspect is only "quasi-subjective."[60] Its counterpart, *Aktionsart*, is therefore only "quasi-objective,"[61] being of a "psychological nature" and "involving the speaker/writer's conception of situations and corresponding semantic properties of verbs."[62] The "procedural characteristics" that are the result of quasi-objective "psychological classifications of…situations based on intuitive belief or conception."[63] This distinction between aspect and *Aktionsart* helpfully differentiates what verbal aspect (what is grammaticalized) brings to the context and what the context (verb lexeme, temporal adverbials, wider context, and even "psychological classification") brings to the verb; the two categories are at the same time necessarily distinct and inextricably bound.

2.1.3 Modality

The study of modality is a more recent development than tense and aspect in general linguistics and, as a result, has received less attention than the other two categories. It is, nevertheless, "a valid cross-language grammatical category,"[64] one that will prove central to the synthesis of Aramaic below.[65] "Mood," according to Bhat, "is concerned with the actuality of an event"[66] or as Palmer states, "mood is concerned with the status of the proposition."[67] In contrast

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid. 71.

[61]Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 66. And see Bache's example on that illustrates this point ("Aspect," 65-66).

[63] Ibid. 70.

[64] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 2d ed (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2001) 1.

[65]Tarsee Li's statement that "there is no universally accepted definition of modality" is a serious overstatement (*The Verbal System of the Aramaic of Daniel: An Explanation in the Context of Grammaticalization* [Leiden: Brill, 2009], 168).

[66] Bhat, *Prominence*, 63.

[67] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 1.

to tense and aspect, modality "does not refer to any characteristic of the event."[68] There also appears to be more variation in the category of modality than in tense and aspect among the world's languages.[69] The fundamental semantic opposition in modality is that between *realis* and *irrealis*. The former portrays events as actualized and the latter as "still within the realm of thought."[70] Within *irrealis* further distinctions are possible between epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality. Epistemic modality concerns "the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition."[71] Palmer provides the following English examples:

> John may be in his office
> John must be in his office
> John'll be in his office

The first describes a possible conclusion, the second depicts the only possible conclusion and the third implies a reasonable conclusion.[72] Deontic modality "indicates the kind of compulsion which makes it possible or necessary for an event to take place,"[73] including directives, the expression of ability and willingness, and imperatives and jussives.[74]

2.1.4 The Prominence of TAM

All languages possess the ability to express TAM, but tense, aspect, and modality are not equally prominent in every language. Furthermore, according to Bhat, the degree of

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid., 2.

[70] Bhat, *Prominence*, 65.

[71] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 24.

[72] Ibid., 25.

[73] Bhat, *Prominence*, 75.

[74] Ibid.,

grammaticalization of each category varies from language to language. Some languages show a high degree of grammaticalization, other languages show "practically no grammaticalization whatsoever," while others still fall along the spectrum between these two polarities.[75] A language, moreover, may only grammaticalize one of the major TAM categories.[76] Comrie acknowledges that in some languages tense is not grammaticalized, only lexicalized, while in others aspect is only lexicalized.[77] Generally, languages select either tense, aspect, or modality as the most prominent category (e.g., tense for English, aspect for Greek). The remaining two categories are usually represented in less detail with the help of "peripheral systems like the use of auxiliaries, or other indirect means."[78] There may also be cases where two or three of these categories share equal prominence in a given language. The criteria for determining the prominent feature(s) include "degree of grammaticalization, obligatoriness, systematicity (or paradigmatization) and pervasiveness."[79] Investigating the prominence of tense, aspect, and modality must always proceed with caution, however; native languages, in this case English, bias those who would attempt such a study not unlike wearing red tinted classes distorts the perceived color of one's surroundings.[80]

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[75] Bhat, *Prominence*, 6.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Comrie, *Aspect*, 7-8. He also notes, "In practice, the relation between grammatical categories of individual languages and semantic categories is even more complex than is suggested by the simplistic view of semantic categories that are either grammaticalised or not in other languages" (9).

[78] Bhat, *Prominence*, 91.

[79] Ibid., 95.

[80] Ibid., 92.

2.1.5 TAM and the Text

The discussion of tense, aspect, and modality up to this point has been from the perspective of general linguistics, which on the whole deals with spoken languages for which there are native speakers. It needs to be emphasized that the present study concerns stages of the language for which there are no native informants. Imperial Aramaic and Hellenistic Greek are both dead stages of langauges whose progeny survives to the present. As such, native speakers are unavailable to provide intuition to the semantics and pragmatics of the respective verbal systems, further compounding the issue that results from native language bias (see §3.2). Particularly for Imperial Aramaic, only a tiny fraction of the literature has survived to the present. Much of the vocabulary has been lost and texts that, no doubt, would have illuminated the grammar and syntax are no longer available or are as yet undiscovered.

The corollary of these facts is that the structure of the text can aid in the decipherment of the verbal system, by cataloging which verbal forms occur in which context. In many ways, the verbal system is the backbone of the text, arranging and configuring the discourse, indicating foreground and background, and distinguishing narrative and discourse. Certain semantic values occur more prominently in narrative than in discourse and vice versa. Thus, for example perfective aspect, past time, and *realis*, three closely related domains, will occur with greater frequency in narrative than in discourse. Discourse naturally attracts present and future time, imperfective aspect, and *irrealis*. It is questionable, for example, whether absolute (not relative) future time reference can occur outside of discourse or speech. While *irrealis* and imperfective aspect are not limited by temporal location, they are more naturally suited to discourse. The intricate combination of TAM and dependent and independent clauses communicate prominence, provide narrative texture, and indicate foreground and background information. Due attention to

these phenomena, noting how each verbal form functions within the various textual strata, can serve as a check to more theoretically minded verbal semantics.[81]

[81] For a helpful overview of these features in Aramaic, see Shepherd, *The Verbal System of Biblical Aramaic: A Distributional Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 25-61, where he advances a textlinguistic methodology for the Biblical Aramaic verb, although, in my opinion, he takes things too far; for Greek, see Campbell, (*Verbal Aspect, The indicative Mood, and Narrative: Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* [New York: Peter Lang, 2007], 28-30), who suggests helpful methodological strategies; for Hebrew, see Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*, Jerusalem Biblical Studies 10 (Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), 33-35.

2.2 The Linguistic System of Markers Part 1:

Aramaic Forms and Their Greek Equivalents

Table 1 provides an overview of the frequency of Aramaic forms found in the Masoretic Texts of Ezra and Daniel.

TABLE 1: VERB FORMS IN THE ARAMAIC OF THE BIBLE[82]

VERBAL FORM	EZRA	DANIEL	TOTAL
Suffix Conjugation	79	288	367
Prefix Conjugation	45	180	225
Active Participle	25	185	210
T-Stem Participle	10	8	18
Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	6	21	27
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	28	29
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	3	4	7
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	0	3	3
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	3	1	4
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	1	2
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	3	4	7
Imperative	9	26	35
Infinitive	23	60	83
TOTAL	**208**	**809**	**1017**

In OG Daniel, 239 Aramaic forms, approximately 29% of all verbal forms, are absent.

Translation of the Suffix Conjugation

Tables 2-4 summarize the translation equivalents for the 79 occurrences of the SC in 2 Esdras and 288 occurrences of the SC in Daniel 2:4b-7:28. Most of the time the translator uses the aorist indicative to translate the suffix conjugation, as would be expected, but there are a

[82] The discrepancies between the numbers here and those of electronic programs such as Accordance and Bibleworks consists primarily in that periphrastic constructions here count as one form instead of two.

handful of cases where the translator departs from the standard translation equivalent. In three cases the suffix conjugation is absent in 2 Esdras.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 2: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION FORMS IN 2 ESDRAS

SUFFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	70	88.61
Perfect Indicative	1	1.27
Present Indicative	2	2.53
Present Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	1.27
Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	1	1.27
Aorist Participle	1	1.27
Minus	3	3.80
Total	79	100

Suffix Conjugation >Aorist Indicative: 88.61%
4:8, 4:10 (2), 11, 12 (2), 14 (2), 15, 17, 18 (2), 19 (3) 23 (3), 24; 5:1, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 (3), 10, 11 (3), 12 (4), 13, 14 (4), 15, 16 (2), 17; 6:1 (2), 2, 3, 5 (2), 8, 11, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 17, 18; 7:13, 14, 15, 21.

Suffix Conjugation > Perfect Indicative: 1.27%
5:7.

Suffix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 2.53%
4:20; 6:12.

Suffix Conjugation > Present Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 1.27%
4:12.

Suffix Conjugation > Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle: 1.27%
6:2.

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Participle: 1.27%
4:12.

Suffix Conjugation > Minus: 3.80%
4:14; 5:5, 14.

TH Daniel

TABLE 3: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION FORMS IN THEODOTION DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	255	88.54
Imperfect Indicative	5	1.74
Pluperfect Indicative	1	0.35
Perfect Indicative	2	0.69
Present Indicative	2	0.69
Aorist Participle	6	2.08
Perfect Participle	2	0.69
Noun	2	0.69
Minus	13	4.51
TOTAL	288	100

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Indicative: 88.54%
2:7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 17 (2), 19 (2), 23 (4), 24 (3), 25 (2), 26, 28, 29 (2), 30, 34 (3), 35 (6), 37, 38 (2), 41 (2), 43, 45 (4), 46 (3), 47, 48 (3), 49 (2); 3:1 (2), 2 (2), 3, 5, 7, 8 (2), 10, 12 (3), 13 (2), 14, 15, 16, 18, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2), 23, 24 (3), 26, 27 (3), 28 (4), 30, 32 (2); 4:2, 3, 5 (2), 6 (2), 8 (2), 15, 16, 17, 19 (4), 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28 (2), 30 (3), 31 (4), 32, 33 (2); 5:1, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 10 (2), 11 (2), 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 (4), 21 (3), 22 (2), 23 (4), 24 (2), 26 (2), 27 (2), 28, 29 (3), 30; 6:1, 2 (2), 7, 8, 10, 11 (3), 12 (2), 13, 14 (2), 15 (3), 17 (3), 18 (3), 19 (4), 20, 21 (2), 22, 23 (5), 24 (5), 25 (6), 26, 27, 28, 29; 7:1 (2), 4 (4), 5, 6, 8 (2), 9, 10 (2), 11 (3), 12 (2), 13 (2), 14, 15, 16 (2), 22 (4), 23, 27, 28.

Suffix Conjugation > Imperfect Indicative: 1.74%
3:27; 5:3, 4; 7:9, 19.

Suffix Conjugation > Pluperfect Indicative: 0.35%
3:28.

Suffix Conjugation > Perfect Indicative: 0.69%
2:25; 5:28.

Suffix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 0.69%
2:10; 3:29.

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Participle: 2.09%
2:35; 4:17; 6:13, 25; 7:20 (2).

Suffix Conjugation > Perfect Participle: 0.69%
4:17; 5:25.

Suffix Conjugation > Noun: 0.69%
2:12 (2).

Suffix Conjugation > Minus: 4.51%
2:16, 24; 3:3, 9, 22 (2); 5:10, 12; 6:5, 6, 14, 16; 7:1.

OG Daniel

TABLE 4: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION FORMS IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	152	52.96
Imperfect Indicative	6	2.09
Perfect Indicative	7	2.44
Present Indicative	5	1.74
Future Indicative	2	0.70
Aorist Participle	20	6.97
Aorist Infinitive	5	1.39
Present Infinitive	1	0.35
Aorist Subjunctive	1	0.35
Adjective	3	1.05
Preposition	1	0.35
Minus	85	29.62
Total	288	100

*Adjusted statistics for SC > Aorist Indicative: 74.88%

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Indicative: 52.96%
2:7, 9, 10, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16 (2), 17, 19 (2), 23 (3), 24, 25 (2), 26, 28, 29, 30, 34 (3), 35 (5), 37, 38, 41, 43, 45 (2), 46 (2), 47, 48, 49; 3:1 (2), 2 (2), 5, 7, 8, 10, 12 (3), 13 (2), 14, 15, 18, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2), 22/23, 23/22, 24 (2), 27 (3), 28 (4), 32/4:34c (2); 4:2, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30/30a, 30/30b, 33 (2); 5:1, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 13, 23 (3), 29; 6:1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 12 (2), 13 (2), 15, 17, 18 (3), 19 (2), 21, 22, 23 (2), 25 (3), 26, 28; 7:1 (2), 4 (4), 5, 6, 8 (2), 9, 10 (2), 11 (3), 12 (2), 14, 15, 16, 20, 22 (3), 23, 27, 28.

Suffix Conjugation > Imperfect Indicative: 2.09%
3:27; 6:5; 7:9, 13 (2), 19.

Suffix Conjugation > Perfect Indicative: 2.44%
2:25, 41, 45; 4:28; 5:26, 27 (2).

Suffix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 1.74%
2:10; 3:29; 5:26, 28; 7:16.

Suffix Conjugation > Future Indicative: 0.70%
4:21/20, 30.

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Participle: 6.97%
2:17, 24 (2), 35, 45, 46, 48 (2); 3:8, 9, 16, 22, 26, 28, 30; 4:16; 6:11, 20, 25; 7:20.

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Infinitive: 1.39%
2:23, 35; 4:19 (2); 7:22.

Suffix Conjugation > Present Infinitive: 0.35%
2:38.

Suffix Conjugation > Aorist Subjunctive: 0.35%
2:49.

Suffix Conjugation > Adjective: 1.05%
2:12 (2); 4:8

Suffix Conjugation > Preposition: 0.35%
6:11.

Suffix Conjugation > Minus: 29.62%
2:8, 24, 29; 3:3 (2), 24; 4:3, 5 (2), 6 (2), 8, 15, 17 (3), 19, 23, 25, 31 (4), 32; 5:3, 4, 10 (3), 11 (2), 12 (2), 13, 14 (2), 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 (4), 21 (3), 22 (2), 23, 24 (2), 25, 28, 29 (2), 30; 6:2, 6, 8, 14 (3), 15 (2), 16, 17 (2), 19 (2), 21, 23 (3), 24 (5), 25 (3), 27, 29; 7:1.

Distinctive Features and Summary

Due to the comparatively large number of minuses in OG Daniel (nearly 30%, compared to 3.8% and 4.5% for 2 Esdras and TH Daniel, respectively), the translation equivalents for the SC are somewhat skewed. The percentages normalize in comparison to TH Daniel and 2 Esdras when the minuses are removed from the equation. As a result, the choice of the Aorist Indicative for the SC becomes approximately 75%. Even with this adjustment, 2 Esdras and TH Daniel represent a markedly greater tendency to use the aorist indicative for the SC. In large part, this discrepancy is due to OG Daniel's tendency to utilize aorist participles for SC forms. OG Daniel also uses a greater diversity of equivalents (11) than 2 Esdras (6) and TH Daniel (8).

Translation of the Prefix Conjugation

Tables 5-7 summarize the translation equivalents for the 45 occurrences of the PC found in Ezra and the 180 PC verbs in Daniel 2:4b-7:28. The noticeable difference between the

translation equivalents for the PC in contrast to the SC is the lack of a standard equivalent comparable to the aorist indicative for the SC.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 5: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION IN 2 ESDRAS

PREFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	3	6.67
Present Indicative	1	2.22
Future Indicative	14	31.11
Aorist Infinitive	2	4.44
Aorist Subjunctive	12	26.67
Aorist Imperative	7	15.56
Present Imperative	3	6.67
Aorist Optative	1	2.22
Minus	2	4.44
Total	45	100

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Indicative: 6.67%
5:5 (2); 6:4.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 2.22%
4:13.

Prefix Conjugation > Future Indicative: 31.11%
4:13, 15 (2), 21; 6:5, 11 (4), 12 (2); 7:17, 20, 25.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Infinitive: 4.44%
5:10; 7:13.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Subjunctive: 26.67%
4:13 (2), 15, 16 (2), 22; 6:8; 7:16, 18, 20, 21, 23.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Imperative: 15.56%
5:17 (2); 6:3, 5 (2); 7:17, 18.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Imperative: 6.67%
6:7; 7:21, 23.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 2.22%
6:12.

Prefix Conjugation > Minus: 4.44%
4:21; 5:15.

TH Daniel

TABLE 6: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	13	7.22
Imperfect Indicative	14	7.78
Pluperfect Indicative	1	0.56
Present Indicative	2	1.11
Future Indicative	85	47.22
Aorist Participle	3	1.67
Present Participle	1	0.56
Aorist Infinitive	1	0.56
Present Infinitive	2	1.11
Aorist Subjunctive	36	20.00
Aorist Imperative	8	4.44
Present Imperative	4	2.22
Aorist Optative	2	1.11
Complex Phrase δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι	4	2.22
Minus	4	2.22
TOTAL	180	100

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Indicative: 7.22%
4:2 (2), 8, 17, 30, 31, 33 (2); 5:21; 6:20; 7:16, 26, 28.

Prefix Conjugation > Imperfect Indicative: 7.78%
4:9 (3), 16, 18 (2), 30, 33; 5:6, 21; 7:10, 15, 16, 28.

Prefix Conjugation > Pluperfect Indicative: 0.56%
7:10.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 1.11%
3:18; 5:16.

Prefix Conjugation > Future Indicative: 47.22%
2:4, 5 (2), 6, 7, 9 (2), 10, 11, 24, 25, 36, 39 (2), 40 (3), 41, 42, 44 (6); 3:6, 11, 15 (2), 17, 29 (2); 4:12, 13 (3), 14 (2), 20, 22 (4), 24, 29 (3), 32 (2); 5:7 (2), 12, 16 (2), 17 (2), 21; 6:6, 8, 13 (2), 17, 27; 7:14 (3), 17, 18 (2), 23 (5), 24 (4), 25 (4), 26, 27 (2).

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Participle: 1.67%
3:6, 11, 15.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Participle: 0.56%
3:5.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Infinitive: 0.56%
2:30.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Infinitive: 1.11%
5:29; 6:2.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Subjunctive: 20.00%
2:5, 6, 9 (2), 16, 18, 24, 30; 3:5, 6, 10, 11, 15 (3), 28 (2), 29; 4:3, 14 (2), 20, 22 (2), 23, 29 (2); 5:7 (2), 15, 16, 21, 8, 13, 16, 18.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Imperative: 4.44%
2:7; 4:11, 16, 24; 5:2, 12; 6:9 (2).

Prefix Conjugation > Present Imperative: 2.22%
3:5; 5:10 (2), 17.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 1.11%
3:31; 6:26.

Prefix Conjugation > Complex Phrase δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι: 2.22%
2:28, 29 (2), 45.

Prefix Conjugation > Minus: 2.22%
3:10 (2), 29; 6:9.

OG Daniel

TABLE 7: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	6	3.33
Imperfect Indicative	9	5.00
Pluperfect Indicative	1	0.56
Present Indicative	2	1.11
Future Indicative	59	32.78
Aorist Participle	6	3.33
Present Participle	3	1.67
Future Participle	1	0.56
Aorist Infinitive	4	2.22
Present Infinitive	1	0.56
Aorist Subjunctive	30	16.67
Present Subjunctive	1	0.56
Aorist Imperative	3	1.67
Aorist Optative	1	0.56

Complex Phrase δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι	3	1.67
Noun	1	0.56
Minus	49	27.22
TOTAL	180	100

*Adjusted statistics for PC > Future Indicative: 45.04%; PC > Aorist Subjunctive: 22.09%.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Indicative: 3.33%
4:2 (2); 5:29; 6:20; 7:16, 28.

Prefix Conjugation > Imperfect Indicative: 5.00%
4:8, 9 (3), 30; 5:6; 7:10, 16, 28.

Prefix Conjugation > Pluperfect Indicative: 0.56%
7:10.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Indicative: 1.11%
3:18; 5:16.

Prefix Conjugation > Future Indicative: 32.78%
2:4, 5 (2), 6, 7, 9 (2), 10, 11, 24, 25, 36, 39 (2), 40, 41, 42, 44 (5); 3:6, 11, 15 (2), 17, 29 (3); 4:29, 29/28; 5:7 (2), 16 (2); 6:8, 13 (2), 17; 7:17, 18 (2), 23 (4), 24 (4), 25 (4), 26 (2), 27 (2).

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Participle: 3.33%
3:5, 6, 10, 15 (2); 4:16.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Participle: 1.67%
2:40; 4:18; 7:14.

Prefix Conjugation > Future Participle: 0.56%
2:45.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Infinitive: 2.22%
2:30; 3:15 (2); 5:2.

Prefix Conjugation > Present Infinitive: 0.56%
4:14.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Subjunctive: 16.67%
2:5, 6, 9 (2), 16, 18, 24, 44; 3:5, 6, 10 (2), 11, 28 (2), 29; 4:13 (2), 14 (2), 24, 29/28 (2); 5:7; 6:8, 9, 13, 18; 7:14 (2).

Prefix Conjugation > Present Subjunctive: 0.56%
4:12.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Imperative: 1.67%
2:7; 3:5; 4:24.

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 0.56%
3:31/4:34c.

Prefix Conjugation > Complex Phrase δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι: 1.67%
2:28, 29 (2).

Prefix Conjugation > Noun: 0.56%
2:30.

Prefix Conjugation > Minus: 27.22%
2:40; 3:11; 4:3, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 20 (2), 22 (6), 23, 29, 30, 31, 32 (2), 33 (3); 5:7, 10 (2), 12 (2), 15, 16, 17 (3), 21 (4); 6:2, 6, 9 (2), 16, 26, 27; 7:15, 23.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The future indicative, aorist subjective, and aorist imperative constitute the only equivalencies greater than 10% in 2 Esdras, while in both OG and TH Daniel only the future indicative and aorist subjunctive break double digit percentages. After minuses are accounted for in OG Daniel, the adjusted statistics for future indicative and aorist subjunctive equivalents are nearly identical at approximately 67%. Both OG and TH Daniel display considerably more diversity in their translation choices than 2 Esdras.

Translation of the Active Participle[83]

Tables 8-10 provide the equivalents for the 25 active participles in Ezra and 185 active participles in Daniel. Again, no standard translation equivalent exists for the active participle.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 8: THE TRANSLATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE FORMS IN 2 ESDRAS

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	3	12.00
Present Indicative	5	20.00
Perfect Indicative	1	4.00
Present Participle	4	16.00
Perfect Participle	2	8.00
Present Subjunctive	1	4.00

[83] The charts here include both verbal and nominal functions of the active participle. The main reason for this decision is that the line between verbal and nominal functions is a spectrum with a certain amount of ambiguity existing for a minority of forms.

Noun	8	32.00
Minus	1	4.00
Total	25	100

Active Participle > Aorist Indicative: 12.00%
5:3; 6:3, 14.

Active Participle > Present Indicative: 20.00%
4:12, 16; 5:8, 11; 6:3.

Active Participle > Perfect Indicative: 4.00%
7:24.

Active Participle > Present Participle: 16.00%
4:15, 17; 5:2, 4.

Active Participle > Perfect Participle: 8.00%
7:25 (2).

Active Participle > Present Subjunctive: 4.00%
6:10.

Active Participle > Noun: 32.00%
4:15; 5:5; 6:8, 14; 7:14, 15, 24, 25.

Active Participle > Minus: 4.00%
6:14.

TH Daniel

TABLE 9: THE TRANSLATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE FORMS IN THEODOTION DANIEL

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	42	22.70
Imperfect Indicative	20	10.81
Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	0.54
Pluperfect Indicative	1	0.54
Perfect Indicative	1	0.54
Present Indicative	44	23.78
Present Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	0.54
Future Indicative	2	1.08
Aorist Participle	1	0.54
Present Participle	38	20.54
Perfect Participle	3	1.62
Noun	4	2.16
Adjective	5	2.70

Minus	22	11.89
Total	185	100

Active Participle > Aorist Indicative: 22.70%
2:5, 7, 8 (2), 20, 26 (2), 27, 47; 3:14, 19, 24 (2), 25, 26 (2), 28 (2); 4:4 (2), 10, 11 (2), 16 (4), 20, 27 (2), 28; 5:7 (2), 9, 13, 15, 17; 6:6, 7, 13, 17; 7:21.

Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 10.81%
3:4; 7 (2), 22, 27; 4:4; 5:5 (2), 6, 8 (2), 23; 7:2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 19, 21.

Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative of εἰμι + Adjective: 0.54%
6:5.

Active Participle > Pluperfect Indicative: 0.54%
3:3.

Active Participle > Perfect Indicative: 0.54%
2:8.

Active Participle > Present Indicative: 23.78%
2:8, 10, 11, 21 (3), 22, 23 (2), 26, 27 (2), 38, 40 (2); 3:12 (2), 14 (2), 16, 17, 18, 25; 4:6, 15 (2), 29, 32, 34 (4); 5:23 (3); 6:13, 14 (2), 16, 17, 21, 28 (3).

Active Participle > Present Indicative of εἰμι + Adjective: 0.54%
3:17.

Active Participle > Future Indicative: 1.08%
4:22 (2).

Active Participle > Aorist Participle: 0.54%
2:47.

Active Participle > Present Participle: 20.54%
2:21, 22, 28, 29, 47; 3:7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 31; 4:16, 20, 32, 34; 5:1/2, 5, 12 (2), 19; 6:11 (2), 12, 26, 27; 7:3, 7 (2), 8, 9, 19 (2), 20.

Active Participle > Perfect Participle: 1.62%
2:21, 31; 7:16.

Active Participle > Noun: 2.16%
2:27; 4:4, 32; 5:7.

Active Participle > Adjective: 2.70%
2:15, 22, 45; 3:25; 7:5.

Active Participle > Minus: 11.89%
2:5, 15 (2), 20, 27; 3:9, 19, 24 (2), 25, 26; 5:7, 13, 17; 6:5, 13, 17, 21 (2); 7:2 (2), 10.

OG Daniel

TABLE 10: THE TRANSLATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE FORMS IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	40	22.62
Imperfect Indicative	11	5.95
Pluperfect Indicative	1	0.54
Present Indicative	18	9.73
Present Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	0.54
Future Indicative	2	1.08
Aorist Participle	10	5.41
Present Participle	38	20.54
Present Participle + Noun	1	0.54
Perfect Participle	1	0.54
Noun	5	2.70
Adjective	2	1.08
Adverb	1	0.54
Minus	54	29.19
Total	185	100

*Adjusted statistics for Active Participle > Aorist Indicative: 30.53%; Active Participle > Present Indicative: 13.74%; Active Participle > Present Participle: 29.01%.

Active Participle > Aorist Indicative: 22.62%
2:5, 8, 20, 26, 27, 47; 3:3, 4, 7 (2), 9, 12 (2), 14, 16, 19, 24, 26 (2), 28; 4:10, 11 (2), 16, 20 (2), 27; 5:5 (2), 7 (2), 13, 17; 6:6, 7, 13 (2), 14; 7:2, 5.

Active Participle > *Imperfect Indicative: 5.95%*
2:15; 3:22, 27; 5:1/2, 8 (2), 23; 6:11; 7:3, 10, 11.

Active Participle > Pluperfect Indicative: 0.54%
3:31.

Active Participle > Present Indicative: 9.73%
2:8, 11, 21, 23 (2), 26; 3:4, 14 (2), 16, 17, 18, 25, 28, 34 (2); 6:17, 21.

Active Participle > Present Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective: 0.54%
3:17.

Active Participle > Future Indicative: 1.08%
4:22, 29.

Active Participle > Aorist Participle: 5.41%
2:5, 20, 26, 27, 47; 3:14, 28; 4:27; 5:13; 6:13.

Active Participle > Present Participle: 20.54%
2:7, 15, 21 (3), 21, 22 (2), 28, 29, 40; 47; 3:7, 11, 15, 20, 25, 26, 31; 4:16; 5:5, 7; 6:12, 14, 21, 26, 27; 7:3, 7 (3), 8, 9, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2).

Active Participle > Perfect Participle: 0.54%
7:16.

Active Participle > Present Participle + Noun: 0.54%
7:5.

Active Participle > Noun: 2.70%
2:27, 38; 3:25; 5:7, 11.

Active Participle > Adjective: 1.08%
2:22, 45.

Active Participle > Adverb: 0.54%
2:15.

Active Participle > Minus: 29.19%
2:8 (2), 10, 27 (2), 40 (2); 3:17, 19, 21, 23, 24 (3), 25 (2), 26; 4:4 (4), 6, 15 (2), 16 (3), 22, 32 (3); 5:6, 9, 12 (2), 15, 17, 19, 23 (3); 6:5 (2), 11, 16, 17 (2), 28 (3); 7:2 (2), 10, 19.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The active participle has a broad array of translation equivalents. Both OG and TH Daniel employ greater diversity in their translation choices than 2 Esdras. One noticeable difference between the translations is that 2 Esdras uses nouns to translate many substantival Aramaic participles, whereas OG and TH Daniel use substantival present participles. There is also marked difference in the degree to which TH employs the present indicative in comparison to OG—a nearly 2:1 ratio. TH Daniel uncharacteristically has 22 minuses for the active participle. Typically, TH Daniel's minuses register in the low single digits, if any exist at all.[84]

[84] The one other exception to this is with TH's translation of the *SC of* הוה *+ T-Stem Participle* where there are only 3 occurrences of this verbal construction and one is not represented in TH Daniel.

Translation of the t-Stem Participle

Tables 11-13 supply the translation equivalents for the 10 occurrences of the t-stem participle in Ezra and 8 occurrences in Daniel. T-stem participles are the "true passive (and reflexive counterpart of the active participle."[85] As such, they warrant their own classification here.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 11: THE TRANSLATION OF THE T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN 2 ESDRAS

T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	1	10.00
Present Indicative	6	60.00
Present Participle	3	30.00
Total	10	100

T-Stem Participle > Aorist Indicative: 10.00%
5:16.

T-Stem Participle > Present Indicative: 60.00%
4:19 (2), 20; 5:8 (3).

T-Stem Participle > Present Participle: 30.00%
7:12, 16, 19.

TH Daniel

TABLE 12: THE TRANSLATION OF THE T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	2	25.00
Imperfect Indicative	3	37.50
Present Indicative	2	25.00
Present Participle	1	12.50
Total	8	100

T-Stem Participle > Aorist Indicative: 25.00%
3:3; 5:9.

T-Stem Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 37.50%
2:13; 5:6, 9.

[85] Li, *Verbal System*, 70.

T-Stem Participle > Present Indicative: 25.00%
2:43; 3:27.

T-Stem Participle > Present Participle: 12.50%
6:12.

OG Daniel

TABLE 13: THE TRANSLATION OF THE T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	1	12.50
Perfect Participle	1	12.50
Aorist Infinitive	1	12.50
Δύναται + Aorist Infinitive	1	12.50
Minus	4	50.00
Total	8	100

*Adjusted statistics for T-Stem Participle > Aorist Indicative: 25.00%; T-Stem Participle > Perfect Participle: 25.00%; T-Stem Participle > Aorist Infinitive: 25.00%: T-Stem Participle > δύναται + Aorist Infinitive: 25.00%.

T-Stem Participle > Aorist Indicative: 12.50%
3:27.

T-Stem Participle > Perfect Participle: 12.50%
3:3.

T-Stem Participle > Aorist Infinitive: 12.50%
2:13.

T-Stem Participle > δύναται + Aorist Infinitive: 12.50%
2:43.

T-Stem Participle > Minus: 50.00%
5:6, 9 (2); 6:12.

Distinctive Features and Summary

When moving from 2 Esdras to TH Daniel to OG Daniel, the use of the present indicative for the t-stem participle drops from 60% to 37.5% to 0.00%. Aside from the use of the present indicative, all other translation equivalents appear to be contextually determined.

Translation of the Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective

Tables 14-16 document the translation equivalents for the passive participle/verbal adjective in 2 Esdras and TH and OG Daniel. As Li notes, a number of passive participles are classified as adjectives in some dictionaries,[86] though morphologically these forms are identical. Furthermore, the G stem passive participle is morphologically indistinguishable to the Gp 3rd masculine singular SC verb.[87] Only the function of these forms in context can distinguish between them.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 14: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN 2 ESDRAS

PASSIVE PARTICPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	1	16.67
Perfect Indicative	1	16.67
Present Indicative	1	16.67
Perfect Participle	2	33.33
Minus	1	16.67
Total	6	100

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Aorist Indicative: 16.67%
5:16.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Perfect Indicative: 16.67%
7:12.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Indicative: 16.67%
6:1.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Perfect Participle: 33.33%
4:22; 6:11.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Minus: 16.67%
4:18

[86] Li, *Verbal System*, 60.

[87] Ibid.

TH Daniel

TABLE 15: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PASSIVE PARTICPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	2	9.52
Present Indicative	1	4.76
Present Participle	1	4.76
Perfect Participle	7	33.33
Noun	2	9.52
Adjective	5	23.81
Minus	3	14.29
Total	21	100

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Aorist Indicative: 9.52%
3:22; 4:32.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Present Indicative: 4.76%
2:22.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Present Participle: 4.76%
7:7.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Perfect Participle: 33.33%
2:9, 41, 43; 3:23, 24, 25; 6:11.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Noun: 9.52%
4:32; 6:5.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Adjective: 23.81%
2:31; 3:28; 6:21; 7:7, 19.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Minus: 14.29%
3:19; 6:4, 5.

OG Daniel

TABLE 16: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PASSIVE PARTICPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	5	23.81
Imperfect Indicative	1	4.76
Present Participle + Adverb	1	4.76
Perfect Participle	3	14.29
Noun	2	9.52

Adjective	5	23.81
Minus	4	19.05
Total	21	100

*Adjusted statistics for Passive Participle > Aorist Indicative: 31.25%; Passive Participle > Perfect Participle: 18.74%; Passive Participle > Adjective: 31.25%.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Aorist Indicative: 23.81%
3:22, 23, 27; 6:4, 11.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Imperfect Indicative: 4.76%
3:19.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Present Participle + Adverb: 14.29%
7:7.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Perfect Participle: 9.52%
2:41, 43; 3:25.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Noun: 9.52%
2:22; 6:5.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Adjective: 23.81%
2:31; 3:28; 6:21; 7:7, 19.

Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective > Minus: 19.05%
2:9; 3:24; 4:32; 6:5.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The only translation equivalent that occurs with any regularity across 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel is the perfect participle, while OG and TH Daniel both regularly use adjectives. The other equivalents appear to be contextually motivated. The adjective is statistically significant in TH and OG Daniel, while the aorist indicative (together with the adjective) is the most common equivalent in OG Daniel (over 31% when statistics are adjusted), reflecting the ambiguity that exists between the passive participle and 3rd masculine singular Gp form.

Translation of the Periphrastic Constructions

The Aramaic of the Bible contains between four and six periphrastic constructions, depending on whether the *SC/PC + passive participle* is to be classified as periphrastic construction or not. These constructions include: 1) *SC of* הוה *+ active participle*; 2) *PC of* הוה *+ active participle*; 3) *SC of* הוה *+ t-stem participle*; 4) *PC of* הוה *+ t-stem participle*; 5) *SC of* הוה *+ passive participle*; 6) *PC of* הוה *+ passive participle*. Although these periphrastic constructions can occur with the participle coming before or after the copulative verb, this distinction is not documented in the tables below because it does not appear to have any bearing on the forms the translators use in their translations.

Translation of the Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle

Tables 17-19 summarize the translation equivalents for the single occurrence of the periphrastic construction *SC of* הוה *+ active participle* in 2 Esdras and the 28 occurrences in TH and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 17: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN 2 ESDRAS

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ Active Participle > Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%*
4:24.

TH Daniel

TABLE 18: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect Indicative	21	75.00
Imperfect of εἰμι + Present Participle	4	14.29
Present Participle	2	7.14
Minus	1	3.57
Total	28	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 75.00%
2:31, 34; 4:7, 10; 5:19 (8); 6:5; 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 21.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Imperfect of εἰμι + Present Participle: 14.29%
5:19; 6:11 (2); 7:19.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Participle: 7.14%
4:26; 7:13.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Minus: 3.57%
7:11.

OG Daniel

TABLE 19: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	1	3.57
Imperfect Indicative	14	50.00
Perfect Indicative	2	7.14
Present Participle	1	3.57
Minus	10	35.71
Total	28	100

*Adjusted statistics for Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 77.78%.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Aorist Indicative: 3.57%
6:5.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 50.00%
4:7, 10, 26; 6:1; 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 (2), 13 (2), 21.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Perfect Indicative: 7.14%
2:31, 34.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ Active Participle > Present Participle: 3.57%*
7:19.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ Active Participle > Minus: 35.71%*
5:19 (9); 7:11.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The singular occurrence of *SC of* הוה *+ active participle* in Ezra is translated with the corresponding Greek construction *Imperfect of εἶμι + present participle*, while in TH Daniel only 14% of these Aramaic constructions are rendered with *Imperfect of εἶμι + present participle*. The Imperfect indicative translates 75% of these constructions. In OG Daniel, however, *Imperfect of εἶμι + present participle* never translates the Aramaic periphrastic construction and when statistics are adjusted for minuses, approximately 78% are translated with the imperfect indicative.

Translation of the Prefix Conjugation of הוה **+ Active Participle**

Tables 20-22 summarize the translation equivalents for the three occurrences of the construction *PC of* הוה *+ active participle* in 2 Esdras and four occurrences of the construction in TH and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 20: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN 2 ESDRAS

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Present Subjunctive of εἶμι + Present Participle	3	100
Total	3	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה *+ Active Participle > Present Subjunctive of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%*
6:10; 7:25, 26

TH Daniel

TABLE 21: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Present Subjunctive	1	25.00
Present Infinitive	1	25.00
Present Infinitive of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Total	4	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25.00%
2:43.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Subjunctive: 25.00%
6:3.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Infinitive: 25.00%
6:3.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Infinitive of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25.00%
6:27.

OG Daniel

TABLE 22: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + ACTIVE PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Minus	2	50.00
Total	4	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 50.00%; Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Imperative of Present Participle: 50.00%.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25.00%
2:43.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25.00%
6:27.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Minus: 25.00%
6:3 (2).

Distinctive Features and Summary

Aside from 2 Esdras' use of the *present subjunctive of εἶμι + present participle* for all the instances of the construction in question because they are syntactically subordinate following the particle די, TH and OG Daniel provide unique, contextually determined translations for each occurrence of the *PC of הוה + active participle*.

Translation of Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle

Tables 23 and 24 provide a summary of the translation equivalents for the three occurrences of the *SC of הוה + t-stem participle* in Daniel. The construction SC of הוה + t-stem participle is not attested in the Aramaic sections of Ezra.

TH Daniel

TABLE 23: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect Indicative	2	66.67
Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	33.33
Total	3	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle >Imperfect Indicative: 66.67%
6:4; 7:8.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle: 33.33%
6:15.

OG Daniel

TABLE 24: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect Indicative	1	33.33
Present Participle + Noun	1	33.33
Minus	1	33.33
Total	3	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 33.33%
6:15.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Present Participle + Noun: 33.33%
6:4.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Minus: 33.33%
7:8.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The absence of this construction in 2 Esdras and the small sample size in TH and OG Daniel notwithstanding, aside from the more idiomatic translation in OG Daniel 6:4, the translation of the *SC of הוה + t-stem participle* is consistent with the periphrastic construction with the active participle.

Translation of Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle

Tables 25-27 summarize the translation equivalents of the PC of the three instances of the *PC of הוה + t-stem participle* in 2 Esdras and the single occurrence in TH and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 25: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN 2 ESDRAS

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	33.33%
Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle	2	66.67
Total	3	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 33.33%
7:26

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 66.67%
6:8, 9.

TH Daniel

TABLE 26: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Future indicative of εἶμι + Adjective: 100%
2:43.

OG Daniel

TABLE 27: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + T-STEM PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle > Future indicative of εἶμι + Adjective: 100%
2:43.

Distinctive Features and Summary

In contrast 2 Esdras, which uses the standard *Future Indicative/Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle* equivalents like the translation equivalents for the *PC of* הוה *+ active participle,* TH and OG Daniel use an adjective with the Future Indicative of *εἶμι* at 2:43.

Translation of the Suffix Conjugation of הוה **+ Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective**

Tables 28-30 summarize the translation of the single occurrence of the *SC of* הוה *+ passive participle* in both Ezra and the single occurrence in Daniel. Although Li notes that this construction "does not yet constitute a complex verb phrase in the present corpus [viz., Daniel],"[88] it is included as such here because the translators render the construction as a complex verbal construction in their respective translations.

2 Esdras

TABLE 28: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN 2 ESDRAS

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ Passive Participle > Imperfect of εἶμι + Perfect Participle: 100%* 5:11.

TH Daniel

TABLE 29: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

[88] Ibid., 79.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%
4:1.

OG Daniel

TABLE 30: THE TRANSLATION OF THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Imperfect of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%
4:1.

Distinctive Features and Summary

2 Esdras uses the standard translation equivalents for the individual elements הוה and passive participle—Imperfect of εἶμι and a Perfect Participle, respectively. In contrast, TH and OG Daniel follow a different reading tradition to render the passive participle שלה with a Present Participle.

Translation of the Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective

Tables 31-33 summarize the translation equivalents of the three occurrences of the PC of הוה + Passive Participle in Ezra and four occurrences in Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 31: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN 2 ESDRAS

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Present Imperative of εἶμι + Adjective	3	100
Total	3	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Present Imperative + Adjective: 100%
4:12, 13; 5:8.

TH Daniel

TABLE 32: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Passive Participle	1	25.00
Present Imperative of εἶμι + Adjective	1	25.00
Optative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Total	4	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Future indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25%
2:42.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Future indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle: 25%
2:41.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Present Imperative of εἶμι + Adjective: 25%
3:18.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Optative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 25%
2:20.

OG Daniel

TABLE 33: THE TRANSLATION OF THE PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PREFIX CONJUGATION OF הוה + PASSIVE PARTICIPLE/VERBAL ADJECTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	1	25.00
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Adjective	2	50.00
Present Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	25.00
Total	4	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה *+ Passive Participle > Future Indicative of* εἶμι *+ Perfect Participle: 25%*
2:42.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה *+ Passive Participle > Future Indicative of* εἶμι *+ Adjective: 25%*
2:41; 3:18.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה *+ Passive Participle > Present Imperative of* εἶμι *+ Present Participle: 25%*
2:20.

Distinctive Features and Summary

Most of the translations employ either the Future Indicative or Present Imperative of εἶμι depending on the context. 2 Esdras, though, uses adjectives to render passive participles, while TH and OG also use present and perfect participles. Only TH uses the optative of εἶμι.

Translation of the Imperative

Tables 34-26 summarize the translation equivalents of the nine instances of the Imperative in 2 Esdras and 26 in TH Daniel and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 34: THE TRANSLATION OF THE IMPERATIVE IN 2 ESDRAS

IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Present Participle	1	11.11
Aorist Imperative	6	66.67
Present Imperative	1	11.11
Minus	1	11.11
Total	9	100

Imperative > Present Participle: 11.11%
6:6.

Imperative > Aorist Imperative: 66.67%
4:21; 5:15 (2); 6:7; 7:19, 25.

Imperative > Present Imperative: 11.11%
5:15.

Imperative > Minus: 11.11%
4:22.

TH Daniel

TABLE 35: THE TRANSLATION OF THE IMPERATIVE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Imperative	20	76.92
Present Imperative	5	19.23
Imperatival Adverb δεῦρο/δεῦτε	1	3.85
Total	26	100

Imperative > Aorist Imperative: 76.92%
2:4, 6, 9, 24; 3:26; 4:6, 11 (4), 12, 15, 20 (3), 24; 5:17; 6:16; 7:5 (2).

Imperative > Present Imperative: 19.23%
2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7, 22.

Imperative > Imperatival Adverb δεῦρο/δεῦτε: 3.85%
3:26.

OG Daniel

TABLE 36: THE TRANSLATION OF THE IMPERATIVE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Future Indicative	1	3.85
Aorist Infinitive	4	15.38
Aorist Subjunctive	1	3.85
Aorist Imperative	10	38.46
Present Imperative	1	3.85
Minus	9	34.62
Total	26	100

*Adjusted statistics for the Imperative > Aorist Infinitive: 23.53%; Imperative > Aorist Imperative: 58.82%; Imperative > Present Imperative: 11.76%.

Imperative > Future Indicative: 3.85%
2:4.

Imperative > Aorist Infinitive: 15.38%
4:11 (2), 20 (2).

Imperative > Aorist Subjunctive: 3.85%
2:9.

Imperative > Aorist Imperative: 38.46%
2:4, 6, 24; 3:26; 4:11 (2), 12, 24; 7:5 (2).

Imperative > Present Imperative: 3.85%
3:9.

Imperative > Minus: 34.62%
3:26; 4:6, 15, 20; 5:10, 17; 6:7, 16, 22.

Distinctive Features and Summary

Across the board, all three translators use imperatives to translate Aramaic imperatives. Aorist imperatives are most common, but in a significant minority of cases, they use the present imperative. As is characteristic of OG Daniel, the translator employs a number of syntactical transformations that result in non-standard translation equivalents.

Translation of the Infinitive

Tables 27-39 summarize the translation equivalents of the 23 occurrences of the infinitive in Ezra and 60 occurrences in Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 37: THE TRANSLATION OF THE INFINITIVE IN 2 ESDRAS

INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Infinitive	18	78.26
Present Infinitive	1	4.35
Aorist Participle	1	4.35
Noun	3	13.04
Total	23	100

Infinitive > Aorist Infinitive: 78.26%
4:14, 21, 22; 5:2, 3 (2), 9 (2), 10, 13, 17; 6:8, 12 (2); 7:13, 14, 18, 20.

Infinitive >Present Infinitive: 4.35%
7:24.

Infinitive > Present Participle: 4.35%
5:11.

Infinitive > Noun: 13.04%
4:22; 7:15, 16.

TH Daniel

TABLE 38: THE TRANSLATION OF THE INFINITIVE IN THEODOTION DANIEL

INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Aorist Indicative	2	3.33
Imperfect Indicative	1	1.67
Aorist Participle	1	1.67
Present Participle	1	1.67
Aorist Infinitive	40	66.67
Present Infinitive	2	3.33
Aorist Subjunctive	4	6.67
Aorist Imperative	1	1.67
Noun	5	8.33
Adverb	1	1.67
Minus	2	3.33
Total	60	100

Infinitive > Aorist Indicative: 3.33%
6:4, 5.

Infinitive > Imperfect Indicative
2:18.

Infinitive > Aorist Participle: 1.67%
3:20.

Infinitive > Present Participle: 1.67%
5:12.

Infinitive > Aorist Infinitive: 66.67%
2:9, 10, 12, 13, 24, 26, 27, 46, 47; 3:2 (2), 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 29, 32; 4:3, 15, 34; 5:2, 7, 8 (2), 15, 16 (3), 20; 6:5, 8 (2), 15 (2), 16, 21, 25, 26 (2).

Infinitive > Present Infinitive: 3.33%
2:14; 6:21.

Infinitive > Aorist Subjunctive: 6.67%
2:16; 3:19; 5:15; 6:9.

Infinitive > Aorist Imperative: 1.67%
4:23.

Infinitive > Noun: 8.33%
2:25; 3:24; 4:24, 32; 6:20.

Infinitive > Adverb: 1.67%
7:19.

Infinitive > Minus: 3.33%
5:16; 6:24.

OG Daniel

TABLE 39: THE TRANSLATION OF THE INFINITIVE IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Perfect Indicative	1	1.67
Aorist Infinitive	30	50.00
Aorist Participle	3	5.00
Aorist Subjunctive	2	3.33
Noun	3	5.00
Minus	21	35.00
Total	60	100

* Adjusted Percentage: Infinitive > Aorist Infinitive: 76.92%

Infinitive > Perfect Indicative: 1.67%
6:21.

Infinitive > Aorist Infinitive: 50.00%
2:9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, 26, 46, 47; 3:2 (2), 13, 16, 17, 19 (2), 20, 29, 32/4:34c; 5:2, 7, 8, 16; 6:4, 15; 7:19, 25, 26 (2).

Infinitive > Aorist Participle: 5.00%
3:20, 24; 4:23.

Infinitive > Aorist Subjunctive: 3.33%
2:16; 6:9.

Infinitive > Noun: 5.00%
2:25, 27; 4:24.

Infinitive > Minus: 35.00%
4:3, 15, 32, 34; 5:8, 12, 15 (2), 16 (3), 20; 6:5 (2), 8 (2), 15, 16, 20, 21, 24.

Distinctive Features and Summary

All three translators predictably use infinitives to render the Aramaic infinitive, with the aorist infinitive by far the most common. Uncharacteristically, however, TH Daniel uses a greater number of translation equivalents (such as the Aorist indicative) and, when the minuses in OG Daniel are taken into account, has a lower percentage of Infinitives rendered as Aorist infinitives.

Summative Observation

From 39 charts and accompanying statistics, a few general observations are in order. With few exceptions, 2 Esdras and TH Daniel represent a tendency to render their *Vorlage* with greater fidelity to stereotyped equivalents. Nearly a third of all verbs in the MT are absent in OG Daniel. Clear preferred equivalents emerge when these minuses are taken into account. Yet, even so, OG Daniel is less consistent in translating Aramaic verbal forms and uses a greater diversity of equivalents, though this difference is quantitative not qualitative.

2.3 The Linguistic System of Markers Part 2: Greek Forms and Their Aramaic Equivalents

The present section exhaustively catalogues and very briefly describes[89] the Greek verbal forms in the relevant sections of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel and their Aramaic counterparts. A certain amount of overlap is inevitable between the previous and present sections. But in order to present the data in a way that is easily accessible, this approach seems preferable. By presenting the data from the perspective of Greek readers, so to speak, we are able to view, for example, the various Aramaic verbal forms (and lack thereof) behind the Aorist indicatives and compare these statistics among the translators. The section at hand is particularly germane to chapters 7 and 8, which focus on Greek verbal syntax. The following table supplies an overview of the Greek verbal forms in 2 Esdras 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26, TH Daniel 2:4b-7:28, and OG Daniel. 2:4b-7:28.

TABLE 40: GREEK VERBAL FORMS IN 2 ESDRAS, TH DANIEL, AND OG DANIEL

VERBAL FORM	2 ESDRAS	TH DANIEL	OG DANIEL
Aorist Indicative	73	325	303
Imperfect Indicative	0	68	67
Pluperfect Indicative	0	3	4

[89] For nonce Greek forms and constructions, as well as those that occur infrequently, the section "distinctive features and summary" is not supplied.

Perfect Indicative	2	4	25
Present Indicative	20	82	75
Future Indicative	17	91	89
Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	6	2
Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	2	0	1
Present Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	0	0	1
Present Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	1	0	0
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	2	2
Future Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle	0	1	1
Aorist Participle	2	11	57
Present Participle	13	54	79
Perfect Participle	4	12	9
Future Participle	0	0	1
Aorist Infinitive	19	40	60
Present Infinitive	1	6	6
Infinitive of εἶμι + Present Participle	0	1	0
Aorist Imperative	13	30	17
Present Imperative	9	9	5
Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle	2	0	2
Aorist Subjunctive	15	39	55
Present Subjunctive	1	1	1
Subjunctive of εἶμι + Present Participle	1	0	0
Aorist Optative	1	2	2
Optative of εἶμι + Present Participle	0	1	0
Complex Verb Construction δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι	0	4	3
Complex Verb Construction δύναται + Aorist Infinitive	0	0	1
TOTAL	**198**	**792**	**868**

In OG Daniel, 277 Greek verbal forms, approximately 32% of the total Greek verbal forms do not have a known Aramaic *Vorlage*. Even though there are large differences in the Greek texts of TH Daniel and OG Daniel, due to the numerous minuses and pluses in OG, the overall text of OG, measuring by verbal forms, is less than 9% longer than TH.

Greek Indicative Verbs

The Greek indicative verbal forms consist of the Aorist, Imperfect, Pluperfect, Perfect, Present, and Future. The Future Perfect is unattested in the present corpus.

Aorist Indicative

Tables 41-43 summarize the Aorist indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 41: AORIST INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	64	87.67
Prefix Conjugation	3	4.11
Active Participle	2	2.74
T-Stem Participle	1	1.37
Passive Participle	2	2.74
Plus	1	1.37
Total	73	100

Aorist Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 87.67%
4:8, 10 (2), 11, 12 (2), 14 , 15, 18 (2), 19 (3), 23 (3), 24; 5:1, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11 (3), 12 (4), 13, 14 (4), 15, 16 (2), 17; 6:1 (2), 2, 3, 5 (2), 8, 11, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 17, 18; 7:13, 14, 15, 21.

Aorist Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 4.11%
5:5 (2); 6:5.

Aorist Indicative < Active Participle: 2.74%
5:3; 6:14.

Aorist Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 1.37%
5:16.

Aorist Indicative < Passive Participle: 2.74%
5:16; 6:3

Aorist Indicative < Plus: 1.37%
4:9.

TH Daniel

TABLE 42: AORIST INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	255	78.46
Prefix Conjugation	13	4.00
Active Participle	42	12.92
T-Stem Participle	2	0.62
Passive Participle	2	0.62
Infinitive	2	0.62
Noun	2	0.62
Plus	7	2.15
Total	325	100

Aorist Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 78.46%
2:7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 17 (2), 19 (2), 23 (4), 24 (3), 25 (2), 26, 28, 29 (2), 30, 34 (3), 35 (6), 37, 38 (2), 41 (2), 43, 45 (4), 46 (3), 47, 48 (3), 49 (2); 3:1 (2), 2 (2), 3, 5, 7, 8 (2), 10, 12 (3), 13 (2), 15, 16, 18, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2), 23, 24 (3), 26, 27 (3), 28 (4), 30, 32 (2); 4:2 (2), 3, 5 (2), 6 (2), 8 (2), 15, 16, 17, 19 (4), 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28 (2), 30 (3), 31 (4), 32, 33 (2); 5:1, 2, 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 10 (2), 11 (2), 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16, 18, 19, 20 (4), 21 (4), 22 (2), 23 (4), 24 (2), 26 (2), 27 (2), 28, 29 (3), 30; 6:1, 2 (2), 7, 8, 10, 11 (3), 12 (2), 13, 14 (2), 15 (3), 17 (3), 18 (3), 19 (4), 20, 21 (2), 22, 23 (5), 24 (5), 25 (6), 26, 27, 28, 29; 7:1 (2), 4 (4), 5, 6, 8 (2), 9, 10 (2), 11 (3), 12 (2), 13 (2), 14, 15, 16 (2), 22 (4), 23, 27, 28.

Aorist Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 4.00%
4:2 (2), 8, 17, 30, 31, 33 (2); 5:21; 6:20; 7:16, 26, 28.

Aorist Indicative < Active Participle: 12.92%
2:5, 7, 8 (2), 20, 26 (2), 27, 47; 3:14, 19, 24 (2), 25, 26 (2), 28 (2); 4:4 (2), 10, 11 (2), 16 (4), 20, 27 (2), 28; 5:7 (2), 9, 13, 15, 17; 6:6, 7, 13, 17; 7:21.

Aorist Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 0.62%
3:3; 5:9.

Aorist Indicative < Passive Participle: 0.62%
3:22; 4:32.

Aorist Indicative < Infinitive: 0.62%
6:4, 5.

Aorist Indicative < Noun: 0.62%
2:5, 8.

Aorist Indicative < Plus: 2.15%
2:15; 3:7, 30, 33; 4:12; 5:29; 6:10.

OG Daniel

TABLE 43: AORIST INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	152	50.17
Prefix Conjugation	6	1.98
Active Participle	40	13.20
T-Stem Participle	1	0.33
Passive Participle	5	1.65
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	0.33
Noun	1	0.33
איתי	1	0.33
Plus	96	31.68
Total	303	100

* Adjusted Percentages: Aorist Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 73.43%; Aorist Indicative < Active Participle: 19.32%

Suffix Conjugation < Aorist Indicative: 50.17%
2:7, 9, 10, 12, 13 (2), 14 (2), 15, 16 (2), 17, 19 (2), 23 (3), 24, 25 (2), 26, 28, 29, 30, 34 (3), 35 (5), 37, 38, 41, 43, 45 (2), 46 (2), 47, 48, 49; 3:1 (2), 2 (2), 5, 7, 8, 10, 12 (3), 13 (2), 15, 18, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2), 22/23, 23/22, 24 (2), 27 (3), 28 (4); 4:2, 16, 19, 20, 27, 28, 30a/30, 30b/30, 33 (2), 34c/3:32 (2); 5:1, 2 (2), 3 (2), 4, 5, 6, 13, 23 (3), 29; 6:1, 2, 7, 10, 11, 12 (2), 13 (2), 15, 17, 18 (3), 19 (2), 21, 22, 23 (2), 25 (3), 26, 28; 7:1 (2), 4 (4), 5, 6, 8 (2), 9, 10 (2), 11 (3), 12 (2), 14, 15, 16, 20, 22 (3), 23, 27, 28.

Prefix Conjugation < Aorist Indicative: 1.98%
4:2 (2); 5:29; 6:20; 7:16, 28.

Active Participle < Aorist Indicative: 13.20%
2:5, 8, 20, 26, 27, 47; 3:3, 4, 7 (2), 9, 12 (2), 14 16, 19, 24, 26 (2), 28; 4:10, 11 (2), 16, 20 (2), 27; 5:5 (2), 7 (2), 13, 17; 6:6, 7, 13 (2), 14; 7:2, 5.

T-Stem Participle < Aorist Indicative: 0.33%
3:27.

Passive Participle < Aorist Indicative: 1.65%
3:22, 23, 27; 6:4, 11.

Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle < Aorist Indicative: 0.33%
6:5.

Noun < Aorist Indicative: 0.33%
2:30.

איתי < Aorist Indicative: 0.33%
3:25.

Plus < Aorist Indicative: 31.68%
2:9, 18, 19, 30, 48; 3:10, 23, 30; 4:1, 12, 14a (7), 15 (3), 19 (3), 23, 25 (2), 30a (4), 30b (4), 30c (5), 34a (3), 34b (4), 34c; 5:1 (6), 2, 4, 6 (2), 9 (2), 10, 11, 12, 17 (4), 23 (4), 29, 30 (3); 6:5, 8, 9, 10, 13 (3), 14, 15 (2), 19 (2), 20 (2), 22, 23 (2), 24 (3), 29 (2); 7:1.

Distinctive Features and Summary

2 Esdras represents the highest percentage of Aorist indicatives translated from SC forms, while once the minuses in OG Daniel are taken into consideration, the statistics for TH and OG Daniel are within 5% of each other. The 10-15% difference between 2 Esdras and the Greek translations of Daniel is due to the significant minority Aorist indicates in these texts that translate Aramaic active participles.

Imperfect Indicative

Tables 44-45 summarize the Imperfect indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of TH and OG Daniel. There are no cases of the imperfect indicative in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras.[90]

TH Daniel

TABLE 44: IMPERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	5	7.35
Prefix Conjugation	14	20.59
Active Participle	20	29.41
T-Stem Participle	3	4.41
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	21	31.34
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	2	2.94

[90] The B text, as represented in Ralph's edition, has an imperfect indicative (ἦτε) at 2 Esdras 4:22 which is based on a misreading of הוו as a SC instead of an imperative. This reading represents a correction towards a proto-Masoretic text type.

Infinitive	1	1.47
Nominal Clause	2	2.94
Total	68	100

Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 7.35%
3:27; 5:3, 4; 7:9, 19.

Imperfect Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 20.59%
4:9 (3), 16, 18 (2), 30, 33; 5:6, 21; 7:10, 15, 16, 28.

Imperfect Indicative < Active Participle: 29.41%
3:4, 7 (2), 22, 27; 4:4; 5:5 (2), 6, 8 (2), 23; 7:2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 11, 19, 21.

Imperfect Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 4.41%
2:13; 5:6, 9.

Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ Active Participle: 31.34%*
2:31, 34; 4:7, 10; 5:19 (8); 6:5; 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 21.

Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation of הוה *+ t-Stem Participle: 2.94%*
6:4; 7:8.

Imperfect Indicative < Infinitive: 1.47%
2:18.

Imperfect Indicative < Nominal Clause: 2.94%
2:49; 6:3.

OG Daniel

TABLE 45: IMPERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	6	8.96
Prefix Conjugation	9	13.43
Active Participle	11	16.42
Passive Participle	1	1.49
Suffix Conjugation of הוה **+ Active Participle**	14	20.90
Suffix Conjugation of הוה **+ T-Stem Participle**	1	1.49
Nominal Clause	8	11.94
Plus	17	25.37
Total	67	100

* Adjusted Percentages: Imperfect Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 18.00%; Imperfect Indicative < Active Participle: 22.00%; Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle: 28.00%; Imperfect Indicative < Nominal Clause: 34.00%

Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 8.96%
3:27; 6:5; 7:9, 13 (2), 19.

Imperfect Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 13.43%
4:8, 9 (3), 30a/30; 5:6; 7:10, 16, 28.

Imperfect Indicative < Active Participle: 16.42%
2:15; 3:22, 27; 5:1/2, 8 (2), 23; 6:11; 7:3, 10, 11.

Imperfect Indicative < Passive Participle: 1.49%
3:19.

Suffix Conjugation of היה *+ Active Participle > Imperfect Indicative: 20.90%*
4:7, 10, 26; 6:11 (2); 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13 (2), 21.

Imperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation of היה *+ T-Stem Participle: 1.49%*
6:15.

Imperfect Indicative < Nominal Clause: 11.94%
2:31, 32, 49; 6:3, 4; 7:5, 7, 20.

Imperfect Indicative < Plus: 25.37%
4:7, 8 (2), 14a, 26, 30b; 5:6 (2), 7 (2), 9, 10, 11, 23; 6:4, 16; 7:8.

Distinctive Features and Summary

No single Aramaic form stands behind the Imperfect indicative forms. In TH Daniel, the Aramaic forms are evenly split between the *SC of* היה *+ active participle*, the active participle, and the PC. Once statistics are adjusted for the minuses in OG Daniel, the same Aramaic forms stand behind the Imperfect indicatives, while nominal clauses constitute a larger percentage.

Pluperfect Indicative

Tables 46-47 summarize the Pluperfect indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant sections of TH and OG Daniel. No examples of the Pluperfect Indicative are attested in the relevant sections of 2 Esdras.

TH Daniel

TABLE 46: PLUPERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	33.33
Prefix Conjugation	1	33.33
Active Participle	1	33.33
Total	3	100

Pluperfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 33.33%
3:28.

Pluperfect Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 33.33%
7:10.

Pluperfect Indicative < Active Participle: 33.33%
3:3.

OG Daniel

TABLE 47: PLUPERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	25.00
Active Participle	1	25.00
Plus	2	50.00
Total	4	100

Pluperfect Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 25.00%
7:10.

Pluperfect Indicative < Active Participle: 25.00%
2:31.

Pluperfect Indicative < Plus: 25.00%
6:6; 6:9.

Perfect Indicative

Tables 48-50 summarize the Perfect indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 48: PERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PERFECT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Active Participle	1	50.00
Passive Participle	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Perfect Indicative < Active Participle: 50.00%
7:24.

Perfect Indicative < Passive Participle: 50.00%
7:12.

TH Daniel

TABLE 49: PERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PERFECT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	2	50.00
Active Participle	1	25.00
Plus	1	25.00
Total	4	100

Perfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 50.00%
2:25; 5:28.

Perfect Indicative < Active Participle: 25.00%
2:8.

Perfect Indicative < Plus: 25.00%
2:9.

OG Daniel

TABLE 50: PERFECT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PERFECT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	5	20
Periphrastic Construction הוה + Active Participle	2	8

Infinitive	1	4
Plus	17	68
Total	25	100

* Adjusted Percentages: Perfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 62.50%.

Perfect Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 28.00%
2:25, 41, 45; 4:28; 5:26.

Perfect Indicative < Periphrastic Construction הוה *+ Active Participle: 8.00%*
2:31, 34.

Perfect Indicative < Infinitive: 4.00%
6:21.

Perfect Indicative < Plus: 60.00%
2:8, 10, 27, 29; 4:11, 30b, 34a; 5:1 (3), 17 (2), 27 (2); 6:13, 21, 23.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The Perfect indicative translates no single Aramaic form. The greatest number of occurrences of the Perfect indicative are found in OG Daniel and most of these occur in the text's pluses.

Present Indicative

Tables 51-53 summarize the present indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 51: PRESENT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	2	10.00
Prefix Conjugation	1	5.00
Active Participle	4	20.00
Passive Participle	2	10.00
T-Stem Participle	4	20.00
Adjective	1	5.00
Personal Pronoun	2	10.00
אִיתַי	1	5.00
Nominal Clause	3	15.00
Total	20	100

Present Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 10.00%
4:20; 6:12.

Present Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 5.00%
4:13.

Present Indicative < Active Participle: 20.00%
4:12, 16; 5:8, 11.

Present Indicative < Passive Participle: 10.00%
6:1, 3.

Present Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 20.00%
4:2; 5:8 (3).

Present Indicative < Adjective: 5.00%
4:14.

Present Indicative < Personal Pronoun: 10.00%
5:4, 11.

Present Indicative < אִיתַי: 5.00%
4:16.

Present Indicative < Nominal Clause: 15.00%
4:15; 7:22, 23.

TH Daniel

TABLE 52: PRESENT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	2	2.44
Prefix Conjugation	2	2.44
Active Participle	44	53.66
T-Stem Participle	2	2.44
Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	1.22
Adjective	2	2.44
Personal Pronoun	8	9.76
אִיתַי	10	12.20
Nominal Clause	8	9.76
Plus	3	3.66
Total	82	100

Present Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 2.44%
2:10; 3:29.

Present Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 2.44%
3:18; 5:16.

Present Indicative < Active Participle: 53.66%
2:8, 10, 11, 21 (3), 22, 23 (2), 26, 27 (2), 38, 40 (2); 3:4, 12 (2), 16, 17 (2), 18, 25; 4:6, 15 (2), 28, 29, 32, 34 (4); 5:23 (3); 6:14 (2), 16, 17, 21, 28 (3).

Present Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 2.44%
2:43; 3:27.

Present Indicative < Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective: 1.22%
2:22.

Present Indicative < Adjective: 2.44%
4:22, 29.

Personal Pronoun > Present Indicative: 9.67%
2:28, 38, 47; 4:21; 5:13.

Present Indicative < אִיתַי: 12.20%
2:10, 11 (2), 28; 3:12, 15, 25, 29; 4:32; 5:11.

Present Indicative < Noun Clause: 9.67%
2:20, 36, 39; 3:15; 4:5, 14, 19, 27.

Present Indicative < Plus: 3.66%
2:27; 6:16, 27.

OG Daniel

TABLE 53: PRESENT INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	5	6.67
Prefix Conjugation	2	2.67
Active Participle	19	25.33
T-Stem Participle	1	1.33
Noun	1	1.33
Adjective	2	2.67
Personal Pronoun	3	4.00
אִיתַי	6	8.00
Nominal Clause	6	8.00
Plus	30	40.00
Total	75	100

* Adjusted Percentages: Present Indicative < Active Participle: 42.22%.

Present Indicative < Suffix Conjugation >: 6.67%
2:10; 3:29; 5:26, 28; 7:16.

Present Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 2.27%
3:18; 5:16.

Present Indicative < Active Participle: 25.33%
2:8, 11, 21, 23 (2), 26; 3:4, 14 (2), 16, 17 (2), 18, 25; 4:28, 34 (2); 6:17, 21.

Present Indicative < T-Stem Participle: 1.33%
3:27.

Present Indicative < Noun: 1.33%
2:15.

Present Indicative < Adjective: 2.67%
4:28/29; 6:21.

Present Indicative < Personal Pronoun: 4.00%
2:28, 38, 47.

Present Indicative < אִיתַי: 8.00%
2:11 (2), 28; 3:12, 15, 29.

Present Indicative < Nominal Clause: 8.00%
2:11, 20; 3:15; 4:14, 27; 5:12.

Present Indicative < Minus: 40.00%
2:10, 11 (2), 27; 3:15, 17, 18, 21; 4:23 (2), 30c, 34 (5), 34a (2), 34b, 34c; 5:1, 9; 6:6 (2), 9 (2), 13 (2), 27, 28; 7:17.

Distinctive Features and Summary

TH Daniel represents the highest percentage of Present indicatives translated from Aramaic active participles, followed by 2 Esdras (if one includes t-stem particles), and then OG Daniel, whose adjusted statistics mirror that of 2 Esdras. Even so, the present indicative may represent a variety of Aramaic forms, especially when one considers that the Greek copulative verb regularly translates the personal pronoun, אִיתַי, and nominal clauses.

Future Indicative

Tables 54-56 summarize the Future indicatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 54: FUTURE INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	14	82.35
Noun	2	11.76
Plus	1	5.88
Total	17	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Future Indicative < PC: 87.50%.

Future Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 82.35%
4:13, 15 (2), 21; 6:4, 11 (4), 12 (2); 7:17, 20, 25.

Future Indicative < Noun: 11.76%
6:6; 7:24.

Future Indicative < Plus: 5.88%
4:13.

TH Daniel

TABLE 55: FUTURE INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

FUTURE INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	85	93.40
Active Participle	2	2.20
Adjective	2	2.20
Plus	2	2.20
Total	91	100

Prefix Conjugation < Future Indicative: 93.40%
2:4, 5 (2), 6, 7, 9 (2), 10, 11, 24, 25, 36, 39 (2), 40 (3), 41, 42, 44 (6); 3:6, 11, 15 (2), 17, 29 (2); 4:12, 13 (3), 14 (2), 20, 22 (4), 24, 29 (3), 32 (2); 5:7 (2), 12, 16 (2), 17 (2), 21; 6:6, 8, 13 (2), 17, 27; 7:14 (3), 17, 18 (2), 23 (5), 24 (4), 25 (4), 26, 27 (2),

Future Indicative < Active Participle: 2.20%
4:22 (2).

Future Indicative < Adjective: 2.20%
4:23; 5:21.

Future Indicative < Plus: 2.20%
5:16; 7:17.

OG Daniel

TABLE 56: FUTURE INDICATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

FUTURE INDICATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	2	2.25
Prefix Conjugation	59	66.29
Active Participle	2	2.25
Prefix Conjugation of להוא + Passive Participle	2	2.25
Imperative	1	1.12
Noun	1	1.12
Adjective	1	1.12
Plus	21	23.59
Total	89	100

* Adjusted Percentages: Future Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 88.06%.

Future Indicative < Suffix Conjugation: 2.25%
4:20/21, 30.

Future Indicative < Prefix Conjugation: 66.29%
2:4, 5(2), 6, 7, 9 (2), 10, 11, 24, 25, 36, 39 (2), 40, 41, 42, 44 (5); 3:6, 11, 15 (2), 17, 29 (3); 4:28/29, 29; 5:7 (2), 16 (2); 6:8, 13 (2), 17; 7:17, 18 (2), 23 (4), 24 (4), 25 (4), 26 (2), 27 (2).

Future Indicative < Active Participle: 2.25%
4:22, 29.

Future Indicative < Prefix Conjugation of להוא + Passive Participle: 2.25%
2:41; 3:18.

Future Indicative < Imperative: 1.12%
2:4.

Future Indicative < Noun: 1.12%
2:6.

Future Indicative < Adjective: 1.12%
4:23.

Future < Plus: 23.59%
2:9, 28, 44; 4:22, 23 (2), 27, 29 (2), 30, 34a (4), 34c; 5:7, 16; 6:5, 6, 13; 7:27.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The PC stands behind the future indicative with the highest rate of regularity of any translation equivalent—near 90% across the board (if one takes into account the single plus in 2 Esdras). The future indicative in OG Daniel, though, translates twice the number of Aramaic forms as TH Daniel and 2 Esdras.

Periphrastic Constructions

The present section catalogues the various periphrastic constructions that appear in 2 Esdras, TH Daniel and OG Daniel. Periphrastic constructions outside of the indicative mood appear immediately following their non-periphrastic counterpart. Six periphrastic constructions are found in the relevant Greek texts: 1) imperfect indicative of εἶμι + present participle; 2) imperfect indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle; 3) present indicative of εἶμι + present participle; 4) present indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle; 5) future indicative of εἶμι + present participle; 6) future indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle. Not all of these constructions are attested in each Greek text.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle

Tables 57-59 summarize the occurrences of the imperfect indicative of εἶμι + present participle translated from Aramaic in the relevant sections of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 57: IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	1
Total	1	100

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < SC of הוה + Active Participle: 100%
4:24.

TH Daniel

TABLE 58: IMPERFECT INDICATIVES OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	16.67
SC of הוה + Active Participle	4	67.67
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	1	16.67
Total	6	100

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < SC of הוה + Passive Participle: 16.67%
4:1.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < SC of הוה + Active Participle: 67.67%
5:19; 6:11 (2); 7:19.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < SC of הוה + T-Stem Participle: 16.67%
6:15.

OG Daniel

TABLE 59: IMPERFECT INDICATIVES OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	50.00
Plus	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < SC of הוה + Passive Participle: 50.00%
4:1.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < Plus: 50.00%
6:19.

Distinctive Features and Summary

As would be expected, the Greek periphrastic constructions typically translate Aramaic periphrastic constructions with the active or t-stem participle. OG Daniel stands as a notable exception to this pattern.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle

Tables 60-61 summarize the occurrences of the imperfect indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle in the relevant sections of 2 Esdras and OG Daniel. The construction is unattested in TH Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 60: IMPERFECT INDICATIVES OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	50.00
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 50.00%
6:2.

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle < Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle: 50.00%
5:11.

OG Daniel

TABLE 61: IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Plus	1	100
Total	1	100

Imperfect Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle < Plus: 100%
6:4.

Present Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle

The construction *present indicative of εἶμι + present participle* is unattested in 2 Esdras 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26 and TH Daniel. Table 62 documents the single instances in OG Daniel.

OG Daniel

TABLE 62: PRESENT INDICATIVES OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Plus	1	1
Total	1	100

Present Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle < Plus: 100%
6:23.

Present Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle

The periphrastic construction *present indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle* is unattested in 2 Esdras 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26 and TH Daniel 2:4b-7:28. Table 63 documents the single occurrence in 2 Esdras.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 63: PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	1
Total	1	100

Present Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 100%
4:12.

Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle

Tables 64-66 summarize the occurrences of the future indicative of εἶμι + present participle translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 64: FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%
7:26.

TH Daniel

TABLE 65: FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	50.00
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 50.00%
2:43.

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 50.00%
2:42.

OG Daniel

TABLE 66: FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	50.00
Plus	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 50.00%
2:43.

Plus < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Present Participle: 50.00%
6:28.

Future Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle

Tables 67-68 document the single occurrence of the construction *future indicative of εἶμι + perfect participle* in TH Daniel and OG Daniel. It is unattested in 2 Esdras 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26.

TH Daniel

TABLE 67: FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle < Future Indicative of εἶμι + Perfect Participle: 100%
2:41.

OG Daniel

TABLE 68: FUTURE INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle < Future Indicative of εἰμι + Perfect Participle: 100%
2:42.

Non-Indicative Greek Verbs

The non-indicative moods in the Greek verbal system include participles, infinitives, imperatives, subjunctives, and optative forms.

Aorist Participle

Tables 69-71 summarize aorist participles translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 69: AORIST PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	50.00
Noun	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Aorist Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 50.00%
4:12.

Aorist Participle < Noun: 50.00%
5:17.

TH Daniel

TABLE 70: AORIST PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	6	54.55
Prefix Conjugation	3	27.27
Active Participle	1	9.09
Infinitive	1	9.09
Total	11	100

Aorist Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 54.55%
2:35; 4:17; 6:13, 25; 7:20 (2).

Aorist Participle < Prefix Conjugation: 27.27%
3:6, 11, 15.

Aorist Participle < Active Participle: 9.09%
2:47.

Aorist Participle < Infinitive: 9.09%
3:20.

OG Daniel

TABLE 71: AORIST PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	20	35.09
Prefix Conjugation	6	10.53
Active Participle	10	17.54
Infinitive	3	5.26
Noun	1	1.75
Plus	17	29.82
Total	57	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Aorist Participle < SC: 50.00%; Aorist Participle < Active Participle: 25.00%.

Aorist Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 35.09%
2:17, 24 (2) 35, 45, 46, 48 (2); 3:8, 9, 16, 22, 26, 28; 4:16 (2); 6:11, 20, 25; 7:20.

Aorist Participle < Prefix Conjugation: 10.53%
3:5, 6, 10, 15 (2); 4:16.

Aorist Participle < Active Participle: 17.54%
2:5, 20, 26, 27, 47; 3:14, 28; 4:27; 5:23; 6:13.

Aorist Participle < Infinitive: 5.26%
3:20, 24; 4:23.

Aorist Participle < Noun: 1.75%
3:13.

Aorist Participle < Plus: 29.82%
2:12, 29; 3:22 (2), 23 (2); 4:15, 16 (5), 34c; 5:17; 6:17, 19; 7:16.

Distinctive Features and Summary

OG Daniel stands out with an approximately 5:1 of aorist participles compared to 2 Esdras and TH combined. Most of these are translated from the SC.

Present Participle

Tables 72-74 summarize the present participles translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 72: PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Active Participle	2	15.38
T-Stem Participle	3	23.08
Imperative	1	7.69
Infinitive	1	7.69
Noun	4	30.77
Adjective	1	7.69
Preposition	1	7.69
Total	13	100

Present Participle < Active Participle: 15.38%
4:15; 5:2.

Present Participle < T-Stem Participle: 23.08%
7:13, 16, 19.

Present Participle < Imperative: 7.69%
6:6.

Present Participle < Infinitive: 7.69%
5:11.

Present Participle < Noun/Noun Clause: 38.46%
5:10; 6:8; 7:15, 24.

Present Participle < Adjective: 7.69%
4:20.

Present Participle < Preposition:
7:17

TH Daniel

TABLE 73: PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	1.85
Active Participle	38	70.37
Passive Participle	1	1.85
Infinitive	1	1.85
Noun	1	1.85
Adjective	7	12.96
אִיתַי	1	1.85
Nominal Clause	1	1.85
Plus	3	5.56
Total	54	100

Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation: 1.85%
3:5.

Present Participle < Active Participle: 70.37%
2:21, 22, 28, 29, 47; 3:7, 11, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 31; 4:16, 20, 32, 34; 5:2/1, 5, 12 (2), 19; 6:11, 12 (2), 26, 27; 7:3, 7 (2), 8, 9, 19 (2), 20.

Present Participle < Passive Participle: 1.85%
7:7.

Present Participle < Infinitive: 1.85%
5:12.

Present Participle < Noun: 1.85%
5:12.

Present Participle < Adjective: 12.96%
2:30; 4:1, 14, 31; 5:27; 6:27 (2).

Present Participle < אִיתַי: 1.85%
2:30.

Present Participle < Nominal Clause: 1.85%
6:1.

Present Participle < Plus: 5.56%
2:43; 3:27; 5:11.

OG Daniel

TABLE 74: PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	3	3.80
Active Participle	38	48.10
Passive Participle	1	1.27
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	1.27
Suffix Conjugation of הוה + t-Stem Participle	1	1.27
Noun	4	14.81
Adjective	4	14.81
אִיתַי	1	1.27
Nominal Clause	1	1.27
Plus	25	31.65
Total	79	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Present Participle < Active Participle: 70.37%.

Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation: 3.80%
2:40; 4:18; 7:14.

Present Participle < Active Participle: 48.10%
2:7, 15, 21 (3), 22 (2), 28, 29, 40, 47; 3:7, 11, 15, 20, 25, 26; 4:16, 34c/3:31; 5:5, 7, 12, 14; 6:21, 26, 27; 7:3, 5, 7 (3), 8, 9, 19 (2), 20, 21 (2).

Present Participle < Passive Participle: 1.27%
7:7.

Present Participle < Suffix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle: 1.27%
7:19.

Present Participle < Suffix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle: 1.27%
6:4.

Present Participle < Noun: 14.81%
2:5, 26; 6:3; 7:1.

Present Participle < Adjective: 14.81%
4:1; 6:21, 27 (2).

Present Participle < אִיתַי: 1.27%
2:30.

Present Participle < Nominal Clause: 1.27%
4:28.

Present Participle < Plus: 31.65%
3:1 (2); 4:7, 15 (2), 19 (2), 34 (2), 34a, 34b, 34c; 5:1, 4, 23 (2); 6:4, 5, 14, 15, 23, 26, 28; 7:4, 9.

Distinctive Features and Summary

Little variation exists among the Greek translations in their use of the present participle to translate Aramaic forms. In all three, the present normally represents an active participle, noun, or adjective.

Perfect Participle

Tables 75-77 summarize the occurrences of perfect participles in the relevant portion of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 75: PERFECT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Active Participle	2	50.00
Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	2	50.00
Total	4	100

Perfect Participle < Active Participle: 50.00%
7:25 (2).

Perfect Participle < Passive Participle: 50.00%
4:22; 6:11.

TH Daniel

TABLE 76: PERFECT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	2	16.67

Active Participle	3	25.00
Passive Participle	7	58.33
Total	12	100

Perfect Participle < Suffix Conjugation: 16.67%
4:17; 5:25.

Perfect Participle < Active Participle: 25.00%
2:21, 31; 7:16.

Perfect Participle < Passive Participle: 58.33%
2:9, 41, 43; 3:23, 24, 25; 6:11.

OG Daniel

TABLE 77: PERFECT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Active Participle	1	11.11
Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	3	33.33
Preposition	1	11.11
Plus	4	44.44
Total	9	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Perfect Participle < Passive Participle: 60.00%.

Perfect Participle < Active Participle: 11.11%
7:16.

Perfect Participle < Passive Participle: 33.33%
2:41, 43; 3:25.

Perfect Participle < Preposition: 11.11%
7:13.

Perfect Participle < Plus: 44.44%
4:17, 19, 23; 6:13.

Distinctive Features and Summary

When the pluses in OG Daniel are taken into account, OG Daniel uses the perfect participle to translate Aramaic passive participles with greatest frequency, followed by TH Daniel and 2 Esdras.

Future Participle

Table 78 documents the only occurrence of the future participle in OG Daniel. This verbal form is unattested in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras in TH Daniel.

OG Daniel

TABLE 78: PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation > Future Participle: 100%
2:45.

Aorist Infinitive

Tables 79-81 summarizes aorist infinitives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 79: AORIST INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	2	10.53
Infinitive	17	89.47
Total	19	100

Aorist Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation: 10.53%
5:10; 7:13.

Aorist Infinitive < Infinitive: 89.47%
4:14, 21, 22; 5:2, 3 (2), 10, 13, 17; 6:8 (2), 12 (2); 7:13, 14, 18, 20.

TH Daniel

TABLE 80: AORIST INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	2.44
Infinitive	40	97.56
Total	40	100

Aorist Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation: 2.44%
2:30.

Aorist Infinitive < Infinitive: 97.56%
2:9, 10, 12, 13, 24, 26, 27, 46, 47; 3:2 (2), 13, 16, 17, 19, 20, 29, 32; 4:3, 15, 34; 5:2, 7, 8 (2), 15, 16 (3), 20; 6:5, 8 (2), 15 (2), 16, 21, 25, 26 (2).

OG Daniel

TABLE 81: AORIST INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	5	8.33
Prefix Conjugation	4	6.67
T-Stem Participle	1	1.67
Imperative	4	6.67
Infinitive	30	50.00
Noun	1	1.67
Plus	15	25.00
Total	60	100

* Adjusted Statistics: *Infinitive > Aorist Infinitive: 66.67%*

Aorist Infinitive < Suffix Conjugation: 8.33%
2:23, 35; 4:19 (2); 7:22.

Aorist Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation: 6.67%
2:30; 3:15 (2); 5:2.

Aorist Infinitive < T-Stem Participle: 1.67%
2:13.

Aorist Infinitive < Imperative: 6.67%
4:11 (2), 20 (2).

Aorist Infinitive < Infinitive: 50.00%
2:9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 18, 24, 26, 46, 47; 3:2 (2), 13, 16, 17, 19 (2), 20, 29, 34c/3:32; 5:2, 7, 8, 16; 6:4, 15, 24; 7:19, 26 (2).

Aorist Infinitive < Noun >: 1.67%
7:27.

Aorist Infinitive < Plus: 25.00%
2:10; 4:19, 34a (5); 5:7 (3), 9; 6:5, 15, 16, 28.

Distinctive Features and Summary

All but one of the aorist infinitives in TH Daniel are translated from infinitives (97.5%), while 2 Esdras represents a slightly lower percentage at nearly 90%. When the pluses are taken into consideration, OG Daniel is significantly less consistent, using the aorist infinitive to translate a broader array of Aramaic forms.

Present Infinitive

Tables 82-84 summarize the present infinitive translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 82: PRESENT INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Infinitive	1	100
Total	1	100

Present Infinitive < Infinitive: 100%
7:24.

TH Daniel

TABLE 83: PRESENT INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	2	33.33
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	16.67
Infinitive	2	33.33
Plus	1	16.67
Total	6	100

Present Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation: 33.33%
5:29; 6:2.

Present Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation of ***הוה*** *+ Active Participle: 16.67%*
6:3.

Present Infinitive < Infinitive: 33.33%
2:14; 6:21.

Present Infinitive < Plus: 16.67%
3:30.

OG Daniel

TABLE 84: PRESENT INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	16.67
Prefix Conjugation	1	16.67
Adjective	1	16.67
Plus	3	50.00
Total	6	100

Present Infinitive < Suffix Conjugation: 16.67%
2:38.

Present Infinitive < Prefix Conjugation: 16.67%
4:14.

Present Infinitive < Adjective: 16.67%
4:14.

Present Infinitive < Plus: 16.67%
3:30; 4:8, 34a.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The present infinitive, while rare, most commonly occurs when translating the PC in TH Daniel. The single occurrence in 2 Esdras and the usages in OG Daniel do not represent a discernable pattern.

Infinitive of εἶμι + Present Participle

Table 85 documents the singular occurrence of the periphrastic construction infinitive of εἶμι + present participle in TH Daniel. The construction is absent in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras and OG Daniel.

TH Daniel

The construction *present infinitive of εἶμι + present participle* is unattested in 2 Esdras 4:8-6:18 and 7:12-26 and OG Daniel 2:4b-7:28.

TABLE 85: PRESENT INFINITIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

OPTATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Present Infinitive of εἶμι + Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle: 100%
6:27.

Aorist Imperative

Tables 86-88 summarize the aorist imperatives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 86: AORIST IMPERATIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	7	53.85
Imperative	6	46.15
Total	13	100

Aorist Imperative < Prefix Conjugation: 53.58%
5:17 (2); 6:3, 5 (2); 7:17, 18.

Aorist Imperative < Imperative: 46.15%
4:21; 5:15 (2); 6:7; 7:19, 25.

TH Daniel

TABLE 87: AORIST IMPERATIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	8	26.67
Imperative	20	66.67
Infinitive	1	3.33
Plus	1	3.33
Total	30	100

Aorist Imperative < Prefix Conjugation: 26.67%
2:7; 4:11, 16, 24; 5:2, 12; 6:9 (2),

Aorist Imperative < Imperative: 66.67%
2:4, 6, 9, 24; 3:26; 4:6; 4:11 (4), 12, 15, 20 (3), 24; 5:17; 6:16; 7:5 (2),

Aorist Imperative < Infinitive: 3.33%
4:23.

Aorist Imperative < Plus: 3.33%
4:6.

OG Daniel

TABLE 88: AORIST IMPERATIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	3	17.65
Imperative	10	58.82
Noun	1	5.88
Plus	3	17.65
Total	17	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Aorist Imperative < Imperative: 71.43%.

Aorist Imperative < Prefix Conjugation: 17.65%
2:7; 3:5; 4:24.

Aorist Imperative < Imperative: 58.82%
2:4, 6, 24; 3:26; 4:11 (2), 12, 24; 7:5 (2).

Aorist Imperative < Noun: 5.88%
2:6.

Aorist Imperative <Plus: 17.65%
4:24, 30c (2).

Distinctive Features and Summary

2 Esdras is split between the aorist imperative representing the PC and imperative, with the slight statistical edge to the PC, while in TH Daniel and OG Daniel the aorist imperative most often translates the Aramaic imperative and secondarily the PC.

Present Imperative

Tables 89-91 summarize the present imperative translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 89: PRESENT IMPERATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	6	66.67
Imperative	1	11.11
Noun/Noun Clause	1	11.11
Plus	1	11.11
Total	9	100

Present Imperative < Prefix Conjugation: 66.67%
4:12, 13; 5:8; 6:7; 7:21, 23.

Present Imperative < Imperative: 11.11%
5:15.

Present Imperative < Noun Clause: 11.11%
7:24.

Present Imperative < Plus: 11.11%
7:23.

TH Daniel

TABLE 90: PRESENT IMPERATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	4	44.44
Imperative	5	55.56
Total	9	100

Present Imperative < Prefix Conjugation: 44.44%
3:5; 5:10 (2), 17.

Present Imperative < Imperative: 55.56%
2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7, 22.

OG Daniel

TABLE 91: PRESENT IMPERATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT IMPERATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Imperative	1	20.00
Minus	4	80.00
Total	5	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Present Imperative < Imperative: 100%.

Present Imperative < Imperative: 20.00%
3:9.

Present Imperative < Plus: 80.00%
2:28; 4:34b (2); 6:17.

Distinctive Features and Summary

The present imperatives in 2 Esdras represent the greatest number of Aramaic forms. In TH Daniel, the Aramaic forms represented decrease to only the PC and imperative. Finally, in Daniel, the only Aramaic form that stands behind the present imperative is the imperative.

Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle

Tables 92-93 document the two occurrences each of the present imperative of εἶμι + present participle translated from Aramaic in 2 Esdras and OG Daniel. The construction is absent in TH Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 92: IMPERATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

IMPERATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle	2	100
Total	2	100

Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation of הוה + T-Stem Participle: 100%
6:8, 9.

OG Daniel

TABLE 93: IMPERATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT INDICATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle	1	50.00
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle: 50.00%
2:20.

Imperative of εἶμι + Present Participle < Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle: 50.00%
6:27.

Aorist Subjunctive

Tables 94-96 summarize the aorist subjunctives translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 94: AORIST SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	12	80.00
Noun	1	6.67

Plus	2	13.33
Total	15	100

Aorist Subjunctive < Prefix Conjugation >: 80.00%
4:13 (2), 15, 16 (2), 22; 6:8; 7:16, 18, 20, 21, 23.

Aorist Subjunctive < Noun: 6.67%
6:9.

Aorist Subjunctive < Plus: 13.33%
5:17; 7:23.

TH Daniel

TABLE 95: AORIST SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	36	92.31
Infinitive	3	7.69
Total	39	100

Aorist Subjunctive < Prefix Conjugation: 92.31%
2:5, 6, 9 (2), 16, 18, 24, 30; 3:5, 10, 11, 15 (3), 28 (2), 29; 4:3, 14 (2), 20, 22 (2), 23, 29 (2); 5:7 (2), 15, 16, 21; 6:8, 13, 16, 18.

Aorist Subjunctive < Infinitive: 7.69%
2:16; 5:15; 6:9.

OG Daniel

TABLE 96: AORIST SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Suffix Conjugation	1	1.82
Prefix Conjugation	30	54.55
Imperative	1	1.82
Infinitive	2	3.64
Plus	21	38.18
Total	55	100

* Adjusted Statistics: Aorist Subjunctive < PC: 88.24%.

Aorist Subjunctive < Suffix Conjugation >: 1.82%
2:49.

Aorist Subjunctive < Prefix Conjugation: 54.55%
2:5, 6, 9 (2), 16, 18, 24, 44; 3:5, 6, 10 (2), 11, 28 (2), 29; 4:13 (2), 14 (2), 24, 28/29 (2); 5:7, 8, 9, 13, 18; 7:14 (2).

Aorist Subjunctive < Imperative: 1.82%
2:9.

Aorist Subjunctive < Infinitive: 3.64%
2:16; 6:9.

Aorist Subjunctive < Plus: 38.18%
2:5, 6, 9; 4:24 (2), 29 (2), 34a; 6:6 (4), 8, 9 (2), 13 (5), 18.

Distinctive Features and Summary

After the minuses in OG Daniel are taken into account, the aorist subjunctive most frequently translates the PC in all three Greek texts with a high degree of regularity (approximately 90% after pluses are accounted for).

Present Subjunctive

Tables 97-99 document the singular occurrence of the present subjunctive each in 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel. Interestingly, all three represent distinct Aramaic verbal forms.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 97: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Active Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Present Subjunctive < Active Participle: 100%
6:10.

TH Daniel

TABLE 98: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

Present Subjunctive < Prefix Conjugation of **הוה** *+ Active Participle: 100%*
6:3.

OG Daniel

TABLE 99: PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	100
Total	1	100

Present Subjunctive < Prefix Conjugation: 100%
4:12.

Subjunctive of εἶμι + Present Participle

Table 100 documents the 3 occurrences of the periphrastic construction present subjunctive of εἶμι + present participle. This verbal form unattested in the relevant portions of TH Daniel and OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 100: SUBJUNCTIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

IMPERATIVE OF EIMI + PERFECT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle	3	100
Total	3	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Active Participle > Subjunctive of εἶμι + Present Participle: 100%
6:10; 7:25, 26.

Aorist Optative

Tables 101-103 document the aorist optative forms translated from Aramaic in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel. All of the occurrences translate the PC with the exception of the singular plus in OG Daniel.

Ezra/2 Esdras

TABLE 101: AORIST OPTATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

AORIST OPTATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 100%
6:12.

TH Daniel

TABLE 102: AORIST OPTATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

AORIST OPTATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	2	100.00
Total	2	100

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 100.00%
3:31; 6:26.

OG Daniel

TABLE 103: AORIST OPTATIVES TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

AORIST OPTATIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	1	50.00
Plus	1	50.00
Total	2	100

Prefix Conjugation > Aorist Optative: 50.00%
4:34c/3:31.

Minus > Aorist Optative: 50.00%
4:16.

Optative of εἶμι + Present Participle

Table 104 documents the single occurrence of the construction *optative of εἶμι + present participle* in TH Daniel. The construction is absent in 2 Esdras and OG Daniel.

TH Daniel

TABLE 104: OPTATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN 2 ESDRAS

OPTATIVE OF EIMI + PRESENT PARTICIPLE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle/Verbal Adjective	1	100
Total	1	100

Prefix Conjugation of הוה + Passive Participle > Optative of + Present Participle: 100.00%
2:20.

Complex Verb Construction δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι

Tables 105-106 document the occurrences of the complex verb construction δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι in TH Daniel and OG Daniel. The construction is absent in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras.

TH Daniel

TABLE 105: COMPLEX VERB CONSTRUCTION δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN THEODOTION DANIEL

δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	4	100
Total	4	100

Prefix Conjugation > δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι: 100%
2:28, 29 (2), 45.

OG Daniel

TABLE 106: COMPLEX VERB CONSTRUCTION δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
Prefix Conjugation	3	100
Total	3	100

Prefix Conjugation > δεῖ/μέλλει γενέσθαι: 100.00%
2:28, 29 (2)

Complex Verb Construction δύναται + Aorist Infinitive

Table 107 documents the single occurrence of the complex verb construction *δύναται + aorist infinitive* in OG Daniel, which is unattested in the relevant portions of 2 Esdras and TH Daniel.

OG Daniel

TABLE 107: COMPLEX VERB CONSTRUCTION δύναται + AORIST INFINITIVE TRANSLATED FROM ARAMAIC IN OLD GREEK DANIEL

δύναται + AORIST INFINITIVE	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE
T-Stem Participle	1	100
Total	1	100

T-Stem Participle > δύναται + Aorist Infinitive: 100%
2:43.

2.4 Summary and Conclusion

The preceding tables, charts, lists, statistics, and brief descriptions have attempted to document exhaustively the translation equivalents of the Aramaic verbal system, the Greek verbal forms translated from Aramaic, and the respective pluses and minuses in 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel. At the same time, the above material has provided a bird's eye view of how the individual translators handled each verbal form, along with their own idiosyncrasies. While every attempt at accuracy has been made, errors inevitably remain. These errors, however, will not affect the theses to be argued in the remaining chapters.

The goal has been to catalogue and present the material in a way that is clear, not cumbersome, and easy to reference in the subsequent chapters. Naturally, some ambiguity exists at the margins of the verbal systems, especially with certain participles and nouns and with certain passive participles, adjectives, and the SC of 3rd masculine Gp forms in Aramaic. These minor discrepancies, however, are statistically inconsequential.

Frequent reference will be made in the ensuing chapters to these data. The first half of the current chapter serves as the foundation for chapters 5 and 6, which in one way or another seek to answer the question what insight the Greek translations can provide into the Aramaic verbal system. The second half of the present chapter serves as the foundation for chapters 7 and 8, which address linguistic and philological questions from the perspective of the translated Greek texts. Both of these chapters investigate the extent to which the translator's translation technique shapes the Greek narrative and, in particular, those instances where the translator departs from standard translation equivalents and exploits the Greek verbal system to shape the resultant narrative.

Chapter 3

Translation Technique as Linguistic Typology: The Aramaic Prefix Conjugation Mirrored in the Septuagint

Unlike Arabic, Syriac, and Greek (among other languages), ancient Aramaic, like Hebrew, has no native grammatical tradition. Yet,

> Imagine discovering a complete lexicon of Biblical [Aramaic], and the outlines of a grammar, from the early Hellenistic period – the relevance of such documents for the history of the [Aramaic] language would be doubted by no one. Of course, such a lexicon and grammar do not exist. But it is possible, from the Greek text of the Septuagint, to extrapolate the mental dictionary of the translators, as well as the main grammatical rules they applied to their source text. In the course of rendering the source text, the translators constantly invoked the knowledge of the [Aramaic] language available to them. The recovery of that knowledge could be a major asset to the study of the [Aramaic] language in an historical perspective. [91]

Joosten proceeds to apply this paradigm to lexical items, and though he also mentions grammatical features in passing,[92] such research has yet to materialize fully.[93] What follows aims to fill this void.

The unspoken assumption of Joosten's comments is that languages behave in predictable, typologically relatable ways. Thus, using linguistic typology as the methodological framework, this chapter analyzes the raw philological data supplied by the Septuagint translators within the context of typology, with a view to the historical development of each verbal system. The Aramaic prefix conjugation (PC), perhaps the most daunting form semantically, serves as

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[91] Jan Joosten, "Biblical Hebrew as Mirrored in the Septuagint: The Question of Influence from Spoken Hebrew," in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012) 67. The term Aramaic replaces Hebrew in the original.

[92] Ibid., 70-80.

[93] Previous studies on translation technique of the Hebrew verbal system have operated in merely a descriptive framework detached from any serious minded linguistic theory, e.g., Good, *Septuagint's Translation*, 127-45, especially 134-135. Because the extant Aramaic literature in and around the bible is meager, scholarship on Aramaic verbal syntax has evinced a greater propensity to avail itself to the insights the Greek translators may offer and particularly so when analyzing the so-called preterite prefix conjugation in Daniel. Said appropriation of the Greek material characteristically lacks methodological rigor and a disciplined theoretical framework.

the test case for applying linguistic typology to Septuagint translation technique. By offering the first comprehensive treatment of the translation technique of the Aramaic PC in all of its main temporal and syntactical iterations (future, modal, present, subordinate, and past contexts), the discussion can move beyond mere descriptions toward a linguistically sensitive model.

The Aramaic PC, though fiercely debated, is the *irrealis* form, part of the modal system of Aramaic, while the Greek verbal system is widely regarded as aspect prominent, though tense plays a significant role in the indicative mood. The function range of this single Aramaic form cuts across temporal spheres, in a variety of clause types; the diverse choice of verbal forms in the Greek translations vis-à-vis the single Aramaic verbal form mirrors cross-linguistic debates surrounding the prominence of tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world, particularly regarding the nature of futures and habituals. Thus, a new opportunity emerges in which to conceptualize the Greek translators as the first Aramaic grammarians.

3.1 A Comparative Typology of the Aramaic PC and its Greek Translations in Future, Present, and Past Contexts

3.1.1 The Future

The complex nature of futures is the subject of the present section. Debate on the source of future temporal-reference in both Aramaic and Greek continues, but here it is argued that the source of futures is markedly different in each language. For Aramaic, modality gives rise to the form's future functions, while in Greek aspect is the source of future temporal reference. The grammaticalization of future temporal reference via the Aramaic PC and the corresponding Greek translations provides concrete philological data for cross-linguistic comparison regarding the expression of futures and their relationship to TAM categories.

It is well known that the Aramaic PC frequently expresses future temporal reference,[94] "locating a situation at a time subsequent to the present moment."[95] Moreover, future temporal reference is normally expressed by the Aramaic PC.[96] And predictably the Greek future indicative is the statistically most frequent translation equivalent in 2 Esdras (31%), TH Daniel (47%), and OG Daniel (33%; adjusted: 45%). This correspondence becomes even more clear if the data is viewed from the Greek perspective; the future indicatives translate an Aramaic PC with a high degree of regularity (adjusted 2 Esdras: 87.5%; TH Daniel 93.4%; adjusted OG Daniel 88%), as the following examples from Ezra and Daniel illustrate:

1) MT Ezra 6:11
וּמִנִּי שִׂים טְעֵם דִּי כָל־אֱנָשׁ דִּי יְהַשְׁנֵא פִּתְגָמָא דְנָה יִתְנְסַח אָע מִן־בַּיְתֵהּ וּזְקִיף יִתְמַחֵא עֲלֹהִי וּבַיְתֵהּ נְוָלִו יִתְעֲבֵד עַל־דְּנָה

And from me a decree has been issued that every man who *should alter* this command, a wooden beam *will be pulled* from his house and he *will be impaled* upon it and his house *will be made* a dung heap on account of this.

2 Esdras 6:11
καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐτέθη γνώμη ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἀλλάξει τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, καθαιρεθήσεται ξύλον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠρθωμένος παγήσεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ποιηθήσεται.

And from me a decree was issued that every man who *will change* this word, a beam *will be removed* from his house and, being made upright, he *will be positioned* upon it, and his house will be made mine.

2) MT Daniel 2:44
וּבְיוֹמֵיהֹון דִּי מַלְכַיָּא אִנּוּן יְקִים אֱלָהּ שְׁמַיָּא מַלְכוּ דִּי לְעָלְמִין לָא תִתְחַבַּל וּמַלְכוּתָהּ לְעַם אָחֳרָן לָא תִשְׁתְּבֵק תַּדֵּק וְתָסֵיף כָּל־אִלֵּין מַלְכְוָתָא וְהִיא תְּקוּם לְעָלְמָיָא׃

And in the days of these kings, the God of heaven *will set up* a kingdom which *will not be destroyed* forever and this kingdom *will not be left* to another people. It *will shatter* and it *will put an end* to all these kingdoms and it *will stand* forever.

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[94] Holger Gzella, *Tempus, Aspekt und Modalität im Reichsaramäischen* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), 305, 216ff.

[95] Comrie, *Tense*, 43.

[96] Gzella, *Tempus*, 216ff.

> TH Daniel 2:44
> καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν βασιλέων ἐκείνων ἀναστήσει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν, ἥτις εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας οὐ διαφθαρήσεται, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ λαῷ ἑτέρῳ οὐχ ὑπολειφθήσεται· λεπτυνεῖ καὶ λικμήσει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴ ἀναστήσεται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
>
> And in the days of those kings the God of heaven *will establish* a kingdom which *will not be destroyed* forever, and his kingdom *will not be left* to another people. It *will crush* and *disperse* all the kingdoms and it *will stand* forever.
>
> OG Daniel 2:44
> καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν βασιλέων τούτων στήσει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν ἄλλην, ἥτις ἔσται ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ οὐ φθαρήσεται, καὶ αὕτη ἡ βασιλεία ἄλλο ἔθνος οὐ μὴ ἐάσῃ, πατάξει δὲ καὶ ἀφανίσει τὰς βασιλείας ταύτας, καὶ αὐτὴ στήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
>
> And in the times of those kings the God of heaven *will establish* another kingdom which will be forever and it *will not be ruined* and this kingdom shall never permit another nation, but it *will strike* and it *will destroy* these kingdoms, and it *will stand* forever.

With each of the above examples, the translators employ what can loosely be described as isomorphic translation technique. Each of the four cases of the PC in Ezra 6:11 is represented in the Greek text with future indicatives, as does TH Daniel for the six PC forms in Daniel 2:44. OG Daniel 2:44 uses five future indicatives and one case of οὐ μὴ + subjunctive.[97]

On the surface, the use of the future indicative to translate the PC may appear underwhelming, even self-evident. Yet, cross-linguistically, futures are one of the more challenging aspects of TAM systems for typologists. D. S. N. Bhat observes that linguistic studies on the nature of futures have resulted in incompatible conclusions about their "categorical status."[98] He argues that the heart of this debate lies in the fact that languages

[97] For this use of the subjunctive see §6.4.4. Also of interest is OG Daniel's use of ἐάσῃ ("it shall never permit") for Aramaic לא תשתבק ("it will not be left"). Whether misread by the translator or representative of a slightly different *Vorlage* (תשבק) the meaning found in the Greek text is common for the G stem, as is the case in several stages of Aramaic (see Ezra 6:7; Stephen A. Kaufman et al., *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* [http://cal.huc.edu], accessed July 4, 2018).

[98] Bhat, *Prominence*, 168.

characteristically view categories such as future "in terms of their prominent category" whether tense, aspect, or mood. Hence, a tense-prominent language will tend to use a tense form to grammaticalize the future; the same is true for aspect-prominent and mood-prominent languages.[99]

The basic function of the Aramaic PC are not in question, but the semantic origin remains elusive. Because the PC also occurs in independent past-time clauses, tense is the least likely candidate to explain the future functions of the PC. For Li, these future functions are "non-modal,"[100] although he admits that "it could be argued that [the future] belongs more to the category of a modality rather than a tense."[101] Because Li conceives of the history of the Aramaic verb as evolving from an aspect-prominent to a tense-prominent system, he argues that the PC is an "aspectual future," having developed from an earlier imperfective, remnants of which are still seen in past-time contexts. Thus, as an aspect-prominent language, Aramaic uses imperfective aspect to express the future.

In contrast, Holger Gzella connects the future functions of the PC with modality, writing, "In diachroner Sicht sind futurische Formkategorien oft infolge von Grammatikalisierungsprozessen aus ursprünglichen Modalausdrücken entstanden…. Nicht zuletzt deshalb dienen auch synchron immer wieder dieselben Formkategorien zum Ausdruck futurischer und modeler Sachverhalte."[102] Gzella is not alone in his analysis. Many linguists do not regard the future as a proper tense, but a modal category.[103] In many Indo-European

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[99] Ibid.

[100] Li, *Verbal System*, 99.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Gzella, *Tempus*, 216.

languages, for example, there is "a clear grammatical distinction between the past and non-past (the latter subsuming present and future time reference), but either no grammatical distinction or a much less clear grammatical distinction between future and non-future, in particular between future and present."[104] This is the case for English,[105] where "expressions of future time reference derive diachronically from modal expressions, e.g., of deserativity" as seen in the use of the auxiliary *will*.[106] Palmer has even gone so far as to claim, "English does not have a future tense" since "they do not often indicate pure futurity."[107] Moreover, in languages with a basic modal distinction such as Dyirbal or Burmese, "future time…is subsumed under irrealis."[108] Finally, Lyons argues, "Futurity is never a purely temporal concept; it necessarily includes an element of prediction or some related modal notion."[109] Even for Bybee et al., on whom Li heavily relies, "The more common sources for futures" are modal, that is sources "that yield the intention inference most easily—desire, strong obligation, and movement toward a goal."[110]

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[103] Comrie, *Tense*, 43ff; See Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 104, 168; Östen Dahl, *Tense and Aspect Systems* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), 103-112; Suzanne Fleischman, *Future in Thought and Language: Diachronic Evidence from Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 22-31, 133; Mario Squartini, "Interactions between Modality and Other Semantic Categories," in *Oxford Handbook of Modality and Mood*, edited by Jan Nuyts and Johan van der Auwera (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 53-54; Hewson, "Tense," 528-529.

[104] Comrie, *Tense*, 44.

[105] See Ibid., 46-8 for more on the English *will*; also note where Comrie points discusses "the implicature links between certain modal and time reference options" (Ibid., 49).

[106] Ibid., 45; Joan Bybee, Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 178ff.

[107] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 104; cf. idem, *Modality and the English Modals*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1990), 160-161.

[108] Comrie, *Tense*, 45.

[109] Lyons, *Semantics*, 2:677, also 2:816 where he states "What is conventionally regarded as the future tense…is rarely, if ever, used solely for making statements or predictions, or posing or asking factual questions, about the future. It is also used in a wider or narrower range of non-factive utterances, involving supposition, inference, wish, intention and desire."

[110] Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 280, also see 253-266. Russell Ultan concurs: "future tenses evolve chiefly from modals, especially those expressing obligation, volition, uncertainty or unreality" ("The Nature of Future Tenses", in

Following Gzella, and in light of the linguistics literature, it seems best to attribute the future functions of the PC to modality, not aspect.

Studies on the Greek verb agree on the aspect-prominent nature of the language, but specialists part ways when it comes to the precise nature of what is traditionally called the future. Indeed, McKay goes so far as to call it "something of an anomaly in the ancient Greek verb system."[111] Is it a pure future tense,[112] a future tense capable of expressing both perfective and imperfective aspect,[113] non-past perfective,[114] a continuation of the s-aorist subjunctive,[115] "a partial aspect of intention,"[116] or does it "grammaticalize the semantic feature of [+ expectation], being neither fully aspectual nor an attitude"?[117]

Like Aramaic, the Greek future could have a modal origin. According to Andrew Sihler, the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) desiderative is the source for the simple future in many Indo-European languages.[118] This form (*-*se/o*)[119] could potentially supply an origin of the Greek

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Universals of Human Language, Volume 3: Word Structure, edited by Joseph H. Greenberg [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978], 118, 112).

[111] McKay, K.L., *A New Syntax of the Verb in New Testament Greek: An Aspectual Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 34.

[112] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 122-124. This is perhaps the most common position among grammarians.

[113] Raphael Kühner and Bernhard Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Hannover and Leipzig: Hahnsche, 1898), 2:1:170; Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016) 284.

[114] Campbell, *Indicative Mood*, 129-160; Hewson, *Tense and Aspect*, 39; Nicholas J. Ellis "Aspect-Prominence, Morpho-Syntax, and a Cognitive-Linguistic Framework for the Greek Verb," in *Greek Verb Revisited*, 138, 147-148.

[115] Andreas Willi, *Origins of the Greek Verb* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 441-445.

[116] McKay, *New Syntax*, 7, also 8, 34

[117] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 404ff. Each of the above positions can be thought of in terms of tense, aspect, or mood, though Willi's position is something of a combination of aspect and mood.

[118] Andrew L Sihler, *New Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 556.

[119] Willi, *Origins*, 443.

future that coheres with typological studies, while also explaining why the desiderative-σ appears homonymous with the sigmatic aorist. Outside of the indicative mood, Greek maintains a distinction between these two sigmatic forms, which may suggest a distinct origin. Although there is no future imperative or subjunctive, the future infinitive and participle are both documented in Classical and Hellenistic Greek, though they are dying out. These forms (λύσειν and λύσων, respectively) contrast with the aorist infinitive and participle (λῦσαι and λύσας, respectively) and may be the last remaining evidence of the distinct origins for the future indicative and aorist subjunctive.[120]

Greek, however, is an aspect-prominent language. Thus, perhaps in light of Bhat's dictum we should expect the future tense form to have arisen from an earlier aspectual, whether as a non-past perfective or as a development from the aorist subjunctive. Aspectual sources of futures are much less frequent, according to Bybee et al. and even most aspectual futures most commonly derive from "presents that can be used to refer to future time, given the appropriate context."[121] They continue: "Much more rarely, imperfectives and perfectives can have future interpretations."[122] Though Bybee et al. are only able to document three cases of futures from perfectives and two of these are immediate futures,[123] they leave out a number of important languages in their data sample. As typological evidence of perfective aspect as a source for futures, Comrie documents that in Slavonic languages such as Russian, Polish, and Czech "the

[120] This position is in contrast to McKay who uses the same evidence to suggest that the future is its own "partial aspect of intention" (*New Syntax*, 7).

[121] Bybee *et al.*, *Evolution*, 278.

[122] Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 287 (emphasis added). Note as well their choice of the word "interpretations" (Ibid.).

[123] Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 278.

Perfective non-Past is primarily a future tense."[124] In Bhat's discussion of futures, he posits "the notion of future, if it does occur in a language, would be temporal or modal depending upon the prominence that the language attaches to the categories of tense and mood respectively."[125] The Greek verbal system, moreover, has an important temporal element, dividing each aspect along past and non-past lines, so that the Greek future (λύσω) the non-past counterpart of the aorist (ἐλύσα), making aspect the most likely source for the Greek future.

Typologically, the Aramaic PC and the Greek future, the Aramaic form's most frequent translation equivalent, make for interesting comparison. If the Greek future is a non-past aorist (or an extension of the aorist subjunctive), then the Greek and Aramaic languages grammaticalize future temporal reference in markedly different ways, allowing simple translation technique to provide occasion for serious minded linguistic reflection. This translation equivalent, though predictable, mirrors the diversity linguists have documented in TAM systems of the world's languages. The following section continues this line of argumentation building on a view of the Aramaic PC wherein future functions result from modality.

3.1.2 The Relationship between Epistemic Modality, Deontic Modality, and Future Temporal Reference

Building on the previous argument, the purpose of this section is to utilize the data from translation technique to problematize the relationship between future and modality (epistemic and deontic) in Aramaic within the context of typology. The Aramaic of the Bible attests two distinct forms of the PC: the long PC and the jussive. These forms are only distinguishable when

[124] Comrie, *Aspect*, 67.

[125] Bhat, *Prominence*, 178.

the negative אל is used instead of לא,[126] in forms with pronominal suffixes,[127] and short vs. long plural forms.[128] In all other cases, they are indistinguishable; the context determines whether the PC signals deontic modality.

Sometimes morphologically distinct, sometimes not, the translators maintain the distinction between the future and deontic modality by using a third person imperative where appropriate. For TH Daniel and OG Daniel the imperative (whether present or aorist)[129] for the PC is statistically inconsequential, though there are a number of occurrences (table 5-6), but in 2 Esdras the imperative translates over 20% of the PCs (table 4).

3) MT Ezra 5:17
וּכְעַן֙ הֶן֙ עַל־מַלְכָּ֣א טָ֔ב יִתְבַּקַּ֕ר בְּבֵ֖ית גִּנְזַיָּ֣א דִי־מַלְכָּ֑א תַּמָּ֣ה דִי֙ בְּבָבֶ֔ל הֶן֙ אִיתַ֣י דִי־מִן־כּ֔וֹרֶשׁ מַלְכָּ֖א שְׂי֣ם טְעֵ֑ם לְמִבְנֵ֤א בֵית־אֱלָהָא֙ דֵּ֣ךְ בִּירוּשְׁלֶ֔ם וּרְעוּת֙ מַלְכָּ֔א עַל־דְּנָ֖ה יִשְׁלַ֥ח עֲלֵינָֽא׃

And now if it seems good to the king, *let it be sought* in the house of the treasuries of the king there that are in Babylon if it is the case that from Cyrus a decree was issued to build this house of God in Jerusalem and *let him send* to us the good pleasure of the king concerning this.

2 Esdras 5:17
καὶ νῦν εἰ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἀγαθόν, ἐπισκεπήτω ἐν οἴκῳ τῆς γάζης τοῦ βασιλέως Βαβυλῶνος, ὅπως γνῷς ὅτι ἀπὸ βασιλέως Κύρου ἐτέθη γνώμη οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ· καὶ γνοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τούτου πεμψάτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

And now, if it seems good to the king, *let him visit* the house of the treasury of the king of Babylon, so that you might know that from King Cyrus a decree was issued to build the house of God that is in Jerusalem and when the king knows about this, *let him send* to us.

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[126] Li., *Verbal System*, 125.

[127] Franz Rosenthal, *Biblical Aramaic*, 7th edition (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), §80.

[128] Elisha Qimron, *Biblical Aramaic* (Jerusalem: Balik Institute, 1993 [Heb.]), 41. Franz Rosenthal also questions whether the final *yod* in יקרי "let him be called" in Daniel 5:12 may be an old jussive form "although such orthographic distinction had become obscured already at an early date" (*Biblical Aramaic*, §152).

[129] On the translators choice of the present imperative as opposed to the aorist imperative (or vice versa), see §6.4.3.

The previous examples express deontic modality, even though the form is ambiguous. Deontic modality is not the only type of modality the PC may denote, however. Epistemic modality, which is "concerned with the speaker's attitude to the truth-value or factual status of the proposition,"[130] is also linked to the future and deontic modality, so that at times, the line between future and epistemic functions of the PC in Aramaic is blurred. King Darius' final address to Daniel before throwing him into the lions' den illustrates this ambiguity:

4) MT Daniel 6:17 [Eng. 6:16]
בֵּאדַיִן מַלְכָּא אֲמַר וְהַיְתִיו לְדָנִיֵּאל וּרְמוֹ לִגֻבָּא דִּי אַרְיָוָתָא עָנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר לְדָנִיֵּאל אֱלָהָךְ דִּי אַנְתְּ פָלַח־לֵהּ בְּתְדִירָא הוּא יְשֵׁיזְבִנָּךְ׃

Then the king spoke and they brought up Daniel and they threw him into the pit of lions. The king answered and said to Daniel, "Your God, whom you serve continuously, *he will/may/might/can [?] save* you."

TH Daniel 6:17
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν καὶ ἤγαγον τὸν Δανιηλ καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων· καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Δανιηλ Ὁ θεός σου, ᾧ σὺ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς, αὐτὸς ἐξελεῖταί σε.

Then the king spoke and they led Daniel and they threw him into the den of lions. And the king said to Daniel, "Your God, whom you serve continuously, *he will rescue* you."

OG Daniel 6:17
ἀναβοήσας δὲ Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπε τῷ Δανιηλ Ὁ θεός σου, ᾧ σὺ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, αὐτὸς ἐξελεῖταί σε ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν λεόντων· ἕως πρωὶ θάρσει.

Now Darius the king, crying out, said to Daniel, "your God, who you serve continuously, three times a day, *he will rescue* you from the hand of the lions. Until morning be not afraid!"

The Greek translators' use of the future indicative (also, KJV, NKJV, NASB, NET) suggest they have more confidence in Daniel's God than Darius, since this reading makes little sense in light of Darius's question to Daniel in 6:21 הֲיִכָלַת לְשֵׁיזָבוּתָךְ ("has he been able to deliver you?").

[130] Palmer, *Modality*, 8; Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 179ff.

Consequently, a number of modern translations interpret the PC as a jussive, denoting the king's wish (deontic modality): "May your God, whom you serve continually, deliver you!" (RSV; also NRSV, NIV, ESV).[131] Even though the form of the verb is clearly not the short jussive form (as evidenced by the *nun* between the verb stem and the pronominal suffix),[132] these translations are willing to ignore the form's morphology due to the literary difficulty the first translation presents. Other well attested epistemic nuances could solve the literary difficulty of Darius' Delphic pronouncement without running roughshod over the form's morphology. Varying degrees of possibility "he may/might save you" and ability "he can save you" are possible and well attested elsewhere,[133] but if this is the case, the Greek translators would have had to depart from their stereotyped translation of the PC to capture these nuances.[134]

The reader is faced with an analogous problem in the previous parallel narrative of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who make a similarly ambiguous statement in the face of certain death:

5) MT Daniel 3:17

הֵן אִיתַי אֱלָהֲנָא דִּי־אֲנַחְנָא פָלְחִין יָכֵל לְשֵׁיזָבוּתָנָא מִן־אַתּוּן נוּרָא יָקְדְתָּא וּמִן־יְדָךְ מַלְכָּא יְשֵׁיזֵב׃

If this be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he *will deliver* us out of your hand, O king (ESV; also RSV, KJV, NET, NASB).

If our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the furnace of blazing fire and out of your hand, O king, *let him deliver* us (NRSV).

TH Daniel 3:17

[131]Li, *Verbal System*, 116.

[132] Elisha Qimron, *Biblical Aramaic*, 41 [Heb.].

[133] Li, *Verbal System*, 117ff; Gzella, *Tempus*, 274ff.

[134] Thus, Josephus: ἐλπίσας δ᾽ ὁ Δαρεῖος, ὅτι ῥύσεται τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃ δεινὸν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ εὐθύμως φέρειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα (*Ant*. 10.258). The point here is not that Josephus understands the nuances of Aramaic verbal morphology, but his literary reading is incisive.

> ἔστιν γὰρ θεός, ᾧ ἡμεῖς λατρεύομεν, δυνατὸς ἐξελέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου, βασιλεῦ, ῥύσεται ἡμᾶς.
>
> For the God whom we serve is able to rescue us from the furnace of burning fire and from your hands, O king, he *will deliver* us.
>
> OG Daniel 3:17
> ἔστι γὰρ θεὸς ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἷς κύριος ἡμῶν, ὃν φοβούμεθα, ὅς ἐστι δυνατὸς ἐξελέσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρός, καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν σου, βασιλεῦ, ἐξελεῖται ἡμᾶς.
> For there is a God in heaven, our one Lord, whom we fear, who is able to rescue us from the furnace of fire and from your hands, O king, he *will rescue* us.

Despite the numerous syntactical difficulties present at 3:17, the Greek translators produce a text in which Shadrack, Meshack, and Abednigo's words are an expression of faith in God's certain deliverance. But their words in Aramaic could just as easily be read as a jussive (deontic modality), unlike the previous example. Yet again, varying nuances of epistemic modality are contextually permissible, particularly if the PC is meant to parallel יכל לשיזבותנא ("he is able to deliver us"): "If this be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace and he can deliver us out of your hand, O king" (thus, CSB). An expression of confidence may be unwarranted, given their admission in the following verse that God may not deliver them, but again, the Greek translators obscure these nuances with the future indicative, suggesting God's intervention is inevitable. In each of the above cases commentators are likewise split as to the function of the PC.[135] The narrator may even have intended to exploit the inherent ambiguity between the future and modal uses thereby forcing the reader to reflect critically on the nature of faith in the face of persecution, the seeming disparity between God's

[135] Cf. Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 195, and John E. Goldingay *Daniel* (Word: Dallas, 1989), 121. Other syntactical issues take precedent in discussions of 3:17 (P. W. Coxon, "Daniel III 17: A Linguistic and Theological Problem," *Vetus Testamentum* 26:4 (1976): 400-409.

ability to save and his people's frequent absence of rescue, and God's divine purpose in his deliverance.

The Greek translation of the PC with futures potentially obscures the expressive possibilities of the PC, particularly regarding nuanced epistemic modalities. The source of the difficulties this translation presents is not merely literary. Historical and typological factors contribute to the more confident interpretation the Septuagint produces. The increased tendency for the LXX throughout the bible to render (Hebrew and Aramaic) PC forms mechanically as Greek futures[136] is likely due to increased restriction of the PC to future contexts. Eventually, the occasional morphological distinction between the jussive and the long PC dies off in later Aramaic dialects, completing the process that is well on its way in Biblical Aramaic.[137] Typologically, that Aramaic uses what is essentially a single form for the expression of epistemic modality/futures and deontic modality while Greek uses two quite different forms in translation (future indicative vs. aorist/present imperative) is representative of patterns in the world's languages. Some languages like English (e.g., *may*, *should*, *must*), German, and Kannada (a Dravidian language), to which we may also add some ancient Aramaic dialects, utilize the same form "ambiguously for denoting both deontic as well as epistemic moods."[138] Greek, on the other hand, like Ladakhi and other languages, uses distinct forms to grammaticalize these concepts.[139]

3.1.3 The Present Temporal Sphere

[136] Jan Joosten, "The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and Septuagint," in *Collected Studies on the Septuagint* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 38.

[137] Theodor Nöldeke, *Compendious Syriac Grammar*, 2d ed. (London: Williams & Norgate, 1904): 207-210.

[138] Bhat, *Prominence*, 64.

[139] Ibid., 76.

Moving on from the Greek translation of the Aramaic PC in future contexts, the present section contextualizes the occurrences of the Aramaic PC in the present temporal sphere and their translation into Greek within scholarly discussion of the present temporal sphere in general linguistics. The use of the Greek present indicative to render the PC is exceedingly rare with only three total occurrences, once in 2 Esdras (2%), and twice each in TH Daniel and OG Daniel (1%). The historical development of Aramaic, translation technique and typology all have a role in explaining the data. The active participle and its common translation equivalent, the Greek present indicative, round out the discussion, serving as a foil for the PC.

The present temporal sphere, not unlike the future, has a complex typological profile, dividing into two major functional categories: real present and general present. The former, the real present, or what is often referred to simply as the present "can normally only be of imperfective meaning."[140] In contrast, the latter expresses "a habit, a characteristic situation that holds at all times."[141] According to Comrie, the general present or what he terms habituality "lies on the boundary of the three systems of tense, aspect, and mood."[142] Tense systems frequently use the present or non-past grams[143] to express habituality. The present tense is fitting in that habituality necessarily includes the present time sphere.[144] In aspectual systems, habituals are characteristically portrayed with imperfective aspect, since "it refers to the internal temporal

[140] Comrie, *Aspect*, 72; Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 141.

[141] Comrie, *Tense*, 39. For further analysis of the nature of habituals, see §3.1.5.

[142] Ibid., 40.

[143] A gram is short for "grammatical morpheme," frequently employed in grammaticalization studies and first coined by Bill Pagliuca and used by Joan Bybee in "On the Nature of Grammatical Categories: A Diachronic Perspective," *Eastern States Conference on Linguistics* 2: 17-34

[144] Ibid., 39.

contour of a situation."[145] Finally, modality may express the general present "since it involves indication from limited observations about the actual world to a generalization about possible worlds."[146]

Aramaists agree that in a number of cases the PC functions within the present temporal sphere, but the extent is debated. Gzella has suggested the Aramaic PC may express both the real or general present, but the single example he cites for the real present is from a fragmentary text.[147] Li's observation that "There are no instances in the Aramaic of Daniel of the PC with an actual present function,"[148] appears to apply to extra-biblical material just as well. The Greek present tense is a non-past imperfective, so it can express both the real present and general present.

In one instance, the use of the Greek indicative to translate the PC results in part from confusion on the part of the translator:

6) Ezra 4:13

כְּעַן יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא לְמַלְכָּא דִּי הֵן קִרְיְתָא דָּךְ תִּתְבְּנֵא וְשׁוּרַיָּהּ יֶשְׁתַּכְלְלוּן מִנְדָּה־בְלוֹ וַהֲלָךְ לָא יִנְתְּנוּן וְאַפְּתָם מַלְכִין תְּהַנְזֵק׃

> Now let it be known to the king that if this city is rebuilt and its walls completed, tax, toll, and tribute will not be given and the royal accounts [?][149] will suffer harm.

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[145] Ibid., 40.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Gzella, *Tempus*, 305 and especially 195-196; Muraoka and Porten, *A Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 197. The singular case of the PC allegedly expressing the real present (TAD A4.2, 7) reads: [2]//ב אנחנה זעירן בזי נדחל (which Muraoka and Porten translate as "we are afraid" without citing the remainder of the line, which Porten and Yardeni translate as "because we are fewer by two" [Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, Vol 1: Letters [Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1986], 56]). Caution is required since the end of the lines are lost and letters typically were composed of long lines (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1923], 132). If one understands the PC as a habit based on the continual circumstances, the PC could be expressing the general present, which would be the case if the clause כל יום or יום ביום (Ezra 6:9) were in the end of the preceding line now no longer extant. The verb could also have been preceded by the particle זי, which would have made a significant difference in the meaning.

[148] Li, *Verbal System*, 101. There are also no examples of the PC in the Aramaic portions of Ezra that express the real present.

[149] Kaufman et al., *CAL* (accessed July 6, 2018).

2 Esdras 4:13
νῦν οὖν γνωστὸν ἔστω τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη ἀνοικοδομηθῇ καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς καταρτισθῶσιν, φόροι οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι οὐδὲ δώσουσιν· καὶ τοῦτο βασιλεῖς κακοποιεῖ.

Now, therefore, let it be known to the king that if that city is rebuilt and its walls constructed, tributes shall no longer be yours neither shall they give [them]. And this causes harm to kings.

At more than one place in this text, the translator seems to be grasping at straws when attempting to render the Aramaic text. In the relevant clause, the word אפתם is particularly perplexing, but it nevertheless appears that the translator has a text before him that reads מלכים [*nominal form*]ו תהנזק. While the *Vorlage* is never certain, assuming the present indicative κακοποιεῖ translates the PC תהנזק is reasonable. After misunderstanding the Persian loanword,[150] the translator must now decide what to do with the noun מלכים. Because the translator misunderstands the preceding noun, מלכים has to be the object of the verb, since it cannot be the subject. Finally, the translator's use of the present indicative does not express the real present, but the general present—what tends to happen.

Parallelism with the active participle seems to have influenced the translator's choice of the present in Daniel 3:18:

7) Daniel 3:18
וְאִן לָא יְדִיעַ לְהֶוֵא־לָךְ מַלְכָּא דִּי לֶאלָהָיִךְ לָא־אִיתַינָא פָלְחִין וּלְצֶלֶם דַּהֲבָא דִּי הֲקִימְתָּ לָא נִסְגִּד׃

And if not, let it be known to you, O king, that your gods we do not serve and the image of gold which you erected, we *will not worship*.

TH Daniel 3:18
καὶ ἐὰν μή, γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς σου οὐ λατρεύομεν καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, ᾗ ἔστησας, οὐ προσκυνοῦμεν.

And if not, let it be known to you, O king, that your gods we do not serve and the image of gold which you erected, we *do not worship*.[151]

[150] For more detail see §4.1.2.

[151] Another legitimate reading of the Greek present it expresses the immediate future (§6.2.3).

OG Daniel 3:18
καὶ τότε φανερόν σοι ἔσται, ὅτι οὔτε τῷ εἰδώλῳ σου λατρεύομεν οὔτε τῇ εἰκόνι σου τῇ χρυσῇ, ἣν ἔστησας, προσκυνοῦμεν.

And then it will be manifest to you that neither your idol do we serve neither *do we worship* the image of gold which you erected.

The final example may represent an instance where the translator uses the present indicative due to lexical influence and constraints of the target language.

8) MT Daniel 5:16
וְאָנָה שְׁמִעַת עֲלָיִךְ דִּי־תְוֹכֶל פְּשָׁרִין לְמִפְשַׁר וְקִטָרִין לְמִשְׁרֵא

And I heard about you that *you are able* to provide interpretations and to loose knots.

TH Daniel 5:16
καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκουσα περὶ σοῦ ὅτι δύνασαι κρίματα συγκρῖναι·

And I heard concerning you that you are able to interpret

OG Daniel 5:16
Ὦ Δανιηλ, δύνῃ μοι ὑποδεῖξαι τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς;

O Daniel, *are you able* to show me the interpretation of the writing?

None of the above examples express the real present either in the Aramaic text or its Greek translations and the use of the present to translate the PC are marginal. Many of the examples of the PC that are most likely to express the general present[152] are all translated with future indicatives, but the resulting Greek text is unaffected due to the functional ability of the Greek future tense.

9) MT Daniel 4:29//5:21
וּמִן־אֲנָשָׁא לָךְ טָרְדִין וְעִם־חֵיוַת בָּרָא מְדֹרָךְ עִשְׂבָּא כְתוֹרִין לָךְ יְטַעֲמוּן וְשִׁבְעָה עִדָנִין יַחְלְפוּן עָלָיִךְ עַד דִּי־תִנְדַּע דִּי־שַׁלִּיט עִלָּיָא בְּמַלְכוּת אֲנָשָׁא וּלְמַן־דִּי יְצִבֵּא יִתְנִנַּהּ׃

And from humankind you are driven and your dwelling place is with the beasts of the field. You will be fed like oxen and seven times will pass over you until you know that the Most High has authority in the kingdoms of men and to whomever *he wishes he gives it*.

[152] See for example, Li, *Verbal System*, 101-103; Gzella, *Tempus*, 195ff.

> TH Daniel 4:29 [LXX 4:32] //5:21[153]
> καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σε ἐκδιώξουσιν, καὶ μετὰ θηρίων ἀγρίων ἡ κατοικία σου, καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ψωμιοῦσίν σε, καὶ ἑπτὰ καιροὶ ἀλλαγήσονται ἐπὶ σέ, ἕως οὗ γνῷς ὅτι κυριεύει ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν δόξῃ, δώσει αὐτήν.
>
> And from mankind they will pursue you and with the beasts of the field will be your dwelling place, and grass like an ox they will feed you and seven times will Passover you, until you know that the Most High reigns over the kingdom of men and to whomever he wants, *he will give* it.

Absolute future temporal reference is not the only function of the future indicative, though the form does grammaticalize future tense. According to McKay, "the future tense is sometimes found in timeless contexts."[154] The increased tendency for the translators to render the PC with the Greek future indicative (as stated above), works because the future tense forms can also occur in general statements (e.g., *boys will be boys*). Because of this expressive possibility, the translator is able to adhere to a standard translation equivalent and let the context guide the reader, though perhaps this approach created a higher percentage of gnomic futures than would be expected.[155]

3.1.3.1 Expressing and Translating the Real Present

In order to round out the discussion of the present temporal sphere, the function of the Aramaic participle and its translation with Greek present indicatives are included. In contrast to the PC, the Aramaic participle may express the real present or the general present, not unlike the Greek present indicative. Due to the nature of the Aramaic participle, 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and

[153] This text in OG Daniel is entirely rewritten at 4:29 [LXX 4:32] and is absent at 5:21.

[154] McKay, *New Syntax*, 52; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 876; Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard, 1956), §1914.

[155] This inference is based on the fact that McKay only cites 1 case of this use of the Future in the NT (Rom 5:7 (New Syntax, 52) and Robertson only cites Rom 5:7 and 7:3, but suggests there are others. Smyth lists one example (Grammar, § 1914).

OG Daniel do not appear to use present indicatives to translate Aramaic participles with a high degree of regularity (2 Esdras: 20%, TH Daniel: 24% and adjusted OG Daniel: 14%). A number of factors contribute to the lack of standard translation equivalent for the participle including: 1) substantive Aramaic participles are generally translated with nouns and Greek present participles; and 2) in narrative, participles are often translated with aorist and imperfect indicatives. The situation becomes clearer, however, when looking at the data from the perspective of the Greek translators. There, Greek present indicatives are translated from Aramaic participles (active and t-stem) with consistent regularity, particularly when one accounts for the use of a form of the Greek copulative εἶμι to translate Aramaic nominal clauses with or without הוא (or another pronoun) and איתי (adjusted statistics: 2 Esdras 57%; TH Daniel 87%; OG Daniel 67%). Among other functions, the Greek present indicative is able to express both the general present and the real present.[156]

3.1.3.2 The Participle Expressing the Real Present

10) MT Ezra 4:12
יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא לְמַלְכָּא דִּי יְהוּדָיֵא דִּי סְלִקוּ מִן־לְוָתָךְ עֲלֵינָא אֲתַוֹ לִירוּשְׁלֶם קִרְיְתָא מָרְדְתָּא וּבְאִישְׁתָּא בָּנַיִן וְשׁוּרַי אֶשְׁכְּללוּ וְאֻשַּׁיָּא יַחֵיטוּ׃

Let it be known to the king that the Judeans who came up from before have come to us. Jerusalem that rebellious and evil city *they are building* and its walls they have completed and the foundations they have repaired.

2 Esdras 4:12
γνωστὸν ἔστω τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι οἱ Ιουδαῖοι ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἦλθοσαν εἰς Ιερουσαλημ· τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἀποστάτιν καὶ πονηρὰν οἰκοδομοῦσιν, καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς κατηρτισμένοι εἰσίν, καὶ θεμελίους αὐτῆς ἀνύψωσαν.

Let it be known to the king that the Jews who came up from to have come to us to Jerusalem. *They are building* the rebellious and evil city. And its walls have been restored and they have raised up its foundations.

11) MT Daniel 3:25

[156] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 199-201, 205-217; Albert Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 9-11.

עָנֵה וְאָמַר הָא־אֲנָה חָזֵה גַּבְרִין אַרְבְּעָה שְׁרַיְן מַהְלְכִין בְּגוֹא־נוּרָא וַחֲבָל לָא־אִיתַי בְּהוֹן וְרֵוהּ דִּי רְבִיעָיָא דָּמֵה לְבַר־אֱלָהִין

He answered and said, “Behold I see four men who have been loosed walking in the midst of the fire and the appearance of the fourth is like a son of the gods.”

TH Daniel 3:25 [LXX: 3:92]
καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὁρῶ ἄνδρας τέσσαρας λελυμένους καὶ περιπατοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πυρός, καὶ διαφθορὰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοία υἱῷ θεοῦ.

And the King said, “Behold *I see* four men loosed and walking in the midst of the fire, and there is no destruction among them and the vision of the forth is like a son of God.”

OG Daniel 3:25 [LXX: 3:92]
Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ὁρῶ ἄνδρας τέσσαρας λελυμένους περιπατοῦντας ἐν τῷ πυρί, καὶ φθορὰ οὐδεμία ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ.

Behold, *I see* four men loosed and walking in the fire and no ruin has happened to them and the vision of the one is like an angel of God.

3.1.3.3 The Participle Expressing General Present

12) MT Daniel 2:21[157]
וְהוּא מְהַשְׁנֵא עִדָּנַיָּא וְזִמְנַיָּא מְהַעְדֵּה מַלְכִין וּמְהָקֵים מַלְכִין יָהֵב חָכְמְתָא לְחַכִּימִין וּמַנְדְּעָא לְיָדְעֵי בִינָה׃

And he *changes* times and seasons and he *removes* kings and *establishes* kings. He *gives* wisdom to the wise and knowledge to those who *know* insight.

TH Daniel 2:21
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλοιοῖ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, καθιστᾷ βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστᾷ, διδοὺς σοφίαν τοῖς σοφοῖς καὶ φρόνησιν τοῖς εἰδόσιν σύνεσιν.

And he *changes* times and seasons and he *establishes* kings and *removes*, giving wisdom to the wise and wisdom to those who know understanding.

OG Daniel 2:21
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀλλοιοῖ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, μεθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν, διδοὺς σοφοῖς σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν τοῖς ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ οὖσιν.

[157] MT Daniel 2:21 has four participles with a general present function. Three of these are present indicatives in TH Daniel, while only one is translated with a present indicative in OG Daniel. The other three are translated with present participles.

> And he *changes* times and seasons, removing kings and establishing, giving wisdom to the wise and understanding to those who have understanding.

13) MT Daniel 6:28

מְשֵׁיזַב וּמַצִּל וְעָבֵד אָתִין וְתִמְהִין בִּשְׁמַיָּא וּבְאַרְעָא דִּי שֵׁיזִיב לְדָנִיֵּאל מִן־יַד אַרְיְוָתָא׃

> He *saves* and *delivers* and he *does* signs and wonders in the heavens and on earth for he saved Daniel from the power of the lions.

TH Daniel 6:28[158]
ἀντιλαμβάνεται καὶ ῥύεται καὶ ποιεῖ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅστις ἐξείλατο τὸν Δανιηλ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν λεόντων.

> He *saves* and *delivers* and *does* signs and wonders in heaven and upon the earth, who rescued Daniel from the hand of the lions.

3.1.3.4 Evaluating the Present Temporal Sphere

Since the PC occurs frequently in future contexts as well as in the past, it seems implausible that the cases where the PC expresses the general present are the result of grammaticalized tense, leaving the possibility that the general present/habitual functions could be either the result of imperfective aspect or modality. If the PC were developing from an earlier imperfective, one would expect identifiable examples of the PC expressing the real present. The Greek translators, at least, do not understand it as such. Because the PC is never used for the real present, a characteristic expression of imperfectives, modality alone is left as the sole candidate for the source of these general present/present habitual functions, as Gzella observes, "bei generalisierenden Sätzen scheint jedoch eine modale Funktion durch,"[159] and general linguistics confirms.

The Aramaic participle, which is on its way to developing into something of a present tense in later Aramaic dialects (though the diversity of translations in the Greek text shows they

[158] This text is absent in OG Daniel.

[159] Gzella, *Tempus*, 305.

did not understand it as just a present),[160] frequently describes events occurring in the real present, as shown above. A characteristic of present tense verbal forms is that they express both the actual present and general present.[161] As such, it is expected that the participle will express the full range of present tense functions, both the real and general present.

Viewing this data through the lens of the Greek translators provides an intriguing test case typologically speaking. As a non-past imperfective, the present indicative is able to express both the real and general present (among other functions), as is expected of a "present tense."[162] The small number of cases where the present indicative translates the PC all function habitually or gnomically and perhaps the ability of the Greek future indicative to express gnomic actions permitted the translator to use this form in cases where the Aramaic PC likely does not express pure future time.[163] On the other hand, the instances of Greek present indicative that express the real present characteristically translate the Aramaic participle.

3.1.4 The Aramaic PC in Subordinate Clauses and Its Representation in Greek

Moving now to the past temporal sphere, within narrative proper, it is possible to distinguish two broad structural categories of the PC: those that are grammatically subordinate and those that are grammatically independent. The PC regularly occurs in conditional clauses or subordinate clauses marked with די or עד די, to denote subjunctive modalities like purpose and

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[160] Nöldeke, *Grammar*, 211-212. But See Tarsee Li, "The Syriac Active Participle and the Expression of the Past Imperfective and the Present," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 130:2 (2010): 141-165.

[161] Martin Haspelmath observes, "A typical present has both progressive and habitual uses, and very often it can also be used for future time reference" ("The Semantic Development of Old Presents: New Futures and Subjunctives without Grammaticalization" *Diachronica* 15:1 (1998): 48.

[162] Bybee et al., "In some sense it is accurate to say that a 'present tense' expresses the meaning of a present imperfective. Since imperfective, as we have defined it, expresses both ongoing progressive action and habitual occurrence (at some reference time) and may also be used for states and gnomic situations, an imperfective that is restricted to the present would be indistinguishable from a present tense" (*Evolution*, 141).

[163] In each case, the use of the present indicative is the result of contextual factors, either lexical (יכל or כהל) or grammatical parallelism with the participle.

result.[164] According to Bybee et al., "The same forms that are used to express the speaker-oriented and epistemic modalities are often also used to mark the verbs in certain types of subordinate clauses."[165] When the Greek translators render these forms, Greek syntax dictates they use subjunctives (typically aorist, but see §6.3.4) in subordinate clauses (aorist subjunctive: 2 Esdras 27%; TH Daniel 20%; adjusted OG Daniel 22%; see table 5-7). Subjunctives may have given rise to the Greek future indicative historically,[166] and semantically they share a large degree of overlap, as future indicatives can occur in Greek subordinate clauses with little semantic contrast with subjunctives.

14) MT Ezra 4:16
מְהוֹדְעִין אֲנַחְנָה לְמַלְכָּא דִּי הֵן קִרְיְתָא דְּךְ תִּתְבְּנֵא וְשׁוּרָיָהּ יִשְׁתַּכְלְלוּן לָקְבֵל דְּנָה חֲלָק בַּעֲבַר נַהֲרָא לָא אִיתַי לָךְ

We make known to the king that if this city *is built* and its walls *completed*, then you will have no portion in the region beyond the river.

2 Esdras 4:16
γνωρίζομεν οὖν ἡμεῖς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη <u>οἰκοδομηθῇ</u> καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς <u>καταρτισθῇ</u>, οὐκ ἔστιν σοι εἰρήνη.

Therefore, we are making known to the king that if that city *is built* and its walls *restored*, there is no peace for you.

15) MT Daniel 4:22
וְשִׁבְעָה עִדָּנִין יַחְלְפוּן עֲלָיִךְ עַד דִּי־תִנְדַּע דִּי־שַׁלִּיט עִלָּיָא בְּמַלְכוּת אֲנָשָׁא וּלְמַן־דִּי יְצִבֵּא יִתְנִנַּהּ׃

And seven times will pass over you until *you know* that the Most High has authority in the kingdoms of men and to whomever he wants he gives it.

TH Daniel 4:25[167]

[164] The PC can also occur in several other types of subordinate clauses (Gzella, *Tempus*, 280ff, 222ff; Li, *Veral System*, 118ff).

[165] Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 180, 194, 228-230.

[166] Willi, *Origins*, 443; McKay, *New Syntax*, 34. Though I do not adopt this position, the morphological and notional overlap between the two forms is obvious.

[167] Absent in OG Daniel.

καὶ ἑπτὰ καιροὶ ἀλλαγήσονται ἐπὶ σέ, ἕως οὗ γνῷς ὅτι κυριεύει ὁ ὕψιστος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ᾧ ἂν δόξῃ, δώσει αὐτήν.

And seven times will change over you until *you know* that the Most High reigns over the kingdom of men and to whomever he wants he will give it.

16) MT Daniel 3:28
וּמַלְכָּא שַׂנִּיו וְיַהֲבוּ גֶּשְׁמֵיהוֹן דִּי לָא־יִפְלְחוּן וְלָא־יִסְגְּדוּן לְכָל־אֱלָהּ לָהֵן לֶאֱלָהֲהוֹן׃

And the word of the King was changed and they gave up their bodies *in order that they might not serve and might not worship* any god except their God.

TH Daniel 3:28
καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἠλλοίωσαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς πῦρ, ὅπως μὴ λατρεύσωσιν μηδὲ προσκυνήσωσιν παντὶ θεῷ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν·

And the word of the king they changed and they gave their bodies to the fire, in order that *they might not serve* nor *worship* any God except their God.

OG Daniel 3:28
τὴν γὰρ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἠθέτησαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμπυρισμόν, ἵνα μὴ λατρεύσωσι μηδὲ προσκυνήσωσι θεῷ ἑτέρῳ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν·

For the command of the king, they rejected and they gave their bodies to destruction by fire in order that *they might not serve* nor *worship* another God but their God.

All of the above examples explicitly mark the subordination. However, it is possible that every instance of subordinate or subjunctive modalities may not be grammatically marked as subordinate.

17) Daniel 5:2
בְּלֵשַׁאצַּר אֲמַר בְּטְעֵם חַמְרָא לְהַיְתָיָה לְמָאנֵי דַּהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא דִּי הַנְפֵּק נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר אֲבוּהִי מִן־הֵיכְלָא דִּי
בִירוּשְׁלֶם וְיִשְׁתּוֹן בְּהוֹן מַלְכָּא וְרַבְרְבָנוֹהִי שֵׁגְלָתֵהּ וּלְחֵנָתֵהּ׃

Belshazzar said when he was drunk with wine to bring up the vessels of gold and silver which his father Nebuchadnezzar had brought back from the temple which is in Jerusalem *in order that* the king and his nobles and his concubines and his maidservants *might drink* with them.

Because the form is clause initial, the *waw* + PC creates the potential optical illusion of a *wayyiqtol* for the translators.[168] Understanding the PC in 5:2 as a *wayyiqtol* or a preterit, though, means that the king and his associates actually drink from the vessels before Belshazzar's servants bring in the vessels in verse 3.[169] It also requires the reader to ignore the obviously long form of the verb. The reader faces the same narrative conundrum if the PC is imperfective as Muraoka argues: "the [PC] reminds one of the inchoative, inceptive value of the Greek imp[erfect], 'they began to drink' (ἔπινον)."[170] Although Shepherd understands the narrative logic of the text,[171] he suggests the PC here functions similarly to the participle (שָׁתֵה) in 5:1,[172] which he describes as serving a secondary nature within the structure of narrative, often supplying background events.[173] This suggestion neither explains the semantics of the PC nor solves the problem of the sequence of the events.

The divergent translation choices of TH Daniel and OG Daniel point to the inherent difficulty the PC in Daniel 5:2 presents. In the first example, TH appears to misunderstand the verb's morphology,[174] while OG transforms the syntax, but understands the meaning of the form.

18) TH Daniel 5:2
Βαλτασαρ εἶπεν ἐν τῇ γεύσει τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ σκεύη τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ, ἃ ἐξήνεγκεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν

[168] In an oft overlooked study, Adriaan Lamprecht argues convincingly that the word order that connects the PC to the *waw* is due to marked V-O-S word order not a *wayyiqtol* (*Verb Movement in Biblical Aramaic*, ActaAcademica Supplementum 1 [Bloemfontein: UFS-SASOL Library, 2001.], 123-130).

[169] Li, *Verbal System*, 124.

[170] Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Biblical Aramaic Reader: With an Outline Grammar* (Leuven: Peters, 2015), 53

[171] Shepherd translates the relevant portion of 5:2 as "so that the king and his nobles, his royal consorts and concubines could drink with them" (*Daniel in the Context of the Hebrew Bible* [New York: Peter Lang, 2009], 133).

[172] Ibid., 74.

[173] Ibid., 72.

[174] Again, see Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §108, 152, 175.

> Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ πιέτωσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παλλακαὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παράκοιτοι αὐτοῦ.
>
> Belshazzar said when he was drunk with wine to bring the gold and silver vessels that Nebuchadnezzar his father brought out from the temple in Jerusalem and *let* the king, his noblemen, concubines, and consorts *drink* with them.
>
> OG Daniel 5:2
> καὶ ἀνυψώθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν ἐνέγκαι τὰ σκεύη τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ, ἃ ἤνεγκε Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ οἰνοχοῆσαι ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἑταίροις αὐτοῦ.
>
> And his heart was lifted up and he said to bring the gold and silver vessels from the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar his father brought from Jerusalem and to pour wine in them for his associates.

In Aramaic, both the infinitive (לְהַיְתָיָה) and the PC (וְיִשְׁתּוֹן) represent indirect discourse. In TH Daniel, the translator begins with indirect discourse (εἶπεν…ἐνεγκεῖν), but then makes an awkward change to direct discourse in the middle of Belshazzar's words (πιέτωσαν) with the aorist imperative. Although the PC can express deontic modality (jussive), the extant Aramaic text is clearly the long form, eliminating this as a possibility. That TH is content to ignore the PC's clear morphology here suggests a level of discomfort in translating these forms into Greek.

OG Daniel's rendering is structurally different. Like TH Daniel, OG begins translating indirect discourse as such (εἶπεν ἐνέγκαι) and places the PC in indirect discourse as well by using the aorist infinitive (οἰνοχοῆσαι). But since the second infinitive functions like the first as a complement of the main verb (εἶπεν), OG reads it as commands from the king couched in indirect discourse. Because OG's resultant text is functionally similar to TH, it is possible that OG Daniel also understood וישתון as a jussive. In a minority of cases, OG translates the PC in subordinate clauses with infinitives (e.g., 2:30; 3:15 [2x]), though OG usually uses aorist subjunctives), which implies an understanding of the syntax as outlined above, not a jussive.

3.1.5 The So-Called Preterite Prefix Conjugation Represented by the Greek Translators

The above material illustrates the diverse ways languages grammaticalize futures, modals, presents, and subordinate modality. These verbal functions, from the perspective of Aramaic grammar, are generally undisputed, but this is not the case with what is perhaps the most perplexing component of the Aramaic verbal system—the occurrence of the PC in independent narrative clauses. Occurring only 29 times in Daniel,[175] this phenomenon is absent in Ezra and the rest of Imperial Aramaic. Though a form of the PC occurs in Old Aramaic inscriptions, the relationship between the two forms remains elusive. The discovery of Aramaic manuscripts at Qumran supplied two further examples, [176] but have not solved the crux of the so-called preterite PC. Previous scholarship divides into five main, somewhat overlapping camps:

- The PC expresses imperfective aspect.[177]
- The PC is non-aspectual, but its opposition with the SC is that of background vs. foreground.[178]
- The PC represents two forms, the short preterite and long imperfective.[179]
- The PC is a natural preterit, like the Hebrew *wayyiqtol*.[180]
- The PC is artificial; a literary device used by the author to mimic either the Akkadian *iprus* or translated from a Hebrew original.[181]

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[175] Daniel 4:2 (2), 8, 9 (3), 16, 17, 18 (2), 30 (2), 31, 33 (2); 5:2, 6, 21 (2); 6:20; 7:10 (2), 14, 15, 16 (2), 28 (2).

[176] On the use of the PC in Genesis Apocryphon 2:13 see Andrew Daniel "The So-Called Preterite Prefix Conjugation in the Aramaic of the Bible and Qumran: The Beginnings of a New Synthesis of the Aramaic Verbal System," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (forthcoming).

[177] Li, *Verbal System*, 103-109; Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik*, 379-80; Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1927), 280.

[178] Gzella, *Tempus*, 136-151; Shepherd, *Verbal System*, 73-74; their overall approaches and conclusions are markedly different, however. Gzella is much more inclined to view textual functions as the result of TAM.

[179] E. F. Kautzsch, *Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1884), 135-136; Hermann L. Strack, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Leipzig: Buchhandlung, 1905), 25; Max Rogland, "Remarks on the Aramaic Verbal System, " in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. M. F. J. Baasten and W. T. van Peursen (Leuven: Peters, 2003); Bauer and Leander also mention this is possible (*Grammatik, 283*).

[180] H. B. Rosén, "On the Use of the Tense in the Aramaic of Daniel," *Journal for Semitic Studies* 6 (1961): 183-203.

A major advocate of the fourth position, Rosén contends that the "preformative tense" was "more widely used as a narrative tense than is usually admitted."[182] In addition to Akkadian, he appeals to the Greek translators as evidence.[183] Rosén provides 17 examples where Aramaic preformative tense (*yqtl*) is translated by either OG or TH. Of the 23 translation equivalents cited by Rosén, 11 are imperfect indicatives, 11 aorist indicatives and 1 aorist participle. Although Rosén makes no attempt to situate his appeal to the translators in the context of a comprehensive analysis of the translation technique of OG and TH, he appears to assume the Greek verbal system is self-explanatory and that the translators provide something of a grammatical key in their translations. Nevertheless, based on this information Rosén asserts that these "instances enumerated above indicate that the choice of this narrative tense coincides with a durative or progressive lexical meaning of the verb," following Bauer and Leander.[184] Rosén takes exception to their statement that the prefix conjugation expresses a "Nebenumstände," however.[185] In fact, he argues that the opposite is the case. The prefix conjugation communicates the "main" action and the suffix conjugation the "accompanying" action.[186]

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[181] David Cohen, *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal en sémitique: Études de syntaxe historique* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 424; Stefan Bombeck, "Die Verwendung der Präformativkonjugation im Aramäischen des Buches Daniel," *Biblische Notizen* 83 (1996): 5-8.

[182] H. B. Rosén, "On the Use of the Tenses in the Aramaic of Daniel," *Journal for Semitic Studies* 6 (1961): 183.

[183] Rosén does assume that the "preformative tense" that expresses the non-past and the preterite preformative were "originally identical"; he appears to be agnostic as to their historical relationship (ibid.).

[184] Ibid., 183, following Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik*, 280.

[185] Rosén, "Tenses," 184.

[186] Ibid.

In response, Shepherd, after a brief survey of the translation technique of 24 verses in Daniel 2, concludes,

> It is highly questionable whether or not the Greek translations bring anything definitive to this discussion. The Greek language has a larger number of available verbal forms, and these forms do not provide a one-to-one correspondence with the verbal forms in Biblical Aramaic….It is not necessarily clear how well the translators knew Aramaic, but it is fairly clear that they knew what they wanted to do with Aramaic.[187]

Rosén's thesis has not been widely accepted. His appeal to the Greek translators coupled with Shepherd's rejoinder raises the question what insight said data could provide to this syntactical crux and its perplexing relationship between the non-past uses of the PC. From the start, Rosén stumbles by presenting the data in an obscure format that resists critical interaction. Furthermore, statistically speaking, Rosén has not provided accurate information. In TH Daniel, 14 PC forms are translated with the imperfect indicative, 12 PCs are translated with aorist indicatives,[188] one with a pluperfect indicative, one with a future indicative, and one with a aorist imperative. In OG nine PCs are translated with imperfect indicatives, six with aorist indicatives, two present participles, one aorist infinitive, and 10 are absent (Daniel 4:16, 17, 18, 30, 31, 33 (3); 5:21; 7:15; see table 7, but also table 6).

Rosén's claim that the Greek provides evidence for his claim of a preterite PC is specious since the imperfect indicative is statistically prevalent and imperfectives are generally not used for mainline narrative events. Again, as with the preceding sections, but perhaps more importantly here, typology provides helpful guidelines within which to interpret the hard data.

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[187] Shepherd, *Verbal System*, 21.

[188] Table 6 lists 13, the reason being that at 7:26 a form that is pointed as a PC (יתב)ֿ is understood by TH as a SC. Either pointing is permissible, but regardless of the pointing it does not constitute another example of the narrative PC.

Instead of using the translators as a polemical tool, the Greek translators witness to the cross-linguistic diversity in grammaticalizing habituals.

Several previous analyses agree that the Aramaic PC regularly expresses habitual/iterative actions in the past. [189] The same is true of the Greek imperfect indicative.[190]

19) Daniel 4:9//4:18[191]

עֲפְיֵהּ שַׂפִּיר וְאִנְבֵּהּ שַׂגִּיא וּמָזוֹן לְכֹלָּא־בֵּהּ תְּחוֹתוֹהִי תַּטְלֵלוֹן חֵיוַת בָּרָא וּבְעַנְפּוֹהִי יְדָרָון צִפְּרֵי שְׁמַיָּא וּמִנֵּהּ יִתְזַן כָּל־בְּשְׂרָא׃

> Its leaves were beautiful and its fruit was bountiful and food for all that were in it. Below it, the beasts of the field *would find shade* and in its branches the birds of heaven *would dwell* and from it, all flesh *would be fed*.[192]
>
> TH Daniel 4:12 [MT 4:9]
> τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ ὡραῖα, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ πολύς, καὶ τροφὴ πάντων ἐν αὐτῷ· καὶ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ κατεσκήνουν τὰ θηρία τὰ ἄγρια, καὶ ἐν τοῖς κλάδοις αὐτοῦ κατῴκουν τὰ ὄρνεα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο πᾶσα σάρξ.
>
> And its leaves were beautiful and its fruit was abundant and food for all who were in it. And below it, the wild beasts *would dwell* and in its branches the birds of heaven *would live* and from it, all flesh *would be fed.*
>
> OG Daniel 4:12

[189] As many as 20 out of the 30 total number of occurrences in Daniel fall into this category. On the relationship between habitual and iteratives see Lyons, *Semantics*, 716; Laurel Brinton, "The Mass/Count Distinction and *Aktionsart*: The Grammar of Iteratives and Habituals," *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 6 (1991): 47-69; see R. K. S. Macaulay, Review of *Aspect: An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*, by Bernard Comrie; *On Aspect Theory and Homeric Aspect* by Paul Friedrich, *Language* 54:2 (1978): 417-418 for a critique of Comrie's portrayal of habituals and his division between habituals and itteratives (*Aspect*, 26-30). A distinction between these two notional concepts not morphologically encoded in Aramaic.

[190] E.g., Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics*, 14ff.

[191] Only two occurrences of the PC are present in 4:18 (both translated as imperfect indicatives in TH Daniel, but In OG Daniel one is absent and one is translated with a present participle; see chapter 8).

[192] In contrast to Li, the translations of habituals here uses "would," following Joosten instead of "used to." Cook has suggested the English term "is problematic because modal 'would' and past habitual 'would' may in fact be unrelated in English (i.e., homonyms), as some linguistics have argued (e.g., Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994: 238-39; but cf. Boneh and Doron 2008; 2010)." See Palmer, *Modality and the English Modals* (London: Longman, 1990), 154-55. Cook's appeal to Bybee et al. misses the point. It does not matter whether past habitual *would* and 'irrealis' *would* have distinct historical origins. Appealing to English etymology here amounts to a red herring. The question that matters is whether past habituals are modal.

οἱ κλάδοι αὐτοῦ τῷ μήκει ὡς σταδίων τριάκοντα, καὶ ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ ἐσκίαζον πάντα τὰ θηρία τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐνόσσευον· ὁ καρπὸς αὐτοῦ πολὺς καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχορήγει πᾶσι τοῖς ζῴοις.

And its branches in length were about thirty stadia and below it, all the beasts of the earth *would seek* shelter and in it the birds of heaven *would nest* and its fruit was abundant and good and it *would give* liberally to all living creatures.

20) Daniel 7:15//4:16; 5:6[193]

אֶתְכְּרִית רוּחִי אֲנָה דָנִיֵּאל בְּגוֹא נִדְנֵהּ וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי׃

I, Daniel, my spirit was troubled in the midst of its sheath and the visions of my head *would* frighten me.

TH Daniel 7:15[194]
ἔφριξεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τῇ ἕξει μου, ἐγὼ Δανιηλ, καὶ αἱ ὁράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς μου ἐτάρασσόν με.

My spirit shuddered within my body, and as for me, Daniel, the visions of my head *would* trouble me.

Li, like the standard reference grammars, is correct in his understanding of the habitual function of many of the occurrences of the PC.[195] At first glance, it may be tempting to take the tendency of imperfect indicatives to translate the past-time PC as evidence that the translators understood these forms as grammaticalizing imperfective aspect, a majority position in Aramaic studies and Semitic generally. While it is true that imperfective aspect verbs are able to function in this way, not all instances of habitual/iterative action are the result of imperfective aspect. Since, habitual meaning shifts between tense, aspect and mood, depending on the prominent feature in the verbal

[193] Daniel 4:2 has two aorist indicatives though syntactically the same (see comments below). The plural subject in these examples triggers a habitual/iterative reading, as Lauren Brinton notes, "a plural subject may…create multiple situations" (Brinton, "Mass/Count Distinction," 49) and "verbal categories and nominal categories are apt to correlate in specific ways" (Stephen Wallace, "Figure and Ground: The Interrelationships of Linguistic Categories," in *Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics*, edited by P. J. Hopper [Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1982], 216).

[194] Absent in OG Daniel.

[195] Li only considers 9 occurrences as habitual/iterative (*Verbal System*, 109).

system, languages may theoretically use each category to express habitual meaning.[196] Identifying a function of a verbal form does not determine the semantic features that lie at its source.

Imperfective indicatives, however, are not the only translation equivalent found in the Greek texts of Daniel. Sometimes when two PCs occur in close connection, the translator uses one imperfect indicative and one aorist.[197]

21) Daniel 4:30//5:21[198]
בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָּא מִלְּתָא סָפַת עַל־נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר וּמִן־אֲנָשָׁא טְרִיד וְעִשְׂבָּא כְתוֹרִין יֵאכֻל וּמִטַּל שְׁמַיָּא גִּשְׁמֵהּ יִצְטַבַּע
עַד דִּי שַׂעְרֵהּ כִּנְשָׁרִין רְבָה וְטִפְרוֹהִי כְּצִפְּרִין׃

In that moment the matter concerning Nebuchadnezzar was fulfilled and he was driven from mankind and he *would eat* grass like oxen and from the dew of heaven his body *would be wet* until his hair became long like that of eagles and his nails like that of birds.

TH Daniel 4:30//5:21 [LXX][199]
αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ὁ λόγος συνετελέσθη ἐπὶ Ναβουχοδονοσορ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξεδιώχθη καὶ χόρτον ὡς βοῦς ἤσθιεν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐβάφη, ἕως οὗ αἱ τρίχες αὐτοῦ ὡς λεόντων ἐμεγαλύνθησαν καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ ὡς ὀρνέων.

In this hour the word came to pass upon Nebuchadnezzar and he was chased away as grass, like an ox, he *would eat*, and from the dew of heaven his body *was wet*, until the hair became long as that of a lion and his claws as that of birds.

22) MT Daniel 7:28
עַד־כָּה סוֹפָא דִּי־מִלְּתָא אֲנָה דָנִיֵּאל שַׂגִּיאִן רַעְיוֹנַי יְבַהֲלֻנַּנִי וְזִיוִי יִשְׁתַּנּוֹן עָלַי וּמִלְּתָא בְלִבְּי נְטַרֵת

Here is the end of the matter. As for me, Daniel, my thoughts *would frighten* me greatly and my countenance *would change* upon me, but I kept the matter in my heart.

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[196] Comrie, *Tense*, 40; cf. Bhat, *Prominence*, 177-78.

[197] See also 7:16.

[198] In both instances that the actions occurred habitually/iteratively over a prolonged period of time is clearly indicated by the temporal clause marked by עד "until." Gzella here over looks the temporal adverbs (see *Tempus*, 139).

[199] Absent in OG Daniel.

> TH Daniel 7:28
> ἐγὼ Δανιηλ, ἐπὶ πολὺ οἱ διαλογισμοί μου συνετάρασσόν με, καὶ ἡ μορφή μου ἠλλοιώθη ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου συνετήρησα.
>
> As for me, Daniel, my thoughts *would trouble* me greatly, and my appearance *was changed* upon me and I kept the matter in my heart.
>
> OG Daniel 7:28
> ἐγὼ Δανιηλ σφόδρα ἐκστάσει περιειχόμην, καὶ ἡ ἕξις μου διήνεγκεν ἐμοί, καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ἐστήριξα.
>
> I Daniel, I *was very deeply disturbed* and my condition *moved* throughout me and the matter I placed firmly in my heart.

The aorist indicative, in its most basic sense, signals the simple occurrence of an event, usually in past time.[200] As large stretches of Greek texts attest (especially in the Septuagint),[201] the aorist indicative "is the tense in which a verb in ordinary narrative is put unless there is reason for using some other tense."[202] Bhat helpfully problematizes the correlation between semantic categories and pragmatic functions:

> There is thus a tendency for perfective verbs to indicate past events, and also events that are punctual or resultative, and for imperfective verbs to indicate progressive and durative events, or events that do not terminate in a result. However, neither of these two sets of characteristics is essential for the perfective or imperfective to occur in a given context. It is quite possible, for example for a future event to be viewed and described as perfective and a past event as imperfective; similarly, an event presented from a perfective viewpoint can be durative or progressive and the one presented from an imperfective viewpoint can be resultative."[203]

Consequently, not every occurrence of the aorist indicative depicts a mainline narrative event.[204] The aorist indicative may even depict past habitual actions if the action in view has a completed

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[200] Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics,* 11

[201] See further chapter 7. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 198 ff.

[202] Robertson, *Grammar*, 836; Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics*, 13. See chapter 7.

[203] Bhat, *Prominence*, 48.

[204] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 217-238; Campbell, *Indicative Mood*, 120ff. They overstate their case and the implication these pragmatic functions have for tense in Ancient Greek.

whole.[205] The respective temporal adverbs in Aramaic and Greek (עד די שערה כנשרין רבה; ἕως οὗ αἱ τρίχες αὐτοῦ ὡς λεόντων ἐμεγαλύνθησαν) indicate that the action depicted by ἐβάφη took place over a protracted period.[206]

In past-time narrative contexts, habituals may be the result of modality, not unlike the case with the general present. According to Palmer the simple past and present "are always marked as realis."[207] Furthermore, when a language such as Amele possesses more than one marker of the past, both are regarded as realis.[208] Palmer, however, makes a significant caveat:

> It is important to realize, however that it is not the case that reference to the present or past time will always imply realis marking. *There is nothing strange about the fact that for instance, habitual past is marked as irrealis in Bargam*…, and other categories discussed in this section, such as Speculative, Negative, Interrogative, etc., may imply irrealis marking, even though there is reference to past or present time. It is only simple statements (assertions) about present or past actions that are always realis.[209]

Elsewhere Palmer explains how past habitual/iterative actions can be irreal, "Although past time reference is usually treated as realis, what is relevant here is that the habitual past does not relate to specific actions in the past but to a tendency to act."[210] Palmer's analysis should provoke critical reflection before crediting too quickly imperfective aspect for these habitual functions. The habitual/iterative actions here, however, if viewed in isolation from the other functions of the PC, could be regarded as vestiges of an earlier aspect-prominent stage of Aramaic[211] or the result of modality.

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[205] Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and Robert T. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago: Chicago, 1961), §332.

[206] On the function of the single occurrence of the pluperfect indicative (Daniel 7:10), see chapter 7.

[207] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 168.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Ibid., emphasis added. Contra Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 237-239.

[210] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 179.

To take the discussion a step further, Nora Boneh and Edit Doron have recently argued, "[H]abituality is primarily a modal category, which can only indirectly be characterized in aspectual terms."[212] In Romance languages, "habituality strongly correlates with imperfectivity,"[213] yet even in Romance, perfective habituals exist—a strong indication that "habituality cannot be characterized aspectually in a uniform manner,"[214] which is why it is possible for Greek to occasionally use aorist indicative forms to express habituality.

In languages that do not mark a perfective/imperfective opposition morphologically, like English and Modern Hebrew, Boneh and Doron argue that "it is even more problematic to assume that habituality is a subtype of imperfectivity."[215] These languages have more than one means of expressing habituality, a simple and a periphrastic form. The latter, which they term, the "retrospective habitual" is seen in the example taken from Modern Hebrew and its English translation.[216]

כל יום הילד היה בא ואוסף את העלים של העץ ועושה מהם כתרים ומשחק במלך היער

> Every day the child would come and gather the leaves of the tree and make crowns from them and pretend to be the king of the forest.

The complex event structure of these retrospective habituals may be represented graphically in the following diagram, where R represents reference time and P perspective time:

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[211] Li, *Verbal System*,

[212] Nora Boneh and Edit Doron, "Modal and Temporal Aspects of Habituality," in *Lexical Semantics, Syntax, and Event Structure*, ed. Malka Rappaport Hovav, Edit Doron, and Ivy Sichel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 339.

[213] Ibid., 340.

[214] Ibid., 352.

[215] Ibid., 343.

[216] They use different examples (ibid., 344 ff).

----------(R----------)----------(P---)---------[217]

Because "habituality cannot be characterized aspectually in a uniform manner," Boneh and Doron argue modality is the underlying semantic feature of habituals.[218] Thus, when aspect-prominent and tense-prominent languages use imperfective aspect and tense to communicate habituals, this should not count as evidence in favor of reducing habituality to either imperfective aspect or a "temporal notion of event recurrence."[219] Such analysis stands in stark contrast to the work of Bybee et al., who considered habituality a "prototypical case of realis" to the extent that when Roberts documented that Bargam treats habituality as irrealis, they used this as evidence that irrealis is not a "cross-linguistically valid" category.[220]

Consequently, since Greek is an aspect-prominent language, as has been acknowledged for quite some time, Greek uses its aspectual system to express habituals; or in Bhat's framework, Greek views an inherently modal concept (viz., habituals) in terms of imperfective aspect, because it is an aspect-prominent language.[221] That Aramaic uses the same form for past habituals as other modal expressions across temporal spheres is unsurprising from a cross-linguistic perspective. Cristofaro documents languages wherein "both habituality in the present and habituality in the past can be expressed by means of constructions used for unactualized

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[217] Ibid., 350.

[218] Boneh and Doron also point out that the auxiliaries would and *haya* are used in other modal environments like subordination, counterfactuals, as is the case for Aramaic (Ibid., 352-353); see Edna Amir Coffin and Shmuel Bolozky, *A Reference Grammar of Modern Hebrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 298-299.

[219] Ibid., 352; S. Cristofaro, "Past Habituals and Irrealis," in *Irrealis and Irreality*, ed. Yury A. Lander, Vladimir A. Plungian, and Anna Yu. Urmanchieva (Gnosis: Moscow, 2004), 256-272.

[220] Bybee et al., *Evolution*, 238.

[221] Bhat, *Prominence*, 177-78. Cook's most recent work classifies habituals under irrealis. Yet, if the Hebrew *yqtl* is imperfective, as he argues, then the gram's imperfectivity would be the source of its habitual functions (John Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect and Modality in Biblical Hebrew* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012], 222, 255).

situations, but habituality in the present can also be expressed by means of the same construction used for actualized events."[222] This is precisely what is found in Aramaic. Habituality in the present and past may both be expressed by the PC, which expresses unactualized situations or irrealis, while the participle can also express present habituality in the present even though the participle frequently expresses actualized events. Even more to the point, Cristofaro makes the following observation:

> In a number of languages, habituality is expressed by means of the same constructions used to express various types of unactualized situations, such as for instance constructions expressing future events, possibilities, desire, obligation, requests, conditions, frustrated intention, negated events, questions and the like.[223]

Yet again, this is what we find in Aramaic. The PC, the same form that expresses the future and modality, is the form that expresses habituality in the past, that is, the irrealis form.

To summarize the argument thus far, Aramaic uses the verbal form that regularly expresses future temporal reference, epistemic modality, and deontic modality to express past-time habitual actions. In contrast, Greek uses aspect prominent forms, especially the imperfect indicative, but occasionally the aorist indicative, to represent the same pragmatic functions. The reason for this is reflective of the dispute in general linguistics over the nature of habituals, which Bhat suggests is "correlatable with the typological distinction between tense-prominent, aspect-prominent and mood-prominent languages."[224] Once again, the data from translation technique mirrors the cross-linguistic diversity documented by linguists.

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[222] Cristofaro, "Past Habituals," 264.

[223] Ibid., 257-258.

[224] Bhat, *Prominence*, 177.

3.1.6 The PC Translated by Aorist Indicatives Expressing Mainline Narrative Events

The Aramaic verbal forms and their respective Greek equivalents, despite their diverse morphological encoding, have been functional mirrors of each other to this point. This is not so in a significant minority of cases where the translators use aorist indicatives to translate a number of difficult cases of the PC, transforming the background/subordinate syntax in the Aramaic text to narrative mainline events in the Greek text. Perhaps, one could argue that in these cases, the translators understood these forms as the short preterit, but there is lack of morphological evidence for this position. These enigmatic cases of Aramaic PCs are debated, but here it is argued that they seem to denote the expression of ability. The choice of aorist indicatives to translate them has more to do with the translator's translation technique than the function of the Aramaic source text. Since translators tend to use single Greek forms for single Aramaic forms, translating the abilitative function of these forms would require a sharp break from translation protocol.

Palmer categorizes the expression of ability as dynamic modality, where the "the conditioning factors" of these expressions "are internal" in contrast to deontic modality where the "conditioning factors are internal to the relevant individual."[225] In English we may think of the modal auxiliary *can* which expresses either epistemic or deontic modality, depending on the context. Thus, when a student asks a teacher, "can I go to the bathroom [asking permission]?" but the teacher replies, "I don't know; *can* you [questioning ability]?" the linguistic explanation behind the sarcasm lies in the ambiguity of *can*. In Aramaic, although the auxiliary יכל is

[225] Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, 9; Bybee et al. claim "agent-oriented modality is very rarely expressed by inflectional affixes" (*Evolution*, 181). Aramaic frequently uses the auxiliary יכל for this purpose, but inflectional affixes are also clearly attested in the PC.

normally employed to signal ability, the following example illustrates the capacity of the PC to also express this function.[226]

23) Daniel 2:11[227]
וּמִלְּתָא דִּי־מַלְכָּה שָׁאֵל֙ יַקִּירָ֔ה וְאָחֳרָן֙ לָ֣א אִיתַ֔י דִּ֥י יְחַוִּנַּ֖הּ קֳדָ֣ם מַלְכָּ֑א לָהֵ֗ן אֱלָהִ֛ין דִּ֥י מְדָרְהוֹן֙ עִם־בִּשְׂרָ֔א לָ֥א אִיתְוֹהִֽי׃

> And the matter, which the king asks, is difficult and there is not another who can reveal it before the king, except the gods whose dwelling is not with flesh.[228]

Li's translation reveals what is clear from the context. The king's servants are not foretelling that the gods will reveal the matter before the king, only that they are able. Had the former been intended, the narrative tension would be upended and the king would be left only to wait on the gods to reveal his dream, but that is not the case.[229] The previous verse confirms this reading.

24) Daniel 2:10
עֲנוֹ֙ כַּשְׂדָּיֵ֔א קֳדָם־מַלְכָּ֖א וְאָמְרִ֑ין לָא־אִיתַ֣י אֱנָ֗שׁ עַל־יַבֶּ֛שְׁתָּא דִּ֥י מִלַּ֖ת מַלְכָּ֑א יוּכַ֗ל לְהַחֲוָיָה֙ כָּל־קֳבֵ֣ל דִּי֩ כָּל־מֶ֨לֶךְ֙ רַ֜ב וְשַׁלִּ֗יט מִלָּ֤ה כִדְנָה֙ לָ֣א שְׁאֵ֔ל

> The Chaldeans answered before the king and said, 'There is no man upon the earth *who is able to make known* the word of the king. For no great king or ruler has put forth a request like this to any magician, enchanter, or Chaldean.

In 2:10 the author uses the PC of the verb יכל plus the infinitive in a way that both demonstrates the above reading of the PC in verse 11 and illustrates the available choices of either lexicalizing (2:10) or grammaticalizing (2:11) the agent-oriented modality of ability, juxtaposing the inability of humanity to make know the king's dream with God's ability to do so via an abilitative use of the PC.

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[226] See also Daniel 29b, 11, 25; 4:321, b.

[227] See also Daniel 3:17.

[228] Li's translation (ibid., 111; emphasis his). Shepherd also translates the verse similarly, implicitly admitting that the prefix conjugation expresses modality (*Daniel*, 126); also KJV, ESV, NASB, NRSV. TH Daniel and OG Daniel both use future indicatives to translate the Aramaic PC.

[229] Li, *Verbal System*, 111.

Daniel 4:32 contains additional examples of the PC denoting ability in the present, which in turn may shed light on the occurrence of the past-tense PC in the surrounding context.

25) MT Daniel 4:31-33

[31] וְלִקְצָת יוֹמַיָּא אֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר עֵינַי לִשְׁמַיָּא נְטַלַת וּמַנְדְּעִי עֲלַי יְתִוּב וּלְעִלָּיָא בָּרְכֵת וּלְחַי עָלְמָא שַׁבְּחֵת וְהַדַּרֵת דִּי שָׁלְטָנֵהּ שָׁלְטָן עָלַם וּמַלְכוּתֵהּ עִם־דָּר וְדָר׃ [32] וְכָל־דָּאְרֵי אַרְעָא כְּלָא חֲשִׁיבִין וּכְמִצְבְּיֵהּ עָבֵד בְּחֵיל שְׁמַיָּא וְדָאְרֵי אַרְעָא וְלָא אִיתַי דִּי־יִמַּחֲא בִידֵּהּ וְיֵאמַר לֵהּ מָה עֲבַדְתְּ׃ [33] בֵּהּ־זִמְנָא מַנְדְּעִי יְתִוּב עֲלַי וְלִיקָר מַלְכוּתִי הַדְרִי וְזִוְי יְתִוּב עֲלַי וְלִיי הַדָּבְרֵי וְרַבְרָבָנַי יְבַעְוֹן וְעַל־מַלְכוּתִי הָתְקְנַת וּרְבָו יַתִּירָה הְוֹסְפַת לִי׃

[31]At the end of days, I Nebuchadnezzar lifted my eyes to heaven and my knowledge was able to return to me and I blessed the Most High and to the one who lives forever I praised and glorified because his dominion is an everlasting dominion and his kingdom is with every generation. [32] And all those who dwell upon the earth are considered as nothing and according his desire he acts among the most of heave and those who dwell upon the earth and there is no who can stay his hand and can say to him, 'What have you done?' [33]In that time my knowledge was able to return to me and for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty and my splendor was able to return to me and my counselors and my nobles could seek me. I was established over my kingdom and surpassing greatness was added to me.

The two cases of the PC in verse 32 (יְמַחֲא וְיֵאמַר), though not past-time referring, again suggest the PC can express an abilitative function, as Li astutely observes.[230] Rendering these verbs as futures ("who will stay his hand and will say to him") is unnatural, which is probably the reason most English versions give both PC verbs in verse 32 (Eng. 4:35) an abilitative sense (KJV, NASB, ESV, NRSV, NIV).[231] Yet, when it comes to the PC in past-time contexts (v. 31, 33; Eng. 4:34, 36) the same versions unanimously employ the simple past and in TH Daniel aorist indicatives. If, as Li argues and translations have intuitively acknowledged for some time, the PC can express ability in non-past contexts, perhaps it is time to consider whether the same is true in the past.[232] Literarily, this view has potential explanatory power. Thus in 4:31-33, before the appointed seven times had passed, Nebuchadnezzar's sanity was unable to return to him and his

[230] Li, *Verbal System*, 111.

[231] Also Goldingay, *Daniel*, 79; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 170.

[232] In Biblical Hebrew see, for example, 1 Samuel 13:19.

nobles were unable to seek him because God had decreed it so. Only after the established time had come to an end could Nebuchadnezzar once more rule over his kingdom. In TH Daniel, the reader encounters a text that renders non-past uses of the PC as future indicatives and past uses as aorist indicatives (with one imperfect indicative), blurring the oppositions between the PC and SC in past time.

26) TH Daniel 4:31-33

[34] καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσορ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέλαβον, καὶ αἱ φρένες μου ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐπεστράφησαν, καὶ τῷ ὑψίστῳ εὐλόγησα καὶ τῷ ζῶντι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ᾔνεσα καὶ ἐδόξασα, ὅτι ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεάν, [35] καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν γῆν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐλογίσθησαν, καὶ κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῆς γῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἀντιποιήσεται τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρεῖ αὐτῷ Τί ἐποίησας; [36] αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ αἱ φρένες μου ἐπεστράφησαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου ἦλθον, καὶ ἡ μορφή μου ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, καὶ οἱ τύραννοί μου καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνές μου ἐζήτουν με, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μου ἐκραταιώθην, καὶ μεγαλωσύνη περισσοτέρα προσετέθη μοι.

[34] And after the end of days, I, Nebuchadnezzar lifted up my eyes to heaven, and my mental faculties *returned* to me, and I blessed the Most High and the One who lives forever I praised and glorified because his authority is an eternal authority and his kingdom is from generation to generation. [35] And all those who dwell upon the earth are considered as nothing and according to his will he does in the armies of heaven and in the dwelling place and there is no one who *will resist* his hand and *will say* to him, "What have you done?" [36] In that time my mental faculties returned to me and to the honor of my kingdom I came, and my good standing returned to me. And my rulers and noblemen *were seeking* me and over my kingdom I was made strong and exceeding greatness was added to me.

An abilitative reading of Daniel 6:20 may solve what is perhaps the most perplexing occurrences of the PC in narrative.

27) Daniel 6:20

בֵּאדַיִן מַלְכָּא בִּשְׁפַרְפָּרָא יְקוּם בְּנָגְהָּא וּבְהִתְבְּהָלָה לְגֻבָּא דִּי־אַרְיָוָתָא אֲזַל׃

Then at dawn, the king *was able to arise* in the daylight and he went out with haste to the lions' den.

TH Daniel 6:20
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέστη τὸ πρωὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν σπουδῇ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων·

> Then the king *rose* in the morning in the light and with haste went out to the den of lions.
>
> OG Daniel 6:20
> καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ὤρθρισε πρωὶ καὶ παρέλαβε μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς σατράπας καὶ πορευθεὶς ἔστη ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ λάκκου τῶν λεόντων.
>
> And king Darius *rose* in the morning and took with him the satraps and when he went out he stood upon the mouth of the den of lions.

Like the Greek translators' use of the aorist indicative, most English translations render PC in 6:20 with a simple past tense: "Then the king rose at dawn in the light and went out with haste to the lions' den." The later Syriac translators likewise avoid the difficulty by opting for the SC in the Peshitta, thereby capturing the obvious temporal reference of the PC. Interestingly, the verb is absent from the text at Qumran (4Q113), and like the Greek translations of Daniel 5:2, may suggest the difficulty a translator had with the form, since most past-time PC forms follow a SC.[233] Commentators, meanwhile, either ignore the odd verbal syntax or offer solutions that test the limits of logic. John Goldingay, for instance, proposes that the PC "is used to throw emphasis on the main [verb] אזל."[234] But how the PC does this Goldingay does not explain. Li translates this verse, "Then the king at dawn, *rising up* at daylight, went with haste to the lions' den."[235] According to Li, "Though not necessarily simultaneous to the following SC verb, it is part of a circumstantial clause, and it is therefore progressive."[236] Does it necessarily follow from the recognition that the first half of the verse is a circumstantial clause that the PC is "therefore progressive"?

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[233] Gzella, *Tempus*, 146.

[234] Goldingay, *Daniel*, 122.

[235] Li, *Verbal System*, 106.

[236] Ibid.

The broader literary context converges with the abilitative reading offered here. After being duped by his advisors, the king signs a rather self-aggrandizing law prohibiting the worship of any god besides the king. Yet, when Daniel breaks the king's edict and, therefore, must be thrown into the lions' den, the king is deeply troubled. Here the author provides a rare glimpse into a character's inner struggle. A distraught Darius "set his mind on saving him and until the setting of the sun he was attempting to rescue him" (6:15), but is ultimately unable. Only after his officials force his hand, does Darius enforce the edict (v. 16-17). Darius's final words to Daniel (6:17)—often taken as words of confidence—are sufficiently ambiguous. But what is not in doubt is Darius's genuine concern for Daniel. After going to his palace, he refuses to eat, shuns entertainment, while sleep eludes him (v. 19). At first light, Darius can now return to the lions' den to inquire whether Daniel's God was able to deliver his servant Daniel (v. 21). With the two temporal clauses, the first half of verse 20 highlights the necessary conditions that enable Darius to return to the lions' den.

3.2 Aramaic Verbal Syntax through Greek-Tinted Glasses

The present analysis has explored the translation technique of 2 Esdras, TH Daniel, and OG Daniel, which provide a window into the translators' mental representation of a single Aramaic verbal form (PC). Their mental representation, however, is mediated through an aspect prominent language. The bias that inevitably results, according to Bhat, "is something like trying to understand the colour of various objects around us while looking at them through red-coloured glasses."[237] In non-past context and in subordinate clauses, the translators use three distinct verbal forms (future indicatives, aorist imperatives, and aorist subjunctives) each with an inextricable link to the semantic domain of modality. In independent, past-time contexts, the

[237] Bhat, *Prominence*, 98.

Greek translators typically use indicative forms, exemplifying the longstanding problem of the relationship to past and non-past uses of the PC.

As a potential solution, Gzella has suggested what may be an unnecessary dichotomy between the two temporal spheres, writing, "Als nicht-modale Funktion muß dieser Gebrauch vom subordinierend "Imperfekt" im Finalsatz, das ja durchaus auch mit vergangenem Zeitbezug vorkommen kann…, und von relative-nachzeitigen Sachverhalten…scharf geschieden werden."[238] Gzella's desire to distinguish sharply between the PC in independent narrative clauses and the gram's other functions warrants serious consideration. The Greek translators are the first to make this move. More likely, the independent narrative uses of the PC are mirror images of its non-past counterpart, which plays an essential role in elucidating one of the most vexing issues in AVS. The difference, therefore, between the general present PC and the past habitual is a matter of temporal location, as are the unmarked purpose/result clauses and instances where the PC expresses ability in past time. All of these functions are variations on the same modal theme.

Both Gzella and Shepherd, in their own distinctive ways, have each adopted Bauer and Leander's incisive observation that the examples of the narrative PC documented above "erinnern durchaus an die Zustandsätze im Arabischen, die nicht ein Hauptmoment der Erzählung darstellen, sondern Nebenumstände betreffen, die daher auch logisch und psychologisch dem Hauptvorgang untergeordnet sind."[239] They are correct that the PC in narrative is subordinate and/or communicates background information. But when Gzella and

[238] Ibid., 137.

[239] Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik*, 281.

Shepherd each argue that the PC in independent past time clauses communicates background information as opposed to tense, aspect, or modality, they confuse cause and effect.[240]

In the secondary linguistic literature, verb forms commonly communicate background information because of either imperfective aspect or epistemic modality.[241] Because a strong correlation exists between imperfective aspect and background information,[242] it is not difficult to see how many instances of the PC in narrative, such as the past-time habitual functions (1.5), could suggest the form is imperfective. Modality also plays an important role in backgrounding events within discourse[243] (even more so if habituals are modal), which the author "uses…to structure an utterance [or text] into more or less salient portions."[244] Consequently, Wallace notes "certain neglected interrelationships between aspectuality and modality, in particular a recurrent tendency to associate imperfective…aspectuality with non-eventive modalities."[245] Because modality has the greatest explanatory power for the wide range of usages of the PC, it also accounts for the sense of backgrounding that Aramaists have intuitively inferred.

Previous syntheses of the Aramaic verb have failed to give modality due consideration. But as Bhat notes,

> Our inability to consider mood as a verbal category that can be as prominent as tense or aspect… is probably a result of our dependence, for the description of mood-prominent languages, upon a tense-prominent language. We may not be able to avoid this dependence, or the interference that results from it, but we can at least try to discount for

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[240] "It is…theoretically untenable to ascribe text-linguistic functions to verb forms as such" (Jan Joosten, "The Indicative System of the Biblical Hebrew Verb and Its Literary Exploitation," in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. E. J. van Wolde [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 56; see 52-57).

[241] See Bhat, *Prominence*, 179-81; and especially the seminal article of Wallace, "Figure and Ground," 205-209.

[242] Ibid., 208-209.

[243] Ibid., 209.

[244] Ibid., 214.

[245] Wallace, "Figure and Ground," 203-204.

> it….Another point is that we must be aware of the fact that distinctions occurring in the translations of forms or sentences do not necessarily indicate distinctions in the languages that are being translated. For example, when a grammarian writes that a particular verbal form can be used to denote past as well as present tense, the language may, in the actual fact, be leaving that distinction unspecified. It may only be the translator who is forced by his own language to express the meaning either as past or as present."[246]

Bhat's caution helps situate the data gathered from translation technique in more sophisticated terms than Rosén's polemical misrepresentation. While the Greek translators, bound by their target language, inevitably represent the past-time occurrences of the PC in in terms of aspect (and tense), all is not lost. The use of linguistic typology helps mitigate the inevitable bias resulting from viewing Aramaic verbal syntax through Greek-tinted glasses. Accordingly, the Greek translations are not an opportunity for a simplistic argument that the form expresses imperfective aspect or is a preterite but a chance to view the complex ability for the world's languages to grammaticalize TAM systems through two radically different language systems.

3.3 Verbal Syntax in the *Vorlage* of OG and TH Daniel?

Future textual discoveries could provide more examples of the past-time PC that confirm, nuance, or challenge the thesis that the form is modal and its past time functions are a natural extension of its modal semantics. Such manuscript discoveries are thoroughly unlikely, but possible in light of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (GenAp 2:12[2x]) and Old Aramaic epigraphic finds (e.g., Tel Dan). Yet, the pluses in the Greek texts of Daniel may give witness to more cases of this unique function of the PC in their *Vorlage*. In light of the exhaustive translation technique conducted for this study, it is possible to resurrect these forms with varying degrees of certainty. First, a few caveats are in order.

Since the majority of narrative PC's are translated by imperfect indicatives, Greek pluses containing imperfect indicatives are the most likely candidates to represent a narrative PC. A

[246] Bhat, *Prominence*, 99.

problem arises, though, when one realizes that imperfect indicatives in Greek evenly represent three distinct Aramaic verbal forms: the PC (TH Daniel 20%; adjusted OG Daniel 18%), Active Participle (TH Daniel 29%; adjusted OG Daniel 22%), and Periphrastic Construction הוה + Active Participle (TH Daniel 31%; adjusted OG Daniel 28%). Because, as argued above, a large portion of the past-time PC forms express habitual meaning, imperfect verbal forms that depict repeated actions in the past (habitual or iterative actions) are the most likely candidates to have a PC in their *Vorlage*. Aorist indicatives also translate PCs with regularity, at times creating narrative mainline events, so pluses with aorist indicatives should not immediately be assumed to represent SC verbs. It should be kept in mind, however, that 78% of aorist indicatives in TH Daniel translate SCs, while 73% (adjusted) aorist indicatives in OG Daniel translate SC forms (see tables 41-43). In order to guard against reconstructing what could be dozens of PC forms whenever an aorist indicative occurs in a plus of OG Daniel, a PC should not be retroverted from Greek aorist indicative unless it occurs in close connection with other extant aorist indicatives that translate extant occurrences of the PC. In light of the above caveats, the ensuing principles emerge.

1) Imperfect indicatives that express habitual actions are most likely to have had a PC in their *Vorlage*.
2) Aorist indicatives in pluses may represent PCs, if the plus occurs in context with extant cases of past-time PCs.
3) Vocabulary for the reconstructions should first be sought from Imperial Aramaic and Qumran Aramaic and only if necessary from later Aramaic dialects.
4) PCs in narrative reconstructed in the large pluses of OG Daniel are less likely, since they may not have an Aramaic *Vorlage* at all. (See chapter 5).

Based on these tentative guidelines, the following cases of the past-time PC may be reconstructed.

The Aramaic text of Daniel 4:8 contains a single past-time PC (ימטא), while 4:9 boasts 3 (יתזין, ידרון, תטלל). OG Daniel places 4:8 [lxx 4:11] after 4:9 [lxx 4:12]. In 4:8 [lxx 4:11], the

following plus appears: ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἐν αὐτῷ ᾤκουν καὶ ἐφώτιζον πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ("the sun and the moon would dwell in it and they would illuminate all the earth"). In OGD 4:8-9 imperfect indicatives translate all 4 occurrences of the PC. Since the plus contains two imperfect indicatives and OG Daniel is generally close to the extant Aramaic text preserved in the MT, it is plausible that OG Daniel was following his *Vorlage* at this point, not rewriting the text. Hence, the following reconstructed Aramaic clause containing two examples of the narrative PC is given below:

28) Daniel 4:8 plus

שמשא ושהרא בה ידרונון וינהרון כל ארעא

The sun and the moon would dwell in it and would illuminate all the earth.[247]

The first occurrence of the narrative PC is a duplicate of that found in MT 4:9b. Because the form occurs in a different context with a different subject, we may infer that the PC is not an artificial form. All of the vocabulary is common Aramaic found in and around the bible. The second form, in contrast, is not attested as a narrative PC form.

Another cluster of past-time PC forms occurs in Daniel 4:33 (יבעון, יתוב, יתוב), which, though absent in OG Daniel, are translated with two aorist indicatives and one imperfect indicative (ἐπεστράφησαν, ἐπέστρεψεν, ἐζήτουν; see 26 below). It is uncharacteristic of TH to add verbs, as the Aramaic *Vorlage* is essentially a proto-MT text. Yet, TH Daniel has an aorist indicative that appears to be a rare plus (only 7 out of 325 aorist indicatives in TH Daniel may be considered pluses, approximately 2%; see table 3).

29) MT Daniel 4:33

בֵּהּ־זִמְנָא מַנְדְּעִי יְתַוּב עֲלַי וְלִיקַר מַלְכוּתִי הַדְרֵי וְזִוְיִ יְתוּב עֲלַי וְלִי הַדָּבְרֵי וְרַבְרָבָנַי יְבַעְוֹן וְעַל־מַלְכוּתִי
הָתְקְנַת וּרְבוּ יַתִּירָה הַוְסְפַת לִי׃

[247] Perhaps for the second verb, the root דנח is possible. See TAD C1.1, 138 and the 6 occurrences at Qumran (Cook, *Dictionary*, 57), especially *11QtgJob* 19:1.

> In that time my knowledge could return to me and *for the glory of my kingdom, my majesty* and my splendor could return to me and for me my counselors and nobles could seek me and over my kingdom I was established.
>
> TH Daniel 4:33 [lxx: 4:36][248]
> αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ αἱ φρένες μου ἐπεστράφησαν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, καὶ εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς βασιλείας μου ἦλθον, καὶ ἡ μορφή μου ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ, καὶ οἱ τύραννοί μου καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνές μου ἐζήτουν με, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν μου ἐκραταιώθην, καὶ μεγαλωσύνη περισσοτέρα προσετέθη μοι.
>
> In that time, my mental faculties returned to me and *to the honor of my kingdom, I came*, and my good standing returned to me. And my rulers and noblemen were seeking me and over my kingdom I was made strong and exceeding greatness was added to me.

TH Daniel represents the relevant phrase as literally as can be expect until the final word. The Aramaic text has הדרי ("my majesty"); the Greek text has the verb ἦλθον. Conceivably, the translator could have added the verb to smooth out what he perceived to be unnatural syntax. Alternatively, the translator could have had a slightly different *Vorlage* before him, perhaps אתית. If this is the case, it is difficult to discern the relationship between the two readings in what is an otherwise literal translation.

The root הדר ("honor, majesty"), whose verbal cognate may be found in Daniel 4:31, has a homonym found in several later Aramaic dialects that means "to return, do something again" in the G-stem.[249] A verb from הדר meaning "to return" is probably the older reading, which would

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[248] OG here is much shorter text whose relationship to the MT is uncertain.

[249] Kaufman et al., *CAL* (accessed 7/14/2018). The form occurs principally in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic (JBA), Mandaic, and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic. Although the form occurs in mostly Eastern Aramaic texts and one could argue that the root could not go back that late without attestation, one is still left explaining why the translator wrote ἦλθον in the place of the noun הדר. At the very least, the translator's knowledge of Aramaic is informing his translation. See especially Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* [Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002], 363-367). In JBA only one of these forms exists, while in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, the other form exists. Perhaps an earlier stage of the language had both forms, while only one meaning survived in each form for later Aramaic dialects. In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic both forms exist (Michael Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 3rd ed. (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2017),155, though he states these are corrupt forms and to substitute חזר in every case). In Syriac, Sokoloff does not list the form (332). Perhaps the form does not go back to the time of the translators, but J. C. Greenfield, along with others have noted lexemes "that have, so to speak 'leaped' over a level of the language, that is, they are found in Ugaritic and not known in Biblical Hebrew or Phoenician but are then

account for the awkward syntax in the MT, while explaining the readings in both the MT and TH Daniel. The question now is whether to reconstruct the text as a SC or PC. Because TH Daniel has an aorist, statistically a SC is more probable. Because the translator has already rendered two out of three narrative PC forms with aorist indicatives, the surrounding context tips the scale in favor of a PC, which permits the following reconstruction:

30) TH Daniel 4:33 *Vorlage*

וליקר מלכותי אהדר[250]

And to the glory of my kingdom, I could return.

In this reconstruction, the author plays on the two meanings of the root הדר, one found in 4:31 and the other in 4:33. The cognitive association of the root with semantic domain of glory, honor, majesty is triggered by the preceding noun יקר and the following noun רבו ("greatness") towards the end of the verse. Regarding the consonantal text, little has to change to produce the reading in the MT. The *alef* must elide and a *yod* must appear, perhaps due to dittography of the *waw* beginning the next clause.

One final example is the most tenuous of the three reconstructions because it involves an internal passive PC, which happen not to occur in biblical Aramaic.[251] The impetus for such a move comes from the incongruence of the two Greek texts of Daniel at a place where they typically align.

31) MT Daniel 2:49

וְדָנִיֵּאל֙ בְּעָ֣א מִן־מַלְכָּ֔א וּמַנִּ֗י עַל֙ עֲבִידְתָ֣א דִֽי מְדִינַ֔ת בָּבֶ֖ל לְשַׁדְרַ֣ךְ מֵישַׁ֑ךְ וַעֲבֵ֖ד נְגֹ֑ו וְדָנִיֵּ֖אל בִּתְרַ֥ע מַלְכָּֽא

found in Mishnaic Hebrew" ("Amurrite, Ugaritic, and Canaanite," in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965*, ed. J. C. Greenfield (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1969). The late attestation of הדר does not necessitate a late emergence.

[250] Alternatively, we could reconstruct the SC הדרת "I returned."

[251] Rosenthal, *Grammar*, §107; see Muraoka and Porten, *Egyptian Aramaic*, 104, 129, 146.

> And Daniel sought from the king and he appointed over the administration of the province of Babylon Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. And Daniel was in the gate of the king.
>
> TH Daniel 2:49
> καὶ Δανιηλ ἠτήσατο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ <u>κατέστησεν</u> ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῆς χώρας Βαβυλῶνος τὸν Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω· καὶ Δανιηλ ἦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ βασιλέως.
>
> And Daniel asked from the king and he *appointed* over the work of the region of Babylon Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. And Daniel was in the court of the king.
>
> OG Daniel 2:49
> καὶ Δανιηλ ἠξίωσε τὸν βασιλέα <u>ἵνα κατασταθῶσιν</u> ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω· καὶ Δανιηλ ἦν ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ αὐλῇ.
>
> And Daniel asked the king in order that they might be appointed over the deeds of Babylon Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego. And Daniel was in the royal court.

Apart from minor lexical differences, the two Greek texts are nearly identical. The major exception is the SC (מני) becomes an aorist subjunctive in a subordinate clause (ἵνα κατασταθῶσιν) in OG Daniel in contrast to the expected aorist indicative in TH Daniel.

32) Daniel 2:49 reconstructed

ודניאל בעא מן־מלכא <u>וימנון</u> על עבידתא די מדינת בבל שדרך מישך ועבד נגו

> And Daniel sought from the King in order that Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego *might be appointed* over the administration of the district of Babylon.

If this form is correct, it would have devolved because the *waw* and *yod* were easily confused in antiquity. Haplography could account for how וימני־ becomes ומני, which, as a result would encourage the ending ־ון to drop off. A further step must take place for this reading to work. In the MT, Daniel's friends are the object of the verb, as is indicated by preposition ל. That the previous word ends with the same letter helps account for this transformation.

This reconstruction is an unmarked subordinate clause (cf. Dan 5:2; 7:14, 16). OG Daniel would then represent linguistic updating by making the unmarked subordinate clause explicit with די and updating the internal passive to a Gt form. With this proposed text, however, we may

have ventured beyond where textual data can take us. This reconstruction does, however, account for both extant Greek texts, which is an otherwise difficult feat. With this final reconstruction, we may have ventured farther than the evidence permits.

Just because it is possible to reconstruct these Aramaic forms, is not an indication of whether they are part of the earliest form of the text (i.e., OG Daniel 4:8 [lxx 4:11]). In fact, if they could be shown to be later scribal additions, then this would further suggest that the so-called preterite PC was part of the normal syntax of Aramaic, not an artificial literary invention. These retroverted examples of the so-called preterite PC are not all equally probable. They exist on a scale with 4:8 the most likely, then 4:33, and finally 2:49. If even half of these examples are convincing, they equal the number of such forms found with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since only 28 examples exist in Daniel, they theoretically increase the percentage of known examples of the narrative PC by 10%. Though not as significant as an epigraphic or textual discovery, these forms deserve a seat at the table in future discussions of the nature of this facet of the PC's semantics and syntactical function.

3.4 Conclusion

The purpose of the present chapter has been "to extrapolate the mental dictionary of the translators" for the full range of the PC from the future, through the present, and into past time contexts. Linguistic typology has been our guide. Beginning with an exhaustive translation technique of the Aramaic verbal system as its foundation, this chapter then attempted to move beyond mere description of the data. With the historical developments of each verbal system in mind, the above synthesis has attempted to problematize the translators' translation technique with cross-linguistic comparisons. The non-past uses of the PC and their manifold Greek translations are unsurprising, but exemplify the markedly different ways the respective verbal

systems grammaticalize future tense, epistemic and deontic modality. As the long and short forms of the PC converge, a process that is nearly complete in Biblical Aramaic, Greek future indicatives, aorist imperatives, and aorist subjunctives render this form. In past time, Aramaic uses the same form predominately for habitual actions. The Greek translators, bound by their target language, use imperfect indicatives along with aorist indicatives to render these forms. Viewing the data through Greek-tinted glasses, to use Bhat's analogy, illustrates the problem grammarians have had in their attempt to adequately account for the PC in past time contexts. They have addressed the problem in terms of tense and aspect, like the Greek translators, and some have even attempted to exploit the Greek translators to prop up their own theses. Instead, the cases of the so-called preterite PC and their Greek translators illustrate how habitual actions are represented with the most prominent feature of the verbal system, modality in the case of Aramaic and aspect and tense in the case of Greek. The diversity reflected in the Aramaic texts and their Greek translations is consistent with the varied means of grammaticalizing TAM in the languages of the world.

The pluses and other discrepancies in the translation technique, in contrast, pose an invitation to envisage the possibility of more occurrences of the narrative PC, reconstructed in light of the whole translational *tendenz* of OG and TH. I have suggested four such cases with varying degrees of certainty. Like the evidence of things not seen, these retroverted examples present a challenge to think about this function of the PC as a natural extension of the form's modal semantics, while looking forward to future material discoveries.

Chapter 4

Translation Technique as Language Contact: The Aramaic of the Bible and Spoken Aramaic of the Greek Translators

If "language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time,"[252] then translations in antiquity, like fossilized remains of ages past, are both the product and preservation of contact between languages for which there are no audio recordings or native speakers. Yet this "contact situation" is more complex than may first appear. Not only does translation itself involve language contact, the *Vorlage* preserves a form of the language that, with the case of the Hebrew and (I am going to argue in this chapter) Aramaic portions of the Bible, is chronologically different from the form spoken at the time of translation.

The very nature of a translation in antiquity presupposes bilingualism and language contact. The present chapter investigates the possibility of a type of contact between the Aramaic of the bible and the spoken Aramaic as chronologically and dialectally distinct forms of the same language, the result of which the Septuagint preserves in translation. By beginning with the most obvious product of contact—loan words found in Aramaic and reanalyzed by the translators—and then moving on to lexical features that show evidence of change, a cumulative case is made that the Aramaic of the Bible and that of the translators are not identical. Both chronological and dialectal factors are responsible for these differences. Finally, two grammatical features based on analysis of translation technique may show evidence of chronological and/or dialectal development: 1) the narrative use of the participle, including redundant quotative frames; and 2) the periphrastic construction הוה + *active/t-stem participle*.

[252] Sarah G. Thomason, *Language Contact* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), 1.

4.1 Aramaic Language Contact

Material evidence of language contact in the ANE goes nearly as far back as the earliest written records in Akkadian and Sumerian bilinguals.[253] For Aramaic, whose unbroken history extends three millennia, language contact has played a central role in its development. Akkadian, Old Persian and other Iranian languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic all left their mark at various times.[254] The present chapter has as its focus language contact of a different nature, though: Aramaic of the Bible and the spoken Aramaic of the translators as preserved in the LXX—the fossilized remains of language contact.

Beyond the overly simplistic question of how well the Septuagint translators knew the language of their source text, modern scholarship has thoroughly investigated the nature of the Hebrew they knew, beginning at least as far back as the middle of the 19th century and scattered throughout the 20th century. Recently, Jan Joosten has reinvigorated the approach,[255] which has inspired two recent monograph length treatments.[256] The Aramaic portions of the Bible have yet to receive any such investigation. At least in part, the assumption that the Aramaic of Daniel

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[253] E.g., Peter J. Huber, "On the Old Babylonian Understanding of Grammar: A Reexamination of OBGT VI-X," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 59 (2007), 1-17; idem, "The Earliest Comparative Linguists," Chatreššar 2008: 47-64; or the popular level overview of Jerry Cooper, "Bilingual Babel: Cuneiform Texts in Two or More Languages from Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond," *Visible Language* 27:1 (1993): 68-96.

[254] Thus, Geoffery Khan, "Aramaic and the Impact of Languages in Contact with it through the Ages," in *Lenguas en Contacto: El Testimonio Escrito*, ed. Pedro Bádenas de la Peña, Sofia Torallas Tovar, Eugenio R. Luján, María Ángeles Gallego (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004), 87-108.

[255] E.g., Jan Joosten, "On the Septuagint Translators' Knowledge of Hebrew," in *Collected Studies*, 25-36; idem. "The Knowledge and Practice," 37-52; idem., "On Aramaizing Renderings in the Septuagint," *Collected Studies*, 53-66

[256] Anne-Françoise Loiseau, *L'influence de l'araméen sur les traducteurs de la LXX principalement, sur les traducteurs grecs postérieurs, ainsi que sur les scribes de la Vorlage de la LXX*, SCS 65 (Atlanta: SBL, 2016); Seulgi L. Byun *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah* LHBOTS 635 (London: Bloomsbury, 2017).

clearly belongs to Middle Aramaic[257] has been responsible for this lacuna. If the Aramaic of Daniel is the product of the middle 2nd century B.C.E, the most commonly assumed date of Daniel's final redaction, and, if OG and TH produced their translations in the late 2nd century early 1st century B.C.E., we would expect the Aramaic of Daniel to be indistinguishable from the spoken language of the translators.

Beginning with the most elementary byproduct of language contact, loanwords—first, unique Aramaic loanwords into Greek and then Persian loanwords in Aramaic misunderstood by Greek translators—this chapter establishes the linguistic background of the translators that is both an heir to and distinct from the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel (themselves not being identical). Based on this historical construction and in light of later Aramaic dialects, a number of peculiar lexical choices appear to be the result of a combination of the translators' knowledge of spoken Aramaic coupled with an ignorance of the source text. The cumulative effect of this evidence provides the requisite background in order to examine two striking translation equivalents: 1) translation of the Aramaic historic present; and 2) the translation of the periphrastic construction.

4.1.1 Aramaic Loanwords into Greek

Although language contact can take place without leaving evidence in the form of loanwords, they are the most basic evidence of language contact. In not a few instances, the translators evince Aramaic influence on the resultant Greek in the LXX, including:

1) Aramaic loanwords as seen in the preservation of Aramaic *status emphaticus* (e.g., σάββατα, שבתא [Ar.], שבת [Heb.], "Sabbath"; μάννα, ܡܢܐ (Syr.), מן [Heb.], "manna"; σίκερα, שכרא [Ar.], שכר [Heb.], "strong drink"; γειώρας/γίωρα(ς), גיורא [Ar.], גר [Heb.], "proselyte"; παταχρα/παταχρον, פתכר [Ar. from Pers.], "sculpture, image").
2) Aramaic gentilic adjectives ending in *-ayya* (e.g., Χαναναῖος, כנעניא [Ar.], כנענים [Heb.]; Ἑβραῖος, עבריא [Ar.], עברים [Heb.]).

[257] Steven Kaufman, "Aramaic," in *The Semitic* Languages, edited by Robert Hetzron (New York: Routledge, 1997), 116.

3) Aramaic *status constructus* in geographic names (e.g., Βεελσεπφών, בָּעַל צְפוֹן [Ar.], בַּעַל צָפוֹן [Heb.]).
4) Aramaic phraseology (e.g., Num. 27:3 הָעֵדָה הַנּוֹעָדִים עַל־יְהוָה "the congregation that assemble *against* the LORD" becomes τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς ἐπισυστάσης ἔναντι κυρίου "the assembly that conspired *before* the LORD" reflecting Persian court language adopted into Imperial Aramaic)[258]

The data for Daniel is both similar and distinct from the LXX based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. At times, this influence results from scribal error. In one instance, TH produces an Aramaic loanword by error, misreading מנחה "oblation" (Dan. 2:46; cf. 2 Esd. 23:5) and producing μαναα instead of σπονδας "libations" in OG Daniel, so that Nebuchadnezzar rewards Daniel with manna for revealing and interpreting his dream. Naturally, Greek gentilics reflect the Aramaic *-ayya* (e.g., Ἰουδαῖοι, יְהוּדָיֵא Dan. 3:12).

The Aramaic sections of Daniel also preserve their own unique loanwords, not attested elsewhere in the LXX, that provide insight, not only into the linguistic milieu of the translators, but into their socio-religious context as well. The first such example appears in a list of otherworldly empowered individuals חכימין אשפין חרטמין גזרין ("wise men, enchanters, magicians, and diviners). The first term is ubiquitous, the second is a loanword from Akkadian, and the third appears only here in Aramaic. The second and fourth lexemes appear at Qumran, but only the latter is transliterated into Greek in both OG Daniel and TH Daniel (γαζαρηνῶν).[259]

The term אשף (Akk. *āšipu*) occurs in 1Q20 20:19-20 in much the same context as Daniel—in a list along with the wise men and healers (לכול חֹכֵ֫מֹ[י] מצרין ולכול אשפיא עם כול אסי מצרין) of those who are called upon to heal the Pharaoh's pestilent spirit (20.17).[260] The singular

[258] All of these examples are taken from Jan Joosten, "The Aramaic Background of the Seventy: Language, Culture and History" *BIOSCS* 43 (2010): 56-58.

[259] Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 125.

[260] Cook, *Qumran Aramaic*, 26; J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), 31.

use of גזר at Qumran (4Q242 A4), however, helps explain why the translators transliterated the term into Greek. Though the text from Qumran is fragmentary, 4Q242, the Prayer of Nabonius, is closely related to Daniel 4, but instead of Nebuchadnezzar the king is Nabonidus. Like Daniel 4, the king falls ill and suffers for seven years, after which he seeks the one true God and is healed. There are significant differences between the texts, however. In Daniel 4, Daniel is God's messenger, who interprets the king's dream and thus his ominous fate. In the prayer of Nabonidus, it is not Daniel who is mentioned, but an unnamed Judean exile, who the text designates a גזר ([וחטאי שבק לה גזר והוא יהודי מ]ן בני גלותא על לי ואמר). At some point, the notion of the גזר had transformed from a subset of the pagans who were unable to reveal and interpret the king's dreams, to an essential component of Jewish exilic identity to such an extent that the translators could expect their audience to comprehend this loanword and its significance.

A second religiously significant loanword is only attested in TH Daniel, not OG Daniel. Occurring at Daniel 4:10, 14, 20, עיר "watcher, angel" is translated in each occurrence as ἄγγελος in OG Daniel (absent in 4:17 [OGD 4:20]), as is the case throughout the book of Enoch, where the term is significant (e.g., En. 22:6; 4Q206 fg 1 xxii:5).[261] In TH Daniel 4:10, 14, 20, transliterated ιρ renders Aramaic עיר in each instance.[262] Like גזר, this lexeme also possesses religious significance, as several texts from Qumran display (e.g., 1Q20 6:13) and the book of Enoch. The עיר served as the messenger and executioner of God's decrees (Daniel 4:10ff) and could even be held responsible for potential miraculous conception (GenAp 2:13). Ostensibly, for the translator of TH Daniel and the community who receive the translation, it seems the term

[261] Cook, *Qumran Aramaic*, 177.

[262] Manuscript 407 uses the spelling ειρ, more accurately representing the guttural *ayin*.

had become enough of a part of the religious vocabulary of their Greek speaking Jewish community that they could transliterate the term, not translate it.

This evidence, small as it may be, suggests a milieu in which theological and linguistic ties between the Qumran community and the producers of these Greek texts, perhaps even that the latter had close religious and linguistic connections to Jews in Palestine.[263] If this is the case, one could posit a linguistic context that is both similar to the first translators of the Hebrew Bible in third century BCE Alexandria and also distinct. Aramaic would continue to be the language of everyday life in Palestine in the late second/early first century BCE and well beyond as many of the words of Jesus in the Gospels attest.[264] These details contribute in small part to the long contact between Aramaic and Greek that existed from the early Hellenistic period though Late Antiquity.[265]

4.1.2 Akkadian and Old Persian Loanwords in Aramaic: The Perspective of the Greek Translators

Before Aramaic would come into contact with Greek, Aramaic and Akkadian[266] existed in close proximity and thereafter Aramaic and Old Persian for nearly two centuries during the

[263] It is difficult to argue based on this evidence and what follows that the Greek texts of Daniel were produced in Palestine, though this is a possibility (see Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, WUNT 252, eds. W. Kraus, M. Karrer, M. Meiser (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 7-15, especially, 11, 13. Furthermore, close connections and interaction would have existed between Jews in Palestine and Egypt during this time (Mtt. 2:13-15).

[264] For recent work on multilingualism during this general period, see Steven Fassberg, "Which Semitic Language Did Jesus and Other Contemporary Jews Speak?" *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 74.2 (2012): 263-280 and Steven Fraade, "Language Mix and Multilingualism in Ancient Palestine: Literary and Inscriptional Evidence," *Jewish Studies* 48 (2012): 1-40; Jan Joosten, "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in the Qumran Scrolls," in The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Timothy Lim and John Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 351-374.

[265] David Taylor, "Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*, ed. J. N. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 298-331; Aaron Butts, *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in its Greco-Roman Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2016).

[266] Stephen A. Kaufman, *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*, Assyriological Studies 19 (Chicago: Chicago, 1974).

Persian Empire (529-333 BCE). As the lingua franca of the ANE, the newly enthroned Persians continued the use of the language inherited from the Neo-Babylonians, but in the royal court they used their native tongue.[267] The consequence of this relationship is demonstrated in that Imperial Aramaic texts preserve over 100 Old Persian loan words.[268] When Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian Empire, establishing his mother tongue as the new prestige language, many of these loanwords fell out of the Aramaic lexicon, but several endured into later dialects.

The evidence from the Greek translators provides a midway point between the time when Aramaic absorbed Akkadian and Old Persian loanwords and the attestation of later dialects documenting which terms survived and which succumbed to extinction. The translators systematically misunderstand those lexemes that do not show up in later Aramaic, suggesting a caesura between the Aramaic of the Bible and the translators prompted by the fall of the Persian Empire and the rise of Hellenism.

In the first example, the translator encounters three Akkadian loans and an Old Persian loan. The translator renders the first correctly, but misunderstands the final three:

1) Ezra 4:13
כְּעַן יְדִיעַ לְהֶוֵא לְמַלְכָּא דִּי הֵן קִרְיְתָא דָּךְ תִּתְבְּנֵא וְשׁוּרַיָּה יִשְׁתַּכְלְלוּן מִנְדָּה־בְלוֹ וְהַלָךְ לָא יִנְתְּנוּן וְאַפְּתָם מַלְכִים תְּהַנָּזֵק׃

> Now, let it be known to the king that if this city should be rebuilt and its walls completed, *tax, tribute and toll* will not be given and the royal accounts will suffer harm.

[267] Aren Wilson-Wright, "From Persepolis to Jerusalem: A Reevaluation of Old Persian-Hebrew Contact in the Achaemenid Period," *Vetus Testamentum* 65 (2015): 153ff. Muraoka and Porten list 72 Persian loans in the Aramaic documents from Egypt (*Egyptian Aramaic*, 370-373, 378-379.

[268] Wilson-Wright, "Old Persian-Hebrew Contact," 159. See also evidence there for Old Perisan-Aramaic bilinguals (ibid., 159-163).

> 2 Esdras 4:13
> νῦν οὖν γνωστὸν ἔστω τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη ἀνοικοδομηθῇ καὶ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς καταρτισθῶσιν, φόροι οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι οὐδὲ δώσουσιν· καὶ τοῦτο βασιλεῖς κακοποιεῖ.[269]
>
> Now, therefore, let it be known to the king that if that city is rebuilt and its walls restored, *tributes shall no longer be yours* neither shall they give. And this causes harm to kings.

All three of the Akkadian loans appear in Imperial Aramaic,[270] but only the first survives into later Syriac.[271] It would seem that after the fall of the Persian Empire, the use of multiple Akkadian terms in the same semantic domain were no longer needed, leading to their quick demise. Thus, by the time of the translators it is possible these two loans may have ceased to exist.

Because the translator was unaware of their meaning, he conjures his knowledge of rarer vocabulary in the bible, so that his mind instead reads בל יהי לך ("it will not be to you").[272] These reconstructed consonants are virtually identical to what is found in the Aramaic text, eliminating the possibility that the translator had a different *Vorlage* before him. The poetic negative בל is read for בלו, while the final calque is divided in two, producing יהי for the first half of והלך and

[269] Similarly, see the relevant section of 1 Esdras 2:18: φορολογίαν οὐ μὴ ὑπομείνωσιν δοῦναι ("tribute they shall certainly not continue to give"). See also Ezra 4:20 and 7:24. Zipora Talshir notes that בלו והלך "were probably unknown to him (1 Esdras: A Textual Commentary [Atlanta: SBL, 2001], 112).

[270] Kaufman, *Influences*, 67, 44, and 58 respectively. The first and last occur in the Aramaic documents from Egypt (Bezalel Porten and Jerome A. Lund, *Aramaic Documents from Egypt: A Key-Word-in-Context Concordance* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 85, 222-223). The middle term only occurs in the Idumaean Ostraca from the 4th century BCE (Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed September 9, 2018).

[271] Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns and Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009), xviii: "Sraic contains Old Iranian loanwords as part of its earlier Aramaic heritage from the Achaemenid Period Syriac, itself, came into contact with various Iranian dialects during the Middle Persian and Modern Persian periods of this language and borrowed many words during this time."

[272] Talshir makes a similar suggestion without noting the historical significance of the claim (*1 Esdras*, 113).

preposition ל with the 2nd singular personal pronoun for the final two letters. The resultant text is somewhat awkward, but intelligible nonetheless.

The final clause contains a lexical *crux* only attested here in Aramaic. Ran Zadok is probably correct in identifying it as an Old Persian loan attested in Late-Babylonian (503-502 BCE) Akkadian texts where it "is also a substantive denoting a kind of income" and occurs "where the provisions of the queen are mentioned."[273] The term אַפְתֹם is thus in the same semantic field as מְנָדָּה־בָלוֹ וְהֶלְכָּה. As in the previous case, the translator is beside himself. He rightly understands this unknown term as the subject of the verb תְּהַנְזֻק but translates it with a semantically vague placeholder, a demonstrative pronoun τοῦτο ("this").[274] Ezra 4:13 is not an isolated occurrence, but indicative of the translator's systematic misunderstanding of the Akkadian and Persian loans that do not survive into later Aramaic dialects—an older layer of the Aramaic lexicon that has become extinct.[275]

A considerable chronological gap between the language of Ezra and that of the translators is expected given that the Aramaic of Ezra is generally thought to represent Official Aramaic,

[273] Ran Zadok, "Two Terms in Ezra," *Aramaic Studies* 5.2 (2007), 261.

[274] Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament,* translated by M. E. J. Richardson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1823: "an uncertain word which was no longer understood by the Versions."

[275] In contrast, the translators have no difficulty with words such as רָזָא "secret," פִּתְגָם "message, word" and פַּרְשֶׁגֶן "copy" that survive into later dialects. The administrative language, much of which is of Persian origin, occurs with little precision (Holger Gzella, "Iranian Official Titles in Biblical Aramaic," in *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament,* ed. Holger Gzella, trans. Mark E. Biddle [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2018], 836-840) and the translators typically provide adequate translations. A possible exception, noted by Benjamin Noonan, is אֲדַרְגָּזַר, which he argues is derived from Old Persian "**ādrangāžara*- 'announcer of financial obligation', a compound of Old Iranian **ādranga*- 'financial obligation' and **āžara*-'announcer'" ("A [New] Old Iranian Etymology for Biblical Aramaic אדרגזר," *Aramaic Studies* 16 [2018]: 15). Because in Daniel 2:2-3 there is one more Aramaic term in the list of royal administrators than in the Greek versions, it is difficult to tell how they understood the terms (ibid.).

perhaps even original documents.[276] This same pattern of mistranslation, however, is found on more than one occasion in Daniel

2) Daniel 2:5
עָנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר לְכַשְׂדָּיֵא מִלְּתָא מִנִּי אַזְדָּא זְנָן לָא תְהוֹדְעוּנַנִי חֶלְמָא וּפִשְׁרֵהּ הַדְמִין תִּתְעַבְדוּן וּבָתֵּיכוֹן נְוָלִי יִתְּשָׂמוּן׃

The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, "The word *is established* by me. If you do not make know the dream and its interpretation, you will be dismembered and your houses will me made dunghills."

TH Daniel 2:5//2:8[277]
ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς Χαλδαίοις Ὁ λόγος ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἀπέστη· ἐὰν μὴ γνωρίσητέ μοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ, εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε, καὶ οἱ οἶκοι ὑμῶν διαρπαγήσονται·

The king answered and said to the Chaldeans, "The word *has gone out* from me. If you do not make known to me the dream and its interpretation, you will be for destruction and your houses will be plundered.

The term in question (אַזְדָּא) is an Old Iranian loan[278] known from Official Aramaic documents from the Persian period,[279] but does not occur in later Aramaic dialects.[280] The translator appears not to understand the text before him. Translating without a lexicon, he is left to do his best with what he has. It may be the case that the first two radicals evoke the ubiquitous verb אזל ("to go

[276] H. G. M. Williamson, "The Aramaic Documents in Ezra Revisited," *Journal of Theological Studies* 59:1 (2008): 41-62.

[277] In OG Daniel, only 2:8 contains a translation of term in question (also ἀπέστη). Check translation of Daniel 2:17, 24 with the translation of *azl*.

[278] J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 411. In Middle Persian the term in question changes to *azd* (ibid.).

[279] Porten and Lund, *Concordance*, 5; Interestingly, Muraoka and Porten point out that אזדא is one of the Persian loan words that Jews in Egypt used in their letters to the authorities (*Grammar of Egyptian Aramaic*, 379-80).

[280] Kaufman et al., *Lexicon*, accessed January 1, 2019.

out"), hence the use of Greek ἀπέστη ("to move away").[281] Another, more likely possibility is that the translator has read not אֲזְדָּא, but אֲזְדָּא—what Koehler and Baumgartner call a "bad variant"[282]— as if the word was from the JBA term אזד "to come forward, follow."[283]

Among others, Shamma Friedman has suggested אזל is a by-form of אזד.[284] Although Michael Sokoloff maintains this etymology is "highly unlikely in light of the fact that the l-d interchange is not found otherwise in JBA,"[285] Kaufman counters that this line of reasoning is "irrelevant," since "common words regularly undergo uncommon phonological changes, and the regular changes undergone by this root in neo-Aramaic demonstrate its proclivity for such changes."[286] Kaufman further maintains a possible connection with the earlier Old Persian calque אֲזְדָּא. Seemingly unknown to Kaufman, this connection is quite old. Already by the time of OG and TH, it appears that the verb אזד was in use, perhaps because the original meaning had been lost and the term had been reanalyzed at a very early stage. Thus, though somewhat elusive, the early tradition surrounding this loan may be the missing link between common Aramaic אזל and אזד.

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[281] Muraoka, *Lexicon*. 108. The lexical translation for אזל is not identical either. 2 Esdras uses forms of πορεύομαι (Ez. 4:23: אֲזַלוּ / ἐπρεύθησαν; 5:5 אֲזָלָא / ἐπορεύθημεν; 5:15 אֲזֵל / πορεύου), while OG Daniel is more eclectic (2:17 אֲזַל / ἀπελθὼν; 2:24 אֲזַל / εἰσελθὼν; 6:19 אֲזַל / ὑπέστρεψεν; 6:20 אֲזַל / πορευθεὶς), and TH Daniel prefers forms and prefixed forms of ἔρχομαι (2:17 אֲזַל / εἰσῆλθε; 2:24 אֲזַל / ἦλθε; 6:19 אֲזַל / ἀπῆλθεν; 6:20 אֲזַל / ἦλθεν).

[282] Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1808.

[283] Sokoloff, *Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 99.

[284] Shamma Friedman, Friedman, Shamma. ""Talmudic Lexicographical Studies 4: '*azda*,'" in *Language Studies 5-6: Jubilee Volume for Israel Yeivin Volume*, edited by Moshe Bar Asher (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992): 327-345.

[285] Sokoloff, *Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*, 99.

[286] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, January 29, 2019. Kaufman further notes, "In talmudic language, though, this colloquial form seems to have been limited to a specific semantic realm, while in other contexts the more literary אזל is usually still written (but occasionally simply אזא), although many exceptions occur in the prints and mss." (Ibid.).

The same verse also contains a term of unknown origin[287] (נולי/נולו) that occurs only in the bible (Daniel 2:5; 3:29; Ezra 6:11) and late Jewish literary texts directly dependent on the bible.[288] Lexicographers are in agreement that the phrase in which the term occurs means "will be made a dung-heap" referring to utter destruction. In OG and TH Daniel, both phrases (OG Dan 2:5 καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν "and your possession will be confiscated into the royal treasury; TH Dan 2:5 οἱ οἶκοι ὑμῶν διαρπαγήσονται "your houses will be plundered") indicate that the Chaldeans' possessions will be confiscated, not destroyed. But how does this transformation occur? The translator of 2 Esdras may provide evidence:

3) Ezra 6:11
וּמִנִּי֙ שִׂ֣ים טְעֵ֔ם דִּ֚י כָּל־אֱנָ֣שׁ דִּ֔י יְהַשְׁנֵ֥א פִתְגָמָ֖א דְּנָ֑ה יִתְנְסַ֨ח אָע֤ מִן־בַּיְתֵּה֙ וּזְקִ֣יף יִתְמְחֵ֔א עֲלֹ֖הִי וּבַיְתֵ֣הּ נְוָל֑וּ יִתְעֲבֵ֖ד עַל־דְּנָֽה׃

And from me a decree was issued that any man who should alter this command, a wood beam shall be pulled out from his house and he shall be impaled upon it. And *his house shall be made a dung heap* on account of this.

2 Esdras 6:11

καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ ἐτέθη γνώμη ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἀλλάξει τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, καθαιρεθήσεται ξύλον ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὠρθωμένος παγήσεται ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ποιηθήσεται.

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[287] Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984), 1:634. Some have suggested Akkadian *nawālu*, but Williams notes that this word may not exist (Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah,* 72), and Hayim ben josef Tawil does not mention it (*An Akkadian Lexical Companion for Biblical Hebrew* [Jersey City: KTAV, 2009], 448). Williamson is following L. V. Hensley, "The Official Persian Documents in the book of Ezra," (PhD diss., University of Liverpool, 1977), 56-57.

[288] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed September 20, 2018. The texts of Daniel (2:5; 3:29) include the phrase הַדְמִין תִּתְעַבְדוּן ("you will be made members," i.e., "dismembered), which may be an Old Persian calque (John Makujina, "Dismemberment in Dan 2:5 and 3:29 as an Old Persian Idiom, 'To be Made into Parts,'" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119.2 (1999): 309-312. Both OG and TH use idiomatic translations such that it is difficult to tell if they understood the meaning of the Aramaic before them (OG Daniel 2:15 παραδειγματισθήσεσθε "you will be publically disgraced;" and the more literal TH Daniel 2:5 εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσεσθε "you will be for destruction"). The Aramaic term *haddām* occurs in later Aramaic dialects and a verbal form develops as a denominative (Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed February 2, 2019). Had the translators understood the meaning, we might expect phrasing similar to that found in 2 Maccabees 1:16: ἀνοίξαντες τὴν τοῦ φατνώματος κρυπτὴν θύραν βάλλοντες πέτρους συνεκεραύνωσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μέλη ποιήσαντες καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀφελόντες τοῖς ἔξω παρέρριψαν "and opening the ceiling of the secret door, throwing stones they struck the leader as with a thunderbolt and *after dismembering* and decapitating them they threw them to those who were outside."

> And from me a directed was issued that any person who will alter this word, a wooden beam shall be pulled down from his house and upright he shall be impaled upon it, and *his house shall be made mine*.

The translators of Daniel represent a more idiomatic translation than 2 Esdras, while the Peshitta appears dependent on the Septuagint. The translator unaware of the term before him, whether out of complete ignorance or a damaged manuscript, reads וביתה לי יתעבד "and his house shall be made mine." If the translator was ignorant of the term נְוָלוּ, then reading לִי was his best option.

The cumulative effect of this data suggests a caesura between the time of composition of these Aramaic texts and their translation. The argument here is not simply that the translators sometimes misunderstand Akkadian and Persian loans, but is based on the kind of loans they misunderstand (ones that do not persist into later stages of the language) and the way they misunderstand them. Leading Aramaists have argued that the Aramaic of the bible is part and parcel of Official Aramaic.[289] These Akkadian and Persian loans—a layer of the language much of which has fallen into disuse by the time of the translators—confirm this analysis, suggesting that the Aramaic of Daniel is not the product of the second century BCE.

4.2 Dialect Variation

This chronological evidence requires enough of a temporal gap for historic and dialectal variation to blossom. Although scholars have suggested this is the case for the Septuagint's translation of Hebrew, a number of examples from Daniel point to dialectal variation as their source, not simple misunderstanding. These translations read the Aramaic of the bible in a way

[289] M. L. Folmer concludes, "Both Ezra and Daniel share in the hallmarks of the Aramaic language from the Achaemenid period" (*The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* [Leuven: Peeters, 1995], 753); Holger Gzella, contends, "the Achaemenid signature of the language underlying the Aramaic parts of both Ezra and Daniel can be verified" (*A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], 206).

that regularly finds confirmation in later Aramaic dialects, which in turn reinforces the above argument. Many of these features concern the translation of verbs lexically and grammatically.

4.2.1 בנס וקצף: He Became Angry and Wroth or Sullen and Very Sad?

With far reaching exegetical implications, Daniel 2:12 served as the epicenter of debate for medieval rabbinic scholars to hash out the nature of biblical omnisignificance and *peshaṭ* exegesis.[290] As Richard Steiner documents, the crux of their debate lies in the meaning of *waw*—whether or not the morpheme can be meaningless or "pleonastic"—which ultimately led to two different translations:

4) Daniel 2:12
כָּל־קֳבֵל דְּנָה מַלְכָּא בְּנַס וּקְצַף שַׂגִּיא וַאֲמַר לְהוֹבָדָה לְכֹל חַכִּימֵי בָבֶל

Therefore, the king *became angry and exceedingly wroth* and said to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.

Therefore, the king *in anger and great wrath* said to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.

Menaḥem ben Saruq in his *Maḥberet* advocated the former, while in his review of Suraq's *Maḥberet*, Dunash ben Labraṭ advocated the latter.[291] Steiner follows this debate and its significance for medieval exegesis,[292] but we shall turn to an earlier time when Suraq's reading was seemingly unknown—the Greek translators.

5) TH Daniel 2:12
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς <u>ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ πολλῇ</u> εἶπεν ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος.

Then the king *in fury and great anger* said to destroy all the wise men of Babylon.

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[290] Richard C. Steiner, "Meaninglessness, Meaningfulness, and Super-Meaningfulness in Scripture: An Analysis of the Controversy Surrounding Dan 2:12 in the Middle Ages," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 82:3-4 (1992), 431-449.

[291] Ibid., 432-436.

[292] Ibid., 436ff.

At each point of debate TH sides with Dunash. For TH, בְּנַס consists of the preposition ב־ and a noun נס. Furthermore קְצַף is to be read as a noun (cf. Ez. 7:23), not a verb, while שַׂגִּיא is an adjective not an adverb. The *waw* is left untranslated. Relying on modern Aramaic lexicography, one would be hard pressed to find the view of Dunash and TH represented, as בְּנַס is assumed to be a verb. Daniel 3:13, a syntactic parallel, appears to confirm this reading.

Without exception, modern Aramaists have understood both בְּנַס and קְצַף as verbs,[293] but the former is only attested in Late Jewish literary Aramaic, seemingly dependent on the passage in question.[294] The position of the term שַׂגִּיא further supports reading the terms in question, not as verbs but as nouns, since elsewhere an adverbial use precedes the verb.[295] It would appear that the noun נס was rare in antiquity, as OG suggests:

6) OG Daniel 2:12
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς <u>στυγνὸς γενόμενος καὶ περίλυπος</u> προσέταξεν ἐξαγαγεῖν πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας.

   Then the king *becoming sullen and very sad* commanded to take out all the wise men of Babylon.

Like TH, OG interprets both terms in question not as verbs, though instead of nouns, he may have read them as adjectives.[296] The *waw* is similarly omitted. OG, though, does not understand the ב־ as an preposition, but part of the root. The participle γενόμενος is added, producing smoother syntax in the target language and the standard translation of אֲמַר is abandoned for its

[293] Every major lexicon and study on Aramaic since the 20th century catalogues the בְּנַס in Daniel 2:12 as a verb and defines it as "to be angry, upset" or similarly, e.g., Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1971; Beyer, Die *aramäischen Texte*, 1:533; Ernst Vogt, *A Lexicon of Biblical Aramaic*, trans. J.A. Fitzmyer (Roma: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011), 73. Francis Brown, S. R. Driver and Charles Briggs, *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1906), 1084.

[294] Steiner, "Meaninglessness," 433-434.

[295] Ibid., 433. Cf. Daniel 5:9; 6:15, 24; 7:28 for the adverbial use and 2:6, 31, 48; 4:7, 9, 18; 7:5 for the adjectival.

[296] This is a possible but not a necessary interpretation of the data.

contextual sense. But OG goes his own way in his treatment of both בְּנַס and קְצַף. Perhaps the translator's ignorance leads him to improvise at this point or perhaps OG is dealing with a different *Vorlage* altogether. More likely, OG does not know the meaning of בְּנַס and consequently relies on his knowledge of קְצַף,[297] whose meaning is attested in later Aramaic dialects.

In Syriac, a prominent meaning of the verb ܨܚܐ is to be "sad, worried, anxious."[298] The cognate adjective ܨܚܝܐ means "sad, sorrowful."[299] In Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, the root קצף has two distinct nouns 1) קציפה "mourning;" and 2) קצפון "anger."[300] OG's translation suggests the translator is more comfortable with the senses attested in these later Aramaic dialects since this is the meaning he conjures in an ambiguous context.[301]

The text of OG produces a peculiar caricature of Nebuchadnezzar, but it is also the earliest attestation of the root קצף meaning "sad" in any Aramaic text. Both versions provide a reading tradition that syntactically runs counter to every contemporary lexicon, translating "verbs" as nouns (TH) and adjectives (OG). OG produces a text based on his own contemporary understanding of the language, which is not identical with the Aramaic of those who composed the biblical texts; it concurs with later Aramaic dialects. That the translator of the Peshitta chose not to use a noun from the root ܨܚܐ though available to him suggests that the meaning of word

[297] The cognate noun קצף with the same root meaning as that found in Dan 2:12 occurs in Ezra 7:23 and though the spelling is different and with a 3ms pronominal suffix (כצפה) in the Elephantine Papyri (TAD C1.1 [Ahiqar] 85).

[298] Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, 516. Sokoloff lists "to be(come) angry" as the first meaning of ܨܚܐ in Pe. but as a Pa. "to render sad, sorrowful" and in the Etpa. "to be indignant, sad" (*Syriac Lexicon*, 1397-1398).

[299] Ibid.,

[300] Michael Sokoloff, *Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*, 573.

[301] The cognate noun in Ezra 7:23 is rendered as ὀργὴ.

in the Aramaic language at the time of writing was too far removed from its meaning in Daniel. Apparently, even at the time of OG, some regional dialects already attest this sense.

4.2.2 D-Stem of נפל: To Throw

Another significant witness to the translator's spoken Aramaic is attested in two cases where the translator reads the G-stem נפל "to fall" as a D-stem meaning "to throw." The first occurrence comes as the translator is rewriting his text to better fit with the insertion of the Prayer of Azariah (LXX Daniel 3:24-90) between MT 3:23-24. The differences between OG and MT Daniel at this point are significant enough that they require some untangling before addressing the linguistic issues.

The translator addresses two main problems in these short verses, the first of which concerns names of those who are thrown into the furnace. MT repeats the names Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego frequently (vv. 19, 20, 22, 23), but in OG they are absent. Whether or not the names were present in OG's Vorlage as often as they are in the MT, OG most certainly is adapting the text for his later insertion by inserting τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αζαρίαν (vv.20, 23). The second problem concerns the order of the events. In both the MT and OG, the three men are thrown into the furnace (v. 21), but in the MT the fiery flame consumes the king's guard (v. 22) before the three men fall into the furnace (v. 23). Conversely, in OG the king's guard throws the three men into the furnace (v. 22; they do not fall) before the flame kills them (v. 23).[302] This transformation is highlighted in the following text.

7) MT Dan 3:22-23

כָּל־קֳבֵל דְּנָה מִן־דָּי מִלַּת מַלְכָּא מַחְצָפָה וַאֲתוּנָא אַזְדָּה יַתִּירָא גֲּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ דִּי הַסְקוּ לְשַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נְגֹו קַטָּל הַמֹּון שְׁבִיבָא דִּי נוּרָא׃ [23]וְגֶבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ תְּלָתֵהֹון שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נָגֹו נָפְלוּ לְגֹואּ־אַתּוּן־נוּרָא יָקְדָתָא מְכַפְּתִין׃

[302] Other small discrepancies exist between MT and OG Daniel. Particularly interesting is the transformation of the final word (מְכַפְּתִין "bound") of the MT to the highly interpretive, almost midrashic OG (συνετηρήθησαν "they were kept safe") thereby alleviating the narrative tension that the narrator is building.

> Therefore, because the word of the king was urgent and the furnace was heated exceedingly, these men who brought up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—the flame of the fire killed them. [23] And *these men, the three of them Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego fell* bound into the midst of the furnace of burning fire.

> OG Dan 3:22-23
> ἐπειδὴ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἤπειγεν καὶ ἡ κάμινος ἐξεκαύθη ὑπὲρ τὸ πρότερον ἑπταπλασίως, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ προχειρισθέντες συμποδίσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ προσαγαγόντες τῇ καμίνῳ ἐνεβάλοσαν εἰς αὐτήν. [23] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας τοὺς συμποδίσαντας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αζαριαν ἐκκαεῖσα ἡ φλὸξ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου ἐνεπύρισε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συνετηρήθησαν.
>
> Since the command of the king was executed with urgency and the furnace was heated seven times beyond what was customary, *the men who were selected, after they bound their feet and lead them to the furnace, threw them into it.* [23]Therefore, the flame of the furnace, because it was intense, burned and killed those men who bound the feet of those with Azaria, but they were kept safe.

Contributing to OG's transformation is the ambiguous identity of "these men" (גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ) in verse 23. In the immediately preceding verse (v. 22) "these men" refers to the king's guard (also v. 20), yet in verse 21 "these men" comprise Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego (also vv. 12-13). MT defines "these men" by placing it in apposition with the following phrase תְּלָתֶהוֹן שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ ("the three of them—Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego"). OG, however, reads them as two distinct groups of people, not two appositional phrases. Hence, "these men" becomes the subject and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego the elided object, which ultimately falls prey to OG's agenda.

Until this point in the history of Aramaic, נפל is only attested in the intransitive sense.[303] In light of the liberty to which OG has availed himself in the surrounding context, it is at least conceivable that OG simply emended the text. What sets this variant apart from others (such as the name changes), is that it is not theologically or contextually motivated, increasing the

[303] Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1932, *TDOT* 16, 482. Kaufman, *CAL*, accessed February 11, 2019.

probability of a linguistic explanation. In later Aramaic dialects such as Syriac, נפל exists in the D-stem meaning "to throw,"[304] though this usage is not particularly common.

OG Daniel 3:22-23 is not the only example of the Greek translators reading נפל with this sense. Ostensibly, the same meaning was known to TH, who exploits this sense again in an ambiguous context. Unlike OG, TH's propensity towards isomorphism mitigates the possibility of scribal revision. In all other respects, TH is a mirror image.

8) MT Daniel 7:20
וְעַל־קַרְנַיָּא עֲשַׂר דִּי בְרֵאשַׁהּ וְאָחֳרִי דִּי סִלְּקַת וּנְפַלָו מִן־קֳדָמַיהּ תְּלָת וְקַרְנָא דִכֵּן וְעֵינִין לַהּ וְפֻם מְמַלֵּל רַבְרְבָן
וְחֶזְוַהּ רַב מִן־חַבְרָתַהּ׃

And concerning the ten horns which were on its head and the other which went up and <u>three fell before it</u> and this horn had eyes and a mouth that spoke great things and its appearance was greater than its associates.

TH Daniel 7:20
καὶ περὶ τῶν κεράτων αὐτοῦ τῶν δέκα τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου τοῦ ἀναβάντος καὶ <u>ἐκτινάξαντος τῶν προτέρων τρία</u>, κέρας ἐκεῖνο, ᾧ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ στόμα λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ μείζων τῶν λοιπῶν.

And concerning its ten horns which were on its head and the other which raising *and casting out* three of the former ones, that horn, which had eyes and a mouth speaking great things and its appearance was greater than the rest.

A discrepancy regarding the function of תְּלַת notwithstanding, assuming a *Vorlage* for TH other than נפלו lacks proper justification. Like OG Daniel 3:22-23, the translator, despite its ungrammaticality, makes the subject of נפלו the same as the preceding verb סלקת. The grammatical difficulty this misunderstanding creates is resolved by pointing the verb in question as a D-stem.

In light of OG's characteristically less literal translation technique and the addition of the immediately succeeding prayer of Azariah, it could be argued that OG has rewritten this section

[304] The majority of later dialects use the C-stem for this sense (e.g., Qumran, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, and Syriac). This is not in Jewish Palestinain Aramaic, where there is only the Pe. and Af. (Sokoloff, *Palestinian Aramaic*, 395-396). The D-stem (*Pa'el*) does not occur (Sokoloff, *Babylonian Aramaic*, 761-762).

of narrative for his own purposes. The addition of TH Daniel 7:20 makes this line of argumentation less plausible. The solution proposed for the above texts allows a coherent account for the incongruities between MT and OG and MT and TH, respectively. These two examples are, simultaneously, the earliest attestation of the D-stem of נפל and evidence of the translators' Aramaic competency.

4.2.3 קום מן: Shall They Rise or Perish from the Earth?

The divergence between MT and OG in Daniel 7:17, in contrast to that of TH, is significant enough that BHS cites OG as a textual variation. At first glance this suggestion appears the most probable.

9) MT Daniel 7:17

[17] אִלֵּין חֵיוָתָא רַבְרְבָתָא דִּי אִנִּין אַרְבַּע אַרְבְּעָה מַלְכִין יְקוּמָוּן מִן־אַרְעָא׃

These great beasts, which are four, four kings *will arise* from the earth.

OG Daniel 7:17

[17] Ταῦτα τὰ θηρία τὰ μεγάλα εἰσὶ τέσσαρες βασιλεῖαι, αἳ ἀπολοῦνται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς·

These great beasts are four kings, which *will perish* from the earth.

On any reading, these two texts have opposite meanings. MT appears to talk about the beasts' origin,[305] but OG their demise. Moreover, the typical Aramaic term for "perish" is אבד. Though only attested once in the G-stem in BA (Jer. 10:11), it is more frequent at Qumran.[306] In later Aramaic dialects, however, *קום + מן* can mean "to cease from."[307] The translator, then, does not bear witness to a textual variant as much as to the interference his native tongue has exerted.[308]

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[305] Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1968.

[306] Cook, *Qumran Aramaic*, 1.

[307] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 29, 2019; Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 1331. In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, it can have the meaning "to depart" with the preposition מן (Sokoloff, *Babylonian Aramaic*, 995). This meaning stands in contrast to Jewish Palestinian Aramaic where קום + מן carries the meaning "to come out of, derive from" (Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* [Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2017], 548.

4.2.4 מגיחן: To Stir up or Make War?

First attested in Daniel, the meaning of the C-stem of גוח ("to churn up, make boil, gush") is consistent enough across most Aramaic dialects that the Peshitta translator feels no need to utilize a different lexeme in the translation.[309]

10) MT Daniel 7:2
עָנֵה דָנִיֵּאל֙ וְאָמַ֔ר חָזֵ֥ה הֲוֵ֖ית בְּחֶזְוִ֣י עִם־לֵילְיָ֑א וַאֲרוּ֙ אַרְבַּ֣ע רוּחֵ֣י שְׁמַיָּ֔א מָגִיחָ֖ן לְיַמָּ֥א רַבָּֽא׃

ܥܢܐ ܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܘܐܡܪ ܚܙܝܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܒܚܙܘܝ ܥܡ ܠܠܝܐ ܘܐܪܘ ܐܪܒܥ ܪܘܚܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܡܓܝܚܢ ܠܝܡܐ ܪܒܐ׃

> Daniel answered and said, "You were looking in the visions of the night and behold the four winds of heaven were *churning up* the great sea."

Only in Palestinian Aramaic (both Jewish and Samaritan), the term in question regularly occurs alongside קרב and means "to make war."[310] In a striking example of convergence, both OG and TH use different terms to render מגיחן with warfare imagery.

11) OG Daniel 7:2
Ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου ἐθεώρουν καθ᾽ ὕπνους νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐνέπεσον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην.

> Upon my bead I was looking in a dream in the light and behold the four winds of heaven *attacked* the great sea.

TH Daniel 7:2
Ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματί μου τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ οἱ τέσσαρες ἄνεμοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προσέβαλλον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν μεγάλην.

> I Daniel was looking in my vision of the night and behold the four winds of heaven *were mounting an attack* on the great sea.

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[308] In this case, OG would align with later Eastern Aramaic, while TH with Western Aramaic.

[309] See Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 213; Payne-Smith, *Dictionary*, 63.

[310] Kaufman et al., CAL, January 5, 2019; Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Title Publishing, 1943), 2:237. Edward Cook notes "In other dialects, the meanings of the root are different, e.g., to stir up (BA) break forth (QA)" *(Glossary of Targum Onkelos* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 46).

The former Greek term (ἐμπίπτω) obviously denotes "to fall in", but also has the connotative meaning "to attack."[311] The latter is limited to 2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees in military contexts.[312]

The significance of this discrepancy lies in that that both OG and TH assign מגיחן a meaning in their translations that is limited to Western Palestinian Aramaic contexts, while the meaning of the term as it is found in Daniel continues in Syriac the most prominent Eastern Aramaic dialect, suggesting that the difference between the Aramaic of the translators and the Aramaic of Daniel may, in part, be due to dialect geography.[313]

4.3.5 משתדר: To Strive or Help?

Though only attested once in a non-fragmentary text, as well as once in a fragmentary text, [314] Egyptian Aramaic appears to share a common meaning with that found in Daniel for Dt-Stem of שדר "to struggle, strive."[315] TH captures this sense in his rendering as well.

12) MT Daniel 6:15
אֱדַ֨יִן מַלְכָּ֜א כְּדִ֤י מִלְּתָא֙ שְׁמַ֣ע שַׂגִּ֣יא בְּאֱנָ֔שׁ עֲלֹוהִ֖י וְעַ֣ל דָּנִיֵּאל֙ שָׂ֣ם בֶּ֔ל לְשֵׁיזָבוּתֵ֑הּ וְעַד֙ מָעֳלֵ֣י שִׁמְשָׁ֔א הֲוָ֖א מְשְׁתַּדַּ֥ר לְהַצָּלוּתֵֽהּ׃

> Then the king when he heard the word it was very displeasing to him and concerning Daniel, he set his mind to deliver him and until the sunset *he was striving* to rescue him.

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[311] Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 228.

[312] Ibid., 592.

[313] It is also significance that the only attestation of the term at Qumran is limited to *11QtgJob*. Starr has suggested an Eastern origin for this document, but not Daniel though others have done so.

[314] Porten and Lund, *Concordance*, 289. Also once in the margins of Neofiti (Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 5, 2019) and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic.

[315] Kaufman et al. note the sense of the term is somewhat ambiguous. Christian Stadel, for example, suggests "to step in/to bother, to intervene" ("שׁלח *šlḥ*; שׁדר *šdr*; אשׁתדור *štdwr*," *TDOT* 16:769). There is also some question whether שׁדר in the Dt-stem and Ct-stem is to be derived from a different root than שׁדר in the D-stem (ala Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 5, 2019) or the same (Stadel, "šdr," 769).

> TH Daniel 6:15
> τότε ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς τὸ ῥῆμα ἤκουσεν, πολὺ ἐλυπήθη ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Δανιηλ ἠγωνίσατο[316] τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἕως ἑσπέρας ἦν ἀγωνιζόμενος τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν.
>
> Then the king, when he heard the word, was very sorrowful on account of it and concerning Daniel he strove to deliver him and until evening *he was striving* to deliver him.

The Peshitta concurs with the preceding semantic analysis, but uses a different lexeme (ܡܚܐܒܐ). Because the term drops out of later Aramaic, the extant evidence does not allow the tracking of the transformation through time and space.[317] At the same time, it is equally clear that a semantic shift has occurred by the time of the Bar Kokhba letters (2nd century AD).

> PYadin5:303 דכל דאלישע אמר לך עבד לה והתשדר עמה [בכ]ל עבידה[318]
>
> For all that Elisha said to you, do for him and *work with/help* him in every effort[319]

There is some debate whether the term in question should be pointed as a Dt-stem or Ct-stem.[320] Regardless, whether due to diachronic development or lack of attestation, the single case from Bar Kokhba leads to the conclusion that OG's rendering is not due to incompetence, but his everyday language.

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[316] Since TH is a fairly faithful translation, it is possible, though not provable, that the *Vorlage* of TH here had a suffix conjugation of שדר.

[317] Although the term has dropped out of Aramaic, Rabbinic Hebrew borrowed the term and continued using it with a similar semantic range as in Daniel.

[318] Yigael Yadin, Jonas C. Greenfield, Ada Yardeni, and Baruch A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, Jerusalem: Irsael Exploration Society, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, and Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2002 as quoted in Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 5, 2019.

[319] The gloss "work with" comes from Kaufman et al. (*CAL*, accessed January 5, 2019), but the latter is my own.

[320] Sokoloff argues for the former (*Dictionary of Judean Aramaic* [Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan, 2003], 82) and Kaufman et al. the latter (*CAL*, accessed January 5, 2019).

13) OG Daniel 6:15b[321]

[15] τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐλυπήθη ἐπὶ τῷ Δανιηλ καὶ ἐβοήθει τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν ἕως δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν σατραπῶν

Then the king was greatly grieved on account of Daniel and *he was helping* to deliver him until sunset from the hands of the Satraps.

On this analysis, OG bears witness to a shade of meaning that would otherwise have been forgotten had fate not been so kind as to preserve its independent attestation in the Bar Kokhba letters.

4.3.6 הרגש: An Elusive Lexeme

Within ten short verses (Dan. 6:7, 12, 16), three occurrences of הרגשו both tie the narrative together and continue to perplex lexicographers. Some are content to assign the three terms two quite different glosses: "to excite, insist" (Dan. 6:7, 16) and "to observe, watch" (Dan. 6:12).[322] Others take a unified approach.[323] After noting the difficulty of finding a unified meaning and exploring other options, Gzella concludes "all three instances of the C-stem can best be subsumed under the shading 'to show unrest, to be active'."[324] Along the same general lines, though not identical, Kaufman et al. suggest "to gather together urgently."[325] The rendering of the Greek translators most closely aligns with that of *CAL* in verse 7 (OG: προσήλθοσαν; TH: παρέστησαν; both are absent at verse 16), but in verse 12 they take a markedly different approach.

14) MT Daniel 6:12

אֱדַיִן גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ הַרְגֹּשׁוּ וְהַשְׁכַּחוּ לְדָנִיֵּאל בָּעֵא וּמִתְחַנַּן קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ

[321] The first part of OG Daniel 6:15 is an irrelevant plus.

[322] Vogt, *Lexicon*, 304-305.

[323] Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1979, "to enter in a crowd."

[324] Holger Gzella, "רגשׁ *rgš*," *TDOT* 16:704.

[325] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 7, 2019.

> Then these men *gathered together urgently* and found Daniel making requests and imploring favor before his God.
>
> OG Daniel 6:12
> καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτήρησαν τὸν Δανιηλ καὶ κατελάβοσαν αὐτὸν εὐχόμενον τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν.
>
> And they *watched* Daniel and seized him interceding three times a day each day.
>
> TH Daniel 6:12
> τότε οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι παρετήρησαν καὶ εὗρον τὸν Δανιηλ ἀξιοῦντα καὶ δεόμενον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ.
>
> Then those men *watched closely* and found Daniel making requests of and asked for help from his God.

Such a translation is unintelligible in light of their lexical choices in occurrence of the same preceding and following. In Syriac, however, the root in the C-stem normally carries the sense "to feel, perceive, be aware of."[326] This meaning fits well enough in the context that it has led some Aramaists astray. Though possible, it is difficult to see how this connotation would fit in the other occurrences. Thus, it is more likely the Greek translators here reflect a common usage present in their day and dominant in later dialects.[327]

4.3.7 טריד: Driven out or Confined?

The meaning of the G-stem ("to drive out"; Dan 4:22, 29) and the Gt-stem of טרד ("to be driven out"; Dan. 4:30; 5:21) is uncontroversial. The context is abundantly clear that Nebuchadnezzar will be banished unless he turns from his ways. Thus, for seven years the king wanders in exile until the appointed time is fulfilled. Moreover, this semantic thread holds constant throughout the various Aramaic dialects.[328] TH, unsurprisingly, uses an expected

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[326] Payne-Smith, *Dictionary*, 529. The Peshitta has ܐܬܒܘܢ which could be due to influence from the Greek translators.

[327] Cf. Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1450.

[328] Sokoloff, *Lexicon*, 549; Payne-Smith, *Dictionary*, 181.

translation equivalent in choosing the lexeme ἐκδιώκω ("to chase away").[329] OG does not have texts that correspond to some of the forms (Dan. 4:22; 5:21). Daniel 4:29 is markedly different in the Aramaic and Greek versions, but if OG has an alternate *Vorlage*, the equivalent טרד/ἐκδιώκω appears constant. The additional material in OG reveals that he knows another, less common meaning of טדר:

15) MT Daniel 4:29
וּמִן־אֲנָשָׁא לָךְ טָרְדִין וְעִם־חֵיוַת בָּרָא מְדֹרָךְ עִשְׂבָּא כְתוֹרִין לָךְ יְטַעֲמוּן וְשִׁבְעָה עִדָּנִין יַחְלְפוּן עָלָיִךְ עַד דְּי־
תִנְדַּע דִּי־שַׁלִּיט עִלָּיָא בְּמַלְכוּת אֲנָשָׁא וּלְמַן־דִּי יְצִבֶּא יִתְנִנַּהּ׃

> And from mankind you *are driven out* and with the beasts of the field is your dwelling place. Grass like an ox you will be fed and seven times will pass over you until you know that the Most High has authority in the kingdom of man and to whomever he wants he gives it.

OG Daniel 4:29
καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι διώξονταί σε ἐπὶ ἔτη ἑπτά, καὶ οὐ μὴ ὀφθῇς οὐδ᾽ οὐ μὴ λαλήσῃς μετὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου· χόρτον ὡς βοῦν σε ψωμίσουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χλόης τῆς γῆς ἔσται ἡ νομή σου· ἰδοὺ ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης σου δήσουσί σε, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς τρυφῆς σου καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἕτερος ἕξει.

> And the angles *will chase* you for seven years and you will not see neither will you speak with any man. Grass like an ox they will feed you, and your nourishment will be from the tender grass of the earth. Behold, in place of your glory *they will bind you* and your luxuriant house and your kingdom another will have.

In some Jewish Aramaic dialects, first appearing in Galilean Aramaic and Palestinian Targumic Aramaic, another meaning of טרד occurs: G-stem "to shut up, confine"; Gt "to be confined."[330] This knowledge forms the basis of the plus ἰδοὺ ἀντὶ τῆς δόξης σου δήσουσί σε. In essence, OG is rewriting the text based on two alternate, even contradictory meanings of טדר known to him. Since some have classified OGD as Rewritten Daniel (§5.4), this is not out of the question. OG

[329] Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 206

[330] Kaufman, et al., *CAL*, accessed January 7, 2019. In and Jewish Palestinian Aramaic both meanings occur to varying degrees (Sokoloff, *Palestinian Aramaic*, 242).

Daniel 4:30a constitutes another lengthy plus and the double meaning of טרד is, at least in part, the impetus for rewriting.

16) MT Daniel 4:30
בַּהּ־שַׁעֲתָּא מִלְּתָא֙ סָפַ֣ת עַל־נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּ֔ר וּמִן־אֲנָשָׁ֖א טָרִ֑יד וְעִשְׂבָּ֨א כְתוֹרִ֜ין יֵאכֵ֗ל וּמִטַּ֤ל שְׁמַיָּא֙ גִּשְׁמֵ֣הּ יִצְטַבַּ֔ע עַד דִּ֥י שַׂעְרֵ֖הּ כְּנִשְׁרִ֣ין רְבָ֑ה וְטִפְרֹוהִ֖י כְּצִפְּרִֽין׃

> In that moment the word was fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar. And *he was driven out* from mankind and grass like oxen he would eat and from the dew of heaven his body was wet until his hair became great like that of eagles and his nails like that of birds.

> OG Daniel 4:30a
> ἕως δὲ πρωὶ πάντα τελεσθήσεται ἐπὶ σέ, Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῦ Βαβυλῶνος, καὶ οὐχ ὑστερήσει ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων οὐθέν. [30a] ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐπεδήθην· χόρτον ὡς βοῦν ἐψώμισάν με, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χλόης τῆς γῆς ἤσθιον.
>
> Now in the morning all these things will be completed concerning you, Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, and not one of all these things will be lacking. I, Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon, *was bound* seven years. Grass like an ox they fed me and from the tender grass of the earth I would eat.

At this point, it is best to withhold judgment on the relationship between Daniel 4-6 in the MT and OG (see chapter 5). For now, we cautiosly assume some OG pluses could have an Aramaic *Vorlage* and others not, since the aim here is not to come to text-critical certainty, however, but to elucidate OG's knowledge of Aramaic. Yet, if the analysis here is correct, it is more likely that OG is rewriting his text based on a midrashic-like interpretive method, common in Second Temple texts (e.g., Pesher), exploiting the semantic range of טרד known to him; he is not translating.

4.3.8 נוד: To Flee or Be Shaken

The Watcher in Nebuchadnezzar's vision (Dan 4:7b-15) decrees destruction for the tree. It is cut down, its branches stripped and fruit scattered. Consequently, the animals, who

previously dwelt beneath its shade, flee. The lexeme in question (נוד "to flee") is uncontroversial.[331] Its translation in TH, however, is markedly different.

17) MT Daniel 4:11
קָרֵא בְחַיִל וְכֵן אָמַר גְּדוּ אִילָנָא וְקַצּוּצוּ עַנְפּוֹהִי אַתְּרוּ עָפְיֵהּ וּבַדָּרוּ אִנְבֵּהּ תְּנֵד חֵיוָתָא מִן־תַּחְתּוֹהִי וְצִפְּרַיָּא מִן־עַנְפּוֹהִי׃

> He calls loudly and thus he says, "Hew down the tree and cut off its branches. Strip off its foliage and scatter its fruit. Let the beats *flee* from under it and the birds from its branches.

TH Daniel 4:11
καὶ ἐφώνησεν ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ οὕτως εἶπεν Ἐκκόψατε τὸ δένδρον καὶ ἐκτίλατε τοὺς κλάδους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτινάξατε τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ διασκορπίσατε τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ· σαλευθήτωσαν τὰ θηρία ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων αὐτοῦ·

> And he called out loudly and thus he said, "Chop down the tree and pluck out its branches and shake out its foliage and scatter its fruit. Let the beasts *be shaken* from under it and the birds from its branches.

Cognitively, the two semantic fields "to flee" and "to shake" have little to do with one another. We could posit a variant *Vorlage* behind TH, but a wider perspective on Aramaic suggests otherwise. Although the same term occurs with the same meaning ("to flee") at Qumran (4Q530 fg 2 ii+6-12[?]:4) and occasionally in Syriac,[332] the dominant meaning across dialects is "to shake" or the like.[333] The common Aramaic term for "to flee" from the earliest times is *ʿrq*.[334]

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[331] Koehler and Baumgartner, *HALOT*, 5:1928. See Gzella, "נדד *ndd*; נוד *nūd*; ערק *ʿrq*," *TDOT* 16:459-61 for its relationship to נדד in Daniel 6:19.

[332] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 8, 2019; Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 895;

[333] In Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, the *Pe'al* it means "to shake, quiver" (Sokoloff, *Babylonian Aramaic*, 734-735). In Syriac, נטר in the Pe. means "to be moved shaken; shake, quake" (Sokoloff, *Syriac Lexicon*, 895) Also Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, though rare, "to move, shake" (Sokoloff, *Palestinian Aramaic*, 381).

[334] Gzella, "*ʿrq*," *TDOT* 16:461. It is thus unsurprising in one sense to find נפרסע in the Peshitta.

TH must alter the syntax somewhat to make the meaning known to him fit within the context. He does so by making an active verb in Aramaic passive in the Greek.

4.3.9 עשית: Traces of Forgotten Aramaic

Because TH is a revision of OG toward the emerging MT, when TH departs from the MT, such variation is significant. In one such case, it would appear that TH is intentionally leaving out a term because its meaning is lost on him.[335]

18) MT Daniel 6:4
אֱדַ֨יִן דָּנִיֵּ֜אל דְּנָ֣ה הֲוָ֗א מִתְנַצַּח֙ עַל־סָרְכַיָּ֣א וַאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּ֔א כָּל־קֳבֵ֕ל דִּ֥י רוּחַ֙ יַתִּירָ֣אָה בֵּ֔הּ וּמַלְכָּ֖א עֲשָׁ֣ית לְהָקָמוּתֵ֑הּ עַל־כָּל־מַלְכוּתָֽא׃

> Then this Daniel was succeeding beyond the prefects and satraps because an excellent spirit was in him and the king *thought* well enough of him to appoint him over all the kingdom.
>
> TH Daniel 6:4
> καὶ ἦν Δανιηλ ὑπὲρ αὐτούς, ὅτι πνεῦμα περισσὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ.
>
> And Daniel was above them because an uncommon spirit was in him and the king *appointed* him over all of his kingdom.

The term עשית is common in Imperial Aramaic in the G-stem,[336] but the only occurrence at Qumran is the highly fragmentary 4Q532.[337] However, a shift occurs by the time of Targum Jonathan. In these early targumim, "the connotation has clearly turned negative."[338] After this time, the word falls into disuse entirely. To complicate matters, OG appears to translate the verb correctly (ἐβουλεύσατο). Since OG in chapters 4-6 is a thorny text critical issue caution is in

[335] It is also possible that TH's *Vorlage* has left out the term for the same reason. This is not the only variant in this verse. Both מִתְנַצַּח and the terms of the officials (סָרְכַיָּא וַאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא) are absent as well.

[336] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 7, 2019.

[337] It also occurs in the Gt-stem in 4Q206 fg 3 i:5, which is fragmentary as well (Cook, *Qumran Aramaic*, 189).

[338] Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed January 7, 2019.

order. Perhaps he was privy to a reading tradition that TH was not, or perhaps a greater chronological gap existed between OG and TH than previously thought. The example from Qumran, though fragmentary, implies that the word was still known in some circles, which may imply that its use is an archaism.[339] Thus, its occurrence in MT is no doubt the older reading, since adding it to the text at a later period is improbable. In any case, it would appear that the translator was at a loss and may have felt the increasingly negative connotations out of place in such a context.

4.3 Preliminary Conclusions

The dozen or so cases heretofore documented lead to the conclusion that the Aramaic of the translators was not identical to the Aramaic dialect of Daniel and Ezra. The cases here are particularly relevant because they deal primarily with verbs. Though marginal, they too affect statistics for translation technique (e.g., table 3). Translators make mistakes, so every difference between the source text and the translation is not due to dialect, but a number of cases likely are. Only those cases where the reading of the translators aligns with that of later Aramaic dialects in a significant way have been considered. No single explanation accounts for all the divergences, but two broad categories have emerged: 1) diachronic and 2) dialectal.[340] Foreign loanwords along with a few native Aramaic items comprise the former category. Some of the dialect

[339] 4Q532 is difficult to date. Despite its fragmentary nature, Starr has characterized the text as "Late, Western, typically mainstream Aramaic style" (John Starr, *Classifying the Aramaic Texts from Qumran: A Statistical Analysis of Lingustic Features* [London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2019], 279). Since, however, the text consists of a mere 188 words, it is difficult to be certain about this classification. That the term in question is absent from the other better-documented texts at Qumran is telling nonetheless.

[340] Thus, the analysis here both confirms and contradicts Starr's recent analysis. It comports with Starr's conclusion that that the Biblical Aramaic texts at Qumran preserve the oldest examples of Aramaic and are thus generally earlier than that of Qumran Aramaic (Starr, *Classifying*, 292) so that they were "recognized as official Scripture by the time of Qumran" (Ibid., 293). This is the diachronic feature. Nevertheless, the numerous lexical differences that are due to dialect may challenge Starr's conclusion that "the events related in the texts may be of Eastern origin, but the texts' style is not" (Ibid.). Starr's basis for distinguishing "Eastern" and "Western" texts at Qumran is specious at best (see A. G. Daniel, review of *Classifying the Aramaic texts from Qumran: A Statistical Analysis of Linguistic Features*, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 151:2 (2019): 160-163.

differences show the translators unknowingly and occasionally render their source text according to their own regional, Western Palestinian dialect, while at times the meaning of the Aramaic items in Daniel align with meanings found in later Eastern dialects such as Syriac.

4.4 Grammatical Divergence

Observations, to this point, have been limited to lexical features, which are easier to identify than diachronic grammatical development or dialectal variance. These differences suggest that the Aramaic of the translators was not identical the Aramaic found in Daniel and Ezra. These observations open the door to explore other more difficultly identified changes. Thus, the necessary groundwork has been laid in order to explore grammatical elements that evince diachronic and/or dialect development.

The present approach has been left largely unexplored. A singular exception, Holger Gzella, has posited that OG and TH have projected "later developments" in grammar "back onto Biblical Aramaic."[341] He suggests, "This gives a rough idea of how these translators read the Biblical Aramaic texts in the light of the Aramaic in which they themselves were at home."[342] This line of inquiry is stimulating, even though the specifics are based on insubstantial evidence.[343]

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[341] Gzella, *Tempus*, 329.

[342] Ibid.

[343] See below for the first example, which consists of a single case of the Aramaic participle. A second case Gzella proposes that is not directly relevant to the two tokens under investigation here concerns the *manā kṛtam*-construction, which begins to be adopted from Old Persian at the stage of Imperial Aramaic but only becomes prominent in later Eastern Aramaic Gzella, *Tempus*, 175, 432). The construction consists of a formally passive participle with an active meaning (Ibid.). At Daniel 6:11 OG translates וְכַוִּין פְּתִיחָן לֳהֵ֙ בְּעִלִּיתֵ֔הּ נֶגֶד יְרוּשְׁלֶ֖ם ("and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem" [KJV]) as θυρίδας ἤνοιξεν ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ αὐτοῦ κατέναντι Ιερουσαλημ ("he opened the windows in his upper chamber before Jerusalem"). Gzella acknowledges TH's use of the perfect passive participle (ἀνεῳγμέναι), which he notes is literal. But OG projects back onto Daniel 6:11 his own understanding of the construction which reflects a later stage of Aramaic when the *manā kṛtam*-construction had become more fully integrated. This singular example is indicative of the methodological difference between Gzella and that attempted here, where statistically significant trends serve the basis of dialectal and diachronic

With the aim of identifying possible language change based on statistically significant translation technique, the following explores two possible translation equivalents as evidence for diachronic and/or dialect development: 1) narrative participles that function as historic presents and 2) periphrastic constructions הוה + *active/t-stem participle*. The guarantee that such findings will produce is not certain. The data hides behind a Greek veil. The difficulties mirror in some ways problems faced by scholars working to detect language contact among genetically related languages.[344] Nevertheless, the approach taken here is not strictly speaking that of language contact, for the kind of contact under investigation concerns that between the same language separated by a few centuries.

4.4.1 Participles as Historic Presents with Special Reference to Redundant Quotative Frames

In Aramaic dialects subsequent to that of Daniel, Ezra and related literature the active participle becomes a present or perhaps more accurately a non-past verbal form. At the present state of the language, though, Li maintains that it is not yet a present tense since most occurrences of the active participle occur in past time. Consequently, it is a general imperfective in past context.[345] Shepherd holds the participle in narrative serves as a background tense. Since imperfective aspect correlates with background information in narrative,[346] the views of Shepherd and Li are complementary, not mutually exclusive. Li's approach, though, struggles to

development. Given OG's dubious relationship with what is now the MT, it is difficult to conclude that one-off translation decisions are sufficient evidence for such an inference.

[344] Namely, Patience Epps, John Huehnergard and Na'ama Pat-El note that "studies of contact among dialects have typically been considered to be primarily within the purview of dialectologists, and have rarely been taken up by scholars interested in language contact more generally—although the distinction between dialect and sister-language is far from clear-cut" ("Introduction: Contact among Genetically Related Languages," *Journal of Language Contact* 6 (2013) 214).

[345] Li, *Verbal System*, 54, 57.

[346] Shepherd, *Verbal System*, 72.

maintain a meaningful opposition between independent active and t-stem participles in narrative and those in a periphrastic construction with הוה,[347] which marks the construction for tense.[348]

Though not the first to do so,[349] Gzella contends the narrative use of the participle sans הוה functions as a historic present.[350] This use, as Gzella notes, is unique among Aramaic periods and dialects.[351] In older stages of the language, the participle falls outside of the verbal system,[352] but in the present *Sprachstufen* it characteristically describes the present temporal sphere or simultaneity.[353] Rhetorically, texts exploit this feature "zur lebendigen Schilderung von Sachverhalten"[354] and are clearly marked as such contextually.[355] A historic present may occur in a narrative climax, where the author weds literary and linguistic prominence, such as Daniel 5:5-9—the famous case of the hand writing on the wall.[356]

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[347] Li, *Verbal System*, 45-49, 80-82, 85-88, 96.

[348] Gzella, *Tempus*, 308; Li, *Verbal System*, 96.

[349] Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik*, §81s; Cohen, *Phrase nominale*, 413. Rogland, "Remarks," 431ff.

[350] Although Gzella is only able to point to a single case from the Imperial Aramaic documents from Egypt (TAD B2.8:405), there appear to be several more cases of the participle as a "narrative form" in the Qumran Aramaic texts (Takamitsu Muraoka, *Grammar of Qumran Aramaic* [Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 174-175). Muraoka, contra Li and Shepherd, that the participle here functions as a historic present "graphically describing what happened" (ibid., 174). For Gzella, the historic present is aspectually indistinguishable from the SC: "Im Endefffekt nehmen die Partizipien daher zusammen mit dem präteritalen Zeitbezug einen perfektiven Verlaufsbezug an und werden ihrer üblichen verbalen Funktion als Gegenwartsformen (mit *a fortiori* imperfektivem Verlaufsbezug) völlig entkleidet. Mindestens in temporaler und aspektualer Perspektive müssen demnach die so in den Handlungsverlauf eingebundenen Partizipien als den "Perfekt"-Formen exakt gleichwertig gelten" (*Tempus*, 122).

[351] Ibid., 120.

[352] Shepherd appears to think it remains so in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra (*Verbal System*).

[353] Gzella, *Tempus*, 120. That the participle alone expresses the real present strengthens Gzella's argument (see Andrew Daniel "Preterite Prefix Conjugation," 18-21). Gzella suggests the lack of examples of this phenomena outside of Daniel is due to the lack of literary narrative (Ibid., 120).

[354] Ibid., 129.

[355] They characteristically begin with a SC or are marked by באדין (Ibid., 120).

[356] For the most detailed description of this passage see Ibid., 125-128.

The Greek language is well known for using uncontested examples of historic presents, this construction makes for an interesting test case comparatively speaking.[357] It is striking, then, that the translators eschew the closest translation equivalent and instead opt for aorists and imperfects. Some examples are morphologically ambiguous.[358] That is to say these forms can be pointed as either SC forms or as active participles. The Masoretic reading tradition, though, has pointed them as participles, but the translators use past time forms:

19) MT Daniel 4:10b-11a

וַאֲלוּ עִיר וְקַדִּישׁ מִן־שְׁמַיָּא נָחֵת׃ [11] קָרֵא בְחַיִל וְכֵן אָמַר

> Behold a watcher and a holy one *descends* from heaven. He *calls* out loudly and thus he *says*…[359]
>
> OG Daniel 4:10b-11a [LXX 4:13b-14a]
> καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος ἀπεστάλη ἐν ἰσχύι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ [14] καὶ ἐφώνησε καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ
>
> And behold an angel *was sent* forcibly from heaven and he *called* out and *said* to him.
>
> TH Daniel 4:10b-11 [LXX 4:13b-14a]
> καὶ ἰδοὺ ιρ καὶ ἅγιος ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ κατέβη [14] καὶ ἐφώνησεν ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ οὕτως εἶπεν
>
> And behold a watcher and a holy one *descended* from heaven and *called out* forcefully and thus he said.

Both participles in Daniel 4:10b-11a are morphologically ambiguous, but a textbook example of a historic present, nonetheless. The pattern interjection + participle is documented at Qumran with an unambiguous case,[360] which suggests the pointing here is correct. Even when plural forms supply morphological clarity, though, the translators avoid the nearest Greek equivalent:

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[357] Labeling a construction a "historic present" does not actually explain its function, which is debated. For a more in depth discussion of the historic present in Greek, see §6.3.2.

[358] See below for the redundant quotative frame (ענה ואמר).

[359] Here I translate these forms as historic presents, since the English historic present functions similarly.

[360] 4Q206 fg 4 i:16, though the interjection is different (Muraoka, *Qumran Aramaic*, §55d): והא מרזבין שבעה שפכין ("And behold there were seven spounts pouring out water").

20) MT Daniel 3:26-27a

[26] בֵּאדַ֗יִן קְרֵב֙ נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּ֔ר לִתְרַ֖ע אַתּ֣וּן נוּרָ֑א יְקִדְתָּ֣א עָנֵ֔ה וְאָמַ֕ר שַׁדְרַ֖ךְ מֵישַׁ֣ךְ וַעֲבֶד־נְגֹ֑ו עַבְדָ֣וֹהִי דְּי־אֱלָהָ֗א
עִלָּיָא֙ פֻּ֣קוּ וֱאֵתֹ֔ו בֵּאדַ֖יִן שַׁדְרַ֣ךְ מֵישַׁ֑ךְ וַעֲבֶ֣ד נְגֹ֔ו מִן־גֹּ֖וא נוּרָ֥א׃ [27] וְ֠מָתְכַּנְּשִׁין אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּ֨א סְגָנַיָּ֜א וּפַחֲוָתָ֗א
וְהַדָּבְרֵי֙ מַלְכָּ֔א חָזַ֖יִן לְגֶבְרַיָּ֣א אִלֵּ֑ךְ

Then Nebuchadnezzar approached the door of the furnace of burning fire. He answers and says, "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, servants of the Most High God, come out and come here." Then Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego *come out* from the midst of the fire and the satraps, prefects, governors and counselors of the king *gather* and they *look* at these men.

OG Daniel 3:26-27a [LXX 3:93-94a]
[93] καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς καμίνου ἔτι καιομένης ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ᾽ ὀνόματος Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω οἱ παῖδες τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἐξέλθατε ἐκ τοῦ πυρός. οὕτως οὖν ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός. [94] καὶ συνήχθησαν οἱ ἔπαρχοι, τοπάρχαι καὶ ἀρχιπατριῶται καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐθεώρουν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους

And when the king approached to the door of the furnace that was still burning, he called them by name, "Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, servants of the God of gods, the Most High, come out from the fire. Therefore, in this way the men *came out* of the fire. And the governors, district governors and family heads and friends of the king *were gathered* and they *were looking* at those men.

TH Daniel 3:26-27a [LXX 3:93-94a]
[93] τότε προσῆλθεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης καὶ εἶπεν Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἐξέλθετε καὶ δεῦτε. καὶ ἐξῆλθον Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός. [94] καὶ συνάγονται οἱ σατράπαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ τοπάρχαι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐθεώρουν τοὺς ἄνδρας

Then Nebuchadnezzar approached the door of the door of the furnace of burning fire and said, "Shadrach, Meshach, Abednego, servants of the Most High God, come out and come here. And Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego *came out* from the mist of the fire. [94] and the satraps, commanders and district governors and the powerful men of the king *gather* and *were looking* at these men.

In the above example, קרב technically could be a participle. The surrounding context makes clear (e.g., באדין) the temporal reference of the verb, but the Masoretes point the verb as a SC. The morphologically clear plural forms prevent confusion over the pointing, yet the translators do not recognize them as such. OG Daniel uses two aorists and an imperfect; Theodotion employs an

aorist, imperfect and present. Perhaps, one might be tempted to take the singular historic present in TH as evidence that the translator understood these forms as such. Statistically, the evidence does not support this claim. The translator likely had his own reasons for exploiting a historic present in this context (see chapter 7). Similarly, the use of the imperfect (ἐθεώρουν, v. 94) could suggest the translator understood these narrative participles analogously with the periphrastic construction *הוה + participle*.[361] Gzella appears ready to concede at least some narrative participles function this way.[362] Yet, lexical semantics are likely responsible for this tense form; the verb θεωρέω predominately occurs in the past as an imperfect.[363] This translational tendency explains why, even when all occurrences of the participle across temporal spheres are taken into account, OG Daniel uses aorist indicatives over 30% of the time, while TH uses them approximately 23% (see tables 9-10).

To complicate matters further, the reading tradition increasingly points forms as historic presents at the same time the translators are eliminating them. Redundant quotative frames constitute a ubiquitous sytagm in the Aramaic of Daniel. Out of a total of 30 occurrences,[364] most (23 out of 30) are morphologically ambiguous, ענה ואמר;[365] six include mixed forms with a SC

[361] Thus, Li, *Verbal System*, 52-55.

[362] Gzella, *Tempus*, 130, in regards to Ezra 6:14.

[363] Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 329. See along these lines Benjamin L. Merkle, "The Abused Aspect: Neglecting the Influence of a Verb's Lexical Meaning on Tense-Form Choice," in *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 26.1 (2016) 57-74. There is, however, a greater statistical tendency for TH to use the imperfect for the narrative participle than OG Daniel (approximately 11% for TH and 6% for OG; see chapter 4).

[364] Li counts 55 total occurrences of each individual participle (according to the Masoretic pointing) without regard to the sytagm as such (Li, *Verbal System*, 43-44). He also includes 4:11 (קָרֵא בְחַיִל וְכֵן אָמַר), which are narrative participles, but not identical to the redundant quotative frame here.

[365] Dan. 2:5, 8, 15, 20, 26, 27, 47; 3:14, 19, 24, 25, 26, 28; 4:16 (2x), 27; 5:7, 13, 17; 6:13, 17, 21; 7:2.

and a participle (עָנוֹ וְאָמְרִין);[366] a single case in Daniel 3:24 contains two plural participles (עָנְיִן וְאָמְרִין); and Daniel 5:10 entails of two 3rd fem. sing. SC forms (עֲנָת מַלְכְּתָא וַאֲמָרַת).

Although the participles in this construction possess the same synchronic function as the historic present narrative participle, originally, argues Gzella, redundant quotative frames consisted of two SC forms,[367] as is the case in Daniel 5:10 and generally in Imperial Aramaic.[368] Then, because of the cross-linguistic tendency for verbs of speaking and present/imperfective grammatical forms to coalesce, the second member of the construction, אמר, is read as a participle.[369] Hence, Daniel preserves a number of morphologically unambiguous transitionary forms and the ambiguous cases, which are the majority, should be understood as such. Only later in the reading tradition does the first member of the pair ענה assimilate to the second by attraction.[370]

> Erst auf einer Spätstufe des Aramäischen, als sich diese Reanalyse selbst gefestigt hatte, vermochte man dann auch das alte "Perfekt" von עני als narratives Partizip zu interpretieren und entsprechend zu vokalisieren, um den zusammengesetzten Ausdruck ענה ואמר: Einsicht in den Sinn dieser Asymmetrie war im Bewußtsein der Sprache endgültig verblaßt, die Form selber damit fragwürdig geworden.[371]

Even as this transformation is taking place, the translators rarely use a historic present with verbs of speaking. They use redundant quotative frames, which have a similar cross linguistic

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[366] Dan 2:7, 10; 3:9, 16; 5:10; 6:14.

[367] Gzella, *Tempus*, 136.

[368] See the texts cited in Ibid., 135. There are a handful of instances where a verb of saying is clearly a participle (Muraoka and Porten, *Egyptian Aramaic*, §55d.

[369] Gzella, *Tempus*, 133.

[370] Ibid.,

[371] Ibid., 135.

function,[372] but the general form consists of a circumstantial aorist participle followed by an aorist indicative (e.g., ἀποκριθεὶς…εἶπε, OG Dan. 2:5; ἀποκριθέντες…εἶπαν Dan. 3:16).[373] The occasional use of a present indicative or present participle to introduce speech owes more to the translator's target language motivations.

How then shall we analyze this data? Gzella, as he is wont to do throughout his monograph, keeps his eye on the ancient translators, writing,

> Die antiken Übersetzer haben zwar ihrerseits erkannt, daß die Partizipien in Dan 3:3-7 als Vergangenheitsformen fungieren. Doch tendieren sie dazu, die Eigenständigkeit des Partizips im Aramäischen und seinen Unterscheid zum "Perfect" zu nivellieren.[374]

This description comports with Gzella's previous agreement with general linguistics that historic presents take on past temporal reference and perfective aspect in addition to their rhetorical use.[375] Later in his analysis Gzella once again returns to TH Daniel's translation technique in 5:5-9. There TH differentiates in its translation between the SC and participle by using aorists and imperfective forms, respectively. TH does this "vielleicht deshalb, weil er etwas von der imperfektiven Funktion, die das aramäische Partizip sonst ausübt, vermitteln wollte."[376] Since, however, Greek imperfectives generally correlate with background information in narrative, the translator here is backgrounding what the Aramaic texts vividly portray with historic presents.

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[372] Steven E. Runge, *Discourse Grammar of the Greek New Testament: A Practical Introduction for Teaching and Exegesis* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2010), 145-162.

[373] Other iterations include using only one verbal form instead of two (e.g., OG Dan. 2:4 ἐλάλησαν) or two aorist indicative verbs (e.g., TH Dan.6:13: ἐνέτυχον…καὶ εἶπαν); generally, the Greek translators buck the cross-linguistic trend documented by Gzella for verbs of speaking to occur in grammatically present and/or imperfective forms. For an account of why the translator occasionally uses present forms, see chapter 7.

[374] Gzella, *Tempus*, 123.

[375] Ibid., 122.

[376] Ibid., 127.

That the translators use narrative forms for a verbal form that occurs in narrative is entirely expected. As Barr noted several decades ago, "The fact that the translation was usable at all depended to a large extent on reasonably happy choices in the use of tenses."[377] As seen in the previous chapter, though, data mined from translation technique is never self-interpreting. If anything is certain, it is that this data does not support the claim that the participle in Daniel is a "simple past."[378] We might also add in passing that data would not support the claim that the participle is regarded as a past imperfective either.[379]

In spite of the dominance of aorist and imperfect indicatives, facts of which Gzella is aware, he simultaneously argues that in a single case, the participle שתה in Daniel 5:1-2, TH projects back onto the text later developments within Aramaic.

21) MT Daniel 5:1-2

[1] בֶּלְשַׁאצַּר מַלְכָּא עֲבַד לְחֶם רַב לְרַבְרְבָנוֹהִי אֶלֶף וְלָקֳבֶל אַלְפָּא חַמְרָא שָׁתֵה׃ [2] בֶּלְשַׁאצַּר אֲמַר בְּטָעֲם חַמְרָא
לְהַיְתָיָה לְמָאנַי דַּהֲבָא וְכַסְפָּא דִּי הַנְפֵּק נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר אֲבוּהִי מִן־הֵיכְלָא דִּי בִירוּשְׁלֶם וְיִשְׁתּוֹן בֵּהּוֹן מַלְכָּא
וְרַבְרְבָנוֹהִי שֵׁגְלָתֵהּ וּלְחֵנָתֵהּ׃

Belshazzar the king made a great feast for a thousand of his nobles and before the thousand he is drinking wine. [2] Belshazzar said when drunk to bring the vessels of god and silver, which Nebuchadnezzar his father had brought up from the palace which was in Jerusalem, in order that the king, his nobles, concubines and consorts might drink from them.

TH Daniel 5:1-2

[1]Βαλτασαρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐποίησεν δεῖπνον μέγα τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ χιλίοις, καὶ κατέναντι τῶν χιλίων ὁ οἶνος. καὶ πίνων [2] Βαλτασαρ εἶπεν ἐν τῇ γεύσει τοῦ οἴνου τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ σκεύη τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ, ἃ ἐξήνεγκεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ πατὴρ

[377] James Barr, "Translators' Handling of Verb Tense in Semantically Ambiguous Contexts," *LXX VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, eds. Claude Cox.SSCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 381. Barr, in his article, does not include the treatment of the participle, which he notes is an important omission (Ibid., 384).

[378] Rosén, "Use of the Tenses," 185.

[379] This of course would support Li's scheme. Cf. the regularity of the translation of periphrastic constructions (הוה + active participle/t-stem participle) with the Greek imperfect indicative (TH: 75%; OG adjusted: 78%; see tables 18-19, 23-24).

> αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ πιέτωσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παλλακαὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ παράκοιτοι αὐτοῦ.
>
> Belshazzar the king made a great banquet for a thousand of his nobles and wine was before the thousand. And when Belshazzar was drinking, he said when tasting wine to bring in the vessels of gold and silver which Nebuchadnezzar his father brought up from the temple which was in Jerusalem and let the king and his noblemen and his concubines and his consorts drink in them.

Here, the central problem is that TH diverges from his standard translation technique to render the Aramaic participle with a Greek present participle functioning adverbially in subordination to the following verb,[380] which leads Gzella to question, whether the translator thought the participle expressed a dependent action, not unlike later dialects where, according to Gzella, this function becomes conventional.[381] Two factors suggest this conclusion is unwarranted. It is, firstly, not uncommon for the Greek translators to transform paratactic syntax into hypotactic syntax, particularly with circumstantial participles (for the pragmatic effect the translators accomplish with this approach, see chapter 6). Admittedly, this is more common in OG, but TH takes this approach as well (see table 3). Secondly, Greek present participles are very common equivalents for Aramaic participles (see table 9 and 10). The majority of these present participles function attributively or substantively, but from here, it is a small step for TH to use a present participle adverbially in a circumstantial clause. There is no need to appeal to later developments in Aramaic. A more straightforward, but perhaps less stimulating approach is that the translator had before him a text that included a pleonastic *waw* before the participle (וְשָׁתֵה) since the Greek text of Theodotion includes καὶ, which prompted the unusual translational equivalent.

A more interesting observation is not so much that the translators discern the past tense reference, which could just have easily been done based on context, but that they eschew the

[380] OG uses an imperfect indicative.

[381] Gzella, *Tempus*, 125.

Greek historic present, the closest translation equivalent. To problematize the data outlined above, it is worth recalling that the only true historic present documented is a single, often repeated case in the secondary literature.[382] It is equally clear that later dialects continue to use the historic present as a literary feature.[383] At Qumran, in contradistinction to Daniel, these somewhat later texts use the historic present, but apparently not with the same frequency as Daniel. What is more, there is a lack of historic presents in short segments with as great a concentration as is found in Daniel.[384] Meanwhile, as documented above, the reading tradition, whose origins date to second century CE Palestine, tends to multiply this sytagm. Why, then, does the Masoretic reading tradition multiply historic presents at the same time that the Greek translators obviate them?

A feasible explanation worth exploring to explicate the discrepancy between the translators and their sources is one based on dialect geography, particularly since dialectal differences were detected in lexical features. The lack of comparable literary texts from the same period are not to be ignored,[385] but as the participle is still in the grammaticalization process on its way to a present tense, translators could have used the narrative participle with varying degrees of frequency depending on scribal school and geographic location.[386] If the Greek

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[382] TAD B2.8, 4. Muraoka and Porten, *Grammar*, 204; Max Rogland, "Remarks," 431; Gzella, *Tempus*, 131. Li challenges the historic present reading, suggesting instead that the participle is circumstantial (*Verbal System*, 54).

[383] As documented by Rogland, "Remarks," 431.

[384] Muraoka, *Qumran Aramaic*, 174-175.

[385] I take this approach in "The So-Called Preterite Prefix Conjugation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (forthcoming).

[386] It is worth noting that historic presents are more often a feature of colloquial English varieties documented throughout the world rather than literary prose, while at the same time regional dialects use different forms. So, for example, in certain dialects in the Southeastern U.S. and elsewhere, "The attachment of *-s* on 1st person as a type of historical present in personal narratives as in *I goes down there and sees this ghost*…is also found in enclave dialect communities" (Walt Wolfram, "Rural and Ethnic Varieties in the Southeast: Morphology

translations of Daniel and Ezra are the product of Alexandria, Egypt, like the Greek Pentateuch, we might be inclined to explore this ostensible disparity in light of areal linguistics and/or dialect geography.[387] Imperial Aramaic texts from Egypt rarely use the historic present, as noted above. Thus, the difference results from the translator's spoken dialect, where, similarly to the Aramaic we find in Egypt a few centuries prior, the participle for the historic present is strikingly less frequent.[388]

Hence, we find only a paucity of cases in Imperial Aramaic, a high propensity to exploit the form in the Aramaic of Daniel, and a mediating frequency of uses at Qumran, whose texts are literary in nature but not to the degree of Daniel. It is possible that among Jewish translators in Egypt, the most likely province of translation, the use of the Aramaic narrative participle for the historic present was not widely used, while their occasional use of the Greek historic present had more to do with the conventions of the target language rather than the source text's syntax. Such an explanation is not without precedent in Aramaic scholarship. The preterite *yqtl* in Old Aramaic occurs in some epigraphic texts frequently, some sparingly, and is entirely absent in others still.[389] Where the feature does occur, geography and perhaps language contact are

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and Syntax," in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* Volume 2: Morphology and Syntax, eds. Bernd Kortmann, Kate Burridge, Rajend Mesthrie, Edgar W. Schneider and Clive Upton [Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004], 291-292). In contrast, Rajend Mesthrie documents for Indian South African English a number of "syntactic innovations as the variety moved from being a Second Language (L2) to being a First Language (L1) in the 1960s…" Among these innovations is the use of two distinct uses of the English historic present: "the present tense form of BE, instead of the standard past tense form was, combines with *-ing*…*I'm suffering here now and the pain is getting worse* [for] 'I was suffering and the pain was getting worse'…. A related usage uses historic present *be* + *-ing* to replace the preterite with verbs like *tell*, *say*, and others…*Hawa, she's telling she cooks an' all* [for] 'Don't you remember she said she (still) cooks and so forth.' (*hawa* < 'here you are')" ("Indian South African English: Morphology and Syntax" in Ibid., 974-975). Both of these usages for the historic present appear to be regional idiolect features. Thus, we see parallel dialectal differences with the use of the historic present in Modern English.

[387] Even within the land during the Second Temple period, regional dialects would likely have existed.

[388] Another option could be that the historic present is a literary production, but the continued use of the feature at Qumran mitigates the strength of this claim.

[389] There are two occurrences each in the Zakkur inscription and the Assur ostracon, but in the Tel Dan inscription the narrative PC dominates the narrative. The SC, in contrast, is the dominant narrative form elsewhere.

responsible.[390] Writing before the discovery of Tel Dan, Randall Garr summarized the distribution in the dialects of Syria-Palestine:

> Several verbal forms functioned as the narrative, historical past tense in the first-millennium NWS dialects. Most dialects—Old Aramaic (Zkr), the Deir Alla dialect, Moabite, and Hebrew—used the old consecutive imperfect; this distribution suggests that the consecutive imperfect was a common NWS verb form. In the other dialects, the consecutive imperfect was lost. It was replaced by the perfect in Samalian, most Old Aramaic dialects (post-ninth century) and in late Hebrew (sixth century on). This replacement probably occurred independently in the different dialects.[391]

If the same is true for the use of the active participle in narrative in Imperial Aramaic and beyond, it may explain the major trends we find in the Greek translations.

Because, as Albert Rijksbaron notes, in composed Greek, "the use of the historic present is determined by stylistic preference on the part of the author,"[392] the possibility remains that the translators' avoidance of the historic present was due to target language concerns. Perhaps the translator preferred not to use the Greek historic present for whatever reason. We could cite texts elsewhere from Classical literature, LXX, NT, and elsewhere that show how natural the Greek would have been, had the translators opted for Greek historic presents—there is nothing in the target language that would restrain them from using historic presents—but that would do little to prove the case for these translators. The following passage from THD provides one such example:

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[390] Gzella, *Cultural History*, 86. Gzella, though, also notes that none of the forms in question are morphologically short forms and those in the Assur ostracon are clearly long forms. Thus, he suggests that they could be a form of the historic present (Ibid., 84). Muroaka has long defended the thesis that the forms in question in Tell Dan constitute the proto-Semitc *yaqtul* preterit, but not the *wayyiqtol* (see, for example Takamitsu Muraoka, "Linguistic Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *Israel Exploration Journal* 45:1 (1995): 19-21; idem, "The Prefix Conjugation in Circumstantial Clauses in the Tel Dan Inscription?," *Vetus Testamentum* 51:3 (2001): 389-392). Regardless of one's position, the geographically limited nature of the form stands.

[391] Randall Garr, *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine: 1000-586 B.C.E.* [University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1986], 186.

[392] Rijksbaron, *Syntax and Semantics*, 24. For an explanation of the limited use in OG and TH Daniel, see also §6.3.2.

22) MT Daniel 8:17-18

17 וַיָּבֹא אֶצֶל עָמְדִי וּבְבֹאוֹ נִבְעַתִּי וָאֶפְּלָה עַל־פָּנַי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הָבֵן בֶּן־אָדָם כִּי לְעֶת־קֵץ הֶחָזוֹן׃ 18 וּבְדַבְּרוֹ עִמִּי
נִרְדַּמְתִּי עַל־פָּנַי אָרְצָה וַיִּגַּע־בִּי וַיַּעֲמִידֵנִי עַל־עָמְדִי׃

And he came beside where I stood and when he came I was terrified and *fell* upon my face and he said to me, "Understand, son of man, that the vision is for the time of the end. And when he spoke with me *I fell into a heavy sleep* on my face to the earth. And he touched me and caused me to stand.

23) TH Daniel 8:17-18

17 καὶ ἦλθεν καὶ ἔστη ἐχόμενος τῆς στάσεώς μου, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐθαμβήθην καὶ πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου, καὶ εἶπεν πρός με Σύνες, υἱὲ ἀνθρώπου, ἔτι γὰρ εἰς καιροῦ πέρας ἡ ὅρασις. 18 καὶ ἐν τῷ λαλεῖν αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ἥψατό μου καὶ ἔστησέν με ἐπὶ πόδας.

17And he came and he stood near where I stood and when he came I was astonished and *I fall* upon my face and he said to me, "Understand, Son of Man, for the vision is yet for the end of time. 18And when he was speaking with me, *I fall* upon my face upon the earth, and he touched me and he stood me upon my feet.

The example here is striking, given that the source text behind the historic presents boasts a Hebrew *wayyiqtol* and a *qatal*; the context is clearly narrative. These historic presents were not influenced by the *Vorlage*. There is nothing in the translators' idiolect that would have prevented the translator from using the Greek historic presents for their Aramaic counterparts.

Taking a step back to look at broader trends in LXX translation technique helps situate the present argument. Muraoka documents that "[t]he historic present appears to have become a favorite feature of S[eptuagint] G[reek], so that it can be repeated one after another"—in strikingly similar fashion to Aramaic historic presents documented above.[393] This genuine feature of Greek syntax is "very often used to render a *wayyiqtol* or *qatal*, the standard preterite forms in Hebrew."[394] The books of Samuel and Kings boast the highest number of historic presents, but the Lucianic recension eliminates them. Raimund Wirth explains the motive:

[393] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 256.

> Ursprüngliche *praesentia historica* des Übersetzers wurden sowohl von der Kaige-Rezension als auch von der lukianischen Rezension in andere Tempora (von Kaige stets, von *L* fast durchgehend in den Aorist) überführt. In der Kaige-Rezension führt dies zu einer nahezu vollständigen Tilgung dieses Tempus. Das *Motiv* der Keige-Rezensenten ist, eine Entsprechung zwischen hebräischem Impf. cons. bzw. Perf. und dem Aorist herzustellen.[395]

The critical difference bettwen the Hebrew context and our own, is that the elimination of the historic presents in the recensions is motived by greater fidelity toward the Semitic *Vorlage*. If, as it seems aparent, the Aramaic narrative participles are historic presents, a desire to faithfully render the Aramaic verbal forms in a faithful manner—an undeniable fact, given the documented translation data and part of a growing trend with later books—would have led to more uses of the historic present, not fewer.

This interpretation of the data has been offered as a putative explanation without denying the viability of other analyses. Consequently, when these Aramaic speaking translators come into contact with peculiar historic presents, features that they themselves do not use, they rely on contextual clues and choose the narrative form that suites the context instead of the most accurate Greek translational equivalent. If all we had were the translators, it could be expected that the lack of the "narrative participle" or historic present is due to the lack of literary texts. And yet, assuming Gzella's analysis of the participle as a historic present is correct, the translators appear to be at a loss for the subtle nuances of participle, even when these nuances have near congeners in the target language. Ostensibly, they regard many of the participles as SC forms. Assuming the translations were produced in Egypt or another geographic location with a

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[394] Ibid., 257.

[395] Raimund Wirth, *Die Septuaginta der Samuelbücher: Untersucht unter Einbeziehung ihrer Rezensionen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 214.

regional dialect distinct from that of Daniel could suggest that the use of the historic present was geographically limited to certain regional dialects.

4.4.2 The Periphrastic Construction and Its Progressive Grammaticalization

In some branches of Norwest Semitic, such as Hebrew, the periphrastic construction was "a marginal feature" of the language's verbal syntax.[396] Thus, for example, the participle regularly functioned as the predicate nominative, as in Isaiah 59:2 הָיוּ מַבְדִּלִים "they were barriers" not "they were dividing/would divide," suggesting the participle in combination with the copula is still being grammaticalized as complex verbal phrase. Aramaic, however, likely first originated the periphrastic construction to express imperfective action.[397] Likewise in Aramaic, there are peripheral instances where the participle coupled with הוה is still not fully grammaticalized.[398] Originally, הוה served to explicitly mark the tense. Later the construction was reanalyzed "as a complex verb phrase consisting of the renewal of the imperfect."[399] According to Li, the free order of the construction (either *הוה + active participle/t-stem* or *active participle/t-stem participle + הוה*)[400] may suggest "the expression has not yet become a complex verb phrase, i.e., הוה/איתי is still only a temporal marker of the imperfective participle, or more likely that a reanalysis has occurred but is still in its early stages."[401] If Li is correct, and his

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[396] Jan Joosten, *Verbal System* 257-260.

[397] Muraoka, *Qumran Aramaic*, §55f; Muraoka and Porten, *Egyptian Aramaic*, §55g

[398] Li, *Verbal System*, 80. Li suggests Daniel 7:19 and possibly 2:43.

[399] Ibid.

[400] According to Li, the data in Daniel is evenly split with 19 occurrences where the participle comes after הוה and 17 where it precedes (Ibid.).

[401] Li, *Verbal System*, 90. For Shepherd, it appears that this construction is not a complex verbal form with its own distinct semantic function. Li follows Bybee and Dahl in arguing that the form has not fully grammaticalized, since according to Bybee and Dahl,

analysis appears to be the most sophisticated to date, the data mined from translation technique makes for a simple, yet intriguing comparison. In the first example, there are 9 instances of the periphrastic construction. For all but one, TH uses the imperfect indicative.[402]

24) MT Daniel 5:19
וּמִן־רְבוּתָא דִּי יְהַב־לֵהּ כָּל עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא הֲוֹו זָאֲעִין וְדָחֲלִין מִן־קֳדָמוֹהִי דִּי־הֲוָה קָטֵל וְדִי־
הֲוָה צָבֵא הֲוָה מַחֵא וְדִי־הֲוָה צָבֵא הֲוָה מָרֵים וְדִי־הֲוָה צָבֵא הֲוָה מַשְׁפִּיל׃

> And because of the greatness which he gave to him, all peoples, nations, and tongues *would tremble and be afraid* before him. Whomever *he wanted, he would kill* and whomever *he wanted, he would let live*, and whomever *he wanted, he would raise up*, and whomever *he wanted, he would bring low*.

TH Daniel 5:19
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, ἧς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι ἦσαν τρέμοντες καὶ φοβούμενοι ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· οὓς ἠβούλετο, αὐτὸς ἀνήρει, καὶ οὓς ἠβούλετο, αὐτὸς ἔτυπτεν, καὶ οὓς ἠβούλετο, αὐτὸς ὕψου, καὶ οὓς ἠβούλετο, αὐτὸς ἐταπείνου.

> And from the greatness which he gave to him, all the peoples, tribes, and tongues *were trembling and fearing* before his face. Whomever *he wanted, he would kill* and whomever *he wanted, he would strike* and whomever *he wanted, he would exalt* and whomever *he wanted*, he *would humble*.

In the first periphrastic construction documented above, TH departs from his standard translation technique and uses the Greek periphrastic construction. In both OG and TH, whenever two

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> Grams have a fixed, or grammatically determined, position in the phrase or clause. It is not necessary that a gram have only one possible position, it is only necessary that the position or positions be determined by grammatical criteria. The English auxiliaries have two possible positions, but these are grammatically defined: they occur before the subject only under specific conditions, in questions, after a preposed negative, and so on. The possibil-ity of more than one position may indicate a lesser degree of grammaticization.
>
> A fixed position for tense and aspect grams is usually a position fixed with respect to the verb, or occasionally the verb phrase or the whole clause. In addition the order of grams is usually fixed with respect to one another. To the extent that aspect, tense, mood and agreement are grammaticized, they will have a single, fixed position with respect to one another ("The Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems in the Languages of the World," *Studies in Language* 13.1 [1989], 61).

[402] This text is part of a minus in OG Daniel that spans MT 5:18-22.

participles occur in conjunction with הוה, they use the Greek imperfect of the copulative verb and two Greek present participles to mirror the source text.[403]

Even though the construction can occur as either *הוה + active participle/t-stem* or *active participle/t-stem participle + הוה*, the translators make no distinction between these two options.

25) MT Daniel 4:10

10 חָזֵה הֲוַיִת בְּחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבֵי וַאֲלוּ עִיר וְקַדִּישׁ מִן־שְׁמַיָּא נָחֵת׃

> *I was looking* in the visions of my head upon my bed and behold a watcher and a holy one descends from heaven.

OG Daniel 4:10 [LXX 4:13]

> ἐθεώρουν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος ἀπεστάλη ἐν ἰσχύι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
>
> *I was looking* in my dream and behold and angel was sent forcefully from heaven.

TH Daniel 4:10 [LXX 4:13]

> ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ιρ καὶ ἅγιος ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ κατέβη
>
> *I was looking* in my vision of the night upon my bed and behold a watcher and a holy one descended from heaven.

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[403] In contrast to OG Daniel, who only uses the Greek periphrastic construction when more than one participle occurs with הוה, TH occasionally uses the Greek periphrastic construction when there is only one participle in the source text (for the pragmatic function this produces in the target language, see chapter 7). Within the category of periphrastic constructions with more than one participle, Daniel 4:1 deserves special mention. Here a passive participle precedes הוה, as is the case exclusively in Imperial Aramaic (Muraoka and Porten, *Egyptian Aramaic*, §55g): אֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר שְׁלֵה הֲוִית בְּבֵיתִי וְרַעֲנַן בְּהֵיכְלִי "I Nebuchadnezzar was at ease in my house and comfortable in my palace." Both Greek translators transform the passive participle/verbal adjective into a Greek active participle, producing a periphrastic construction in both Greek texts: Εἰρηνεύων ἤμην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ εὐθηνῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου (OG) "I was living peaceably in my house and flourishing upon my throne"; ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσορ εὐθηνῶν ἤμην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ εὐθαλῶν (TH) "I Nebuchadnezzar was flourishing in my house and thriving." Greenfield claims that the pattern documented in Imperial Aramaic does not hold in Biblical Aramaic, where active participles can precede the copula (e.g., Ezra 4:12, 13; 5:8; Dan 2:41; 3:18; 4:1) and passive participles can follow the copula (e.g., Ezra 5:11; Dan. 2:42). Daniel 4:1 is the only such case with a SC of הוה with a passive participle in Daniel. Furthermore, the translation in both OG and TH suggest that the root שׁלה may have been used more widely as a verb in some circles, even though it is only attested as a passive participle/verbal adjective (Kaufman et al., *CAL*, accessed February 26, 2019).

Perhaps, as Fassberg argues, a marked functional difference exists between the two iterations of this syntagm.[404] Nevertheless, the equal distribution found in Daniel is absent from Qumran. There only seven cases are found where the participle precedes הוה, and even some of these appear to mimic the language of Daniel.[405] This trend continues in Western Targumic Aramaic.[406] The Greek language would permit the translator to mirror the language of the source text, as we find in a few marginal cases, but if the form had become fully grammaticalized by the time of the translators, as is the case in later dialects, the imperfect indicative best reflects this fully grammaticalized syntagm at a later stage of the language.

A brief glance at the Hebrew data from Daniel reinforces this conclusion, or at the very least shows that the translators, whether consciously or not, did not understand Aramaic and Hebrew periphrastic constructions identically. The difference in translation technique betrays a cognitive dissimilarity between the grams in the mind of the translators. The Hebrew sections evince the opposite translation strategy for Hebrew:

26) MT Daniel 1:16

וַיְהִי הַמֶּלְצַר נֹשֵׂא אֶת־פַּתְבָּגָם וְיֵין מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם

And the guardian *was taking away* their portion of food and the wine for drinking.

OG Daniel 1:16
καὶ ἦν Αβιεσδρι ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν

And Abiesdri *was continuing to remove* their dinner and their wine.

[404] Steven Fassberg, "Salient Features of the Verbal System in the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Aramaic Texts from Qumran in Aix-en-Provence 30 June – 2 July 2008* edited by Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 71-72. For Fassberg, the structure *participle* + הוה constitutes the marked word order, which "signals background and, thus like chiasm in Biblical Hebrew, it serves to disrupt the narrative and indicate a clause boundary," while the unmarked order is used for mainline narrative events (Ibid., 72).

[405] Muraoka, *Qumran Aramaic*, §55f.

[406] Li, *Verbal System*, 89-90 and sources there.

TH Daniel 1:16
καὶ ἐγένετο Αμελσαδ ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν οἶνον τοῦ πόματος

And Amelsad *was continuing to remove* their dinner and the wine of their drink[407]

27) MT Daniel 8:5

וַאֲנִי֙ הָיֵ֣יתִי מֵבִ֔ין

And I *was considering*

TH Daniel 8:5 (cf. OGD 8:5 διενοούμην)
καὶ ἐγὼ ἤμην συνίων

and I *was pondering*

28) MT Daniel 10:2

בַּיָּמִ֣ים הָהֵ֗ם אֲנִ֤י דָנִיֵּאל֙ הָיִ֣יתִי מִתְאַבֵּ֔ל שְׁלֹ֥שָׁה שָׁבֻעִ֖ים יָמִֽים׃

In those days, I, Daniel, *was mourning* three weeks of days.

TH Daniel 10:2 // OG Daniel 10:2
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἤμην πενθῶν τρεῖς ἑβδομάδας·

In those days, I, Daniel, *was mourning* three weeks of days.

29) MT Daniel 10:9

וַאֲנִ֗י הָיֵ֤יתִי נִרְדָּם֙ עַל־פָּנַ֔י וּפָנַ֖י אֶ֥רְצָה׃

I *fell into a deep sleep* upon up my face and my face was to the earth

OG Daniel 10:9
ἐγὼ ἤμην πεπτωκὼς ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

I *was fallen* upon my face upon the earth.

TH Daniel 10:9
ἤμην κατανενυγμένος, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

I *was stunned* and my face was upon the earth.

In light of this data, we can conclude with a higher degree of confidence that it was not target language concerns that drove the translator's use of the imperfect indicative for the Aramaic

[407] On the use of γίνομαι in periphrastic constructions, see Klaas Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek: Have- and Be- Constructions* (Oxford: Oxford, 2016), 60-61.

periphrastic construction. These differences in translation show the Aramaic periphrastic displays a higher degree of grammaticalization than its Hebrew counterpart at the time of translation and this later stage of grammaticalization is projected back on to earlier stages of the language by OG and TH Daniel.

4.5 Conclusion

If the preceding discussion had begun with grammatical features alone, the argument would have been much less convincing. It would have had to assume a diachronic caesura and dialectal variation, with the end result that the conclusions regarding grammatical features would have been far less robust. Indeed, one could have even argued that they involve special pleading. However, the fact that diachronic and dialectal change is detectible in numerous lexical items allows for analysis of translation equivalents within such a framework. The translators' apparent lack of understanding that Aramaic participles in narrative function as historic presents would fall into the category of dialectal diversity, while given the strong tendency to treat both forms of the Aramaic periphrastic construction identically may be due to the increased grammaticalization of said form. As translators, who possess their own knowledge of spoken Aramaic, come into contact with an older stage of a somewhat distinct Aramaic dialect, they leave hints of change resulting from their own spoken dialects and detectable through careful analysis of translation technique with an eye toward broader trends in Aramaic dialects.

Chapter 5

Translation Technique as Forensic Linguistics: The Translator's Idiolect and Textual Criticism of OG Daniel 4-6

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, a new day dawned for Hebrew Bible textual criticism. The hunches of generations past found their near prophetic fulfillment in the alternate literary editions of many books (e.g., Samuel and Jeremiah). These rich textual finds answered many nagging questions, prompted new ones, yet left others unanswered. The tattered state of the Daniel Qumran texts exemplifies the latter category. Consequently, scholarship is left to rely on three witnesses (Chisian Codex 88, Syro-Hexapla,[408] and Papyrus 967), only one of which is pre-Hexaplaric (P967) with which to view Old Greek Daniel (OGD) 4-6's *Vorlage* like an afterimage.[409]

At the same time, readers are confronted with two editions of the book represented by the Old Greek, on the one hand, and Theodotion on the other, but only one Semitic text.[410] Many have understandably concluded the translator of OGD was privy to an alternate Semitic literary edition to which only three witnesses attest. A significant minority of research, however, has

[408] See Willem Baars, ed. *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts: Edited, Commentated upon and Compared with the Seputagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Antonio Maria Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris Abrosianus photolithographice editus curante et adnotante*, Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae 7 (Mediolani: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874).

[409] Ms88 dates between the ninth and eleventh century CE and the Syro-Hexapla date to the early 7th century but Papyrus 967 to the 2nd century (Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, "The Relationship of the Different Editions of Daniel: A History of Scholarship," *Currents in Biblical Research* 13:2 (2015): 178; see also Daniel Olariu, "Textual History of Daniel," in *The Hebrew Bible: Writings*, ed. Admin Lange and Emanuel Tov, *Textual History of the Bible: Volume 1C*, ed. Admin Lange (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 517-527; Marco Settembrini, "Daniel," in *Handbuch zur Septuaginta/Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Siegried Kreuzer, Vol. 1: Einleitung in die Septuaginta (Gütersloher: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 635-648; R. Timothy McLay, "Daniel: Old Greek and Theodotion," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James Aitken (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 544-567.

[410] Further complicating matters, P967 has a different word order than Ms88 and the Syro-Hexapla. Some have argued that P967 preserves the older ordering (Johan Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4-5," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings*, ed. A. S. van der Woude [Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993], 39-53; Olivier Munnich, "Texte massorétique et Septante dans le livre de Daniel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Shenker [Atlanta: SBL, 2003], 93-120.

pushed back against the prevailing position, even suggesting OG is useless for text critical work.[411] Mediating positions between these two polarities abound.[412] Adding another layer of complexity, Albertz and McLay have each argued on text-critical grounds that OG 4—6 constitutes "a distinct and separate translation"[413] produced by a different translator. And again, others contend this is not the case. The debate here is essentially what forensic linguistics (a sub-set of applied linguistics) call an authorship attribution problem, but with the added complexity inherent to the translation process.

Within this complex web of interconnected difficulties, the chapter attempts to chart a new way through the impasse by wedding far too often disparate disciplines of textual criticism and linguistics. In particular the concepts of *idiolect*[414] (particularly as conceptualized in corpus

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[411] E.g., Dalia Amara, "The Old Greek Version of Daniel: The Translation, the *Vorlage* and the Redaction" (PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006) [Heb.].

[412] This is characteristic of the work of Michael Segal (The Old Greek Version and Masoretic Text of Daniel 6," in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen*, ed. Siegried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016], 404-428; idem, "The Textual and Literary Development of Daniel 4," in *Dreams, Riddles and Visions: Textual, Contextual and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel* [Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, 2016], 94-131; idem, "Daniel 5 in Aramaic and Greek and the Textual History of Daniel 4-6," in *Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. Louis C. Jonker Gideon R. Kotzé, and Christl M. Maier (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 251-284; idem, "Harmonization and Rewriting of Daniel 6 from the Bible to Qumran," in *Hā-'îsh Mōshe: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Berstein*, ed. Binyamin Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George Brook (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 256-279.

[413] R. Timothy McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 4-6 and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *Vetus Testamentum* 55.3 (2005), 308. Rainer Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4-6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* (Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988).

[414] As Trevor Evans notes, "The impact of idiolect and style on aspectual choice has yet to be adequately investigated. It was not addressed in either Fanning's or Porter's treatment. Yet the implications of these features are potentially highly significant" ("Future Directions for Aspect Studies in Ancient Greek," in Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Fredrick W. Danker, ed. Bernard Taylor, John Lee, Peter Burton, and Richard Witaker [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 203; idem, "Idiolect and Aspectual Choice in Ancient Greek: Evidence from the Zenon Archive and the Greek Pentateuch," in *Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A. L. Lee*, eds. James Aitken and Trevor Evans [Leuven: Peeters, 2015], 203). Evans though does not define idiolect or place it in the context of any linguistic framework. Though related, the concept of idiolect has distinct iterations in various sub-disciplines of linguistics such as corpus linguistics, traditional grammar, and philosophy of language. Recent work uses the term, assuming the meaning and application of the concept (e.g., Juliane Eckstein, "The Idiolect Test and the *Vorlage* of Old Greek Job: A New Argument for an Old Debate," *Vetus Testamentum* 68 (2018): 197-219.

and forensic linguistics) and to a lesser degree *register* serve as the theoretical framework within which in-depth studies of verbal syntax and translation technique in select passages of OG Daniel 4-6 take place. In several examples, the translator of OGD uses what for him is unique verbal syntax in the pluses of OGD. These verbal forms and syntactical constructions are idiosyncratic when compared to established translational patterns with a known Aramaic *Vorlage*, betraying the translator's idiolect, which is generally of a higher register. Taken as a whole, this data constitutes the translator's tell: a single translator is not translating an alternate literary text, but composing and rewriting in Greek.

5.1 The Concept of Idiolect in Corpus and Forensic Linguistics

Idiolect simply put is a person's unique linguistic style. It is "[t]he speech or 'dialect' of a single individual."[415] As Malcolm Coulthard states, "every native speaker [and I would add every non-native speaker] has their own distinct and individual version of the language they speak and write…and the assumption is that this idiolect will manifest itself through distinctive and idiosyncratic choices in texts."[416] Numerous factors contribute to idiolect, including an individual's history, geography, education, language contact, reading and listening habits, family, race, ethnicity, gender, religion and politics.[417] Furthermore, like fingerprints, no two idiolects are identical.[418]

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[415] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, ed. P.H. Matthews, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 182.

[416] Malcolm Couthard, "Author Identification, Idiolect, and Linguistic Uniqueness," *Applied Linguistics* 25:4 (2004): 432.

[417] David Wright, "Idiolect," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online in Linguistics*, doi:10.1093/obo/9780199772810-0225.

[418] Couthard states the fingerprint metaphor can be misleading, "The value of the physical fingerprint is that every sample is both identical and exhaustive, that is, it contains all the necessary information for identification of an individual, whereas, by contrast, any linguistic sample, even a very large one, provides only very partial information about its creator's idiolect" ("Author Identification," 432).

Idiolectal differences between individuals are quantifiable. Detecting linguistic distinctions between individual corpuses is known as authorship attribution, which in corpus linguistics is statistically measurable, as the following anecdote illustrates. Victorian novelist Wilkie Collins was in the middle of completing the manuscript of *Blind Love*, when he realized he would not live to see its completion. Collins consequently entrusted the completion of his work to his good friend and fellow novelist Walter Besant. Equipped with 48 completed chapters and "an extensive synopsis" of the remaining chapters (49-64), Besant completed Collins's *Blind Love* in his stead.[419] The facts of this novel's production are well known. Moreover, both Collins and Besant each left extensive libraries, consisting of hundreds of thousands of words, which has allowed David Hoover to apply computational statistical methods (cluster analysis, student's t-test, and zeta analysis) to show that even though Besant was finishing Collin's novel, writing about the same characters and themes, he was unable to mimic his style. Even in their use of the fifty most frequent function words like "the," "to," "of," and "and," Collins and Besant show distinct idiolectal distributions.[420]

Computational statistics, while intriguing, is unlikely to offer much in terms of a reproducible model for small texts consisting of hundreds of words not hundreds of thousands, like OG Daniel 4-6. In forensic linguistics, though, expert witnesses may be called on to offer opinions where the amount of data available consists of a few hundred words. Threatening e-mails, text messages, and ransom and suicide notes are often brief and the comparative data limited. In such cases, qualitative approaches dominant and statistics are employed when

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[419] David L. Hoover, "Authorial Style," in *Language and Style*, ed. D. McIntyre and B. Bussee (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 252.

[420] Ibid., 252-254. The classic example of a corpus based authorship attribution problem is Frederick Mosteller and David L. Wallace, *Inference and Disputed Authorship: The Federalist* (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1964).

possible. Nevertheless, this does not mean identifying individual authors is impossible, as the infamous case of the Unabomber would suggest. From 1978 until 1995 an unknown individual sent an average of one bomb a year to universities and airlines; hence the name Unabomber.[421] For nearly two decades the Unabomber's identity remained an enigma until his manifesto *Industrial Society and its Future* was published by the *Washington Post* as a supplement. "Three months later a man contacted the FBI with the observation that the document sounded as if it had been written by his brother, whom he had not seen for some ten years."[422] In particular, the occurrence of the phrase 'cool-headed logician' sounded like his brother. The phrase was part of his idolectal repertoire. When the FBI located the Unabomber in a remote cabin in Montana, they secured a 300-word newspaper article the suspect had written with which the prosecution was able to argue successfully for common authorship based on common linguistic features.[423]

Text as short as text messages can contain important information. Such cases regularly contain documents under 200 words and often less than 100 words. In the murder trial of Stuart Campbell, uncle of Danielle Jones, "two messages were sent to his phone after she disappeared, both of which were suspected to have been sent by him rather than by Danielle."[424] The message read as follows:

> HIYA STU WOT U UP 2.IM IN SO MUCH TRUBLE AT HOME AT MOMENT EVONE HATES ME EVEN U! WOT THE HELL AV I DONE NOW? Y WONT U JUST TELL ME TEXT BACK PLEASE LUV DAN XXX[425]

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[421] Couthard, "Author Identification," 433.

[422] Ibid.

[423] Ibid.

[424] Alison Johnson and David Woolls, "Who Wrote This? The Linguist as Detective," in *Introducing Applied Linguistics: Concepts and Skills* (London: Routledge, 2009), 113.

[425] Malcolm Coulthard, Alison Johnson, and David Wright, *An Introduction to Forensic Linguistics: Language in Evidence*, 2d ed (London: Routledge, 2017), 197.

Even though the text is brief, it "displays linguistic choices which were absent or rare"[426] in Danielle's text messages,

> the use of capitals rather than sentence case, the spelling of 'what' as 'wot', the spelling in full of the morpheme 'one' in 'EVONE', rather than its substitution by the numeral '1,' the omission of the definite article in the abbreviation of the prepositional phrase 'AT MOMENT' and the use of the full form of the word 'text rather than an abbreviation in the phrase TEXT BACK.[427]

Like the forensic linguist, limited data buffets the textual critic. Furthermore, the text critic of Daniel faces an authorship attribution problem, whether the translator of OGD 4-6 is identical to or different from the translator of the rest of the book. Textual criticism with OGD must also rely on patterns of translation technique, which parallels what in forensic linguistics is known as pattern evidence—what Carole Chaski describes as relying "on the identification of patterns on suspect or question material that can be matched with patterns on comparable known material."[428] For the present study OGD 2-3 and 7 is the known material or the control group and OGD 4-6 is the disputed material.

Other recent methodological advances in forensic linguistics are germane. Alison Johnson and David Wright have shown in their study of the Enron email corpus that "one style-marker, *please*, and one speech act, politely encoded directives, can produce both stylistically and statistically revealing results, even though…please is one of the most frequent lexical items in email and…directives are one of the most important speech acts in emails."[429] In the same vein, Chaski notes the emerging consensus among forensic linguists that "syntax-based methods,

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[426] Ibid.

[427] Ibid.

[428] Carole Chaski, "Author Identification in the Forensic Setting," *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Law*, eds. Lawrence M. Solan and Peter M. Tiersma (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 490.

[429] Alison Johnson and David Wright, "Identifying Idiolect in Forensic Authorship Attribution: An N-Gram Texbite Approach," *Language and Law / Linguagem e Direito* 1:1 (2014): 62.

whether POS [part of speech] tags or more sophisticated structures, work [at identifying authorship]…better than word-based methods do."[430] A number of text-critics have examined word choice in OGD 4-6, but few if any have conducted rigorous syntactical investigations.

Finally, even though forensic linguistics has developed within the context of English Common Law and, therefore, the English language was the incubator for its methodological development, enough work has taken place in non-English settings to suggest that the methods have cross-linguistic application. Sara El Manar El Bouanani and Ismail Kassou state what is the standard knowledge in the field: "The methods used are the same of the language of the texts and especially those based on Stylometric features can be easily applied to any language."[431] In addition to English, Spanish, Greek, French, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese, Turkish, Arabic, and Tamil are among the languages where forensic linguists have applied the same principles with similar results.[432]

These insights provide necessary theoretical precedent for a study focused on translational verbal syntax in a text-critical authorship attribution case. Because the Aramaic verbal system is limited in its forms, and translation of these forms by the translators into Greek is cognitively primed due to natural translation equivalents, translation technique necessarily constrains the resulting Greek syntax. Furthermore, because the *Vorlage* in OGD 4-6 is partially unknown, the constancy of the Aramaic verbal syntax in the *Vorlage* allows for comparison with the known texts translated by a known author. That there are over 800 verbal forms in the Aramaic sections and the translated Greek texts, respectively, permits pattern evidence to be

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[430] Chaski, "Author Identification," 503.

[431] Sara El Manar and Ismail Kassou, "Authorship Analysis Studies: A Survey," *International Journal of Computer Applications* 86:12 (2014): 25-26.

[432] Ibid., 26-28 and sources there.

identified and deviations thereof to be scrutinized. In the following section, six case studies apply idiolect as conceived in forensic linguistics to verbal syntax.

5.2 Case Studies

5.2.1 Tell 1: Periphrastic Constructions

The first case study, Daniel 6:19 (1), preserves a text where the first dozen words of OG Daniel match the extant MT as if the translator were operating within the inter-linear paradigm. Immediately following, the text includes a significant plus.

1) MT Daniel 6:19

אֱדַיִן אֲזַל מַלְכָּא לְהֵיכְלֵהּ וּבָת טְוָת וְדַתְנָן לָא־הַנְעַל קֳדָמֹוהִי וְשִׁנְתֵּהּ נִדַּת עֲלֹוהִי׃

Then the king went to his palace and spent the night fasting and concubines he did not bring in before him and his sleep fled him.

OG Daniel 6:18

τότε ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ καὶ ηὐλίσθη νῆστις καὶ ἦν λυπούμενος περὶ τοῦ Δανιηλ. τότε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Δανιηλ πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος αὐτοῦ ἀπέκλεισε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ.

Then the king returned to his royal palaces and he spent the night fasting and he was sorrowful for Daniel. Then the God of Daniel, taking forethought for him, shut the mouths of the lions and they did not bother him.

Since the first part of the verse is a literal translation of a known Aramaic text, why would we expect otherwise in the plus? Michael Segal has recently argued that MT changes the older version of the story preserved in OG. MT, according to Segal, harmonizes chapter 6 with chapter 3: "By sending an angel in His place, the scribe responsible for this change has transformed God into a transcendent deity, who remains outside of direct contact with the earthly domain."[433] There is nothing wrong with Segal's logic here; it is clear, cogent, and convincing— sound

[433] Michael Segal, "Text of Daniel 6," 422. Interestingly, according to Dean Orrin Wenthe, in OGD 4 there is a "much larger role of angels…. vv. 10, 19, 21, 27, and 31 in the OG have ἄγγέλος in plus material" ("The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 1-6," [PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1991], 139. It seems unlikely that OGD would add this material in chapter 4, but then find a theological reason to remove it in chapter 6.

judgment on literary grounds. Linguistic considerations, both syntactic and lexical, however, suggest otherwise. In fact, I would like to argue here that the Greek plus shows evidence of having been composed, not translated.

Syntactically, in the plus of OG Daniel 6:18 (MT 6:19) we find the periphrastic construction ἦν + present participle. Since Aramaic periphrastic constructions abound in Daniel 2-7, we might expect an Aramaic *Vorlage* similar to הֲוָה בָּאֵשׁ (cf. MT Daniel 6:15). If, however, we take a global perspective on OG's translation technique, it becomes apparent that OG Daniel never uses periphrastic constructions to translate Aramaic periphrastic constructions (§4.4.2).[434] In both OGD, 2-3, 7, and 4-6 the imperfect indicative is the preferred choice (see table 19).

2) MT Daniel 4:10 (also 4:26; 6:1; 7:2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11 [2], 13 [2], 21)
חָזֵה הֲוֵית בְּחֶזְוֵי רֵאשִׁי עַל־מִשְׁכְּבָי וְאָלוּ עִיר וְקַדִּישׁ מִן־שְׁמַיָּא נָחֵת׃

I was looking in the visions of my head on my bed and behold a watcher and a holy one was descending from heaven.

OG Daniel 4:13
ἐθεώρουν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ μου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος ἀπεστάλη ἐν ἰσχύι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

I was looking in my sleep and behold an angel was sent in strength from heaven.

3) MT Daniel 4:26
לִקְצָת יַרְחִין תְּרֵי־עָשָׂר עַל־הֵיכַל מַלְכוּתָא דִּי בָבֶל מְהַלֵּךְ הֲוָה׃

At the end of twelve months, *he was walking* upon the palace of the kingdom of Babylon.

OG Daniel 4:26 [LXX 4:29][435]
καὶ μετὰ μῆνας δώδεκα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς πόλεως μετὰ πάσης τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ περιεπάτει καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων αὐτῆς διεπορεύετο

And after twelve months, the king *was walking* upon the walls of the city with all of his glory and upon its towers he was passing through.

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[434] The only exception to this pattern is OG's use of a Greek periphrastic construction is with the use of two Greek participles (see OGD 4:1). The Aramaic text of 4:1 is pointed in the MT as a passive participle/verbal adjective. TH always translates Aramaic periphrastic constructions that have two participles has Greek periphrastic constructions as well (see table 18)

[435] The approach here cannot answer the question whether the plus in the second half of the verse had an Aramaic *Vorlage*.

Using the Greek imperfect indicative for the Aramaic periphrastic construction is striking given broader trends in Septuagintal translation technique. Klaus Bentein observes that "as much as 82% (146/178) of the examples of [periphrastic constructions in the Septuagint] are structurally influenced" by their Hebrew parent text.[436] While in OGD, nearly 80% of periphrastic forms of the suffix conjugation of הוה + active participle are translated with imperfects. The data from the Aramaic sections runs counter to the Hebrew sections of Daniel 1-2:4a and 8:1-12:13. Although the texts only supply four tokens of the Hebrew *היה + active/t-stem participle*, there the translation technique is consistent with the rest of the Septuagint: a Greek periphrastic construction translates its Hebrew counterpart in three out of four occurrences:[437]

4) MT Daniel 10:2

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם אֲנִי דָנִיֵּאל הָיָיתִי מִתְאַבֵּל שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁבֻעִים יָמִים׃

In those days, I, Daniel, *was mourning* three weeks of days.

OGD 10:2
ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἐγὼ Δανιηλ ἤμην πενθῶν·

In those days, I, Daniel *was morning*.

The translator's choice of the lexeme πρόνοια corroborates the syntactic argument, strongly implying the translator was not translating a Semitic *Vorlage*. The term in question only occurs in Septuagint texts that are known Greek compositions—3-4 Maccabees and Wisdom. It never occurs in translated texts and the reason for this is that there is no Hebrew/Aramaic equivalent.[438]

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[436] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 248.

[437] See also 1:16 and 10:9. The only exception is Daniel 8:5 where הָיָיתִי מֵבִין ("I was thinking") is διενοούμην ("I was considering"). Cf. §4.4.2.

[438] The verbal cognate does occur in the Septuagint a total of nine times (1 Esd. 2:24; 2 Macc 14:9; 3 Macc 3:24; Wis. 6:7; 13:16; Prov. 3:4; Dan:11:37 [2x]), three of which have a Semitic *Vorlage*, but not with the same semantic range. OGD uses it twice in 11:37: καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ προνοηθῇ καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ

5) 4 Maccabees 17:22 (also 2 Macc. 4:6; 3 Macc 4:21; 5:30; 4 Macc. 9:24; 13:19; Wis 14:3; 17:2)
καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶν ἡ θεία πρόνοια τὸν Ισραηλ προκακωθέντα διέσωσεν.

And through the blood of those who were devout and the expiation of their death, *divine providence* preserved Israel, though she had been previously afflicted

Though the term cannot have an Aramaic *Vorlage*, it may constitute significant sociolinguistic evidence about the translator and his Hellenistic Jewish background. Not only does πρόνοια feature prominently in 3-4 Maccabees, but Philo also wrote a treatise *De Providentia*.[439] It is not insignificant then that when Josephus rewrites the Septuagint, he includes the term in *Ant.* X: 260, which perhaps could be read as evidence that Josephus was privy to a text with this reading.

6) *Ant.* X:260
οἱ δὲ ἐχθροὶ θεασάμενοι τὸν Δανίηλον μηδὲν πεπονθότα δεινὸν διὰ μὲν τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν τούτου πρόνοιαν οὐκ ἠξίουν αὐτὸν σώζεσθαι, πεπληρωμένους δὲ τοὺς λέοντας τροφῆς μὴ ἅψασθαι μηδὲ προσελθεῖν τῷ Δανιήλῳ νομίζοντες τοῦτο ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

Now when the enemies saw Daniel had suffered nothing terrible, they did not consider that he was saved because of the Deity and his providence, but thinking the lions had been filled with food they neither touched nor approached Daniel—this they were telling the king.

It is not always clear to what extent Josephus' *Antiquities* contributes to textual criticism. Although at first glance it would appear that, perhaps, Josephus is working with a text that contains the OG plus, the place where πρόνοια occurs in the narrative is not identical to that of OG. Thus, the most likely scenario would be that Josephus, like OG, has added πρόνοια as a

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γυναικὸς οὐ μὴ προνοηθῇ, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ ὑψωθήσεται, καὶ ὑποταγήσεται αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἰσχυρά ("and he will never *give a thought* to the gods of his fathers and he will never *give a thought* to desire a woman, because in everything he will be exalted and strong nations will be subject to him). There Greek προνέω translates Hebrew בִּין with a general meaning "to pay regard to, consider, think about" (thus Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 587), where the idea of forethought is lost apparently due to semantic bleaching. Prov. 3:4 is a free translation. 1 Esd. 2:24 ἐπέταξα…προνοηθῆναι ("I commanded…to take precaution") is likewise somewhat free, translating Aramaic זְהִירִין תֶּהֱוֹוֹ ("be warned"). Zipora Talshir calls this choice "exquisite" (*1 Esdras*, 121).

[439] Philo's work only survives as a complete document in Armenian (*Philo IX: Every Good Man is Free, On the Contemplative Life, On the Eternity of the World, Against Flaccus, Apology for the Jews, On Providence*, rev. ed., ed. Jeffrey Henderson, [Cambridge: Harvard, 1954], 447).

thematic and exegetical interpretive strategy. A broader look at Josephus' *Antiquities* corroborates this line of argument, where he also adds it when rewriting the story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego:[440]

7) *Ant.* X:214
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλεγχθέντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβληθέντες θείᾳ σώζονται προνοίᾳ καὶ παραδόξως διαφεύγουσι τὸν θάνατον.

And those who had been convicted, immediately after being thrown into the fire they are saved by divine providence and miraculously they escape death.

The lexeme and its concept is important for Hellenistic Judaism, which serves as the impetus for framing the respective texts in Josephus and OGD in terms of πρόνοια.

Couthard has shown that even "a single and relatively short string can be conclusive evidence" [441] of authorship attribution, like the Unabomber's "cool-headed-logician." Here I suggest that this relatively short string of Greek text constitutes the translator's exposed card, inadvertently revealing he is composing Greek and not translating. As Turesa Turell observes, "[T]here are authorship markers which, apart from carrying grammatical substance, may contain sociolinguistic information about the author of a particular text."[442] Such markers supply "information about an individual's age, gender occupation, education, religion, and political background. It can also provide clues to the determination of an individual's geographical origin, ethnicity or race."[443] Πρόνοια, then, is not unlike the kind of information that can prove crucial for authorship identification. Here the translator shows himself a product of Hellenistic Judaism, at home in the thought world of Philo and Josephus.

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[440] In *Antiquities* alone, Josephus uses the term 119 times.

[441] Coulthard, "Author Identification," 445.

[442] See M. Teresa Turell, "The Use of Textual, Grammatical and Sociolinguistic Evidence in Forensic Text Comparison," *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* 17:2 (2010): 214-215.

[443] Ibid., 212.

These comments have addressed two pieces in the plus (καὶ ἦν λυπούμενος περὶ τοῦ Δανιηλ. τότε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Δανιηλ πρόνοιαν ποιούμενος αὐτοῦ ἀπέκλεισε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ). The method here does not allow us to pass confident judgement on the final two clauses containing the two aorist indicatives. Nevertheless, it does negate Segal's judgement that "God himself saved Daniel as in OG, and this was then changed by the addition of an angel, who rescued Daniel from the mouths of the lions."[444] This plus is a house of cards that collapses under the weight of the above arguments.

John Collins attempts to argue for the secondary nature of OGD, but he, like Segal, does so on literary grounds. Eliminating the angelic figure, for Collins, tones down "the miraculous intervention."[445] Segal is right to question the validity of this logic, whether it really is less miraculous to send an angel. Neither divine intervention nor an angelic intermediary can deliver us from such a textual problem, only language.

Daniel 6:19 is not the only place in Daniel 6 where a periphrastic construction occurs with text-critical implications. In OGD 5:11 and 6:4 there are two competing criteria at work: 1) the use of the periphrastic construction; 2) the use of the periphrastic construction with multiple participles/adjectives (cf. 4:1 above):

8) MT Daniel 5:11
אִיתַי גְּבַר בְּמַלְכוּתָךְ דִּי רוּחַ אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין בֵּהּ וּבְיוֹמֵי אֲבוּךְ נְהִירוּ וְשָׂכְלְתָנוּ וְחָכְמָה כְּחָכְמַת־אֱלָהִין הִשְׁתְּכַחַת בֵּהּ וּמַלְכָּא נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר אֲבוּךְ רַב חַרְטֻמִּין אָשְׁפִּין כַּשְׂדָּאִין גָּזְרִין הֲקִימֵהּ אֲבוּךְ מַלְכָּא:

There is a man in your kingdom, who the spirit of the holy gods is in him and in the days of your father insight and understanding and wisdom like the wisdom of the gods was found in him. And king Nebuchadnezzar your father—your father the king—appointed him chief of the magicians, enchanters, Chaldeans, and astrologers.

[444] Segal, "Daniel 6," 421.

[445] John Collins, *Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 271.

OG Daniel 5:11
καὶ εἶπε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστήμων ἦν καὶ σοφὸς καὶ ὑπερέχων πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος,

And she said to the king, "The man *was prudent and wise and superior* to all the wise men of Babylon."

9) MT Daniel 6:4
אֱדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל דְּנָה הֲוָא מְתְנַצַּח עַל־סָרְכַיָּא וַאֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי רוּחַ יַתִּירָאָ בֵּהּ וּמַלְכָּא עָשִׁית לַהֲקָמוּתֵהּ עַל־כָּל־מַלְכוּתָא׃

Then this Daniel was excelling over the satraps and the prefects because an excellent spirit was in him and the king intended to establish him over all of the kingdom.

OG Daniel 6:4 [LXX 6:3]
ὑπὲρ πάντας ἔχων ἐξουσίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. καὶ Δανιηλ ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος πορφύραν καὶ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος ἔναντι Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως, καθότι ἦν ἔνδοξος καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ συνετός, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ εὐοδούμενος ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις τοῦ βασιλέως, αἷς ἔπρασσε. τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐβουλεύσατο καταστῆσαι τὸν Δανιηλ ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας, οὓς κατέστησε μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, καὶ σατράπας ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτά.

[Daniel] had authority over everyone in the kingdom. And Daniel *was clothed* with purple and [was] great and highly esteemed before Darius the king, just as *he was esteemed and prudent and intelligent* and a holy spirit was in him and prosperous in the administrative duties of the king, which he did. Then the king wanted to appoint Daniel over all of his kingdom and two men, who he appointed with him, and a hundred and twenty-seven satraps.

In text 8, OGD 5:11 preserves a significantly shorter text than the MT. Eugene Ulrich considers the pluses in the MT a major expansion characteristic of the MT in this chapter.[446] These include the speeches of the main characters: queen mother (vv.10-12), the kings speech (vv. 13-16), and Daniel's reply (vv. 17-24).[447] Among the many differences between MT and OGD, perhaps the most striking is the absence of the "holy gods" (אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין; cf. vv. 14) and the "wisdom of the gods" (חָכְמַת־אֱלָהִין). Ulrich calls these pluses "distinguishing story-telling embellishments or

[446] Eugene Ulrich, "The Parallel Editions of the Old Greek and Masoretic Text of Daniel 5," in *Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric Mason (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 206.

[447] Ibid.

favorite quasi-Homeric formulae, many of which are more developed in the MT."[448] Like with Segal's argument above, Ulrich is not making an uncommon text-critical argument.

In light of the above comments on 4:1, though, the use of multiple participles would at first glance appear to corroborate Ulrich's findings or at least suggest that we cannot pass judgement regarding the presence or absence of this plus's *Vorlage*. On the other hand, not all periphrastic constructions have the same function. The historical development of the periphrastic construction is essential. Bentein notes the progressive nature of 4:1 [LXX 4:4] is in keeping with the LXX and NT,[449] but a significant departure from the Classical period where it is agreed that periphrastic constructions first develop. At that period stative functions of the periphrastic construction, the initial stage of grammaticalization, abound, while progressive functions are marginal.[450] With the Hellenistic Period, the progressive function quickly becomes a major function in certain contexts. Bentein writes,

> In the period of its greatest extension, Post-Classical and Early Byzantine Greek, the construction was first used with a durative progressive function in the low and especially middle register….in the higher register, the construction was used with much less frequency until EBG, when the construction becomes used with a durative progressive function.[451]

This is significant because all of the other periphrastic constructions in OG Daniel have a stative function, besides 4:1. It would appear, then, that part of the motivation of OGD avoiding the Greek periphrastic for the Aramaic הוה + *active/t-stem participle* is motivated by a desire to avoid language associated with lower register styles, which would inevitably happen if he were

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[448] Ibid.

[449] Klaas Bentein, "The Syntax of the Periphrastic Progressive in the Septuagint and the New Testament," *Novum Testamentum* 55 (2013): 176.

[450] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 239-240,

[451] Ibid., 290.

to translate Aramaic periphrastic constructions that produce progressive functions of the Greek periphrastic. In the pluses of OGD where he is composing Greek, his idiolect is more pronounced. There he uses periphrastic forms with stative functions in keeping with higher register expectations. In OG Daniel 5:11 and 6:4 the stative function of εἶμι + present participle is indubitable from its combination with adjectives (OGD 5:11: ἐπιστήμων ἦν καὶ σοφὸς καὶ ὑπερέχων; OGD 6:4: ἦν ἔνδοξος καὶ ἐπιστήμων καὶ συνετός…καὶ εὐοδούμενος; also 6:19 above).[452]

OG Daniel 6:4 also includes the only example in either OG or TH Daniel 2-7 of a periphrastic with a perfect passive participle (see table 61). 2 Esdras contains two tokens of this construction, one translates הוה + passive participle (הֲוָא בְנֵה // ἦν ᾠκοδομημένος) and the other translates a *pe'il* SC (כְּתִיב // ἦν γεγραμμένον). Although several of these forms exist in the Aramaic sections of Daniel (see table 3-4, 29-30), 6:4 is the only occurrence in OG Daniel. Again, the construction is stative, in keeping with the translator's idiolect that comes through in this plus.

Literary considerations may support this line of reasoning for OG Daniel 6:4. In line with Ulrich's statement above, Wenthe observes, "The textual tradition of the MT, therefore, preserves an interest in pneumatology…."[453] Wenthe inaccurately states that out of these text in the MT, OG Daniel does not translate the reference to רוּחַ־אֱלָהִין קַדִּישִׁין at 4:15, but does at 5:11.[454] The Greek text has a minus in every example where this phrase occurs (4:5, 6, 15; 5:11, 14). The translator could be motivated to avoid a Jewish hero filled with the spirits of the pagan

[452] On the latter, Segal argues it is secondary based on 5:11-12 ("The Text of Daniel 6," 410).

[453] Wenthe, "Daniel 1-6," 132.

[454] Ibid.

gods. The singular occurrence at 5:12 (רוּחַ יַתִּירָה // πνεῦμα ἅγιον) would be less likely to offend Hellenistic Jewish sensibilities, justifying its inclusion. The linguistic considerations suggest that at 5:11 the translator desires to avoid certain objectionable implications, so he composes a text based loosely on material similar to MT and in doing leaves traces of his linguistic fingerprint.

A final iteration of the periphrastic construction bears similar literary features to 6:19.

10) MT Daniel 6:22-23
[22] אֱדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל עִם־מַלְכָּא מַלֵּל מַלְכָּא לְעָלְמִין חֱיִי׃ [23] אֱלָהִי שְׁלַח מַלְאֲכֵהּ וּסְגַּר פֻּם אַרְיָוָתָא וְלָא חַבָּלוּנִי כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי קֳדָמוֹהִי זָכוּ הִשְׁתְּכַחַת לִי וְאַף קָדָמָיךְ מַלְכָּא חֲבוּלָה לָא עַבְדֵת׃

Then Daniel spoke with the king, "King, "live forever! My God sent his angel and he shut the mouth of the lions and they did not harm me because innocence was found in me and also before you, O king, I did no wrong.

OG Daniel 6:22-23 [LXX 21-22]
[22]τότε Δανιηλ ἐπήκουσε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν Βασιλεῦ, ἔτι εἰμὶ ζῶν, [23]καὶ σέσωκέ με ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λεόντων, καθότι δικαιοσύνη ἐν ἐμοὶ εὑρέθη ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐναντίον δὲ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄγνοια οὔτε ἁμαρτία εὑρέθη ἐν ἐμοί·

Then Daniel heard a loud voice and said, "King, *I am still alive* and God has saved me from the lions because righteousness was found in before him, but also before you, O king, neither ignorance nor sin was found in me.

This example is the only time either THD, OGD, or 2 Esdras use a periphrastic construction with present participle. Muraoka is correct to point out that this "syntagm…grammaticalizes the value of actual or habitual present,"[455] so is not markedly different that the simple present indicative. But why does Daniel answer with a periphrastic construction given the fact that Nebuchadnezzar's question employs the present indicative (εἰ ἄρα ζῇς)? The periphrastic construction has lexical affinities with the Aramaic imperative חֱיִי, but there the connection ends. For the sake of argument, the closest *Vorlage* would likely have contained the Aramaic active

[455] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 397.

participle, since it is the only form that expresses the real present. Greek present indicatives translate Aramaic active participles whenever the real present is meant (see tables 9-10; §3.3.2).

The secondary nature of this plus likely continues through to vv. 23, which Segal, in keeping with his line of argument that the MT has eliminated OG's portrayal of God as an "imminent deity," replacing him with an intermediary.[456] He cites OG Daniel 6:21-22 [MT 22-23] as further evidence of this position, but since it can be demonstrated on empirical grounds that the translator is probably composing, the addition of the "imminent deity" here likely belongs to the hand of OGD as well.

It is striking to consider that all of the syntagms documented above occur in the pluses of OGD. This is unlikely to have been a coincidence. The most likely explanation, given the function of these constructions and the religious sensibilities of Hellenistic Judaism, is that the translator is composing, not translating. In this first tell, the translator has revealed his propensity for stative usages of Greek periphrastic forms, betraying a higher register of Greek.

5.2.2 Tell 2: The Perfect Indicative

Due to the incompatible conclusions competent scholars have reached regarding the nature of OGD, one begins to wonder whether the respective studies have been to greater or lesser degrees the product of confirmation bias.[457] The nature of the evidence in the present corpus requires that qualitative evidence feature prominently, and while as Solan points out, "stylistic analysis is not provably less reliable than quantitative methods,"[458] "the use of algorithms seems to neutralize some obvious biasing factors."[459] The use of the perfect indicative

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[456] Segal, "Text of Daniel 6," 421.

[457] See for example Lawrence Solan, "Intuition Versus Algorithm: The Case of Forensic Authorship Attribution," *Journal of Law and Policy* 21:2 (2013): 553ff.

[458] Ibid., 572.

in OGD constitutes one such quantifiable feature. Here, the distribution of the Perfect represents a quantifiable indicator of the translator's idiolect, which features prominently in the pluses.

The Greek Perfect, according to Evans, is essentially free from influence from the Hebrew parent text. The only possible type of "influence apparent is contextual."[460] Translators, then, are at liberty to use or not use this form as they see fit. The same holds for the Aramaic sections of the Bible. Thus, Theodotion (THD) only uses the Perfect a total of 4 times in chapters 2-7 and two of these are the obligatory οἶδα (see table 49).[461] OGD, on the other hand, uses the Perfect at least 25 times and as many as 29 times (see table 50). At least 60% of these Perfects (and likely more) do not have a known parent text. But the manner of their distribution and their use is not consistent across chapters. No Perfect forms occur in chapters 3 and 7. In chapter 2, 9 Perfect forms appear and all but one occur as the Perfect of ὁράω. Many of these perfects have an identifiable *Vorlage* (5 out of 9).

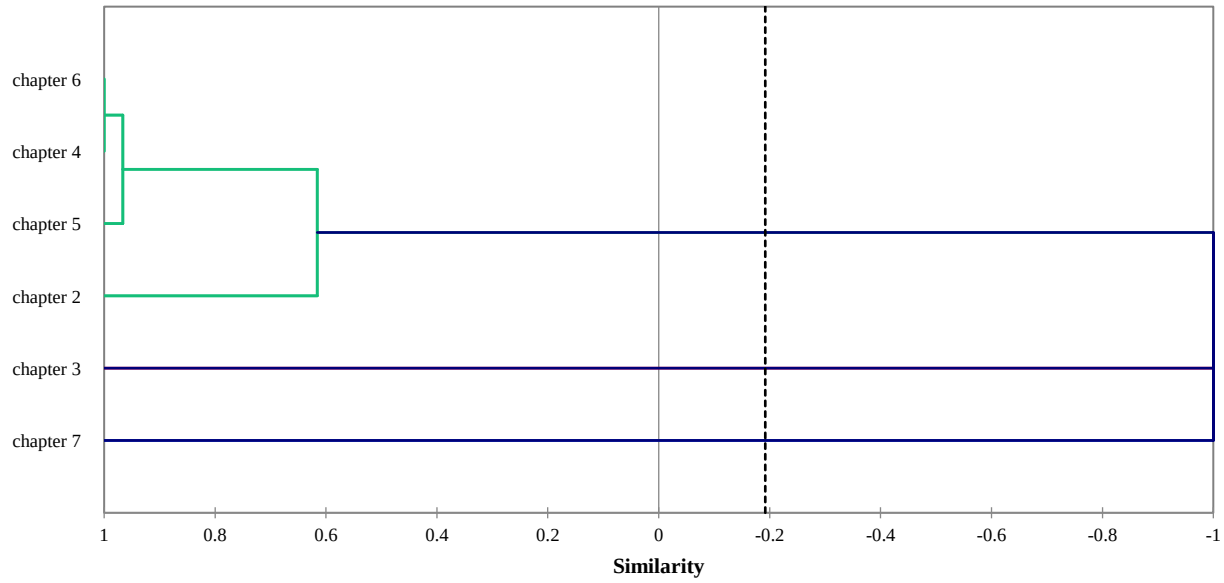
The use of the Perfect changes markedly in Daniel 4-6. Not only do the total occurrences increase (15x), there is more lexical diversity among the forms (i.e., they are not the repetition of a stereotyped formula as seen in chapter 2), totaling 11 distinct lexemes only one of which is the same as chapter 2, and their distribution is relatively consistent across the three chapters (ch. 4 [4x]; ch. 5 [8x]; ch. 6 [4x]). The following dendrogram visualizes the data just described:

[459] Ibid., 553.

[460] Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 153.

[461] For comments on the semantics and pragmatics of the perfect, see also §5.3.1.

Figure 1: Initial Agglomerative Heirarchical Clustering of Perfect Indicatives



Though crude, this dendrogram displays "the strength of the relationship" between the uses of the Perfect across chapters using the Pearson correlation coefficient.[462]

The use of the Perfect is virtually identical in chapters 4 and 6, with chapter 5 showing a very strong relationship. Chapter 2 forms a looser cluster than that of OGD 4-6, but has a strong correlation nonetheless. Chapters 3 and 7 have a negative correlation with the cluster that constitutes chapters 2 and 4-6. While not self-interpreting, this data may suggest that the translator of OGD 2 is the same as OGD 4-6. While the drop off in perfect indicatives in chapters 3 and 7 is somewhat inexplicable, it does demonstrate, compared to chapter 2, a translator may or may not use this non-obligatory form regularly (ch. 2) but then leave it behind (ch. 3, 7).

In OGD 2, the perfect of ὁράω translates SC forms and periphrastic constructions[463] of חֲזָה, yet while the same Aramaic form appears regularly elsewhere in the book (7:1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9,

[462] Starr, *Statistical Analysis*, 309. See David Eddington, *Statistics for Linguists: A Step-by-Step Guide for Novices* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 29ff.

[463] The function of these perfects is not the same either. Notice the use in subordinate clauses vs independent clauses.

11[2x], 13, 21), the translator invariably uses aorist or imperfect indicatives. No one is arguing that chapter 2 has a different translator than 3 and 7. For whatever reason, the translator allows his idiolect to feature more prominently in chapter 2 when it comes to the perfect, which is then on greater display in the pluses of OGD 4-6 where he is composing and/or rewriting. Without the constraining force of the Aramaic *Vorlage*, the translator's idiolect shines through to a greater degree, which here includes more frequent uses of the perfect.

Two further observations strengthen this argument. Firstly, Perfects in OGD 4-6 cluster in pluses. In fact, only one Perfect in OGD 4-6 has an Aramaic source text with any certainty (4:28 [LXX 4:31]).

11) MT Daniel 4:28 [LXX 4:31]
עֹוד מִלְּתָא֙ בְּפֻ֣ם מַלְכָּ֔א קָ֖ל מִן־שְׁמַיָּ֣א נָפֵ֑ל לָךְ֙ אָמְרִ֣ין נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּ֔ר מַלְכָּ֖א עִדָּ֥ת מִנָּֽךְ׃

> While the word was still in the mouth of the king, a voice fell from heaven, "To you, it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, your kingdom *has departed* from you.

> OG Daniel 4:31 [MT 4:28]
> [31]καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείας τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἤκουσε Σοὶ λέγεται, Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῦ, ἡ βασιλεία Βαβυλῶνος ἀφῄρηταί σου καὶ ἑτέρῳ δίδοται,
>
> And upon the end of his word, he heard a voice from heaven, "To you it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, the kingdom of Babylon *has been taken away* from you and is given to another."

Even in this example, the perfect here is not exactly "literal" for lack of a better word. The translator has changed the verbal diathesis. The plus at the end (καὶ ἑτέρῳ δίδοται) corroborates this suggestion (see §4.3.5); even though the perfect has an Aramaic equivalent, the correlation with the plus suggest composition.

In all of the other 15 cases, the Perfects occur in pluses or their ostensible relationship with the extant Aramaic text is specious:

12) MT Daniel 5:26-28
[26]דְּנָה פְּשַׁר־מִלְּתָא מְנֵא מְנָה־אֱלָהָא מַלְכוּתָךְ וְהַשְׁלְמַהּ׃ [27] תְּקֵל תְּקִילְתָּה בְּמֹאזְנַיָּא וְהִשְׁתְּכַחְתְּ חַסִּיר׃ [28] פְּרֵס
פְּרִיסַת מַלְכוּתָךְ וְיהִיבַת לְמָדַי וּפָרָס׃

[26] This is the interpretation of the matter: *mene*, God has measured your kingdom had brought it to an end; [27]*tekel*, you have been weighed in the scales and you have been found lacking; [28]*peres*, your kingdom has been divided and has been given to the Medes and the Persians

OG Daniel 5:26 [MT 5:26-28]
τοῦτο τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς· ἠρίθμηται ὁ χρόνος σου τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπολήγει ἡ βασιλεία σου, συντέτμηται καὶ συντετέλεσται ἡ βασιλεία σου, τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις δίδοται.

This is the interpretation of the writing: the time of your kingdom *has been numbered* and your kingdom is coming to an end. Your kingdom *has been cut off* and it *has been brought to an end*. It is given to the Medes and the Persians.

Tov and Pollack identify מְנָה as the *Vorlage* for ἠρίθμηται,[464] but the change in the verbal diathesis makes this conclusion quesstionable. The plus ὁ χρόνος alters the syntax so that מַלְכוּתָךְ in Greek enters a genitive relationship and is no longer the subject. Wenthe argues for the term's originality, but only because "The OG use of χρόνος outside of chapters 4 and 5 always has a *Vorlage*" (2:16, 44; 7:12) even though it is a plus multiple times inside of chapters 4-5 (4:25, 32, 34).[465] For the next two perfect indicatives (συντέτμηται καὶ συντετέλεσται), Tov and Polack assign the latter to Aramaic הַשְׁלְמַהּ, while the former has no extant equivalent. Ulrich is probably correct to treat both as pluses.[466] This pair of perfects are bookended by two pluses containing present indicatives ἀπολήγει ἡ βασιλεία σου and then τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις δίδοται, which is perhaps translating וְיהִיבַת לְמָדַי וּפָרָס. The OG plus in 5:30 (ἐδόθη τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις) would seem more fitting (cf. §4.3.5). For Wenthe, "It is noteworthy that both "Tekel"

[464] Emanuel Tov and Frank Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text* (Jerusalem, 2009).

[465] Wenthe, "Daniel 1-6," 193-194.

[466] Ulrich, "Daniel 5," 217.

and “Peres”, along with their expositions, are in plus material of the MT. It seems improbable that so central a feature of the text would be omitted by the OG while others are faithfully preserved.”[467] This kind of argumentation so frequent in textual criticism, does not hold water. The number of differences between the MT and OGD are significant enough that back translation from OGD would produce a text markedly dissimilar to MT. If the use of the perfect here constitutes a linguistic tell, then a more cogent explanation is that these linguistic features evince OG’s idiolect, not his *Vorlage*.

Continuing this approach sheds light on other problematic pluses in chapter 5.

13) MT Daniel 5:17
בֱּאדַיִן עָנֵה דָנִיֵּאל וְאָמַר קֳדָם מַלְכָּא מַתְנָתָךְ לָךְ לֶהֱוֹיָן וּנְבָזְבִיְתָךְ לְאָחֳרָן הַב בְּרַם כְּתָבָא אֶקְרֵא לְמַלְכָּא וּפִשְׁרָא אֱהוֹדְעִנֵּהּ׃

Then Daniel answered and said before the king, “May your gifts be for another and give your rewards to another. Nevertheless, I will read the writing to the king and the interpretation I will declare.”

OG Daniel 5:17
τότε Δανιηλ ἔστη κατέναντι τῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀνέγνω καὶ οὕτως ἀπεκρίθη τῷ βασιλεῖ Αὕτη ἡ γραφή Ἠρίθμηται, κατελογίσθη, ἐξῆρται· καὶ ἔστη ἡ γράψασα χείρ. καὶ αὕτη ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτῶν.

Then Daniel stood before the writing and read and thus he answered to the king,” this is the writing. *It has been numbered*. It was considered. *It has been removed.* And the hand that wrote stood still. And this is their interpretation.

The relationship between these two texts is bewildering. The verb ἠρίθμηται serves as a common denominator between both texts, but there the correspondences end. Many consider it secondary, which confirms the present theory that perfect forms are indicative of composition.[468] To complicate matters further, chapter 5 begins with a major plus, summarizing the contents of the subsequent narrative, whose contents end with three perfect indicatives interpreting the

[467] Wenthe, “Daniel 1-6,” 194.

[468] Ulrich, “Daniel 5,” 216. Wenthe wants to eliminate the plus in 5:17 as well as the plus in MT 5:18

handwriting on the wall: Μανη φαρες θεκελ. ἔστι δὲ ἡ ἑρμηνεία αὐτῶν· μανη ἠρίθμηται, φαρες ἐξῆρται, θεκελ ἔσταται ("*Mane, Pares, Thekel*. Now this is their interpretation: *Mane*: it is numbered; *Pares*: it has been taken away; *Thekel*: it has been established").

Dalia Amara has attempted to reconstruct the Aramaic *Vorlage* for an older third version of the story. The translation is relatively straightforward, but she does not attempt to reconstruct the perfect forms, in part, because ἐξῆρται, according to her, "איננו יכול להיחשב תרגום של פרס."[469] Whether the summary at the beginning of the chapter is the result of a different hand than the rest of OGD lies beyond the scope of this study. Segal thinks a later scribe composed it based on elements shared in OGD and MT/THD.[470] If it were the same hand as the rest of chapter 5, then it would provide further evidence of idiolect tokens preserved in composed pluses. Either way, it is a later addition.

Chapter 6 preserves four perfect indicatives, only one of which has any resemblance with the extant Aramaic text:

14) MT Daniel 6:21
וּכְמִקְרְבֵהּ לְגֻבָּא לְדָנִיֵּאל בְּקָל עֲצִיב זְעֵק עָנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר לְדָנִיֵּאל ׀ עַבֶד אֱלָהָא חַיָּא אֱלָהָךְ דִּי אַנְתְּה פָּלַח־
לֵהּ בְּתְדִירָא הַיְכֵל לְשֵׁיזָבוּתָךְ מִן־אַרְיָוָתָא׃

> And when he approached the pit, he called to Daniel in a pained voice. The king answered and said, "Daniel, servant of the living God, your God whom you serve continually, *was he able to save* you from the lions?"

OG Daniel 6:21
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλεσε τὸν Δανιηλ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ λέγων Ὦ Δανιηλ, εἰ ἄρα ζῇς, καὶ ὁ θεός σου, ᾧ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς, σέσωκέ σε ἀπὸ τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐκ ἠχρείωκάν σε;

> Then the king called Daniel with a loud voice with weeping, saying, "O Daniel, are you alive? And the God whom you serve continually, *has he saved* you from the lions and *have they not harmed* you?"

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[469] Dalia Amara, "The Third Version of the Story of Belshazzar's Banquet (Daniel 5)," *Textus* 23 (2007): 19. [Heb.]

[470] Segal, "Daniel 5," 273-274.

The first perfect shares lexical affinities with Aramaic הַיְכֵל לְשֵׁיזָבוּתָךְ, but the second has no Aramaic counterpart. The plus and the perfect merge once more. Because the use of the perfect is free of grammatical influence from Aramaic, it is not necessary to posit an alternate Semitic text. The second perfect is likely a pure embellishment and Daniel's use of σέσωκέ (vv. 23; see [10] above) is dependent on Darius' question.[471]

A significant plus is home to our final example from OG Daniel 6. The Greek text begins, mirroring a text that appears to have been proto-Masoretic:

15) MT Daniel 6:13
בֵּאדַיִן קָרִיבוּ וְאָמְרִין קֳדָם־מַלְכָּא עַל־אֱסָר מַלְכָּא הֲלָא אֱסָר רְשַׁמְתְּ דִּי־יְבָעֵה מִן־כָּל־אֱלָהּ וֶאֱנָשׁ עַד־
יוֹמִין תְּלָתִין לָהֵוֹ מִנָּךְ מַלְכָּא יִתְרְמֵא לְגֻוב אַרְיָוָתָא עָנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר יַצִּיבָא מִלְּתָא כְּדָת־מָדַי וּפָרַס דִּי־לָא תָעְדֵּא׃

Then they approached and they spoke before the king about the interdiction, "King, did you not inscribe an interdiction that any man who should make a request from any god or many until thirty days except from you, O king, will be thrown into the pit of lions?"

OG Daniel 6:13 [LXX 6:12]
τότε οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐνέτυχον τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ εἶπαν Δαρεῖε βασιλεῦ, οὐχ ὁρισμὸν ὡρίσω ἵνα πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μὴ εὔξηται εὐχὴν μηδὲ ἀξιώσῃ ἀξίωμα παρὰ παντὸς θεοῦ ἕως ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἀλλὰ παρὰ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ· εἰ δὲ μή, ῥιφήσεται εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων; ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἀκριβὴς ὁ λόγος, καὶ μενεῖ ὁ ὁρισμός. καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ Ὁρκίζομέν σε τοῖς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν δόγμασιν, ἵνα μὴ ἀλλοιώσῃς τὸ πρόσταγμα μηδὲ θαυμάσῃς πρόσωπον καὶ ἵνα μὴ ἐλαττώσῃς τι τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ κολάσῃς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὃς οὐκ ἐνέμεινε τῷ ὁρισμῷ τούτῳ. καὶ εἶπεν Οὕτως ποιήσω καθὼς λέγετε, καὶ <u>ἕστηκέ</u> μοι τοῦτο.

Then these men obtained an audience with the king and said, "King Darius, did you not issue a decree in order that no man should pray a prayer nor make a request from any god until thirty days, but from you, O king, but if not, he will be thrown into the den of lions? Then the king answered and said to them, "The word is accurate and the decree will remain." And they said to him, "we adjure you by the decrees of the Medes and the Persians that you not alter the command neither show favoritism and that you not lessen anything of those things that have been said and you penalize the man who would not abide by this decree." And he said, "Thus I will do just as you say and this *has become established* for me."

[471] Contra Segal, "Text of Daniel 6," 420-422.

A number of linguistic features catch the eye in this plus. Lexically, for instance, the use of κολάζω "to penalize" invites attention. The term only occurs in composed Greek texts Maccabees (1 Macc 7:7; 2 Macc 6:14; 3 Macc 3:26; 7:3, 14; 4 Macc 2:12; 8:6; 18:5), Wisdom (3:4; 11:5, 8, 16; 12:14, 15, 27; 14:10; 16:1, 9; 18:11, 22), and once in 1 Esdras 8:24, where ἐπιμελῶς κολασθήσονται ("they will be punished carefully") is a free translation of אָסְפַּרְנָא דִּיתָּה לֶהֱוֵא מִתְעֲבֵד ("carefully judgement will be done").[472] The performative use of ὁρκίζομέν ("we adjure you") is striking (cf. §4.3.5). The phrase used for showing partiality (μηδὲ θαυμάσῃς πρόσωπον) is not rare in the LXX (10x: Lev. 19:15; Deut. 10:17; 18:50 etc.), translating a version of that found in Leviticus 19:15 לֹא־תִשָּׂא פְנֵי־דָל ("you shall not lift the face of the poor" [i.e., show partiality]), but the idiom manifests only here in the Aramaic sections of Daniel and Ezra.[473] Finally, it is telling as well that readers of OGD only encounter the perfect indicative of ἵστημι in the preface to Daniel 5.[474]

Taking a step back to look at the material as a composite whole, two comments are in order. The first is that the consistent and pervasive use of the perfect indicative in the pluses of OGD 4-6 are marked in relationship to the non-plus material in both OG as well as TH Daniel.[475]

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[472] An isomorphic rendering of the Aramaic is found in 2 Esdras 7:26: ἑτοίμως, τὸ κρίμα ἔσται γιγνόμενον ("readily the judgment will be one that issues from it" [NETS]).

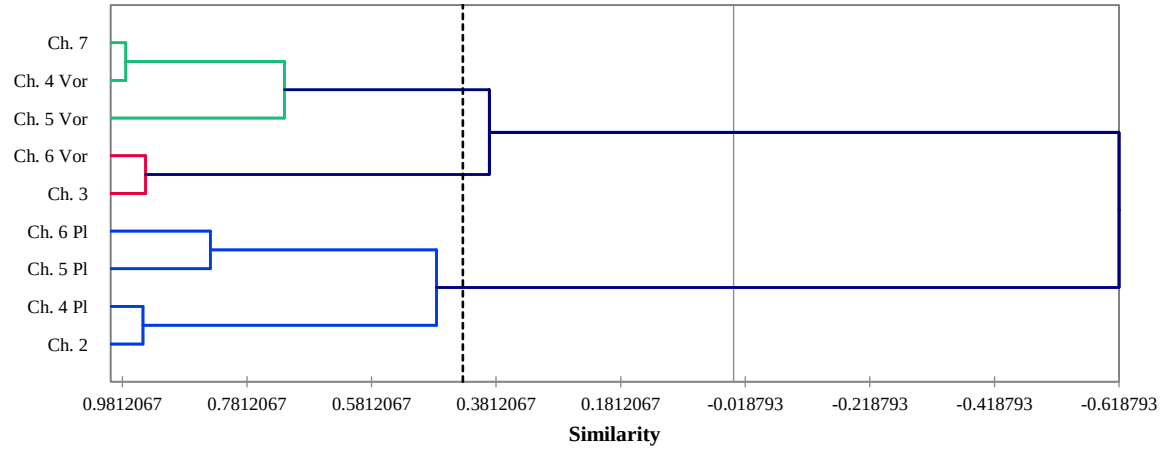
[473] The ingredients for the idiom are attested at this stage in the language (the lexemes נְשָׂא and אֲנַף), but it is not until later Syriac when a slightly different iteration occurs (ܣܦܩ ܟܐܦ ܢܣܒ). Thanks to David Taylor for bringing this to my attention.

[474] Segal suggests OGD 6:12a "was added in OG in an attempt to harmonize that version to the contours of the MT story, perhaps by a scribe who had access to this literary edition through the medium of Theodotion's revision of OG towards MT" ("Rewriting of Daniel 6," 274). Segal occasionally appeal to lexical items to support his case, but his argument is essentially a historical reconstruction. The consistent use of verbal syntax throughout the pluses suggests OGD 6:12a is a composed, but not a different hand than the other pluses.

[475] For the importance of weighting linguistic tokens and not just counting, see Johnson and Wright, "Identifying Idiolect," 49

In the pluses, this verbal syntax groups together and correlates with other material of a composed nature. We can now return to our initial dendrogram (figure 1).

Figure 2: Revised Agglomerative Hierarchical Clustering with Aorist and Imperfect Data



This dendrogram takes into account the number of perfects and their lexical variation like figure one above, but also the number of aorist and imperfect indicatives. In light of the fact that perfects cluster in pluses, we further divide chapters 3-6 into two sections each: verbal forms with a known *Vorlage* (Vor) and those in pluses (Pl).[476] Once the data is standardized with the number of aorist indicatives serving as the common denominator,[477] two distinct groups emerge: Group 1) Ch. 7, Ch. 4 Vor, Ch. 5 Vor, Ch. 6 Vor, Ch. 3; Group 2) Ch. 6 Pl, Ch. 5 Pl, Ch. 4 Pl, Ch. 2. This data shows that verbal syntax with a known *Vorlage* in chapters 3-6 is closely related to that of chapters 3 and 7, while the plus material in chapters 4-6 aligns with chapter 2. The most likely explanation for these groupings is not a separate author for chapters 4-6, but that an individual translator bears the responsibility for both sections. The differences in verbal syntax result from the lack of restraining force of the Aramaic *Vorlage*.

[476] The data may be found in the tables of Chapter 1.

[477] As Chaski describes, "frequency counts" need to be "normalized TO text length so that texts of different lengths can be directly compared" ("Author Identification," 492).

The function of these perfects also warrants comment. Not only are there perfect forms, but the lack of evidence for them functioning as aorist equivalents is indicative of higher register Greek. Although the precise moment when this merge begins is a subject of continued debate (§5.3.1), the use of the perfect for the aorist is characteristic of lower register texts.[478] This final observation comports with those regarding the use of Greek periphrastic material in the previous section. This is further evidence of the translator's idiolect, generally of a higher register, manifesting itself in the pluses of OG Daniel.

5.2.3 Tell 3: Adverbial Participles

One characteristic feature of Greek verbal syntax in the latest strata of the Septuagint (such as Chronicles) is the translator's reticence about using circumstantial participles in comparison with the Pentateuch and Samuel Kings.[479] In this regard, THD stands firmly with Chronicles and OGD is closer the earlier translated books. Consequently, only 2% of SC forms are translated by circumstantial participles in THD, but in OGD they occur 3.5x as frequently.[480] Even though this translational pattern is a slight deviation from the source text, the resulting syntax is simple and predictable, occurring regularly in chapters 2-3 and 7, in chapters 4-6 and in the pluses of OGD. Notice the pattern of a single adverbial participle preceding an aorist indicative:

16) MT Daniel 2:17

אֱדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל לְבַיְתֵהּ אֲזַל וְלַחֲנַנְיָה מִישָׁאֵל וַעֲזַרְיָה חַבְרָוהִי מִלְּתָא הוֹדַע׃ [17]

Then Daniel departed to his house and made know the matter to his companions Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

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[478] See Klaas Bentein, "The Greek of the Fathers," in *The Wiley Blackwell Companion to Patristics*, ed. Ken Parry (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 464ff.

[479] Good, *Septuagint's Translation*, 246. See also §5.4.1 and 5.4.2.

[480] Of course, there are a number of circumstantial participles in OGD 4-6 that have no extant *Vorlage*. See also §5.4.1.

OG Daniel 2:17 (also vv. 19, 24, 26, 27, 29, etc.)
[17] τότε ἀπελθὼν Δανιηλ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ τῷ Ανανια καὶ Μισαηλ καὶ Αζαρια τοῖς συνεταίροις ὑπέδειξε πάντα·

Then Daniel, *after departing* into his house, made known everything to Ananiah, Mishael, and Azariah.

17) MT Daniel 6:11 (cf. §5.4.1)
וְדָנִיֵּאל כְּדִי יְדַע דִּי־רְשִׁים כְּתָבָא עַל לְבַיְתֵהּ וְכַוִּין פְּתִיחָן לֵהּ בְּעִלִּיְתֵהּ נֶגֶד יְרוּשְׁלֶם וְזִמְנִין תְּלָתָה בְיוֹמָא הוּא בָּרֵךְ עַל־בִּרְכּוֹהִי וּמְצַלֵּא וּמוֹדֵא קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי־הֲוָא עָבֵד מִן־קַדְמַת דְּנָה׃

And Daniel *when he realized* that the document had been inscribed, he went up to his house and his windows were opened in his roof chamber facing Jerusalem and three times a day he would kneel upon his knees and pray and express gratitude before his God just has he would do before this.

18) OG Daniel 6:11
ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ Δανιηλ τὸν ὁρισμόν, ὃν ἔστησε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, θυρίδας ἤνοιξεν ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ αὐτοῦ κατέναντι Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, καθὼς ἐποίει ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ἐδεῖτο.

Now *when Daniel knew* the decree, which he had established against him, he opened his windows in his upper room before Jerusalem and he would fall upon his face three times a day, just as he would do previously and he would pray.

19) OG Daniel 4:15 [LXX 4:18]
καὶ ἀναστὰς τὸ πρωὶ ἐκ τῆς κοίτης μου ἐκάλεσα τὸν Δανιηλ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν κρινόντων τὰ ἐνύπνια καὶ διηγησάμην αὐτῷ τὸ ἐνύπνιον, καὶ ὑπέδειξέ μοι πᾶσαν τὴν σύγκρισιν αὐτοῦ.

And *after rising* in the morning from my bed, I called Daniel, leader of the wise men and ruler of those who judge dreams and I explained to him the dream and he showed me all of its interpretation.

In light of this minority translational pattern, the following verbal syntax is striking

20) MT Daniel 4:16
[16] אֱדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל דִּי־שְׁמֵהּ בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר אֶשְׁתּוֹמַם כְּשָׁעָה חֲדָה וְרַעְיֹנֹהִי יְבַהֲלֻנֵּהּ עָנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר חֶלְמָא וּפִשְׁרָא אַל־יְבַהֲלָךְ עָנֵה בֵלְטְשַׁאצַּר וְאָמַר מָרִאי חֶלְמָא לְשָׂנְאָיךְ וּפִשְׁרֵהּ לְעָרָיךְ׃

Then Daniel, whose name is Belshazzar, was appalled for a brief time and his thoughts would frighten him. The king answered and said, “Belshazzar, let not the dream and its interpretation frighten you.” Belshazzar answered and said, “My Lord, let the dream be for those who hate you and its interpretation for your enemies.”

> OG Daniel 4:16 [LXX 4:19]
> μεγάλως δὲ ἐθαύμασεν ὁ Δανιηλ, καὶ ὑπόνοια κατέσπευδεν αὐτόν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς τρόμου λαβόντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἀλλοιωθείσης τῆς ὁράσεως αὐτοῦ κινήσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ὥραν μίαν ἀποθαυμάσας ἀπεκρίθη μοι φωνῇ πραείᾳ Βασιλεῦ, τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο τοῖς μισοῦσί σε καὶ ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου ἐπέλθοι.
>
> Now, Daniel *marveled* greatly and suspicions *unsettled* him and *being afraid*, trembling *taking hold* of him and his appearance *being changed*, *shaking* his head for an hour, *marveling*, he answered me in a gentle voice, "King, may this dream come upon those who hate you and its interpretation upon your enemies."

The highlighted text represents verbal pluses, including five consecutive adverbial participles. While adverbial, particularly circumstantial participles are not uncommon, as documented above, this pattern is unprecedented verbal syntax in OGD where two genitive absolutes[481] occur side by side bookended with nominative participles. The pattern stands out even more when one considers that 11 out of the previous 13 verbs are aorist indicatives (ἐξεκόπη…ἐδόθησαν… εἰλκύσθη…ἐρρίφη…παρεδόθη…ἐδέθη…ἐθαύμασα…ἀπέστη…ἐκάλεσα…διηγησάμην… ὑπέδειξε) with one imperfect (ἤσθιε) indicative and a single adverbial participle (ἀναστὰς).

The present argument becomes more robust upon the realization that two of the indicative forms in OGD 4:16 are the result of the scribal tendency to revise OGD toward the proto-MT and TH. Papyrus 967 reads μεγάλως δὲ θαυμάσας ὁ Δανιηλ, καὶ ὑπόνοια κατασπευθείς αὐτόν, adding two more participles in place of the aorist indicatives. The two post-Hexaplaric witnesses (Ms88 and the Syro-Hexapla) are similar but not identical to TH (TH: ἀπηνεώθη... συνετάρασσον). These manuscripts then were revised toward the emerging proto-MT in terms of verbal syntax.

Although this syntax is odd in OGD, it mirrors texts of a higher literary register such as Josephus:

[481] The genitive absolute occurs sporadically in OGD. See §6.4.2.

21) *Ant*. X: 258:
καὶ βληθέντος εἰς τὸν λάκκον σφραγίσας τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ στομίου κείμενον ἀντὶ θύρας λίθον ἀνεχώρησε.

And when he [Daniel] was thrown into the den he sealed the stone lying upon the opening before the door, he departed

22) *Ant*. X: 211
Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀκηκοὼς ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ Δανιήλου φύσιν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ᾧ τρόπῳ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτῳ τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπάζετο.

Now king Nebuchadnezzar, *having heard* these things and *coming to an understanding* of the dream, marveled at the nature of Daniel and *falling* on his face, in the manner in which they pay homage to God, in this way he was hailing Daniel.

23) *Ant*. X:198
δεηθεὶς δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθεῖν, δι᾽ ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας εἴη προστεταχὼς ἀναιρεθῆναι τοὺς σοφοὺς καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ μάγους, καὶ μαθὼν τὸ περὶ τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ ὅτι κελευσθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ἐπιλελησμένῳ φήσαντες μὴ δύνασθαι παρώξυναν αὐτόν, παρεκάλεσε τὸν Ἀριόχην εἰσελθόντα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μίαν αἰτήσασθαι νύκτα τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἐπισχεῖν: ἐλπίζειν γὰρ δι᾽ αὐτῆς δεηθεὶς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώσεσθαι τὸ ἐνύπνιον.

Now, *he requested* from him to learn the reason why the king might have commanded to kill the wise men and Chaldeans and magi, and *when he learned learned* about the dream and when *they had been commanded* by the king to make known to him what had been forgotten, though they *said* they were not able, they provoked him; he called Arioch who entered to the king to ask for one night for the magi in order to thwart the execution; for they hoped that while *praying* to God, it would be made known.

Although the OG Daniel's diction in this example does not quite reach the level of Josephus, particularly in the final example, the verbal syntax in the plus of 4:19 [MT 4:16] is closer to Josephus than it is to the rest of OG Daniel. Bentein observes that higher register texts boast "the long, complex sentences, and the frequent employment of the participle (in all its uses)."[482] The plus at OGD 4:19 [MT 4:16] has no theological significance, but by supplying another example of higher register verbal syntax occurring in the pluses it bolsters the previous two case studies.

[482] Bentein, "Greek," 465.

5.2.4 Tell 4: The Articular Absolute Infinitive

A final example of non-standard verbal syntax converges with literary considerations, illustrating the explanatory power of the present approach.

24) MT Daniel 4:19

אַנְתְּה הוּא מַלְכָּא דִּי רְבַית וּתְקֻפְתְּ וּרְבוּתָךְ רְבָתְ וּמְטָת לִשְׁמַיָּא וְשָׁלְטָנָךְ לְסוֹף אַרְעָא

> It is you, O King, who have become great and you have grown strong and your greatness has increased and reached to the heavens and your dominion to the end of the earth.

> OG Daniel 4:19 [LXX 4:22]
> τὸ δὲ ἀνυψωθῆναι τὸ δένδρον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἐγγίσαι τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὸ κύτος αὐτοῦ ἅψασθαι τῶν νεφελῶν· σύ, βασιλεῦ, ὑψώθης ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ὄντας ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς, ὑψώθη σου ἡ καρδία ὑπερηφανίᾳ καὶ ἰσχύι τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἅγιον καὶ τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ· τὰ ἔργα σου ὤφθη, καθότι ἐξερήμωσας τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος ἐπὶ ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἡγιασμένου.
>
> Now that tree which was lifted up and reach heaven and its trunk, which touched the clouds—you, O King, were exalted above all the men who are upon the face of the earth. Your heart was exalted in arrogance and strength against the holy one and his angels. Your works were seen, how you left destitute the house of the living God on account of the sins of the sanctified people.

The text of OG Daniel has only three words that correspond with the Aramaic text (σύ, βασιλεῦ, ὑψώθης // אַנְתְּה הוּא מַלְכָּא דִּי רְבַית). The first half of the verse is closest to the Aramaic text of 4:17 (אִילָנָא דִּי חֲזַיְתָ דִּי רְבָה וּתְקֶף וְרוּמֵהּ יְמָטֵא לִשְׁמַיָּא וַחֲזוֹתֵהּ לְכָל־אַרְעָא). Segal, in contrast to his analysis of the first text above, argues that this plus in the OG is a theologically and ideologically motivated secondary addition.[483] The plus establishes

> [A] parallel between Nebuchadnezzar and Antiochus, the main antagonist in the second half of the book. The formulation of the verse, and in particular the accusation of his heart being exalted against the holy one and his angels and his desecration of the temple, is based upon the language describing the Seleucid king, from the later, apocalyptic section of Daniel. It is therefore undoubtedly secondary in the development of Dan[iel] 4….[484]

[483] Michael Segal, "Daniel 5 in Aramaic and Greek," 280.

[484] Ibid.

Unlike the instance above, the translator's use of unique verbal syntax confirms the secondary nature of the plus. While aorist infinitives are ubiquitous in OG Daniel (see table 81), this particular use is not to be found.[485] The material mirrors verse 17 in content, but the syntax suggests the Greek translator is composing Greek whose material has thematic parallels elsewhere. Muraoka notes, "The articular inf. with τό nom. or acc. appears to be a mark of a higher register. In Ptolemaic papyri the syntagm is confined to the accomplished style of officials."[486] Like the adverbial participle, this use of the infinitive is an exceptional piece of linguistic evidence that says more about the translator and his interpretive milieu than his *Vorlage*.

5.2.5 Tell 5: Performatives

Performative utterances do more than describe, they accomplish, or as J.L Austin puts it, "to utter the sentence (in, of course, the appropriate circumstances) is not to *describe* my doing of what I should be said in so uttering to be doing or to state that I am doing it: it is to do it."[487] Examples of English performatives include the following:

i. I name this ship 'Liberte´.'
ii. I apologize.
iii. I welcome you.
iv. I forgive you.
v. I pronounce you man and wife.
vi. I advise you to do it.[488]

[485] It is also of interest that OG's use of καθότι only occurs at (4:22; 6:4, 23—place that have no Aramaic Vorlage and likely consist of composed Greek).

[486] T. Muraoka, *Syntax*, 333; see also Bentein, "Greek," 466.

[487] J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Cambridge: Harvard 1962), 6.

[488] K Allan, "Performative Clauses," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., ed. E. K. Brown, E. K and Anne Anderson (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 284.

The central necessary condition for performatives is their lexical properties,[489] but the only sufficient condition for performatives is the use of "hereby,"[490] as in *I hereby sentence you to two years in prison*.[491] A final characteristic of performatives is that generally they "occur in sentences with a first-person singular subject of a predicate (verb) in the simple present tense, indicative mood, and active voice."[492] There are exceptions to these generalizations, though; the verb can be passive and first or second person is permissible.

In Aramaic scholarship, there is some debate over the precise nature of performatives, namely what forms express this function in the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel. It is agreed that in Achaemenid Aramaic, the SC characteristically expresses performatives,[493] but in Syriac the

[489] A list of words commonly used as performative include, but is hardly limited to "*abjure, abolish, accept, acknowledge, acquit, admonish, affirm, agree to, announce, answer, ascribe, ask, assent, assert, assess, assume, baptize, beg, bet, bid, call upon, caution, charge, christen, claim, classify, command, commiserate, compliment, concur, congratulate, conjecture, convict, counsel, declare, declare out, delegate, demand, demur, deny, describe, diagnose, disagree, dispute, donate, dub, excuse, exempt, fire, forbid, give notice, grant, guarantee, guess, hire, hypothesize, identify, implore, inform, instruct, license, notify, offer, order, pardon, plead, pray, predict, prohibit, proscribe, query, question, rank, recommend, refuse, reject, renounce, report, require, rescind, resign, sanction, say, state, submit, suggest, summon, suppose, swear, tell, testify, thank, urge, volunteer, vouch for, withdraw*" (Ibid.).

[490] Allan, "Performative," 285.

[491] L. Degand, "Speech Acts and Grammar," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., ed. E. K. Brown, E. K and Anne Anderson (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 674. "[I]n writing at least, the word 'hereby' is often and perhaps can always be inserted; this serves to indicate that the utterance (in writing) of the sentence is, as it is said, the instrument effecting the act of warning, authorizing, &c. 'Hereby' is a useful criterion that the utterance is performative" (Austin, *Things with Words*, 57). Recently, Siam Bhayro has identified two uses of בזך ("by this") and בדין ("by this" *plene* spelling) with active participle for the expression of the performative. The occurrence of this feature in early texts "the Wadi Muraba'at divorce document and the other from an Elephantine letter" suggests that in this regard the Aramaic of Daniel does not show diachronic development ("On Performatives in Aramaic Documents," *Aramaic Studies* 11 (2013): 47–52). Muraoka documents many examples of the SC functioning as a performative, especially in documents geographically outside of Qumran proper (*Qumran Aramaic*, 168-169).

[492] Y Huang, "Speech Acts," in *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., ed. E. K. Brown, E. K and Anne Anderson (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 657.

[493] Gezella, *Tempus*, 207; Rogland, "Remarks," 423-424.

participle overtakes this function, a natural development since the participle eventually becomes something of a present tense (§3.3).[494] Between these two points exists the biblical material.

Part of the disagreement grows from imprecise definitions of performatives, coupled with an apparent desire to document Aramaic examples. Certain nuance is required to distinguish performatives from their near congeners:

> Closely related to the performative present is the use of the present indicative to describe acts of speaking narrowly focused on the present moment (e.g. 'I tell you now…'). *These are not strict performatives* (since the 'act' is performed in their brief utterance which follows the introductory words), but the temporal reason for the use is the same, since the emphasis on the present time compresses the viewpoint of the present and thus reduces any possible durative or continuing sense. These presents denote not a durative, customary, incomplete, or futuristic 'saying', but speech done *almost* identically with the time of referring to it."[495]

These two related categories must not be confused, as Aramaists have often done in Daniel:

25) MT Daniel 3:4 (also 4:28)

וְכָרוֹזָא קָרָא בְחַיִל לְכָון אָמְרִין עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָׁנַיָּא׃

> And the herald calls loudly, "To you *it is said*, people, nations, and tongues."

Strictly speaking, the participle itself does not perform the command, but occurs immediately beforehand,[496] unlike when the words "I *forgive* you" are uttered. Less clear are the participles in Daniel 2:23

26) MT Daniel 2:23a//4:28 [LXX 31]

23 לָךְ אֱלָהּ אֲבָהָתִי מְהוֹדֵא וּמְשַׁבַּח אֲנָה דִּי חָכְמְתָא וּגְבוּרְתָא יְהַבְתְּ לִי

> To you, the God of my fathers, I thank and I praise because wisdom and might you gave to me.

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[494] Max Rogland, "Performative Utterances in Classical Syriac," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 46 (2001): 243-250.

[495] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 189 (italics added). Muraoka does not list the performative use of the present tense form in his *Syntax* and since he mentions the function for the aorist and the perfect, perhaps this would suggest that he does not think the usage is common enough in the Septuagint to warrant comment, though outside the LXX the present performative function predominates (see *Syntax*, 254-259, 269, 278).

[496] Contra Rogland, "Remarks," 426-427.

> LXX Daniel 2:23a//4:34a
> σοί, κύριε τῶν πατέρων μου, ἐξομολογοῦμαι καὶ αἰνῶ, ὅτι σοφίαν καὶ φρόνησιν ἔδωκάς μοι
>
> To you, Lord of my fathers, I *confess* and I *praise* that wisdom and insight you gave to me.

Rogland, Li, and Gzella separately note the ambiguity of the verbal function in this case.[497]

Gzella summarizes the situation:

> Ganz unsicher ist letztlich, ob das Partizip auch in biblisch-aramäischen Ausdrücken des Gotteslobes eine Koinzidenz anzeigt….Etweder fällt hier der Akt des Preisens mit der Äußerung zusammen oder die Partizipien stehen für die allgemeine Gegenwart und damit für eine bestimmte Haltung der Sprecher....Solange diese Unklarheit desteht, dürfen die beiden Stellen nicht in die Waagschale geworfen werden und damit zu dem Eindruck führen, in der Funktion des Koinizidenzfalles habe das Partizip im Biblisch-Aramäischen nach Anzahl der Belege das "Perfekt" schon weit zurückgedrängt.[498]

In light of these observations in Aramaic, performatives in Daniel are at the very least dubious. It is now possible to investigate four identifiable performative presents, all of which manifest in the pluses of OGD:[499]

27) OG Daniel 6:13 [LXX 6:12a]
καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ Ὁρκίζομέν σε τοῖς Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν δόγμασιν.

And they said to him, "*We adjure* you by the decrees of the Medes and the Persians.

A stereotypical performative, the lexeme lends itself to frequent use as such,[500] while also occurring in the present active indicative. That the performative occurs with the perfect indicative lends credence to the thesis that their incidence is not *Vorlage* driven.[501]

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[497] Li, *Verbal System*, 51-52.

[498] Gzella, *Tempus*, 211-212. The most likely candidate of the performative participle may be found in 4:28b-29: קָל מִן־שְׁמַיָּא נָפֵל...וּמִן־אֱנָשָׁא לָךְ טָרְדִין ("a voice fell from heaven…'You are [hereby] driven from men.'").

[499] In the non-plus material of OGD 2-7, there does not appear to be any other occurrences of this phenomenon.

[500] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 189.

[501] For the rest of the verse, its relationship to the Aramaic *Vorlage*, and additional comments, see §5.3.2.

The performatives with the greatest text-critical implications bookend one of the largest pluses in OGD:

28) OG Daniel 4:31a [MT 4:28][502]
καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείας τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἤκουσε Σοὶ λέγεται, Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῦ, ἡ βασιλεία Βαβυλῶνος ἀφῄρηταί σου καὶ ἑτέρῳ δίδοται, ἐξουθενημένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καθίστημι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας σου

And upon the end of his word, he heard a voice from heaven, "To you it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, the kingdom of Babylon has been taken away from you and *it is [hereby] given* to another, a contemptable man in your house. Behold, I am appointing him over your kingdom."

29) OG Daniel 4:34b [MT 4:31]
ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος εἷς ἐκάλεσέ με ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων Ναβουχοδονοσορ, δούλευσον τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ δὸς δόξαν τῷ ὑψίστῳ· τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ ἔθνους σού σοι ἀποδίδοται.

Behold an angel called me from heaven saying, "Nebuchadnezzar, serve the holy God of heaven and give glory to the Most High. The kingdom of your nation *is [hereby] given* to you.

That both present indicatives fulfill a performative task is seen in their natural fit with the sufficient criteria *hereby*. The comments above on the perfect indicative intentionally skipped discussing the two uses of the perfect indicative (εἰλήφασι [4:33]; εἴληφέ [4:37]) in the lengthy plus. They nevertheless correlate with this rare performative use of the present and occur here in material generally considered derivative of MT. At 4:31 [MT 4:28], OG adds secondary material that emphasizes "the political implications of Nebuchadnezzar's punishment," while the addition of angels at 4:34 [MT 4:31] "[whether] due to exegetical or theological reasons…can be deemed as secondary in the textual history of this chapter."[503] These performatives do not appear to have

[502] For the Aramaic text see §4.3.2. Also, compare the use of δίδοται in 5:26 and its correlation with the perfect indicatives.

[503] Segal, "Daniel 4," 123.

any bearing on the translator's linguistic register, but they do provide evidence of using natural Greek syntax unmotivated by any underlying Semitic text when composing Greek.

5.2.6 Tell 6: A Suggestive Amalgamation of Features

Due to the relatively short nature of the texts, the limited data mined from translation technique does not always permit the kind of limited statistical measurement in §5.2.2. In 6:6 the reader encounters a number of unique features, lexical and syntactic, reminiscent of the kind of evidence in the forensic case involving Danielle Jones (§5.2).

30) MT Daniel 6:6

אֱדַיִן גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ אָמְרִין דִּי לָא נְהַשְׁכַּח לְדָנִיֵּאל דְּנָה כָּל־עִלָּא לָהֵן הַשְׁכַּחְנָה עֲלֹוהִי בְּדָת אֱלָהֵהּ׃

> Then these men said, "We shall not find any fault against Daniel except what we find against him in the law of his God."

> OG Daniel 6:6
> καὶ εἶπαν <u>Δεῦτε στήσωμεν</u> ὁρισμὸν καθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν ὅτι πᾶς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἀξιώσει ἀξίωμα καὶ <u>οὐ μὴ</u> εὔξηται εὐχὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς θεοῦ ἕως ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ παρὰ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποθανεῖται· ἵνα <u>ἡττήσωσι</u> τὸν Δανιηλ ἐναντίον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ῥιφῇ εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. ἤδεισαν γὰρ ὅτι Δανιηλ προσεύχεται καὶ δεῖται κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας.
>
> And they said, "Come let us establish a decree by ourselves that no man will make a request and shall never pray a prayer from any god until thirty days except from Darius the king, but if not he will be put to death," in order that they might defeat Daniel before the king and he might be thrown into the den of lions, for they knew that Daniel prays and petitions the Lord his God three times a day.

In the entirety of OG and TH Daniel, not just chapters 2-7, there is precisely one hortatory subjunctive. The rest of the Hebrew Bible boasts hundreds of hortatory subjunctives.[504] Δεῦτε, moreover, has one occurrence in OGD and one in THD (3:93 [MT 3:26]), where it translates the Aramaic imperative וְאֵתוֹ. There it functions like a genuine imperative,[505] unlike

[504] We would expect the hortatory subjunctive to translate a cohortative, which has no separate form at this period, and is not attested in the biblical material. Folmer notes, for example, only one example of a negated cohortative in Achaemenid Aramaic (*Aramaic Language*, 506).

[505] Contra Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 145.

6:6. Asyndetic δεῦτε + hortatory subjunctive is frequent in the rest of the Septuagint due to influence of Hebrew הָבָה or לְכוּ with the cohortative (e.g., Gen. 11:3; 37:27, respectively). A final case of striking, though natural, verbal syntax is the unadjusted temporal reference of the content clause: ᾔδεισαν γὰρ ὅτι Δανιηλ προσεύχεται καὶ δεῖται. Here and at 6:9 are the only incidences of the pluperfect of οἶδα, in OGD and THD. They are also the only place we encounter unadjusted temporal reference in the content clause. Unadjusted content clauses are not uncommon in Septuagint Greek,[506] but with the pluperfect of οἶδα, I have only been able to document three tokens apart from the two in OGD (Gen 42:23; Jos 8:14; Tob 2:10).

Lexical features validate these syntactical observations. The first is the use of ἡττάω, who is only found here and 6:9 in OGD. Elsewhere it is generally confined to the literary Greek of Isaiah (Isa. 13:15; 19:1; 20:5; 30:31; 31:4, 9; 33:1; 51:7; 54:17; 2 Macc 10:24; Sir. 19:24; Jer. 31:1). Unmotivated by underlying Semitic features, the occurrence of οὐ μὴ is striking. In portions with a known *Vorlage* the double negative betrays a strategic distribution, only occurring in association with God's future eternal kingdom (see §5.4.4). The pluses of OGD exploit the strengthened negative in the context of idolatry (cf. 4:32 [2x; MT 4:29]).

What is the statistical likelihood for all of these peculiarities to occur in an approximately 60-word span? It is difficult to quantify, but competent readers of Greek will feel the distinctive nature of this plus vis-à-vis known translation passages. Perhaps we are not permitted a high degree of certainty in claiming the passage is composed, but observations like these encourage restraint in using OGD in textual criticism. Is it a wonder that Segal writes, "there is no doubt here that OG is secondary"? Segal admits that for him "it is difficult to know whether it is the

[506] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 695.

work of the translator, or was it already found in his *Vorlage*."[507] Sensitive attention to translation verbal syntax offers a satisfactory answer.

5.3 A Brief Note on OG Daniel as a Jewish Hellenistic Production

If we have challenged the text-critical value of OG Daniel, it is not to cast aspersions on the text's broader significance, but to place it in its proper historical context. Ephemeral points of contact with the translator's Hellenistic Jewish context come into play here, but a full-fledged study is left for others. Segal has already noted in various places that OG evinces a "more thorough rewriting, including expansion and elaboration (often based on exegetical or harmonistic considerations):"[508]

> The resulting version, in its current form, is multi-layered and the product of a dynamic compositional process, and is reminiscent of text from the Second Temple period that we generally classify as Rewritten Bible. Thus OG Dan 5, and more generally OG Dan 4-6, can perhaps be described as Rewritten Daniel.[509]

Segal is hardly the first to make this kind of suggestion. F.F. Bruce, now some decades ago, called OGD "a Greek Targum," not the right designation, of course, but we can see he was on the right track.[510] In light of the higher register elements of the verbal syntax in the pluses of OGD and the briefly noted points of contact with Philo and Josephus, closer attention to this Hellenistic context may lead to richer interpretation. It is not a witness to a variant literary edition; it *is* the variant literary edition, composed in Greek.[511]

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[507] Segal, "Text of Daniel 6," 416.

[508] Segal, "Daniel 4," 125.

[509] Segal, "Daniel 5," 283.

[510] F. F. Bruce, "The Oldest Greek Version of Daniel," *Old Testament Studies* 20 (1975): 38.

[511] On this concept, see Hans Debel, "Greek 'Variant Literary Editions' to the Hebrew Bible," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 41 (2010): 161-190.

5.4 Conclusion

Verbal syntax is cognitively primed over the course of a lifetime of reading, writing, speaking and listening to millions of words. The translation process coupled with standard Septuagintal translation technique has a limiting effect, constraining the translator's idiolect. When the translator is composing Greek and/or rewriting the text, he leaves traces of his linguistic fingerprint to a greater degree. Here I have outlined five features of Greek verbal syntax that suggest the translator was composing and rewriting his text.

The examples offered above serve as proof of concept, demonstrating that close attention to translation technique and verbal syntax is a fruitful avenue for objective, empirically based text-critical work. In this study a particular advantage has been that "the subject matter, plot, characters and themes remain constant"[512] in the pluses of OGD 4-6, which afford a degree of certainty sometimes unattainable in forensic cases where the sample size is more diminutive. This data suggests that it is possible to discern when the translator of OG Daniel is translating his text and when he is composing Greek. However, it does not answer all of our textual problems. Simply because the translator uses verbal syntax consistent with translated verbal syntax, does not necessarily mean that OG Daniel is translating a text. It also does not solve the issue of texts that are found in MT, but absent in OG, particularly in OG Daniel chapter 5.

The implications of this study are numerous, but may be summarized as follows:

- The *Vorlage* of OG Daniel may have been closer to the emerging proto-MT than previously thought. Pluses in OG Daniel 4-6 often do not have an Aramaic *Vorlage*.
- The translator of OG Daniel's abilities in the Greek language are brought into greater clarity. Translated Greek texts do not necessarily reflect a translator's competency in Greek. The pluses suggest that the translator of OG Daniel may have been able to compose Greek texts that would have approached the sophistication of Josephus' *Antiquities*.

[512] David L. Hoover, "Authorial Style," 250.

- The contribution of OG Daniel 4-6 to Hellenistic Judaism is further elucidated. It is to be classified as a mixture of Rewritten Bible and Jewish Greek compositions.
- Literary considerations alone do not constitute sufficient evidence in textual criticism.

Studying OGD has limited text-critical payoff if the goal is to reconstruct an alternate Aramaic/Semitic *Vorlage*, but these texts "have intrinsic value and should be studied on their own, not just as means to correct or improve the Hebrew and Aramaic texts."[513] To this end, our final chapter makes an effort to analyze translation verbal syntax as a means of identifying early interpretive strategies in this first commentary on the Aramaic text.

[513] Alexander DiLella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel Composition and Reception*, 2 vol., ed. John Collins and Peter Flint (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 2:605.

Chapter 6

Translation Technique as "Communication and Cognition": A Relevance Theory Based Approach to Translation Verbal Syntax

Traduttore, traditore—οὐ … ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς Εβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν— המתרגם פסוק כצורתו הרי זה בדאי והמוסיף עליו הרי זה מחרף ומגדף אלא.[514] The common bond that holds these statements together is that they stress the inevitable loss in translation choices, and rightly so. "No two languages are entirely the same, nor are they entirely different."[515] For the present study, this fact is clearly perceptible in the translator's overwhelming tendency to render four Aramaic verbal forms (SC, הוה + active participle/t-stem participle, participle, PC) with two Greek equivalents (aorist and imperfect).[516] Oftentimes this means the resultant translation verbal syntax is as reasonable as could be expected:

1) MT Daniel 3:28
אֱלָהֲהוֹן דִּי־שַׁדְרָךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֶד נְגוֹ דְּי־שְׁלַח מַלְאֲכֵהּ וְשֵׁיזַב לְעַבְדּוֹהִי דִּי הִתְרַחֲצוּ עֲלוֹהִי וּמִלַּת מַלְכָּא שַׁנִּיו וְיַהֲבוּ גֶּשְׁמְיהוֹן

The God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego who sent his angel and saved his servants who trusted in him and they altered the word of the king and they gave their bodies…

OG Daniel 3:28 [LXX 3:95]
ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω ὃς ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔσωσε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐλπίσαντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, τὴν γὰρ προσταγὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἠθέτησαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμπυρισμόν,

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[514] Italilan proverb, Sirach Prologue 21-22, b. Qidd. 49a:11, respectively.

[515] Alexandra Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford, 2005), 1.

[516] See table 40. The statistics for the Aramaic sections of OGD and THD fall on the high end of the ratio of imperfect forms in the rest of the Septuagint, where there is an extreme preference for the aorist indicative over the imperfect (Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 209-213). In OGD there are 303 aorist indicatives, 67 imperfect indicatives for a total of 370 and a percentage of 81.89% aorist indicatives to 18.11% imperfect indicatives. For THD the numbers are similar with 325 aorist indicatives, 68 imperfect indicatives, for a total of 393 total and a percentage of 82.70% aorist indicatives to 17.30% imperfect indicatives. (The statistics for the whole of OGD and THD are slightly different). This data compares well with Proverbs where aside from 2 and 4 Maccabees the imperfect occurs most frequently (Ibid., 213). The tendency to translate the narrative PC, active/t-stem participle, and הוה + active/t-stem participle with the imperfect likely accounts for this.

> The God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who *sent* his angel and *saved* his servants who *hoped* in him, for they *rejected* the command of the king and they *gave* their bodies to be burned.

On other occasions, the Greek text has flattened the syntactical nuances of the original. They make no effort to distinguish the Aramaic PC and SC. The resultant text is just not quite the same:[517]

2) MT Daniel 6:20

20 בֱּאדַיִן מַלְכָּא בִּשְׁפַרְפָּרָא יְקוּם בְּנָגְהָא וּבְהִתְבְּהָלָה לְגֻבָּא דִּי־אַרְיָוָתָא אֲזַל׃

> Then the king at dawn *was able to rise*[518] in the daylight and with haste, he *departed* to the den of lions.

TH Daniel 6:20//OG Daniel 6:20
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέστη τὸ πρωὶ ἐν τῷ φωτὶ καὶ ἐν σπουδῇ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων·

> Then the king *rose* in the morning in the light and with haste *went* to the den of lions.

Every so often, readers are left looking through a glass darkly, attempting to decipher how the translator understood the text or how native Greek readers understood the resultant Greek TAM:

3) MT Daniel 7:27

וּמַלְכוּתָה וְשָׁלְטָנָא וּרְבוּתָא דִּי מַלְכְוָת תְּחוֹת כָּל־שְׁמַיָּא יְהִיַּב לְעַם קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין מַלְכוּתֵהּ מַלְכָוּת עָלַם וְכֹל שָׁלְטָנַיָּא לֵהּ יִפְלְחוּן וְיִשְׁתַּמְּעוּן׃

> And the kingdom and the dominion and the greatness of the kingdoms under all the heavens *will be given* to the people of the holy ones of the Most High. His kingdom is an eternal kingdom and all the dominions will worship and obey him.

OG Daniel 7:27 // THD 7:27
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν βασιλειῶν ἔδωκε λαῷ ἁγίῳ ὑψίστου βασιλεῦσαι βασιλείαν αἰώνιον, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐξουσίαι αὐτῷ ὑποταγήσονται καὶ πειθαρχήσουσιν αὐτῷ.

[517] The point is not that the translators misunderstood the approach to the PC set forth in chapter 3, but that they use the same aspect to translate two different forms in Aramaic.

[518] For an account of the modal reading of the Aramaic PC see (§3.1.4).

> And their kingdom and authority and magnificence and the rule of all the kingdoms under heaven he *gave*/*will give* [?] to the holy people of the Most High to rule an eternal kingdom and all authorities will be subject to him and obey him.

Most Aramaists agree that the Aramaic SC here has a future temporal reference.[519] By using the expected aorist indicative, though, the translator of OG creates an impossible situation for modern readers. The Greek aorist indicative can also refer to future events in certain contexts,[520] but is this the intended meaning of the translators or a natural reading for the early receptors of these texts?

As Robert Alter observes, loss is not the only consequence of translation: "There is both *gain* and loss in translation."[521] Beyond the formulaic translation equivalents, exists a myriad of examples where a translator deviates from his established pattern to create a more relevant narrative world. Those subtle differences in Aramaic and Greek—tense, aspect, and modality and particularly the way in which minority translation equivalents participate in signaling relevant information—shape the story for a new, linguistically distinct audience and new cultural contexts. Loss, as Alter correctly shows time and time again, is an inevitable corollary of translation, but so is gain—and this is what this chapter will investigate: those subtle differences the translator creates by departing from standard translation equivalents in order to explain the text. The present study lies, then, at the intersection of translation, grammar, and literature—all areas to which linguists have applied relevance theory (§5.2), the linguistic framework for these minority translation strategies.

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[519] Most recently, Daniel E. Carver, "The Use of the Perfect in Daniel 7:27," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 138:2 (2019): 325-344.

[520] Most recently, Arjan Nijk, "How to Control the Present: A Unified Account of the Nonpast Uses of the Aorist Indicative," Journal of Hellenic Studies 136 (2016): 92-112; Christopher Fresch, "Typology, Polysemy, and Prototypes: Situating Nonpast Aorist Indicatives," in *Greek Verb Revisited*, 379-415. Interestingly, NETS translates with a future indicative.

[521] Robert Alter, *The Art of Bible Translation* (Princeton: Princeton, 2019), 10. Italics added.

6.1 Brief Notes on Relevance Theory and Its Iterations

6.1.1 Basic Tenets of Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory is a cognitive theory of *communication*, not just language, built on the assumption set forth by Grice that "meaning is primarily a psychological phenomenon and only secondarily a linguistic one."[522] Hence, relevance theory has as its objective "to identify underlying mechanisms, rooted in human psychology, which explain how humans communicate with one another."[523] Because meaning is not primarily a linguistic phenomenon, Sperber and Wilson attempt to move beyond what has been the dominant view of language since the time of Aristotle —"code theory."[524] They offer a view of language predicated on the principle that "communication involves the publication and recognition of intentions."[525] For them,

> Verbal communication is a complex form of communication. Linguistic coding and decoding is involved, but the linguistic meaning of an uttered sentence falls short of encoding what the speaker means: it merely helps the audience infer what she means. The output of decoding is correctly treated by the audience as a piece of evidence about the communicator's intentions. In other words, a coding-decoding process is subservient to a Gricean inferential process.[526]

These comments explain why different utterances of identical sentences can result in different interpretations.[527] The linguistically coded information may be the same, but the communicator's intentions, if altered, guide the reader/hearer to divergent implications. Imagine the following

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[522] Deidre Wilson, "Relevance Theory," *The Oxford Handbook of Pragmatics*, ed. Yan Huang (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 79.

[523] Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 32.

[524] Ibid., 1-3

[525] Ibid., 24.

[526] Ibid., 27.

[527] Ibid., 9.

scenario: A mother's teenage daughter comes home from school and says the following about one of her classmates:

1) Tom is a genius.

Perhaps Sarah and Tom are good friends and Tom has just received the national merit scholarship. Sarah utters the statement full of admiration and pride. If so, Sarah's mother would justifiably infer that Tom *is*, in fact, highly intelligent. Perhaps, however, Tom spent the weekend in jail after wrecking his parents' BMW in a drunken joyride. Tom has lost his license, now has a record, and will spend all of his free time in the foreseeable future fulfilling his judge-mandated community service. Under these circumstances, Sarah clearly means Tom *is not* a genius, but a fool. Sarah's intonation, facial expressions, and other contextual information guide Sarah's mother to the correct inference, even though the proposition is identical in both contexts. As stated above, the meaning is predicated on accurately recognizing the speaker's intentions.

Two principles undergird relevance theory. The first, known as the cognitive principle, states: "Human cognition tends to be geared to the maximization of relevance,"[528] where relevance is a property, not a commodity.[529] The human mind seeks efficiency, constantly attempting to attain greater benefits with less cost.[530] Vast swaths of input constantly inundate the cognitive system, but most of it is not relevant. The cognitive system, as Sperber and Wilson maintain, tends "to allocate its resources to the processing of available inputs in such a way as to

[528] Ibid., 260.

[529] Ibid., 261.

[530] Ibid., 261-263.

maximize the expected cognitive effects."[531] What makes a stimulus relevant is the greatest cognitive effects with the least possible processing effort.[532]

The consequence of the first principle of relevance is the second principle of relevance—the communicative principle—namely, "Every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance."[533] To claim an utterance is optimally relevant, according to Sperber and Wilson, is to posit the following:

a) The utterance is at least relevant enough to be worth the addressee's processing effort.

b) The utterance is the most relevant one compatible with the speaker's abilities and preferences.[534]

If condition a) is not met, the addressee will ignore it. Condition b) presumes the speaker has encoded the message in such a way as to reduce "the processing effort" and increase "the cognitive effects."[535] One of the ways a speaker does this is by not producing utterances that are unduly wordy and syntactically complex, since unnecessarily doing so would increase the processing effort.[536] When confronted with an utterance, the addressee, according to "the relevance-guided comprehension heuristic,"[537] decodes the linguistic meaning, follows the interpretive path of least resistance, and concludes the interpretive process once the expectation

[531] Ibid., 266.

[532] Ibid., 123-132.

[533] Ibid., 260, 266-267.

[534] Wilson, "Relevance Theory," 85; Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 164.

[535] Wilson, "Relevance," 86.

[536] Iván García Álvarez, "Relevance Theory," *Key Ideas in Linguistics and the Philosophy of Language,* ed. Siobhan Chapman (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), 196.

[537] Wilson, "Relevance," 86.

of relevance is satisfied.[538] They take the explicit information, fill in the gaps based on encyclopedic knowledge, and draw the most contextually suitable conclusion. This is why the logical form from example 1) can have polar-opposite meanings depending on the context.

6.1.2 Relevance Theory and Grammar

The reader may naturally question applying to grammar a theory whose very premise is that the linguistic code is insufficient in determining meaning. As Sperber and Wilson state, "The grammar can only help determine the possibilities of interpretation. How the hearer sets about narrowing down and choosing among these possibilities is a separate question."[539] Since the development of RT in the 1980s, however, researchers have investigated the extent to which grammar constrains interpretive choice.[540] Fundamental to the present discussion is the distinction between conceptual and procedural information. Conceptual information possesses truth-conditional properties.[541] Words like *dog*, *house*, *green*, and *blue* are conceptual. Procedural information, in contrast, indicates the manner in which the addressee is to process the conceptual information; it guides the cognitive process.[542] "Conceptual representations can be brought to consciousness: procedures can not."[543] A paradigmatic example of procedural information is discourse connectives, as Wilson and Sperber's example illustrates:

2) (a) Peter's not stupid. (b) He can find his own way home.

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[538] Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber, "Relevance Theory," *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, eds. Laurence R. Horn and Gregory L. Ward (Oxford, Blackwell, 2006), 613.

[539] Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 10.

[540] Francisco Yus, "Relevance Theory," *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., ed. K. Brown (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), 10:517; Yus, "Grammar: Relevance-Theoretic Concerns," *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 10 (1997): 235-248.

[541] Diedre Wilson and Dan Sperber, "Linguistic Form and Relevance," *Lingua* 90 (1993): 10.

[542] Ibid.

[543] Ibid., 16.

Wilson and Sperber note that the relationship between these two sentences has two interpretations:

3) a) Peter's not stupid; so he can find his own way home.

b) Peter's not stupid: after all, he can find his own way home.[544]

In 3a), the use of *so* indicates that the first sentence "provides evidence for the conclusion drawn" in the second, whereas the use of *after all* indicates that the first sentence 'is confirmed by evidence" provided in the second.[545] Without these connectives constraining the procedural process, the reader must exert greater effort to determine which meaning is intended.

TAM categories, like connectives, are also procedural. Unlike a concept like *tree*, *frog*, or *ice cream*, it is difficult if not impossible to bring into consciousness the perfect or the imperative mood.[546] One of the chief contentions of Porter's work in GVA is that aspectual choice constitutes "the author/speaker's reasoned subjective choice of a conception of a process."[547] The extent to which aspectual choice is subjective is a matter of contention. Whatever the degree, given established translational equivalents, departures from these equivalents constitute a subjective choice that requires consideration of both the source and target language. By departing from standard translation equivalents, the translator has consciously gone out of their way to reduce processing effort and increase the cognitive effects, "thus increasing [the] chances of holding [the reader's] attention and getting [their] point

[544] Ibid., 11.

[545] Ibid.

[546] See here Jacques Moeschler, "Where is procedural meaning located? Evidence from Discourse Connectives and Tenses," *Lingua* 175-176 (2016): 129.

[547] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 1, see also 197.

across,"[548] not unlike a commentary. Since "relevance varies inversely with effort,"[549] these choices make the text more relevant; they guide the reader in an inferential process and help interpret the text.[550]

6.2 Case Studies: The Indicative Mood

Each of the following sections attempts to move beyond what is grammatically encoded by the respective verbal forms to demonstrate why translators depart from standard translation equivalents. The short answer is that they are attempting to make a text more relevant and, therefore, guide the reader to the intended inference. Some of the observations are novel, particularly the integration of the typologically observable concept of mirativity to the Greek perfect and non-prototypical uses of the genitive absolute. Other observations are more traditional, but are included for the sake of comprehensiveness. In every instance, the assumptions of RT guide the discussion.

6.2.1 The Reasoned Subjective Choice of the Perfect Indicative

The Greek Perfect remains the central crux of the Greek verbal system. At least partly responsible for this is the historical development of the form, which Schwyzer outlines:

> Der Ind. Perf war sowohl in der intensive Bedeutung als in der Bedeutung des erreichten Zustandes der Zeit nach präsentisch, was in Umbildungen wie πεπόνθω…auch formell zum Ausdruck kommt; die Gebrauchsweisen gehen denen des Ind. Präs. fast völlig parallel. Mit der Entwicklung des Resultativperfekts tritt jedoch Handlung, die zu dem erreichten Zustand führt, starker ins Bewußtsein als dieser selbst, und so wird der Ind. Perf. in hellenistischer Zeit gleichwertig mit Ind. Aor., dem er im Beginn der christlichen Zeit das Feld räumt….[551]

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[548] Wilson, "Relevance," 86.

[549] Ibid.

[550] Yus, "Grammar," 239.

[551] Eduard Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, Zweiter Band (München: C. H. Beck, 1950), 287.

Schwyzer's brief description still embodies the fundamental problem of this syntagm.[552] Any attempt to deal with the three stages of the Perfect: 1) the expression of a resulting state where the state is denoted and past event assumed as background;[553] 2) the expression of current relevance where a past action has relevance for the present;[554] 3) the merger with the aorist.[555] The point at which the Perfect shifts from 2) to 3) is not entirely clear, but in the Hellenistic period, only a few documented cases exist.[556]

A minority position claims the Perfect grammaticalizes [+stative]: "While there may be reference to a previous act that results in a state or condition, this is a matter of lexis in context. The aspect itself merely represents the state or condition of the grammatical subject, as conceptualized by the speaker or writer."[557] In the same vein, Evans postulates the syntagm encodes imperfective aspect and stative *Aktionsart*, which has "become grammatically systematized"[558] A major weakness of both of these views is that they would run into problems if

[552] Recently, Rutger Allan has set forth its development ("Tense and Aspect in Classical Greek: Two Historical Developments; Augment and Perfect," in *Greek Verb Revisited*, 100-112.

[553] Allan, 102-103

[554] Ibid., 108-112.

[555] Ibid., 112-114.

[556] See Evans, who argues that "Interpretation of alleged aorist perfect is essentially a subjective matter…it is likely that no aoristic perfects can be conclusively isolated before at least the first century AD" (Verbal Syntax, 151-152); Muraoka is skeptical of Evans's claims and suggests a number of perfects used for the aorist (*Syntax*, 280). Porter places the date much later "at least the 4th-5th cent. A.D." (*Verbal Aspect*, 273), similarly K.L. McKay, "On the Use of the Perfect and Other Aspects in the Greek Non-literary Papyri." Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies 27 (1980): 23, 31-32.

[557] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 259.

[558] Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 22. Campbell concurs with the imperfect aspect of the perfect but departs from Evans regarding grammaticalized stative *Aktionsart* (*Verbal Aspect*, 77-79).

they were to account for the later development of the form that merges semantically with the aorist.[559]

Despite its challenges, the traditional perspective would appear to maintain the greatest explanatory power, regardless of whether there is a core semantic meaning to account for these pragmatic functions.[560] Cross-linguistic evidence suggest that languages exploit the prominent feature of their verbal systems (whether tense, aspect, or mood) to form Perfects. This observation leads Bhat to predict that an aspect-prominent language such as Greek would use a combination of perfective and imperfective aspects to produce the Perfect.[561] There is morphological evidence that indicates this is indeed what has taken place in Greek. Reduplication both cross-linguistically[562] and in Indo-European[563] strongly associates with iterative/imperfective action, while the -κα verbal suffix correlates with perfective aspect.[564]

The argument to this point would reinforce the standard explanation found in the reference grammars, but it provides little in the way of explaining why the translators would opt for a form in translation that the Aramaic parent text never demands. Unlike OGD, whose use of the perfect is characteristic of his idiolect (see previous chapter), THD, apart from two uses of

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[559] Joan Bybee and Östen Dahl note that perfects regularly develop into "past or perfective" markers ("Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems," 73, 74-77).

[560] Alan notes that if the perfect does not have a core meaning, "we would have to conclude that the perfect is best analyzed as a chain of related meanings, a polysemous network of family resemblances, a complex layering of variant meanings that resulted from a long historical process of semantic extensions" ("Tense and Aspect," 113).

[561] Bhat, *Prominence*, 7, 102, 168-175.

[562] Ibid., 47-48, 55, 124.

[563] The earliest documented Indo-European Language, Hittite uses reduplication as one of many imperfective markers, though not all examples of reduplication denote imperfectivity and open questions remain (Harry Hoffner and Craig Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 173-174, 323).

[564] Sara E. Kimball, "The Origin of the Greek κ-perfect," *Glotta* 69 (1991): 141, 146.

the obligatory οἶδα (THD 2:8, 9), only uses the perfect indicative twice. Up until Daniel 2:25, THD has employed thirty-two aorist indicatives and for every occurrence of the Aramaic SC, THD has used an aorist indicative consistent with his strong preference for this stereotyped equivalent (see table 3), that is until Arioch presents Daniel before king Nebuchadnezzar at a crucial point in the narrative.

1) MT Daniel 2:25
אֱדַיִן אַרְיוֹךְ בְּהִתְבְּהָלָה הַנְעֵל לְדָנִיֵּאל קֳדָם מַלְכָּא וְכֵן אֲמַר־לֵהּ דִּי־הַשְׁכַּחַת גְּבַר מִן־בְּנֵי גָלוּתָא דִּי יְהוּד דִּי פִּשְׁרָא לְמַלְכָּא יְהוֹדַע׃

Then Arioch with haste brought up Daniel before the king and thus he said to him, "I *found/have found* a man from the sons of the exiles of Judah who the interpretation to the king will make known.

TH Daniel 2:25
τότε Αριωχ ἐν σπουδῇ εἰσήγαγεν τὸν Δανιηλ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Εὕρηκα ἄνδρα ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς Ιουδαίας, ὅστις τὸ σύγκριμα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναγγελεῖ.

Then Arioch with haste led in Daniel before the king and said to him, "I *have found* a man from the sons of the captives of Judah, who will proclaim the interpretation to the king.

The use of the perfect here is identical to that in OGD, but its occurrence in THD is notable given that whenever else THD employs this lexeme it occurs in either the aorist (1:19, 20; 2:35, etc.) or the future (6:6; 11:19). Although some verbs allegedly become functionally indistinguishable from the aorist in koine Greek,[565] the perfect of εὑρίσκω is not one of them. All of this suggests that the use of the perfect here is an intentional, reasoned choice on the part of OGD, as well as an intentional choice by THD not to revise the perfect with an aorist, as he almost always does.

The perfect here occurs at the climax, where the major narrative tension built up to this point (at least from the King's perspective) changes direction toward resolution with Daniel

[565] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 112 n. 74;

providing and interpreting the dream (2:31ff).[566] Leading to this point in the narrative, however, the king has been unable to coax the dream and its interpretation from the king's wise men, magicians, sorcerers, and astrologers (2:10-11), so he enacts a mass slaughter. Nebuchadnezzar has no reason to believe that Daniel would be able to interpret the dream any more than the other wise men. Arioch's claim would have presented new and surprising information to the king.

Porter has argued that the perfect always indicates greater salience through distributional, material, and semantic markedness, functioning to indicate narrative frontground.[567] Similarly, Campbell reasons that the perfect signals intensity and prominence—"the degree to which an element stands out."[568] Runge has responded that this analysis is correct only for theme line perfects, since the most common function of perfects is to supply "supporting information" in a "dependency relation."[569] That is to say they do not signal "frontground" material, neither are they inherently more prominent, though they are more explicit. Perfects in certain circumstances, however, namely theme line material, are another matter. Here perfects "offer climactic…pronouncements," which nuances Porter's and Campbell's sweeping generalizations.

Although Runge's comments helpfully disambiguate the claims of Porter and Campbell, they similarly suffer from a lack of explanatory power; they do not satisfactorily account for *why* the perfect signals prominence. A strong connection exists between perfects and evidentiality,[570]

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[566] Daniel 2:19-24 maintains the narrative tension since neither the content of the king's dream nor the interpretation are manifest, the king is not yet aware of the interpretation, and the reader has yet to discover whether the dream and its interpretation are true.

[567] Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 92-93, 243-248.

[568] Campbell, *Verbal Aspect*, 199-207.

[569] Steven Runge, "Discourse Function of the Greek Perfect," in *Greek Verb*, 472-473, 482.

[570] Evidentiality simply refers to "source of information," whether direct or indirect (Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 112-116). This would explain why the perfect of γράφω is used in dependent clauses in the NT to indicate the "source of information": οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· ἐν Βηθλέεμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας· οὕτως γὰρ <u>γέγραπται</u> διὰ τοῦ προφήτου· (Matt. 2:5; 67x in the NT). An evidential use may inform the perfect of ὁράω used regularly in OGD 2

a well-documented fact in the literature,[571] while more evidence is emerging connecting both to mirativity,[572] new, unexpected, or surprising information. This connection is seen in the fact that it is not uncommon for perfects to develop into evidentials, a development found in "the Balkans and adjacent parts of the Middle East, but …also attested in at least one Tibeto-Bruman language, Newari."[573] In some languages, the perfect simply develops into an evidential, losing its original function (e.g., Turkish and Kurdish), while in others the perfect simply take on evidential functions, such as "Persian, Georgian, Azerbaijani…Macedonian…and Newari"[574] and also some North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialects.[575]

> The semantic connection between perfect and non-firsthand goes along the following lines. The primary meaning of perfect is to focus on results of an action or process, thus relating a past event to present time.[6] In other words, an event or a process is viewed as completed in the past but still relevant for the present. An inference is made based on some traces or results of a previous action or state. Hence, there is a semantic link between a non-firsthand evidential and a perfect.[576]

A possible evidential use of the Greek perfect is fitting for many occurrences of the perfect in dependent clauses, but for those in independent clauses—theme line material—a mirative strategy may be in order. The "perfect, with its focus on the current relevance of a past event to

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(8x; but note the use of the aorist in OGD 7:1-2): καὶ ὡς ἑώρακας τοὺς πόδας αὐτῆς μέρος μέν τι ὀστράκου κεραμικοῦ μέρος δέ τι σιδήρου, βασιλεία ἄλλη διμερὴς ἔσται ἐν αὐτῇ, καθάπερ εἶδες τὸν σίδηρον ἀναμεμειγμένον ἅμα τῷ πηλίνῳ ὀστράκῳ (2:41). Perhaps also OGD 4:14 προστέτακται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐκριζῶσαι καὶ ἀχρειῶσαι αὐτό.

[571] E.g., Comrie, *Aspect*, 110.

[572] Monica Laura Lau and Johan Rooryck, "Aspect, Evidentiality, and Mirativity," *Lingua* 186-187 (2017): 110-119. For more information on mirativeity see §5.4.2.

[573] Bybee and Dahl, "Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems," 73.

[574] Ibid.

[575] Geoffrey Khan, "The Evidential Function of the Perfect in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects," in *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, eds. Rebecca Hasselbach and Na'ama Pat-El (Chicago: Chicago, 2012), 219-227.

[576] Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, 112; evidentiality is "a category in its own right, and not a subcategory of any modality" (Ibid., 7).

the moment of speech may acquire a mirative nuance even if not employed as evidential strategy."[577] Returning to THD 2:25, presenting someone who could interpret king Nebuchadnezzar's dream would have been highly unexpected.[578]

The typological evidence and contextual sensitivities meet here in a powerful way. Of course, the perfect grammaticalizes neither evidentiality nor mirativity, but typological and contextual considerations suggest this as a possible pragmatic extension of its semantic range; it is a covert strategy. In any case, it has potentially greater explanatory power than assigning the form inherent prominence irrespective of its function based on vague notions of prominence and frontground. By using the Perfect, the translator signals that this pericope is the most salient in the long string of narrative. The translator recognizes the climactic nature of the event and his response is to place procedural constraints on the reader with perfect verbal form, signaling new and unexpected information.

THD would wait another three chapters and translate scores of Aramaic SC forms before resorting to another perfect indicative. This time the perfect indicative is not found in OG:

2) MT Daniel 5:28

פְּרֶס פְּרִיסַת מַלְכוּתָךְ וִיהִיבַת לְמָדַי וּפָרָס׃

Peres: your kingdom *is divided* and given to the Medes and the Persians.

3) TH Daniel 5:28
φαρες, διῄρηται ἡ βασιλεία σου καὶ ἐδόθη Μήδοις καὶ Πέρσαις.

Pares: your kingdom *has been divided* and given to the Medes and the Persians.

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[577] Ibid., 210.

[578] Note as well the parallel with the plus in OGD 6:14 where a perfect is absent but ἰδοὺ is present: καὶ εἶπαν Ἰδοὺ εὕρομεν Δανιηλ τὸν φίλον σου εὐχόμενον καὶ δεόμενον τοῦ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας. For a mirative strategy in Hebrew see Cynthia Miller-Naudé and C. H. J. van der Merwe, "הִנֵּה and Mirrativity in Biblical Hebrew," *Hebrew Studies* 52 (2011): 53-81.

Daniel once again finds himself as the mediator between God and the foreign monarch. The interpretation of the writing on the wall consists of a half-dozen Aramaic SC forms, five of which receive aorist indicatives as their counterparts (ἐμέτρησεν…ἐπλήρωσεν…ἐστάθη… εὑρέθη…ἐδόθη [THD 5:26-28]). Perhaps the Perfect here is an aorist equivalent, but given TH's preponderance for the aorist indicative and the fact that διῃρέθη was available to him, makes this solution implausible.[579] Interestingly, NETS translates these five aorists and one perfect with English perfects ("has measured…and fulfilled it; has been placed…has been found…has been divided and has been given…"). The aorist indicative, like the Aramaic *Vorlage*, does not encode the resultant state grammatically, though as the NETS translation suggests, this inference is contextually plausible.

The resultant Greek translation is more nebulous than the Aramaic *Vorlage*, where each pronouncement is damning. In the Greek, however, the first two interpretations of מְנָא and תְּקֵל respectively, is markedly less decisive than its Aramaic counterpart. Aramaic הַשְׁלְמַהּ denotes either that God has handed Belshazzar's kingdom over (cf. Ezr. 7:19)[580] or perhaps that he has brought it to an end.[581] The Septuagint translates the only other occurrence of שׁלם in the c-stem predictably with παραδίδωμι ("to hand over"). THD's use of πληρόω is not the expected equivalent nor does it necessarily have negative connotations. In fact the extant Greek text could be read positively: "God has measured your kingdom and has made it full [i.e., supplied it]."[582]

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[579] Though perfective aspct is common for this lexeme, nowhere else in the LXX does it occur in the perfect indicative.

[580] Gzella, "שׁלם," *TDOT*, 777-778.

[581] Vogt, *Lexicon*, 329-330.

[582] Muraoka's appeal to OGD's use of ὑπάγει to support a negative reading of πληρόω is dubious in light of the uncertain textual character of OGD at this point (see previous chapter; *Lexicon*, 565). The expected equivalent occurs in Ezr. 7:19 (παραδίδωμι). The peculiar Greek text is likely the result of the translator reading the Aramaic

The subsequent verse is more negative; God has found Belshazzar's kingdom to be lacking (perhaps despite the fact that God had made it full). But it is not until the final stanza that his kingdom's fate is sealed. The theme line mirative perfect marks this decisive and unexpected information.

The preceding chapter argued that the translator's use of the perfect indicative in OGD had text-critical implications. For those who read OGD without knowledge of the Aramaic, but as received scripture, the perfect indicative would have had cognitive effects, guiding the inferential process in reading and shaping the implications, they drew from the text. The number of perfects in OGD prevent full scale analysis of each, but one example below suggests this use of the perfect was not uncommon.

4) MT Daniel 4:27-28 [LXX 4:30-31]
עֲנֵה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר הֲלָא דָא־הִיא בָּבֶל רַבְּתָא דִּי־אֲנָה בְנֵיתַהּ לְבֵית מַלְכוּ בְּתֻקֶף חִסְנִי וְלִיקָר הַדְרִי׃ [27] עוֹד [28] מִלְּתָא בְּפֻם מַלְכָּא קָל מִן־שְׁמַיָּא נְפַל לָךְ אֱמְרִין נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מַלְכָּא מַלְכוּתָה עְדָת מְנָּךְ׃

[27]The king answered and said, "Is this not Babylon the Great, which I have built for my royal house with the might of my power and the glory of my majesty? [28]While the word was still in the mouth of the king, a voice fell from heaven, "To you it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, 'Your kingdom has passed on from you.'"

OG Daniel 4:30-31a [MT 4:27-28a]
[30] καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν Αὕτη ἐστὶ Βαβυλὼν ἡ μεγάλη, ἣν ἐγὼ ᾠκοδόμησα ἐν ἰσχύι κράτους, καὶ οἶκος μου κληθήσεται. [31] καὶ ἐπὶ συντελείας τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἤκουσε Σοὶ λέγεται, Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῦ, ἡ βασιλεία Βαβυλῶνος ἀφῄρηταί σου καὶ ἑτέρῳ δίδοται, ἐξουθενημένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου.

[30]And answering he said, "This is Babylon the Great which I built by the strength of my might and it will be called my house." And upon completing his word, he heard a voice from heaven, "To you it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, 'The kingdom of Babylon *has been taken away* from you and it is given to another, a man who is despised in your house."

text with the meaning found in *KAI* 222 B24 where it refers to fulfilling a contract (Gzella, "שׁלם *šlm*," 777). For positive connotations of the Greek term see, for example, Phil. 4:18-19.

Like the examples above, the reader encounters the perfect in theme line material within a speech. And again, though the fulfillment of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (4:7-15), the context suggests the information the perfect encodes is, nevertheless, unforeseen (4:27). Nebuchadnezzar is still basking in his own glory when a heavenly voice announces his imminent fate.

The present argument does not assume that the analysis of the perfect here holds for all Ancient Greek or even all of the LXX. Far more research is required than is possible in this study. Because mirativity is not encoded in Greek, it is difficult to falsify, though it does put many of the intuitions of previous analysis on a firmer footing. The thesis, though, is novel, both typologically and contextually plausible, but too early to make definitive judgements. If, however, the proposal does convince, it simultaneously illustrates the explanatory power of RT, namely the limits of encoded language in communication and the necessity of contextual inference.

6.2.2 One Case of the Pluperfect

The pluperfect encodes the same aspectual value as the perfect,[583] but is the past pendant of the Greek language's third aspect. While a prominence and/or mirative strategy is detectable,[584] THD uses the pluperfect on one occasion that reveals his interpretive strategy in a significant way.[585] The ensuing textual fragment reveals the payoff of sensitive readings of translation technique in light of RT:

[583] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 306-307; Muraoka, *Syntax*, 304.

[584] Campbell makes a similar point (*Verbal Aspect*, 233-237), though Porter for the same reasons sees all uses of the perfect as prominent.

[585] For the other occurrences of the pluperfect see tables 46-47.

5) MT Daniel 3:28

עָנֵה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר וְאָמַר בְּרִיךְ אֱלָהֲהוֹן דְּי־שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ דְּי־שְׁלַח מַלְאֲכֵהּ וְשֵׁיזַב לְעַבְדּוֹהִי דִּי הִתְרַחֲצוּ עֲלוֹהִי וּמִלַּת מַלְכָּא שַׁנִּיו וְיַהַבוּ (וְגֶשְׁמֵיהוֹן) [וּגְשְׁמֵיהוֹן] דִּי לָא־יִפְלְחוּן וְלָא־יִסְגְּדוּן לְכָל־אֱלָהּ לָהֵן לֵאלָהֲהוֹן׃

Nebuchadnezzar answered and said, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who sent his angel and saved him *who trusted* in him and thwarted the command of the king and they gave their bodies because they would not serve and they would not worship any god except their God.

TH Daniel 3:28 [LXX 3:95]
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ναβουχοδονοσορ καὶ εἶπεν Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω, ὃς ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξείλατο τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐπεποίθεισαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἠλλοίωσαν καὶ παρέδωκαν τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν εἰς πῦρ, ὅπως μὴ λατρεύσωσιν μηδὲ προσκυνήσωσιν παντὶ θεῷ ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν·

And Nebuchadnezzar answered and said, "Blessed be the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, who sent his angel and rescued his servants because *they had trusted* in him and they ignored the word of the king and they gave up their bodies to the fire lest they should serve and worship any god except their God.

The ambiguity of the ubiquitous דִּי allows for two distinct interpretations. OGD takes the route of reading the clause as a relative, and translating the phrase with the restrictive adjectival participle (καὶ ἔσωσε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐλπίσαντας ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν), which the above English translation reflects. THD, *à la* RT, places different procedural constraints on the reader by rendering דִּי with the causal inferential particle ὅτι. Additionally, THD goes out of its way to use the pluperfect when the aorist indicative would have been apposite and consistent with his translation technique. The pluperfect traditionally denotes a past resulting state of an action in the more remote past.[586] Coupled with the causal use of ὅτι, the translator uses this two-fold strategy at the narrative's denouement to bring resolution through theological interpretation. What OGD reads as a mere description, THD takes as the basis for God's deliverance (cf. 4 Maccabees 17:22).

[586] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 282.

According to RT, "human external languages do not encode the kind of information that humans are interested in communicating. Linguistically encoded semantic representations are abstract mental structures, which must be inferentially enriched before they can be taken to represent anything of interest."[587] Both OG and TH Daniel have enriched the ambiguous. Although verbal communication involves a degree of explicitness not found in non-verbal communication, the linguistic code is still "subservient to the inferential process."[588] For THD, while the use of the aorist here would also have been appropriate, he has gone out of his way to make this connection perspicuous thereby making the clause more relevant to the narrative and, consequently, the reader.

6.2.2 The Historic Present

The semantic code of the Greek present indicative, unlike the perfect, is uncontroversial. As the non-past counterpart of the imperfect indicative, the form encodes imperfective aspect and non-past temporal reference. Consistent with its semantics, the form is suited to express the real present within discourse (§3.1.3), but future temporal reference and even past is not uncommon. This latter use, known as the historic present is striking, given that Greek knows no shortage of forms suited to narrative. Further complicating things for the Greek translations is the fact that translators eschew translating Aramaic historic presents with the most natural Greek equivalent (see §4.4.1). As Anssi Voitila notes, "Son usage n'était jamais obligatoire, mais dépendait plutôt du gout stylistique propre à chaque auteur."[589] Despite the subjective nature of

[587] Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 174. By "human external languages", they appear to mean human language.

[588] Ibid., 176-177.

[589] Anssi Voittila, *Présent et Imparfait*, 91.

the historic present and its lack of source text motivation, this does not keep the translators from exploiting the form for their own narrative purposes.

RT grounds a reader's interpretation of the historic present with a coherent cognitive framework, explaining the mental process the reader engages. Although the real present/general present is the default reading of this non-past imperfective, in narrative, when readers encounter a historic present, there is an initial conflict between the discourse context and grammaticalized TAM. Contextual pragmatics override the form's semantics, which accords with the predictions of RT:

> the hearer [or reader] is looking for an interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance: typically an interpretation which yields adequate effects for the minimum justifiable effort in a way the speaker could have manifestly have foreseen….the hearer should choose the most acceptable [interpretation], the one that is easiest to construct.[590]

By using this strategy sparingly, the extra effort required to process is worth the cognitive payoff it produces, guiding the reader to the intended contextual effects.

Perhaps unexpectedly all but one historic present occurs in THD. And all but one of THD's historic presents constitute speaking verbs introducing direct speech. The first two come in chapter 2:

6) MT Daniel 2:10
עֲנוֹ כַשְׂדָּיֵא קֳדָם־מַלְכָּא וְאָמְרִין לָא־אִיתַי אֱנָשׁ עַל־יַבֶּשְׁתָּא דִּי מִלַּת מַלְכָּא יוּכַל לְהַחֲוָיָה כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי כָּל־מֶלֶךְ רַב וְשַׁלִּיט מִלָּה כִדְנָה לָא שְׁאֵל לְכָל־חַרְטֹם וְאָשַׁף וְכַשְׂדִּי׃

> The Chaldeans answered before the king and said, "There is not a man upon the earth who is able to declare the request of the king because no great king or ruler has not asked a request like this from any magician, enchanter or Chaldean.

> TH Daniel 2:10
> ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγουσιν Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς, ὅστις τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως δυνήσεται γνωρίσαι, καθότι πᾶς βασιλεὺς μέγας καὶ ἄρχων ῥῆμα τοιοῦτο οὐκ ἐπερωτᾷ ἐπαοιδόν, μάγον καὶ Χαλδαῖον·

[590] Wilson and Sperber, "Linguistic Form," 7.

> The Chaldeans answered before the king and *they say*, "There is not a man upon the land, who will be able to make known the request of the king because no great king or ruler asks such a request from an enchanter, magi, or Chaldean.

7) MT Daniel 2:27
עָנֶה דָנִיֵּאל קֳדָם מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר רָזָה דִּי־מַלְכָּא שְׁאֵל לָא חַכִּימִין אָשְׁפִּין חַרְטֻמִּין גָּזְרִין יָכְלִין לְהַחֲוָיָה לְמַלְכָּא׃

> Daniel answers and *says* before the king, "the mystery which the king asks—wise men, enchanters, magicians, and astrologers are not able to declare it to the king.

TH Daniel 2:27
καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Δανιηλ ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγει Τὸ μυστήριον, ὃ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπερωτᾷ, οὐκ ἔστιν σοφῶν, μάγων, ἐπαοιδῶν, γαζαρηνῶν ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ βασιλεῖ.

> And Daniel answered before the king and he *says*, "The mystery which the king asks it is not with wise men, magi, enchanters, and astrologers to proclaim to the king."

Given the rarity with which the translators use the historic present to mark speaking verbs, their occurrence appears to be a salient element of the translator's narratological strategy. Rutger Allan suggests the historical present is "a rhetorical device which can be exploited by the narrator to *present* the story subjectively,"[591] often used in the following situations:

> (i) marking a Peak section in an episode,
> (ii) marking a visually or verbally dramatic 'shot' in the Complication,
> (iii) punctuating the narrative by indicating the start (*incipit*) of a Complication.[592]

By "complication," Allan means the point in the narrative wherein "the tension gradually builds up."[593] Both uses of the historic present in Daniel 2 fit this model. Here the translator has chosen to highlight out of a lengthy dialogue two statements by the Chaldeans that stress the impossibility of the king's request to not only interpret the dream, but also provide the dream

[591] Ruter J. Allan, "Towards a typology of the Narrative Modes in Ancient Greek: Text Types and Narrative Structure in Euripidean Messenger Speeches," in *Discourse Cohesion in Ancient Greek*, ed. G. C. Wakker, and Stéphanie Bakker (Leiden: Brill: 2009), 193. This is similar to Arjan A. Nijk, "A Pragmatic Account of the Use of the Historic Present in 'De corona,'" *Mnemosyne* 66:3 (2013): 365-398.

[592] Ibid.

[593] Ibid., 191.

itself. The result is a standoff. Nebuchadnezzar refuses to acquiesce. The Babylonian wise men will never be able to read the king's mind. Between the king's impossible request and their ensuing death, the narrative tension quickly escalates.

THD will return to this strategy once more in chapter 6. There several cases of direct speech receive quotative frames sans the historic present (6:5 [6], 6 [7], 12b [l13b] 16 [17], 21 [22]), but the three marked with the historic present all consist of speeches by the king's advisors (6:12 [13], 13 [14], 15 [16]). Like a catalyst, they propel the development of the narrative complication.[594] By introducing these speeches with historic presents the translator signals their heightened relevance to the reader, constraining his inferential process towards the same conclusion. Once the king's advisors have laid their trap, their first discourse incites the king to issue an edict prohibiting prayer to any god but him (6:12 [13]). Meanwhile, the king is entirely unaware of the implications of his answer (6:12b [13b]). With their second discourse, they reveal that Daniel prays to his God thrice daily in spite of the King's decree (6:13 [14]). With this contextual information, Darius (in accordance with the predictions of RT) cannot but draw the inevitable inference: he must surrender his beloved advisor over to the lions. With their final speech (6:15 [16]), again marked with a historic present, they remind the king of the unchangeable nature of the law of the Medes and the Persians, avoiding ever mentioning Daniel and being careful not to explicitly state their true motives.

[594] It could be argued that the historic presents here are the consequence of influence from the source text, since they are plural and, therefore, unambiguously participles (אָמְרִין), unlike their singular counterpart (אֲמַר). There are enough examples where the translator has opted to use the aorist indicative for the same form elsewhere to mitigate this possibility (see Dan. 2:7; 3:24; 6:5 [6], 6 [7]; 7:5). Irrespective of whether the *Vorlage* occasionally influence the selection of the historic present, this does not alter the way native Greek readers would have read and heard them.

In only one case does THD use a historic present with a verb other than λέγω.

8) MT Daniel 3:27 [LXX 3:93]
וְמִתְכַּנְּשִׁין אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא סִגְנַיָּא וּפַחֲוָתָאֵ֑א וְהַדָּבְרֵי מַלְכָּא֙ חָזַ֣יִן לְגֶ֔בְרַיָּא אִלֵּ֖ךְ דִּי֩ לָא־שְׁלֵ֨ט נוּרָ֜א בְּגֶשְׁמְהוֹן֗
וּשְׂעַ֤ר רֵאשְׁהוֹן֙ לָא֙ הִתְחָ֣רַךְ וְסָרְבָלֵיהוֹן֙ לָא֣ שְׁנָ֔ו וְרֵ֥יחַ נוּר֖ לָא֥ עֲדָ֥ת בְּהוֹן׃

And the satraps, prefects, governors, and counselors of the king *gather together* and they look at these men who the fire had no power over their bodies and the hairs of their head was not singed and their trousers were not changed and the smell of fire did not pass over them.

TH Daniel 3:27 [LXX 3:94]
καὶ συνάγονται οἱ σατράπαι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ τοπάρχαι καὶ οἱ δυνάσται τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐθεώρουν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅτι οὐκ ἐκυρίευσεν τὸ πῦρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ θρὶξ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐφλογίσθη, καὶ τὰ σαράβαρα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠλλοιώθη, καὶ ὀσμὴ πυρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

And the satraps and commanders and governors and powerful men of the king *gather* together and they were looking at the men because the fire did not have dominion of their body, and the hair of their head was not burned and their trousers were not changed and the smell of fire was not on them.

In addition to verbs introducing direct speech, Campbell argues for a second major category with historic presents that consist of "verbs of propulsion" to "heighten transition" in a narrative.[595] In keeping with Allan's predictions, the historic present (συνάγονται) occurs "marking a Peak section in an episode."[596] The narrative complication culminates in Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego condemned to death by fire. Allan summarizes the narrative function of the Peak, as coinciding "with the decisive moment in the course of events...we may see the Peak as an actualization (or, non-actualization) of the possibility opened in the Complication."[597] For Daniel 3, the possibilities that opened in the Complication, including either succumbing to the fiery flames or divine deliverance (3:8-18), come to a head in the furnace. The historic present

[595] Campbell, *Verbal Aspect*, 73.

[596] Allan, "Narrative Modes," 193.

[597] Ibid., 187.

correlates with the decisive moment where God rescues his faithful servants (3:24-29) before the narrative resolution (3:28-30).

Finally, the singular case of a historic present in OGD is found with a verb of speaking:

9) MT Daniel 7:16
קְרֵבַת עַל־חַד מִן־קָאֲמַיָּא וְיַצִּיבָא אֶבְעֵא־מִנֵּהּ עַל־כָּל־דְּנָה וַאֲמַר־לִי וּפְשַׁר מִלְּיָא יְהוֹדְעִנַנִי׃

I approached one of those who were standing in order that I might seek the truth from him concerning all of this. And *he spoke* to me in order to make known the matter to me.

OG Daniel 7:16
προσῆλθον πρὸς ἕνα τῶν ἑστώτων καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐζήτουν παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ πάντων τούτων. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ <u>λέγει</u> μοι καὶ τὴν κρίσιν τῶν λόγων ἐδήλωσέ μοι.

And I approached one of those who were standing and I was seeking accurate information from him concerning all of these things. Now he answered and *speaks* to me and the interpretation of the events he made known to me.

Like the previous examples, the single historical present plays a significant role in Daniel's vision as translated in OGD. Once more, the form occurs at a significant point in the narrative. Like the verbs of speaking introducing direct discourse in TH, λέγει in OGD 7:16 highlights the ensuing speech,[598] which in this case is the interpretation of Daniel's vision.

Although the precise nature of the historic present is still disputed, Campbell has argued, "The level of significance attached to the historical present is a matter of style" dependent on an author's purposes.[599] Consequently, "the historical present does not necessarily carry special significance."[600] For Campbell, many historic presents that introduce direct discourse do not have any special significance, "but merely [exemplify] the imperfective-proximate spill from

[598] Runge, *Discourse Features*, 137-142.

[599] Campbell, *Verbal Aspect*, 75

[600] Ibid., 74.

discourse."[601] While this may be true for some authors, it is decidedly not the case for OG and TH Daniel. Given that the translators exploit this feature ever so sparingly, it appears that they are a deliberate subjective choice. The use of the historic present, even introducing direct discourse, plays a significant role in THD's own cognitive analysis of the narrative.

6.2.3 The Futuristic Present

A second salient use of the present indicative occurs when the translator departs from established practice to refer to future temporal events with the present-tense form—a function typically known in the standard reference grammars as the *futuristic present* or the like.[602] Since Greek regularly expresses future time through the future (see chapter 2), the pragmatic effects are dubious. BDF briefly comments, "In confident assertions regarding the future, a vivid, realistic present may be used for the future…a counterpart to the historical present."[603] Fanning notes that not all of these are "vivid," and instead delineates four subtypes: 1) "process going on in the present with its…termination to be reached only in the future;" 2) "intention, pledge, or expectation;" 3) "gnomic or generic use;" 4) "prophetic" present.[604] This approach is somewhat ad hoc and ultimately unsatisfactory.

What in Greek is a distinction between the non-past imperfective and the non-past perfective has typological parallels in English *will* and *be going*. From the perspective of RT Liliane Haegeman observes the truth condition of 10 a) and b) are equivalent:

10) a) I'll kill him.
    b) I'm going to kill him[605]

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[601] Ibid., 67.

[602] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 257.

[603] Blass, Debrunner, Funk, *Grammar*, 168.

[604] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 221-225.

[605] Liliane Haegeman, "*Be going to* and *will*: A Pragmatic Account," *Journal of Linguistics* 25 (1989): 306.

Haegeman points out that one cannot deny a) and affirm b) or vice versa, but each statement places a different set of procedural constraints on the hearer/reader.

> *Be going* to is like the present perfect in that it imposes a constraint on the processing of the proposition with which it is associated. It signals that this proposition is relevant in a context including at least some present tense propositions, or, in other words, it guarantees a contextual effect if the utterance is processed against a present context. *Will*, on the other hand, signals that the hearer should extend the immediately accessible (present) context for the processing of the proposition and should process the utterance against future propositions.[606]

Haegeman further denies that *be going* is inherently more immediate than the simple future. The "immediate" effects of the construction result "not by inherent meaning but because one only has to access present propositions, or more accurately propositions that one at present has reason to believe are true."[607] Haegeman's observations are readily applicable to the subsequent Greek examples:

11) MT Daniel 3:18
וְהֵן לָא יְדִיעַ לֶהֱוֵא־לָךְ מַלְכָּא דִּי לֶאֱלָהָיִךְ לָא־(אִיתַיְנָא) [אִיתֵנָא] פָּלְחִין וּלְצֶלֶם דַּהֲבָא דִּי הֲקֵימְתָּ לָא נִסְגִּד׃

> And if not, let it be known to you, O king, that your gods we do not serve and the image of gold, which you erected, we *will not worship*.

> OG Daniel 3:18
> καὶ τότε φανερόν σοι ἔσται, ὅτι οὔτε τῷ εἰδώλῳ σου <u>λατρεύομεν</u> οὔτε τῇ εἰκόνι σου τῇ χρυσῇ, ἣν ἔστησας, <u>προσκυνοῦμεν</u>.
>
> And then it will be manifest to you that *we are not going to serve* your idol neither *are we going to worship* the golden image that you set up.

> TH Daniel 3:18
> καὶ ἐὰν μή, γνωστὸν ἔστω σοι, βασιλεῦ, ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς σου οὐ <u>λατρεύομεν</u> καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, ᾗ ἔστησας, οὐ <u>προσκυνοῦμεν</u>.
>
> And if not, let it be known to you, O king, that *we are not going to serve* your gods and the golden image that you set up, *we are not going to worship*.

---

[606] Ibid., 305.

[607] Ibid., 308.

The present tense forms here are debatable. Although the Aramaic text could be regarded as signifying the general present (see chapter 2),[608] it is equally plausible that the present tense forms refer to the immediate future when, once the music began to play, they were to worship the image (3:15).[609] A translator who reads the Aramaic PC (נְסָגֵד) with the statistically dominant future reading, departs from his standard translation technique as part of an intentional rhetorical strategy. Like the English *be going*, the translator ensures the utterance will be processed against the present context, which increases the relevance of the proposition in light of the king's threats. The future context of a second example is more transparent.[610]

12) OG Daniel 4:23b-26 (MT 4:20-23)

[23b] ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου ἥξει ἐπὶ σέ, [24] καὶ ὁ ὕψιστος καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ <u>κατατρέχουσιν</u>· [25] εἰς φυλακὴν ἀπάξουσί σε καὶ εἰς τόπον ἔρημον ἀποστελοῦσί σε. [26] καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ δένδρου ἡ ἀφεθεῖσα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐξερριζώθη· ὁ τόπος τοῦ θρόνου σού σοι συντηρηθήσεται εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ὥραν. ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ σὲ <u>ἑτοιμάζονται</u> καὶ μαστιγώσουσί σε καὶ ἐπάξουσι τὰ κεκριμένα ἐπὶ σέ.

[23b]The judgement of the great God will come upon you. [24]And the Most High and his angels *are going to chase you down*. [25] Into prison they will lead you and into a desert place they will send you. [26] (And the root of the tree which was left, since it was not uprooted—the place of your throne will be kept for a time and a season). Behold, *they are going to make themselves ready* against you and they will flog you and the judgements will come upon you.

OGD 4:23b-26 represents part of a major plus. The translation's relationship with the extant Aramaic text is specious. Yet, the context is clear that these events will find their fulfilment in the future—a full twelve months pass before God's judgement befalls Nebuchadnezzar (v. 26ff). No less than six future indicatives fill this short episode, so that the context and verbal syntax concur. The two present indicatives may well be understood as referring to the real present (so

[608] Li, *Verbal System*, 102.

[609] John Cook: "The imperfect is irrealis volitive given the context in which they are not merely affirming what they do, as in the previous participle clause, but that they have no intention of doing either" (*Aramaic Ezra and Daniel* [Waco: Baylor, 2019)], 179).

[610] See also the use of ἀπολήγει at OGD 5:26.

NETS), indicating that the messengers of God's judgement are currently pursuing Nebuchadnezzar and currently preparing themselves to exact God's vengeance. The use of the present to represent future actions does not mean the present temporal reference is absent; in fact, the reason to use a present for the future is to signal the constraining force of current relevance to Nebuchadnezzar. The rhetorical effect is that Nebuchadnezzar cannot escape God's judgement.

This is not the only time OGD exploits this rhetorical strategy:

13) MT Daniel 5:26

דְּנָה פְּשַׁר־מִלְּתָא מְנֵא מְנָה־אֱלָהָא מַלְכוּתָךְ וְהַשְׁלְמַהּ׃

> This is the interpretation of the matter, "*Mene*: God has numbered your kingdom and has brought it to an end.

OG Daniel 5:26
τοῦτο τὸ σύγκριμα τῆς γραφῆς· ἠρίθμηται ὁ χρόνος σου τῆς βασιλείας, ἀπολήγει ἡ βασιλεία σου, συντέτμηται καὶ συντετέλεσται ἡ βασιλεία σου, τοῖς Μήδοις καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις δίδοται.

> This is the interpretation of the writing, "The time of your kingdom is numbered and your kingdom *is going to pass away*. Your kingdom is cut short and brought to an end. To the Medes and the Persians it is given.

Had OGD used ἀπολήξει, the truth conditions of the statement would have been identical; the statements are "near-interchangeable."[611] The future would have directed the reader to "the future implications of the proposition," while the text in OGD constrains the reader to look for the "present implications."[612] As Haegman observes, "there is inevitably a subjective element in the selection of the future referring construction. Hence the importance attached to the point of view of the speaker…."[613] This is not unlike Porter's "reasoned subjective choice" of verbal

[611] Haegeman, "*Be going to*," 308.

[612] Ibid.

[613] Ibid.

aspect. Given the overwhelming tendency to use the future for future temporal events, the rhetorical use of the present for the future is deliberate departure. The subjective implication here is that the enemies are at the gate, as it were (cf. MT and THD 5:30).[614]

6.2.4 Periphrastic Constructions

The rich aspectual possibilities available to the Greek inflectional system notwithstanding, from an early time periphrastic constructions began to appear. [615] By periphrastic it is simply meant to "denote a construction type in which a grammatical property or feature is expressed by a combination of words rather than a single (inflected) word form…generally applied to functional categories that are integrated into the inflectional system."[616] The English sentence *I am singing in the rain* illustrates "a fully grammaticalized [periphrastic] progressive" common in Indo-European.[617] OGD regularly uses a wider range of translation equivalents, but the use of Greek periphrastic constructions with an extant Aramaic *Vorlage* is not one of them (see previous chapter). THD takes advantage of the nuanced possibilities this form affords, occasionally departing from established translation preferences when revising the text to translate the Aramaic SC of *הוה + active/t-stem participle* approximately 14% of the time (see Table 18).[618] In contrast, the PC of הוה + active/t-stem

[614] It is also telling that the surest examples of this pragmatic function occur in pluses of OGD, though the data is too meager to make any text-critical conclusions.

[615] According to Bentein the existence of the periphrastic construction εἶμι with the present participle as a periphrastic is debated in Archaic Greek (8th-6th century) and only becomes frequent in the classical period (5th-4th century) (*Verbal Periphrasis*, 205-212).

[616] The definition of verbal periphrasis is not as straightforward as it might first appear. Bentein critiques previous approaches and problematizes the complex nature of periphrasis (Ibid., 62-108).

[617] Pier Marco Bertinetto, Karen H. Ebert, and Casper de Groot, "The Progressive in Europe," in *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*, ed. Östen Dahl (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 517-558.

[618] In contrast, the PC of הוה + active/t-stem participle almost always has a Greek periphrastic counterpart (see tables 20-22 and 28-30). Although Bentein makes exhaustive use of the LXX material, he leaves out evidence from THD, only citing the text once (THD 2:42; Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 383).

participle always has a Greek periphrastic construction as its translation equivalent (see table 22 and 27). Because this is not the case for the SC form, the choice of the Greek periphrastic construction is not compulsory[619] and is, therefore, a subjective choice.

In the Classical period, according to Bentein, "stative examples predominate."[620] In the LXX (early post-classical period) just over a third of periphrastic constructions are stative,[621] while 60% are progressive. In the NT, though, the use of the periphrastic progressive more than doubles per 10,000 words, while a marked increase in focalized progressives emerge.[622] Because of the significant diachronic development within a relatively short time frame, I would like to suggest that it is necessary to differentiate the procedural constraints of the periphrastic construction during translation, immediately following, and the reception of the texts in the first centuries C.E. up through the Byzantine period:

14) MT Daniel 4:1

אֲנָ֗ה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּ֛ר שַׁלְוָ֥ה הֲוֵ֖ית בְּבֵיתִ֑י וְרַעֲנַ֖ן בְּהֵיכְלִֽי׃

I, Nebuchadnezzar, was *at ease* in my house and *flourishing* in my palace.

OG Daniel 4:1 [LXX 4:4]
Ἔτους ὀκτωκαιδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονοσορ εἶπεν Εἰρηνεύων ἤμην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ εὐθηνῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου.

In the eighteenth year of king Nebuchadnezzar, he said, "I was at peace in my house and flourishing on my throne.

TH Daniel 4:1 [LXX 4:4]
ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδονοσορ εὐθηνῶν ἤμην ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου καὶ εὐθαλῶν.

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[619] Although the use of multiple participles with the copula generally trigger periphrastic constructions in the target text, examples from OGD indicate even this is not obligatory (e.g., OGD 6:11 below).

[620] Ibid., 238.

[621] Ibid.

[622] Bentein, "Periphrastic Progressive," 181. In the NT 42% of progressives are focalized in contrast with 15% in the LXX. NT grammatical treaties overlook the stative function almost entirely. For them the semantic difference between the simple imperfect and periphrastic construction is not entirely clear (Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 313-317; Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 479-486; cf. Muraoka, *Syntax*, 399).

I, Nebuchadnezzar, was flourishing in my house and thriving.

Source text considerations could lead one to the conclusion that the translators intended the resultant periphrastic construction to encode a stative function. What is translated with present participles constitute a passive participle/verbal adjective and an adjective in the source and have a stative nuance. Moreover, the lexemes of the Greek participles are "low on the transivity scale [and] should note be considered progressive."[623] Bentein however, classifies the specific case at 4:4 as an example of a durative progressive that "denotes a continuation of a process in a broader time-frame."[624] It is easy to see how readers in the Early Post-Classical Greek period could have processed these verbs this way since a large number of periphrastic constructions in the LXX are durative progressive. Yet, when the focalized progressive increases during the time of the NT and later, it is possible that in OG and TH Daniel 4:1 [LXX 4:4], the event could have been "evaluated with regard to a single point in time, called the 'focalization point.'"[625] The procedural constraint would lead the reader to infer that the following verse (ἐνύπνιον εἶδον) is the "focalization point."[626] In addition to lexical semantics, the nuance one chooses for the periphrastic construction and its relationship to the ensuing verse illustrates the fundamental problem RT seeks to address. The semantic code here is only a guide. Inference must guide the interpretive process, which "involves an interaction of the decoded semantic content with general knowledge assumptions about the way things connect up and relate in the world."[627]

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[623] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis,* 254.

[624] Bentein, "Periphrastic Progressive," 172. THD 6:15 is a prototypical example of the durative progressive: [15] τότε ὁ βασιλεύς, ὡς τὸ ῥῆμα ἤκουσεν, πολὺ ἐλυπήθη ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Δανιηλ ἠγωνίσατο τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἕως ἑσπέρας ἦν ἀγωνιζόμενος τοῦ ἐξελέσθαι αὐτόν.

[625] Ibid., 171.

[626] Ibid., 183.

The same kind of interpretive development may be evident in the replacement of a periphrastic construction with a present participle with an adjective:

15) MT Daniel 7:19
אֱדַיִן צְבִית לְיַצָּבָא עַל־חֵיוְתָא רְבִיעָיְתָא דִּי־הַוַת שָׁנְיָה מִן־כָּלְהֵון דְּחִילָה יַתִּירָה שִׁנַּיהּ דִּי־פַרְזֶל וְטִפְרַיהּ דִּי־
נְחָשׁ אָכְלָה מַדֲקָה וּשְׁאָרָא בְּרַגְלַיהּ רָפְסָה׃

> Then I wanted to gain certainty concerning the fourth beast which *was different* from all of them it was exceedingly terrifying and it had teeth of iron and claws of bronze, which devoured and crushed and trampled the rest it trampled with its feet.

TH Daniel 7:19[628]
καὶ ἐζήτουν ἀκριβῶς περὶ τοῦ θηρίου τοῦ τετάρτου, ὅτι ἦν διαφέρον παρὰ πᾶν θηρίον φοβερὸν περισσῶς, οἱ ὀδόντες αὐτοῦ σιδηροῖ καὶ οἱ ὄνυχες αὐτοῦ χαλκοῖ, ἐσθίον καὶ λεπτῦνον καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ συνεπάτει.

> And I was seeking carefully concerning the fourth beast because *it was being different* from every beast, abundantly terrible, its teeth were of iron and its claws were of iron, it was devouring and crushing and the rest with its feet it was trampling.

The above text (ἦν διαφέρον) is found only in codex Vaticanus (B), which generally is said to preserve the most accurate text of THD and is represented in the Göttingen edition.[629] The codices Alexandrinus (A; 5th cent.) and Venetus (V; 9th cent.), along with fifteen minuscules, however, include the adjective διάφορον. Because the difference between the two is a single vowel, it would be easy to dismiss this variant as insignificant—the kind of variant that could easily have arisen at any point in the text's transmission. The history of εἰμί with the present participle may suggest a different explanation. The stative periphrastic is relatively constant from the Early Post Classical Period through the Late Post Classical Period, but with the Early Byzantine period, they begin to fall off, dropping by nearly a third (from 1.67 per 10,000 words

[627] Robyn Carston, "Conjunction, Explanation and Relevance," *Lingua* 90 (1993): 28.

[628] OGD has τοῦ διαφέροντος following P967, whereas Ms88 reads τοῦ διαφθείροντος.

[629] Joseph Ziegler and Olivier Munnich, "Einleitung," in *Susanna, Daniel, Bet et Draco*, 139.

to 1.17).[630] Interestingly, three of these minuscules (46, 130, 534) are dependent on B.[631] Since these texts date from the Byzantine period, we could have an instance where the historical change in the Greek language results in a textual variant, eliminating a periphrastic construction.[632]

A final set of examples constitute a minority function of the periphrastic construction: habitual uses of periphrastic constructions ([14] and [15]). The first example is somewhat ambiguous, while the latter with the use of the adverbial phrase καιροὺς τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας requires a habitual reading.

16) MT Daniel 5:19a
וּמִן־רָבוּתָא דִּי יְהַב־לֵהּ כָּל עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא הֲוָו (זָאֲעִין) [זָיְעִין] וְדָחֲלִין מִן־קֳדָמוֹהִי

TH Daniel 5:19a
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης, ἧς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, πάντες οἱ λαοί, φυλαί, γλῶσσαι ἦσαν τρέμοντες καὶ φοβούμενοι ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ·

17) MT Daniel 6:11
דָּנִיֵּאל כְּדִי יְדַע דִּי־רְשִׁים כְּתָבָא עַל לְבַיְתֵהּ וְכַוִּין פְּתִיחָן לֵהּ בְּעִלִּיתֵהּ נֶגֶד יְרוּשְׁלֶם וְזִמְנִין תְּלָתָה בְיוֹמָא
הוּא בָּרֵךְ עַל־בִּרְכּוֹהִי וּמְצַלֵּא וּמוֹדֵא קֳדָם אֱלָהֵהּ כָּל־קֳבֵל דִּי־הֲוָא עָבֵד מִן־קַדְמַת דְּנָה׃

And Daniel, when he knew that the document had been inscribed, he went up to his house and its windows had been opened in his roof chamber facing Jerusalem. And three times a day *he would bow* on his knees and *pray* and *give thanks* before his God just as *he would do* before this.

OG Daniel 6:11
ἐπιγνοὺς δὲ Δανιηλ τὸν ὁρισμόν, ὃν ἔστησε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ, θυρίδας ἤνοιξεν ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ αὐτοῦ κατέναντι Ιερουσαλημ καὶ ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας, καθὼς ἐποίει ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ἐδεῖτο.

Now when Daniel realized the decree that he issued against him, he opened the windows in his upper room facing Jerusalem and he *would fall* down upon his face three times a day just as he *would do* previously, and he *would pray*.

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[630] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 277.

[631] Joseph Ziegler and Olivier Munnich, "Einleitung," in *Susanna, Daniel, Bet et Draco*, 138.

[632] This line of reasoning would not hold for the other uncials like A (5th cent.). Here the adjective could have resulted from simple misreading.

> TH Daniel 6:11
> καὶ Δανιηλ, ἡνίκα ἔγνω ὅτι ἐνετάγη τὸ δόγμα, εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ αἱ θυρίδες ἀνεῳγμέναι αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς ὑπερῴοις αὐτοῦ κατέναντι Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ καιροὺς τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν κάμπτων ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσευχόμενος καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ἦν ποιῶν ἔμπροσθεν.
>
> And Daniel when he knew that the decree was issued, he entered into his house and its windows had been opened in his upper chamber facing Jerusalem and three times a day he *was bowing* on his knees and *praying* and *confessing* before his God, just as he *was doing* previously.

The habitual function is quite rare in the Early Post-Classical period. In the LXX, they constitute a minority function. And typologically, the periphrastic construction in the LXX does not appear far enough along on the grammaticalization path for habituals to occur.[633] Even in the Byzantine period the function is fringe.[634] The simple imperfect regularly expresses the habitual. The difference is not semantic, but stylistic. As is often the case in translated texts, these habitual uses likely sounded unnatural (and it is only the temporal adverbs that force the habitual reading). Because habitual functions never moved beyond their marginal use from the Classical period through the Early Byzantine period, in all likelihood they always had a foreign feel to them.[635]

In contrast, the former example (15) is ambiguous; it could have a stative function and may have been read this way, though the habitual was likely intended in light of the Aramaic text.[636] This ambiguity results from the fact that the three functions discussed here (progressive, stative, and habitual) overlap. The progressive "describes an event that is in the midst of

[633] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 245-247.

[634] Ibid., 277, 288.

[635] See Alter, *Bible Translation*, 22.

[636] Li, *Verbal System*, 81.

happening."[637] Statives refer to "temporally stable events."[638] Habituals, already discussed at length (see §3.1.5) "express the repeated occurrence of an event over an extensive period of time, so much so that it becomes characteristic."[639] These subtypes are not always easy to differentiate: "Habituals resemble durative progressives when the latter have an iterative character…Habituals also resemble statives, in particular generics, as both can be considered to "characterize" the subject…."[640] Since both the periphrastic construction and the simple imperfect encode imperfective aspect, one could argue that the choice is semantically and pragmatically null. It is probably the case though that the former always suggests a more stative nuance,[641] making the periphrastic construction no mere "allo-syntagm of the imperfect."[642]

6.3 Case Studies: The Non-Indicative Mood

6.3.1 Circumstantial participles

What distinguishes the verbal semantics of the participle is not so much what it encodes, but what it does not: tense and mood. Unlike the indicative mood, which distinguishes past and non-past via the augment,[643] the participle, like the rest of the non-indicative moods is not marked for tense (though this does not mean it is incapable of implicating temporal reference).

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[637] Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 31.

[638] Ibid., 33.

[639] Ibid., 34.

[640] Ibid.

[641] Steven Levinsohn, "Functions of the Copula-Participle Combinations ('Periphrastics')," in *The Greek Verb*, eds. Steven Runge and Christopher Fresch (Bellingham: Lexham, 2016), 323-324. In passing, it is worth noting that since there is a greater tendency in the sections of the LXX that translate Aramaic to avoid using the Greek periphrastic construction for the Aramaic periphrastic, this provides further evidence that the increased use of the Greek periphrastic in the NT is not a Semitism as is often argued (cf. Bentein, *Verbal Periphrasis*, 268).

[642] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 308.

[643] Peter J. Gentry, "The Function of the Augment in Hellenistic Greek," in *The Greek Verb*, 353-378.

Moreover, the participle, together with the infinitive does not grammaticalize mood. Using a participle to translate a Hebrew/Aramaic finite verbal form is a transformative syntactical choice, a regular feature of Septuagint Greek. But what cognitive effects does such an alteration produce on the reader?

The conscious choice to translate finite Aramaic verbal forms with Greek participles is a choice to eliminate a defining feature of Septuagint syntax—parataxis. Although parataxis occurs regularly in non-translated texts,[644] it is particularly abundant in the Septuagint in large part due to the Semitic parent text. Alter writes:

> Parataxis is above all a device of narrative concatenation. Instead of stipulating causal relations and so showing how one element in the narrative report qualifies or complicates odr is a consequence of another, it marches us steadily from one point to the next in the narrative sequence.[645]

To problematize Alter's comments in terms of RT, parataxis increases the procedural constraints on the reader, by placing the conceptual information in the participles in a syntactically dependent relationship with the main verb, necessitating that readers infer necessary temporal and causal relationships. In a paratactic text, the temporal and causal relationship is imprecise, forcing the reader take more time to process them via the central cognitive mechanism based on encyclopedic information.[646] With the absence of subordinating participles, the reader is left to infer the relationship between the participle and the verbal form marked for mood on which the participle is dependent.

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[644] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 700. The situation for Greek prose was not unlike English: "one might, of course, argue that this is not a 'natural' way to organize narrative prose in English, but it seems to me, encouraged by the precedent of the King James Version, that it can work in English, and that adherence to the parataxis of the original brings us closer to the impressive artistry of the Hebrew." (Altar, *Translation*, 29)

[645] Alter, *Translation*, 29.

[646] See Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 260ff (cf. §5.2.1).

Although both OG and TH Daniel make this syntactic change, it is characteristic of OGD to translate SC Aramaic forms with Greek participles, creating circumstantial clauses. There are twenty extant cases where the translator of OG Daniel has rendered the Aramaic SC with circumstantial participles and others that occur with no extant *Vorlage*. Although this constitutes a minor translation strategy (7%), it is over 3x as frequent as TH in terms of absolute numerical occurances:[647]

18) MT Daniel 2:48
אֱדַ֡יִן מַלְכָּא֩ לְדָנִיֵּאל֙ רַבִּ֜י וּמַתְּנָן֩ רַבְרְבָ֨ן שַׂגִּיאָ֤ן יְהַב־לֵּהּ֙ וְהַשְׁלְטֵ֣הּ עַל֩ כָּל־מְדִינַ֨ת בָּבֶ֜ל וְרַב־סַגְּנִ֗ין עַ֚ל כָּל־ חַכִּימֵ֖י בָּבֶֽל׃

Then the king *made* Daniel *great* and many great gifts he gave to him and he made him ruler over all the province of Babylon and chief of the prefects over all the wise men of Babylon.

OG Daniel 2:48
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονοσορ Δανιηλ μεγαλύνας καὶ δοὺς δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ πολλὰς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τῆς Βαβυλωνίας καὶ ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ ἡγούμενον πάντων τῶν σοφιστῶν Βαβυλωνίας.

Then king Nebuchadnezzar, after *making* Daniel great and *giving* many great gifts, appointed him over the affairs of Babylon and assigned him to be leader and ruler over all of the wise men of Babylon

TH Daniel 2:48
καὶ ἐμεγάλυνεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Δανιηλ καὶ δόματα μεγάλα καὶ πολλὰ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάσης χώρας Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἄρχοντα σατραπῶν ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος.

And the King made Daniel great and many great gifts he gave to him and appointed him over all the region of Babylon and ruler of the satraps over all the wise men of Babylon.

[647] In THD, 2% of SC forms are translated with a participle and not all of these are circumstantial. Furthermore, not all of the instances here where the translator uses a participle to translate an Aramaic SC result in circumstantial clauses. In Daniel 6:25, for example וַאֲמַר מַלְכָּא וְהַיְתָיו גֻּבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ דִּי־אֲכָלוּ קַרְצֽוֹהִי דִּי דָנִיֵּאל becomes τότε οἱ δύο ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖνοι οἱ καταμαρτυρήσαντες τοῦ Δανιηλ (also THD). In THD of all the SC forms translated as aorist participles, only 6:13 is circumstantial.

TH embodies Alter's ideal of attempting to mirror the syntactic artistry of the Semitic original.[648] On a purely conceptual level, OG and TH are identical, even using the same lexemes (ἐμεγάλυνεν //μεγαλύνας; ἔδωκεν// δοὺς). Even the aspect is identical. The subjective choice of participles over indicatives imposes a different procedural constraints on the reader, by which the translator forces the reader to infer the relationship between participles and the main clause. At the same time, given the two principles of relevance (see above), utilizing participles weakens the relevance of the conceptual lexemes and the actions they depict. Demoting the relevance of the participles creates a contrast between the information encoded with participles and that encoded with the aorist indicative, allowing the reader to infer what the more "important" action is.[649]

In a single instance TH use a rare circumstantial participle with a historic present:

19) MT Daniel 6:13a
בֵּאדַיִן קָרִיבוּ וְאָמְרִין קֳדָם־מַלְכָּא עַל־אֱסָר מַלְכָּא הֲלָא אֱסָר רְשַׁמְתָּ

> Then they approached and they say before the king concerning the edict, "O King, did you not inscribe an interdiction?
>
> TH Daniel 6:13
> καὶ προσελθόντες λέγουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ Βασιλεῦ, οὐχ ὁρισμὸν ἔταξας
>
> And after entering they say to the king, "O king, did you not establish a decree?"

The use of the circumstantial participle is so rare in THD, it may be a slip of the pen as TH uses a historic present (also a rare choice). By choosing the participle over an indicative verb, the contrastive salience between προσελθόντες and λέγουσιν increases to guide the reader to the intended implications.

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[648] Cf. OGD/THD 3:8, 26 [lxx 93], 28 [95].

[649] "Where an author wants to condense a communication and to highlight the main point(s), main finite verbs can be chosen for natural prominence, while participles can be chosen for a lower ranking of clauses" (Randall Buth, "Participles as Pragmatic Choice: Where Semantics Meets Pragmatics," in *The Greek Verb*, 289).

Although aorist circumstantial participles are dominant, on occasion we find a present circumstantial participle:

20) OG Daniel 6:15
καὶ λυπούμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν ῥιφῆναι τὸν Δανιηλ εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων κατὰ τὸν ὁρισμόν, ὃν ἔστησε κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

And while the king was grieving, he said to throw Daniel into the den of lions according to the decree which he established against him.

The same stylistic effects occur here as above. The translator has placed the conceptual information "grieving" in a syntactically dependent relationship to the main verb, but here, by encoding imperfective aspect, the translator manipulates the inferential process so that the action portrayed in the participle occurs simultaneously with the main verb. Of course, this is assumed in the Aramaic as preserved in the MT, but OG here makes the inference explicit. Darius is heartbroken even as he sentences Daniel to death.

At the seams of the Prayer of Azariah, OG includes a perfect circumstantial participle. Perfect participles are not uncommon in OGD (see table 77), though they do not occur in a circumstantial clause elsewhere:

21) OG Daniel 3:91 [MT 3:24]
Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἑστὼς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας,

And it happened when the king heard them singing and *having stood* he was looking at them alive.

Assuming that the perfect participle encodes a combination of perfective and imperfective aspectual value, the procedural constraint exerted on the reader is that of a "resulting state" (§6.3.2). This aspectual choice prevents the reader from inferring the action is subsequent (most

naturally expressed with the aorist participle) or simple contemporaneous (most naturally expressed with the present particple).[650]

All of this raises the question why later translators abandoned this minority strategy, like TH's revisions of OG. Based on the previous chapter, the translators of the Septuagint could have certainly written a text that was syntactically more complex, not unlike Josephus. There is no linguistic reason why (22):

22) TH Daniel 2:46
τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον καὶ τῷ Δανιηλ προσεκύνησεν καὶ μαναα καὶ εὐωδίας εἶπεν σπεῖσαι αὐτῷ.

Then king Nebuchadnezzar fell upon his face and paid homage to Daniel and manna and fragrant libation he said to pour out to him.

could not have been (23):

23) *Ant*. X: 211
Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ναβουχοδονόσαρος ἀκηκοὼς ταῦτα καὶ ἐπιγνοὺς τὸ ὄναρ ἐξεπλάγη τὴν τοῦ Δανιήλου φύσιν καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ᾧ τρόπῳ τὸν θεὸν προσκυνοῦσι, τούτῳ τὸν Δανίηλον ἠσπάζετο.

Now king Nebuchadnezzar, having heard these things and coming to an understanding of the dream, marveled at the nature of Daniel and falling on his face, in the manner in which they pay homage to God, in this way he was hailing Daniel.

Although circumstantial participles are more common in the Pentateuch, Good finds only "two examples of aorist circumstantial participles in narrative sections of Chronicles."[651] Though more frequent, the circumstantial participles in the Pentateuch are not enough to keep Conybeare and Stock from concluding that "in the Greek of the LXX there is no syntax, only parataxis. The whole is one great scheme of clauses connected by καί…."[652] The consequence of such a

[650] The situation is more complex. See Constantine Campbell, *Verbal Aspect and Non-Indicative Verbs: Further Soundings in the Greek of the New Testament* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 13-29.

[651] Good, Septuagint's *Translation*, 229.

[652] F. C. Conybeare and St. G. Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1988), §40.

translation strategy, whether intended or accidental, is that subsequent generations would have recognized parataxis as a hallmark of the style of authoritative scripture. They belie not the audience's "cognitive abilities" as much as their cognitive expectations.[653] TH's revision of OG Daniel in this regard is an attempt to conform the text to these expected norms. The later Septuagint translators continue the trajectory initiated in the Pentateuch, giving their texts a certain gravitas.[654]

6.3.2 A Non-Prototypical Use of the Genitive Absolute

Because participles are marked for gender, number, and case, the language permits an author to differentiate between the subject of a participial clause and that of the main verb by placing it in the genitive case. The standard reference grammars call this function a genitive absolute, which consists of "a participle agreeing in the genitive with its own subject, which is not identical with the subject of the leading verb…."[655] The problem with such statements is not that such constructions are not found in abundance in composed and translation Greek. Both translations of Daniel regularly exploit this feature of Greek syntax, unmotivated by their *Vorlage*:[656]

24) TH Daniel 4:31 [MT Daniel 4:28]
ἔτι τοῦ λόγου ἐν στόματι τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος φωνὴ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ ἐγένετο Σοὶ λέγουσιν, Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεῦ, ἡ βασιλεία παρῆλθεν ἀπὸ σοῦ.

While the word *was* still in the mouth of the king, a voice came from heaven, "To you it is said, king Nebuchadnezzar, 'The kingdom has departed from you.'"

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[653] Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 217-218.

[654] See Muraoka, Syntax, 698-701.

[655] Smyth, *Grammar*, 459. Some ambiguity occurs in constructions like TH Daniel 3:91 (καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἤκουσεν ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν) when the genitive participle phrase follows a verb such as and especially ἀκούω. The participle clause could function here as an object complement (Muraoka, *Syntax*, 602); this is likely the correct analysis.

[656] See also OG Daniel 4:16; THD 4:28.

25) OG Daniel 7:1

Ἔτους πρώτου βασιλεύοντος Βαλτασαρ χώρας Βαβυλωνίας Δανιηλ ὅραμα εἶδε παρὰ κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ· τότε Δανιηλ τὸ ὅραμα, ὃ εἶδεν, ἔγραψεν εἰς κεφάλαια λόγων

During the first year Belshazzar reigned over the region of Babylon, Daniel saw a vision in his head upon his bed. Then Daniel wrote the vision which he saw in a summary of the events.

As soon as the grammars make this rule, they must break it. On the very next page, Smyth is forced to concede, "Exceptionally, the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as that of the main clause."[657] As would be expected, Smyth appeals to the all-explanatory concept of emphasis to free himself from his self-made conundrum: "The effect of this irregular construction is to emphasize the idea contained in the genitive absolute."[658] Muraoka similarly takes for granted this dictate of Greek syntax and verges on prescriptivism when he uses words like "loose syntax," even suggesting that when this alleged rule is broken, "one could perhaps be a little charitable towards the translator concerned" in cases where the "genitive absolute construction precedes the main clause" with the implication that this is not the case when the genitive absolute follows the main clause.[659] For Muraoka, a translator may have initiated a clause with a genitive absolute before deciding how to render the main clause,[660] but this is improbable when the translator has the text before him. Furthermore, this line of reasoning makes too many assumptions about the translation process, namely that their work was myopic without regard for the larger literary context. Examples like (26), though technically falling just

[657] Ibid., 460.

[658] Ibid.

[659] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 414-415.

[660] Ibid.

outside of our corpus, question the validity of claims that ascribe to this syntactic structure incompetence:

26) OG Daniel 8:1-2

[1]Ἔτους τρίτου βασιλεύοντος Βαλτασαρ ὅρασις, ἣν εἶδον ἐγὼ Δανιηλ μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν με τὴν πρώτην. [2] καὶ εἶδον ἐν τῷ ὁράματι τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μου ἐμοῦ ὄντος ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐν Ἐλυμαΐδι χώρᾳ, ἔτι ὄντος μου πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Αιλαμ.

[1]During the third year Belshazzar *reigned*, there was a vision which I Daniel saw after I saw the first. [2]And I saw in the vision of the dream when I *was* in the city of Sousa, which is in the region of Elymais, while I *was* still in the gate of Olam.

After using the genitive absolute coinciding with a subject different from the main clause, OGD proceeds to use the same construction where the subject of the genitive absolute is the same as the main clause, not once but twice. Numerous examples from the Hellenistic and Classical period suggest more is going on than a simple misunderstanding of grammar. Because the use of the genitive absolute to signal a subject change is so well established, and appealing to ineptitude is little more than a copout, a new explanation must be sought.[661]

Mirativity, as suggested for perfects in theme line material, is a potentially fruitful avenue. Although noted in older literature, the concept first gains typological validity with Scott Delancey. Initially it was defined as conveying information that is "new to the speaker, not yet integrated into his overall picture of the world."[662] As documentation of this category has

[661] Margaret Sim, "The Genitive Absolute in Discourse: More Than a Change of Subject," in Richard A. Taylor & Craig E. Morrison, eds. *Reflections on Lexicography. Explorations in Ancient Syriac, Hebrew, and Greek Sources* (NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 289–302. Sim stresses that this construction is chiefly used for providing access to certain 'contextual assumptions' that are not made explicit so the text can be optimally relevant. Lois Fuller contends that being absolute is not an essential feature of the construction so there is no need to explain the "exceptions." The genitive absolute provides necessary background information and may be due to dialect differences ("'The Genitive Absolute' in New Testament/Hellenistic Greek: A Proposal for Clearer Understanding," *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 3 (2006): 142-167.

[662] Scott DeLancey, "Mirativity: The grammatical Marking of Unexpected Information," *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1997): 36.

increased, a fuller semantic picture has emerged. Alexandra Aikhenvald summarizes mirativity's semantic range:

(i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization (a) by the speaker, (b) by the audience (or addressee), or (c) by the main character;
(ii) surprise (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
(iii) unprepared mind (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
(iv) counterexpectation (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character;
(v) information new (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character.[663]

A language may express mirativity as an independent grammatical category, as a subset of mirativity, modality, perfective aspect (§5.3.2), and even lexically.[664] English, a language which does not grammatically encode mirativity, can nevertheless express it intonationally.[665] "The mirative intonation contour is an exaggerated version of the declarative intonation with the tonic rise considerably higher."[666] DeLancey suggests that the complimentary comment *she plays really well* when made at a piano recital is more likely to occur "with the mirative intonational contour than with ordinary statement intonation."[667] Similarly, "the attention noise (typically an affirmative grunt, or sometimes the abbreviated affirmative *yeah*) is most commonly uttered with a slightly rising intonational contour," which is a politeness strategy suggesting the information conveyed is new and interesting.[668] Since mirativity "is a universal semantic category, and

[663] Alexandra Aikhenvald, "The Essence of Mirativity," *Linguistic Typology* 16 (2012): 437.

[664] Ibid.

[665] Scott DeLancey, "The Mirative and Evidentiality," *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (2001): 369-382.

[666] Ibid., 377.

[667] Ibid.

[668] Ibid., 377-378.

that…languages differ not in whether they have means to express it, but the degree to which its expression is integrated into the grammar," the question is not whether Greek expresses mirativity but how.

If we return to read OGD 8:1-2 in light of the cross-linguistic observations on mirativity, the genitive absolutes function consistently.[669] Transporting in a dream to a foreign location is sufficient for the author to use this strategy to lead the reader to infer that this information is surprising and/or unexpected, particularly to Daniel.

In (27) THD revises the genitive absolute to an aorist subjunctive.

27) OG Daniel 3:15
καὶ νῦν εἰ μὲν ἔχετε ἑτοίμως ἅμα τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ παντὸς ἤχου μουσικῶν πεσόντες προσκυνῆσαι τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, ᾗ ἔστησα· εἰ δὲ μή γε, γινώσκετε ὅτι μὴ προσκυνησάντων ὑμῶν αὐθωρὶ ἐμβληθήσεσθε εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν καιομένην· καὶ ποῖος θεὸς ἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου;

And now, if you are ready, when you hear the trumpet and every sound of music, falling down to worship the image which I erected. But if not, know that *if you do not worship* instantly, you will be thrown into the furnace of burning fire. And what sort of god will deliver you from my hands?

TH Daniel 3:15
νῦν οὖν εἰ ἔχετε ἑτοίμως ἵνα, ὡς ἂν ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος σύριγγός τε καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικῶν, πεσόντες προσκυνήσητε τῇ εἰκόνι, ᾗ ἐποίησα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ προσκυνήσητε, αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐμβληθήσεσθε εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν καιομένην· καὶ τίς ἐστιν θεός, ὃς ἐξελεῖται ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου;

Therefore, now if you are ready that whenever you hear the sound of the horn, the pipe, the lyre, the trigon, the harp, the bagpipe and all kinds of music, falling down you worship the image which I made. But if you *do not worship* in that hour you will be thrown into the furnace of burning fire and what God is there who will deliver you from my hands?

Interestingly, in the previous clause of OGD the translator uses the circumstantial participle in the expected manner (πεσόντες προσκυνῆσαι), suggesting that the non-prototypical use of the

[669] Muraoka simply calls Dan 8:1-2 loose syntax (*Syntax*, 415).

genitive absolute is calculated. The genitive absolute parallels the conditional ἐὰν…μὴ προσκυνήσητε. The idea that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego would actually risk being thrown into the fiery furnace, runs counter to Nebuchadnezzar's expectations: *If you were not to worship (and I would be surprised if you did not).*

These two cases[670] do not constitute sufficient evidence to conclude that non-prototypical uses of the genitive absolute are a covert mirative strategy, but they are suggestive. Before reaching a more definitive judgement, all of the data from the Septuagint and related Greek would require close analysis. A mirative reading of the non-prototypical use of the genitive absolute illustrates a non-encoded communicative strategy that embodies the principles of RT.

6.3.2 Infinitives

Infinitives—verbal nouns—are less marked than participles. The only grammatical information the forms encode is aspect and voice. The default aspectual choice lies decisively with the aorist infinitive; there is nearly a 10:1 ratio of aorist to present infinitives in OGD and nearly that in THD (see table 83 and table 84). In 2 Esdras there is only one present infinitive in the relevant portion (2 Esd. 7:24). These kind of numbers raise the question why the present infinitive occurs at all. Sometimes the choice is obligatory (εἶναι [THD 5:29; 6:2, 27]), the context suggests the action is durative (e.g., κυριεύειν [OGD 2:38] ; ἡγεῖσθαι [THD 3:97]), habitual (e.g., ἀποδιδόναι [THD 6:3]), or the lexeme is stative (e.g., ἔχειν [OGD 4:17]), but text 28 sufficiently problematizes what Campbell calls one of the more challenging facets of verbal aspect outside of the indicative mood:[671]

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[670] Here I have not considered genitive absolutes such constructions as καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἤκουσεν ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν (Dat. 3:91; see Muraoka, *Syntax*, 602-603), though a mirative strategy for such a construction in this context would work well.

[671] Campbell, *Non-Indicative Verbs*, 101.

28) MT Daniel 2:13-14
[13] וְדָתָא נְפַקַת וְחַכִּימַיָּא מָתְקַטְלִין וּבְעוֹ דָּנִיֵּאל וְחַבְרוֹהִי לְהִתְקַטָּלָה׃ [14] בֵּאדַיִן דָּנִיֵּאל הֲתִיב עֵטָא וּטְעֵם
לְאַרְיוֹךְ רַב־טַבָּחַיָּא דִּי מַלְכָּא דִּי נְפַק לְקַטָּלָה לְחַכִּימֵי בָּבֶל׃

[13]And the decree went out and all the wise men were being killed and they sought *to kill* Daniel and his friends. [14]Then Daniel returned counsel and discretion to Arioch captain of the guardsmen of the king, who went out *to kill* the wise men of Babel.

OG Daniel 2:13-14
[13]καὶ ἐδογματίσθη πάντας ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐζητήθη δὲ ὁ Δανιηλ καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ χάριν τοῦ συναπολέσθαι.[14] τότε Δανιηλ εἶπε βουλὴν καὶ γνώμην, ἣν εἶχεν, Αριώχῃ τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ᾧ προσέταξεν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας,

[13]And it was decreed *to kill* everyone. Then Daniel was sought and all who were with him in order *to destroy* them together. [14]Then Daniel spoke counsel and advice, which he had, to Arioch the chief cook of the king, whom he commanded *to take out* the wise men of Babylon.

TH Daniel 2:13-14
[13]καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀπεκτέννοντο, καὶ ἐζήτησαν Δανιηλ καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν. [14]τότε Δανιηλ ἀπεκρίθη βουλὴν καὶ γνώμην τῷ Αριωχ τῷ ἀρχιμαγείρῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος [13]

And the decree went out and the wise men were about to be put to death and they sought *to kill* Daniel and his friends. Then Daniel responded with counsel and advice to Arioch the chief cook of the king, who came out *to kill* the wise men of Babylon."

In OGD, there are three infinitives all of which are marked with the default perfective aspect.[672] THD revises the lexical material in both cases, keeps the perfective aspect (ἀνελεῖν), but then switches to mark the same infinitive with imperfective aspect in the subsequent verse (ἀναιρεῖν). Out of fifteen occurrences of ἀναιρέω in the infinitive, eleven are in the aorist active, another two are aorist passive, one a perfect middle/passive, leaving THD 2:14 as the only present infinitive. The aorist infinitive can refer to putting to death both individuals and larger groups, both actual and potential. As the NETS translation illustrates, it is difficult to conceive of translating the perfective and imperfective manifestations of this lexeme dissimilarly. So why place the imperfective procedural constraint on the second occurrence of ἀναιρέω?

[672] Whenever ἐξάγω occurs in the infinitive in the LXX it is always aorist.

Widening the corpus to include NT texts, ἀναιρέω occurs in the infinitive only in Luke-Acts, texts often recognized as mimicking the language of the LXX. There too aorist infinitives predominate (8x), but two more tokens of the present infinitive occur as well. Both occur as complements to the verb μέλλω (16:27: ἤμελλεν…ἀναιρεῖν; 23:27: μέλλοντα ἀναιρεῖσθαι). With infinitive complements μέλλω and ἄρχω regularly take present infinitives.[673] Muraoka does not see an opposition between the present and aorist infinitives with μέλλω, but Campbell suggests that this strong association results from an "ingressive" use with ἄρχω and a "proto-ingressive" with μέλλω.[674]

This approach is on the right track, but perhaps a more apt reading would begin with the cross-linguistic link between imperfective aspect and conative implicatures, not just in Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit but also in the Slavic grammatical tradition and Tibetan as well.[675] The conative, as its etymology suggests, describes "an attempt rather than a completed action,"[676] as Russian illustrates:

29) a. On rešil zadaču
He solve.PRFV task.ACC
'He solved the problem.'

b. On rešal zadaču.
He solve.IMPFV task.ACC
'He worked on the problem; he tried to solve the problem; etc.'[677]

The traditional grammars have long noted this function, which occurs with verbs of accomplishment and achievement, "if the context denotes difficulty or resistance to the

[673] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 298.

[674] Campbell, *Non-Indicative Verbs*, 103-105.

[675] Nigel Vincent, "Conative," *Linguistic Typology* 17 (2013), 271-273.

[676] Ibid.,

[677] Example taken from ibid., 271.

action,"[678] as is contextually apposite (Dan. 2:24). In turn, this line of reasoning shows how these translation choices constrained early readers' interpretive process, so that they would have interpreted the text accordingly.[679] All of this illustrates a central dictum of RT: communication is more than the sum total of the encoded parts; they only help lead the reader to the translator's intentions.

Other times the choice to place an imperfective procedural constraint on the infinitive is more readily evident, but contextually significant, nonetheless:

30) MT Daniel 6:21
וּכְמִקְרְבֵהּ לְגֻבָּא לְדָנִיֵּאל בְּקָל עֲצִיב זְעֵק עָנָה מַלְכָּא וְאָמַר לְדָנִיֵּאל דָּנִיֵּאל עַבֵד אֱלָהָא חַיָּא אֱלָהָךְ דִּי אַנְתְּה פָּלַח־לֵהּ בְּתְדִירָא הַיְכִל לְשֵׁיזָבוּתָךְ מִן־אַרְיָוָתָא׃

And *when he approached* the pit, he called out to Daniel with a pained voice. And he answered and said to Daniel, "Daniel, servant of the living God, the God whom you serve continuously, was he able to save you from the lions?"

TH Daniel 6:21
καὶ <u>ἐν τῷ ἐγγίζειν</u> αὐτὸν τῷ λάκκῳ ἐβόησεν φωνῇ ἰσχυρᾷ Δανιηλ ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος, ὁ θεός σου, ᾧ σὺ λατρεύεις ἐνδελεχῶς, εἰ ἠδυνήθη ἐξελέσθαι σε ἐκ στόματος τῶν λεόντων;

And *while he was approaching* the den, he called out in a loud voice, "Daniel, servant of the living God, your God whom you serve continuously, was he able to deliver you from the mouth of the lions?

Choosing an aorist infinitive here, the default choice for the translator, would have indicated that Darius had reached the lions' den before calling out to Daniel. With the choice of the imperfect infinitive, the translator is able to achieve a different set of cognitive effects in the mind of the reader, guiding the audience to the intended implicature, which in turn influences the

[678] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 393.

[679] This is an entirely different question than whether THD understood the participle as a "*participium de conatu* oder, besser, en Partizip der unmittelbar bevorstehenden Nachzeitigkeit" (Gzella, *Tempus*, 228). Because the imperfect is regular translational strategy of THD for the Aramaic narrative participle, it is difficult to make this case. The Greek imperfect indicative has a connotative nuance, but does that mean THD understood the Aramaic participle in this manner?

narrative structure of the events. Darius' distress over the conundrum of being caught between violating the law of the Medes and the Persians and condemning his faithful servant to death stands at the forefront of the narrative. The Aramaic text, while highlighting Darius' internal struggle, does not specify whether Darius called to Daniel as he was approaching the den or after he had arrived. Because Aramaic does not grammaticalize aspect in infinitives, the grammar permits the reader to make either inference. Perhaps the translator surmises that Darius approaches the den alone (since the text does not mention anyone else accompanying him), and therefore, had hurried on before his associates could get there. Whatever the case may be, THD turns his inferences to grammaticalized procedural constraints with the choice of imperfective aspect. Had THD wanted, the choice of the aorist would have signaled a different set of implications, as is the case with (31):

31) OG Daniel 3:26 [LXX 3:93]:
καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς καμίνου τῆς καιομένης τῷ πυρὶ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀνόματος Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω οἱ παῖδες τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν θεῶν τοῦ ὑψίστου, ἐξέλθετε ἐκ τοῦ πυρός. οὕτως οὖν ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρός.

And *when the king arrived* at the door of the furnace burning with fire, he summoned them by name, "Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, servants of the God of gods, the Most High, come out from the fire.

Though a participle, the choice of perfective aspect here demonstrates how a translator may use aspectual choice to place procedural constraints on the reader, which in turn affects how the text characterizes Nebuchadnezzar vis-à-vis Darius regarding their concern for their subjects.

6.3.3 Imperatives

Like infinitives, an overwhelming majority of imperatives—"volitional-directives"[680]—take perfective aspect in both OG and TH (see tables 86-91). This is the case when translating single Aramaic imperatives or with clusters of multiple imperatives in the *Vorlage*:

32) MT Daniel 4:11
קָרֵא בְחַיִל וְכֵן אָמַר גְּדוּ אִילָנָא וְקַצֻצוּ עַנְפּוֹהִי אַתְּרוּ עָפְיֵהּ וּבַדְּרוּ אִנְבֵּהּ תְּנֵד חֵיוָתָא מִן־תַּחְתּוֹהִי וְצִפְּרַיָּא מִן־עַנְפָוֹהִי׃

He called loudly and thus he said, "Chop down the tree and cut off its branches. Strip off its branches and scatter its fruit. Let the beasts flee from below it and the birds from its branches."

TH Daniel 4:11 [LXX 4:14; similarly OGD]
καὶ ἐφώνησεν ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ οὕτως εἶπεν Ἐκκόψατε τὸ δένδρον καὶ ἐκτίλατε τοὺς κλάδους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτινάξατε τὰ φύλλα αὐτοῦ καὶ διασκορπίσατε τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ· σαλευθήτωσαν τὰ θηρία ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὄρνεα ἀπὸ τῶν κλάδων αὐτοῦ·

He called with a loud voice and thus he said, "*Cut down* the tree and *pluck out* its branches and *shake out* its leaves and *scatter* its fruit. *Let* the beasts *be shaken* below it and the birds from its branches.

After accounting for 3rd person imperatives of εἶμι (2 Esd. 4:12, 13; 5:8; 6:8, 9; 7:24; THD 5:17) the numbers of present imperatives are striking. For every one present imperative, there are three aorist imperatives in THD and OGD. Despite the statistical dominance of aorist imperatives for Aramaic imperatives, on occasion the translator opts for present imperatives, many of which occur in the following stereotyped formula:

33) MT Daniel 3:9
עָנוֹ וְאָמְרִין לְנְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מַלְכָּא מַלְכָּא לְעָלְמִין חֱיִי׃

They answered and said to Nebuchadnezzar the king, "O king, *live* forever!"

OG Daniel 3:9//2:28;[681] THD 2:4; 3:9; 5:10; 6:7, 22
καὶ ὑπολαβόντες εἶπον Κύριε βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζῇθι·

[680] Joseph Fantin, *The Greek Imperative Mood in the New Testament: A Cognitive and Communicative Approach* (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), 196-197.

[681] Also OGD 2:4 in Ms 88, but not P967.

And responding he said, "Lord King, *live* forever."

The choice of imperfective aspect here serves as a procedural constraint to process the conceptual information together with the temporal marker. Marking the imperative with perfective aspect creates an entirely different set of cognitive effects. In Ezekiel's vision of the valley of dry bones, the imperative occurs in perfective aspect:

34) LXX Ezekiel 37:9b
Τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων πνευμάτων ἐλθὲ καὶ ἐμφύσησον εἰς τοὺς νεκροὺς τούτους, καὶ ζησάτωσαν.

Thus says the Lord, "From the four winds come and breathe on to these dead and *let them come to life.*

LXX Psalm 118:159 [MT Ps. 119:159]
ἰδὲ ὅτι τὰς ἐντολάς σου ἠγάπησα· κύριε, ἐν τῷ ἐλέει σου ζῆσόν με.

See that I have loved your commandments. Lord, in your mercy *revive* me.

The present imperative is the customary form used when addressing royalty with or without the temporal prepositional phrase (e.g., 1 Sam 10:24; 2 Sam 16:16; 1 Kings 1:25, 31, 34, 39; 2 Chr. 23:11; Neh. 2:3), but Comrie notes that perfective aspect and stative lexemes regularly combine with some stative verbs "to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning)."[682] The conceptual material of both imperatives is identical ("live"), but this verb "can in general refer either to the state or to the entry into that state."[683] Aspectual choice is a procedural constraint, signaling to the reader how to manipulate the conceptual material to achieve the desired interpretation in the given context. In turn, this example illustrates that aspectual choice is not entirely subjective, as the perfective and imperfective aspects are not interchangeable.[684]

[682] Comrie, *Aspect*, 19.

[683] Ibid., 20.

As in the preceding case, example 35 provides another "exception" to the traditional interpretation that "in general precepts the present usually occurs, while specific commands tend to be expressed by the aorist."[685]

35) MT Daniel 5:10
מַלְכְּתָּא לָקֳבֵל מִלֵּי מַלְכָּא וְרַבְרְבָנֹוהִי לְבֵית מִשְׁתְּיָא (עַלַּת) [עַלַת] עֲנָת מַלְכְּתָא וַאֲמָרַת מַלְכָּא לְעָלְמִין חֱיֵי
אַל־יְבַהֲלוּךְ רַעְיוֹנָךְ וְזִיוָ֫ךְ אַל־יְשַׁתַּנּוֹ׃

> The queen, because of the words of the king and his nobles, went up to the house of feasting. The queen answered and said, "O king, *live* forever! *Let not your thoughts frighten* you and *let not your countenance be changed*.

TH Daniel 5:10
[10] καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ἡ βασίλισσα εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πότου καὶ εἶπεν Βασιλεῦ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι· μὴ ταρασσέτωσάν σε οἱ διαλογισμοί σου, καὶ ἡ μορφή σου μὴ ἀλλοιούσθω·

> And the queen entered into the house of the drinking party said, "O king, live forever! *Let not your thoughts trouble* you and *let not your appearance change*."

The idea that *μὴ + present imperative* denotes a command to terminate an action in progress has its origins in brief publications in *The Classical Review* a century ago.[686] Some NT grammars took this as an absolute rule, corrected many times in recent literature.[687] Michael Aubrey, though, has deduced the linguistic parameters in which negated present imperatives command cessation: nuclear-scope negation and a specific referential event.[688] The former refers to situations where the nuclear predicate is negated, not the core (predicate [=action/event] +

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[684] Fanning also suggests that forms like θαρσει (OGD 6:17) are obligatorily imperfect (*Verbal Aspect*, 349-350). Only twice does the aorist imperative occur (Jdt 11:1 and Baruch 4:27).

[685] Ibid., 364.

[686] Walter Headlam, "Greek Prohibitions," *Classical Review* 19 (1905): 30-36. Even then, Headlam was careful not to assert that all occurrences of *μὴ + present imperative* indicate "*do not do thus any longer*," only that when one wants to express "*do not do thus any longer*" that *μὴ + present imperative* is required (31).

[687] E.g., Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 355ff. Porter, *Verbal Aspect*, 352ff.

[688] Michael Aubrey, "Greek Prohibitions," in *Greek Verb*, 534. A "specific referential event" is similar to Fanning's "specific commands" (*Verbal Aspect*, 337).

arguments [=participants]) or the clause (predicate + arguments + nonarguments [e.g., temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases]).[689] In Daniel 5:10 the specific referential event is clear (i.e., Belshazzar's fear resulting from the handwriting on the wall). The choice of imperfective aspect permits the "negation [to be] narrowed to the internal temporal structure of the nuclear predicate"[690] Under these circumstances, according to Aubrey, "meanings that are greater than the constituent pieces"[691] emerge—that is, code theory lacks sufficient explanatory power (§6.2.1). In this case, the translator exploits these implicatures to portray the queen mother as instructing Belshazzar to stop worrying, a nuance that is not grammatically specifiable in Aramaic.

Although aspectual choice in the previous two examples is obligatory, or at least not a purely subjective choice, in some cases aspectual choice appears arbitrary:

36) MT Daniel 3:5
בְּעִדָּנָא דִּי־תִשְׁמְעוּן קָל קַרְנָא מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא קִיתָרוֹס סַבְּכָא פְּסַנְתֵּרִין סוּמְפֹנְיָה וְכָל זְנֵי זְמָרָא תִּפְּלוֹן וְתִסְגְּדוּן
לְצֶלֶם דַּהֲבָא דִּי הֲקֵים נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מַלְכָּא:

In the time that you hear the sound of the horn, the pipe, the lyre, the trigon, the harp, the bagpipe, and all kinds of music, *you shall fall down* and *pay homage* to the image of gold that I Nebuchadnezzar, the king, set up.

OG Daniel 3:5
ὅταν ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος, σύριγγος καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου, συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικῶν, πεσόντες προσκυνήσατε τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, ἣν ἔστησε Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεύς·

Whenever you hear the sound of the trumpet, the pipe, the lyre, the trigon, the harp, a symphony of all kinds of music, *falling down*, *worship* the golden image, which I Nebuchadnezzar the king set up.

[689] Ibid., 439.

[690] Ibid., 527.

[691] Ibid., 534, 528.

> TH Daniel 3:5
> ᾗ ἂν ὥρᾳ ἀκούσητε τῆς φωνῆς τῆς σάλπιγγος σύριγγός τε καὶ κιθάρας, σαμβύκης καὶ ψαλτηρίου καὶ συμφωνίας καὶ παντὸς γένους μουσικῶν, πίπτοντες προσκυνεῖτε τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ χρυσῇ, ᾗ ἔστησεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ βασιλεύς·
>
> In whatever time you heard the sound of the horn, the pipe, the lyre, the trigon, the harp, and a symphony of all kinds of music, *falling down*, *worship* the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king set up.

The text of Daniel 3:5 as translated in OGD and THD unites a number of features previously mentioned. The choice of the participle (cf. §5.4.1) demotes the prominence of the conceptual information contained in the verb (תִּפְּלֻוּן [MT], πεσόντες [OGD], πίπτοντες [THD]). Because participles do not specify mood, this information is a contextual inference, not encoded grammatical information. By placing the conceptual information couched in the participle in a grammatically dependent role, the translator guides the reader to the intended inferences.[692] Comparatively, the respective imperatives become more prominent as a result. The information contained in the participle contains the necessary, but not sufficient conditions for compliance with the command. The information in the participle is less relevant.

Both OG and TH Daniel use the circumstantial participle. At the same time, OGD chooses perfective aspect for both the participle and the imperative, which TH conscientiously revises to the imperfect. Conventional knowledge takes present imperatives to denote general commands and aorist imperatives as commands referring to a specific situation.[693] Here, though, the context is identical, but OG and TH Daniel have chosen to portray command in their own unique ways. It is entirely plausible that OGD did not have a specific motivation for choosing the aorist imperative, since that is the default translation equivalent. Yet, such a choice results in a command that "is not intended to govern behavior more broadly," but instead refers to "the

[692] At THD 3:20 a circumstantial participle occurs with the infinitive in an indirect command.

[693] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 327-328.

whole occurrence on that specific occasion."[694] By revising the text with a present imperative, THD transforms the command so that it "is intended to be done customarily or as a normal practice."[695] For Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego the implication is that the command entails not just the requirement for them to worship Nebuchadnezzar's idol in that instance, but to adopt idol worship as their way of life.

Both OG and TH Daniel translate the Aramaic PC with the imperative in appropriate contexts, but nearly every case involves 3rd person imperatives (see table 6-7). In one instance THD uses 2nd person aorist imperatives to translate the Aramaic PC:

37) MT Daniel 6:9
כְּעַן מַלְכָּא תְּקִים אֱסָרָא וְתִרְשֵׁם כְּתָבָא דִּי לָא לְהַשְׁנָיָה כְּדָת־מָדַי וּפָרַס דִּי־לָא תֶעְדֵּא׃

> Now, O king, *you should establish* an interdiction and *sign* a decree, which is not to change as the laws of the Medes, and Persians, which do not change.

TH Daniel 6:9
νῦν οὖν, βασιλεῦ, στῆσον τὸν ὁρισμὸν καὶ ἔκθες γραφήν, ὅπως μὴ ἀλλοιωθῇ τὸ δόγμα Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν.

> Now, therefore, O king, *establish* an interdiction and *issue* a document so that the decree of the Medes and the Persians might not be changed.

Although it is conceivable that THD was privy to an alternate *Vorlage*, there is no positive evidence for this position. It is better to begin with the recognition that the use of the PC as a directive is a "polite indirect command/request."[696] The use of the PC actually runs counter to typological predictions. Bybee et al., "propose that the imperative use of futures develops out of the reinterpretation of a secondary speech act: In a situation in which the speaker has authority

[694] Ibid., 334. For examples where the aorist imperative refers to a specific command, see example (31) above and (36) below.

[695] Ibid., 340.

[696] Li, *Verbal System*, 113. Folmer notes the simple 2nd person PC is slightly less polite than *passive participle* + להוה + ל, which in turn is slightly less polite than the *t-stem PC* + ל (*Aramaic Language*, 393). See also Cook, *Aramaic*, 122.

over the addressee, a second person prediction…is interpreted as a command" (e.g., you will clean your room!).[697] The situation in Greek, unlike Aramaic, conforms to the typological evidence. Had the translator used the standard translation equivalent of the PC—the future indicative—the resultant text would have created undesirable implicatures. The politeness suggested by the Aramaic would have become more forceful, even "urgent command,"[698] perhaps carrying uncouth connotations. It is permissible, though, to talk to a king or even God using aorist imperatives.[699] Conversely, when Darius' noblemen eschew the Aramaic politeness strategy and utilize the 2nd person imperative (דְּעַ "know") as a "reprimand,"[700] THD can translate the form literally (γνῶθι "know") yet lose the social implicatures of the source text.

6.3.4 Subjunctives

Less aspectual variation exists when the translators use the subjunctive. Only three present subjunctives are found in OGD, THD, and 2 Esdras in total compared with 109 aorist subjunctives.[701] Moreover, these present subjunctives only occur in purpose/result clauses.

38) MT Ezra 6:10

דִּי־לֶהֱוֹן מְהַקְרְבִין נִיחוֹחִין לֶאֱלָהָּ שְׁמַיָּא וּמְצַלַּיִן לְחַיֵּי מַלְכָּא וּבְנוֹהִי׃

> That they *might continue to offer* incense to the God of heaven and they might *pray* for the life of the king and his sons.

> 2 Esdras 6:10
> ἵνα ὦσιν προσφέροντες εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ προσεύχωνται εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ.

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[697] Joan Bybee, William Pagliuca, and Revere Perkins, "Back to the Future," in Approaches to Grammaticalization, Volume 2, eds. Elizabeth Traugott and Bernd Heine (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991): 28.

[698] Everet van Emde Boas, Albert Rijksbaron, Luuk Huitink, and Mathieu de Bakker, *The Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 2019), 426.

[699] Muraoka, *Syntax*, 299; thus, Matt 5:9-13.

[700] Folmer, *Aramaic Language*, 393.

[701] In keeping with Robertson's observation that present subjunctives are quite rare (*Grammar*, 889).

In order that they might continue offering incense to the God of heaven and *they might pray* for the life of the king and his sons.

39) MT Daniel 6:3
וְעֲלָא מִנְּהוֹן סָרְכִין תְּלָתָא דִּי דָנִיֵּאל חַד־מִנְּהֵון דִּי־לֶהֱוֹן אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנַיָּא אִלֵּין יָהֲבִין לְהוֹן טַעְמָא וּמַלְכָּא לָא־לֶהֱוֵא נָזַק׃

And above them were three overseers of whom Daniel was one in order that these satraps might give a report to them and the king *might not suffer harm*.

TH Daniel 6:3
καὶ ἐπάνω αὐτῶν τακτικοὺς τρεῖς, ὧν ἦν Δανιηλ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἀποδιδόναι αὐτοῖς τοὺς σατράπας λόγον, ὅπως ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ *ἐνοχλῆται·*

And above them were three overseers, of whom Daniel was one, in order for the satraps to give them a receipt, in order that the king *might not suffer loss*.

40) MT Daniel 4:12
בְּרַם עִקַּר שָׁרְשׁוֹהִי בְּאַרְעָא שְׁבֻקוּ וּבְאֶסוּר דִּי־פַרְזֶל וּנְחָשׁ בְּדִתְאָא דִּי בָרָא וּבְטַל שְׁמַיָּא יִצְטַבַּע וְעִם־חֵיוְתָא חֻלָקֵהּ בַּעֲשַׂב אַרְעָא׃

Nevertheless, leave the stock of its root in the earth and in the bonds of iron and bronze, in the grass of the field and with the dew of heaven let him be wet and let his *portion* with the beasts.

OG Daniel 4:12 [LXX 4:15]
καὶ οὕτως εἶπε Ῥίζαν μίαν ἄφετε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὅπως μετὰ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι χόρτον ὡς βοῦς <u>νέμηται</u>·

And speak in this way, "Leave a single root from it in the earth, in order that with the beasts of the earth in the mountains *he might feed* on grass.

In the first two occurrences, the source text influences aspectual choice. The periphrastic construction להוה + active participle finds its most natural counterpart in the Greek imperfective aspect, though a Greek periphrastic construction would have been equally suitable. The latter choice is characteristic of 2 Esdras (see table 20), but the data for OG and TH Daniel is too meager for comment (see tables 21-22, 26-27). OGD 4:12 may represent an alternate *Vorlage*, but the Aramaic equivalent for νέμηται is dubious; Tov and Pollack suggest חֻלָקֵהּ.[702] Of course,

[702] Tov and Pollack, *CATTS*.

this assumes the translator possessed a proto-MT text. Regardless, the resultant text and its present subjunctive requires explanation. In each case the present subjunctives function consistently with their marked imperfective aspect, which constrains the reader to conceptualize the events as habitual (2 Esdras 6:10; THD 4:12 [LXX 4:15]) or durative (OGD 6:3).

Other times scribal misfortune is the perpetrator of aspectual variation. At Daniel 4:24 [LXX 4:27], Ms88, after two aorist subjunctives, switches to imperfective aspect: ἵνα ἐπιείκεια δοθῇ σοι καὶ πολυήμερος γένῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ μὴ καταφθείρῃ σε (in order that clemency might be given to you and there might be a lengthening of days upon the thrown of your kingdom and *he might not destroy* you). P967, in contrast, has what is likely the older reading (καταφθαρῇς "you might not be destroyed"), an aorist passive subjunctive. The phonological similarity between the two variants easily accounts for the difference. This does not mean, however, that the resultant text did not exert a different set of constraints on the reader. The lexeme καταφθείρω is somewhat vague whether it is an accomplishment or an achievement (i.e., whether it is a "durative bounded action" or a "non-durative bounded action," respectively).[703] If the latter, it would be a durative verb "with bounded effected or abolished object (i.e. the action bring s the object into or puts it out of 'existence'" like the negative of ποιέω or κτίζω. In these circumstances, a connotative meaning would suggest "a process which has not been brought to completion but is on the verge of completion or is attempted"[704] (see §5.4.2): lest he *want* to destroy you.[705]

[703] Fanning, *Verbal Aspect*, 149.

[704] Ibid., 393.

[705] Blass, Debrunner, Funk., *Grammar*, §326.

Though not directly related to aspectual choice the rare occurrence and intentional distribution of the double negative οὐ μή + subjunctive is striking:

41) OG Daniel 2:44
καὶ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τῶν βασιλέων τούτων στήσει ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βασιλείαν ἄλλην, ἥτις ἔσται εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας καὶ οὐ φθαρήσεται, καὶ αὕτη ἡ βασιλεία ἄλλο ἔθνος οὐ μὴ ἐάσῃ, πατάξει δὲ καὶ ἀφανίσει τὰς βασιλείας ταύτας, καὶ αὐτὴ στήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα,

And in the times of those kings the God of heaven will establish another kingdom, which will be forever and will not be ruined and this kingdom *will never permit* another nation, but it will strike and destroy these kingdoms and it will stand forever.

42) OG Daniel 7:14
καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῷ λατρεύουσα· καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἥτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῇ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, ἥτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῇ.

And authority was given to him and all the nations of the earth according to kind and all glory serving him. And his authority is an eternal authority, which *will never be taken away* and his is a kingdom, which will never be ruined.

In the Aramaic sections of Daniel, only three occurrences of this structure that have a known *Vorlage* are found in two passages (for comments on the occurrence of the pluses, see previous chapter).[706] This double negative is common in Classical Greek,[707] and with the subjunctive denotes "an emphatic denial."[708] Post-classical Greek witnesses a decline (John Lee counts over 800 occurrences), but the Septuagint resists this trend, a striking fact given the lack of influence from either Hebrew or Aramaic.[709] "The Pentateuch translators," according to Lee, "and then others following their lead, found in the οὐ μή construction a powerful and somewhat formal

[706] In the Hebrew sections, several cases may be found, though they dominate in chapter 11 (6, 12, 37 [2x]), and a single instance in 12:10. In THD οὐ μὴ only occurs outside of Daniel 2-7 (1:8 [2x]; 11:17).

[707] J. A. L. Lee, "Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark's Gospel," Novum Testamentum 27:1 (1985), 18.

[708] Smyth, *Grammar*, 405.

[709] Lee, "Some Features," 18-20.

expression suited to biblical style generally and divine utterances in particular."[710] Typical examples are found in the repeated refrain in Abraham's iconic negotiation with the divine: οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσω (Gen. 18:28, 29, 30, 31, 32); or God's message to wayward Israel through his prophet Isaiah: Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε καὶ οὐ μὴ συνῆτε καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδητε (6:9).

Using the construction sparingly and placing it at the bookends of Daniel 2-7's chiastic structure adds an "appropriate solemnity,"[711] a divine certainty to predictions of coming eternal kingdom. Earthly kingdoms shall pass away, but never the kingdom of the one like the son of man (7:13).

6.3.5 Optatives

The decline of the optative is a hallmark feature of early post-classical Greek.[712] Before it completely dies out, during the 2nd century CE, a linguistic revival takes place, imitating Attic prose.[713] Between the post-classical period and classicizing style, "[w]hile not rare, the optative is no longer an integral part of the verb system; except for stereotyped expressions…which occur at all levels, it is associated with the literary language, and even there some of its uses are greatly curtailed."[714] Ultimately, the subjunctive and the imperative moods overtake the optative, which begs the question why a translator would opt for this selection. Consideration of the form's limited distribution betrays a deliberate translation strategy.

43) MT Daniel 3:31

נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מַלְכָּא לְכָל־עַמְמַיָּא אֻמַיָּא וְלִשָּׁנַיָּא דִּי־דָאְרִין בְּכָל־אַרְעָא שְׁלָמְכוֹן יִשְׂגֵּא׃

[710] Ibid., 20.

[711] Ibid., 21.

[712] Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 175ff. Robertson, *Grammar*, 935. In the Septuagint the optative is not quite as rare as in the NT (Ibid., 936.). Blass, Debrunner, Funk, *Grammar*, 194.

[713] Bentein, "Greek," 459ff.

[714] Lee, "Some Features," 13.

Nebuchadnezzar the King to all the peoples, nations and tongues who dwell in all the earth: *Let* your peace *increase*!

OG Daniel 3:31 [LXX 4:34c]//TH Daniel 3:31; 6:26
Ναβουχοδονοσορ βασιλεὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι καὶ πάσαις ταῖς χώραις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς· εἰρήνη ὑμῖν πληθυνθείη ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ.

King Nebuchadnezzar to all the nations and regions and all those who dwell in them. *May* your peace *be multiplied* at all times.

44) MT Daniel 4:16
אֱדַ֨יִן דָּנִיֵּ֜אל דִּי־שְׁמֵ֣הּ בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּ֗ר אֶשְׁתּוֹמַם֙ כְּשָׁעָ֣ה חֲדָ֔ה וְרַעְיֹנֹ֖הִי יְבַהֲלֻ֑נֵּהּ עָנָ֤ה מַלְכָּא֙ וְאָמַ֔ר בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּ֕ר חֶלְמָ֥א וּפִשְׁרָ֖א אַל־יְבַהֲלֶ֣ךָ עָנֵ֗ה בֵּלְטְשַׁאצַּר֙ וְאָמַ֔ר מָרִ֕י חֶלְמָ֥א לְשָׂנְאָ֖יִךְ וּפִשְׁרֵ֥ה לְעָרָֽיִךְ׃

Then Daniel whose name is Belshazzar was appalled for about an hour and his thoughts would frighten him. The king answered and said to Belshazzar, "*Let* not the dream and the interpretation *frighten* you." Belshazzar answered and said, "My lord, *may* the dream *be* for those who hate you and its interpretation for your enemies."

OG Daniel 4:19b
ἀποθαυμάσας ἀπεκρίθη μοι φωνῇ πραείᾳ Βασιλεῦ, τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο τοῖς μισοῦσί σε καὶ ἡ σύγκρισις αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου ἐπέλθοι.

Marveling he answered me in a timid voice, "O king *may* this dream *come upon* those who hate you and its interpretation to your enemies."

Both instances either occur on the lips of the king or in addressing the king. Lee calls the use of the optative an "archaic and elevated tone."[715] It is indicative of a formal style, a higher register, without influence from the Aramaic source text. The optative is apropos on the lips of the king, whose status in ancient society held unrivaled prestige. That Daniel would use the optative in his address to the king is reminiscent of Paul's use of the optative in a conditional clause in his speech before Felix the governor (Acts 24:19: εἴ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς ἐμέ) or his use of the potential optative when addressing King Agrippa (26:29: εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ θεῷ).[716] Of course, in accordance with RT, register and the way the optative would have felt to native speakers is not

[715] Ibid., 15.

[716] Ibid., 14.

part of the grammatical code, but the rhetorical effects of the strategic use of the optative are undeniable nonetheless. While OGD delimits his use of the optative to the lips of the king or in addressing the king, THD revises what in OGD is a present imperative in Daniel's prayer of blessing to an optative.

45) MT Daniel 2:20
עָנֵה דָנִיֵּאל וְאָמַר לֶהֱוֵא שְׁמֵהּ דִּי־אֱלָהָא מְבָרַךׁ מִן־עָלְמָא וְעַד־עָלְמָא דִּי חָכְמְתָא וּגְבוּרְתָא דִּי לֵהּ־הִיא׃

Daniel answered and said, "*Let the name of God be blessed* forever and ever for wisdom and might are his.

OG Daniel 2:20
καὶ ἐκφωνήσας εἶπεν Ἔστω τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεγάλου εὐλογημένον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ μεγαλωσύνη αὐτοῦ ἐστι·

And calling out, he said, "*Let* the name of the great Lord be blessed forever because wisdom and greatness are his."

TH Daniel 2:20
Δανιηλ καὶ εἶπεν Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅτι ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ σύνεσις αὐτοῦ ἐστιν·

Daniel also said, "*May* the name of God be blessed forever and ever because wisdom and understanding are his."

The use of a higher register would have been appropriate when speaking to God, as the three uses of the optative in the prayer of Azariah suggest (OGD/THD 3:39, 44 [2x]). Both of the above contexts converge in the single use of the optative in 2 Esdras.

46) Ezra 6:12
וֵאלָהָּא דִּי שַׁכֶּן שְׁמֵהּ תַּמָּה יְמַגַּר כָּל־מֶלֶךְ וְעַם דִּי יִשְׁלַח יְדֵהּ לְהַשְׁנָיָה לְחַבָּלָה בֵּית־אֱלָהָא דֵךְ דִּי בִירוּשְׁלֶם
אֲנָה דָרְיָוֶשׁ שָׂמֶת טְעֵם אָסְפַּרְנָא יִתְעֲבֵד׃

And the God, who caused his name there, *let* him *overthrow* any king or people who should stretch out his hand to change or to destroy the house of this God, which is in Jerusalem. I Darius issue this decree; let it be done exactly.

2 Esdras 6:12
καὶ ὁ θεός, οὗ κατασκηνοῖ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκεῖ, καταστρέψαι πάντα βασιλέα καὶ λαόν, ὃς ἐκτενεῖ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἀλλάξαι ἢ ἀφανίσαι τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐν Ιερουσαλημ. ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος ἔθηκα γνώμην· ἐπιμελῶς ἔσται.

> And the God who caused his name to dwell there, *may he overturn* any king or people who will stretch out his hand to alter or to destroy the house of God that is in Jerusalem. I, Darius, have issued a decision. It will be executed carefully.

Even though the same Aramaic verbal form occurs at the end of Ezra 6:12, there the translator opted for the standard equivalent, the future indicative, which both reinforces the subjective nature of the choice and the translators' intentional exploitation of the form.

Codex Vaticanus revises the final optative to a future indicative (καταστρέψει), transforming Darius' wish to a prediction, while simultaneously eliminating the rhetorical effects. At Daniel 2:20 Ms88 reads ἔστι, which reveals again the ambiguity of the source text, the change to the future here suggests a higher degree of epistemic certainty, while the imperative is a choice of a stronger deontic form and simultaneously of a lower register. By exploiting the higher degree of grammaticalized mood in the Greek text, the translator guides the reader towards the desired implicatures, which are literarily significant.

In each case, the semantics of the Aramaic *Vorlage* does not drive the translators' choice of the optative, imperative or future indicative. The nuance of the PC is often ambiguous (see §3.2). The multivariate translation possibilities of the Aramaic PC here again reinforce this ambiguity—the blurred line between future and modality. And in so doing, we return once more to where we began.

6.4 The Aramaic Verbal System is not Aspect Prominent: Comparative Evidence from the Non-Indicative Mood; A Final Reflection

The implicit consequence of focusing on aspectual choice of the Greek translators is that outside of the indicative mood these choices are largely independent of influence from the Aramaic source text. The manifold aspectual distinctions in the verbal system of Greek heretofore documented are without parallel in the Aramaic parent text. The translators take into

account context and the target language's dictates, but when it comes to aspectual choice outside of the indicative mood, no grammatical markers in Aramaic dictate the translators' obligatory choice of imperfective, perfective, or perfect aspects. This observation is consistent with Bhat's prediction:

> In aspect-prominent languages,…aspect-distinctions are retained to a greater extent than tense or mood distinctions in non-finite verbal forms. For example, the participial constructions of Lezgian[717] show the basic distinction between imperfective and aorist (perfective), and also between other aspectual distinctions like continuative and perfect….[718]
>
> A contrastive study of tense-prominent, aspect-prominent and mood-prominent language types indicates, however, that the retention of a particular category in non-finite forms depends upon the kind of *prominence* that the category receives in the language under consideration and not necessarily upon the nature of that category (i.e., whether it is tense, aspect, or mood). Tense-prominent languages appear to retain tense more readily than aspect or mood, whereas aspect and mood-prominent languages appear to retain aspect and mood respectively more readily than the other two categories.[719]

Aramaic—and this is regardless of whether one is convinced that the opposition between the SC and PC verb forms is temporal, aspectual, modal or something else—does not grammaticalize aspect outside of the finite verbal forms. Given that Greek is a universally accepted and proto-typical example of an aspect prominent language, aspect is both pervasive and obligatory. The data from substantival participles are illustrative:

1) The aorist participle

   Daniel 4:37
   αἰνῶ τῷ κτίσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς·

   I praise the *one who created* heaven and earth and the seas and the rivers and all the things in them.

---

[717] Lezgian is a subset of the Caucasian language family.

[718] Bhat, *Prominence*, 144.

[719] Ibid., 143.

2) The present participle

   Daniel 2:29b
   καὶ <u>ὁ ἀνακαλύπτων</u> μυστήρια ἐδήλωσέ σοι ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι

   And the one who reveals mysteries made clear to you what is necessary to be.

3) The perfect participle

   Daniel 3:3
   καὶ ἔστησαν <u>οἱ προγεγραμμένοι</u> κατέναντι τῆς εἰκόνος.

   And those who had been written stood before the image.

4) The future participle

   Daniel 2:45b
   ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας ἐσήμανε τῷ βασιλεῖ <u>τὰ ἐσόμενα</u> ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἀκριβὲς τὸ ὅραμα, καὶ πιστὴ ἡ τούτου κρίσις.

   The great God showed the king the things that will be in the last days, the vision is accurate, and this interpretation is faithful.

The contrastive study of Greek aspectual choice vis-à-vis the Aramaic Vorlage, in turn, provides another implicit typological argument against the position that views Aramaic in the Bible as an aspect-prominent language. This would also hold for other corpora contemporary with and older than the biblical material (e.g., Elephantine Papyri and Old Aramaic inscriptions). Although Bhat's typological corpus is limited, proponents of aspectual prominence must come to terms with this data and the argument presented here, which Aramaists have yet to give due attention. By making this argument, we return once more to the subject taken up in the first chapter—the use of translation technique for typological evidence—and reinforce it with complementary data.

Some languages show a high degree of grammaticalization, other languages show "practically no grammaticalization whatsoever," while others fall along the spectrum between

these two polarities.[720] Perhaps the central problem in analyzing the material from Biblical Aramaic and related dialects is the relatively low degree of grammaticalization in comparison to languages like Greek. In turn this ambiguity lends credence to positions that want to move away from one-to-one correspondences between grammatical forms and their semantics, abandon the categories altogether, or tend to assign strict values to forms. The beginnings of a solution has been proposed in these pages in terms of Bhatian modal prominence (chapter 3).

6.5 Conclusion

This novel study of minority translation strategies, beginning with the perfect indicative and moving back through the non-indicative moods to the optative, has had as its uniting center the premise that "[l]inguistically encoded semantic representations are abstract mental structures which must be inferentially enriched before they can be taken to represent anything of interest."[721] The goal has been to place minority translation strategies of OGD, THD, and 2 Esdras in the context of RT in order show how they restrain the inferential process and guide the reader to the intended interpretation.

In some cases, we have attempted to move beyond hackneyed debates over the semantics of the Greek perfect to perhaps the first instances of integrating the typologically valid concept of mirativity to the ancient Greek language. Other times we have paied close attention to the interaction of imperfective aspect, the imperative mood, and the literary context, in order to make sense of perplexing translation strategies. In this regard, the optative is particularly instructive, as it illustrates the idea that meaning is more than the sum total of the linguistic code.

[720] Ibid., 6.

[721] Sperber and Wilson, *Relevance*, 174.

The translators function, then, like the first commentary on the Aramaic texts—texts that have captured the hearts and minds of readers for millennia and whose language has intrigued and continued to perplex linguistics. As commentaries, OGD, THD and 2 Esdras preserve the cognitive, narratological map of native Aramaic-speaking Jews in the late second to the early first century BCE. From the perspective of RT, the Greek verbal system and the resulting translations of OG and TH Daniel entail a higher degree of explicitness, placing procedural constraints on the reader, and therefore reducing the cognitive effort involved in the interpretive process. They constitute *something gained* in the translation process.

As a final note, the resultant data left unintentionally in translation, contributes to the typological agenda advanced from the beginning of this work. Aspectually prominent languages like Greek characteristically grammaticalize aspect outside of the indicative mood. Close attention to aspectual choice of the translators in the non-indicative moods, brings this fact into sharper focus.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The time has come at last to offer some concluding remarks that look back on the journey thus far, but also suggest directions for those who would pursue the path here taken into uncharted territory.

The data from chapter 2 served as a foundational, Archimedean point. The lever has been various linguistic methods: typology, contact linguistics and dialectology, applied linguistics (forensic and corpus), and cognitive linguistics (relevance theory). The four subsequent analysis chapters have a chiastic structure, not unlike the Aramaic portion of Daniel. Chapters three and six are the bookends. The latter centers around Aramaic verbal semantics, beginning with modality (§3.1.1) and then moving backwards temporally to narrative (§3.1.5) while the former orbits around Greek verbal semantics, beginning in narrative (§6.2.1) and moving back towards modality (§6.3.5). The two center chapters investigate the Aramaic and Greek language of the translator: Aramaic dialect differences of the translators in chapter 4, while chapter 5 documents Greek idiolectal features of the translator of OGD.

The translators, beyond just supplying data to count and tabulate, reveal a sophisticated and intricate cognitive map of the Aramaic verbal system (chapter 2). Although this data cannot function as a one-to-one correspondence solving modern debates over the semantics of the verbal system, by problematizing the data within the context of typological studies on TAM, we can discuss verbal functions as extensions of semantic prominence. For the Aramaic PC this means that the various functions assigned to the form by the translators in their choice of aspectual and temporal values suggest they are using aspect and tense to express what Aramaic conceptualizes as modality, most notably future temporal reference and habitual action in the present and past. There appear, as well, to be times based on translation technique and a new understanding of the

semantics of the Aramaic PC, that we can reconstruct narrative uses of the Aramaic PC, a function so poorly documented it has been called artificial.

The translators also preserve inadvertently data in translation that suggest the Aramaic language has undergone a degree of transformation by the time of the translators, if ever so slightly (chapter 3). The first step is painstakingly established through detailed lexical studies, opening the prospect of chronological and dialectal differences between the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel and the Aramaic of the translators. On this foundation two syntactical studies suggest: 1) the Aramaic periphrastic construction הוה + active/t-stem participle shows evidence of a greater degree of grammaticalization; and 2) the use of the participle as a historic present may have been a geographically limited feature used in some regional dialects (i.e., Daniel), but not others (the translators). The Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel is not from the same chronological strata or geographic origin. The translation process brings these dialects into contact.

As has often been observed, the Semitic *Vorlage* has a constraining influence on Greek translation in terms of frequency of occurrence of verbal forms. In the pluses of OGD, however, the absence of this restraining force means the translator's idiolect shines through in a perceptible and occasionally quantifiable manner; in the use of periphrastic constructions, the perfect indicative, circumstantial participles, τὸ + infinitive, and the use of performatives (chapter 4). Forensic linguistics, adapted for use in context where the data is frustratingly limited, is ideally suited for adoption to text-critical problems. In these pluses, the translator shows himself to be, as is expected, the product of Hellenistic Judaism.

Translation primarily is communication that reveals the translator's intentions (chapter 5). The translation is in one sense a code, but must be inferentially enriched before that code can mean anything of relevance. In minority translation strategies the interpretive element is most

easily detectible, revealing not only how the translator read the text, but also how he intended for it to be read by future generations. The suggested covert mirative strategy for the perfect indicative and the non-prototypical use of the genitive absolute both illustrate the limits of code theory and the robustness of RT, but also constrain the reader providing guidance towards the intended interpretation.

Much of the approach here, while deeply indebted to previous scholarship, has attempted to blaze a new trail. Previous scholarship has served us well, but future research will want a more rigorously informed linguistic method. Translation technique is invaluable in its ability to mine and accurately produce data, but this data is not self-interpreting. If the field wants to advance and produce results of interest to the larger fields of philology and linguistics, a more robust linguistic agenda promises a way forward.

Perhaps what is most striking about the use of linguistic method in the present study is not how much is utilized, but how many illuminating linguistic perspectives were overlooked. Here no use is made of systemic functional linguistics, generative grammar, role and reference grammar, minimalist syntax, among others. Future researchers who go down this same path will want to avail themselves of these methods and more. I am acutely aware that other observations could have been made at some points. No doubt, some will find certain arguments more persuasive than others. But our time comes to a close. So we end our work on Daniel with the words of Josephus (*Ant.*, X. 281): ἐγὼ μὲν περὶ τούτων ὡς εὗρον καὶ ἀνέγνων οὕτως ἔγραψα· εἰ δέ τις ἄλλως δοξάζειν βουλήσεται περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἐχέτω τὴν ἑτερογνωμοσύνη.

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