# Chapter 7

# Exceptional uses of the negative $l\bar{\phi}$

he previous chapters (4-6) examined constructions in which the negative א b  $l\bar{o}$  precedes finite verbs, the non-verbal categories and the non-finite verbs. A distinction was drawn between sentence-and constituent-negation. This chapter sets out to discuss briefly some exceptional uses of the negative  $\lambda b$   $l\bar{o}$ . These uses seem to be cases where the negative  $\lambda b$   $l\bar{o}$  has no properties of scope in the clause. The first discussion in section 7.1 illustrates the use of  $\lambda b$   $l\bar{o}$  in negative answers. The other two uses pertain to cases where the negative  $\lambda b$   $l\bar{o}$  no longer, in the true sense of the word, functions as a negative, and is therefore not translated with *not*. In section 7.2 the use of  $\lambda b$   $l\bar{o}$  to express certainty in  $\lambda b$   $\lambda b$   $\lambda b$  constructions will be considered. Section 7.3 will discuss the possible use of  $\lambda b$   $\lambda b$  as a noun.

# 7.1 The use of לא $l\bar{o}$ expressing *no* in an answer

According to Koehler *et al* (1974: 486) the negative  $\hbar \bar{\nu}$  can also be used with the meaning of *no* in answer to a question as in (1):

## (1) Gen $42^{10}$

וַיאמרוּ אֵלָיו לא אַדני וַעַבְדִיךּ בַּאוּ לְשַבַּר־אכל:

wayyō'mer 'ēlāyw lō' 'adōnî wa'abādeykā bā'û lišbār-'ōkel and-said-they to-him no lord-my and-servants-your came-they to-buy-food And they answered: "No, my lord, your servants have come to buy food."

Gen 42<sup>9</sup> reads as follows (NIV): Then he remembered his dreams about them and said to them, "You are spies! You have come to see where our land is unprotected." In Gen 42<sup>10</sup> his brothers answer this accusation with "No, my lord..."

A further example of this use of the negative is provided in (2):

#### (2) $2 \text{ Sam } 24^{24}$

יאָמֶר הַמְּלֶּךְ אֶל־אָרַוְנָה לֹא כִּי־קְנוֹ אֶקְנָה מֵאוֹתְךְּ בַּמְחִיר wayy $\bar{o}$ mer hammelek 'el-'arawnāh lõ' k $\hat{i}$ -qānô 'eqneh mê $\hat{o}$ t'kā bim $\hat{\mu}$ îr

and-said-he the-king to-araunah no but-buying will-buy-I from-(Acc)-you at-(market)price

But the king replied to Araunah, "No, I will indeed buy at (market) price."

# 2 Sam 24<sup>22-3</sup> (taken from the NIV) reads:

Araunah said to David, "Let my lord the king take whatever pleases him and offer it up. Here are oxen for the burnt offering, and here are threshing sledges and ox yokes for the wood. <sup>23</sup>O king, Araunah gives all this to the king." Araunah also said to him, "May the LORD your God accept you."

If the context supplied by these verses is taken into consideration, it is evident that Araunah offers the king whatever pleases him to take. In 2 Sam 24<sup>24</sup> the reply of the king is recorded: "*No, but indeed I will pay you the market price.*"

In short then, the above two examples illustrate that the negative  $d\bar{\partial}$  can be used as a negative answer to previous statements or previously stated questions (direct or indirect). The negative  $d\bar{\partial}$  in such cases simply represents a negative answer to a preceding statement or question and does not have as such any scope over the subsequent phrase. Notice that the clauses following the negative  $d\bar{\partial}$  in (1) and (2) are both stated in the positive: *My lord, your servants came to buy food* and *but indeed I will pay you the market price*. In other words, neither of these clauses is

negated by the negative לא ליא  $l\bar{o}$ , hence, the negative has no scope over the subsequent clauses.

Sivan & Schniedewind (1993: 223) discuss a possible counterexample to the above exposition. Consider the following discussion on Gen 23<sup>5-15</sup>. The following translations (taken from Sivan & Schniedewind) will be used to illustrate the development of their argument. Gen 23<sup>5-6</sup> read as follows:

<sup>5</sup> And the Hittites answered Abraham saying, "Indeed, <sup>6</sup> listen to us my lord (לאמר לו: שמענו ארני), you are a prince of God in our midst, bury your dead in our best burial plot. None of us will withhold his burial plot from you for burying your dead."

Sivan & Schniedewind (1993: 222) suggest that hw must be an asseverative in this instance, since the direct quotation marker לאמר hw is nowhere followed by a prepositional phrase. Gen  $23^{10-11}$  reads as follows (Sivan & Schniedewind 1993: 223):

<sup>10</sup>Now Ephron was sitting in the midst of the Hittites and he answered Abraham in the hearing of the Hittites, all who came in the gate of the city saying, <sup>II</sup> "Indeed (לאמר: לא־אדני שמעני), my lord, listen to me. I give you the field and I give you the cave which is in it; I give it to you before my people. Bury your dead."

<sup>13</sup>And Abraham spoke to Ephron in the hearing of the people of the land, saying, "Surely, if you would certainly listen to me לאמר אך אם־אחה לו שמעני). I give the price of the land; accept it from me, so that I may bury my dead there." <sup>14</sup>And Ephron replied to Abraham, saying, "Indeed, <sup>15</sup>hear me (לאמר: לראדני שמעני) the land is worth four

hundred shekels of silver – what is that between you and me. Bury your dead."

With regard to the above discussion it is evident that Sivan & Schniedewind (1993) propose that the negative  $\aleph$  should be translated as *indeed*, thus, considering it an asseverative. If the different asseverative particles in v 6, 13 and 15 are taken into consideration, this seems to be a possibility.

The above exposition has discussed two examples, one where it seems probable to take the negative  $n \in l\bar{o}$  as a "negative answer" translated as no. The other example, if Sivan & Schniedewind's proposal is accepted, seems to be an example of the negative  $n \in l\bar{o}$  used as an asseverative. No clear-cut answer can be provided at this stage and this phenomenon is in need of further research.

# 7.2 לא $l\bar{o}$ in constructions expressing certainty

This section focusses, firstly, on the possible use of  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  in the  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  construction expressing certainty. <sup>89</sup> Of the 125 cases of  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  that were found in the data search, 27 are assumed to be examples of the negative  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  in the  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  construction expressing certainty. It will be illustrated below that the negative  $\aleph^{1}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  does not fulfil its primary function of negation in these constructions, but rather that it indicates, together with the conjunction  $l_{N}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  im, the certainty of the information expressed by the following clause. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 296) state that the conjunction  $l_{N}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  marks a process *that will occur* (primarily in a *sworn oath*). In such cases it will be translated with *surely* or *indeed*. Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 679) state that the expression of wishes and oaths does not require the use of any sort of exclamation, but that a diverse set of exclamations are nevertheless used, for example protases with apodoses, and phrases headed up by substantives. Amongst the different particles involved in oaths and wishes,  $\aleph^{2}$   $l\bar{o}^{2}$  (positive)

89 Cf Koehler *et al* (1974: 486) for a reference to the use of 'zim-lō' expressing certainty, translated as *gewiss*. Brongers (1981: 188) conjectures that 'zim-lō' is often used in a positive manner in the sense of *surely*, *without any doubt*, *wahrlich*, *gewiss*, *sicherlich*, *certainement*, *voorwaar*. Cf also Muraoka's (1985: 128) reference to the use of 'zim lō' for emphatic affirmation in oaths.

is listed. It is evident that אֹד ' אַד 'im lō' is taken to have a positive meaning in such wishes and oaths. Van der Merwe et al (1999: 310) propose that with אָד 'im lō' a speaker expresses commitment that a process will take place. They illustrate with Josh 14°: And Moses swore on that day, saying: "Surely the land on which your foot has trodden shall be an inheritance for you and your children for ever." Cowley (1910: 471) similarly claims that the sequence, אַד 'יוֹ ווּ lō', in the sense of certainly, is used to introduce promises or threats confirmed by an oath (especially after such formulae as 'יוֹ ווֹ וֹ אַיִּ 'im lō' hay-yahweh). Cowley (1910: 472) also discusses examples of 'x אַד לֹא 'im lō' as simple particles of asseveration, for example Is  $5^9$  and Job  $22^{20}$ .

In short then, the sequence  $\aleph^{\dagger} \supset im \ l \bar{\partial}$ , as a combination of  $\square \aleph$   $^{\flat}im + \aleph^{\dagger} \ l \bar{\partial}$ , expresses certainty or asseveration, whether the two items are used in cases of certainty in oaths or merely as simple particles of certainty. Below, a number of examples illustrating this phenomenon are presented. As the constructions in question do not express negation as such, and hence do no shed light on the scope of the negative  $\aleph^{\dagger} \ l \bar{\partial}$ , their syntactic derivations will not be explicated here. Consider firstly the example in (3):

## (3) Gen 24<sup>38</sup>

take-vou wife for-son-of-my

אַם־לא אֶל־בֵּית־אָבִי תֵּלְףְ וְאֶל־מִשְׁפַּחְתִּי וְלָלְחְהָּ אְשָׁה לְבְנִי: "im-lō" 'el-bêt-'ābî tēlēk w<sup>6</sup>el-mišpaḥtî w<sup>6</sup>lāqaḥtā 'iššâ libnî Indeed to-house-of father-my must-go-you and-to-clan-of-my and-

...Indeed, you must go to my father's family and to my clan, and get a wife for my son.'

Suppose the sequence  $\aleph^{\dagger}$  is analysed as part of the protasis of a conditional clause. On such analysis it would make no sense to translate it as *if you do not go to my father's house or to my clan and take a wife for my son*, for the simple reason that there is no apodosis against this proposed protasis. In other words, there is no *if not..., then...* to render it a conditional clause. Neither could the sequence in question be an example of  $\aleph^{\dagger}$  in  $l\bar{\sigma}$  introducing an alternative (cf Chapter 4, section 4.6), as there is no clause against which this alternative *or not to the house of my father and to my clan must you go, and take a wife for my son* 

Consider, secondly, the example in (4) containing the sequence אים  $\bar{l}$   $\bar{l}$   $\bar{l}$ :

#### (4) Num $14^{28}$

:בְּמֶר אֲלֶהֶם חֵי־אָנִי נְאָם־יְהוָה אִם־לֹא כַּאֲשֶׁר הָבַּרְתֶּם בְּאָזְנְי כֵּן אֶעֲשֶׂה לְכֶם "mōr >"lēhem ḥay-ʔānî n<sup>6</sup>um-yahweh 'im-lō' ka'"šer dibbartem b<sup>6</sup>oznay kēn 'ee"śeh lākem

Say to-them life I declares-yahweh indeed/surely according-what said-you in-ears-my so will-do-I to-you

Tell them, 'As surely as I live, declares the Lord, indeed, according to what you have said in my ears, so I will do to you.'

Here too, the sequence  $\aleph^{\dagger}$   $\square$  m  $l\bar{o}$  cannot be analysed as being part of the protasis of a conditional clause, since there is no apodosis to complete the conditional clause. Furthermore, this sequence cannot be taken to introduce an alternative (cf Chapter 4, section 4.6), as there is no clause against which the clause under discussion could be taken as being the alternative to. Thus, semantically it will make no sense to translate (4) as either a conditional clause (a), or introducing an alternative (b):

- (a) Say to them: As surely as I live, declares the Lord, if not according to what you said in my ears, so I will do to you.
- (b) Say to them: As surely as I live, declares the Lord, or not according to what you said in my ears, so I will do to you.

If the two verses directly preceding and following Num 14<sup>27</sup> are taken into consideration, it is evident that neither a conditional clause, nor an alternative is expressed. The three verses, taken from the NIV, are as follows:

<sup>27</sup> "How long will this wicked community grumble against me? I have heard the complaints of these grumbling Israelites. <sup>28</sup>So tell them, 'As surely as I live, declares the LORD, I will do to you the very things I heard you say: <sup>29</sup>In this desert your bodies will fall – every one of you twenty years old or more who was counted in the census and who has grumbled against me.

It is clear from these verses that the Lord is making an oath that He will indeed do to the Israelites according to their grumble in His ears. Therefore, it is plausible that  $\aleph^{\flat}$  im  $l\partial^{\flat}$  should be analysed as an expression of certainty, in this example after an oath, with the meaning of *indeed* or *surely*.

# 7.3 The negative $\sqrt[4]{l\bar{o}}$ used as a noun

According to Holladay (1971: 170) the negative  $\hbar \bar{b}$  can also be used as a noun with the implied meaning of *a nothing*, as in Job  $6^{21}$ :

### (5) Job $6^{21}$

כי־עַתַּה הַייתָם <sup>90</sup>לֹא תּרָאוּ חַתַת וַתִּירָאוּ:

kî-cattâ heyîtem lô tir'û hata wattîrā'û

For-now became-you a nothing (Qere reading=for him) see-you horror and-are-afraid-you

For now you became a nothing; You see horror and you are afraid.

It could be argued that the verb  $\Box m \cap h^e y \hat{l} t e m$  in (5) is transitive, that is, that it requires an object as in *you became [...something...]*. If this is accepted, then the negative  $\partial h \cap h$  may be considered as the object. Another possible reading of this text is provided by the *qere* reading in the margin of the Hebrew text, according to which the negative  $\partial h \cap h \cap h$  should be superseded with  $\partial h \cap h \cap h$  (for him). However, the proposal to change the negative  $\partial h \cap h \cap h$  is problematic, as the clause will then be incomplete, lacking a direct object: *For now you became for him [a]* 

<sup>90</sup> The Qere-reading in the margin of the text proposes b  $l\hat{o}$  (for him) instead of the negative b b.

what?]. A third possibility is provided by the text critical apparatus proposing לא  $l\bar{o}$  to be changed to לאָל  $l^{e}$  al, that is a preposition  $l^{e}$  with the negative אל 'al. If this proposal is accepted, despite the fact that it lacks supporting textual evidence, it could be argued that the preposition  $\supset l^{\ell}$ with the negative אל 'al represents the direct object. This would be similar to the first possibility mentioned above in terms of which the negative אלי  $l\bar{o}$  functions as the direct object of this clause. To sum up, then, it should be obvious that there is no clear-cut analysis of the negative x5  $l\bar{o}$  in (5). To the extent of this research, it will be tentatively proposed that the negative be retained as  $t\bar{l}\bar{o}$  and analysed as the direct object of the clause. A plausible translation of (5) would then be: For now, you became a nothing, you see horror and you fear.

Consider, finally, the example in (6):

#### (6)

 $\frac{1~{
m Kgs}~11^{22}}{1~{
m Kgs}~10^{-2}}$  ניאָמָר לוֹ פַּרְעה כִּי מָה־אַתָּה חָטֵר עִמִּי וְהַנְּךְ מְבַקַּשׁ לְלֶכֶת אָל־אַרְצֶּךְ ניאמֶר לֹא כִּי שַׁלָּח חָשׁלְּחֵנִי:

wayyō'mer lô far'ōh kî mâ-'attâ hāsēr 'immî w<sup>e</sup>hinn'kā m<sup>e</sup>bagqēš lāleket 'el-'arsekā wayyō'mer lō' kî šallēah tešallehēnî

And-said-he to-him pharaoh for 91 what you lacked-you with-me andbehold-you seek to-go to-land-your and-said-he nothing but to-let-go let-go-you-me

And Pharaoh said to him: "What have you lacked with me, and behold, you seek to go to your land? And he said: "Nothing, but do let me go!"

The question that is asked in (6) concerns what Hadad lacked while being with Pharaoh. His answer is *Nothing*, which could be paraphrased as: I lacked nothing. It seems plausible, therefore, to analyse  $d\bar{o}$  as a noun, the object of the implied verb *lacked*, and not as the negative element  $\delta \bar{b}$ .

<sup>91</sup> According to Cowley (1910: 491) direct narration is also very frequently introduced by  $\supset k\hat{\imath}$ . It seems possible to "translate"  $\supset k\hat{\imath}$  in this example with a colon, introducing the direct reason.

## 7.4 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on a number of exceptional constructions in which the negative  $n \nmid l \vec{o}$  is found. It was made clear that  $n \nmid l \vec{o}$  does not function as a regular negative element in these constructions, and that the question of the scope of the negative  $n \nmid l \vec{o}$  does not arise in these cases. In section 7.1 the negative  $n \nmid l \vec{o}$  as the simple negative answer  $n \mid l \vec{o}$  a question, without having any scope over a subsequent clause, was discussed. Section 7.2 discussed the negative  $n \mid l \vec{o} \mid l$