

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 2  
G–O

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Lo-Ruḥama/Not-Pitied), while the second **לֹא** *lō* functions as sentence negator (negating the clause introduced by **כִּי** *kī* ‘for, because’).

## I. SENTENTIAL NEGATION

I.1. **לֹא** *lō* (5188 occurrences, including orthographic varieties) is used to negate independent verbal clauses, as in **וְלֹא־מָצְאָהּ הַיּוֹנָה מְנוּחַ לְכַרְיָהּ** *wə-lō-māšāʔ hay-yōnā mānōah la-kap-raglāh* ‘and the dove did not find a resting-place for its feet’ (Gen. 8.9, with suffix-conjugation verb); **לֹא יִרְשָׁהּ זֶה** *lō yiršāh zē* ‘this-one will not inherit you’ (Gen. 15.4, with prefix-conjugation verb).

I.2. **אֵין** *ʾēn* (747 occurrences; technically, the construct form of **אֵין** *ʾayin*) is used to negate nominal clauses, and hence may serve as the opposite of the particle of existence **ישׁ** *yēš* ‘there is/are’ (which occurs 140x), as in **וְהַבּוֹר רֵק אֵין בּוֹ מַיִם** *wə-hab-bōr rēq ʾēn bō māyim* ‘and the pit was empty, there was no water in it’ (Gen. 37.24, with implied copula); **אֵינְנוּ שׁמַע בְּקוֹלֵנוּ** *ʾēnennū šōmēaʔ bə-qōlēnū* ‘he does not harken to our voice’ (Deut. 21.20, negating the participle, with the requisite pronominal suffix attached; 103x with suffixes; see also Rechenmacher 2003).

I.3. **אַל** *ʾal* (730 occurrences) is used in negative commands or prohibitions, especially one-time prohibitions (see the contrast at §1.4 below), with the 1st-person cohortative, with the 2nd-person prefix-conjugation as the negation of the imperative, and with the 3rd-person jussive, as in the following, respectively: **אַל־ תִּיָּדַד בְּמוֹת הַיֶּלֶד** *ʾal-ʾerʔe bə-mōt hay-yāled* ‘may I not see the death of the child’ (Gen. 21.16); **אַל־ תִּירָאִי** *ʾal-tīrīʔ* ‘do not fear’ (Gen. 21.17); **אַל־ יֵרַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ** *al-yērāʔe bə-ʾēnekā* ‘let it not be bad in your eyes’ (Gen. 21.12).

I.4. **לֹא** *lō* is utilized before a prefix-conjugation verb to negate the command, especially in legal prohibitions with lasting force (contrast the usage under §1.3 above), for instance, within the Decalogue, **לֹא תִרְצַח לֹא תִנְאַף לֹא תִגְזֹב** *lō tiršāh lō tinʾāp lō tiḡnōb* ‘you shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal’ (Exod. 20.12); **לֹא תִשְׂגֹּב מִבְּשָׂרָם לֹא תֹאכְלוּ** *lō tassīgəb mib-bəšārām lō tōkēlū* ‘of their flesh you shall not eat’ (Lev. 11.11); **לֹא תִסְיֵג גְבוּל רֵעֶךָ** *lō tassīgəbūl rēʾākā* ‘you shall not remove the boundary-stone of your neighbor’ (Deut. 19.14).

I.5. **פֶּן** *pen* (133 occurrences) serves to negate dependent verbal clauses, especially those with

a finite purpose, thereby serving as the equivalent of English ‘lest’, e.g., **הִשָּׁמֵר לָךְ פְּוִתְדַבֵּר עִם־ יַעֲקֹב מִטּוֹב עַד־רָע** *hiššāmer lakā pen-təḏabbēr ʾim-yaʾāqōb miṭ-ṭōb ʾad-rāʾ* ‘guard yourself, lest you speak with Jacob either good or bad’ (= ‘that you not speak to Jacob about anything’) (Gen. 31.24) (Waltke and O’Connor 1990:661).

I.6. **לֹבֵלְתִי** *lə-biltī* (78 occurrences) serves to negate the infinitive construct or a dependent verbal clause, as in, respectively, **לֹבֵלְתִי שְׁלַח** *lə-biltī šallah* ‘not sending forth the people’ (Exod. 8.25); **וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקַיִן אֹתוֹ לֹבֵלְתִי הַכּוֹת־אֶתוֹ כִּלְמִצְאוֹ** *YHWH la-qayin ʾōt la-biltī hakkōt-ʾōtō kāl-mōšʾō* ‘and YHWH put a mark upon Cain, so that none who might find him would slay him’ (Gen. 4.15) (on the base form **בִּלְתִּי** *biltī* ‘only, none except, not until’, see below, §2.6).

I.7. **בַּל** *bal* (76 occurrences) is a poetic synonym of **לֹא** *lō*, used especially before the prefix-conjugation verb, in particular the *nifal* form of **מוֹט** *m-w-t* ‘shake’ (for reasons which are not readily transparent), e.g., **בַּל־תִּמּוֹט** *bal-timmōt* ‘it (sc. the world) shall not be moved’ (Ps. 93.1). This particle may occur more frequently in Israelian (northern) Hebrew compositions (Rendsburg 2003a:20), e.g., **וּבַל־יֹאמְרוּ** *u-bal-yōmrū* ‘and they do not say’ (Hos. 7.2), especially given the fact that the neighboring Phoenician dialect uses **בל** *bl* regularly (in fact, **ל** *l* is not attested in Phoenician).

I.8. **אֶפֶס** *ʾēpes* occurs mainly in poetry, chiefly as the equivalent of **אֵין** *ʾēn* (see above §1.2), e.g., **עַד אֶפֶס מְקוֹם** *ʾad ʾēpes māqōm* ‘until there is no room’ (Isa. 5.8); **כִּי־אֶפֶס בְּלַעֲדִי** *kī-ʾēpes bilʾādāy* ‘for there is none besides me’ (Isa. 45.6).

I.9. **טָרַם** *ṭerem*, which bears the meaning ‘before’ (see, e.g., Gen. 19.24; Exod. 12.34), also may serve to connote ‘not yet’, e.g., **וְגַר יִכְבֶּה טָרַם אֱלֹהִים** *wə-nēr ʾēlōhīm ṭerem yikbe* ‘and the lamp of God had not yet gone-out’ (1 Sam. 3.3, with prefix-conjugation verb, as more commonly); **וַיִּשְׁמוֹעַ לְטָרַם יָדַע אֶת־יְהוָה** *u-šmūʾel ṭerem yādaʾ ʾet-YHWH* ‘and Samuel did not yet know YHWH’ (1 Sam. 3.7, with suffix-conjugation verb, as more rarely, probably here because **ידע** *y-d-ʿ* ‘know’ [as a verb that expresses a state] regularly takes the suffix-conjugation to indicate present time; see Cook 2006:32–33).

## 2. CONSTITUENT NEGATION

2.1. *lō* may be employed to negate non-verbal categories, including nouns and proper names, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, prepositions, and pronouns (Snyman and Naudé 2003: 253), e.g., *lō 'iš dabārīm 'ānōkī* 'I am no man of words' (Exod. 4.10); *lō hākām* 'non-wise' (Deut. 32.6); *lō-ʿel* 'no-god' (Deut. 32.21); *ʿoreḥ wā-lō-ḥānīm 'er'em* '(my) nape and not (my) face I will show them' (Jer. 18.17, see also Waltke and O'Connor 1990:661).

2.2. *ʿal* may negate nouns, especially when an "added volitional nuance" is suggested (Joüon and Muraoka 2009:573), e.g., *ʿal-tal wā-ʿal-mātār* '(let there be) no dew and no rain' (2 Sam. 1.21). In other instances, where such tone is not indicated, e.g., *qəḥū-mūsārī wā-ʿal-kāseḥ* 'receive my instruction, and not silver' (Prov. 8.10), we may be dealing with another Israelian Hebrew feature (Rendsburg 2003a:24); for a cognate usage, see *ḥšk w-ʿl ngh* 'darkness and not light' (Deir 'Alla 1.6–7).

2.3. In other instances *ʿal* negates an elided directive (see also below §3, §5), e.g., *diršū-tōb wā-ʿal-rāʿ* 'seek good, and [do] not [seek] evil' (Amos 5.14); *yassārēnī YHWH 'aq-bā-mišpāt 'al-bā-appakā pen-tam'itēnī* 'chastise me, O YHWH, but in measure; [do] not [chastise me] in your wrath, lest you reduce me to naught' (Jer. 10.24); *bā-ʿarah-šādāqā ḥayyim wā-derek nātibā 'al-māwet* 'in the path of righteousness there is life; and [in] the way of the trail, no death' (Prov. 12.28).

2.4. *bālī* and *mib-bālī* serve the function of 'without', especially in poetic texts, e.g., *bālī pāšāʿ* 'without transgression' (Job 33.9); *mib-bālī-ʿiš* 'without people' (Zeph. 3.6).

2.5. A closely related usage is *ʿen* preceding a noun, conveying the sense of 'no, without'. Examples include: *u-l-šālōm 'en-qeš* 'and to peace [there will be] no end' (Isa. 9.6, see English 'endless'); *yāmīm 'en mišpār* 'days without number' (Jer. 2.32, see English 'innumerable'); *u-nḥōšet lā-rōb 'en mišqāl* 'and much bronze, beyond weighing' (1 Chron. 22.3, see English 'unweighable').

2.6. *biltī* 'only, none except, not until' typically serves an adverbial function, e.g., *wā-gam 'ānōkī lō šāma'tī biltī hay-yōm* 'and indeed, I, I did not hear (about this) until today' (Gen. 21.26); though it also can serve as a negative particle, as in *biltī ṭāhōr huā kī-lō ṭāhōr* 'he is not pure, indeed not pure' (1 Sam. 20.26).

For more detailed treatments of the distribution of the morphological forms of negation, with many more illustrations of each kind of negation (from both §1 and §2), see GKC 478–483; van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze 1999:318–320; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:660–662; Williams and Beckman 2007:142–152; Joüon and Muraoka 2009:567–573.

## 3. NEGATION AND MODALITY

3.1. To illustrate some differences in usage, note the different negative particles in the following passages. In Gen. 42.9 Joseph accuses his brothers of being spies: *maraggalim 'attem lir'ot 'et-erwat hā-āreš bātem* 'You are spies! To see the nakedness of the land you have come!' Their negative response with *lō* serves to deny his accusations: *lō 'ādōnī wā-ʿabādekā bā'u lišbār-ōkel* 'No, my lord, for your servants came to obtain food' (v. 10). In Gen. 33.9 Esau refuses Jacob's gift with the volitive statement: *yehi lē 'āšer-lē' yāhī ləkā 'āšer-lāk* 'Let what is yours remain yours!'. Jacob's negative reply accordingly employs the modal negative *ʿal*: *'al-nā 'im-nā māšātī ḥen bā-ʿenekā wā-lāqahṭā minḥātī miy-yādī* 'No, please, if, please, I have found grace in your eyes, you will take my gift from my hand'. In Judg. 4.20, Sisera instructs Jael concerning what to say should someone come to her tent: *wā-hāyā 'im-ʿiš wā-ʿamar hā-yēš-pō 'iš wā-ʿamart 'āyin* 'And it will be, if a man comes, and he asks, "Is there a man here", then you shall say "No"'. In this case, the negative response to the yes-no question predicated with *yēš* is *ʿayin* (see also below, §6.1). These examples illustrate that within conversation the choice of the negative depends upon the previous utterance with which it is paired: *lō* serves to negate responses to

statements, **אֵל** *al* negates responses to volitive sentences, and **אֵינִי** *ayin* negates responses to sentences predicated with the existential particle. As such, what have been described as ‘reduced verbal clauses’ with the negative (Waltke and O’Connor 1990:661) should more precisely be linked to a preceding utterance within a dialogic exchange (Miller 2005b).

3.2. At the same time, though, the domains of **לֹא** *lō* and **אֵל** *al* appear sometimes to overlap. This can best be seen by comparing the following paired passages, with the former comprising the legal prohibition in the Torah, and the latter constituting the axiomatic parallel from wisdom literature (Qimron 1983:475; 1986:80):

לֹא תִסֵּג גְבוּל רֵעִיךָ

*lō tassīg gabūl rē‘āqā*

‘You shall not remove the boundary-stone of your neighbor’ (Deut. 19.14)

אֵל-תִּסַּג גְבוּל עוֹלָם

*‘al-tassēg gabūl ‘ōlām*

‘Do not remove the boundary-stone of yore’ (Prov. 22.28; 23.10)

כִּי-תִדְדֹר נִדְרֵי לַיהוָה אֵלֶיךָ לֹא תִאָּחֵר לְשִׁלְמוֹ

*kī-tiddōr neder la-YHWH ‘ēlōhēkā lō t’ahēr lašallāmō*

‘When you vow a vow unto YHWH your God, you shall not delay to fulfill it’ (Deut. 23.22)

כַּאֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ נִדְרֵי לַאלֹהִים אֵל-תִּאָּחֵר לְשִׁלְמוֹ

*ka-‘āšer tiddōr neder l-‘ēlōhīm ‘al-t’ahēr lašallāmō*

‘When you vow a vow unto God, do not delay to fulfill it’ (Qoh. 5.3)

Observe how the Torah prohibition uses **לֹא** *lō*, while the wisdom text exhortation utilizes **אֵל** *al* (the different English renderings above, ‘you shall not’ and ‘do not’, respectively, represent an attempt to capture the different wordings in the original).

In other instances, the same passage will employ both negative particles in the same syntactic construction. At times, this stratagem may be used simply for the sake of variation (Qimron 1983:477–478), as in the following verse (note that different translation strategies are employed in this and the following passages in an attempt to capture the different usages in the original):

וְאִישׁ לֹא-יַעֲלֶה עִמָּךְ וְגַם-אִישׁ אֶל-יֵרָא בְּכָל-הָהָר  
וְגַם-הַצֹּאן וְהַבָּקָר אֶל-יֵרְעוּ אֶל-מִוֶלַח הָהָר הַהוּא

*wə-‘iš lō-ya‘āle ‘immāk wə-ḡam-‘iš ‘al-yērā bə-kāl-hā-hār gam-haš-šōn wə-bab-bāqār ‘al-yir‘ū ‘el-mūl hā-hār ha-hū*

‘No one shall come up with you, and also no one should be seen on the entire mountain; and also the flocks and the herds should not graze opposite that mountain’ (Exod. 34.3)

The first sentence is a prohibition formed by **לֹא** *lō* with the regular prefix-conjugation (not jussive). The second and third sentences involve **אֵל** *al* with jussives to indicate exhortations.

The following examples have syntactically parallel sentences in which the second sentence comprises a stronger prohibition than the first sentence:

רָאשֵׁיכֶם אֵל-תִּפְרְעוּ | וּבְגָדֵיכֶם לֹא-תִפְרְמוּ

*rāšēkem ‘al-tiprē‘ū u-biḡdēkem lō-tiprōmū*

‘Your heads do not make-bare, and your clothes you shall not rend’ (Lev. 10.6)

The progressively stronger prohibition in the second sentence is particularly apparent in the following proverbial example:

אֵל-תִּתְרַע אֶת-בְּעַל אַף וְאֶת-אִישׁ חִמוּת לֹא תְבוֹא

*‘al-titra‘ ‘et-ba‘al ‘āp wə-‘et-‘iš hēmōt lō tābō*

‘Do not associate with a “lord of anger”; And with a “man of temper” you shall not come’ (Prov. 22.24)

In the rhetoric of Boaz’s speech to Ruth, the speaker moves from an exhortation not to glean in another field to a stronger prohibition against moving away from Boaz’s workers.

אֵל-תִּלְכִּי לְלִקֵּט בְּשֵׂדָה אַחֵר וְגַם לֹא תַעֲבוּרִי מִזֶּה

*‘al-tēlkī lilqōt bə-šāde ‘ahēr wə-ḡam lō t’ābūrī miz-ze*

‘Do not glean in another field; and also you shall not pass from this(-place)’ (Ruth 2.8)

#### 4. WORD ORDER AND SCOPE

4.1. Word order, with specific attention to the placement of the negative article, may affect the meaning and scope. Compare, for example (Steiner 1997:168):





oaths and the latter for positive oaths—as illustrated by the following:

אִם-מִחוּט וְעַד שָׁרוּד-נָעַל וְאִם-אֶקַח מִכָּל-אֲשֶׁר-לִי  
*'im-mi-ḥūt wə-ʿad šarōd-naʿal wə-ʿim-ʿeqqah mik-  
 kāl-ʾāšer-lāk*

‘(I raise my hand to YHWH, El Elyon, creator of heaven and earth, [and swear that]) if from thread to sandal thong, if I take anything of yours, [may I be cursed]’ (Gen. 14.[22–]23, i.e., ‘I will not take anything of yours, from thread to sandal thong’).

יְהוָה יְהִי שֹׁמֵעַ בְּיַמֵּינוּ אִם-לֹא כַדְבָרְךָ כִּן נִעֲשֶׂה  
*YHWH yihye šōmēaʿ bēnōtēnū 'im-lō ki-dbārḵā  
 kēn naʿšē*

‘YHWH will be a witness (lit. ‘one who hears’) between us, if we do not act in accordance with your proposal, [may we be cursed]’ (Judg. 11.10, i.e., ‘we will act’).

Conklin (2011:76) demonstrates that when אִם *kī* ‘but’ introduces oath content, the two particles should be analyzed as independent rather than compound, which is to say, the two-word phrase does not function as an asseverative marker. Examples include:

וַיִּשָּׁבַע דָּוִד לְאֹמֶר כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה-לִי אֱלֹהִים וְכֹה יִסִּי כִי  
 אִם-לִפְנֵי הוֹאֵה-שִׁמְשׁ אֶטְעַם-לָחֶם אִו כָּל-מְאוֹמָה  
*way-yiššābaʿ dāwīd lēmōr kō yaʿšē-lī ʾēlōhim  
 wə-kō yōsīp kī 'im-li-ḥnē ḥō-ḥas-šemes ʿet-  
 amleḥem ʾō kāl-maʿūmā*

‘And David swore, “Thus will God do to me and thus will he add; [I swear] that, if I eat bread or anything else before the sun comes up, [may I be cursed]”’ (2 Sam. 3.35, i.e., ‘I will not eat...’).

חַי-יְהוָה כִּי-אִם-רָצִיתִי אֲחַרְיוּ וְלִקְחָתִי מֵאִתּוֹ מֵאוֹמָה  
*ḥay-YHWH kī-ʿim-raštī ʾahārāw wə-lāqahṭī  
 mē-ʾittō māʿūmā*

‘(By) the life of YHWH, [I swear] that, if I run after him, then I will get something from him’ (2 Kgs 5.20)

2 Kgs 5.20 (see also 1 Sam. 26.10; 2 Sam. 15.21; Jer. 51.14) falls into the category of positive oaths consisting of full conditional sentences following the complementizer כִּי *kī*.

6.6. Occasionally, מָה *ma* (for a cognate form, see Arabic *mā*, used to negate the suffix-conjugation) occurs in place of אִם *'im* to introduce negative polarity, as in הִשְׁבַּעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּנֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם מֵהַתְּעִירוּ וּמֵהַתְּעַרְרוּ אֶת-הָאֲהָבָה עַד שִׁתְּחַפֵּץ  
*hišbaʿtī ʿetkēm banōt yarušālāyīm  
 ma-tāʿirū u-ma-tāʿorū ʿet-hā-ʾahabā ʿad šet-*

*teḥpāš* ‘I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, do not stir up and do not awaken love, until it pleases’ (Song 8.4, note the parallel lines in Song 2.7; 3.5, with the standard form אִם *'im*).

## 7. DIACHRONIC ISSUES

Late Biblical Hebrew (LBH) (→ Biblical Hebrew, Late) evinces several developments, two of which are noted here.

7.1. The לֹא *lō* *liqtōl* syntagma functions as a prohibitive twice in the book of Chronicles, modeled on the parallel usage in Aramaic: וְלֹא לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ לְבַכְרָהּ וְלֹא לְשֵׂאת אֶת-אֲרוֹן יְהוָה לָקְטוֹל  
*wə-lō laḥityaḥēš lab-bəḵōrā ʾlā lašāʾat ʾet-ʾarōn ḥā-ʾēlōhīm* ‘not to reckon-in-the-genealogy as first born’ (1 Chron. 5.1); וְלֹא לְשֵׂאת אֶת-אֲרוֹן יְהוָה לָקְטוֹל  
*ʾlā lašāʾat ʾet-ʾarōn ḥā-ʾēlōhīm* ‘not to carry the ark of God’ (1 Chron. 15.2). Note Biblical Aramaic examples in לֹא לְבַטְלָא  
*lā labāṭṭālā* ‘not to be stopped’ (Ezra 6.8); לֹא לְהַשְׁנִיָּה  
*lā laḥašnāyā* ‘not to be changed’ (Dan. 6.9, 16). The one additional BH example, כִּי לֹא יְהוּה  
*kī lō laḥazkīr bə-šēm YHWH* ‘for no one shall utter the name of YHWH’ (Amos 6.10), most likely represents an isogloss between Israelian Hebrew and Aramaic. (However it is to be explained, כִּי לֹא *kī lō laḥōriš* ‘for they did not dispossess’ [Judg. 1.19] is not an example of this usage, since the phrase expresses past tense rather than a prohibitive.)

7.2. The particle לֹאֵין *lā-ʿen* before a substantive occurs eight times in LBH with the sense ‘without’, e.g., וּפְלִיטָה לֹאֵין שְׂאֲרִית וּפְלִיטָה  
*u-ḥlētā lā-ʿen šāʾerit* ‘without a remnant or escape’ (Ezra 9.14); לֹאֵין מִסְפָּר  
*lā-ʿen mišpār* ‘without number’ = ‘innumerable’ (1 Chron. 22.4); לֹאֵין מְרַפָּא  
*lā-ʿen marpē* ‘without remedy’ = ‘incurable’ (2 Chron. 21.18).

7.3. Many LBH developments, including the two aforementioned ones, are found in the book of Ben Sira (see van Peursen 1999). At other times, however, said book evinces unexpected usages, not necessarily tied to diachronic developments. Prime among these is the expanded use of מָה *ma* as a negative particle (see above, §6.6), e.g., כַּבֵּד מִמֶּךָ מֵהַתְּשָׂא  
*kabed mimmeḵa ma tiššā* ‘that which is too heavy for you, do not take up’ (Ben Sira 13.2 (A)) (see van Peursen 1999:232). In this and other instances, presumably the book of Ben Sira is imitative of BH usages, including rare ones.

## 8. QUMRAN HEBREW

The two LBH features described above (§7.1, §7.2) appear even more prominently in Qumran Hebrew (QH).

8.1. For the first one, note four examples in the well-known passage *ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד* and *ולוא מכול דברי אל בקציהם ולוא לקדם עתיהם ולוא להתאחר מכול מועדיהם ולוא לסור מחוקי אמתו ולוא לשמאול ולוא ללכת ימין ושמאול* *w-lw' lš'wd b-kwl 'ḥd m-kwl dbry 'l b-qsyhm w-lw' lqdm 'tyhm w-lw' lht'hr m-kwl mu'dyhm w-lw' l-swr m-ḥwqy 'mtw llkt ymyn u-šm'wl* 'and not to step upon any of the words of God regarding their times, and not to advance their festival-times, and not to delay any of their appointed-times, and not to diverge from the laws of his truth to go either right or left' (1QS 1.13–15) (see further Qimron 1986:78).

8.2. For the second usage, note such examples as *לאין רחמים* *l-'yn rḥmym* 'without mercy' (1QS 2.7); *לאין סליחה* *l-'yn slyḥh* 'without pardon' (1QS 2.14–15); *לאין שרית* *l-'yn šryt* 'without a remnant' (1QS 4.14; 5.13), as well as instances before infinitive, e.g., *לאין קום* *l-'yn qwm* 'not to rise (again)' (1QM 18.2) (see further Qimron 1986:77).

8.3. To be sure, standard BH usages also appear within the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS); see, e.g., *ולא יבדל בידח עצתו* *l-bly htysr b-yḥd 'štw* 'not to be disciplined in the Yaḥad of his counsel' (1QS 3.6); *ולא יבלי סליחה* *w-bly slyḥh* 'without pardon' (4Q417 2i.16); *ולא יבלי הון* *m-bly hwn* 'without wealth' (4Q417 2i.19). Nonetheless, the passages cited above illustrate the manner in which LBH continues quite naturally in QH (Rendsburg 2010:223–224).

8.4. Qumran Hebrew reflects other developments as well, most prominently the greatly increased use of *אל* 'al 'not' (396x, according to one count, keeping in mind that the DSS corpus is much smaller than the biblical canon), especially before general negative commands (prohibitions, etc.), which in BH (as per above, §1.4) are typically introduced by *לא* *lō* (Qimron 1983:478–479; 1986:80–81).

8.4.1. Among the many legal injunctions in the DSS introduced by *אל* 'al 'not', the following are but a representative sampling:

אל ירחץ איש במים צואים

*'l yrḥṣ 'yš b-mym šw'ym*

'A person shall not bathe in filthy water' (CD 10.10–11)

אל יטהר במ כלי

*'l yṭhr bm kly*

'He shall not purify in them a vessel' (CD 10.12)

אל יאכל איש ביום השבת כי אם המוכן

*'l y'kl 'yš b-ywm b-šbt ky 'm b-mwkn*

'A person shall not eat on the Sabbath day except that which is prepared [in advance]' (CD 10.22)

אל יבוא במים לנעת בטהרת אנשי הקודש

*'l ybw' b-mym lg't b-ṭhrt 'nšy b-qwḏš*

'He shall not enter the water [so as not] to touch the purity of the holy men' (1QS 5.13)

אל ידבר איש בתוך דברי רעהו

*'l ydbr 'yš b-twḥ dbry r'hw*

'A person shall not speak during the words of his fellow' (1QS 6.10)

8.4.2. The extent to which *אל* 'al 'not' has penetrated the language of the Dead Sea Scrolls may be observed in the following example, which presents both the biblical text referenced (with *לא* *lō*, as expected [2x]) and the Qumran reworking (with *אל* 'al [2x]) (in this case, the English translations do not attempt to capture the difference):

לא־יהיה כְּלִי־גֶבֶר עַל־אִשָּׁה וְלֹא־יִלְבַּשׁ גֶּבֶר שְׂמֹלֶת אִשָּׁה

*lō-yihye kəlī-geber 'al-'iššā wə-lō-yilbaš geber šimlat 'iššā*

'There shall not be a man's article upon a woman; and a man shall not wear the dress of a woman' (Deut. 22.5)

אל יהיו כלי גבר על אשה...ואל ילבש כתונ[ת] אשה

*'l yhyw kly gbr 'l 'šb...w-'l ylbš ktwn[t] 'šb*

'There shall not be a man's article upon a woman...a man shall not wear the tuni[c] of a woman' (4Q159 2.6–7)

8.4.3. The increased use of *אל* 'al 'not' in the DSS most likely results from two separate forces at work. First, the general breakdown in the distinction between the standard prefix-conjugation (*yiqtol*), typically negated by *לא* *lō* in BH (see above, §1.1), and the modal usages (jussive, cohortative), typically negated by *אל* 'al in BH (see above, §1.3), readily observable in QH (→ Dead Sea Scrolls: Linguistic Features),

may have led to the confusion regarding the employment of the ‘proper’ negative particle (Qimron 1983:479; 1986:81). Second, the Yaḥad sectarians may have sensed that אַל *al* is more literary and perhaps more archaic (in their minds) than the standard form לֹא *lō* (see brief comment in Qimron 1983:479; for general orientation, see Rendsburg 2010).

## 9. RABBINIC HEBREW

9.1. In Rabbinic Hebrew (RH), the rules governing the three main negators—לֹא *lō*, אַל *al*, and אֵין *’ēn*—are essentially the same as in BH (Segal 1927:223). A few basic points are to be noted, nonetheless (see especially Azar 1995:167–187; Pérez Fernández 1997:174).

9.2. Within the presentation of the innumerable laws which appear in the Mishna, Tosefta, and the compilations of halakhic *midrashim* one still finds the older BH system in place, that is, with לֹא *lō* serving to indicate the interdiction, though normally with the verb in the 3rd person (and not the 2nd person, for which see above, §1.4). Thus, for example, לֹא יֵשֵׁב *lo yešeb ’adam* *lo yešeb ’adam liḥne has-sappar samuk lam-minḥa* ‘a person does not sit before the barber close to Minḥa’ (Mishna Shabbat 1.5, i.e., on Friday, as Sabbath approaches); לֹא יֵצֵא הַחַיִּית בְּמַחְטוֹ סָמוּךְ לַחַיִּיקָה *lo yeše ha-hayyat be-maḥḥato samuk la-ḥašeka* ‘the tailor does not go out with his needle close to darkness’ (Mishna Shabbat 1.6, i.e., once more, on Friday, as Sabbath approaches). Just as common, however, is the use of אֵין *’en* before the 3rd person masculine plural participle, as in אֵין סָפֵק חַיִּיקָה לֹא חַיִּיקָה אֵין *’en me’asserin ’et haw-wadday we-’en maḥbilin ’et hak-kelim we-’en madliqin ’et han-nerot* ‘if there is doubt of darkness or no darkness, one does not tithe (even) the certain-food, and one does not immerse vessels (for purification), and one does not kindle the lights’ (Mishna Shabbat 2.7); אֵין סוֹחֵטִין אֵת הַפֵּירוֹת לְהוֹצִיא מֵהֶן מִשְׁקִין *’en soḥṣṣin ’et haḥ-perot lehošai me-hen mašqin* ‘one does not squeeze the fruits to extract from them juice’ (Mishna Shabbat 22.1). On the distinction between the combinations לֹא + 3ms prefix-conjugation, on the one hand, and אֵין + 3mpl participle, on the other, see Sharvit 1980:116.

9.3. The negative particle בַּל *bal* gains a specific usage in Rabbinic Hebrew, replacing לֹא *lō* in the shortened reference to a biblical prohibition. Examples abound: בַּל תָּשׁוּב *bal tašub* (Mishna Pe’a 6.4; cf. לֹא תָשׁוּב *lō tāšūb* ‘you shall not return’ [Deut. 24.19]); בַּל יִרְאָה וּבַל יִמָּצֵא *bal yera’e u-bal yimmaše* (Mishna Pesahim 3.3; cf. וְלֹא יִרְאָה *wə-lō-yērā’e* ‘and there shall not be seen’ [Exod. 13.7]; לֹא יִמָּצֵא *lō yimmāšē* ‘there shall not be found’ [Exod. 12.19]); בַּל תִּתֵּן כֶּסֶף *bal titten keseḥ* (Mekhilta Neziqin 3; cf. אֵת-כַּסְפְּךָ לֹא תִתֵּן לּוֹ בְּגִנְשָׁךְ וּבְמַרְבִּית *’et-kaspəkā lō-tittēn lō ba-nešek u-b-marbit* ‘your money do not give to him, neither with interest nor with increase’ [Lev. 25.37]); בַּל תִּבְשֵׁל *bal tebaššēl* (Mekhilta Kaspā 20; cf. לֹא תִבְשֵׁל *lō-təbaššēl* ‘you shall not cook’ [Exod. 23.19; 34.26]); etc. While בַּל *bal* is limited to such references and is not productive, this particular usage, in place of expected לֹא *lō*, may result from the affinity between RH and northern dialects such as Israelian Hebrew and Phoenician (note that the Mishna and related texts were compiled in Sepphoris and Tiberias, two major urban centers in the Galilee; for general orientation, see Rendsburg 2003b).

9.4. The negative particle אֵי *’e* (thus the vocalization according to the manuscripts; later reading traditions altered this to אֵי *’i*) appears 271x, most commonly in the phrase אֵי אֵיפְשָׁר *’e ’epšar* ‘not possible’, though also in other combinations, e.g., אֵי יָדוּעַ *’e yadua’* ‘not known’ (Mishna Yevamot 15.7). This morpheme appears once in the Bible (see Prov. 31.4 *qere*), in a section replete with non-standard usages, and finds congeners in Phoenician אֵי *’y* ‘no, not’, Ugaritic *ay* (indefinite pronoun), suggesting that it too constitutes a northern Hebrew feature.

9.5. An exceedingly common new form in RH is לֹא *law* ‘not’ (628x in the Tannaitic corpus), borrowed from Aramaic, used especially in the phrase לֹא וְאִם *we-’im law* ‘and if not’, e.g., אִם כִּיּוֹן לָבוּ יֵצֵא וְאִם לֹא יֵצֵא *’im kiwen libbo yaša we-’im law lo yaša* ‘if he has fixed his heart [i.e., intended to do so], he has fulfilled [his obligation], but if not, [then] he has not fulfilled’ (Mishna Berakhot 2.1; see also Mishna Rosh ha-Shana 3.7; Mishna Megillah 2.2); לֹא אֲסוּר *we-’im law ’asur* ‘but if not, it is prohibited’ (Mishna Shevi’it 2.10, following a statement to the effect ‘if such-and-such occurs, it is permitted’; see also Mishna

Shabbat 18.2; Tosefta Demai 7.4; Tosefta Pesahim 2.14; etc.).

9.6. Several negative particles attested in BH, and still productive in QH, do not occur in RH (except in biblical quotations and/or in later Amoraic texts in imitation of BH). These include טָרַם *ṭerem* ‘before, not yet’; בָּלִי *bālī* / מִבְּלִי *mib-bālī* ‘without’; אֶפֶס *ēpēs* ‘none, without’; and פֶּן *pen* ‘lest’ (all discussed above). The last of these is replaced by the exceedingly common שְׂמָא *šemma* ‘lest’ (279x in the Tannaitic corpus; the vocalization given, with *šere*, is per MS Kaufmann A50; שְׂמָא *šemma*, with *segol*, in MS Parma 3173 [de Rossi 138]; שְׂמָא *šemma*, with *qames*, in later printed editions). To cite but one example, quoting a passage provided earlier, now with its continuation, see לֹא יֵצֵא הַחַיִּיט בְּמַחְסוֹ סָמוּךְ לַחֲשִׁיכָה שְׂמָא יִשְׂכַּח וְיֵצֵא *lo yeše ha-ḥayyat be-maḥaṣo samuḵ la-ḥašeka šemma yiškaḥ we-yeše* ‘the tailor does not go out with his needle close to darkness, lest he forget and go out’ (Mishna Shabbat 1.6).

9.7. Finally, note that the BH indefinite pronoun מְאוּמָּה *mā’ūmā* ‘anything, something, naught, nothing’ (see above, §6.2) is replaced by the MH equivalent כְּלוּם *kelum* (possibly derived from כָּל מְאוּמָּה *kāl mā’ūmā* ‘any naught’, a phrase which actually appears in Gen. 39.23). Sample usages include: לֹא כְלוּם עָשָׂה *lō ‘aša kelum* ‘he has done nothing’ (Mishna Yoma 5.7); אֵין הָעֶבֶד חַיִּיב כְּלוּם *’en ha-‘ebed ḥayyaḵ kelum* ‘the slave is not indebted at all’ (Mishna Giṭṭin 4.4).

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## Negation: Modern Hebrew

### 1. SENTENCE NEGATION

Sentence negation in Modern Hebrew is syntactic, chiefly using one of three negators, אל 'al, לא lo and אין 'en. (a) For negative 2nd person commands, the canonical form is the particle אל 'al with the bare future tense, e.g., אל תזוז 'al tazuz 'don't move'; the imperative form is not available in the negative. Formal style also uses אל 'al in 1st and 3rd person commands, e.g., אל תשכח 'al niškaḥ 'let us not forget'. (b) In most other contexts, the particle לא lo is used, e.g., in statements and questions, e.g., אתה לא תזוז 'ata lo tazuz 'you won't move', ?אתה לא תזוז 'ata lo zaz? 'you aren't moving?'; in other types of request, e.g., לא תזוז 'lo lazuz 'no moving', שלא תזוז 'še-lo yazuz 'he'd better not move', בוא לא תזוז 'bo lo nazuz 'let's not move'; in subordinate clauses; and as a pro-sentence of various types, e.g., לא lo 'no, don't'. A more prohibitive 'don't' is אסור 'asur '(it is) forbidden'. (c) Formal styles favor the use of the particle אין 'en as negator in the present tense, one of several morphological and syntactic differences between present tense and past or future. אין 'en is usually inflected for agreement with its subject and needs no overt subject in the 1st and 2nd person, as if it were an auxiliary verb, while any lexical verb present continues to inflect as normal, e.g., (אתם) אינכם זזים ('atem) 'enxem zazim 'You are not moving', שרה אינה לבד 'šara 'ena levad 'Sara is not alone'. However, unlike verbs, inflected אין 'en cannot invert with the subject noun with which it agrees, e.g., \*עכשיו אינם זזים אהוד ושרה 'axšav 'enam zazim 'ehud ve-šara 'now Ehud and Sara are not moving'. As is normal

for a SVO language (Miestamo 2007), אל 'al and לא lo as sentence negators must directly precede the verb or predicate, as does אין 'en—except that the latter can directly precede the subject in literary style, in which case it is uninflected, e.g., כרגע אין שרה לבד ka-rega' 'en šara levad 'at the moment Sara is not alone'. אין 'en has a further function, type c in Croft's typology (1991): a quasi-verb acting as a negative existential, a counterpart to the present tense existential quasi-verb יש yeš 'there is/are' or 'is present', e.g., אין זמן 'en zman 'there isn't time', הוא איננו hu 'enenu 'he isn't here'.

Besides their unique morphology, אין 'en and יש yeš fail some syntactic tests for a present tense verb, e.g., they never occur after the relative marker ה- ha-, thus ספרים המתקבלים sfarim ha-mitqablim 'books that are received' but not ספרים האינם מתקבלים\* sfarim ha-'enam mitqablim 'books that are not received'.

Overall, then, there is symmetry between affirmative and negative structure, save in 2nd person commands—typologically, a common situation. A counterpart to sentence negators, the (colloquial) particle of emphatic affirmation כן ken directly precedes the predicate, e.g., זה כן זז ze ken zaz 'it does move'. Evidence that sentence negators are internal to the clause is the fact that a higher negator can operate in tandem with sentence negation, e.g., זה לא שהוא זה לא מעוניין ze lo še-hu lo me'unyan 'it's not that he's not interested'.

### 2. NEGATION SCOPE

The scope of sentence negation generally focuses on part of a sentence by one of three methods: (a) intonational stress on the constituent, (b) appending an adversative phrase, with the option of repositioning the negator directly ahead of it, or (c) moving the constituent being negated forward, where possible, and repositioning the negator directly ahead of it: (a) אני לא מנקה היום 'ani lo menaqa ha-yom 'I'm not cleaning today', (b) אני לא מנקה היום 'ani lo menaqa ha-yom 'ela maḥar 'I'm not cleaning today but tomorrow' or אני לא מנקה היום 'ani menaqa lo ha-yom 'ela maḥar 'I'm cleaning not today but tomorrow' (c) אני לא היום מנקה 'ani lo ha-yom menaqa 'I'm not cleaning today', לא אני מנקה, היום lo 'ani menaqa ha-yom 'I'm not cleaning