The Translation of אַף כִּי Using Functional Grammar

An account of original work by
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Submitted November 1989

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1 Abstract

This dissertation is an examination of all occurrences of אַף כִּי in the Hebrew Bible. Each occurrence is examined using Functional Grammar techniques to see if a consistent functional interpretation can be made. Once a pattern has been established, it is finally applied to Gen 3[1] where the translation of אַף כִּי has been a problem for hundreds of years, in an effort to arrive at a translation that is consistent with the use of these particles elsewhere in the MT. The functional analysis also aids in interpretation of four other verses which have been problematic.

This study concludes that אַף and כִּי act as separate particles, each having its own function in the discourse. אַף is determined to be a discourse adjunct, indicating that the following information proceeds from and adds to the preceding discourse. It functions in marking the overall logical structure of the discourse. כִּי is considered to be a circumstantial adjunct, and operates at a lower level than אַף. The particle כִּי marks information that qualifies the meaning of a clause by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition.

Included in this dissertation is an assessment of the claim made by some Hebrew grammarians that a clause may be interrogative in Hebrew even though it lacks any interrogative marker. This is relevant to some interpretations of Gen 3[1]. My findings were that forty of the forty five verses suggested as examples were rhetorical questions. Three of the remaining four exhibited a similar structure, each beginning with שָׁלֹם 'peace, wholeness', with שָׁלֹם being the content of the question. It is suggested that this is an idiom that itself was understood to imply interrogation. The remaining verse contains the verb שׁאל 'ask' which, itself, implies interrogation. It was concluded, therefore, that there are no occurrences of true interrogative clauses in Hebrew without some sort of interrogative marker.

2 Abbreviations and Symbols

2.1 General Abbreviations

AB   Anchor Bible.

BDB   Brown, F., Driver, S. R., and Briggs, C. A., (eds) Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.

BHS   Elliger, K., and W. Rudolph, W., (eds) Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.

CBC   Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible.

Ch(s)   Chapter(s).

CUP   Cambridge University Press.

EV(V)   English Version(s) of the Bible.

GKC   Cowley, A. E. (ed.) Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.

HOTTP   Barthélemy, D., et. al., (eds) Preliminary and Interim Report on the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project 5 Vols.

ICC   International Critical_Commentary.

Joüon   Joüon, P., Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique.

KJV   Holy Bible: Authorized King James Version (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

LXX   Septuagint [Greek Old Testament].

MS(S)   Manuscript(s).

MT   Masoretic Text.

NCB   New Century Bible Commentary.

NEB   The New English Bible (Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1970).

NICOT   The New International Commentary on the Old Testament.

NIV   The Holy Bible, New International Version (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984).

NJB   The New Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985).

OT   Old Testament.

OTL   Old Testament Library.

RSV   The Holy Bible: Revised Standard Version (New York: Collins, 1959).

TEV   Good News Bible: Today's English Version (Canberra: Bible Society, 1976).

V(v)   Verse(s).

WBC   Word Biblical Commentary.

2.2 Grammatical Analysis Symbols and Abbreviations

▮	Clause boundary.
|	Separator for clause components.
‖	Encloses prepositional group.
[ ]	Rank shifted (embedded) group.
⟦ ⟧	Rank shifted (embedded) clause.
=	Elaborating clause.
+	Extending clause.
x	Enhancing clause.
"	Locution.
'	Idea.
?	In the formalistic English translation represents an interrogative particle in a clause.

Paratactic clause relationships
1	Primary level clause.
2	secondary level clause.
3	tertiary level clause, etc.

Hypotactic clause relationship
α	Primary level clause.
β	secondary level clause.
γ	tertiary level clause, etc.
A	Adjunct (component of clause).
C	Complement (component of clause).
F	Finite (component of clause).
P	Predicator (component of clause).
Q	Qualifier (adds to, explains part of a clause).
S	Subject (component of clause).
V	Vocative.
Z	'Z' clause.

2.3 Books of the Old Testament

Gen	Genesis	2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Dan	Daniel
Ex	Exodus	Ezra	Ezra	Hos	Hosea
Lev	Leviticus	Neh	Nehemiah	Joel	Joel
Num	Numbers	Esth	Esther	Amos	Amos
Deut	Deuteronomy	Job	Job	Obad	Obadiah
Josh	Joshua	Psa	Psalms	Jon	Jonah
Judg	Judges	Prov	Proverbs	Mic	Micah
Ruth	Ruth	Ecc	Ecclesiastes	Nah	Nahum
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Song	Song of Songs	Hab	Habakkuk
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Isa	Isaiah	Zeph	Zephaniah
1 Kgs	1 Kings	Jer	Jeremiah	Hag	Haggai
2 Kgs	2 Kings	Lam	Lamentations	Zech	Zecharaiah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Ezek	Ezekiel	Mal	Malachi

Note: MT numbering used throughout.

3 Introduction

Many **linguistic** theories tend to concentrate on one level of structure at a time, for example patterns of meaning, or of grammar, or of sound. But they often have no way of relating these separate levels of structure together. Often, too, they do not describe language as it is actually used, but rather the linguist's interpretations of invented sentences.

Most theories of **discourse** account for the social functions of a text, but do not allow the pinpointing, in the text itself, of the structures that convey this meaning.

Functional Grammar theoretically accounts for the context of discourses as well as being able to relate the various levels of structure together to give a unified analysis of a piece of discourse. This is possible for Functional Grammar because it is designed to account for how the language is used.

3.1 Functional Grammar

All discourse, spoken or written, is formed in the context of its use. This use of the language over a period of many years causes the language to be shaped into the system in which we find it. Thus language itself, because it has evolved to satisfy human needs, is organised on functional grounds. This means that Functional Grammar is a 'natural' grammar, because everything in it can be explained by reference to how language is used. Therefore each element in a language is functional with respect to the whole.

Functional grammar, therefore, describes each part of a piece of discourse, from words to paragraphs, in terms of the function it performs with respect to the whole text, accounting for both the micro and the macro structures of language. This enables the grammarian to move between the micro and macro in their search for meaning, permitting insights that might not be made using other techniques. As commented in Pegram (1989), the description of language by function aids translation work. If a structure is encountered in one language, instead of trying to find a lexical equivalent in another language that approximates the meaning of each word or phrase, the translator simply needs to find the words and/or structures in the other language that perform the same function, and use them. This allows greater flexibility, and results in a translation that is more accurate. For, in language, meaning is carried by more than the individual words alone, e.g., chiasmus in Hebrew as a means of emphasising a particular part of a piece of discourse.

Discourse markers [particles, conjunctions, etc.] are possibly the least affected by differences in language systems since there are a limited number of logical relationships available in discourse, and all languages will be interested in communicating by the use of these relationships e.g. addition of information to what has gone before, causal conditional relationships.

Functional grammar often serves to make explicit what is already present and understood by the reader, often being descriptive. In the case of particles and conjunctions the logical or ideational structure of the surrounding discourse is analysed and the relationships deduced. The particles are seen as marking that function, since they do not provide the function themselves. The meaning of the text is preserved even if they are omitted — they simply make the relationship explicit and hence Schiffrin's (1987) term 'Discourse Markers'.

For the reader who is familiar with Hebrew, but to whom functional grammar is new, has been supplied as a basic introduction to some of its concepts as they are used by this work.

3.2 אַף כִּי

The Hebrew particles אַף [^f] and כִּי [ki] occur together as a unit, אַף כִּי, twenty six times in the Masoretic Text, and are commonly translated by a phrase such as "how much more so, how much more then". As a result of exegeting Genesis chapter 3 I found that one of these uses of אַף כִּי, Gen 3[1], has never been satisfactorily translated since at least the time of the Reformation.[1]

I therefore intend to apply the insights of Functional Grammar to the use of אַף כִּי in Biblical Hebrew with the aim of discerning the function of the particles in the MT. Because of the difficulties in Gen 3[1] this will be left till last so that the conclusions formed from an examination of these other uses may be brought to bear on it. Once the function of אַף כִּי has been determined in Gen 3[1] a suggested translation will be given, a translation that should avoid difficulties caused by past lexical or grammatical assumptions.

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1   Von Rad, G., *Genesis* p.83.

3.3 Methodology

For each passage examined a formalistic translation of the verse in question, and some of its context, is given in English. This formalistic translation will be analysed using functional grammar techniques. The translation will be refined and written in idiomatic English during the discussion of the passage in question. The number of context verses, however, is limited due to space considerations, hence, it is recommended that the reader have a copy of the Bible at hand to refer to during the reading of this work. The section titles refer only to the verse where אַף כִּי occurs even though the translation often starts at an earlier point.

In the formalistic translation, of necessity, translation decisions are made that will be justified in the subsequent discussion. To enable the reader who does not know Hebrew to identify אַף כִּי in particular in the formalistic translations a standard translation for אַף will be 'also', and for כִּי, 'that', these being altered later on in the discussion if necessary. There are other formalistic equivalents which are explained in Appendix B for readers who do not know Hebrew.

Throughout the analysis section a common format will be used. First a formalistic translation will be analysed using functional grammar techniques and placed in parallel with the MT to allow comparison. Then any special text or translation points will be discussed. Previous treatments of אַף כִּי [and as relevant other parts of the passage] will then be examined: first the LXX, then EVV[2] and then grammars and commentaries.[3]

Finally, I will offer my own comments in the discussion section. Passages are discussed in the order of appearance in the MT with the aforementioned exception of Gen 3[1].

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2 Commonly referred to are the KJV, NEB, NIV, NJB, RSV, and TEV, with others being referred to where appropriate.

3 A search of the literature revealed only one article dealing specifically with the translation of אַף כִּי: Paran, M., 'The Uniqueness of the *A Fortiori* Pattern in the Book of Proverbs' *Beth Mikra* 23 (1978): 221-3; and one article that dealt with it as a subsidiary issue: Ben-Nun, Y., 'ke-, ken, etc.,' *Beth Mikra* 27 (1981/82): 270-82; both of which were in Hebrew and unavailable to me.

אַף כִּי 4

4.1 Occurrences of אַף כִּי in the MT

Gen 3[1]	Prov 11[31]
Deut 31[27]	Prov 15[11]
1 Sam 14[30]	Prov 17[7]
1 Sam 21[6]	Prov 19[7a]
1 Sam 23[3]	Prov 19[10]
2 Sam 4[11]	Prov 21[27]
2 Sam 16[11]	Job 9[14]
1 Kgs 8[27]	Job 15[16]
2 Kgs 5[13]	Job 25[6]
Ezek 14[21]	Job 35[14]
Ezek 15[5]	Neh 9[18]
Ezek 23[40]	2 Chr 6[18]
Hab 2[5]	2 Chr 32[15]

Table 1: Occurrences of אַף כִּי in the MT

4.2 Deuteronomy 31:27

31:27   31:27

x2 _A   _S   _S   _P

▌that │I │I │know   כִּי אָנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי

       _C

[your obstinacy   אֶת־מֶרְיְךָ

       _Z

and your stiff neck]▌behold   וְאֶת־עָרְפְּךָ הַקָּשֶׁה הֵן

+2 _A   _S   _A   _F   _C

▌ 〚in │my │still │(being) │alive   בְּעוֹדֶנִּי חַי

_Q   _A

‖with you‖〛   עִמָּכֶם

    _A   _C

today │obstinate   הַיּוֹם מַמְרִים

  _S   _F   _Q

│you │have been ‖with Yahweh‖   הֱיִתֶם עִם־יְהֹוָה

+2 _A   _A   _A

▌and also │that 〚after   וְאַף כִּי־אַחֲרֵי

  _S   _P

│my │death〛   מוֹתִי

4.2.1 Text/Translation Notes

That Moses *knows* the people's character is emphasised by the repetition of 'I' using אָנֹכִי [the first person pronoun] as well as the first person form of the verb 'know'.[4] The verb 'be' was supplied in the third clause, since there was no verb in the text. The repetition of similar conjunctions in the last clause, וְאַף 'and also', would be eliminated in an English translation, the 'and' being omitted [on both of these see Notes on Hebrew Grammar].

4.2.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with πως ουχι και, which is a question which expects a positive answer,[5] and therefore is functionally like an emphatic statement.

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4   Cf. Driver (1902 p.343) "*for I* (emph.)—I, who have experienced it so often".

5   'How not also after my death?'

None of the commentaries available to me commented on the translation of this verse. In fact this verse is given little comment at all. The vast majority of translations have something similar to the RSV:

> For I know how rebellious and stubborn you are; behold, while I am yet alive with you, today you have been rebellious against the Lord; how much more after my death!

The variations that occur across the versions are slight and do not alter the meaning. The TEV alters the verse from a speech by Moses to the people, to a speech by him about them, and the ellipsis is made explicit. Thus the final statement is altered,[6] but the meaning remains the same. The NEB also varies in its translation.

> For I know how defiant and stubborn you are; even during my lifetime you have defied the Lord; how much more, then, will you do so when I am dead?"

It tries to make the ellipsis explicit, but in doing so the rendering tends to read like a question more than any of the others. Phillips (1973), based on the NEB, does not comment on this verse.

BDB discusses אַף כִּי under "אַף" and gives three usages for it. The first is translated by 'furthermore', with Ezek 23[40], and Hab 2[5] cited as the only occurrences [on these see later]. The second is Gen 3[1] as an isolated case, to be discussed more fully at the end of this chapter. The present verse is given as an example of the third and most common use, where, with reference to a preceding 'sentence' [we would say clause, or clause complex], אַף כִּי is translated as '*yea, that...!* i.e. *how much more* (or *less*)!' It is worth noting in advance that in this section 1 Kgs 8[27] is also cited as an example, with more detail given concerning the decisions arrived at: 'lo, the heavens...cannot contain thee אַף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה *'tis indeed that* this house (cannot do so), i.e. *how much less* this house!' Note that in the initial rendering, following the MT quotation, a clause is inserted in parentheses, which is later omitted since it can be inferred from the context. This is an example of ellipsis.

Bandstra (1982, pp.100) cites the present verse as an example of particle antecedent 'KY Complementation'. He sees this as 'a verbless equative construction', i.e. a clause where no verb is present, and the subject and complement of the clause are joined by some form of the verb 'be' when translated. This means that what follows כִּי, a word or sub clause, is the subject of

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6 'and they will rebel even more after I am dead'.

the main clause, and the antecedent particle is the complement, in this case אַף. He makes the ellipsis explicit and translates as 'If, while I am yet alive with you today, you have contended with the Lord, is it not also the case that, after my death, you will contend with him?' (p.300). The two things that are equated in this case are the circumstances that will occur after Moses' death and the ellipsed reference to the people's rebelliousness while he is still alive. This translation in his notes on p.300, as a rhetorical question, seems different to the translation as a statement found on p.288. But, this is not a problem so long as it is understood that a rhetorical question is not interrogative, but a statement, expressed as a question expecting a particular answer, so as to give emphasis to the statement.

4.2.3   Discussion

The final clause elliptically states Moses' understanding of the future situation. If the people have rebelled while he is with them, it will certainly happen again after he has died. It is not a question as such, even though many translations may include the interrogative word 'how'. In this case it is not functioning as a request for something, but as an emphatic statement. It is calculated to elicit agreement in the listener's mind.

The כִּי indicates a temporal qualification, a fact which Bandstra notes (p.300) but does not make anything of. Bandstra analyses the syntax, but not the function. In this case אַף indicates an extension of the subject matter of the discourse, whilst the כִּי introduces a temporal qualification to the clause.

אַף, as a discourse adjunct, structuring the logic of the discourse, can be translated with a conjunction such as 'and' or 'also', but in English a similar function is performed by punctuation and ellipsis especially since the whole area of conjunction overlaps with the matter of cohesion.[7] This passage has been seen by many to be emphatic, cf. translation with rhetorical questions by EVV. Emphasis is provided by two parts of the logical structure of the discourse: Moses' argument cites a lesser case before the greater one [if they rebel with Moses present as their leader, then they will rebel even more without his presence to restrain them], and the statement following אַף כִּי comes as a climax to his reasoning, stating why the scroll was to be kept by the side of the ark as a witness against Israel. The emphasis, therefore, is not inherent in אַף כִּי itself, but in the structures which it marks.

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7   Cf. Halliday (1985, pp.296, 308).

To make an easier reading of the passage the ellipsis can be replaced with equative verb structure,[8] leading to a rendering such as:

> Because I know your obstinacy and your stiff neck. Behold! Even while I am still alive amongst you today, you have been obstinate with Yahweh. That will certainly be the case, then, after my death!

The common translation of אַף כִּי as 'how much more' suits this context, for it provides a signal to the reader that an anaphoric reference is being made by beginning the sentence with a conjunction, a following 'so' or 'then' functions in the same manner as כִּי, indicating a qualifying temporal clause. The use of an exclamation mark at the end of the verse is preferable, avoiding the possibility of interpretation as a question.

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8   If the ellipsed phrase was inserted it would need to be placed last to avoid thematising something the author did not want at all stressed. Using an equative structure aviods this problem since it only acts as a placeholder for the ellipsed phrase. See, for example, the placement of the ellipsis in Ezek 14[21], and Job 35[14].

4.3 1 Samuel 14:30

14:29   14:29

1 _A   _S   _P   _S
▌and │ he │ said │ Jonathan

וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹנָתָן

"2 _S   _P   _S
▌he │ has troubled │ my father

עָכַר אָבִי

  _C   _Z
│ the land ▌ see!

אֶת־הָאָרֶץ רְאוּ־נָא

x2 _A   _S   _P   _S
▌that │ they │ became bright │ my eyes

כִּי־אֹרוּ עֵינַי

x2 _A   _S   _P   _C
▌that │ I │ tasted │ a little honey of this

כִּי טָעַמְתִּי מְעַט דְּבַשׁ הַזֶּה

14:30   14:30

+2 _A   _A
▌also │ that │ if

אַף כִּי לוּא

  _P   _S   _P   _A
eating │ he │ had eaten │ today

אָכֹל אָכַל הַיּוֹם

  _S   _Q
│ the people ‖ from │ the plunder of

הָעָם מִשְּׁלַל

  _Q   _A   _C   _P
the enemies of his ⟦which │ he │ found⟧ ‖

אֹיְבָיו אֲשֶׁר מָצָא

x2 _A   _A
▌that │ now

כִּי עַתָּה

  _P   _S   _P   _S
│ not │ she │ was great │ wound

לֹא־רָבְתָה מַכָּה

  _Q
│ in the Philistines

בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים

4.3.1 Text/Translation Notes

נָא in v.29 is an expression of emphasis, or surprise, and is translated by interpreting it with the preceding verb, רְאוּ 'see', as an exclamation, a z clause.

אָכֹל אָכַל, in v.30, is the infinitive absolute of the verb with the perfect to emphasise the action of the verb, "eat",[9] which, with the presence of לוא, 'if', we read as an expression of intense regret: "if only he [the people] had eaten today".[10]

It is suggested that the לֹא 'not' be deleted from the final clause because it creates a contradiction. GKC §159ee comments that כִּי עַתָּה 'that now' acts to emphasise "the absolute certainty with which a result is to be expected" when it appears after לוּ. When taken in conjunction with GKC §159l: לוּ indicates that that the condition is not fulfilled in the past, or incapable of fulfilment in the present or future. So, the final clause would need to be read as a statement of something that was desired to happen, but did not, i.e. 'then the slaughter of the Philistines would have been great'. This reading can only be adopted if the negative is omitted. It would, otherwise, have Jonathan saying that if the troops had eaten then the slaughter would not have been great. This obviously contradicts his earlier statement that his father has troubled the land by the imposition of the edict.[11]

4.3.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX interprets אַף כִּי with ἀλλ' ὅτι, 'but that', which indicates a comment taking exception to something that was said previously.

Only one variant reading is listed in Brooke (1906-40): ἀλλ' is omitted leaving ὅτι by itself. This is of no major significance since the fact that Jonathan is taking exception to his father's edict is evident from the context.

The NJB and KJV end Jonathan's speech with a question mark. The TEV uses an exclamation mark, and the RSV and NIV a period.[12] All five use some sort of phrase indicating comparison to translate אַף כִּי, all except the NJB having 'How much better', the NJB having 'By the same

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9   See Davidson (1966, pp. 85-87).

10 On both together emphasising the importance of the condition see GKC §113o, and on לוּא introducing a conditional sentence GKC §159l.

11 Klein (1983, p.132) and McCarter (1980, p.246) suggest that לֹא be omitted from the text on the basis of LXX and 4QSamᵃ.

12 The NIV translates the final clause as a rhetorical question, which seems to be an attempt to maintain the negative whilst having the clause as the apodosis of the conditional sentence.

token'. The variance between ending with a question mark or some other sort of punctuation seems to arise because the clause is translated as a rhetorical question. Since this is an emphatic statement, should it finish with a question mark or something else? The point is not important so long as the surrounding discourse makes it very clear that it is not a true question. To avoid confusion caused by a reader interpreting a rhetorical question as a true question, it seems preferable to conclude with something other than a question mark. This problem arises for a number of the translations of the occurrences of אַף כִּי. The argument here will be assumed in discussing those instances.

Smith (1899, p.119) describes אַף כִּי as an 'emphatic introduction to what follows, making a climax', and translates as 'how much more'.

Driver (1913, p.114f) comments that 'כִּי merely strengthens אַף' which he interprets as '*indeed...!* with reference to a preceding sentence, *a fortiori*, the more then...!' He cites as an example of this construction Job 4[19].

McCarter (1980, p.246) translates אַף כִּי as 'How much better then that', but says that it is literally 'yea, that' referring to the LXX for support. However, whilst both MT and LXX begin with conjunctions of addition, the MT's is positive addition whilst the LXX's is adversative. Reading the LXX one would have 'but that if...', the MT 'also that if...'.

4.3.3 Discussion

The most common translation of אַף כִּי in this case is with a phrase such as 'how much more', followed by some sort of conjunction, e.g., 'so, then'. When analysed, this translation is functionally very close to the function ascribed to אַף כִּי in Deut 31[27].

'How much more' implies a logical link with the surrounding discourse. The idea that is being carried through into this clause is ellipsed, and has to be inferred from the context. The conjunctions used ['so', 'that'] indicate that the following clause expands the preceding one by enhancement.[13] That is, it qualifies it by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition.[14] In this case Jonathan's remarks following אַף כִּי give a negative comparison between the current situation and what might have been if the edict had not been made by his father. The

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13 Cf. Halliday (1985, pp. 304–308).

14 Halliday (1985, pp. 211–216).

emphasis which has been commented on in this verse comes, as in the use of אַף כִּי in Deuteronomy, from the fact that it introduces the conclusion of Jonathan's argument. I agree with Driver that this is an *a fortiori* argument, but this is not in connection with אַף כִּי itself, rather the last clause is the basis for this conclusion. Therefore, as in Deut 31[27], the emphasis is not inherent in אַף כִּי, but in the structures which אַף כִּי marks.

The ellipsed phrase is the action 'eyes became bright', gaining strength. Jonathan's argument in v.30 is that if the people had eaten from their enemies' plunder then they too would have been strengthened, just as he was. The result would then have been a greater slaughter amongst the Philistines. When viewed in this fashion the difficulty with the negative in the final clause is removed. The problem occurs because this final clause is considered to be the apodosis, yet, my above comments show that the apodosis is the ellipsed reference to gaining strength. Instead of an interpretation that says 'If the men had eaten...then the slaughter would have been greater...', one has 'If the men had eaten...then they would have been strengthened, because there has not, now, been a great slaughter amongst the Philistines', indicating how Saul, Jonathan's father, has succeeded in troubling the land.[15] In both cases the final clause is an enhancer, marked by כִּי. But, if the second method of analysis is used, the problems with the presence of the negative are removed without needing to emend the text or to interpret כִּי in an unusual fashion.

If the passage is read using an analysis similar to Deut 31[27] i.e. אַף acting as a discourse adjunct, marking an extension to the ongoing discourse. כִּי acting as a circumstantial adjunct, introducing a negative condition, with the ellipsis providing cohesion, then good sense is made of the passage as it stands. Making the ellipsis explicit we would have:

> Also, if the people had eaten today from their enemy's plunder, which they found, their eyes would have become bright, for, now the wounds are not great among the Philistines.

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15 So Smith (1909, p.246) 'This clause is really an indicative "For now the slaughter of the Philistines is not very great."

4.4   1 Samuel 21:6 (5EVV)

21:6   21:6

1 _A   _S   _P   _S

▌ and │ he │ answered │ David   וַיַּעַן דָּוִד

      _C =1 _A   _S   _P

│ the priest ▌ and │ he │ said   אֶת־הַכֹּהֵן וַיֹּאמֶר

      _C "2 _A   _F   _S

│ to him ▌ that │ if │ woman   לוֹ כִּי אִם־אִשָּׁה

 _S   _P   _C   _A

she │ being kept │ from us │ as yesterday   עֲצֻרָה־לָנוּ כִּתְמוֹל

       _Q _S   _P

three ⟦in │ my │ going out⟧ ‖   שִׁלְשֹׁם בְּצֵאתִי

+2 _A   _S   _P

▌ and │ they │ were   וַיִּהְיוּ

      _S   _Q

│ the vessels │ of the young men │   כְּלִי־הַנְּעָרִים

      _C +2 _A   _S   _P

│ a holy thing ▌ and │ he │ is │ a way   קֹדֶשׁ וְהוּא דֶּרֶךְ

     _C +2 _A   _Q _A   _A

unclean ▌ and also │ that │ today │   חֹל וְאַף כִּי הַיּוֹם

    _S   _P   _Q

│ he │ will be holy ‖in his vessel‖   יִקְדַּשׁ בַּכֶּלִי

4.4.1   Text/Translation Notes

אִשָּׁה in line 3 is singular, but is usually taken as a collective 'women'. On this see GKC §123b.

כִּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם 'as yesterday three' is an idiomatic expression, to be understood as 'always (in the past)'.

The translation of this verse is difficult,[16] but the meaning is fairly clear. See further in 'Discussion'.

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16 See commentaries.

4.4.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX has translated אַף כִּי simply with διοτι 'therefore, because', apparently seeing no significance in the use of אַף [διοτι is the Greek equivalent of כִּי].

The NIV, NJB, and TEV all translate the final clause as an exclamation, the NIV and TEV using a phrase such as 'how much more' and a concluding exclamation mark to translate אַף כִּי, and the NJB using 'they are certainly' with a concluding period. The RSV and NEB both use a similar phrase to the NIV and TEV, but conclude with a question mark.

Smith (1899, p.200), whilst having a different translation of the verse in many respects, considers the final clause to be a concessive conditional enhancement [i.e. 'nevertheless'], and states that אַף כִּי 'would probably bear the construction just suggested'.

Driver (1913, p.175) simply refers readers to BDB concerning אַף כִּי in this verse.[17]

McCarter (1980, p.346f.) does not comment on the translation of אַף כִּי, but simply translates it with 'How much more so...!' Klein (1983, p.211f.) similarly, does not comment but translates with 'how much more...'

Westermann (1984, p.185) cites this as an instance where אַף כִּי introduces a statement.[18]

4.4.3 Discussion

This verse gives David's argument why the priest should allow the men to eat the consecrated bread. He is saying that, if his men are normally holy, they will certainly be holy when they are involved in a sacred mission, as they are this day. Thus, what follows כִּי is a qualifying phrase, specifying the time frame involved, which means that כִּי is functioning as circumstantial adjunct. This occurs in a clause, introduced by אַף, which extends the overall discourse, adding something to it, i.e. אַף is acting as a discourse adjunct. There is no ellipsis since the actions under consideration are specifically mentioned. Therefore, the function of אַף כִּי is the same as before, אַף acting as a conjunction of positive addition and כִּי introducing a qualifying clause

17 See the third use discussed in Section 6.1.2.

18 The German original has Ausruf 'exclamation'.

within the אַף clause. The emphatic nature of the passage is a result of the argumentation, David citing the precedent of the lesser case as an argument for the present greater one, and from the fact that this concludes his line of argumentation. Again the emphasis is not inherent in אַף כִּי.

4.5   1 Samuel 23:3

23:3   23:3

1   ᴬ   ˢ   ᴾ   ˢ
▌and │they │said │men of David   וַיֹּאמְרוּ אַנְשֵׁי דָוִד

    ᶜ   ᶻ
│to him ▌behold   אֵלָיו הִנֵּה

"2 ˢ   ᶜ   ᴾ
▌we │here in Judah │being afraid   אֲנַחְנוּ פֹה בִיהוּדָה יְרֵאִים

+2 ᴬ   ᴬ   ˢ   ᴾ   ᶜ
▌and also │that │we │go │Keilah   וְאַף כִּי־נֵלֵךְ קְעִלָה

  Q
│to the battle lines of the Philistines   אֶל־מַעַרְכוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים ס

4.5.1   Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with καὶ πῶς, which is a conjunction 'and' with an interrogative.

> 23:3 καὶ εἶπαν οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ Δαυιδ πρὸς αὐτόν Ἰδοὺ ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ιουδαίᾳ φοβούμεθα, καὶ πῶς ἔσται ἐὰν πορευθῶμεν εἰς Κειλα; εἰς τὰ σκῦλα τῶν ἀλλοφύλων εἰσπορευσόμεθα.

The way in which the passage reads, though, makes the question a rhetorical one. David's men are not asking a question to which they expect a reply, they are stating what will in fact be the case. Their words have been framed as a question to add emphasis to what they wish to say.

The RSV and KJV translate אַף כִּי as 'how much more then...?', whilst the NJB and NIV have the same words but conclude with an exclamation mark. The TEV has 'it will be much worse..!', whilst the NEB has 'how much worse...!' Therefore all have a phrase to indicate some sort of comparison.

Smith (1899, p.210) says that אַף כִּי introduces an '*a fortiori*' argument.

Driver (1913, p.183) simply translates, '*and how much more, when*', referring to 2 Kgs 5[13] as support.[19] In commenting on 2 Sam 4[11] (p.256) he states that אַף כִּי should be translated as

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19 On 2 Kgs 5[13] see later.

'*how much more* (should I do so), *when....* He then cites 1 Sam 23[3] as another instance where אַף כִּי is to be translated in the same way.

4.5.2 Discussion

No other commentators specifically mention the translation of אַף כִּי in this verse, and even the two mentioned make very little comment.

This leads to the conclusion that people are content with the translation offered. I also am content with it.

The common phrase such as 'how much more [or worse]' brings out what I argue to be the function of אַף כִּי. The presence of אַף provides a strong continuing link in the overall discourse – a discourse adjunct. כִּי introduces a qualifying clause, specifying the location,[20] 'at the Philistines' battle lines, Keilah', and is, therefore, functioning as a circumstantial adjunct. The emphasis here stems from the same structures as in the previous analysis, there is a lesser to greater argument, and the אַף כִּי clause forms the conclusion of the argument. The emphasis is present in spite of the presence of אַף כִּי, since it is provided from the surrounding logical structure. For ease of reading I would either supply the relevant form of the verb 'be', replacing the ellipsed reference to being afraid, or make the ellipsis itself explicit, in the אַף clause. כִּי is translated with the preposition 'to', since נֵלֵךְ 'we go', indicates a change in location. This gives:

> David's men said to him, 'Behold! We are afraid when we are here in Judah. Also, when we go to Keilah, to the Philistines' battle lines, we will be afraid.'

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20 It could equally be argued that it specifies time, 'when we go...', since there would be a time lapse involved in travelling. No matter which, the analysis remains the same.

4.6 2 Samuel 4:11

4:10	4:10

x2 _A _S
❚ That │ the reporting {one}

                      כִּי הַמַּגִּיד

C P Z "3 S P
‖to me ‖to say ❚ behold ❚ he │ dead

                  לִי לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה־מֵת

S +2 A S P
Saul ❚ and │ he │ was

                שָׁאוּל וְהוּא־הָיָה

A S P A
⟦as │ he │ bringing news ‖ in his eyes‖ ⟧

             כִמְבַשֵּׂר בְּעֵינָיו

+2 A S P C
❚ and │ I │ seized │ him

                 וָאֹחֲזָה בוֹ

+2 A S P C A
❚ and │ I │ slew │ him ‖ in Ziklag ‖

             וָאֶהְרְגֵהוּ בְּצִקְלָג

x2 A P A
❚ which │ to give ‖ to him ‖

                אֲשֶׁר לָתֶתִּי־לוֹ

C
│ a messenger's reward

                   בְּשֹׂרָה

4:11	4:11

+2 A A S
❚ also │ that │ men wicked

            אַף כִּי־אֲנָשִׁים רְשָׁעִים

P C
they │ kill │ a man righteous

            הָרְגוּ אֶת־אִישׁ־צַדִּיק

A
‖ in his house upon his bed ‖

            בְּבֵיתוֹ עַל־מִשְׁכָּבוֹ

+2 A A F S P
❚ and │ now │ ? not │ I │ seek

            וְעַתָּה הֲלוֹא אֲבַקֵּשׁ

C A
│ his blood ‖ from your hand ‖

            אֶת־דָּמוֹ מִיֶּדְכֶם

=2 A S P C
❚ and │ I │ destroy │ you

            וּבִעַרְתִּי אֶתְכֶם

A
‖ from the earth ‖

            מִן־הָאָרֶץ

4.6.1 Text/Translation Notes

אֶת־אִישׁ־צַדִּיק, 'a righteous man', [v.11] is one of the rare instances where אֶת [the definite object marker] is found before an indefinite object [see GKC §117d].

4.6.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with καὶ νῦν, 'and now'.

> 4:11 καὶ νῦν ἄνδρες πονηροὶ ἀπεκτάγκασιν ἄνδρα δίκαιον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης αὐτοῦ· καὶ νῦν ἐκζητήσω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξολεθρεύσω ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς.

Note that the second part of this verse also begins with καὶ νῦν, and, neither have any interrogative markers. It seems that both are interpreted as statements [even with the interrogative -הֲ in the MT], and that אַף כִּי and וְעַתָּה are seen as performing the same function in the discourse.

Of the EVV consulted only the KJV and NEB ended the first part of v.11 with a question mark, others interpreting it as a statement. It is interesting to note that the NIV follows the LXX in interpreting the second half as a statement also. This is not a problem, for the second half of the verse is a rhetorical question, no answer is expected, and none is given. All used a similar phrase to translate אַף כִּי 'how much more', the only variant being a minor one, the TEV using 'how much worse'. As noted before, this phrase implies a conjunctive link, with a corresponding connection of ideas, with what has come before.

Driver (1913, p.256) is the only commentator I could find who remarks on אַף כִּי in this verse. He states that אַף כִּי should be translated as '*how much more* (should I do so), *when....* He then cites four other occurrences of אַף כִּי that are to be translated the same: 1 Sam 23[3], 2 Kgs 5[13], Ezek 15[5], and Job 9[14].

4.6.3 Discussion

David here cites the case where he slew the messenger who brought news of Saul's death [the messenger was also the one who slew Saul cf. 2 Sam 1[1-16]]. It is important to note that Saul had been pursuing David for quite a while now, seeking to kill him, even though David had done no wrong. Saul had been rejected by God as King, but David still regarded him as Yahweh's anointed. Saul was not a man who was צַדִּיק, 'doing what was right, innocent', at all. Furthermore, Saul was already dying, so it was not as if it was cold-blooded murder, in fact it could be interpreted as a mercy killing. This is the precedent David cites in v.10, 'I killed him

at Ziklag', before saying: [אַף כִּי] 'wicked men kill a righteous man[21] ... and shall I not now seek his blood from your hand ...'.

In both instances messages have been brought concerning the death of those who stood in the way of David's accession to the throne, the messengers thought they were bringing good news, and they died because of their actions. Thus the passage is very cohesive. The logical relationship is that of citing a lesser case as a precedent for the decision in a greater one. That is, if the messenger who brought news of his mercy killing, on a battlefield, of a sinful man was put to death, then, the same judgement must be brought against those who killed a righteous man in his own bed. This provides emphasis, as does the fact that the אַף כִּי clause forms the conclusion of David's argument. The structure is the same as encountered in previous analyses. אַף acts a a conjunction of positive addition, a discourse adjunct. כִּי introduces a qualifying clause [causal-conditional: effect→cause], a circumstantial adjunct. Being slain as reward for their actions is ellipsed, adding to the cohesion of the text. Translating, making the ellipsis explicit and rewriting into more colloquial English would give:

> Because someone reported to me 'Behold! Saul is dead.' and he thought he was bringing good news, I seized him and I slew him in Ziklag, giving him a messenger's reward. Also, I will seize you and slay you because you slew a righteous man in his own house on his bed, giving you a messenger's reward.

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21 Referring to the messenger's actions in slaying Ishbosheth [see v.7].

4.7 2 Samuel 16:11

16:11   16:11

+1_A   _S   _P   _S

▌ and │ he │ said │ David ‖ to Abishai   וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־אֲבִישַׁי

       _C

and to all his servants ‖   וְאֶל־כָּל־עֲבָדָיו

  _Z "2 _S   _A

▌ behold ▌ my son ⟦which he come out   הִנֵּה בְנִי אֲשֶׁר־יָצָא

          _P

from my loins⟧   seeking   מִמֵּעַי מְבַקֵּשׁ

  _C +2 _A   _A   _F

│ my life ▌ also │ that │ now │   אֶת־נַפְשִׁי וְאַף כִּי־עַתָּה

     _S   2   _P

│ the Benjaminite ▌ leave alone   בֶּן־הַיְמִינִי הַנִּחוּ

  _C +2 _A   _P   x2   _A

│ him ▌ and │ let him curse ▌ because   לוֹ וִיקַלֵּל כִּי

  _S _P _C _S

│ he │ said ‖ to him ‖ Yahweh   אָמַר־לוֹ יְהוָה

4.7.1 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with καὶ προσέτι νῦν 'and besides now'.

> 16:11 … καὶ προσέτι νῦν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ιεμινι· ἄφετε αὐτὸν καταρᾶσθαι, ὅτι εἶπεν αὐτῷ κύριος·

I find the clause in question difficult to translate. Brooke et al. (1906-40) have a number of text comments on this clause.[22] Of particular note is the Armenian version which has *quanto majis*. This seems to follow the MT. One other suggestion is to read προσετι as a conflation of προς, 'to, towards', and ἐτι, 'yet, still', which seems to reinforce the νυν, 'now', commenting that the present situation is nothing for the men to marvel at.

The RSV, NJB, and NIV all translate the אַף כִּי clause as an exclamation, the NJB having 'all the more reason..!', and the other two 'how much more...'. The KJV, TEV, and NEB all end the clause with a question mark, but it is phrased in such a way as to expect an answer, i.e. it is not a question at all, but a statement, a rhetorical question.

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22 No commentators that I read discussed the LXX translation of this verse.

Fokkelman (1981, p.200) sees that the clause preceding אַף כִּי, and the אַף כִּי clause itself are deliberately placed in parallel. 'David explains that he does not expect anything but enmity from Shimei since even the son of his own flesh and blood seeks his life.'

Westermann (1984, p.185) cites this as an instance where אַף כִּי introduces a statement.[23]

4.7.2 Discussion

In this passage David is explaining to his followers why they are not to kill Shimei for cursing him. In the attempt to calm them he says: 'Behold! My son who has come out from my loins is seeking my life, אַף כִּי now the Benjaminite'. The argument is taken from a greater situation to a lesser one providing emphasis. If his very son is seeking to do him harm, then why be shocked or distressed when someone who is from a different tribe altogether, having no close family ties, attempts to do the same. The fact that this is the conclusion to David's argumentation as to why his men should not kill Shimei also adds emphasis to the verse.

Interpreted in this way, we have a similar structure to that encountered before. אַף introduces an extending clause building upon the idea of killing David, a discourse adjunct. The predicator is ellipsed in this construction and is inferred from the context, providing cohesion and emphasis, foregrounding Shimei. כִּי introduces a temporal qualifying clause, specifying in the current time frame [the previous time frame concerned David's own son seeking his life, i.e. past events] and is, therefore, a circumstantial adjunct.

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23 The German original has *Ausruf* 'exclamation'.

4.8 1 Kings 8:27

8:27	8:27

```
      A        F
▌because │? really
   S     P     S         A
│he │dwell │God ║upon the earth║
Z
▌behold ▌ the heavens
             S
and the heavens of the heavens │
     F     S       P      C
│not │they │contain │you
     A      A         S
▌also │that │this house
Q   A    S    P
 ⟦which │ I │built⟧
```

כִּי הַאֻמְנָם

יֵשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ

הִנֵּה הַשָּׁמַיִם

וּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם

לֹא יְכַלְכְּלוּךָ

אַף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה

אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

4.8.1 Text/Translation Notes

וּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם 'and the heavens of the heavens' is an example of a superlative expressed by the use of the construct before the plural of the same word = 'the highest heaven', see GKC §133i.

4.8.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי πλην και, an adversative conjunction with a conjunction of positive addition.

> 8:25 ὅτι εἰ ἀληθῶς κατοικήσει ὁ θεὸς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; εἰ ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐκ ἀρκέσουσίν σοι, πλήν καὶ ὁ οἶκος οὗτος, ὃν ᾠκοδόμησα τῷ ὀνόματί σου;

The first part of the verse disputes the fact that the earth or even the heavens can contain God. This negative sense needs be carried across in translation to avoid contradictions in the argument, reading πλην και, 'but (not) even...' Since this solution has a double negative a conjunction of positive addition could also have been used.

This flow of argument is reflected in EVV. All except the TEV translate אַף כִּי as 'how much less', concluding the clause with an exclamation mark. The TEV rephrases, expressing it as a rhetorical question.

Jones (1984, p.201) suggests that this verse does not fit well into its present context. This is on the basis of content, and no issues are raised concerning the translation of אַף כִּי itself.

DeVries (1985, p.114) translates v.27 as a pair of questions 'But shall God actually dwell upon earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee! How then this temple which I have built?' Translating the first part of the verse as a question is normal in view of the interrogative -הֲ. But, in the latter part of the verse, he translates אַף כִּי as 'How then', interpreting אַף as having interrogative force. In his comment section he terms this verse a 'wondering question' [p.125], and uses 'nonetheless' when describing Solomon's following prayer that Yahweh will in fact inhabit the temple. These two further pieces of information seem to indicate that DeVries' interpretation is in fact based on the assumption that Solomon's words following אַף כִּי are a rhetorical question. He knows the answer, but prays that God will dwell there anyway–hence DeVries' 'But Solomon prays nonetheless...' The clause following אַף כִּי, therefore, is not interrogative, but an emphatic statement. BDB comes to a similar conclusion, see .

4.8.3 Discussion

No other remarks are made on this verse by commentators. It seems that its translation and interpretation is without difficulty, thus, the agreement among EVV.

The argument is one of greater to lesser. If the earth, which is very large (especially to ancient thinking), cannot contain God, and if the greatest of the heavens cannot do so either, how can a mere building, confined to one place on the earth itself, hope to? This structure acts to add emphasis to Solomon's argument, and the fact that this is the concluding statement of the argument adds emphasis also.

אַף again acts as a conjunction of positive addition, prefixing a clause that discusses another option to be considered, i.e. a discourse adjunct. כִּי prefixes the place to be considered, providing a comparison, i.e a circumstantial adjunct. Because of the negative content of the ellipsis (cannot contain you), אַף is translated as a conjunction of negative addition 'neither'. Because of the negative, 'neither', the ellipsis as translated needs to be expressed positively,

therefore, 'can' is used instead of 'cannot'. 'Contain you' remains ellipsed, the substitution of 'can' into the final clause identifies for the reader what is being spoken about, providing cohesion, without altering the thematic structure. This gives:

Because, will God really dwell upon the earth? Behold! The heavens and even the greatest of the heavens cannot contain you. Neither can this house which I have built.

4.9 2 Kings 5:13

	5:13
	5:13

1
  A   S   P   S
▌and │ they │ approached │ his servants   וַיִּגְּשׁוּ עֲבָדָיו

1
  A   S   P   C
▌and │ they │ spoke ‖to him‖   וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו

=1 A   S   P "2   S
▌and │ they │ said▌ my father   וַיֹּאמְרוּ אָבִי

          C   S
⟦a great thing │ the prophet   דָּבָר גָּדוֹל הַנָּבִיא

     P   A
he │ said ‖to you‖ ⟧   דִּבֶּר אֵלֶיךָ

    P   S   P
? not │ you │ would have done {it}   הֲלוֹא תַעֲשֶׂה

+2 A   A   S   P   C
▌and also │ that │ he │ said ‖to you‖   וְאַף כִּי־אָמַר אֵלֶיךָ

"3   P
▌wash and {be} clean▌   רְחַץ וּטְהָר

4.9.1 *Text/Translation Notes*

Note that the וְ prefixed to אַף is not translated in the final rendering found in the discussion section [see The use of וְ 'And']. The final clause, where Naaman's servants are repeating Elisha's command, is expressed differently from what Elisha actually said [cf. 5[10]]. Here the result itself is expressed as an imperative also, expressing the men's assurance that the results *will* follow from the action.[24] The word order in the clause where Naaman's men first speak to him, complement–subject–predicator, is unusual, emphasising the importance of the complement.[25] GKC §159cc and Hobbs (1985, p.57) suggest that אָבִי, normally 'my father', should be read as having the sense of 'if', since any other Hebrew word with this meaning is absent from the beginning of the servants' statement, which, in view of the following question, is to be read as an hypothetical statement. The suggestion is made that there may have been a copying error, אִם being mistaken for אָבִי. Neither of these understandings are necessary since

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24 See GKC §110f.

25 See GKC §142f.

there are other passages with the same construction[26] where the 'if' is implied from the context.[27]

4.9.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי as και ότι 'also that', which is the same as my formalistic rendering throughout this work.

Driver (1913, p.256) in commenting on 2 Sam 4[11] states that אַף כִּי should be translated as '*how much more* (should I do so), *when...*'. He then cites this as another instance where אַף כִּי is to be translated in the same way.

4.9.3 Discussion

This passage is similar to ones encountered before in that the servants' speech forms a greater to lesser argument, providing emphasis. And again the אַף כִּי clause forms the conclusion to the argumentation. Since the logical structure of the passage is the same, it is not surprising to find that the use of אַף כִּי follows the same pattern. אַף acts as a discourse adjunct, adding to the servants' previous comments concerning the instructions given by the prophet. The predicator [concerned with following the prophet's instructions] is ellipsed, providing cohesion. כִּי acts as a circumstantial adjunct, introducing a qualifying clause (causal-conditional, introducing the consequence following the concession concerning doing the greater requirement). A translation that displays the clause relationships would be:

> And his servants approached him and spoke to him, and said: 'My father, if the prophet had given you a great deed to do, wouldn't you have done it? You should also, then, do as he says when he said "Wash and be clean!"'

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26 I.e. a simple perfect in protasis and an interrogative clause in the apodosis.

27 See, for example, Num 12[14], which is given as an example in GKC §159h!

4.10 Ezek 14²¹

14:21	14:21

1
    ^A   ^S   ^P   ^S

▌That thus │he │said │my Lord   כִּי כֹה אָמַר אֲדֹנָי

    "+2 ^A   ^A

Yahweh ▌also │that │four of   יְהוִֹה אַף כִּי־אַרְבַּעַת

    ^C   ^Q

my judgements [the bad {ones} sword   שְׁפָטַי הָרָעִים חֶרֶב

and famine and living {things}   וְרָעָב וְחַיָּה

                            ^S   ^P

bad and pestilence] I │sent   רָעָה וָדֶבֶר שִׁלַּחְתִּי

 ^Q   ^Q   ^P

‖to Jerusalem ‖ ⟦to destroy   אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלִַם לְהַכְרִית

 ^Q   ^C

‖from her‖ human and animal⟧   מִמֶּנָּה אָדָם וּבְהֵמָה

14:22	14:22

 ^Z   +2 ^S   ^P   ^A

▌and behold ▌she │remain ‖in her‖   וְהִנֵּה נוֹתְרָה־בָּהּ

      ^S   ^Q

│survivors │the ones being led out   פְּלֵטָה הַמּוּצָאִים

sons and daughters   בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת

[Rest of v.22 not included]

4.10.1 Text/Translation Notes

On the strength of the LXX: ἐξάγουσιν ἐξ αὐτῆς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, 'they lead forth from her sons and daughters', and Symmachus, the Syriac and Vulgate which also bear this general meaning, BHS suggests הַמּוּצָאִים be read without the הַ (definite article). This results in the part of v.22 given above being interpreted as three clauses instead of two: Instead of הַמּוּצָאִים בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת being a description of the survivors, it becomes an additional clause stating that sons and daughters will be led out.

The verb שִׁלַּחְתִּי, 'sent', (v.21) is in the perfect tense, but the passage is a pronouncement of coming judgement. Since the perfect is used to view an action as completed, it emphasises that the future event will happen.

4.10.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ 'if also'.

The KJV, RSV, NIV, and NEB translate אַף כִּי here with a phrase such as 'how much more'[28] while the NJB uses 'even if', and the TEV a forceful statement 'I will send'. All except the TEV result in a similar logical structure: if it is bad for the foreign nations when God judges them, it will be much worse when he judges the sins of his own covenant people. The TEV becomes a statement of intent, a declaration that God will judge his people.

Eichrodt (1970, p.185) translates אַף כִּי 'and yet, when...' and begins v.22 with 'then'. His interpretation indicates that God's treatment of Jerusalem will seem to be different from that of the nations. Earlier in ch 14 God's comments are that even if one of the great holy men (Noah, Daniel or Job) were living among the nation God was to judge, then only these men themselves would be spared, not even their sons and daughters would be. When Jerusalem is judged, no mention is made of the presence of a Noah, Daniel or Job, yet some of the survivors' children are spared. He comments 'It is violently inconsistent with what has been so solemnly vowed in the preceding verses. The explanation given is that Yahweh has a special aim, for the sake of which, in this one unique case, he sacrifices what is otherwise his invariable procedure. Those who are spared (form) a sample of the immense corruption of Jerusalem and its inhabitants...So in the end this exception is not really an exception, but rather an irrefutable proof that the case of Jerusalem cannot be treated as exceptional.' (p.190f)

Zimmerli (1979, p.311) states that the כִּי of אַף כִּי introduces a conditional clause 'when I have sent...'. It is, however, a qualifier specifying positive comparison. He states that אַף כִּי 'is here not comparative "how much more than..."' (p.311) but later seems to contradict himself by commenting on the meaning of this verse using almost the same comparative phrase 'how much more will it...' (p.315). He suggests an emphatic force in the use of אַף, but the logical structure of the passage provides the emphatic force which he sees in אַף.

Greenberg (1983, p.256) translates אַף כִּי as 'the more so when..' and begins v.22 with 'and yet'. Thus, for him, v.21 becomes a statement that the situation will be worse for Jerusalem, yet, unlike the nations there will be sons and daughters coming out with the survivors (which is similar to Eichrodt). He sees אַף כִּי as introducing the concept that if God has laid waste to

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28 NIV uses 'how much worse', NEB 'how much less hope'.

the nations by the use of one of these scourges, it will be much worse for Jerusalem when all four are inflicted upon her.

Joyce (1986, p.320) suggests that in relation to אַף כִּי in this verse 'the concern is to stress the absolute certainty of imminent and thorough judgement', cf. also Cooke (1936, p.154). In a later work (Joyce, 1989, p.70) he sees that v.21 relates specifically to Jerusalem the general principle of how Yahweh deals with any land that sins against him. אַף כִּי, he says, "generally has a comparative sense... In Ezek 15.5, the only other case of its use in the book(!), it is used to mean 'how much less'; the present context demands the translation 'how much more'." (p.73) His references for this are BDB p.65, and GKC p.484 (§154a[1](c)). GKC, while supporting his comparative position, initially states regarding אַף כִּי that it is properly 'add to this also that'. This is similar in meaning to that observed in earlier occurrences (Comment is made in section Genesis 3:1 concerning BDB's limitations).

4.10.3 Discussion

The logical structure is the same as encountered in earlier uses of אַף כִּי (addition with variation: discourse adjunct + circumstantial adjunct). An initial statement is made and אַף כִּי introduces a new aspect, in this case judgement on Jerusalem using the four plagues. Even though the precise structure of the argument in this chapter is a matter for debate, the function אַף כִּי performs is not. It is the presence of the ellipsis in the structure of the אַף כִּי clause that causes the passage to be difficult to translate, interpreters having to supply what they think has been ellipsed. The emphatic nature of the passage is also evident when read as part of the wider context of ch.14 since, as before, אַף כִּי serves to introduce the climax of the argumentation (vv.21–23).

Since it is made plain in the following verses that there will be survivors, and that some of the survivors will bring their children with them, to suggest that this is what is ellipsed in v.21 creates a contradiction in the text. The stress in the previous verses (12–20) seems to be that even if one of the great holy men lived there, then the judgement would still not be averted. Only this idea is absent in vv.21ff. The acts of judgement, the place of judgement, the mention of survivors and children, albeit in a different light, and the survivor's righteousness (in the case of Jerusalem their lack of if) are all already present in the verse. Thus, the most obvious ellipsis concerns the presence of righteous ones, a Noah, Daniel or Job. If this were to be made explicit in translating v.21, it would give:

For thus says my Lord Yahweh 'Also, I will send my four sore acts of judgement, sword, famine, evil beasts, and plague to destroy from Jerusalem man and beast, even if these three men, Noah, Daniel and Job were in her.

4.11   Ezek 15:5

15:5 15:5

Z	+2 A	S	P	C	
▌Behold▌	⟦in	his	being	whole⟧	הִנֵּה בִּהְיוֹתוֹ תָמִים
F	S	P	C		
not	he	will be made‖	for a task‖		לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה לִמְלָאכָה
+2 A	A	S	P	C	
▌also	that	fire	consumed	him	אַף כִּי־אֵשׁ אֲכָלַתְהוּ
=2 A	S	P			
▌and	he	was set aglow			וַיֵּחָר
+2 A	S	P		A	
▌and	he	will be made	still		וְנַעֲשָׂה
C					
‖for a task‖					עוֹד לִמְלָאכָה

4.11.1   Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי in this verse with μὴ ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ 'except if also', which means that the vine is useless for work when it is whole, *except* as fuel for a fire. This is, however, not the common understanding as reflected in the majority of EVV and commentators who read it as a statement that the vine is even more useless after it has been burnt in the fire, that is, a comparative statement.[29]

4.11.2   Discussion

There is no real contention about the translation or interpretation of v.5, the only significant difference being the LXX, which has a different interpretation of the verse as a whole.

All see it as a comparative statement, and translate using a phrase such as 'how much more/less'. In both these respects it is very close to the previous analyses of אַף כִּי passages. It can be seen from my analysis that the same clause structure is evident. With אַף a new concept is introduced (discourse adjunct), with כִּי introducing the temporal enhancement clause 'if it is burned...' (circumstantial adjunct). Emphasis is supplied by the fact that there is a lesser to

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29 Cooke (1936, p.158), E.g. Wevers (1969, p.118), Zimmerli (1979, p.317).

greater argument (if useless when whole, even more useless when burnt), and, the second half of the verse, from אַף כִּי on, forms the climax of the argument.

> Behold! While it is sound it will not be used for a job. Also, when it has been consumed by fire and set aglow, and it is still used for a job?

There is a problem with the final clause, since it literally reads 'and it is used still for a job'. This contradicts the initial assertion in the verse that it is useless even when it is whole. Reading literally would have the verse saying that the vine is useless when whole but *can* be used when it has been burnt! If the final clause contained a negative or an interrogative then the translation would not be problematic, since it would either agree with the previous assertion that it cannot be used, or it would be a rhetorical question stating the ridiculous. There are previous verses in this chapter where rhetorical questions occur, but they have interrogative particles. It has been suggested that it is phrased in this way here to provide an allusion to Amos 4^{11}, but with the intent of stating forcefully that it will still be useless[30] but this does not remove the difficulty. It could be an instance where a rhetorical question is written without the interrogative –הֲ, as discussed in Clauses Without Interrogatives .

Even though there are translation problems the general sense of the passage is clear, and supports the model suggested for אַף כִּי, previous discourse is added to with qualification (discourse adjunct plus conjunctive adjunct). The uselessness of the vine is emphasised by comparing its utility when whole and when burnt in a fire.

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30 So Zimmerli (1979, p.320)

4.12 Ezek 23:40

23:39   23:39

+2   A   S   P

▌ ⟦and in │ their │ slaughtering   וּבְשַׁחֲטָם

       C   Q

│ their sons ‖ to their idols ‖ ⟧   אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם לְגִלּוּלֵיהֶם

  A   S   P   A

and │ they │ came ‖ to my sanctuary ‖   וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־מִקְדָּשִׁי

Q

‖ in that day ‖   בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא

Q   Z   =2   A

‖ to profane it ‖▐ and behold ▌ thus   לְחַלְּלוֹ וְהִנֵּה־כֹה

    S   P   Q

│ they │ did ‖ in the midst of my house   עָשׂוּ בְּתוֹךְ בֵּיתִי

23:40   23:40

+2   A   A   S   P

▌ and also │ that │ they │ were sending   וְאַף כִּי תִשְׁלַחְנָה

Q   A   Q

‖ for men ‖ ‖ to come from a distance ‖   לַאֲנָשִׁים בָּאִים מִמֶּרְחָק

Q   A   S   P

⟦whom │ a messenger │ being sent   אֲשֶׁר מַלְאָךְ שָׁלוּחַ

Q   Z   +2   S   P

│ to them⟧ ▐ and behold ▌ they │ came   אֲלֵיהֶם וְהִנֵּה־בָאוּ

x2   A   S   P

▌ for whom │ you │ washed   לַאֲשֶׁר רָחָצְתְּ

x2   S   P   C

▌ you │ painted │ your eyes   כָּחַלְתְּ עֵינַיִךְ

x2   A   S   P   C

▌ and │ you │ put on │ ornaments   וְעָדִית עֶדִי

4.12.1 Text/Translation Notes

תִשְׁלַחְנָה in v.40 can be either a 2nd or 3rd feminine plural form of the verb 'send'. The verbs in v.39 are 3rd person plural but later in v.40 they become 2nd feminine singular. This ambiguous form of תִשְׁלַחְנָה could possibly be intentional, acting as a transition between the number and person of the verbs in the two verses.

4.12.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי in this verse as καὶ ὅτι 'also that', which is the same as my formalistic translation. EVV, in this case, differ from their common translation of 'how much more (or less)' It is not translated as a question, even a rhetorical one, rather each translates it with an emphatic, exclamatory or additive phrase: KJV 'And furthermore', NIV 'Even', NJB 'Worse still', RSV 'Even' and TEV 'Again and again'. The NEB simply continues the discourse without any conjunction 'They would send', letting punctuation and reference create cohesion in the passage.

BDB suggests that this is an instance where אַף כִּי is best translated 'furthermore'.

Zimmerli (1979, p.478) sees כי acting as a connective between אַף (which he sees as an adverb) and the rest of the clause. He translates it 'They also'. His suggestion that אַף is an adverb stems from the fact that many see it to be an expression of emphasis. If, it is seen as a marker of addition, then the logical structure, building to a climax, provides the emphasis, not the particle itself.

4.12.3 Discussion

אַף, as previously, introduces some new information (discourse adjunct), prefixing an extension clause. כִּי defines what event is being discussed (circumstantial adjunct), the way in which they prostituted themselves. The context in which this verse occurs is Yahweh speaking to the prophet, telling him to declare, to the two women, their abominable deeds. Thus, throughout vv.37ff. there is the ellipsis of the thought that 'they have done something abominable in that...' Therefore the structure follows that observed elsewhere.

4.13 Hab 2:5

There are a number of textual and linguistic problems with vv.4-5, so even while I attempt to analyse them I recognise that there are well grounded alternative interpretations.

2:4   2:4

‖ behold ‖ she │ is puffed up   הִנֵּה עֻפְּלָה

‖ not │ she │ straight │ his soul   לֹא־יָשְׁרָה נַפְשׁוֹ

‖ in him ‖ ‖ but │ righteous {one}   בּוֹ וְצַדִּיק

‖ in his faithfulness ‖ he │ will live   בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ יִחְיֶה

2:5   2:5

‖ and also │ that │ the wine   וְאַף כִּי־הַיַּיִן

│ {is} │ a faithless warrior   בּוֹגֵד גֶּבֶר

‖ arrogant ‖ and │ not │ he │ will rest   יָהִיר וְלֹא יִנְוֶה

⟦who │ make wide ‖ as Sheol ‖   אֲשֶׁר הִרְחִיב כִּשְׁאוֹל

│ his soul⟧ ‖ and │ he │ is ‖ as death ‖   נַפְשׁוֹ וְהוּא כַמָּוֶת

⟦and │ not │ he │ will be satiated⟧   וְלֹא יִשְׂבָּע

‖ and │ he │ gathered ‖ to him ‖   וַיֶּאֱסֹף אֵלָיו

│ all the nations ‖ and │ he │ collected   כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם וַיִּקְבֹּץ

‖ to him ‖ all the peoples   אֵלָיו כָּל־הָעַמִּים

4.13.1 Text/Translation Notes

Due to complexities, readers are referred to commentaries.

4.13.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX has no equivalent to אַף כִּי in its translation. The translations offered by EVV are varied, reflecting the difficulty present in translating these verses. The KJV has 'Yea also', NEB 'as for', NIV 'Indeed', NJB 'Now, surely', RSV 'Moreover' and TEV simply translates the verse as a positive statement.

Smith (1984, pp.105, 107) notes that אַף כִּי is omitted in the LXX and Peshitta but recommends that it be retained and translated as 'furthermore', a translation also recommended by BDB.

Achtemeier (1986, p.48) translates אַף כִּי as 'Yea, moreover', seeing vv.5-6a as transition verses, that reiterate the impossibility of the unrighteous finding true life. Watts (1975, p.137) likewise sees vv.5ff. as linked with v.4 describing the fate of the wicked, that their evil will turn back upon them.

4.13.3 Discussion

A common conclusion is that v.5 picks up on the thought of v.4a that the unrighteous will not remain, he will not live. If read in this way then the verses add to what has been said, providing more information — a function that has already been observed for אַף, acting as a discourse adjunct. כִּי could also be interpreted as introducing a qualifying clause explaining one of the reasons why he will not succeed — again, a function we have already observed for this particle, acting as a circumstantial adjunct. I would also suggest that there is no ellipsis, since the thought being expanded is stated in the verse - he will not succeed, nor will he be filled. A tentative translation for v.5a, on these grounds, would be: 'He is also arrogant and will not succeed for wine is a faithless warrior...' Translated in this way v.5 becomes the conclusion to God's argumentation as to his own blamelessness in his seeming inaction, providing emphasis, a structure observed with other uses of אַף כִּי.

4.14   Prov 11:31

The LXX version of Proverbs is at times quite different from the MT[31] so whilst reference is made to it not a great deal of weight is given to its translations of אַף כִּי.

11:31

behold	a right {one} ‖ in the earth ‖	הֵן צַדִּיק בָּאָרֶץ
is requited		יְשֻׁלָּם
also	that	a wicked {one}	אַף כִּי־רָשָׁע
and a sinning {one}		וְחוֹטֵא

4.14.1   Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates v.31:

εἰ ὁ μὲν δίκαιος μόλις σῴζεται, ὁ ἀσεβής καὶ ἀμαρτωλὸς ποῦ φανεῖται;

This is quite different from the MT, yet carries similar import, 'If the right one is scarcely saved, where will the ungodly and the sinner appear?'

Most EVV translate אַף כִּי with a phrase such as 'how much more'. The only notable exception is the TEV which has 'so you can be sure that the wicked and sinful will be punished'. The reason for the variation is that they have added 'will be punished' to the end of the verse, giving the same meaning as the others.

4.14.2   Discussion

Since this verse is straightforward no commentators specifically mention the translation of אַף כִּי. The ellipsis of the concept of being requited in the latter part of the verse [the ellipsis which the TEV supplies] is easily recognised, and gives cohesion. Emphasis, as previously, is seen in אַף כִּי

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31 Soderlund (1988, p.408).

introducing the climax to the series of proverbs concerning the rewards of the good and of the evil. It could, justifiably, be argued that there is no 'series' of proverbs on this topic since other topics occur in the midst [so v.30]. But, if that is the case, then it can be argued that the argumentation is confined to the one verse, and hence, it still prefixes the climax [or marks the goal] of the argument. As before, אַף introduces a clause that adds to the previous discourse, that is it acts as a discourse adjunct. כִּי provides the defining information, in this case the identity of those being spoken of, that is, it acts as a circumstantial adjunct.

4.15 Prov 15:11

15:11
+2   s
❚ Sheol and Abaddon   שְׁאוֹל וַאֲבַדּוֹן

       P   C
│ are before │ Yahweh   נֶגֶד יְהוָה
+2   A   A   s
❚ also │ that │ the hearts of the sons of Adam │   אַף כִּי־לִבּוֹת בְּנֵי־אָדָם

4.15.1 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי as πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ '? and not...' Read in context this is a rhetorical question stating that the hearts of humanity are also open before Yahweh.

Most EVV translate אַף כִּי 'how much more', the only difference is the TEV which rephrases the second half of the verse making it a rhetorical question 'how then can a man hide his thoughts from God?' This carries the same basic meaning as the MT.

4.15.2 Discussion

Jones (1961, p.142) comments that the argument is *a fortiori*. This is a logical structure noted for previous uses of אַף כִּי. A new thought is introduced in the second half of the verse, relating God's perception to the hearts of humanity, introduced by אַף — a discourse adjunct. The identity of that which is also before God is introduced by כִּי — a circumstantial adjunct. And the predicator and complement 'before Yahweh' is ellipsed in the second part of the verse [it is this ellipsis that the LXX and TEV make explicit in their translations] adding to the cohesion of the chapter. This use of אַף כִּי is also similar to that encountered before in that it introduces the climax for the discussion concerning God's knowledge of humanity's actions [cf. 15[3], but also note the previous comments concerning the continuity of argumentation in Proverbs].

4.16 Prov 17:7

17:7
+2   P   Q
▌ not fitting ‖ to a fool ‖   לֹא־נָאוָה לְנָבָל

             S
| language of excess   שְׂפַת־יֶתֶר
+2   A   Q
▌ also | that ‖ to a noble one ‖   אַף כִּי־לְנָדִיב

             S
| language of falsehood | שְׂפַת־שָׁקֶר

4.16.1 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי 'οὐδε' an adverb 'neither'. EVV also use some sort of comparative phrase such as 'still less' [RSV, NJB]. The TEV rephrases the verse considerably, whilst keeping a similar meaning.

4.16.2 Discussion

It is again easy to discern the structure of the verse. The thought is introduced that grand language is not fitting from a fool. The second half of the verse adds to the thought of what is not fitting [ellipsed in the second clause] by applying it to the noble person [this qualification of 'who' is introduced by כִּי — a circumstantial adjunct], saying that lies are not fitting for a noble person, the whole of which is introduced by אַף acting as a discourse adjunct. This demonstrates the same structure as observed previously. The emphatic nature of the conclusion of the verse stems from the comparison that is made, between the highest and the lowest. It could be argued that אַף כִּי also introduces the climax of the argument since the argument appears to be confined to this verse.

4.17 Prov 19:7a

19:7a
+2   S
▌ all brothers of a poor one   כָּל אֲחֵי־רָשׁ

   S   P   C
they │ hate │ him   שְׂנֵאֻהוּ

+2   A   A   S
▌ also │ that │ his close friend   אַף כִּי מְרֵעֵהוּ

              P   Q
they │ go far away ‖ from him ‖   רָחֲקוּ מִמֶּנּוּ

4.17.1 Text/Translation Notes

The subject in the second clause is plural even though the noun is singular. The verb is plural, treating the singular noun as a collective.

4.17.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with a simple conjunction of positive addition και 'and/also'. Only the TEV differed from the majority of EVV, which have 'how much more...!', by having 'no wonder'. This is again a result of the TEV's substantial rephrasing.

4.17.3 Discussion

The fact that the translation of אַף כִּי is so constant in EVV in Proverbs demonstrates that translators see it acting in the same way in each instance. There is a difference here, however, because there is no ellipsis in the second clause. The close friend is not described as hating him, but as going far from him. The rest of the structure, however, is the same. אַף introduces a clause that extends the previous idea — the fact that no-one wants a poor man, with כִּי prefixing the phrase that defines who is now being considered. There is no ellipsis since the predicator is provided in the second clause. Yet, the emphatic nature of the verse remains because the same general concept [the wretched life that a poor man has] is expressed, using different but analogous phrases, from two different perspectives: family and friends. The emphasis comes from the associations made with each of these subjects. The family is normally considered to be the ones who look after their own, they would have much more interest where a family member was concerned. The argument is that if these, who have the most interest, hate the poor, then those who have no such ties, the friends, will

be even less concerned. Emphasis is also found in that אַף כִּי prefixes the conclusion of the argumentation on this topic, the next verse being concerned with the gaining of wisdom.

4.18 Prov 19:10

19:10
+2   P   Q
▌not fitting │for a foolish one   לֹא־נָאוֶה לִכְסִיל

  S   +2 A   A   Q
│comfort ▌also │that ‖to a servant‖   תַּעֲנוּג אַף כִּי־לְעֶבֶד

  P   C
│to rule │princes⟧   מְשֹׁל בְּשָׂרִים

4.18.1 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי with και έαν 'also if'. While not the same as the MT, the verse does conform with the general meaning. As before, most EVV, except the TEV, translate אַף כִּי as 'much less', 'how much worse'.

4.18.2 Discussion

The same structure as before is evident. The second part of the verse adds to what has been stated in the first part. There is the ellipsis of the concept of what is not fitting or appropriate. אַף introduces this new clause and כִּי introduces the qualification as to what else is not considered fitting — in this case a servant ruling princes. Emphasis is provided by the comparison between the very high and the very low, fools and princes. As the topic of discussion changes in the next verse it can also be argued that emphasis is also added by אַף כִּי introducing the climax of an argument.

4.19   Prov 21:27

21:27
+2
        S

▌a sacrifice of wicked ones   זֶבַח רְשָׁעִים

        P

│is detestable   תּוֹעֵבָה

+2 A   A   Q

▌also │that ‖with intention {evil} ‖   אַף כִּי־בְזִמָּה

   S   P   C

│he │brings │it   יְבִיאֶנּוּ

4.19.1   Text/Translation Notes

Note that רְשָׁעִים 'wicked ones' is plural, yet, the number of the verb in the second clause is singular יְבִיאֶנּוּ 'he brings it'. This is a case where a whole class of individuals may be viewed as a singular object [So GKC §145l, see also Berlin (1985, pp.44-50) on number contrast in parallelism, summary pp.44-45].

4.19.2   Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates quite differently to the MT, 'The sacrifices of the ungodly are abominable to the Lord for they offer them unlawfully'. In this it seems that אַף כִּי has been translated with και γαρ, 'also for', which is a possible interpretation of these two Hebrew words.

The KJV, NEB, NIV, and RSV all translate אַף כִּי in this verse with 'how much more', the NJB uses 'above all' and the TEV 'especially', all of which convey a similar meaning.

4.19.3   Discussion

Yet again the same construction is encountered. The concept of the sacrifice being detestable is ellipsed from the second part of the verse. The second part of the verse adds to what has already been said concerning the wicked's sacrifice and qualifies it by adding 'if he does it with evil intent', אַף acting as a discourse adjunct and כִּי as a circumstantial adjunct respectively. Here, as in previous situations the reasoning is confined to the one verse, hence it could be argued that אַף כִּי introduces the climax of the argument, adding emphasis to the verse.

4.20   Job 9:14

As with Proverbs the LXX version of Job is at times quite different from the MT,[32] so whilst reference is made to it not a great deal of weight is given to its translations of אַף כִּי.

9:13   9:13

+2   S   F   S   P

▌ God │ not │ he │ will turn back   אֱלוֹהַּ לֹא־יָשִׁיב

         C

│ his anger   אַפּוֹ

+2   A   S   P

▌ beneath him │ they │ stooped   תַּחְתּוֹ שָׁחֲחוּ

            S

│ the helpers of Rahab   עֹזְרֵי רָהַב

9:14   9:14

+2   A   A   S

▌ also │ that │ I   אַף כִּי־אָנֹכִי

   S   P   C   =2 S   P

│ I │ will answer │ him ▌ I │ will choose   אֶעֱנֶנּוּ אֶבְחֲרָה

       C   Q

│ my words ‖ with him ‖   דְּבָרַי עִמּוֹ

4.20.1   Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates quite freely. Where אַף כִּי is in the MT there is an interrogative particle ἐάν.

The majority of EVV translate v.14 as a rhetorical question. The KJV and NJB translate as a statement, an exclamation. All, however, have the same basic meaning, if God is so mighty, then how can I answer his arguments or dispute with him?[33]

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32 Soderlund (1988, p.408).

33 So Driver and Gray (1921, p.90), Habel (1985, p.192), Hartley (1988, p.174f.), et al. 'Rahab' is a mythological dragon portrayed as vanquished by Yahweh in a primordial combat. Rahab's helpers are compared with Tiamat's helpers [in the Babylonian creation story, Enuma Elish] who were submarine creatures supporting the world (Gaster, 1962, p.6).

Driver (1913, p.256) in commenting on 2 Sam 4[11] states that אַף כִּי should be translated as '*how much more* (should I do so), *when...* He then cites Job 9[14] as another instance where אַף כִּי is to be translated in this way. The KJV translates this way.

Gordis (1978, p.106) suggests that it is better that אַף, in v.14, be translated as an emphatic interrogative particle. He then cites as his major support Gen 3[1], which is often understood as a question. As to whether this is a viable translation for Gen 3[1], see section Genesis 3:1 . Yet in his translation (p.96) he interprets v.14 as a rhetorical question, rhetorical since no-one is expected to reply, and in fact Job himself answers his own question in the next verse. Therefore, even though he considers אַף to be interrogative, his translation is the same as EVV.

4.20.2 Discussion

The fact that translating אַף כִּי as 'how much less' is supported by the older commentators[34] and that their understanding of the logic of the passage is the same as that of the more recent commentators leads to the conclusion that the structure of אַף כִּי is the same as that encountered elsewhere where it is translated as 'how much more/less'. אַף is a discourse adjunct, indicating the logical structure of the text, indicating that the following discourse adds to, and flows from previous discourse. כִּי serves as a circumstantial adjunct, indicating a comparison, if these mighty mythical beasts could not stand before Yahweh, how could Job hope to? The passage has emphasis due to its logical structure, אַף כִּי marking a major structural change in the discourse. אַף כִּי introduces the thoughts concerning the futility of Job's position, thoughts which stem from the preceding reasoning concerning God's greatness when compared with humanity. The emphasis is not, therefore, as Gordis suggests, inherent in אַף itself.
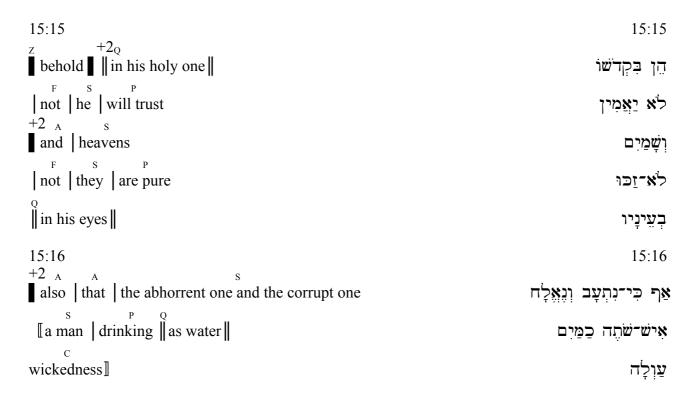
The tendency of recent EVV to deviate from the standard translation 'how much more/less' seems to reflect an effort to make the logical structure of the discourse more transparent since arguments in Job can extend over quite a large portion of text.

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34 Dhorme (1967, p.134f. [originally published in 1926]), Driver and Gray (1921, p.90)

4.21 Job 15:16

15:15	15:15

^Z ▌behold▐ ⁺²^Q ‖in his holy one‖

הֵן בִּקְדֹשׁוֹ

^F │not ^S│he ^P│will trust

לֹא יַאֲמִין

⁺² ^A ▌and ^S│heavens

וְשָׁמַיִם

^F│not ^S│they ^P│are pure

לֹא־זַכּוּ

^Q ‖in his eyes‖

בְּעֵינָיו

15:16   15:16

⁺² ^A ▌also ^A│that ^S│the abhorrent one and the corrupt one

אַף כִּי־נִתְעָב וְנֶאֱלָח

^S ⟦a man ^P│drinking ^Q‖as water‖

אִישׁ־שֹׁתֶה כַמַּיִם

^C wickedness⟧

עַוְלָה

4.21.1 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי as ἔα δε, an interjection of surprise or displeasure.

Most EVV translate אַף כִּי with the usual phrase, 'how much more/less', the only exception being the TEV which rephrases and seems to weaken the import of the verse.

As in other אַף כִּי passages this one is interpreted as the conclusion of an *a fortiori* argument.[35]

4.21.2 Discussion

The structure and interpretation of אַף כִּי is the same as encountered before. אַף acts as a discourse adjunct, indicating the logical structure of the text. כִּי is a circumstantial adjunct, defining who is being spoken of. Cohesion is provided by the ellipsis of the thought of God
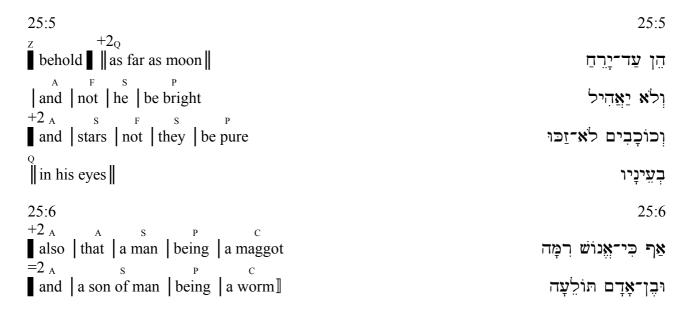
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35 E.g. Dhorme (1967, p.214), Gordis (1978, p.162).

trusting someone. The emphatic nature of the verse arises from the fact that אַף כִּי introduces the conclusion to the argumentation concerning humanity's unholiness before God and also marks the alteration in the argumentation from an examination of the high and mighty heavens and holy ones to that of lowly humanity.

4.22 Job 25:6

25:5	25:5
_Z ⁺²_Q ▌ behold ▌ ‖ as far as moon ‖	הֵן עַד־יָרֵחַ
_A _F _S _P | and | not | he | be bright	וְלֹא יַאֲהִיל
⁺² _A _S _F _S _P ▌ and | stars | not | they | be pure	וְכוֹכָבִים לֹא־זַכּוּ
_Q ‖ in his eyes ‖	בְּעֵינָיו

25:6	25:6
⁺² _A _A _S _P _C ▌ also | that | a man | being | a maggot	אַף כִּי־אֱנוֹשׁ רִמָּה
⁼² _A _S _P _C ▌ and | a son of man | being | a worm ⟧	וּבֶן־אָדָם תּוֹלֵעָה

4.22.1 Text/Translation Notes

עַד "as far as" is used in sense of an extreme example. Each of the clauses in v.6 are verbless, the relevant form of the verb 'be' being supplied.

4.22.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX for this occurrence of אַף כִּי is the same as for Job 15[16] (see previous section).

The majority of EVV again translate אַף כִּי with a phrase similar to 'how much more/less'. The KJV and NEB both translate as a rhetorical question, having the same meaning as other EVV.

Hartley (1988, p.357) sees this as an argument from absurdity.

4.22.3 Discussion

The common use of the same phrase by EVV for this and for previous אַף כִּי passages would suggest that the function of אַף כִּי in this verse is the same as before, and this is the case. אַף acts as a discourse adjunct, indicating the logical relationship in the overall discourse, that of addition. כִּי is a circumstantial adjunct, specifying who is now being spoken about. The ellipsis of the thought of being pure in God's eyes adds to the cohesion of the passage. The emphatic nature of this verse arises from the same structures as the previous verse since the arguments have the same import, and exhibit the same logic.

4.23 Job 35:14

| 35:13 | 35:13 |

+2 ^A ^Q

▌ surely ‖ in vain ‖ — אַךְ־שָׁוְא

^F ^S ^P ^S

│ not │ he │ hears │ God — לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֵל

+2 ^A ^S ^F

▌ and │ the Almighty │ not — וְשַׁדַּי לֹא

^S ^P ^C

│ he │ regards │ her — יְשׁוּרֶנָּה

| 35:14 | 35:14 |

+2 ^A ^A ^S ^P

▌ also │ that │ you │ say — אַף כִּי־תֹאמַר

"3 ^F ^S ^P ^C

▌ not │ you │ see │ him — לֹא תְשׁוּרֶנּוּ

+3 ^S ^P ^C

▌ a legal claim │ {is} before │ him — דִּין לְפָנָיו

+3 ^A ^S ^P ^Q

▌ and │ you │ are waiting ‖ for him ‖ — וּתְחוֹלֵל לוֹ

4.23.1 Text/Translation Notes

Hartley (1988, p.467) notes that 'difficulties in the Hebrew text make the interpretation of these two verses (vv.14-15) uncertain'. Nevertheless, the varied renderings and their rationale do not affect the translations of אַף כִּי, which, on the whole, show a consistent pattern.

The second clause of v.14 is a noun clause, literally 'a legal claim before him', thus the verb 'be' is supplied.

It has been suggested[36] that the final clause should be read as an imperative (so KJV, TEV) but there is no MSS evidence to support this, and since sense can be made of the clause as it is, this proposal will be rejected. Rowley (1976, p.226) also comments that 'Elihu is stronger on polemic than in exhortation' (Elihu is the one speaking to Job).

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36 E.g. Pope (1973, p.262), Gordis (1978, p.402).

4.23.2 *Previous Treatments of the Passage*

The LXX translation omits any equivalent to אַף כִּי and substantially rephrases these verses.

The NIV, NJB and RSV all translate אַף כִּי with the common 'how much more/less'. The KJV has a major rephrasing of the latter part of v.14, making it into an exhortation for Job to trust in God, therefore אַף כִּי is translated 'although', being used in a concessive-condition clause structure. The NEB has 'The worse for you when you say...' which picks up on the thought of earlier verses, that God does not heed the cries of the self-willed and proud (vv.9-13), and applies them to Job with an emphatic force. The TEV also quite substantially rephrases v.14: 'Job, you say you can't see God; but wait patiently — your case is before him' which seems to follow the emendation rejected above.

Dhorme (1967, p.535f.) sees v.14 as a 'logical sequel to v.13', interpreting it as an *a fortiori* argument, that if the unhappy who have not turned to God in their distress are not heard by God, then one who is insolent and rebellious will certainly not be heard.

4.23.3 *Discussion*

The differences caused by the difficulties in the MT seem, at first, to preclude any useful or conclusive analysis of the function of אַף כִּי in v.14. But, when the various commentators and translations are analysed a number of common features emerge. The text is seen as cohesive and consecutive, this verse adding to what has gone before. There is also some sort of qualifying phrase or clause inherent in the translation, e.g., KJV's concession-condition, qualifying who is spoken about: Job versus the distressed who call to God. This actually can be seen to be the same as is observed in other passages where אַף כִּי occurs. Support is also give by the fact that a number of the commentators and EVV support the common rendering, 'how much more/less'. I conclude, therefore, that in v.14 אַף is acting as a discourse adjunct, marking positive addition, and כִּי is acting as a circumstantial adjunct. There is also an ellipsis, God's action in not seeing or hearing is to be inferred from the previous verse. Emphasis is present in the verse, אַף כִּי marking a structural change in the argumentation, a move from examining general cases to Job's actions, and also introducing the conclusion to the argumentation. A possible translation is:

Surely the Almighty does not see or hear empty words. Also, when you say that you do not see him, that your case is before him and you are waiting for him, the Almighty will not see or hear you.

4.24 Neh 9:18

9:17	9:17

+2 _A _S _P _Q
▌and │ they │ refused ‖ to hear ‖   וַיְמָאֲנוּ לִשְׁמֹעַ

+2 _A _F _S _P
▌and │ not │ they │ remember   וְלֹא־זָכְרוּ

_C _Q _A _S _P
│ your wonders ⟦which │ you │ made   נִפְלְאֹתֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ

_Q +2 _A _S _P
‖ with them‖ ⟧ ▌and │ they │ made stiff   עִמָּהֶם וַיַּקְשׁוּ

_C
│ their necks   אֶת־עָרְפָּם

+2 _A _S _P _C
▌and │ they │ appointed │ a head   וַיִּתְּנוּ־רֹאשׁ

_Q _Q
‖ to turn ‖ to their servitude   לָשׁוּב לְעַבְדֻתָם

_Q+2   +2 _A _S _P
‖ in their obstinacy‖▌ and │ you │ {are}   בְּמִרְיָם וְאַתָּה

_C _Q
│ a God [{of} forgiveness gracious   אֱלוֹהַּ סְלִיחוֹת חַנּוּן
and compassionate slow of anger   וְרַחוּם אֶרֶךְ־אַפַּיִם
and great of steadfast love]   וְרַב־וְחֶסֶד

+2 _A _F _S _P _C
▌and │ not │ you │ forsook │ them   וְלֹא עֲזַבְתָּם

9:18	9:18

+2 _A _A _S _P _Q
▌also │ that │ they │ made ‖ for them‖   אַף כִּי־עָשׂוּ לָהֶם

_C
│ a calf a cast image   עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה

+2 _A _S _P "3 _S _P
▌and │ they │ said ▌ this {is}   וַיֹּאמְרוּ זֶה

_C _Q _A _P _C
│ your God ⟦which │ brought up │ you   אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֶלְךָ

_Q   +2 _A _S _P
‖ from Egypt‖ ⟧ ▌and │ they │ made   מִמִּצְרָיִם וַיַּעֲשׂוּ

_C
│ blasphemies great   נֶאָצוֹת גְּדֹלוֹת

4.24.1 Text/Translation Notes

The third clause of v.18 is a noun clause, the verb 'be' being supplied. In v.17 the Qere ('to be read') omits the ו 'and' from וְחֶסֶד 'and steadfast love'. Some EVV, e.g. NJB, RSV, TEV, translate בְּמִרְיָם 'in their obstinacy' as 'in Egypt' following a few MSS and LXX. HOTTP (Vol. 2, 1979, p.538) suggests that the text be read 'in Egypt', nevertheless, this has no substantial effect on the analysis.

4.24.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי in v.18 with ἔτι δε και 'yet also'. The majority of EVV use a phrase similar to 'Even when...', the only exception being the TEV which omits any equivalent for אַף כִּי from the beginning of v.18, but places an exclamation mark after 'from Egypt'.

Batten (1913, p.367) was the only commentator who remarked on the translation of אַף כִּי in v.18. He renders it '*Nevertheless* (with reference to the preceding) *thou didst not abandon them*'. It is difficult to follow his logic because of his reference to God's not abandoning after 'nevertheless', and his subsequent comments which argue for stronger ties between vv.17 and 18, and a disjunction between vv.18 and 19.

4.24.3 Discussion

EVV's 'Yea, when..' implies a reference forward to v.19, and so stresses the fact that Yahweh did not abandon his people, despite their continuing sinfulness. This leads to a similar interpretation for the function of אַף כִּי to that which has been observed before. אַף as a discourse adjunct, כִּי as a circumstantial adjunct, specifying time.

Since in all other cases אַף has been indicating positive addition, Batten's disjunction between vv.18 and 19 lacks support. Of course, as in EVV's, there is a connection between vv.17 and 18 since אַף is a *discourse* adjunct. The use of אַף and reference result in a passage that is cohesive. I would follow the majority of EVV and translate as 'even' preferring this to the usual 'also' because of the emphatic nature of the verse, the emphasis being provided by the fact that אַף כִּי introduces an even worse example of the peoples' rebelliousness.

4.25 2 Chr 6:18

This section of 2 Chronicles is parallel to 1 Kings 8, examined earlier. Therefore, if the structures of these verses are the same, the conclusions from 1 Kings 8 can be applied to this verse.

1 Kgs 8[27a]   כִּי הַאֻמְנָם יֵשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ

2 Chr 6[18a]   כִּי הַאֻמְנָם יֵשֵׁב אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם עַל־הָאָרֶץ

↑↑↑↑↑↑↑

8[27b]   הִנֵּה הַשָּׁמַיִם וּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יְכַלְכְּלוּךָ

6[18b]   הִנֵּה שָׁמַיִם וּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יְכַלְכְּלוּךָ

↑

8[27c]   אַף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

6[18c]   אַף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

As can be seen 1 Kings 8[27] and 2 Chr 6[18] are almost identical, the arrows [↑] indicating the differences. In 2 Chr 6[18a] אֶת־הָאָדָם 'with humanity' is added. This does not change the meaning in any way since it is parallel to עַל־הָאָרֶץ 'upon the earth' and adds no new information nor enhances any old information. The only other difference is the omission of the הַ- 'the' in 2 Chr 6[18b]. BHS suggests that we read with 1 Kings 8, the letter having been lost by haplography. Even if this is not accepted, to change from a definite to an indefinite in this part of the verse does not alter the logic of the verse's argument in any way.

Since the two verses have the same logical structure, then the conclusions for this passage are the same as for 1 Kings 8[27] (see section 4.8).

4.26 2 Chr 32:15

				32:15

+2 A   F   S   P

▎and now │ not │ him │ let deceive ·········· וְעַתָּה אַל־יַשִּׁיא

   C   S

│ you │ Hezekiah ·········· אֶתְכֶם חִזְקִיָּהוּ

+2 A   F   S   P

▎and │ not │ him │ let lead astray ·········· וְאַל־יַסִּית

   C   Q

│ you ‖ like this ‖ ·········· אֶתְכֶם כָּזֹאת

+2 A   F   S   P   C

▎and │ not │ you │ trust │ him ·········· וְאַל־תַּאֲמִינוּ לוֹ

x2 A   F   S   P

▎because │ not │ he │ will be able ·········· כִּי־לֹא יוּכַל

      S

│ every god of every nation and kingdom ·········· כָּל־אֱלוֹהַ כָּל־גּוֹי וּמַמְלָכָה

 Q   P   C

⟦to rescue │ his people ·········· לְהַצִּיל עַמּוֹ

 Q

‖ from my hand and from the hand of my fathers ‖ ⟧ ·········· מִיָּדִי וּמִיַּד אֲבוֹתָי

+2 A   A

▎also │ that ·········· אַף כִּי

   S   F   S   P

│ your gods │ not │ they │ will deliver ·········· אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא־יַצִּילוּ

   C   Q

│ you ‖ from my hand ‖ ·········· אֶתְכֶם מִיָּדִי

4.26.1 Text/Translation Notes

לֹא...כָּל 'not...every' 'is used to express an *absolute* negation, *nullus, none whatever*' (GKC §152b), hence 'not any god of any nation will be able...'

A few MSS have a singular verb in the final clause, altering the subject from a plural 'gods' to a singular 'God'. The noun אֱלֹהִים, 'god(s)', even though plural is read as singular when referring to Yahweh, and normally, but not always, has a singular verb. Therefore, even if with a plural verb it may be translated 'God' [see GKC §145 i].

4.26.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX translates אַף כִּי in v.15 with ὅτι...οὐ μή 'that...certainly not'. The majority of EVV translate אַף כִּי with the usual 'how much more/less', the only exceptions being the NJB, and TEV. The NJB uses 'no more', implying, perhaps, that while until now Yahweh had saved them, he would not in the future. But, it can also be interpreted as a comparison, Yahweh will being no more able to save than the other gods who failed. The TEV uses 'so certainly' which gives the same import as the majority.

Curtis and Madsen (1910, p.490) comment that following a negation אַף כִּי 'serves to intensify the negative, with the force *how much less*'.

4.26.3 Discussion

The reason for the comparison, 'how much less', has been seen in two ways: that it is incredible to think that a God whose altars Hezekiah has torn down [v.12] will rescue his people, [37] or as an estimation of the comparative smallness of Israel's God because of Israel's own smallness and comparatively unwarlike nature, and the spiritual and invisible nature of God. [38] No matter which is chosen the interpretation of אַף כִּי remains the same.

Again, this is a passage where the translation of אַף כִּי receives very little attention. There is a general agreement that there is a comparative effect, along with an emphatic nature in the verse. These factors along with the use of the phrase 'how much more/less' add weight to my conclusions concerning the function of אַף כִּי. אַף acts as a discourse adjunct, indicating that the following clause is part of, and adds to the previous discourse. כִּי introduces a conditional clause, outlining what the effect will be, a circumstantial adjunct. Again, there is emphasis in the text due to אַף כִּי occurring at a major structural point in the text, introducing the conclusion to the servants' arguments as to why Jerusalem should surrender. It could be argued that it is not the conclusion to the argument since v.16 says 'And his servants said still more against the Lord God...' [RSV], but, the last clause of v.15 is the conclusion of the verbal reasoning, v.16 being a narrative summary statement. A suggested translation is:

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37 E.g. Wilcock (1987, p.252).

38 E.g. Barker (1909, p.383).

And now, do not let Hezekiah deceive you. Do not let him lead you astray like this. Do not trust him because not any god of any nation or kingdom was able to rescue its people from my hand or from my fathers' hand. Also, therefore, your gods will not deliver you from my hand.

4.27   Genesis 3:1

3:1   3:1

+1 _A   _S   _P
▌ and │ the serpent │ was   וְהַנָּחָשׁ הָיָה

          _C   _Q
│ crafty ‖ more than │ all   עָרוּם מִכֹּל

          _A   _Q
the living things ‖ of the field‖   חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה

          _Q   _C   _S   _P   _S
⟦which │ he │ made │ Yahweh God⟧ ‖▌   אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים

=1 _A   _S   _P   _A
▌ and │ he │ said │ to the woman   וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה

"+2 _A   _A   _S   _P
▌ also │ that │ God │ said   אַף כִּי־אָמַר אֱלֹהִים

"3 _S   _P
▌ you │ shall not eat   לֹא תֹאכְלוּ

          _Q   _A   _Q
‖ from any of the trees │ of the garden. ‖ ⟧ ▌   מִכֹּל עֵץ הַגָּן

3:2   3:2

+1 _A   _S   _P   _A
▌ and │ the woman │ said ‖ to the serpent‖   וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־הַנָּחָשׁ

"2 _Q
‖ from the fruit of   מִפְּרִי

          _Q   _Q   _S   _P
‖ the trees of ‖ the garden] ‖ ‖ we │ may eat▌   עֵץ־הַגָּן נֹאכֵל

3:3   3:3

+2 _A   _Q   _Q
▌ but ‖ from the fruit of ‖ the tree   וּמִפְּרִי הָעֵץ

          _Q
‖ which in the midst of the garden‖ ‖ ‖   אֲשֶׁר בְּתוֹךְ־הַגָּן

+2 _S   _P "3 _P   _S   _P   _Q
▌ God │ said ▌ not │ you │ are to eat ‖ from it‖   אָמַר אֱלֹהִים לֹא תֹאכְלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ

+3 _A   _P   _S   _P   _C
▌ and │ not │ you │ are to touch │ it   וְלֹא תִגְּעוּ בּוֹ

x3 _A   _S   _P
▌ otherwise │ you │ will die▌   פֶּן־תְּמֻתוּן

4.27.1 Text/Translation Notes

The critical apparatus of BHS for 3¹ suggests that it is uncertain whether an interrogative -הַ be prefixed to אַף. This is an editorial suggestion, with no textual evidence from Hebrew MSS to support it.

Most commentators and translators follow the LXX, and other Versions translating 3¹ as a question asked by the serpent. There is no reason to question the accuracy of the MT at this point. The questions raised arise from translation problems, not from the text itself.

4.27.2 Previous Treatments of the Passage

The LXX has Tí [an interrogative particle] at the beginning of the serpent's speech:

> 3:1b καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ὄφις τῇ γυναικί Τί ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ θεός Οὐ μή φάγητε ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ;

Wevers (1974) includes the renderings of two other Greek versions: Symmachus interprets as a question, having πρὸς τί εἶπεν ὁ θεος ..., 'For what reason did God say...?', and Aquila as a rhetorical question, expecting a negative answer: μη ὅτι ὁ θεός· μή φάγη ,'Is it not that God "said do not eat...?"'. He has given an equivalent for כִּי, but seems to have omitted any for אַף, and then interpreted as a question. In translating in this way Aquila has used μη in an unusual way. [39] It should be noted that Aquila's Greek often suffered because of his literalism. [40]

EVV translate the serpent's words in 3¹ as a question. [41] Moberly (1988, p.5) comments that translation as a question is found in the ancient versions and in the majority of ancient and modern commentators.

Of the modern writers examined many do not comment on the text at this point. Of those that do note the difficulty in translation, many then pass over it without an argument saying it

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39 Cf. uses cited in Liddell, and Scott (1968): μη p. 1123f., μη ὅτι p. 1128f., ὅτι p.1265.

40 Würthwein (1957, p.38).

41 I found no exceptions to this.

should be translated as a question. If arguments are presented, these are often incomplete, or exhibit flawed reasoning. For example, some use circular reasoning: אַף כִּי is to be translated as a question in this case, because in Genesis 3[1] it is a question!! Or, if reference is made to an authority, the authority's arguments are not examined for validity.

The types of conclusions drawn fall into 3 categories: 1/ אַף כִּי itself is interrogative; 2/ אַף כִּי introduces a statement, is exclamatory, etc., but the serpent's statement is interrogative in itself; and 3/ אַף כִּי and the statement are not interrogative.

4.27.2.1   Grammatical and Lexical Works

Joüon §157a discusses this verse as a case of a 'Proposition substantivale: syndétic proposition-sujet'. In note 2 he states that כִּי 'introduces a subject clause after a simple הֲ, גַּם, אַף'. Genesis 3[1] is then cited as an example. What is interesting is that אַף כִּי־אָמַר is then translated as a question without explanation '*(ceci est-il) aussi qu'il a dit?=est-il donc vrai qu'il a dit?*'. His preceding discussion provides no basis for this on the grammar of אַף כִּי itself.

BDB discusses אַף כִּי under אַף. One of its uses is stated as 'in a question', with Gen 3[1] cited as the only example. A comparison is then made with a previous entry: הַאַף. The problem with this comparison is that הַאַף includes the interrogative prefix, -הֲ, while Gen 3[1] does not. No other reason is given for translation as an interrogative.

Snaith (1947, p.31) remarks "The normal אַף כִּי means 'Furthermore', 'Yes, indeed', and it requires no more than an inflexion of the voice to ensure the question which all the Versions have found here". He then refers to the entry in BDB which I have just discussed. His argument stands on an unproven and unprovable tenet. He suggests that the text was read at this point with a tonal pattern to indicate a question, just as English uses a rising intonation. We cannot determine whether the Hebrews used tone to indicate a question, nor can we determine that such a tone was used in the reading of this verse. His argument is circular, because the verse is a question it was read using the tonal pattern that indicates a question, and since it was read using this tonal pattern, it must be a question! Even if he is correct, this argument cannot prove it.

Bandstra (1982, pp. 100, 175) sees כִּי and אַף acting as two separate items in the verse. כִּי signifies an embedded clause, which he calls 'KY Complementation' [see Ch.4 of his thesis]. אַף is determined to be a conjunction, and thus אַף כִּי comes under the category of Particle Antecedent Noun-Phrase Complements. Deut 31[27] is also discussed as another example of this

type of construction. It is interesting to note the differences between the translations he offers for the two, as well as their similarities. [42] He translates both as questions, but Deut 31[27] as a rhetorical question [43] and Gen 3[1] as a true question. [44] The problem with this is that a rhetorical question is not a request for something, so much as an emphatic statement. [45] He provides no explanation for this difference.

Muraoka (1985, pp.141-143) says that interpretation as an emphatic statement [asseverative] as represented in the Aramaic versions (Targums), and as a concessive statement ['nevertheless'] are both possible, but 'that neither interpretation has another example from Biblical Hebrew to support it' (p.143).

It should be noted that an interpretive element is strong in the Targums. 'They paraphrase, they explain by insertions, they reinterpret the text, often rather boldly, in accordance with the prevailing theology of their time...This method of treating the text in the Targums....reduces their value as witnesses to the text, but makes them important documents in the history of Old Testament exegesis' (Würthwein, 1957, p.57), giving insight into how the text has been translated and interpreted in the past.

Targum Onkelos (Sperber, 1959, vol. 1, p.4) interprets אַף כִּי with בקושתא [a preposition 'in' and an adverb 'truth, straightness'], [46] giving a translation such as 'in truth Yahweh God has said...' This makes the serpent's words read as though he is amazed that Yahweh has said such a thing. Sperber's critical apparatus gives two minor variants:

1. אף ['also', 'too'] – Biblia Hebraica, Ixar 1490,

2. ארי [commonly in targums corresponding to the Biblical Hebrew כִּי] – 8 MSS.

These two variants each seem to only represent one of the two particles that are in the MT.

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42 On Deut 31[27] see previously.

43 'Is it not also the case that...' (p.300), this expects an affirmation.

44 'Is it also (the case) that God said...' (p.175), this expects a reply.

45 Cf. Halliday (1985, p.84). See, also, the translations offered for Deut 31[27] previously.

46 Aramaic translations are taken from Jastrow (1971).

Muraoka also refers to the Syriac [Peshitta] and Targum Jonathan. The former has an adverb, שׁרִיראית ['firmly, reliably'], and the latter ה- [an interrogative prefix] attached to קוּשׁט [an adverb 'truly'] with ד- ['that'] prefixed to the verb 'say'. Thus the Syriac results in a very similar understanding to Targum Onkelos, whilst Targum Jonathan is close to the LXX.

4.27.2.2 Commentaries and Exegetical Works

Many commentators accept the translation as a question, and do not even comment on it, for example, Brueggemann (1982), Kidner (1967), Owens (1978), Plaut (1981), Vawter (1977), Wevers (1985), and Young (1966).

Some comment on אַף כִּי, but resort to an interrogative translation either without explanation or only by referring to authorities without discussing their arguments, e.g. Von Rad (1972) and Wenham (1987).

Von Rad (1972, p.86) does note that there is some difficulty or uncertainty in the translation by referring to Luther's vexation with אַף כִּי, but then translates as a question without explanation. A number of his comments are based on this interpretation.

Wenham (1987, p.47) considers the suggested emendation by BHS to be unnecessary. He treats אַף כִּי itself as an interrogative, and cites Joüon (1923), BDB and Muraoka (1985) in support. His argument can be no stronger than those of his authorities, and on these see previously.

Finally, some argue their position.

Skinner (1930, p.73f.) suggests, in the body of his text, the translation 'and so God has said,...' and describes it as half interrogative, half reflective examination. More detailed comments are found in his footnotes: as a compound particle אַף כִּי is generally translated as 'much more (or less), not to mention'. In some cases the simple אַף can have this sense with כִּי introducing the following clause. He concludes that this latter use could be adopted for 3[1] if the assumption is made that some previous conversation has taken place. He says that 'many commentators' have suggested this, but that it is an unwarrantable assumption. I would say that if the text indicates that this is the case, then it is not unwarrantable. He returns to the interrogative interpretation, basing his decision on the versions use of an interrogative, and an 'interrogative inflexion'! On the validity of the latter see above.

Westermann (1984, p.185) comments in a translation note that it is not necessary to add the interrogative particle to אַף, presumably implying that the function can be provided or inferred in some other way. Later in the comment section he says that אף כי often introduces a *statement*.[47] "Well now" or "look here,"' 1 Sam 21:6; 2 Sam 16:11 (p.239). He admits that there are two possibilities in the translation, but he then proceeds to speak of the serpent's question without offering any explanation for adopting this position in favour of the other.

Moberly (1988 p.5f.) recognises that there is a translation problem, and gives two options,

1. It is a statement: 'God has forbidden,' or,

2. it is a question: 'Has God forbidden?'

His argument does not rest upon the conjectural emendation found in BHS, in fact he discards this as unnecessary. He refers to the ancient versions, commentators [ancient and modern] and GKC §150a to support his position that it is a question.

He does note that two commentators[48] disagree with translating this verse as a question, but he does not attempt to refute their arguments. In fact, apart from mentioning [in a footnote] that they disagree with the majority position, he does not discuss their arguments at all. By referring to these two as opponents, however, he does not seem to have understood what has caused the argument, for he separates the question of the translation of אַף כִּי from the passage being interrogative. Yet it is the question of translating אַף כִּי that is the basis for Speiser's and Walsh's discussions.

Moberly's argument is based on the assumption that a clause may be interrogative without the presence of an interrogative particle. He denies the interrogative use of אַף כִּי, which he considers to be an expression of emphasis, whilst maintaining an interrogative force for the clause in the MT. Both GKC §150a and Davidson (1966, p.209f.) support the concept of an interrogative clause with no interrogative particle. But, both say that it is something that is to be inferred from the context. Unfortunately Moberly gives no evidence or reasoning for this translation, so whilst it is to be noted, no arguments may be proved or disproved from it. Also speaking against his argument are my findings that if this was the case in this verse it would be a rhetorical question, functioning as an emphatic statement since it neither has a verb of

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47 The German original has *Ausruf* 'exclamation' [Italics mine].

48 Speiser (1964, p.23) and Walsh (1977, p.164).

interrogation, nor begins with שָׁלֹם [see Notes on Hebrew Grammar and Clauses Without Interrogatives].

He concludes by saying that rendering as a question is preferable, but that no matter which you choose the meaning '*is not greatly affected*'. Yet, I will contend that the translation does affect the interpretation of later verses.

Walsh (1977, p.164) states outright that the serpent's words are a statement, not a question. Like others he remarks that nowhere else in the OT does אַף כִּי act with an interrogative force. He interprets it as an expression of surprise, citing Speiser (1964) and Skinner[!] (1930) in support.

Speiser (1980, pp.21-23) discards the interrogative interpretation of אַף כִּי as being without parallel. He says 'the serpent is not asking a question; he is deliberately distorting a fact'. He draws a parallel between אַף כִּי and גַּם כִּי 'although' [citing Psa 23[4] as an example] saying 'the meaning suits the context admirably'. Whilst he dismisses the conjecture surrounding the emendation in BHS he seems to add his own by saying that אַף כִּי is paralleled by גַּם כִּי. He is not really translating אַף כִּי, but taking the meaning of a similar complex and saying that it fits in here. Only if he had examined the function of each complex and found them to be similar could he decide that such a decision was valid. He cites no evidence of such research.

4.27.3 Discussion

My examination of other non-controversial uses of אַף כִּי has shown a consistent function that the two particles perform in the discourse. אַף introduces a new concept that builds upon the preceding discourse, occurring at a major structural change in the discourse, usually introducing the conclusion to a line of argumentation. כִּי introduces some sort of qualifying information. That is, כִּי and אַף are a discourse adjunct and a circumstantial adjunct respectively. Where part of the clause structure is ellipsed it is to be inferred from the preceding clauses. For example, translating the relevant clause in Deut 31[27] [see section Deuteronomy 31:27] fairly literalistically we would have, 'also that after my death', the ellipsis referring to the earlier statement concerning the people's rebelliousness. Including the ellipsis would give, 'also you will be rebellious against Yahweh after my death'.

Most arguments for translating Gen 3[1] as an interrogative are poorly based, either simply referring to other versions, or resorting to special case tactics to solve the problem. Some

concede the validity of translating אַף כִּי as a statement, and then proceed to argue why they translate it differently here, or simply state that this case is different. For example, Bandstra offers a lengthy explanation for his translation in Deut 31[27] whilst offering none in this case. He cites the two as examples of the same construction, but then offers different translations for each. It also often seems that once it has been acknowledged that an interrogative interpretation is a possibility, it then automatically becomes the only possibility. Yet, this is a matter for the context to decide. Which use provides a better understanding of the discourse, interpreting as a statement or as a question?

My suggestion is that we take the construction here to be the same as all the other cases of אַף כִּי in the MT, and translate it as such. As will be shown, the data provided from this construction also helps solve some exegetical problems present in this passage.

A discourse adjunct, marking positive addition, implies that there is some previous information which is now about to be expanded. In this case, however, the type of enhancement is not easily discerned, since the primary clause that is being modified is not present in the text. The other instances of אַף כִּי would suggest that this is the conclusion to the serpent's argumentation. Since the serpent has not spoken before, and since the ideas he introduces, whilst building on themes introduced earlier in the text, [49] are new, [50] this involves, as Skinner rightly pointed out, the necessity of assuming a previous conversation that is now being continued. While some may see this as an unsupportable assumption, if the *function* of the particle is decided upon, such decisions are then justifiable, because they are consequences of the author placing the particle where it is.

The easiest way to approach the problems seems to be to leave out what is not made explicit in the text itself, rather than interpolating. This gives as a translation for Gen 3[1]:

> And the serpent was more cunning than all the living things of the field that
> Yahweh God had made. And he said to the woman '... Also, God said you were not
> to eat from any of the trees of the garden.'

אַף is translated as a conjunction 'also', the preceding '...' indicating a continuing conversation. As a separate lexical item כִּי is omitted, but its function is preserved by the use of the comma to indicate the start of a sub- clause. The ellipsis is left unstated for the reader to supply what

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49 E.g. eating from the trees in the garden, the exclusion of the trees.

50 E.g. questioning God's veracity or benevolence.

seems to best fit the context. If one wished to supply some of this information for the reader, the safest [least biased] way seems to be to insert a phrase such as 'it is the case that' in place of the comma that follows 'also'.

The new themes give us some indication of what the preceding discourse might have concerned – a questioning of God's reliability, his justice, his good intentions – but no firm decisions can be made.

This interpretation helps explain a further problem in the interpretation of Gen 3, the exaggeration of God's prohibition (given in 2^{16f}) by the woman in 3^3. Some suggest that at this point the woman is becoming opposed to and resentful of God because of the restriction [51] but others see it as an error caused in her excitement to correct the serpent. [52] If we do accept that a previous discussion has been in progress, then it is more likely that the woman would fall into the error of exaggeration after having spent some time in an argument, rather than after only a few words. This is also supported by the fundamental differences in function between a question and a statement.

The most fundamental speech roles are two: giving and demanding. If the speaker is asking a question then either goods and services or information is being demanded. In any other type of speech either goods and services or information is being offered. [53] If it was a simple request for information on behalf of the serpent, a question, then there is no threat, or antagonism, the woman having the option of answering or disclaiming. But if it was a statement, then the woman has to either acknowledge or contradict what is being offered. [54] If, as in other instances of אַף כִּי, the serpent's words in v.1 are the conclusion to his argument then they are an emphatic statement, the woman again only having the options of acknowledging or contradicting the serpent.

Another factor is that if this was interrogative then there is an implicit relinquishment of turn by the serpent to the woman. If it was a statement, then unless there was a marked pause, no

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51 E.g. Vawter (1977, p.78), Wenham (1987, p.73).

52 E.g. Kidner (1967, p.67f.), von Rad (1972, p.88), Speiser (1980, p.23).

53 See Halliday (1985 pp.68–71).

54 Ibid p.69.

turn transition device would be present. [55] Thus for the woman to interrupt would be out of turn, and would also indicate that one of her points has been challenged, interrupted or misunderstood, or that the point in question was an object of speaker commitment. [56] This again explains the overreaction in v.3.

If this translation is accepted, then a consistent functional interpretation of אַף כִּי is maintained for every occurrence in the MT, and the difficulty of the woman's response is removed. This means that this functional interpretation of אַף כִּי in Gen 3[1] is not only possible, but more probable than an interrogative one.

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55 I cannot prove that there was no such pause in reading, but equally, neither can it be proved that there was one.

56 Schiffrin (1987, p.175)

5 Conclusions

Passage	E	H	N	P	Comments
Gen 3[1]	⋆	⋆		⋆	Usually interpreted as question.
Deut 31[27]	⋆		⋆		
1 Sam 14[30]	⋆	⋆	⋆	⋆	אַף כִּי itself not a problem.
1 Sam 21[6]			⋆	⋆	אַף כִּי itself not a problem.
1 Sam 23[3]	⋆		⋆		
2 Sam 4[11]	⋆		⋆		
2 Sam 16[11]	⋆		⋆		LXX difficult.
1 Kgs 8[27]	⋆		⋆		
2 Kgs 5[13]	⋆		⋆	⋆	אַף כִּי itself not a problem.
Ezek 14[21]	⋆	⋆		⋆	Interpretation problems.
Ezek 15[5]			⋆	⋆	אַף כִּי itself not a problem.
Ezek 23[40]	⋆		⋆	⋆	אַף = emphasis.
Hab 2[5]		⋆		⋆	Many text/transl'n probs.
Prov 11[31]	⋆		⋆		
Prov 15[11]	⋆		⋆		
Prov 17[7]	⋆		⋆		
Prov 19[7a]			⋆		
Prov 19[10]	⋆		⋆		
Prov 21[27]	⋆		⋆		
Job 9[14]	⋆		⋆	⋆	One commentator differs.
Job 15[16]	⋆		⋆	⋆	TEV weakens the verse.
Job 25[6]	⋆		⋆		
Job 35[14]	⋆		⋆	⋆	Not alter interp. of אַף כִּי
Neh 9[18]	⋆	⋆	⋆		Minor translation diffs.
2 Chr 6[18]	⋆		⋆		
2 Chr 32[15]			⋆		

Table 2: Summary of Results

Legend

E: ellipsis in verse.

H: Functional analysis helps in translation or interpretation of verse.

N: non-controversial translation of אַף כִּי.

P: problem verses, text/translation difficulties.

אַף כִּי does not function as a unit. Each particle has its own function that contributes to the meaning of the discourse. אַף is a discourse adjunct, indicating that the following information proceeds from and adds to the preceding discourse. It functions in marking the overall logical structure of the discourse, often marking the conclusion to a line of argumentation. Therefore what follows אַף כִּי usually has emphasis, but the emphasis is not inherent in the particles themselves. כִּי is a circumstantial adjunct, and operates at a lower level than אַף. כִּי marks information that qualifies the meaning of a clause by reference to time, place, manner, cause or condition. It must be noted that these conclusions can only be applied to the verses analysed, to situations where the two particles occur together in this way. Further study is needed to determine whether these conclusions are supported by all uses of each particle throughout the MT. Further work is also necessary to determine if the suggested parallel between אַף כִּי and גַּם כִּי is valid.

As can be seen from Table 2: Summary of Results in most instances the translation of אַף כִּי is not disputed, though there may be translation problems elsewhere in the verses. The common method of translation, where a lexical equivalent for each word or phrase in the translation language is substituted for a Hebrew word permits a translation to be made but is not always useful in clarifying the meaning of a verse. If the function of a word, in this case, a particle, is discerned, then the translator is free to use whatever equivalent best suits that function in the translation language, enabling a clearer translation to be made. This is the case in five of the 26 passages where אַף כִּי occurs.

In most of the five problem passages the difficulties are caused by the presence of an ellipsis in the verse. Translators, therefore, have to interpret what the meaning of the verse is by supplying the ellipsed reference. But, if translators are not aware of the ellipsis, then mistakes can occur. This seems to have been the case, for instance, with the interpretation of 1 Sam 14[30]. Since the apodosis was ellipsed, the final clause was interpreted as the apodosis, yet, to avoid

contradictions the final clause needed to be emended to remove the negative. Once the ellipsis was discerned the final clause was no longer the apodosis.

The only case where the translation of אַף כִּי itself was an issue was Gen 3[1]. I have argued that, here also, אַף כִּי should be translated in the same way. This assumes a previously ongoing discussion that the reader breaks into, but it does not assume a special case translation for אַף כִּי. By interpreting אַף כִּי in this way in Gen 3[1] an interpretation difficulty with the woman's response to the serpent in v.3 is also explained. Finally, by adopting this interpretation of אַף כִּי in Gen 3[1], a consistent functional translation for אַף כִּי is maintained throughout the MT.

Appendix A.   Notes on Functional Grammar

These notes are designed to introduce some of the terminology and concepts of functional grammar as they apply to this work.

A.1. Sentences

In linguistic works confusion is sometimes caused by different people using the same term to mean different things. One such term is *sentence*. In English a sentence is a unit of discourse[57] that if written down would be delimited by periods, question marks, or exclamation marks, or, if spoken, would be delimited by tonal patterns, stress and pausing.

This is, however, a very mechanical definition which does not describe how a sentence fits into the grammar of the language. A functional definition is of some assistance. Andersen (1974, p.21) defines a sentence as a unit that is grammatically self-contained, all the functions of the sentence being described in terms of their relationships to other elements in the same sentence. Halliday (1985, p.192) defines a sentence as "a Head clause together with other clauses that modify it". Such definitions provide definite limits. Even though a piece of discourse may be extremely cohesive, each part building on preceding and leading on to following discourse, there is a point at which modification ceases.[58]

The problem with defining the sentence in *Biblical* Hebrew is that it has come to us as a dead language[59] and as such the tonal patterns, stress and pauses inherent in spoken discourse have been denied us. Even the Masoretic pointing does not solve this problem for it is geared for the public reading of written text, not spoken discourse.[60]

This is why translators of the MT differ in their decisions as to where a sentence begins and ends. Their decision is based on *their* interpretation of the meaning of the text in the light of the larger discourse.

An example is part of Moses' address in Deut 31:27:

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57 Discourse is used to refer to spoken or written language texts, and hence, the titles "speaker" or "writer" of the discourse fulfil the same function.

58 Cf. the following discussion on clause interrelationships: parataxis and hypotaxis.

59 This is still the case even though Hebrew has been resurrected for use by modern Jews.

60 So Andersen (1974, p.21).

הֱיֹתֶם עִם־יְהֹוָה וְאַף כִּי־אַחֲרֵי מוֹתִי

הַקָּשֶׁה הֵן בְּעוֹדֶנִּי חַי עִמָּכֶם הַיּוֹם מַמְרִים

כִּי אָנֹכִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת־מֶרְיְךָ וְאֶת־עָרְפְּךָ

which the RSV translates as:

> For I know how rebellious and stubborn you are; behold, while I am yet alive with
> you, today you have been rebellious against the L<small>ORD</small>; how much more after my
> death!

making the whole verse one sentence, as does the NEB, and KJV. The TEV, NJB, and NIV,
however, split into a number of sentences. For example, the NJB has:

> For I know how rebellious and stiff-necked you are. If today, while I am still alive
> and with you, you rebel against Yahweh, how much more will you rebel against
> him after my death!

These clauses build upon Moses' earlier statements that the words of the book of the law were
to be witnesses against Israel. Verse 27 explains that it is because of their rebelliousness that this
is to take place [the first part of the verse]. The rest of the verse expands, recalling Moses' earlier
experiences with the people, and his conviction that nothing will change, especially after he is
no longer there to lead the people. Thus the decision to regard the whole verse as one sentence
can be justified on the grounds that there is an identifiable, continuous, narrative thread
throughout these verses. This method suffers from the problem of indeterminacy. Since
discourse is cohesive there will naturally be links between clauses, even over an extended
amount of text. So where do we break the text into sentences?

The decision to separate the verse into 3 sentences [see section Discussion on page 21] can be
justified when the clause structure is examined.

1. The first clause of the verse, up until, but not including, הֵן, 'behold', would be part of the
   previous verse, for it is a case of paratactic enhancement. It explains the reasons for Moses'
   command.

2. The clauses from הֵן, 'behold', to the end of the verse can be divided into two groups that
   can stand on their own. It could be argued that the Z clause הֵן should be joined with the
   clauses that follow it, separating them with a comma, since the exclamation calls for

attention, and the following clauses inform them what they were to pay attention to. I do not agree since the Z clause is not modified in any way by the following clauses.

3. The middle section, from הֵן, 'behold', till just before אַף כִּי, describes what the present actions of the people have been whilst Moses was with them. This consists of a main clause with a rank-shifted qualifying clause. The final section, from אַף כִּי to the end has to be joined to the preceding clause because the ellipsis of the subject and predicator mean that they are to be supplied from the context – in this case, from the preceding clause. See also the analysis at the beginning and the translation at the end of Deuteronomy 31:27 .

It can be seen, therefore, that the functional method gives a more definite guide as to what is a 'sentence' in Biblical Hebrew.

A.2. Clauses

In the discussion on sentences, the term *clause* was used, but not defined. A clause is the basic unit of communication in a text, and is recognised by the presence of a process, i.e., it usually has a verb.

The structure of a clause can be defined in terms of its functional components:

1. *Subject,*

2. *Predicator,*

3. *Complement,*

4. *Adjunct* and

5. *Finite.*

A special case is the 'Z' clause, which, technically, is not a true clause. It is an exclamatory comment, and so does not include a process, in fact, it consists solely of the exclamation itself. An example of this would be the exclamation הֵן 'behold' in Deut 31[27] (see earlier in this appendix).

1. There is no general concept of subject since there are three major divisions in this area: *psychological subject* is defined as that which is the concern of the message, it is what the speaker has in mind in beginning the construction of the clause; *grammatical subject* is that of which something is predicated; and *logical subject* is the one who performed the action.[61] In English each of these may be realised in the one item of a clause,[62] but with variations in order, as well as passive and active variations, it is not always the case.[63] Thus, to avoid confusion, these will be identified by labels that identify their function. The psychological

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61 Cf. Halliday (1985, p.33f.).

62 Such as *the man* in the clause "the man drove the car".

63 In "My Aunt was given this teapot by the Duke", *my Aunt* is the psychological subject and grammatical subject, whilst *the Duke* is the logical subject. From Halliday (1985, p.35).

subject will be called the *theme*, the grammatical subject the *subject*, and the logical subject the *actor*. The subject is realised as a nominal group, which consists of a noun plus any qualifiers, such as adjectives or numerals. After the first occurrence of the subject in a discourse it is usually replaced by the appropriate personal pronoun. In the preceding Deuteronomy passage, אָנֹכִי, 'I', is the subject of the first clause, the personal pronoun substituting for the name מֹשֶׁה, 'Moses', from v.24.

2. The predicator is part of the verbal group, which consists of the finite plus the predicator.[64] The predicator represents the core of the lexical meaning of the verbal group, and is commonly described as 'the verb'. The predicator in the first clause of Deut 31[27] is יָדַעְתִּי, 'know' [without the number and gender of the subject included]. The verbal group will normally be marked as the predicator, the finite will only being indicated if it appears as the only element of the verbal group.

3. The complement is that part of the clause that is a potential subject, but is not. The one exception to this rule is the attributive complement, such as *white as snow* in "its fleece was white as snow". Typically the complement is realised as a nominal group. The complement for the first clause of the above passage is אֶת־מֶרְיְךָ וְאֶת־עָרְפְּךָ הַקָּשֶׁה, 'your rebelliousness and your stiff neck'.

4. The adjunct is an element that has no potential of being a subject, and is typically realised as an adverbial group, conjunction or prepositional phrase. A prepositional phrase has, however, its own structure, itself containing a complement. Whilst the prepositional phrase itself cannot become a subject, the complement of the prepositional phrase can. In the example from Deut 31 the subject changes from 'I' [Moses] to 'you', the 'you' who are introduced in the preceding prepositional phrase עִמָּכֶם, 'with you'.

5. Halliday (1985, pp.79-83) distinguishes between circumstantial, conjunctive and modal adjuncts. Circumstantial adjuncts, as their name suggests, mark a clause or phrase that defines circumstances. This includes time, cause, effect, and location. The first word כִּי, in the above Deuteronomy passage acts as a circumstantial adjunct, marking the cause of an effect–cause ideational structure. Conjunctive [or Discourse] adjuncts occur at points significant for the textual organization of the discourse, that is, at boundary points [beginning and end of clauses, between the theme and rheme, mood and residue]. These mark the logical structure of the discourse, and hence, operate at a higher level in the

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64 The only exceptions to this are the tenses of the verb "be" in English, which appear as finite only.

discourse than circumstantial adjuncts. 'Also', occurring at the beginning of a clause, linking what is about to be said with the preceding discourse, is a discourse adjunct. Modal adjuncts do not feature in the main discussion of this work and so they will not be discussed.

6. The finite element is that which embodies the polarity [positiveness or negativeness] or modality [possibility or probability] of an event, along with its tense. Often it is included in the form of the verb. If not, it is [as stated above] part of the predicator. The finite will appear in the analysis if the predicator consists solely of a finite or if it is separated from the rest of the predicator. The verb הֱיִתֶם, 'have been' in the latter part of Deut 31[27] is a finite element, its function being to anchor the comments in time.

A.3. Clause Interrelationships

It has been noted above that the basic unit of communication is the clause. But discourse is more than a series of isolated clauses. Meaningful discourse consists of a number of clauses arranged so as to communicate a specific message by the way in which they are arranged and interact with each other as well as by the specific information conveyed by each individual clause. This means that we need to have a method for analysing and describing the various types of relationships between clauses.

Clauses have a dependency relationship, termed *taxis*. There are two types of taxis:

1. One clause may modify another, the modifying element being dependent on the modified. This is termed *hypotaxis*, and in analysis is signified by the use of the letters of the Greek alphabet at the beginning of each clause. α indicating the dominant clause, β the dependent, γ a dependent of the β clause, and so on.

2. Two clauses may be joined with no dependency between them. This is termed *parataxis*, and is signified by the use of ascending numerals at the beginning of each successive clause. The number 1 signifies the initiating clause, 2 the continuing clause.

Defining the interdependency of the clauses does not, however, define their logical or semantic relationship. The different types of logico-semantic relationships between primary and secondary clauses[65] fall into two broad areas:

1. Expansion: the secondary clause expands the primary by *elaborating*, *extending* or *enhancing* it.

   Elaboration is where the secondary clause elaborates on the primary clauses, or some part of it, by restating it in another way, providing greater detail, by adding comments or providing examples. This is often signified by "i.e., e.g., to be precise" etc., in English. [Symbol: =].

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65 Instead of specifying dominant and dependent, *or* initiating and continuing clauses, the terms primary and secondary clauses will be used where the prin– ciples being discussed hold for both types of taxis.

Extension is where some new element is added by giving an exception or offering an alternative. Indicated in English by "and, or, but, nor, instead, except..." [Symbol: +].

Enhancement is where the clause is expanded by qualifying it with reference to some circumstantial feature, e.g. time [meanwhile, subsequently], location [in front of], cause [because], condition [if]. [Symbol: x].

2. Projection: the secondary clause is projected through the primary clause as a *locution* or *idea.*

Locution is fairly self explanatory, the projection is some sort of verbiage. Usually introduced by "says, said...." [Symbol: '].

Idea is the same as locution except that what is projected is an idea or thought rather than verbiage. Usually introduced by "thought, thinks...." [Symbol: "].

Clause interrelationships are summarised, with notation, in Table 3: Basic Types of Clause Complex on page 97 (from Halliday, 1985, p.197).[66]

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66 The table in Halliday has one error which I have corrected here. The two titles, Projection and Enhancement, were in the wrong position. The table has also been slightly altered in format.

1 Expansion	i Paratactic	ii Hypotactic
a elaboration	John didn't wait; 1 he ran away. =2	John ran away, α which surprised everyone. =β
b extension	John ran away, 1 and Fred stayed behind. +2	John ran away, α whereas Fred stayed behind. +β
c enhancement	John was scared, 1 so he ran away. x2	John ran away, α because he was scared. xβ
2 Projection		
a locution	John said: 1 "I'm running away" "2	John said α he was running away. "β
b idea	John thought to himself: 1 "I'll run away" '2	John thought α he would run away. 'β

Table 3: Basic Types of Clause Complex

The two types of clause dependency may be distinguished by the fact that hypotactically dependent secondary clauses cannot stand on their own. For example, 'he ran away' in 1ia is totally comprehensible as it stands, yet 'which surprised everyone' in 1iia is nonsensical unless the primary clause 'John ran away' is also included.

A.4. Rank Shifting

Rank shifting (or embedding) is when a phrase or clause functions as a lower level component, i.e. a clause acts as part of a clause, or a phrase acts as part of a group. This is different from taxis because there is no clause dependency relationship, it is a relationship *within* a clause, not *between* clauses. The usual function performed by this embedding is that of defining, delimiting or specifying. Thus, in the previous example from Deut 31 the phrase "while I am yet alive with you" is an embedded clause, specifying the time frame concerned.

A.5. Ellipsis

Ellipsis is a method by which cohesion, almost always anaphoric,[67] is given to a text by making the reader supply what is omitted from the text. It creates cohesion without disturbing the information structure of the discourse, without assuming a prominence,[68] i.e. the author desires what is present in the text to assume prominence over and above what is ellipsed.

In the previous example from Deut 31[27] there is an ellipsis in the final clause, following אַף כִּי 'how much more', which can easily be seen by comparing the two English translations: 'how much more after my death' (RSV) and 'how much more will you rebel against him after my death'. The clause 'will you rebel against him' is ellipsed in the final clause since the author wanted the stress to be on the temporal qualification, stressing the fact that the Israelites conduct would not be any better at all after Moses' death. In this way the ellipsis tends to add emphasis to the structure of the text.

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67 Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.145) comment that it can be cataphoric or exophoric on rare occasions.

68 Halliday and Hasan (1976, p.317).

Appendix B. Notes on Hebrew Grammar

These notes are designed to enable the reader who is familiar with Functional Grammar to understand some of the specifics of Hebrew as they apply to this thesis, without actually knowing Hebrew itself.

B.1. The use of וְ 'And'

Hebrew uses וְ, 'and', indicating continuation, much more than English and it is often omitted in translation. For instance, if three words are together in a list, Hebrew would prefix each word after the first with וְ, 'and', English would separate the first two with a comma and then have the conjunction before the last one. E.g.

[69]יַיִן וְקַיִץ וְשֶׁמֶן: Jer 40[10]

literally, 'wine and summer fruit and oil', written 'wine, summer fruit and oil' in English. A string of clauses or sentences is treated similarly, the punctuation in English performing the same function as the וְ.[70]

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69 Note that Hebrew is read from right to left.

70 See for example the section on Deut 31[27] in this work. See also Halliday (1985, p.308f.) for a discussion of implicit conjunction, cohesion and reference.

B.2. The Verbless [Noun] Clause

This type of clause in Hebrew does not have a verb. Usually the reader needs to supply the appropriate form of the verb 'be' to make sense of the clause. The tense is usually interpreted from the context. If nothing indicates otherwise, a present tense is assumed, e.g. Job 25[6]. For further information see GKC §§140 a, 141.

B.3. Verb Forms

Hebrew has only two verb tenses, the perfect and the imperfect. In both tenses the verbs are conjugated by person, number and gender. There are only masculine and feminine genders. First to third person singular and plural are included.

Often, the subject does not occur as a separate lexical item, unless added for specification or stress. In my formalistic translation, however, the pronoun as represented in the verb will be included as a separate lexical item, 'he', 'she', marked with 's'. Where there is additional specification, both the verb pronoun and the additional item will be marked with 's'.

Since there are only two tenses each tense can be interpreted in a number of ways depending on the context. The perfect tense describes completed actions, regardless of whether they occurred in the past, present or future.[71] For example, כָּתַב is the 3ʳᵈ person masculine singular perfect form of the verb 'write'. Depending upon the context, it could be translated: 'he wrote', 'he did write', 'he has written', or 'he had written'.

The imperfect tense describes actions or states that are not completed. This includes the simple future, habitual or customary actions, and potential or probable actions. The above verb 'write' in its 3ʳᵈ person masculine singular imperfect form, יִכְתֹב, could be translated: 'he is writing', 'he will write', 'he usually writes', 'he might write', 'may he write'.[72]

This leads to variations in translations and hence, in interpretations of the text. In the end the context is the guide by which the decision is made. But, as a rule of thumb, unless it does not make sense in the context, the perfect is usually translated as a simple past, and the imperfect as a simple future.

There are seven verb patterns in Hebrew. Some verbs appear in only one, but most appear in a number. There are still only the two tenses in each of these, the different patterns indicating active, passive or reflexive meanings, single or habitual actions, or causation.

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71 Simon (1981, p.19), GKC §106.

72 Simon (1981, p.94f.), GKC §107.

B.4. Word Order

The word order in Hebrew clauses is variable. The only rules of order are that the most important, or thematic element is placed first, and that adjectives follow the noun they describe.[73] In order to make my translations more readable, and since adjectives and the nouns they qualify occur within the one group, I have reversed this to conform to English word order: adjective – noun, elsewhere, I follow Hebrew word order in the formalistic translation.

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73 They also agree in definiteness, see Davidson (1966, p.39).

Appendix C.   Clauses Without Interrogatives

C.1. Introduction

There are a number of interrogative particles in Hebrew such as מָה, מָתַי, and the prefix הֲ–. It is generally agreed that as a rule an interrogative clause [some use the term sentence] includes one of these particles. הֲ– is the most basic, its presence changing a simple statement into a simple question.[74] But, a number of scholars suggest that it is possible that a clause is interrogative, whilst not having an interrogative particle.[75]

Whilst it seems to be commonly agreed that such a construction is possible, only a few give examples, and only one in any great number. These examples are summarised in Table 4: Interrogativeless Clauses.

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74 See, for example, GKC §150c, Kalisch (1884, p.278), Marks and Rogers (1958) §§43-44, Sawyer (1976, p.74), and Williams (1967) §540.

75 So GKC §150a, La Sor (1961) §31.23, Marks and Rogers (1958) §44, Sawyer (1976, p.74), and Williams (1967) §541.

Gen 18[12]	G	2 Sam 11[11]	GW	Jer 49[12]	G
Gen 27[24]	MG	2 Sam 15[20]	G	Ezek 11[3]	M
Ex 8[22]	G	2 Sam 16[17]	GL	Ezek 11[13]	M
Ex 33[14]	G	2 Sam 18[29]	MG	Ezek 15[5]	*
Judg 11[23]	G	2 Sam 19[23]	D	Ezek 17[9]	M
Judg 14[16]	G	2 Sam 19[44]	D	Ezek 20[31]	G
1 Sam 11[12]	GW	1 Kgs 1[24]	G	Hos 4[16]	G
1 Sam 16[4]	GMW	1 Kgs 21[7]	D	Jon 4[11]	G
1 Sam 20[9]	G	2 Kgs 5[26]	MG	Zech 8[6]	G
1 Sam 21[16]	D	2 Kgs 9[19]	M	Prov 5[16]	G
1 Sam 22[7]	G	Isa 28[28]	G	Job 2[10]	G
1 Sam 22[15]	D	Isa 37[11]	G	Job 10[9]	G
1 Sam 24[20]	G	Isa 44[19b]	G	Job 40[25]	M
1 Sam 25[11]	G	Jer 25[29]	G	Job 40[30]	M
1 Sam 30[8]	M	Jer 45[5]	G	Lam 3[38]	G

Table 4: Interrogativeless Clauses

Legend

D: cited by Driver (1913).

G: cited by GKC §150.

L: cited by La Sor (1961).

M: cited by Mitchell (1907) [in GKC §140] as due to corruption.

W: cited by Williams (1967).

*: See section Ezek 15:5.

Since the occurrence of this type of clause is one argument used for translating Gen 3[1] as a question, each of the verses cited above as examples are examined, in MT order, to determine whether the concept is supported by these examples.

If no mention is made of possible text variants then none are indicated for the verse in the critical apparatus of BHS. A question is deemed to be rhetorical if it is not a request for

information, goods or services. It is a true question if some giving [either information or goods and services] is to result from the message of the clause. [76]

Each of the passages is examined briefly, space and time not allowing for a fuller treatment which would include reference to the LXX, other versions and commentators. The general procedure adopted is that the passage is analysed to determine the function of the clause in the discourse that surrounds it. The internal structures are not the main concern, the ideational relationship between the clauses is.

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76 Halliday (1985, pp.68-71).

C.2. Genesis 18:12

Sarah has just had the promise of children repeated to her. But she is now quite old, and so physically speaking, the idea is ludicrous. 'So Sarah laughed to herself, saying, "After I have grown old, and my husband is old, shall I have pleasure?"' [RSV] The context does allow the interpretation as a question which she asks herself, a rhetorical question expecting a negative answer [cf. v.11], but not a true question. It can also be read as a derisive statement highlighting the seeming absurdity of the visitor's words. Sarah's words provide information concerning her thoughts, reinforcing that the childbirth is humanly impossible – ensuring that the later event will be interpreted as a divine act, a miracle. Functionally, therefore, it is not a question, but a statement [cf. NEB].

C.3. Genesis 27:24

This verse occurs in the story of the deception of Isaac by Jacob. Most translate as a question by Isaac, as to whether it really is Esau whom he is blessing. But the preceding verse states that Isaac did not in fact perceive the deception, and therefore blessed him. Thus, for the following verse to raise the issue again would be contradictory. But, if verse 24 is read as a statement, "And he said 'You are, this [one] my son Esau', and he said 'I am'", [77] it becomes a statement of confirmation, the statement that Isaac would make when he came to decide that it really was Esau there with him. Therefore, Jacob's words become the appropriate response, not an answer to a question, but the affirmation of the statement. Thus, in the discourse as a whole, v.23 functions as a summary verse stating that the deception was successful, with the following verses providing the details of the giving of the blessing.

BHS notes that in the Samaritan Pentateuch the interrogative is added to this verse, explicitly making it a question. The question is whether this represents a different MS tradition, a scribe's attempt to make explicit what he saw as the meaning of the text, or a scribal error in copying.

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77 Note that both verbiages are read as noun clauses.

C.4. Exodus 8:22 (26 EVV)

The final clause would be read as a statement if it were not for the presence of וְלֹא 'and not'. From the context it is obvious that Moses' fear is that the Egyptians *will* stone them. Thus the final clause has to be read as a rhetorical question, emphasising the very fact that this will happen if they perform their sacrifices in Egypt: 'and will they not stone us?' = 'and they will certainly stone us'. It is worth noting that the LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate all omit וְלֹא, thus making the last clause a statement.

C.5. Exodus 33:14

This is listed by GKC §150 but does not seem to be a question at all. None of NJB, KJV, RSV, NIV, NEB, TEV translate it as an interrogative. Yet it does not seem to be a typographical error in GKC, since it has: 'Ex 33[14] (פָּנַי יֵ׳)' which does fit this verse.

C.6. Judges 11:23

The verse is part of a letter from Jephthah to the Ammonite king. He argues that it was God who gave the land, that is now being disputed over, to Israel. The final two words present a contrast: after stressing that Yahweh God of Israel did all this, comes the statement וְאַתָּה תִּירָשֶׁנּוּ, 'and now you will take possession of it'. This could be read as a prophecy, that the king will in fact do so. But, to do this would go against the whole tone of the surrounding discourse which is emphasising that it cannot be done, and to attempt to do so would be foolish. Therefore, the clause is to be read as a rhetorical question, stressing the impossibility of the task.

C.7. Judges 14:16

In this verse has Samson remarks to his wife, when she objects to his silence concerning the answer to the riddle he has set, that he has not even told his father or mother, וְלָךְ אַגִּיד, 'and to you I tell'. This could be interpreted as a statement by Samson that he will tell her the answer, except that the next verse has her weeping for seven days until he does tell her. Therefore, the clause has to be interpreted as a statement of amazement, that he will surely not tell her if he has not told his father or mother, and would be translated as a rhetorical question.

C.8. 1 Samuel 11:12

This verse occurs in the context of Saul's leading Israel to a great victory over the Ammonites. Immediately after the narration of the fact of the magnitude of the victory the people are pictured as saying to Samuel:

מִי הָאֹמֵר שָׁאוּל יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ תְּנוּ הָאֲנָשִׁים וּנְמִיתֵם

Literally: 'Who is the one saying "Saul will rule over us", give us the men and we will kill them'. Read in this way it seems to suggest that the men would be put to death for supporting Saul as king. But, the context indicates that the reference is to any who may oppose Saul [since Samuel suggests that they go to Gilgal and reaffirm the kingship in v.14]. To make sense of v.12 in its context the men's words concerning Saul's reign have to be read as an exclamation of surprise concerning the fact that Saul is to rule, or that Israel is to be ruled. This could be represented in English as a rhetorical question, or with an emphatic statement. It is not a true question. Note that the question 'Who is the one saying...' is a true question, with an interrogative מִי, 'who?'. BHS notes a variant: 2 MSS insert לֹא, 'not' before יִמְלֹךְ, 'he will rule', which changes it to a statement 'Saul will not rule...'.

C.9. 1 Samuel 16:4

Samuel is just approaching Bethlehem when the city's elders come trembling to him and ask: שָׁלֹם בּוֹאֶךָ. Literally this would be 'peace in your coming'. This could be interpreted as a blessing which the frightened elders pronounce on Samuel, a blessing he reciprocates in the next verse. But, there seems to be no other MT uses of שָׁלֹם in this modern sense. If read as a question it would be a request for information, a true interrogative as opposed to a rhetorical question. Samuel is expected to make an affirmative reply, not merely give mental assent, so that the elders may be reassured that he has not come to bring trouble to the town. This would be supported by the word order, שָׁלֹם coming first, and would explain why he then goes on to explain his reason for coming. BHS notes that one MS prefixes the interrogative הֲ- to שָׁלֹם, that the LXX translates as a question, and a similar construction occurs in 1 Kgs 2[13] with the הֲ- prefixed to שָׁלֹם. Mitchell also suggests that the הֲ- be 'restored'. One other argument for translating as a question is the 'tone of voice' in which it is read, [78] but on this, see discussion of commentaries in section Genesis 3:1 .

There are, therefore, a number of possibilities: a statement of blessing that is reciprocated; textual corruption, corrected by inserting an interrogative הֲ-; or a question simply without a הֲ-. A further possibility which will be discussed in more detail later, under 2 Sam 18[29], is an idiom that is understood as a question, and so is written without necessarily having the interrogative הֲ-.

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78 So Driver (1913 p.133).

C.10.   1 Samuel 20:9

David has been facing opposition from Saul, but, Saul's son Jonathan, David's friend, knows nothing of this. In the early verses of the chapter David is at great pains to emphasise to Jonathan that his father is indeed seeking his life. Jonathan responds in v.9. The end of the verse, if taken literally, would have Jonathan saying that, if he was aware of such plans on his father's behalf, he would not tell David about it. But, as the writer has been at pains to inform his readers about the close ties between the two men, together with the immediate context of Jonathan's reply, especially the oath in vv.12-17, and in light of subsequent events in the narrative, this interpretation has to be incorrect. This leaves two options, either the text is corrupt, or the clause is a question without the interrogative particle. As there is no MSS evidence to support textual corruption, we conclude that it is a question without an interrogative. The context means, however, that the question is a rhetorical question, since Jonathan would certainly tell David about any such plans his father had if he knew about them.

C.11.   1 Samuel 21:16 [15 EVV]

This verse has Achish berating his servants for bringing David, who was acting like a madman, to him. He asks why they have brought him, and in v.16 goes on to say 'I am lacking a madman that this one is brought to play the madman for me, this one is brought into my house.' Obviously, from previous comments, Achish is not wanting a madman, therefore v.16 cannot be read as I have translated it. Achish is making an obviously ridiculous statement in order to rebuke his servants. This would normally take the form of a rhetorical question, so EVV.

C.12. 1 Samuel 22:7

Here Saul chastises his leaders for their inefficiency, as they had not kept him informed concerning the close ties between Jonathan and David. Good sense can be made of vv.6ff. without needing to interpret Saul's comments in v.7f. as a series of questions. It could, to good effect, be read as a series of statements:

> Listen, Benjaminites, the son of Jesse will also give to all of you fields and vineyards and he will make all of you commanders of thousands and hundreds because you all have conspired together against me.

If read as such it becomes a scathing indictment. Their failure has been so great that the enemy will want to richly reward them for their actions. This reading is also supported by Saul's comments in the rest of v.8. Smith (1899 p.205.) translates as a statement with a concluding exclamation mark calling it an 'ironical exclamation'. Even if Saul is asking a series of questions, he is not expecting an answer, therefore, they would be rhetorical questions, not true questions. So no matter which of the options you follow, Saul's words are not true questions.

C.13.   1 Samuel 22:15

15 Ahimelech is answering Saul's accusation of conspiracy since he provided for David and his men and inquired of Yahweh for them. His reply, as a statement, says 'Today is the first day I have inquired.' Now this could be taken as a statement of defence that this is in fact the first time the priest has done such a thing. But, it was not the first time. Therefore the statement takes the form of a statement of the ridiculous, that this inquiring of Yahweh for David is not treason for he has done it for him many times. Such a statement would take the form of a rhetorical question since the priest is not asking for anything but is making a statement in his defence.

C.14.   1 Samuel 24:20 [19 EVV]

Saul has just been informed by David that he was in a position where Yahweh had given David the opportunity to kill him, and so remove the threat to his own life, but he did not do so. This verse is part of the conversation between Saul and David.

The verse begins with וְכִי, a discourse continuative and כִּי, which introduces a qualifying clause. It, therefore, follows on from the end of the previous verse where Saul says 'and you did not kill me.' If the first part of this verse were read in isolation, completely out of context [including the omission of וְכִי from the beginning of the verse], it would be interpreted as a statement: 'A man will find his enemy and let him free in a good way'. But, reading in this way totally violates the context. According to the comments made by Saul in the preceding and following verses he is amazed that David did in fact do such a thing. His statement here is one of disbelief, of astonishment, expressed as a rhetorical question.

C.15.   1 Samuel 25:11

Verse 11 is a remark made by Nabal upon receipt of a message from David asking for a gift of supplies. Previously, Nabal's men, their equipment and his livestock had been protected from harm by the presence of David and his men.

If read as a normal statement, Nabal states that he will give to David and his men even though he does not know who they are. The following verses, however, definitely indicate that this is not the case. David's aggressive response [vv.12ff.], the servant's message to Abigail [vv.14-17], and Abigail's subsequent response [vv.18ff.], all indicate that Nabal actually refused David's request.

This leads us to read v.11 as an exclamation of surprise or disdain by Nabal. Such a statement is often realised as a rhetorical question. It is worth noting that, in the preceding verse where Nabal is actually asking who this David is, interrogative particles are used.

C.16.   1 Samuel 30:8

David's words in this verse most naturally read as a question that David asks Yahweh since it begins with וַיִּשְׁאַל [and he inquired] and has David's words prefixed by לֵאמֹר [saying]. The interrogative could be attached to David's question, but it is not necessary. BHS notes that 2 MSS actually add the interrogative —הֲ at the beginning of David's words.

C.17.   2 Samuel 11:11

Verse 11 is Uriah's response after David asked why he did not sleep at home since he was in the city. Even read in isolation, Uriah's words could not be read as a statement of intent, 'I will go and....', because of the presence of the oath at the end of the verse. The context, also, does not allow the verse to be interpreted as a question. Uriah is not asking if he should go to spend the night at home, he is explaining to David his reasons for not doing so. It is, therefore, as Smith (1899, p.318) rightly notes, a statement, calculated to show the absurdity of David's suggestion that he spend the night at home. Even though such a statement may be expressed as a rhetorical question in English, it nevertheless remains a statement.

C.18.   2 Samuel 15:20

David is fleeing from Absalom. As he sees Ittai pass by he addresses him, urging him to go back, asking him why he should have to come along with them in their flight [v.19].

Verse 20 could be read in two ways, but with both conveying the same message, that is, performing the same function in the discourse. If read as a question 'shall I make you wander...', it draws to Ittai's attention the unpleasantness involved in following David. If read as a statement 'I will make you wander' it communicates exactly the same. Reading as a statement seems to fit better the imperfect tense of the verb אֲנוֹעֲךָ 'I will make you wander' which indicates an incomplete or future action. Again, it is of note, in the previous verse, that David's initial question to Ittai is prefixed with the interrogative הֲ–.

C.19.   2 Samuel 16:17

Absalom's question in the latter part of the verse 'Why didn't you go with your friend?' indicates that he is surprised that Hushai did not go with David. This means that Absalom's preceding words need to be read as an exclamation of surprise, a rhetorical question 'This is faithfulness to your friend?' for he is certainly not an example of faithfulness at all [which would be the implication if the clause was read as a statement]. Note, again, the proximity of a proper question which has an interrogative included in it.

C.20.   2 Samuel 18:29

Read as it stands, the first part of the verse could be a statement, a blessing on Absalom. But, the latter part of the verse would indicate that the king had asked a question to which he expected a reply: 'Is it well with the young man Absalom?'. This means that the former part of the verse is a true question.

BHS' critical apparatus notes that a number of MSS have a Seber which attaches the הֲ– to שָׁלֹם. Scott (1987, p.13) and Yeivin (1980, §109) note that the Seberin indicate a proposed reading that the Masoretes consider to be incorrect, that is, it is a comment that supports the MT as it stands. There are, then, two possibilities. Either the Masoretes did not read as a question [which seems impossible], or they thought that the הֲ– was unnecessary because it was redundant.

Note the similarities between this verse and 1 Sam 16[4] [examined previously]. Both involve someone inquiring as to שָׁלֹם, both have it occurring as the first word of the clause, and both seem to be true questions without the interrogative הֲ–. Since both also have text variants that include the הֲ–, there are a number of possibilities:

1. Both are corrupt, and should in fact have the הֲ– added.

2. Any similarity between them is entirely coincidental, and should be discounted.

3. Both are examples of the same idiom, concerned with inquiring about שָׁלֹם.

The second option seems unlikely in view of the limited number of verses being examined in this appendix. The first is a possibility, but, the evidence of the Seber should not be ignored. The final option also has its problems. If this was an accepted idiom, then we have to ask why 1 Kgs 2[13] has an almost identical question to 1 Sam 16[4], yet includes the interrogative particle? Perhaps that it was added, but was redundant. This would not disprove the validity of the suggested idiom, and would account for the variation.

C.21.   2 Samuel 19:23 [22 EVV]

As part of David's reply to Abishai's suggestion that Shimei be killed for cursing Yahweh's anointed he says: 'today I will put to death a man in Israel, for do I not know that today I am king over Israel', and he then tells Shimei that he will not die. This means that the above quote cannot logically be read as a statement of intent for this is contradicted by Davids' own words in the next verse. To make sense the phrase must be read as a rhetorical question, emphasising that since the day is so auspicious David will not put to death someone who would normally deserve it.

C.22.   2 Samuel 19:44 [43 EVV]

Many MSS add the interrogative -ֲה to this verse, and BHS suggests that it be read in this way. But, this is not necessary since the phrase is part of an argument the men are stating for their side. It is, therefore, a rhetorical question: 'Were we not the first to speak of bringing back our king?', which has the import that they were the first.

C.23.   1 Kings 1:24

Nathan's words can be read as a true question, one to which he expects a reply [forthcoming in v.29f.], but this is not certain. DeVries (1985, p.2) translates as a statement 'And Nathan said, "My lord king, you must have said 'Adonijah shall reign after me, and he shall sit on my throne,'"' with v.27 as the question being responded to in v.29f.[79] function. See GKC §150f and BDB p.50.

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79 Verse 27 begins with אִם which has been interpreted as having an interrogative

C.24.   1 Kings 21:7

Even though a number of EVV translates Jezebel's words as a question, it is not necessary to do so. It could be directly translated as a statement that has her saying to her husband Ahab that now he will act like the king he is supposed to be: 'You will now do Kingship in Israel'. This could be said with a fair bit of irony since she, not he, in fact goes and gets the vineyard that he desires. This could be a further part of the picture that the book of Kings is painting of Ahab and Jezebel, where Jezebel is the real power even though Ahab is the king.

C.25.   2 Kings 5:26

The first part of the verse is a statement in the MT, with a question appearing later on in the verse. Most, however, interpret both of Elijah's statements as questions. So NIV: 'Was not my spirit with you when the man got down from his chariot to meet you? Is this the time to take money, or to accept clothes...?' If the first is read as a statement it becomes: 'My spirit was not with you when...' Whilst sense can be made in this way, interpreting as a question seems to suit the context better. It is Elijah's response to Gehazi's lie that he had not been anywhere, an explanation of how Elijah knew about his actions when he was not present. BHS suggests a possible emendation of the MT to include the interrogative -הֲ on the strength of the LXX and the Targums. Nevertheless, the question is not one that requires the giving of an answer, but a rhetorical question giving information to Gehazi.

C.26.   2 Kings 9:19

The verse's question is one to which a reply seems to be expected and is given: 'Do you come in peace?'. The question does, however, follow a pattern of speech that begins a few verses earlier. From v.17 to v.22 the question concerning coming in peace is asked four times. Each time the question is שָׁלוֹם [peace, wholeness], but, in three of these the interrogative הֲ– is attached to the word.

This leaves us with three possibilities in v.19:

1. It is a question without an interrogative, and not needing one.

2. The text should be emended, so many MSS and the Versions [see BHS].

3. It is another example of the idiom suggested before, שָׁלוֹם being an idiomatic question without needing the interrogative הֲ–.

On the strength of the verses analysed so far it seems that the the latter two are the most probable, the first option not having very strong support from the MT so far, but, conclusions will be withheld until all examples have been discussed.

C.27.   Isaiah 28:28

Most EVV translate the verse as a statement: so KJV, NIV, NJB, TEV and NEB. The RSV and Fisch (1984, p.503) translate as a question, although, as does Clements (1980, p.234) as a rhetorical question. Delitzsch (1891, p.450). translates as a question that is answered by the following part of the verse. But to do so, he admits, he translates כִּי in a way that normally represents כִּי אִם. Even though the translation of the verse is very difficult, the fact that most who translate as a question do so as a rhetorical question [the only other involving interpreting כִּי in an unusual way], would indicate that this is not a true question. Without more work, though, this conclusion must remain tentative. BHS's suggested transposition of the third, fourth and fifth words to the beginning of the verse would also make the verse a statement.

C.28.   Isaiah 37:11

This is yet another rhetorical question. The first part of the verse 'Behold! Now, you have heard of that which the King of Assyria has done to all the lands...' stresses that the people have heard of this king's might. The second part states 'and now you will be saved'. Read in isolation this could be interpreted as an oracle of salvation from the threat of this mighty king. But, the context demands that it be read as a rhetorical question, emphasising that they will not be saved since in v.10 Sennacherib's message, of which v.11 is but a part, begins with 'Do not let the God you depend on deceive you when he says "Jerusalem will not fall"'.

C.29.   Isaiah 44:19

This verse occurs in a series of statements mocking idolators. The final two clauses are expressed by some as questions, e.g. NIV 'Shall I make a detestable thing from what is left? Shall I bow down to a block of wood?'. Since no answer is expected, these are rhetorical questions, and hence act as emphatic statements. But, the MT could be translated: 'With respect to what is left, I will make something detestable. I will bow down to a block of wood'. All that is entailed in this reading is interpreting the imperfect tense verbs as statements of future action, of intent. [80] This would enhance the derisive picture built up in the preceding verses more than the use of rhetorical questions.

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80 So also Watts (1987, p.139).

C.30.   Jeremiah 25:29

Following God's declaration that he will do bad or destructive things in the city that bears his own name, he says 'and now you will certainly remain unpunished, you will not remain unpunished,' and goes on to explain that all the earth will be under the sword he is bringing down. As this verse is part of a section proclaiming judgement on the nations, the meaning is that if Yahweh judges his own covenant people, he will certainly judge those with whom he has no covenant. Therefore, the phrase 'and now you will certainly remain unpunished' is a rhetorical question. It is not a true question since it is not a request by the speaker for something from the hearer. The 'reply' is given by the *speaker* in the next two (Hebrew) words, 'you will not remain unpunished'.

C.31.   Jeremiah 45:5

Some express v.5a as a question: 'Should you then seek great things for yourself?' This is a rhetorical question since the answer, 'do not seek them...', is supplied in the latter part of the verse.

If the imperfect verbs in the 'question' were translated as actions that are still continuing, then translation as a question becomes unnecessary: 'And now you are seeking great things for yourself. Do not seek them.' [81]

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81 Thompson (1980, p.683) has a similar translation.

C.32.   Jeremiah 49:12

The phrasing of the part deemed to be interrogative is very close to that in Jer 25[29], discussed above.

...	כִּי	לֹא תִנָּקֶה	תִּנָּקֶה	וְאַתָּה הוּא הֶאָנָקֹה	49:12
...	כִּי	לֹא תִנָּקוּ	תִנָּקוּ	וְאַתֶּם הִנָּקֵה	25:29

The only significant differences are the use of singular 'you' in 49[12] and plural 'you' in 25[29], and different syntax for the first two words of 49[12] adding emphasis to 'you'. Therefore, the conclusions for this verse are the same as that for Jer 25[29], it is a rhetorical question, stating that they will be punished.

C.33.   Ezekiel 11:3

There are two suggestions as to how this verse should be translated: 1/ as a question, e.g., NIV "They say 'Will it not soon be time to build houses? This city is a cooking pot and we are the meat." [82] 2/ as a statement, e.g., RSV "Who say, 'The time is not near to build houses;...'" This reflects two ways of viewing the metaphor of the pot, a symbol of protection and security, or a pessimistic assessment of the situation. Even if the former translation is accepted, the men's question is rhetorical, phrased as though it is something they are asking themselves.

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82 This is supported by the LXX.

C.34.   Ezekiel 11:13

The second part of this verse, following the statement that Pelatiah died, could be read as a statement, a distressed exclamation made by Ezekiel that the remnant was about to be destroyed. But, it is often interpreted as a question that Ezekiel asks 'will you completely destroy...'. Critical notes in BHS suggest that the text is *probably* to be read as having an interrogative הֲ–. The suggestion is that this was omitted due to haplography and a comparison is offered with 9[8] which has a similar idea expressed as a question with the interrogative הֲ– included. [83] Since the text is intelligible when read as a statement, and, in view of the suggestion made by many that the text should be read as having an interrogative -הֲ, it cannot be used as evidence to support the existence of an interrogativeless interrogative clause in Biblical Hebrew.

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83 A suggestion supported by Brownlee (1986, p.155) and Zimmerli (1979, p.229).

C.35.   Ezekiel 15:5

This passage was not cited by any references as an example of an interrogativeless clause, but in the course of my examination of passages that include אַף כִּי it was determined that this was similar to many of the passages cited here. It is a rhetorical question. See discussion in section Ezek 15:5.

C.36.   Ezekiel 17:9

If the text is read as it stands in this verse a contradiction is evident 'Say, "Thus says the Lord Yahweh: 'It will be strong. Will not its roots be torn up?'"' The first part would need to be interpreted as a rhetorical question to remove the contradiction. BHS suggests that it is probable that the clause be read prefixing an interrogative –הֲ, but this is only reflected in a few MSS [but it is suggested that reference be made to LXX, Syriac, Vulgate and 10[15]]. Even if the interrogative –הֲ was attached it would still read as a rhetorical question since the 'question' is answered negatively in the following clauses, the reader not being expected to reply.

C.37.   Ezekiel 20:31

This verse is translated as a question, but it is a question asked and answered by the speaker in the one verse. It is not, therefore, a request for information or goods and services, but a rhetorical device used to emphasise a point – a rhetorical question.

C.38.   Hosea 4:16

This passage has remained extremely problematic. [84] The second part has been translated as a question since it seems to contradict the picture painted of Israelites in the first half of the verse: 'For Israel is stubborn like a stubborn cow. How then can Yahweh pasture them as lambs in the broad pastures?' [NIV, so also RSV]. This would be the prophet asking the question, knowing that Yahweh plans to reconcile himself and Israel, yet also knowing Israel's wickedness, and not being able to see any way in which the conflict might be resolved.

The second part could be read as a prophecy of hope 'now Yahweh will pasture them as lambs in the broad pastures'. It could be argued that hope is unlikely in view of the stern judgements pronounced only a few verses later in Ch 5, but there have already been words of hope given in Ch 2. Andersen and Freedman (1980, p.377) argue against rendering as a question: 'Quite apart from the lack of explicit interrogation in the clause, the usual precative function of *'attâ* would seem to rule out a question.'

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84 Cf. Andersen and Freedman (1980, p.373f.).

C.39.   Jonah 4:11

This verse begins: 'And I will not have pity upon Nineveh'. In the context of the discussion that Yahweh is having with Jonah it is plain that Yahweh has had pity on Nineveh, and that Jonah was displeased with Yahweh's act of mercy. Taken with the rest of the verse it reads as a rhetorical question that emphasises that God will indeed have pity upon Nineveh since it is filled with people and animals whom he is concerned about.

C.40.   Zechariah 8:6

To interpret as a question, e.g. NIV 'This is what the L_{ORD} Almighty says: "It may seem marvellous to the remnant of this people at that time, but will it seem marvellous to me?" declares the L_{ORD} Almighty', does not seem to fit the flow of the passage which is declaring the wonder of Zion's restoration. The MT can also be translated as statements indicating that it will be a wonderful time for the people and for God, a fitting interpretation in light of the joyful tone of the surrounding verses: 'Thus says the L_{ORD} Almighty: "For it will be marvellous in the eyes of this remnant of the people in these days. Also, it will be marvellous in my eyes" declares the L_{ORD} Almighty'. BHS suggest that there was originally an interrogative —הֲ in the second part of Yahweh's declaration that had been lost by haplography. This seems to be simple conjecture since no MSS evidence is cited.

C.41.   Proverbs 5:16

The verse literally reads 'you overflow from your springs into the streets, in the open canals of water'. This could be read as an accusation, but that seems to go against the message of the previous and following verses which are admonitions, not accusations. BHS suggests that, following Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus [LXX], פֶּן־ 'lest', or אַל־ 'not' be added to the beginning of this verse. If the first of these two is adopted then this verse becomes the rationale for the previous one. If the second is adopted then this verse too becomes an admonition, 'do not overflow...' HOTTP (Vol. 3, 1979, p.456) recommends that the text be read as it stands.

The way in which the MT is rendered by EVV as a question make it a rhetorical question which acts as an admonition, not a question requiring an answer: 'Should you overflow from your springs into the streets, in the open canals of water?'.

C.42.   Job 2:10

This is commonly translated as a rhetorical question that Job asks his wife in order to rebuke her for her earlier comments. Again this is not a question that is expecting a response but a rhetorical device used for emphasis.

C.43.   Job 10:9

This has been rendered as a question 'Remember that you moulded me like clay. Will you now turn me to dust again?' [NIV] Yet, it can be read as a statement, the imperfect verb being interpreted as a simple future: 'Remember that you moulded me like clay, and to dust you will cause me to return.' The verse thus becomes a statement of God's power over human life, that a mortal is powerless if God turns against him, reflecting the nature of Job's complaint.[85]

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85 So also Hartley (1988, p.187).

C.44.   Job 40:25,30 (41:1,6 EVV)

There are a whole series of questions in this section of Job, most having an interrogative particle of some sort. Two verses do not: v.25 and v.30. BHS notes that one MS has the interrogative prefixed to the beginning of v.25, Driver and Gray (1921, p.332) see this as more probable than the suggested insertion of אַף indicating a question. Verse 30 has no text notes. In v. 25 God's question is not one which Job is expected to answer, God is making the point that only he can do these things. In v.30 a picture of the ridiculous is painted[86] which is yet again expressed as a rhetorical question.

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86 So Hartley (1988, p. 531).

C.45.   Lamentations 3:38

'From the mouth of the Most High does not the bad and the good come out?' Even though this verse is expressed as a question it is a statement, a rhetorical question, stressing that the disaster that has befallen Israel has come from Yahweh as well as the blessings that he previously bestowed.

C.46. Conclusions on Clauses without Interrogatives

Most of the proposed passages are rhetorical questions. Only four are proper questions lacking an interrogative marker, three being שָׁלֹם clauses: 1 Sam 16[4], 2 Sam 18[29], and 2 Kings 9[19]. The one that is not a שָׁלֹם passage is 1 Sam 30[8]. Whilst it does not have an interrogative -הֲ or any other interrogative particle, interrogation is implied in the use of the verb שׁאל 'ask'. Emendation is only a possibility with two of the שָׁלֹם passages since the seber for 2 Sam 18[29] indicates that the Masoretes considered the text to be correct as it was without an interrogative -הֲ. This leaves two options either these are examples of an idiom where if someone is asking concerning שָׁלֹם then the interrogative function is assumed; or it is an example of the validity of clauses being interrogative in Hebrew without needing, necessarily, an interrogative particle. I would favour the former. It seems unlikely that 3 out of 4 genuine questions would all end up with the same construction simply by coincidence. It is possible that, if such an idiom existed, it could be written with a *redundant* interrogative -הֲ. This seems more plausible than to assume that the writers occasionally forgot to add the interrogative -הֲ to a question.

Therefore, there are no occurrences of proper interrogative clauses without some sort of indication that the clause is a question. The markers can be the normal interrogative particles, the use of a verb of interrogation, or the use of שָׁלֹם as a special idiom. These conclusions, however, are tentative. To gain a more complete picture research would need to be done concerning the use of שָׁלֹם in the MT and the wider use of interrogatives in the MT, and each of the above passages would need to be examined more thoroughly than time and space permits in this work.[87]

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87 Mitchell, H. G., "The Omission of the Interrogative Particle" in Harper, R. F., Brown, F., and Foot Moore, G., (eds) *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* (Chicago: CUP, 1907): pp.113ff. was not available in Australia. Any further study would also need to take account of this work.

Appendix D. LXX Translations of אַף כִּי

Gen 3[1]	Τί ὅτι
Deut 31[27]	πως οὐχι και
1 Sam 14[30]	ἀλλ' ὅτι
1 Sam 21[6]	διοτι
1 Sam 23[3]	καὶ πῶς
2 Sam 4[11]	καὶ νῦν
2 Sam 16[11]	καὶ προσέτι νῦν
1 Kings 8[27]	πλην και
2 Kings 5[13]	και ὁτι
Ezek 14[21]	Ἐὰν δὲ καὶ
Ezek 15[5]	μή ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ
Ezek 23[40]	καὶ ὅτι
Hab 2[5]	Omitted.
Prov 11[31]	Omitted, text altered.
Prov 15[11]	πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ
Prov 17[7]	οὐδε
Prov 19[7a]	και
Prov 19[10]	και ἐαν
Prov 21[27]	και γαρ
Job 9[14]	ἐαν δε
Job 15[16]	ἔα δε
Job 25[6]	ἔα δε
Job 35[14]	Omitted, text altered.
Neh 9[18]	ἔτι δε και
2 Chr 6[18]	ὁτι εἰ
2 Chr 32[15]	ὁτι...οὐ μη

Table 5: LXX Translations of אַף כִּי

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