Chapter 4

The negative לֹא *lō*ʾ with finite verbs

The objective of this chapter is to discuss the distribution and scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the finite verbs in BH, in other words the perfect and imperfect verb forms, as well as the command forms. The discussion opens with a brief morphological background (4.1) in which the general characteristics of finite verbs are discussed. This is followed in 4.2 by a discussion on the categorial features of finite verbs. As illustrated in Chapter 2 the determination of these features are vital, as they play a crucial role in the derivation of a linguistic expression. Section 4.3 discusses the distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ before the finite verbs. The objective is to arrive at a coherent exposition of the distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ. Where applicable, this discussion will refer to different BH dictionaries and grammars. Having determined the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the finite verbs, this chapter will close with a discussion in 4.4 of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the perfect and imperfect verbs, as well as the different command forms. The objective is to describe, making use of a representative data sample, the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ in those constructions in which it precedes the imperfect, perfect and command forms. The description will be presented within the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3. These discussions on the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ will also refer to translations in different Bible versions. The merit of the different translations will be evaluated against the findings and results of the discussions on the syntactic distribution and scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the finite verbs.

First, however, it is necessary to provide a brief background on the grammatical characteristics of the finite verbs in BH.

4.1 Grammatical background of finite verbs

BH verbs can be derived from a stem or root consisting of three consonants. These roots never occur on their own in BH texts, but always with affixes (prefixes, infixes and/or suffixes). These affixes indicate which of the following categories the verb belongs to:

- A specific stem formation. For example, in the Qal the root כתב *ktb* is vocalised with the vowel pattern / ַ ָ /, also known as an infix. The verb is then read as כָּתַב *kātab*. The same verb can begin with a ה *h* prefix and has the infix / ִ י /, *i e* הִכְתִּיב *hiktîb*, forming the Hiphil stem formation. The seven stem formations in BH are: Qal, Niphal, Pi'el, Pual, Hithpael, Hiphil and Hophal.

- A particular conjugation of a stem formation. For example, the תִּי-suffix of the word כָּתַבְתִּי *kātabtî* indicates the perfect form of a verb, while the -יִ prefix of the word יִכְתֹּב *jiktōb* indicates the imperfect form. The following conjugations are found in BH: Perfect, Imperfect, Imperative, Jussive, Cohortative, Infinitive construct, Infinitive absolute, and the Participle.

- A specific feature or mark of agreement (person, gender and number – where applicable) in the conjugation. For example, in the perfect and the imperfect the suffixes and prefixes are used to indicate a difference in person (subject of the verb).

The agreement features distinguished in BH are the following:

	Singular	Plural
3rd person	he, she	they (masc and fem)
2nd person	you (masc and fem)	you (masc and fem)
1st person	I	we

(Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 67).

As illustrated by the classifications above, BH has a richly inflected verbal system. As explicated below, this provides important clues about the way a BH sentence is derived within the minimalist framework of feature-checking. Another problematic characteristic of the BH verbal

system, is the matter of *time* and *aspect*.[35] Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 142-3) discuss the classification of time and aspect, stating that various opinions exist as to whether BH has a tense or an aspect system. Older Jewish grammarians, like the more recent grammarians who adopt their point of view, are of the opinion that the BH verbal system is primarily a tense system. The perfect verb form thus refers to *past time* and the imperfect verb form to the *present* and *future*. Another point of view amongst BH scholars is that the imperfect and perfect do not refer primarily to moments in time, but to the *aspect* of the verbs. Aspect refers to the completeness or non-completeness of an action. By using the perfect speakers describe an action, from their perspective, as completed. The imperfect refers to an action as incomplete or being in the process of completion. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 143) take, as point of departure in their grammar, an interwovenness of aspect and time. With respect to time they make the distinction in (1):

(1)

Perfect	= past time
Imperfect	= non-past time

The aspectual distinction with regard to complete and non-complete actions correlates more or less with the above distinction. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 144) distinguish aspect as in (2):

(2)

Perfect	= past time	= completed action
Imperfect	= non-past time	= non-completed action

With reference to section 3.2 in Chapter 3, although only TP is indicated, both tense and aspect are implied. Thus, when reference is made to *tense* in this research, the above distinction in terms of time and aspect is implied.

35 Cf Talstra 1997; DeCaen 1996; McFall 1982. Peckham (1997) argues that tense, and sometimes mood, is expressed by word order in the various types of clauses. The conjugations of the verb differ in aspect and time, but do not themselves express tense. Tense, according to Peckham (1997: 141), depends on (a) how the clause begins, (b) word order in the particular type of clause, and (c) the place of the clause in the syntax of the discourse.

Another characteristic of BH concerns the lexical composition of verbs. In BH the subject can be part of the verb and the verb can also contain a pronominal suffix referring to the object of the verb. Although separate subjects, independent from the verb, are encountered, BH is considered as a null-subject language (pro-drop language)[36] which means that an independent phonetically-realised subject may be *absent*, being part of the verb.

4.2 Features of finite verbs in BH

In Chapter 3 it was assumed that words carry three sets of grammatical features: head-, specifier- and complement-features. To determine these features of finite verbs in BH, consider again example (46) from Chapter 3, repeated here as (3):

(3) Gen 8[9]

וְלֹא־מָצְאָה הַיּוֹנָה מָנוֹחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָהּ

wᵉlōʾ-moṣʾâ hayyônâ mānôaḥ lᵉkaf-raglāh

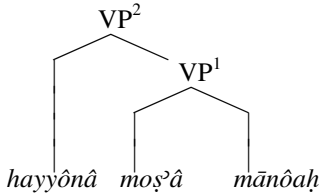
But-not-found-she (Qal perf 3rd fem sing) the-dove resting-place for-sole-foot-her

But the dove could not find a place to set its feet…

The structure of (3) may be represented as in (4). (To simplify the discussion, the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* and the negative לֹא *lōʾ* are omitted from this structure, as the sole purpose here is to determine the different features of the finite verb under discussion).

36 Naudé (1994) provides an elaborate discussion on the pro-drop parameter of pro-drop or null-subject languages. The focus of his article is Qumran Hebrew, but the same will apply to BH.

(4)



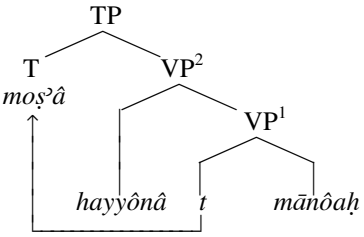
Head-features:	[3FSNom]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[3FSNom]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

The verb *moṣʾâ* is in the perfect form, it is singular, requires a third person feminine singular subject, and is a transitive verb requiring an object in the accusative. The noun *hayyônâ* is the subject and a third person feminine singular noun. The noun *mānôaḥ* is the object and a masculine singular noun. These [MS] head-features of the object noun *mānôaḥ* play no role in the syntactic derivation of the above example. The reason for this is that the finite verb in BH is only inflected for its subject, *i e* there must be agreement between the subject and the verb in terms of person, number and gender. In contrast, the finite verb in BH is not inflected for its object. It selects an object with the feature accusative, but in terms of person, number and gender there is no agreement. Hence, to the extent of this research these ϕ-features, *i e* person, number and gender of the object will not be considered in the derivation of text examples.

As was pointed out in Chapter 3, LF representations may contain only semantically interpretable features. In order for the above derivation to converge at LF, all grammatical features should be checked and all uninterpretable features should be deleted once checked (Radford 1997: 70). In the above BH example, the only semantically interpretable features are the [3FS] person/number/gender head-features of the noun *hayyônâ* and the [past] head-feature of the verb *moṣʾâ*. The uninterpretable features include the case-features (since, at LF, it would make no difference whether a noun is nominative or accusative) and all complement- and specifier-features (since they have no semantic content, but simply state what kind of complement or specifier the BH verb takes). The checking of the different features in (4) proceeds as follows. The specifier-features of the verb *moṣʾâ* are checked against the head-features of the noun *hayyônâ*. The third person feminine singular features of the verb exactly match these

corresponding features of the noun. Specifier-features are uninterpretable, which implies that these features on the verb are deleted, whereas the corresponding features on the noun are not, as they are semantically interpretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of the verb matches the [Nom] head-feature of the noun. The [Nom] features on both the verb and noun are deleted, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. Furthermore, the complement-features on the verb are checked against the head-features of the noun *mānôaḥ*. A match is found between the [Acc] head-feature of the noun and the verb with deletion of both features, as case-features are uninterpretable. The only feature that has not been checked is the [past] head-feature of the verb. For the checking of [past], VP^2 is merged with the functional category T, which contains a tense-feature, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The verb *moṣʾâ* is then moved to T in order for this checking to occur, which results in the VSO word order of sentence (3). The following structure serves to illustrate the merge and move operations in question:

(5)



Head-features:	[3FS~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~3FSNom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

Checking of the [Past] head-feature means that only interpretable features remain in the derivation, thus leading to convergence at LF. This example in (3) was used as a typical finite verb to determine the head, specifier and complement-features of finite verbs in BH.

The following section discusses the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. This discussion forms the basis for the discussion on the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the perfect and imperfect verbs, as well as the command forms.

4.3 The distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ with finite verbs

Having expounded in section 4.2 the typical head, specifier and complement-features of the finite verbs, this section provides a discussion on the distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the finite verbs.

4.3.1 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding perfect verbs

In the following exposition, a representation of לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the perfect verb forms is given. The negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes the perfect verb form in 1 748 cases (cf Addendum K). These 1 748 cases include all the cases of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ, irrespective of its morphological varieties, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Hence, of the following morphological varieties (where applicable) לֹא *lō*ʾ (not); לְלֹא *lᵊlō*ʾ (for not); בְּלֹא *bᵊlō*ʾ (with not); וְלֹא *wᵊlō*ʾ (and not); הֲלֹא *hᵃlō*ʾ (QM-not) and שֶׁלֹּא *šellō*ʾ (that not), 1 748 cases are to be found. These 1 748 cases can be subdivided as in (6):

(6) (a) לֹא *lō*ʾ (without the *maqqēf*) + perfect verbs = 920 cases in 808 verses.

(b) לֹא־ *lō*ʾ (with the *maqqēf*) + perfect verbs = 828 cases in 748 verses.

The negative לוֹא *lô*ʾ precedes the perfect verb form in 10 cases (cf Addendum K). In two of the 10 cases the negative is joined to the subsequent perfect form by means of the *maqqēf*. The examples (7) to (11) illustrate the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ/לוֹא *lô*ʾ preceding the perfect verb:

(7) Gen 4[9]

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יָדַעְתִּי הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אָנֹכִי

wayyōʾmer lōʾ yādaʿtî hᵃšōmēr ʾāḥî ʾānōkî

And-said-he not know-I (Qal perf 1st sing) QM-keeper-of brother-my I

"I don't know," he replied. "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Gen 4[9] illustrates the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the perfect verb form. The negative is not joined to the subsequent perfect verb by means of a *maqqēf*.

(8) Jer 8[20]

עָבַר קָצִיר כָּלָה קָיִץ וַאֲנַחְנוּ לוֹא נוֹשָׁעְנוּ׃

ʿābar qāṣîr kālâ qāyiṣ waʾanaḥnû lôʾ nôšoʿnû

passed-it grain-harvest came-to-an-end-it summer and-we not are-saved-we (Niphal perf 1st pl)

"The grain harvest has passed, summer has ended, and we, we are not saved."

The sentence in (8) is an example of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* preceding a perfect form with the absence of the *maqqēf*:

(9) Gen 39[8]

וַיְמָאֵן וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֵשֶׁת אֲדֹנָיו הֵן אֲדֹנִי לֹא־יָדַע אִתִּי מַה־בַּבָּיִת וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יֶשׁ־לוֹ נָתַן בְּיָדִי׃

waymāʾēn wayyōʾmer ʾel-ʾēšet ʾadōnāyw hēn ʾadōnî lōʾ-yādaʿ ʾittî mah-bbabbāyit wᵉkōl ʾašer-yeš-lô nātan bᵉyādî

but-refused-he and-said-he to-wife-of lord-his behold lord-my not-knew-he with-me what-in-the-house and-all which-there-is-for-him gave-he in-hand-my

But he refused and he told the wife of his lord, "Behold my master does not concern himself with anything in the house; everything he gave in my hands."

The sentence in (9) is an example of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a perfect verb. The negative is joined to the subsequent perfect verb by means of the *maqqēf*.

(10) Jer 7[28]

וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם זֶה הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר לוֹא־שָׁמְעוּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו

wᵉʾāmartā ʾalêhem zeh haggôy ʾašer lôʾ-šāmᵉʿû bᵉqôl yahweh ʾᵉlōhāyw

and-say-you to-them this the-nation that not-have-listened-they (Qal perf 3rd masc pl) in-voice-of lord god-his

Therefore say to them, "This is the nation that has not listened to the voice of the Lord its God…"

In (10) the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* precedes a perfect form and is joined to the subsequent perfect verb form by means of the *maqqēf*.

(11) Gen 31[35]

וַיְחַפֵּשׂ וְלֹא מָצָא אֶת־הַתְּרָפִים׃

wayḥappēś wᵉlōʾ māṣāʾ ʾet-hattᵉrāfîm

and-looked-(thoroughly)-he but-not found-he (Qal perf 3rd masc sing) (acc)-the-idols

And he looked thoroughly, but he did not find the idols.

In (11) לֹא *lōʾ* precedes a perfect verb with the absence of the *maqqēf*.

The above four examples (7) to (11) were a selection from a large array of examples illustrating the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the perfect verb. The first two examples illustrate the negative לֹא *lōʾ* joined to the subsequent perfect verb form by means of the *maqqēf*, and an example where the *maqqēf* is absent, respectively. The other two examples illustrate the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* joined to the perfect verb by means of the *maqqēf*, and an example without the *maqqēf*. These four examples further substantiate the fact that there is, on syntactic level, no difference between the distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* or לוֹא *lôʾ*, as the above examples illustrate both forms preceding a perfect verb. Furthermore, on syntactic level, there seems to be no difference between those examples joined by means of the *maqqēf* and those without it.

With reference to the critical discussion on *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH) (Clines 1998) in section 2.4.1 (d) in Chapter 2, the following discussion briefly refers to some aspects of the syntax of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* as expounded in DCH. Consider again the above example in (11). The latter example exhibits the occurrence of וְלֹא *wᵉlōʾ* (and/but not) preceding a perfect verb. The NIV translates the latter part of this verse as follows: *…but could not find the household gods.* What is the minimum contribution of the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* and the negative לֹא *lōʾ*? In other words, does the conjunction or the negative contribute towards the contrastive meaning? Clines (1998: 486), in his exposition of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the perfect verb, has as a subdivision the negative לֹא *lōʾ* (pre-

ceding perfect verbs) in adversative clauses. He maintains that וְלֹא *wᵉlōʾ* is used in these cases with the meaning of *but not,* as in (12).

(12) Deut 1[43]

וָאֲדַבֵּר אֲלֵיכֶם וְלֹא שְׁמַעְתֶּם

wāᵃdabbēr ʾᵃlêkem wᵉlōʾ šᵉmaʿtem

and-spoke-I to-you but-not listened-you (Qal perf 2nd masc pl)

And I spoke to you but you did not listen (Clines 1998: 486).

The salient question to be addressed is whether the adversative semantic contribution is due to the presence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* or the conjunction וְ *wᵉ*. It is proposed that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* merely negates what follows (the exact scope will be determined in the following section). Therefore, it is proposed that the concept of adversity is expressed by the conjunction וְ *wᵉ*. This proposal is supported by an exposition of Williams (1976: 72) where he states that one of the translation equivalents of the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* is that of an adversative with the translation of *but*. He illustrates the adversative contribution of the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* with the example in (13).

(13) Gen 6[8]

וְנֹחַ מָצָא חֵן בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה׃

wᵉnōaḥ māṣāʾ ḥēn bᵉʿênê yahweh

but-noah found-he favour in-eyes-of lord

But Noah found favour in the eyes of the Lord.

Williams suggests that the conjunction וְ*wᵉ* should be translated with *but*, as Noah is compared in Gen 6[7] to all mankind which the Lord plans to destroy completely. Given that the conjunction וְ*wᵉ* as such introduces an adversative clause, it cannot but be concluded that it is the conjunction וְ*wᵉ* in Gen 31[35], in (11), which introduces the adversative clause and not the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. Thus, Clines's division (1998: 486) of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the perfect verb in adversative clauses is rejected, as the negative לֹא *lōʾ* plays no role in introducing the adversative clause. A proposal is that such a contention should be made when discussing the syntax of the conjunction וְ*wᵉ*, and not whilst discussing the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the perfect verb.

Clines (1998: 486) makes another division, *viz* the negative לֹא *lō'* used in statements implying consequence or cause. He maintains that וְלֹא *wᵉlo'* is used in this way with the meaning of *so that not,* or *seeing that not*. They illustrate this particular use of לֹא *lō'* with the example in (14):

(14) Gen 22[12]

כִּי עַתָּה יָדַעְתִּי כִּי־יְרֵא אֱלֹהִים אַתָּה וְלֹא חָשַׂכְתָּ אֶת־בִּנְךָ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ מִמֶּנִּי׃

kî ʿattâ yādaʿtî kî-yᵉrē' ʾlōhîm ʾattâ wᵉlō' ḥāśaktā ʾet-binkā ʾet-yᵉḥîdᵉkā mimmennî

for now know-I that-fearing God you and-not have-withheld-you (acc)-son-your (acc)-only-your from-me

Now I know that you fear God, that you have not withheld your only son from me.

Should the meaning of consequence or cause be deduced from the occurrence of לֹא *lō'* or the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* ? Simply stated, is לֹא *lō'* in any way responsible for the meaning of consequence or cause, or is it due to the presence of the conjunction? Again, it is contended that it is the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* that contributes this meaning of consequence or cause and not the negative לֹא *lō'*. The contribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* is the negation of the subsequent clause (the scope of which will be determined in the following discussion).

Another point of difference experienced in the division of Clines (1998: 486) is to be found in his discussion on the negative לֹא *lō'* occurring in a variety of questions, where the negative is preceded by the different interrogative particles. Clines (1998: 486) lists seven occurrences of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceded by interrogative particles. Firstly, he merely lists all the occurrences: a conclusion on the syntax, and the semantics thereof, is lacking. The list in (15) provides this division, but it seems to be just another list with no substantial meaning whatsoever for the understanding of the negative לֹא *lō'*.

(15) - לָמָּה לֹא *lāmmâ lō'* Why not? *e g* Gen 12[18];
- מַדּוּעַ לֹא *maddûa' lō'* Why not? *e g* Ex 5[14];
- אֵיךְ לֹא *'êk lō'* How not? *e g* 2 Sam 1[14];
- הֲלֹא *h^{a}lō'* Did not? *e g* Gen 20[5];
- אִם־לֹא *'im-lō'* Did not? *e g* Job 30[25];
- מִי לֹא *mî lō'* Who not? *e g* Job 12[9];
- Without an introductory particle וְלֹא *w^{e}lō', e g* 2 Sam 19[44].

Several questions regarding this division arise. The first question that comes to mind is whether לֹא *lō'* has any scope over the preceding interrogative particle. Secondly, the question is whether the negative לֹא *lō'* contributes at all towards conveying the question that is being asked. It is maintained that the negative לֹא *lō'* merely expresses the negation of the subsequent clause, plays no role at all in terms of the questions being asked, and has no scope over the preceding question particles. Consider for a moment what would happen if the negative לֹא *lō'* was removed and only the interrogative particle preceding, in this case, the perfect verb, remained. Would it still constitute a question being asked? It certainly would. Thus, it is suggested that such a division would be more relevant for discussions regarding interrogatives. As a subdivision of such a discussion, it could be stated that cases are encountered of the negative לֹא *lō'* following the interrogative particles. However, for a discussion on the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'*, such a division does not contribute at all to the syntax of the negative לֹא *lō'*.

In summary, then, four exemplary cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the perfect verb were discussed in this section. It was contended that neither the *maqqēf*, nor the two varieties of the negative (לֹא *lō'* / לוֹא *lô'*) play any syntactic role in terms of the distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'*. The discussion ended with a critical exposition of some of the syntactic aspects discerned by Clines (1998) in his discussion on the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the perfect verb. It was maintained that some of his syntactic divisions have no bearing on the syntax of the negative לֹא *lō'*.

4.3.2 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding imperfect verbs

The next syntactic exposition to be discussed is the occurrence of the imperfect verb form with the negative לֹא *lō'*. The negative לֹא *lō'* precedes the imperfect verb form in 2 655 cases (cf Addendum L). These 2 655 cases, as with the perfect verb, include all the morphological forms of the negative לֹא *lō'* (where applicable), *i e* לֹא *lō'* (not), לְלֹא *l^{e}lō'* (for not); בְּלֹא *b^{e}lō'* (with not); וְלֹא *w^{e}lō'* (and not), הֲלֹא *h^{a}lō'* (QM-not), and שֶׁלֹּא *šellō'* (that not). The distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* with the imperfect verb is exemplified in (16).

(16) (a) לֹא *lō'* (without the *maqqēf*) + imperfect verbs = 1 594 cases in 1 347 verses.

(b) לֹא־ *lō'* (with the *maqqēf*) + imperfect verbs = 1 061cases in 925 verses.

The negative לוֹא *lô'* precedes the imperfect form in eight cases. In five of the eight cases the negative is joined to the subsequent verb by means of the *maqqēf*. In three of the eight cases the *maqqēf* is absent. The objective of this section is to provide an example of each occurrence to illustrate the phenomenon of the imperfect verb forms preceded by the negative לֹא *lō'* / לוֹא *lô'*.

(17) Gen 18[30]

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה אִם־אֶמְצָא שָׁם שְׁלֹשִׁים׃

wayyō'mer lō' 'e^{e}śeh 'im-'emṣā' šām š^{e}lōšîm

…and-said-he not will-do-I-(Qal impf 1st sing) if-find-I there thirty

…and He answered, "I will not do it if I find thirty there."

The example in (17) is an occurrence of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding an imperfect form not joined by means of a *maqqēf*.

(18) Gen 31[35]

וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־אָבִיהָ אַל־יִחַר בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנִי כִּי לוֹא אוּכַל לָקוּם מִפָּנֶיךָ

wattōʾmer ʾel-ʾābîhā ʾal-yiḥar bᵉʿênê ʾadōnî kî lôʾ ʾûkal lāqûm mippāneykā

and-said-she to-father-her not-be-angry-it in-eyes-of lord-my because not can-I-(Qal impf 1st sing) to-stand from-before-you

And she said to her father, "Let it not be wrong in the eyes of my lord, that I cannot stand up in your presence; …"

This verse is an example of לוֹא *lôʾ* preceding an imperfect verb form. The negative לוֹא *lôʾ* and the subsequent imperfect verb form are not joined by a *maqqēf*.

(19) Ex 11[9]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֹא־יִשְׁמַע אֲלֵיכֶם פַּרְעֹה

wayyōʾmer yahweh ʾel-mōšeh lōʾ-yišmaʿ ʾᵃlêkem parʿô

and-said-he lord to-moses not-listen-he (Qal impf 3rd masc sing) to-you pharaoh

And the Lord said to Moses, "Pharaoh will not listen to you…"

The example in (19) is an instance of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding an imperfect verb form with the negative immediately joined to the verb by means of the *maqqēf*.

(20) Jer 5[9]

הַעַל־אֵלֶּה לוֹא־אֶפָּקֹד נְאֻם־יְהוָה

haʿal-ʾēlleh lôʾ-ʾefqōd nᵉʾum-yahweh

QM-to-this not-avenge-I (Qal impf 1st sing) declares-he-lord

Should I not avenge myself for these things?" declares the Lord.

This verse exhibits the occurrence of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* with an imperfect joined to the subsequent imperfect verb by means of the *maqqēf*.

The above four examples, (17) to (20) illustrate the occurrence of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ and לוֹא *lô*ʾ preceding the imperfect verb with one example of each joined to the subsequent imperfect verb by means of the *maqqēf* and the other without the *maqqēf*.

Clines (1998: 487), in his exposition of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the imperfect verb form, differentiates the occurrence of the negative וְלֹא *wᵉlō*ʾ (and not) or לֹא *lō*ʾ …ְ *wᵉ* (and…not) preceding the imperfect form in statements of consequence or purpose with the proposed meaning of *so that not* or *lest* as in (21):

(21) Gen 14[23]

וְלֹא תֹאמַר אֲנִי הֶעֱשַׁרְתִּי אֶת־אַבְרָם׃

*wᵉlō*ʾ *tō*ʾ*mar* ʾ*ᵃni he*ʿ*ᵉšartî* ʾ*et-*ʾ*abrām*

and-not say-you (Qal impf 2nd masc sing) have-made-rich-I (acc)-abram

so that you may not say, I have made Abram rich.[37]

With reference to Clines's proposal, if one considers it a possibility that וְלֹא *wᵉlō*ʾ indeed introduces a result clause, an immediate question that arises is whether the conjunction ְו *wᵉ* or the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ introduces the statement of consequence or purpose. At this juncture it is proposed that the minimum contribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ is the negation of a statement, *viz that the descendents will not be countable*. It is maintained that the conjunction ְו *wᵉ* introduces the result clause and not the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ. Support for this claim is the mere fact that Clines also considers examples like לֹא *lō*ʾ … ְו *wᵉ* as the negative introducing a statement of consequence or purpose, where the conjunction and negative are separated. The fact that intervening elements occur between the conjunction ְו *wᵉ* and the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ, is support for the claim that the conjunction ְו *wᵉ* and not the negative is introducing the statement of consequence or purpose. Holladay (1971: 170) joins Clines's (1998: 487) line of reasoning in terms of וְלֹא *wᵉlō*ʾ (and not) introducing statements of consequence or purpose, which he, in contrast, terms subordinate clauses. Consider the example taken from Holladay (1971: 170).

37 Clines's translation.

(22) Ex 28[35]

וְהָיָה עַל־אַהֲרֹן לְשָׁרֵת וְנִשְׁמַע קוֹלוֹ בְּבֹאוֹ אֶל־הַקֹּדֶשׁ לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וּבְצֵאתוֹ וְלֹא יָמוּת׃

wᵉhāyâ ʿal-ʾaharōn lᵉšārēt wᵉnišmaʿ qôlô bᵉbōʾô ʾel-haqqōdeš lifnê yahweh ûbᵉṣēʾtô wᵉlōʾ yāmût

and-be-it upon-aaron to-serve and-heard-he sound-his when-to-enter-he in-the-holy-place before yahweh and-when-to-go-out-he and-not will-die-he

Aaron must wear it when he serves and its sound must be heard when he enters the holy place before the Lord and when he comes out, so that he will not die.

Holladay (1971: 170) argues that וְלֹא *wᵉlōʾ* introduces a subordinate clause in (22). He maintains that it is formally coordinate, but logically subordinate with the translation … *that he may not die*. This proposal of Holladay is rejected. It is proposed that the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* introduces the subordinate clause and not the negative לֹא *lōʾ*.

Clines (1998: 488) further argues that וְלֹא *wᵉlōʾ* (and not) preceding an imperfect form may also introduce an adversative clause with the meaning of *but not*, as in (23):

(23) Lev 26[26]

וַאֲכַלְתֶּם וְלֹא תִשְׂבָּעוּ׃

waᵃkaltem wᵉlōʾ tiśbāʿû

and-will-eat-you but-not will-be-satisfied-you

And you will eat, but not be satisfied.

Again, the question arises whether this proposed adversative clause is due to the presence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* or the conjunction וְ *wᵉ*. It is maintained that the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* indeed contributes the antithesis and that the role of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is that of negating the clause to follow.

Clines (1998: 488) further argues that אֲשֶׁר לֹא *ʾᵃšer lōʾ* (that not), שֶׁלֹּא *šellōʾ* (that not), לְמַעַן לֹא *lᵉmaʿan lōʾ* (with regard to not) and לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא *lᵉmaʿan ʾᵃšer lōʾ* (in order that not/so that not) may also introduce statements of consequence or purpose with the meaning of *so*

that not or *lest*. Consider the examples in (24) to (27) taken from Clines (1998: 488).

אֲשֶׁר לֹא *ʾašer lō*ʾ

(24) Gen 11[7]

אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ אִישׁ שְׂפַת רֵעֵהוּ׃

*ʾašer lō*ʾ *yišmᵉʿû ʾîš śᵉfat rēʿēhû*

so-that not hear-they (Qal impf 3rd masc pl) man lip/language-of fellow/friend-their

So that one may not hear, i e understand, the speech of one's neighbour [38]

The proposal that אֲשֶׁר לֹא *ʾašer lō*ʾ (that not) introduces a statement of consequence or purpose is rejected. If the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ is removed from the above example it would still be a statement of consequence or purpose, with the possible translation of *so that one may hear the speech of one's neighbour.* It is therefore maintained that the particle אֲשֶׁר *ʾašer* introduces the statement of consequence or purpose, and *not* the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ.

שֶׁלֹּא *šellō*ʾ

(25) Ecc 7[14]

שֶׁלֹּא יִמְצָא הָאָדָם

*šellō*ʾ *yimṣāʾ hāʾādām*

that-not will-find-he the-man (a human being)

so that a human being may not find [39]

Clines (1998: 488) translates this verse with his proposed meaning of *so that a human being may not find.* Again, this proposal is rejected in terms of the fact that the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ merely negates the statement following it. The statement of consequence or purpose is introduced by the particle שֶׁ *še* (that).

38 Clines's translation and interpretation.

39 Clines's translation.

לְמַעַן לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an lō^{ʾ}*, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer lō^{ʾ}*

(26) Ezek 19[9]

לְמַעַן לֹא־יִשָּׁמַע קוֹלוֹ
l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an lō^{ʾ}-yiššāma^{ʿ} qôlô
so-that not-may-be-heard-he (Niphal imperf 3rd masc sing) voice-his
so that his voice may not be heard [40]

(27) Deut 20[18]

לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יְלַמְּדוּ אֶתְכֶם לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּכֹל תּוֹעֲבֹתָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לֵאלֹהֵיהֶם וַחֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:
l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer lō^{ʾ}-y^{e}lamm^{e}dû ^{ʾ}etkem la^{ʿa}śôt k^{e}kōl tô^{ʿa}bōtām ^{ʾa}šer ʿāśû lē^{ʾ}lōhêhem waḥ^{a}ṭā^{ʾ}tem layahweh ^{ʾe}lōhêkem
so-that not-teach-they (Pi'el impf 3rd masc pl) (acc)-you to-do according-to-all detestable-things-their that have-done-they to-gods-their and-sin-you against-the-lord god-your
Otherwise, they will teach you to follow all the detestable things they do in worshipping their gods, and you will sin against the Lord your God.

Clines (1998: 488) holds the opinion that the latter two examples, (26) and (27), illustrate the phenomenon of לְמַעַן לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an lō^{ʾ}* (in order that not/so that not), לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer lō^{ʾ}* (in order that not/so that not) introducing a statement of consequence or purpose with the meaning of *so that not,* or *lest.* Holladay (1971: 207) proposes לְמַעַן *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an*, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer* to be translated with *in order that, so that.* If one considers that לְמַעַן *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an*, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer* introduces what seems to be a result clause, is it correct to propose by adding the negative לֹא *lō^{ʾ}* to these phrases, that the negative as such, is introducing a statement of consequence or purpose? Although it is true that לְמַעַן *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an* and לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer* introduces statements of consequence or purpose, it is proposed that the negative does not contribute to the meaning of consequence or purpose. Therefore, Clines's proposal that the negative לֹא *lō^{ʾ}* in לְמַעַן לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an lō^{ʾ}*, לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר לֹא *l^{e}ma^{ʿ}an ^{ʾa}šer lō^{ʾ}* introduces statements of consequence or purpose is rejected. It is proposed that the negative לֹא *lō^{ʾ}* negates the statement following it.

40 Clines's translation.

In the last instance, Clines (1998: 489) lists the use of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the imperfect verbs in questions, usually preceded by interrogative particles. As with the perfect form it seems to be just a list rendering no contribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* in terms of the questions being asked. Clines (1998: 489) lists nine such occurrences of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceded by certain interrogative particles. Examples of these nine categories will not be provided, as the value of such a discussion, in terms of the minimum contribution and scope of the negative לֹא *lō'*, is questionable. The categories will be indicated briefly in (28), along with the translations provided by Clines (1998: 489).

(28) (i) לָמָּה/לָמָּה לֹא *lāmeh/lāmmâ lō'* why not? *e g* 1 Sam 1[8];
(ii) מַדּוּעַ לֹא *maddûaʿ lō'* why not? *e g* Ex 3[3];
(iii) מֶה לֹא *meh lō'* why not? *e g* Job 7[21];
(iv) הֲלֹא *hᵃlō'* do not? *e g* Is 40[21];
(v) כַּמָּה לֹא *kammâ lō'* for how long not? *e g* Job 7[19]
(vi) עַד־אָנָה לֹא *ʿad-'ānâ lō'* for how long not? *e g* Num 14[11];
(vii) עַד־מָתַי לֹא *ʿad-mātay lō'* for how long not? *e g* 2 Sam 2[26];
(viii) מִי לֹא *mî lō'* who not? *e g* Jer 10[7];
(ix) without interrogative particle *e g* Ex 8[22].

In summary, this section has discussed four examples of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the imperfect verb, two examples of the negative לֹא *lō'* and two of the variant form לוֹא *lô'*. In both categories one of the examples exhibited the negative joined to the subsequent imperfect form by means of the *maqqēf*, the other without it. The discussion closed with a critical exposé of some of the syntactic aspects discussed by Clines (1998) and Holladay (1971) in their discussion on the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the imperfect verb. It was maintained that some of their syntactic divisions have no bearing on the syntax of the negative לֹא *lō'*.

4.3.3 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding command forms

The three command forms in BH are:

(29) jussive,
cohortative,
and imperative.

A characteristic of all the command forms is the suffix נָא- *nā'* that may be added to them. The suffix נָא- *nā'*, which usually succeeds the command forms, expresses a polite request and may be translated as *please*. The following discussion will first consider the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the jussive. This is followed by a discussion of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the cohortative. The imperative is predominantly a direct positive command in the second person and is never used in a negative command. In order to express a negative command in the second person, the negative אַל *'al* is used with the jussive of the second person (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 151). Since the imperative is never used in a negative command, only the former two command forms, the jussive and cohortative, will be discussed. However, following the discussion on the cohortative, a discussion on the negative לֹא *lō'* in absolute prohibitions will follow.

- The jussive

The jussive is an indirect command to the third person. The usual negative with the jussive form is the negative אַל *'al*. A jussive form for the second person also exists and is used with אַל *'al* in negative commands to the second person (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 71). In order to determine the possibility of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding jussive forms, the following general remarks should be kept in mind. Along with the usual form of the imperfect, a shortened form, the jussive, exists. However, this indication of the jussive by means of the shortened form is often precluded. Thus, the jussive often coincides with the ordinary imperfect form (Cowley 1910: 129). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 566) argue that the Hebrew jussive is in some sense derived from the short *yaqtul* form. They postulate for certain verbal stems and roots, two groups of *yiqtol* forms in BH, *i e* the long and short forms. In cases where this differentiation is

found, the short form is the jussive. They further argue that this differentiation is not common and that there is no morphological distinction between jussive and non-jussive forms with most roots. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 85) argue that the Hiphil verb form is the only stem formation where a change of the stem vowel differentiates between the usual imperfect and the jussive. In the Hiphil a shortened form of the imperfect denotes the jussive form. This shortened form occurs where the / ִ - / of the conjugation forms without suffixes is shortened to / ֶ /. This shorter form of the jussive is thus always readily recognisable.

Provided that it is relatively difficult to determine whether a certain imperfect form is in fact a jussive or merely an ordinary imperfect form, it would be a rather formidable task to determine the exact number of cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the jussive. However, in cases where the negative לֹא *lō'* precedes the so-called shorter form, these forms will be considered as jussives. The question now arises as to whether cases of the negative לֹא *lō'* negating jussive forms exist. The data searches have provided the results indicated in (30):

(30) (a) Jussive in form and meaning
(b) Jussive in form, but not in meaning
(c) Jussive in meaning, but not in form

Each of the 3 divisions in (30) (a), (b) and (c) will be discussed briefly.

(30) (a) Jussive in form and meaning
־לֹא *lō'* 0 cases
לֹא *lō'* 1 case (Deut 18[16])

(31) Deut 18[16]

כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁאַלְתָּ מֵעִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּחֹרֵב בְּיוֹם הַקָּהָל לֵאמֹר **לֹא אֹסֵף**
לִשְׁמֹעַ אֶת־קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי וְאֶת־הָאֵשׁ הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת לֹא־אֶרְאֶה עוֹד
וְלֹא אָמוּת׃

k^{e}kōl ^{a}šer-šā^{a}altā mē^{i}m yahweh ^{e}lōheykā b^{e}ḥōrēb b^{e}yôm haqqāhāl lē^{a}mōr lō^{a} ^{a}ōsēf lišmōa^{i} ^{a}et-qôl yahweh ^{e}lōhāy w^{e}et-hā^{a}ēš haggᵉdōlâ hazzôt lō^{a}-^{a}er^{a}eh ^{i}ôd w^{e}lō^{a} ^{a}āmût

like-all what-asked-you from-with lord god-your at-horeb on-day-of the-assembly to-say not let-add-I to-listen (acc)-to-voice-of lord god-my and-(acc)-the-fire the-great the-this not-let-see-I more and-not will-die-I.

For this is what you asked of the Lord your God at Horeb on the day of the assembly when you said, "Let me not hear the voice of the Lord my God nor see this great fire any more, or I shall die."

In the example above (31) three occurrences of the negative לֹא *lō^{a}* are found. Which of the three, then, is according to the results of BibleWorks, the negative לֹא *lō^{a}* preceding the jussive? The results have shown one case of the negative לֹא *lō^{a}*. The only two forms from example (31) that qualify are לֹא אֹסֵף *lō^{a} ^{a}ōsēf* and וְלֹא אָמוּת *w^{e}lō^{a} ^{a}āmût*. It is maintained that the Hiphil jussive form is the only form where a shortened form of the verb is encountered to differentiate the jussive from the ordinary imperfect form. The verb אֹסֵף *^{a}ōsēf* (italicised in the text) is a shortened form, which qualifies it as a *potential* jussive form. However, a major problem in the BibleWorks results is encountered in this example. If this form is parsed morphologically it is a Hiphil imperfect first person singular (apocopated form), while the jussive is an indirect command to the third person.

(30) (b) Jussive in form, but not in meaning
לֹא־ *lō^{a}* six hits in six verses (Gen 4[12]; Deut 13[1]; 1 Sam 14[36]; 1 Kgs 2[6(41)]; Job 23[9], 23[11]).
לֹא *lō^{a}* four hits in four verses (Gen 24[8]; Ezek 48[14]; Hos 9[15]; Joel 2[2])

41 This very same verse is considered by Waltke & O'Connor (1990) as the negative לֹא *lō^{a}* with the jussive. They do not differentiate, as BibleWorks, between the jussive in form and meaning. Hence, it is then concluded that they refer to 1 Kgs 2[6] as a jussive (in form and meaning).

Consider examples (32) to (34):

(32) 1 Kgs 2[6]

וְעָשִׂיתָ כְּחָכְמָתֶךָ וְלֹא־תוֹרֵד שֵׂיבָתוֹ בְּשָׁלֹם שְׁאֹל׃

wᵉʿāśîtā kᵉḥokmātekā wᵉlōʾ-tôrēd śêbātô bᵉšālōm šᵉʾōl

and-do-you according-to-wisdom-your and-not-may-go-down-he-(Hiphil impf 2nd masc apocopated) in-peace underworld.

And deal (with him) according to your wisdom, but do not let his grey head go down to the grave in peace.

According to the data search the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (32) precedes a jussive in form, but not in meaning. However, if one considers the translation, it seems to be a jussive in form and meaning. A possible translation reads: *but you must not let him go down in peace to the underworld.*

(33) Job 23[11]

בַּאֲשֻׁרוֹ אָחֲזָה רַגְלִי דַּרְכּוֹ שָׁמַרְתִּי וְלֹא־אָטֹ׃

baʾᵃšurô ʾāḥᵃzāh raglî darkô šāmartî wᵉlōʾ-ʾāṭ

in-step-his held-fast-she foot-my way-his kept-I and-not-turned-aside-I-(Hiphil impf 1st sing apocopated)

My feet have closely followed his steps; I have kept to his way without turning aside.

Again, a major problem in the BibleWorks results is encountered in this example in Job 23[11]. If this form is parsed morphologically it is a Hiphil imperfect first person singular (apocopated form), while the jussive is an indirect command to the third person.

(34) Hos 9[15]

כָּל־רָעָתָם בַּגִּלְגָּל כִּי־שָׁם שְׂנֵאתִים עַל רֹעַ מַעַלְלֵיהֶם מִבֵּיתִי אֲגָרְשֵׁם לֹא
אוֹסִף אַהֲבָתָם כָּל־שָׂרֵיהֶם סֹרְרִים׃

kol-rāʿātām baggilgāl kî-šām śᵉnēʾtîm ʿal rōaʿ maʿallêhem
mibbêtî ʾᵃgāršēm lōʾ ʾôsēf ʾahᵃbātām kol-śārêhem sōrᵉrîm

all-evil-of-their in-gilgal because-there hated-I-them because-of ugliness deeds-their from-house-my will-drive-out-I-them not will-continue-I-(Hiphil impf 1st sing apocopated) to-love-them all-leaders-their-stubborn

Because of all their wickedness in Gilgal, I hated them there. Because of their sinful deeds, I will drive them out of my house. I will no longer love them; all their leaders are rebellious.

The BibleWorks data search considers the above example in (34) as the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the jussive in form, but not in meaning. However, if this form is parsed morphologically it is a Hiphil imperfect first person singular (apocopated form), wheras the jussive is an indirect command to the third person.

(30) (c) Jussive in meaning, but not in form
לֹא־ *lōʾ* 0 cases
לֹא *lōʾ* three cases in three verses (2 Sam 13[26]; 2 Kgs 5[17]; Neh 7[3])

(35) Neh 7[3]

וָאֹמַר לָהֶם לֹא יִפָּתְחוּ שַׁעֲרֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם עַד־חֹם הַשָּׁמֶשׁ

wāʾōmar lāhem lōʾ yippātᵉḥû šaʿᵃrê yᵉrûšālayim ʿad-ḥōm haššemeš

and-said-I to-them not may-be-opened-they-(Niphal impf 3rd masc pl) gates-of Jerusalem until-warm the-sun

I said to them, "The gates of Jerusalem are not to be opened until the sun is hot."

Apparently, if the translation is considered, this example exhibits the occurrence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with an imperfect form being interpreted as a jussive. The question that should be answered is whether this is the correct inference from this example.

- The cohortative

The cohortative is primarily an indirect command to the 1st person. A characteristic feature of the cohortative is the ָה *â*-suffix, which differentiates it from the ordinary imperfect form. As with the jussive, the cohortative is usually negated by means of the negative אַל *ʾal* (not). Like the jussive, the question needs to be answered whether cases are encountered of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ negating cohortative forms.

The search on לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding cohortative forms has resulted in the following:

(36) (a) Cohortative in form and meaning
(b) Cohortative in meaning, but not in form

(36) (a) Cohortative in form and meaning
־לֹא *lō*ʾ 0 cases
לֹא *lō*ʾ one case (Gen 18[21])

Consider in (37) Gen 18[21] as an example, according to BibleWorks, of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the cohortative:

(37) Gen 18[21]

אֵרְדָה־נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה הַכְּצַעֲקָתָהּ הַבָּאָה אֵלַי עָשׂוּ כָלָה וְאִם־לֹא אֵדָעָה׃
ʾēr^{a}*dâ-nāʾ wᵊʾerʾeh hakkᵉṣa*^{ca}*qātâ habbāʾâ ʾēlay ʿāśû kālâ wᵊʾimlōʾ ʾēdāʿâ*
will-go-down-I-yet and-see-I the-outcry-her that-came to-me have-done-they destruction and-if-not will-know-I
I will yet go down and see if what they have done is as bad as the outcry that has reached me. If not, I will know.

Even though the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ immediately precedes a cohortative in form and meaning, the scope of the negative does not encompass the cohortative, as the latter introduces the apodosis of a conditional sentence. If the above translation is considered, it is evident that the cohortative form אֵדָעָה *ʾēdāʿâ* introduces a new clause. Examples like these will be discussed in Chapter 7. However, at this juncture it is suggested that BibleWorks indeed recognises this form as the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the cohortative,

but is not able to recognise that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* has no scope over the cohortative, and that two different clauses are encountered in this example.

(36) (b) Cohortative in meaning, but not in form
לֹא־ *lōʾ* one hit (Deut 18[16])

(38) Deut 18[16]

כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁאַלְתָּ מֵעִם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּחֹרֵב בְּיוֹם הַקָּהָל לֵאמֹר לֹא אֹסֵף לִשְׁמֹעַ אֶת־קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי וְאֶת־הָאֵשׁ הַגְּדֹלָה הַזֹּאת לֹא־אִרְאֶה עוֹד וְלֹא אָמוּת׃

kᵉkōl ʾᵃšer-šāʾaltā mēᶜim yahweh ʾᵉlōheykā bᵉḥōrēb bᵉyôm haqqāhāl lēʾmōr lōʾ ʾōsēf lišmōaᶜ ʾet-qôl yahweh ʾᵉlōhāy wᵉʾet-hāʾēš haggᵉdōlâ hazzôt lōʾ-ʾerʾeh ᶜôd wᵉlōʾ ʾāmût

like-all what-asked-you from-with lord god-your at-horeb on-day-of the-assembly to-say not let-add-I to-listen (acc)-to-voice-of lord god-my and-(acc)-the-fire the-great the-this not-let-see-I more and-not will-die-I.

For this is what you asked of the Lord your God at Horeb on the day of the assembly when you said, "Let me not hear the voice of the Lord my God nor see this great fire any more, or I shall die."

According to the data search this example of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, joined to the subsequent verb by means of the *maqqēf*, should be considered as the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a cohortative (in meaning, not form). This result can only pertain to לֹא־אִרְאֶה *lōʾ-ʾerʾeh*, being the only one of the three negatives joined to the subsequent form with the *maqqēf*. If the translation is considered, it seems probable that this might be a cohortative in meaning, but not in form, as the form under discussion does not exhibit the typical suffix of the cohortative.

לֹא *lōʾ* one hit (Gen 37[21])

(39) Gen 37[21]

וַיִּשְׁמַע רְאוּבֵן וַיַּצִּלֵהוּ מִיָּדָם וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא נַכֶּנּוּ נָפֶשׁ:
wayyišmaʿ rʾûbēn wayyaṣṣilēhû miyyādām wayyōʾmer lōʾ nakkennû nāfeš
And-heard-he reuben and-try-to-rescue-he-him from-hand-their and-said-he not let-slain-us-him life
When Reuben heard this, he tried to rescue him from their hands. "Let's not take his life," he said.

Apparently, this example should be taken as the negative לֹא *lōʾ* negating a cohortative. Even though, this form does not exhibit the characteristic ָה *â*-suffix of the cohortative, it seems an option to translate it with a cohortative form.

- The negative לֹא *lōʾ* in absolute prohibitions

Cases are encountered of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect form expressing an absolute prohibition in the second person. Given that these forms are the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the ordinary imperfect, the expression of an absolute prohibition is not always sufficiently clear and the context must be considered in order to determine these forms with certainty. One example where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect unequivocally expresses an absolute prohibition, is the Ten Commandments. Consider the example in (40).

(40) Ex 20[14]

לֹא תִנְאָף:
lōʾ tinʾāf
Not may-commit-adultery-you
You shall not commit adultery.

It is clear that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect form expresses an absolute prohibition – under no circumstances is one allowed to commit adultery.

A question that arises concerns the difference between the negative אַל־ *ʾal* with the jussive (see section 4.3.3) and the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect. Cowley (1910: 317) maintains that the imperfect with לֹא *lōʾ* represents a more emphatic form of prohibition than the jussive with אַל־ *ʾal*. The imperfect with לֹא *lōʾ* corresponds to *thou shalt not do it!* with the strongest expectation of obedience, while אַל־ *ʾal* with the jussive is a rather simple warning, *do not that!*

In summary, then, it is evident that a discussion on the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the command forms, *i e* the jussive, cohortative and in absolute prohibitions, is a difficult endeavour due to the mere fact that there are not always clear morphological differences between, for example, the jussive and the ordinary imperfect verb. The search results have indicated that there are several cases where the command form under discussion does not exhibit the form of, for instance, the cohortative. However, when a possible translation is considered, it then seems to be a cohortative. The above discussion is therefore merely a brief indication of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with each of the discussed command forms. Determining the exact occurrence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding these command forms is still in need of extensive research.

4.4 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the finite verbs

The previous sections (4.1) to (4.3.3) provided a general grammatical background of the finite verbs, followed by a discussion of the different features of the finite verbs in BH. This discussion was followed by an exposition of the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the finite verbs. This section (4.4) now turns towards a discussion of the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the perfect and the imperfect verbs respectively, as well as the command forms.

4.4.1 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the perfect verb

The perfect verbs can represent actions, events and facts which have already been completed in the past. In most cases events are presented from the perspective of the narrator and can be translated with the past tense (Van

der Merwe *et al* 1999: 145). Consider again (3), repeated here as (41) as an example of the derivation of a negative BH sentence containing a perfect verb:

(41) Gen 8[9]

וְלֹא־מָצְאָה הַיּוֹנָה מָנוֹחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָהּ

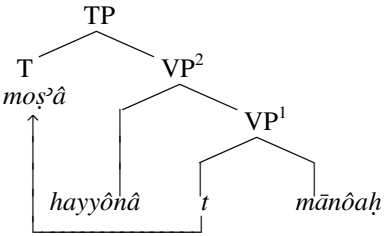
wᵉlōʾ-moṣʾâ hayyônâ mānôaḥ lᵉkaf-raglāh

But-not found-she (Qal perf 3rd fem sing) the-dove resting-place for-sole-of-foot-her

But the dove could not find a resting-place for the sole of her feet…

Recall that in the derivation of example (3), the negative לֹא *lōʾ* was left aside. The final step of the then derivation (5), is repeated here as (42):

(42)

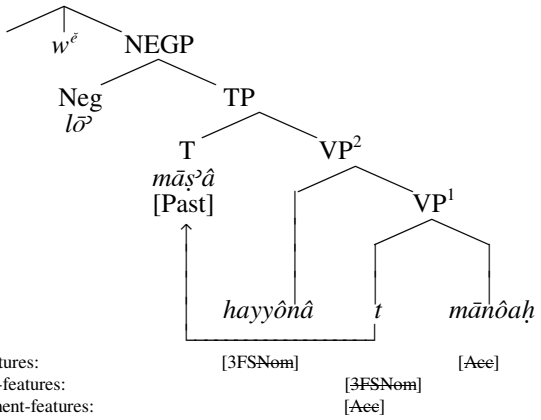


Head-features:	[3FS~~Nom~~]	[Past]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~3FSNom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

Thus far, the [Past] head-feature of the verb *moṣʾâ* has been checked. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the verb *moṣʾâ* in the surface structure. TP is then merged with the head Neg, filled by the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, resulting in the phrasal category NegP. The example (41) also contains the conjunction וְ *wᵉ*. In BH a distinction is drawn between two types of conjunction, *i e* the *waw consecutive* and the *waw copulative*. The waw consecutive can only be used in immediate conjunction with the verb. In representing a series of past events, only the first verb is given in the perfect and the narration is continued in the imperfect. Conversely, the representation of a series of future events begins with the imperfect, and is continued in the perfect. In this series of events the waw consecutive is used to join either the perfect or imperfect verbs to express progress in the sequence of time (Cowley 1910: 133). Cowley proceeds for instance to state that as soon

as the waw, owing to an insertion (*e g* a negative), is separated from the verb, the imperfect follows instead of the perfect. The waw is then the copulative. Hence, in the above example, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* intercedes between the conjunction וְ *wᵉ* and the perfect verb. The latter conjunction is thus considered to be a waw copulative. Cowley (1910: 485) states that the waw copulative serves to connect two or more sentences, or single words. Its use, however, is by no means restricted merely to joining sentences which are actually co-ordinate. Frequently, the language just employs the simple connection by waw, even to introduce an antithesis. It is proposed that the waw copulative, in this example, introduces the antithesis expressed in this sentence. Hence, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* contributes, in contrast to Clines' (1998) proposal, nothing at all to the expression of the antithesis expressed in the current example. The results of these merging operations are illustrated in (43).

(43)



Having analysed the merging and checking operations of (41), the discussion now turns to the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (43). In Chapter 3 it was hypothesised that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is the set of nodes that לֹא *lōʾ* c-commands in the LF representation. In structure (43) the first branching node that dominates לֹא *lōʾ*, *i e* NegP, also dominates TP, as well as VP^2 and VP^1. This implies that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in this case ranges over TP, VP^2, VP^1, including the object, that is, the whole sequence following לֹא *lōʾ*. The implication of this range of

the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* is that this sentence exhibits what may be called sentence-negation, as the negative לֹא *lō'* has scope over the whole sequence following it. Given the analysis of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in the example (41), the merit of the different translations of this text will be examined. The RSV, OA, JB and NIV take the scope of the negative to include only the object *mānôaḥ* (a resting-place). Consider the RSV as an example:

RSV: *But the dove found no place to set her foot,…*

The JPS, NA and GNB, in contrast, take the scope of the negative to be on *find a resting-place for the sole of her foot*. Hence, the scope of the negative ranges over the whole sequence that follows it, as in the following example:

NA: *…en die duif kon nie 'n rusplekkie kry vir die holte van sy voet nie…[and the dove could not find a resting-place for the sole of his foot…]*

In terms of the above analysis, then, it is proposed that the following translation is a more accurate representation of the intended meaning:

(44) *But the dove did not find a resting-place for the palm/sole of her foot…*

The above exposition proposes that the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding a perfect verb includes the whole sequence following the negative. The following section will discuss the scenario of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the imperfect verb.

4.4.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* with imperfect verbs

The imperfect is usually used to represent events and facts which, from the point of view of the speaker, have not been completed, and are still continuing or happening (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 146). The imperfect form corresponds broadly to the English future tense (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 147). Consider the following example with the negative לֹא *lō'* immediately preceding an imperfect verb:

(45) Gen 42[38]

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא־יֵרֵד בִּנְי עִמָּכֶם

wayyōʾmer lōʾ-yērēd bᵉnî ʿimmākem

but-said-he not-may-go-down-he (Qal impf 3rd masc sing) son-my with-you

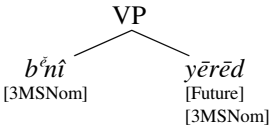
But he said, "My son will not go down with you;…"

The derivation of (45) begins with the selection of two fully inflected forms from the lexicon, namely the verb יֵרֵד *yērēd* and the noun בְּנִי *bᵉnî* as subject. No object is selected with the verb. The adjunct עִמָּכֶם *ʿimmākem* does not represent a participant in the event *to go*, but simply provides additional information about the event in that it specifies the manner of *going*, that is *with you*. For this reason the adjunct will not be taken into consideration below. The verb יֵרֵד *yērēd* and the noun בְּנִי *bᵉnî* carry the following features:

	בְּנִי *bᵉnî*	יֵרֵד *yērēd*
Head-features:	[3MSNom]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[3MSNom]
Complement-features:		

The noun בְּנִי *bᵉnî* is merged with the verbיֵרֵד *yērēd* to form VP as in (46):

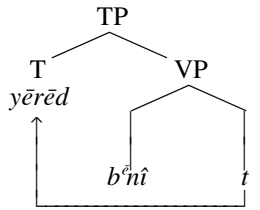
(46)



The following step in the derivation is the checking of the relevant features of *bᵉnî* and *yērēd*. The specifier-features of the verb are checked against the head-features of the subject. The [3MS] specifier-features of the verb match the [3MS] head-features of the noun. The [3MS] specifier-features of the verb are subsequently deleted, as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of the verb matches the [Nom] head-feature of the subject and both are deleted as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The only remaining unchecked feature is the [Future] head-feature of the verb. In order to check this feature VP is merged with the functional category T, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The

verb *yērēd* is moved to T resulting in the checking off of the tense-feature in T. The merge and movement operations in question are illustrated in (47):

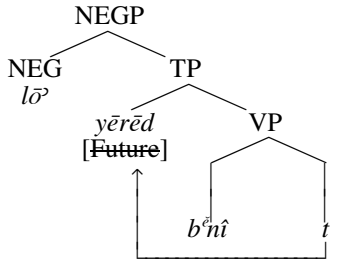
(47)



Head-features: [3MS~~Nom~~] [Future]
Specifier-features: [~~3MSNom~~]
Complement-features:

In the overt surface representation of (45) the negative לֹא *lō'* immediately precedes the imperfect verb. TP is next merged with the head Neg, filled by the negative לֹא *lō'*, resulting in the phrasal category NegP, as illustrated in (48):

(48)



Head-features: [3MS~~Nom~~]
Specifier-feature: [~~3MSNom~~]
Complement-features:

In (48), NegP dominates לֹא *lō'* as well as TP and VP. The negative לֹא *lō'* thus c-commands TP and VP, which means that it has scope over these two nodes, hence over the whole subsequent phrase. Thus, in the analysis of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the imperfect verb, it is contended that the negative לֹא *lō'* has sentential scope over the clause following it. In

terms of this proposal, the merit of the different translations will be evaluated in terms of the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*.

All the different text versions take the scope of the negative to range over the whole phrase following the negative. They differ in terms of the translation of the verb itself, with translations such as *will not go down, is not going down, shall not go down*, *cannot go*, but in terms of the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* they seem to consider the scope to be on the whole subsequent phrase. Consider the RSV as an example:

RSV: *But he said, "My son shall not go down with you,…"*

In terms of the above analytic discussion on the scope of the negative, the following translation is proposed:

(49) *My son shall not go down with you…*

As with the perfect, it is then maintained that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the imperfect verb, ranges over the whole clause following the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. It is therefore maintained to be an instance of sentence-negation. The following section (4.4.3) considers the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the command forms.

4.4.3 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the command forms

In section 4.3.3 the distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the jussive and the cohortative, as well as its use in absolute prohibitions, has been discussed.

- The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the jussive

Consider again 1 Kgs 2^6 (32) as example of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the jussive, repeated here as (50):

(50) 1 Kgs 2[6]

וְעָשִׂיתָ כְּחָכְמָתֶךָ וְלֹא־תוֹרֵד שֵׂיבָתוֹ בְּשָׁל�om שְׁאוֹל׃

wᵉʿāśîtā kᵉḥokmātekā wᵉlōʾ-tôrēd śêbātô bᵉšālōm šᵉʾōl

and-do-you as/according-wisdom-your but-not-let-go-down-you (Hiphil impf 2nd masc sing apocopated) grey-hair-his in-peace sheol/underworld

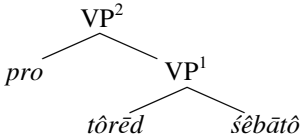
And deal with him according to your wisdom, but do not let his grey head go down to the grave[42] *in peace.*

The derivation of (50) begins with the selection of two fully inflected forms, namely the verb תּוֹרֵד *tôrēd* and the object שֵׂיבָתוֹ *śêbātô*. Examples (41) and (45) exhibit explicit (overt) subjects. In this example (50) no overt subject is present. As was discussed in (4.1), BH is considered as a null-subject (pro-drop) language which means that a phonetically-realised subject may be absent. An empty category *pro* is selected that shares the same ϕ-features as the verb.[43] The verb *tôrēd*, *pro* and object *śêbātô* have the following head, specifier- and complement-features:

	Pro	*tôrēd*	*śêbātô*
Head-features:	[2MSNom]	[Future]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[2MSNom]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

The derivation begins with the merging of *śêbātô* with *tôrēd* to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with *pro* to form VP^2, as in (51):

(51)



Head-features:	[2MSNom]	[Future]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[2MSNom]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

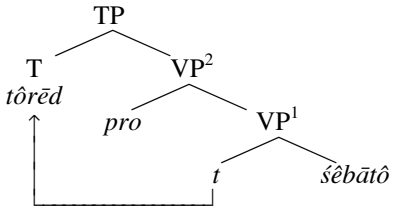
The [2MSNom] specifier-features of *tôrēd* are checked against the [2MSNom] head-features of *pro*, resulting in the deletion of the [2MS] specifier-features

42 The NIV adds the following footnote to "grave": Hebrew *Sheol*

43 To simplify the discussion the adjunct בְּשָׁל�om שְׁאוֹל *bᵉšālōm šᵉʾōl* will be left aside.

of the verb *tôrēd*, specifier-features being uninterpretable at LF. The [Nom] case-features on both categories are deleted, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. To check the [Future] head-future of *tôrēd*, VP^2 is merged with the functional category T, resulting in the phrasal category TP. The verb *tôrēd* is then moved to T, where checking takes place. These operations are illustrated in (52):

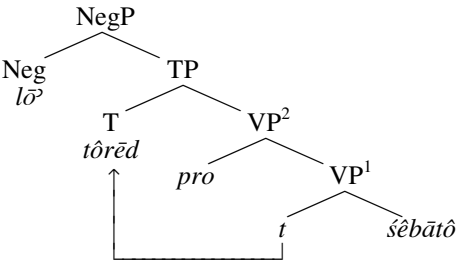
(52)



Head-features:	[2MS~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MSNom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

In the overt surface representation the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the verb *tôrēd*. TP is then merged with the functional category Neg, resulting in the phrasal category NegP. These operations are illustrated in (53):

(53)



Head-features:	[2MS~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MSNom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

Recall that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is the set of nodes that לֹא *lōʾ* c-commands. In structure (53), the first branching node that dominates the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is NegP, which also dominates TP, implying that the

negative לא *lō'* c-commands TP, VP^2 and VP^1. Thus, the scope of the negative extends over the whole sequence of categories following the negative לא *lō'*. Given this analysis on the scope of the negative לא *lō'* preceding the jussive form, the merit of the different text versions is examined in the following discussion. Of the different texts, the RSV, JB (to a certain extent) and NIV take the scope of the negative לא *lō'* to range over the subsequent clause following the negative. Consider the NIV as an example:

NIV: *Deal with him according to your wisdom, but do not let his grey head go down to the grave in peace.*

The OA and JPS take the object *śêbātô* (his grey hair) to fall outside the scope of the negative לא *lō'*. Consider the OA:

OA: *Handel dan na jou wysheid, en sy grys hare moet jy nie met vrede in die doderyk laat neerdaal nie. [Act according to your wisdom, and you should not let his grey hair go down with peace to the underworld].*

According to the OA, the only phrase falling within the scope of th negative לא *lō'* is *met vrede in die doderyk laat neerdaal* [*with peace go down in the underworld*]. A point of criticism against this translation is that the object *his grey hair* is translated as falling outside the scope of the negative לא *lō'*, that is, as if it fills the topic position in the sentence. In terms of the analysis set out in (53), however, the object falls within the scope of the negative לא *lō'* as it falls within VP^1, with the latter falling inside the c-commanding domain of the negative לא *lō'*.

The NA and GNB translate this verse extremely freely, but it seems that both consider the scope of the negative to range over the whole of the subsequent phrase. However, given that this is such a free translation, not much can be said concerning the syntactic order and the scope of the negative. Consider the translation of the NA:

NA: *Doen met hom soos jy dit goedvind. Moenie sy lewe spaar net omdat hy oud is nie.* [*Do with him as you please. Do not save his life just because he is old*].

In terms of the above analysis, then, the following translation is proposed as an accurate representation of the intended meaning (54).

(54) *And act according to your wisdom, but do not let his grey head go down in peace to Sheol*

- The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the cohortative

As was indicated in the discussion on the distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the cohortative, the BibleWorks searches resulted in one example where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes a cohortative in form and meaning, *i e* in Gen 18[21]. However, it was maintained that the cohortative in this example introduces a new clause (the apodosis of a conditional clause) and that the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, as such, has no scope over the subsequent cohortative form.

- The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in absolute prohibitions

In the discussion on the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in absolute prohibitions, it was indicated that an absolute prohibition to the second person is expressed by means of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect verb to the second person. The Ten Commandments are typical examples of an absolute prohibition expressed by the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the imperfect verb. Consider again example (40) repeated here as (55):

(55) Ex 20[14]

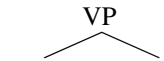
לֹ֥א תִנְאָֽף׃
lōʾ tinʾāf
Not may-commit-adultery-you
You shall not commit adultery.

The derivation of (55) begins with the selection of the verb form *tinʾāf*. The verb is fully inflected for person, gender and number and no subject is selected for the verb. Being a pro-drop language allowing null-subjects, *pro* is selected that carries the same person, number and gender features as the verb. The verb *tinʾāf* and *pro* carry the following head, specifier and complement-features:

	pro	*tinʾāf*
Head-features:	[2MS; Nom]	[Future, 2MS]
Specifier-features:		[2MS; Nom]
Complement-features:		

The verb *tinʾāf* is merged with *pro* to form VP as in (56):

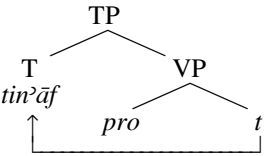
(56)



Head-features:	[2MS; Nom]	[Future, 2MS]
Specifier-features:		[2MS; Nom]
Complement-features:		

The [2MS; Nom] specifier-features of *tinʾāf* are checked against the [2MS; Nom] head-features of *pro*; since the specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF, the specifier-features [2MS] of the verb *tinʾāf* are deleted. Successful checking implies deletion of the [Nom] case-features in both categories. The only remaining feature that needs to be checked is the [Future] head-feature of the verb *tinʾāf*. To this end, VP is merged with the functional head T to form the phrasal category TP. The verb *tinʾāf* is then moved to TP, where the checking can take place. These two steps may be illustrated as in (57):

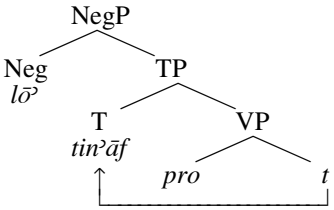
(57)



Head-features:	[2MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MS; Nom~~]
Complement-features:		

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ immediately precedes the verb *tinʾāf*. TP is then merged with the functional head Neg, filled by the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ, to form the phrasal category NegP as in (58):

(58)



Head-features:	[2MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~2MS; Nom~~]
Complement-features:		

The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (58) is the set of nodes that לֹא *lōʾ* c-commands. The first branching node that dominates לֹא *lōʾ*, as well as TP and VP is NegP. This implies that לֹא *lōʾ* has scope over TP and VP. Hence, it is maintained that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in the above example has sentential scope on the subsequent clause.

All the different text versions translate the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to range over the subsequent prohibition. Consider the translation of the NA:

NA: *Jy mag nie egbreuk pleeg nie. [You shall not commit adultery].*

It is evident that the different texts also consider the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to be over the subsequent command form. The following translation is proposed:

(61) *You shall not commit adultery.*

4.5 The questionable role of particles preceding the negative לֹא *lōʾ*

Throughout section (4.3) to (4.4) it was argued that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* only bears scope over categories following it, subject to the limits imposed by c-command. It was indicated that the minimum contribution of the negative is that of sentence-negation. In combinations with preceding particles, amongst other things the QM, it is of no relevance to discuss, on an *ad hoc* basis, the negative preceded by these different categories.

Another division made by Clines (1998: 489) is the use of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in conditional clauses. One of the combinations postulated אִם לֹא *ʾim lōʾ* (the conjunction אִם *ʾim* and the negative לֹא *lōʾ*) introducing the protasis of conditional clauses. The following discussion rejects such an *ad hoc* classification, as such examples are clearly explained in terms of the proposals and expositions provided throughout this chapter. The following example illustrates לֹא *lōʾ* in the protasis of a conditional clause, with the negative preceding an imperfect verb form. Consider the example in (60):

(60) Gen 44[23]

וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־עֲבָדֶיךָ אִם־לֹא יֵרֵד אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן אִתְּכֶם לֹא תֹסִפוּן לִרְאוֹת פָּנָי׃
wattōʾmer ʾel-ʿᵃbādeykā ʾim-lōʾ yērēd ʾᵃḥîkem haqqāṭōn ʾittᵉkem lōʾ tōsifûn lirʾôt pānāy
And-said-you to-servants-your if-not came-down-he brother-your the-young(est) not longer-will-you to-see face-my
But you told your servants, "If your youngest brother does not come down with you, you will not any longer see my face."

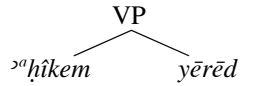
The conditional clause in the above example can be divided into two parts: the protasis[44] אִם־לֹא יֵרֵד אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן אִתְּכֶם *ʾim-lōʾ yērēd ʾᵃḥîkem haqqāṭōn ʾittᵉkem* and the apodosis[45] לֹא תֹסִפוּן לִרְאוֹת פָּנָי *lōʾ tōsifûn lirʾôt pānāy*. The present discussion is concerned only with the protasis part of the conditional clause above. The derivation of אִם־לֹא יֵרֵד אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן אִתְּכֶם *ʾim-lōʾ yērēd ʾᵃḥîkem haqqāṭōn ʾittᵉkem* begins with the selection of two fully inflected forms יֵרֵד *yērēd* and אֲחִיכֶם *ʾᵃḥîkem* from the lexicon.[46] The verb יֵרֵד *yērēd* is merged with אֲחִיכֶם *ʾᵃḥîkem* to form the VP in (61); the two items have the head-, specifier- and complement-features, as indicated.

44 The protasis is the first (*if*-) part of a condition – a subordinate, conditional clause (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 364).

45 The apodosis is the second (*then*-) part of a condition. The apodosis is the consecutive main clause that follows the conditional sub-ordinate clause or protasis of this construction (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 353).

46 To simplify the discussion, the adjective הַקָּטֹן *haqqāṭōn* and the prepositional phrase אִתְּכֶם *ʾittᵉkem* will not be considered.

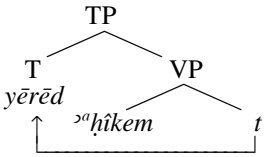
(61)



Head-features:	[3MS; Nom]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[3MS; Nom]
Complement-features:		

The [3MS] specifier-features of *yērēd* are checked against the [3MS] head-features of *ʾᵃḥîkem*, resulting in deletion of the [3MS] specifier-features, since such features are uninterpretable at LF. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *yērēd* is likewise checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *ʾᵃḥîkem* with deletion of both features. In order to check the [Future] head-feature of the verb *yērēd*, VP is merged with the head T to form TP, and the verb *yērēd* is moved to T where checking of this tense-feature takes place as indicated in (62):

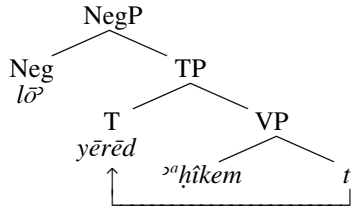
(62)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features:		

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the verb *yērēd*. This can be accounted for by merging TP with the head Neg to form NegP as in (63):

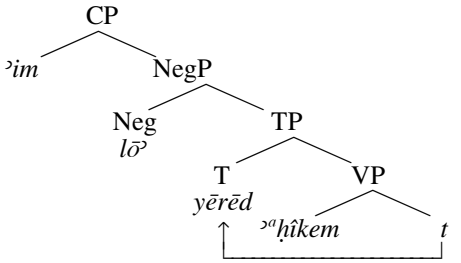
(63)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features:		

In example (60) the conjunction אִם *ʾim* precedes the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. To derive this construction, NegP is merged with the category C, resulting in CP, as in (64):

(64)



Head-features:	[3MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]
Specifier-features:		[~~3MS~~; ~~Nom~~]
Complement-features:		

The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (60) is the set of nodes that it c-commands. The c-command domain of the negative is determined in terms of the first branching node that dominates the negative which is NegP. In (64) NegP dominates the negative לֹא *lōʾ* and TP. This implies that the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* will range over the whole sequence יֵרֵד אֲחִיכֶם הַקָּטֹן אִתְּכֶם *yērēd ʾaḥîkem haqqāṭōn ʾittᵉkem*. In (64) the conjunction אִם *ʾim* has scope over the whole protasis as it introduces the protasis of the conditional clause above.

Considering the different text versions, it is evident that all the texts convey the conjunction אִם *ʾim* and take the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to express sentential negation, having scope over the whole sequence following on it. The NA and GNB deviate slightly in translating the apodosis part of the conditional clause first, followed by the protasis part. Both, however, take the scope to range over the whole sequence following the negative. Consider the translations of the OA and NA:

OA: *Daarop het u vir u dienaars gesê: As julle jongste broer nie saam met julle afkom nie, sal julle my aangesig nie weer sien nie. [Thereupon you said to your servants: If your youngest brother does not come down with you, you will not see my face again.]*

NA: *Maar u het vir ons gesê u wil ons nie weer sien as ons jongste broer nie hierheen kom nie. [But you told us you do not want to see us again if our youngest brother does not come here.]*

In terms of the above discussion on the scope it is evident that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* has sentential scope in the protasis part of the conditional clause above. The conjunction אִם *ʾim* in (60), which introduces the protasis of the above conditional clause, plays no role in terms of the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. The scope of the negative remains that of sentence-negation. Clines's separate (ad hoc) division of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in the protasis of conditional clause is therefore rejected. The derivation system followed in this research clearly explains that the scope of the negative in the above protasis remains an instance of sentence-negation. Thus, one needs not to create *ad hoc* divisions to explain the negative in such clauses. The system developed in this chapter clearly indicates that such cases are indeed cases of sentence-negation, rendering any such *ad hoc* divisions (as proposed by Clines) pointless. The relevance of such divisions is therefore questioned as Clines's focus is much too strong on the particles preceding the negative and not as such on the minimum contribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*.

4.6 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in constructions introducing an alternative where ellipsis has occurred

The objective of this section is to determine the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in constructions where ellipsis has occurred. These elliptic constructions are introduced by a number of particles; the following example exhibits אִם *ʾim* followed by the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, introducing the alternative to a statement that has already been made in the sentence. As an example of such ellipsis, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding an imperfect verb will be utilised. Consider the following example (65):

(65) Num 11[23]

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הֲיַד יְהוָה תִּקְצָר עַתָּה תִרְאֶה הֲיִקְרְךָ דְבָרִי אִם־לֹא׃

wayyōʾmer yahweh ʾel-mōšeh hª yad yahweh tiqṣor ʿattâ tirʾeh hª yiqrᵉkā dᵉbārî ʾim-lōʾ

and-said-he yahweh to-moses QM-hand-of yahweh be-(too)-short-she now will-see-you QM-come-true-(for)-you words-my or not

The Lord answered Moses, "Is the hand of the Lord too short? Now you will see whether my words will come true for you, or not."

The clause אִם־לֹא *hª yiqrᵉkā dᵉbārî ʾim-lōʾ* in (65) is divided into two parts: an interrogative clause הֲיִקְרְךָ דְבָרִי *hª yiqrᵉkā dᵉbārî* and the counterpart of the interrogative clause introduced by אִם־לֹא *ʾim-lōʾ*. Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 684) claim that in double or triple questions, the first question has הֲ *hª* and the others אִם *ʾim*, וְאִם *wᵉʾim*, הֲ *hª* or אוֹ *ʾô*. Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 322) state that אִם־לֹא *ʾim-lōʾ* may introduce an indirect question; they refer to Gen 24[21] *to learn whether the Lord has prospered his journey or not*, in which אִם־לֹא *ʾim-lōʾ* occurs at the end of the clause. In literature these question types are referred to as tag questions. According to Crystal (1985: 303) the term *tag question* refers to a structure that usually consists of an auxiliary verb plus pronoun, that is attached to the end of a statement in order to convey a negative or positive orientation. In English the polarity of the tag is usually the reverse of that found in the main clause: a positive clause takes a negative tag, and *vice versa*. Regarding the example in (65), it would seem that the in-

direct question/tag question counterpart is phonologically empty, *i e* it is a structure from which something has been omitted. The process by which an expression is omitted, in order to avoid repetition, is called *ellipsis* (Radford 1997: 505). More specifically, ellipsis is the process by which redundant information in a sentence is *ellipsed* (*i e* omitted) if it can be inferred from the context (if it has been previously mentioned in the discourse). According to Radford (1997: 110) there are two kinds of ellipsis – one involving the ellipsis of *head words*, and the other of *projections* (of expressions comprising more than just a head word). The difference can be seen by comparing the two sentences in (66):

(66) (a) He can speak French better than she can German
(b) He can speak French better than she can

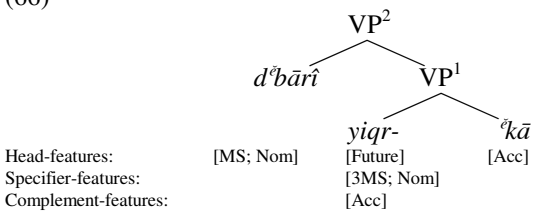
Example (66) (a) is understood as an elliptical (abbreviated) form of *He can speak French better than she can (speak) German,* and so is a structure in which the head verb *speak* of the verb phrase *speak German* has undergone ellipsis. This type of ellipsis is often referred to as *gapping* because it has the effect of leaving a gap in the sentence. However, (66)(b) involves a different kind of ellipsis: it is understood as an elliptical form of *He can speak French better than she can (speak French).* In this type of structure a whole projection has undergone ellipsis (*viz* the verb phrase *speak French* which serves as the complement of *can*) (Radford 1997: 110).

Notice that example (65) contains an interrogative expression in the form of הֲיִקְרְךָ דְבָרַי אִם־לֹא *hᵃyiqrᵉkā dᵉbārî ʾim-lōʾ Whether my words will come true for you, or not.* The question now arises as to whether one should consider (65) as an example of ellipsis or gapping. Here it is assumed to be an example of ellipsis, rather than gapping. This assumption is based on the fact that not only the head of VP, יִקְרְךָ *yiqrᵉkā will come true* is omitted, but the whole VP projection. Without ellipsis this verse would read as in (67):

(67) Whether will come true for you my words, or *whether not (will come true for you my words).*

Given that ellipsis has occurred in the indirect question under discussion, the next question concerns the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ in this construction. According to Radford *et al* (1999: 400) ellipsis serves to erase words in the second clause if they have already occurred in the first clause; however, these deleted elements remain visible to interpretation, conceivably through a process that covertly *reconstructs* the elided material at LF. Given such an analysis it may then be proposed that the elided material in the tag question in (65) is a copy of the contents of the question in the main clause, introduced by הֲ *hª*. The derivation of the sequence הֲיַקְרֵךְ דְּבָרִי *hªyiqrᵉkā dᵉbārî* in (65) begins with the selection of the fully inflected forms, the verb יִקַּר־ *yiqr*-, the object ךָ (a pronominal suffix second masculine singular attached to the verb) and the noun דְּבָרִי *dᵉbārî* from the lexicon. The next step is the merging of the pronominal suffix ךָ-*ᵉkā* with the verb יִקַּר־ *yiqr*- to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with the subject דְּבָרִי *dᵉbārî* to form VP^2. These operations are illustrated in (66), with the relevant head-, specifier- and complement-features indicated in (66):

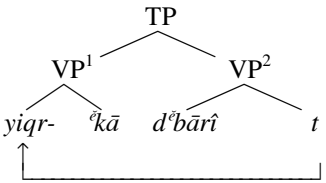
(66)



The [MS] specifier-features of the verb *yiqr*- are checked against the [MS] head-features of *dᵉbārî* with subsequent deletion of the specifier-features of *yiqr*-. The [3rd person] specifier-feature of *yiqr*- plays no role in the derivation. Nouns in BH are not inflected for person, only for number and gender. The [Nom] specifier-feature of *yiqr*- is checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *dᵉbārî* with subsequent deletion of both these features. The [Acc] complement-feature of *yiqr*- is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of the object *ᵉkā* with deletion of both [Acc] features. The next step concerns the checking of the [Future] head-feature of the verb *yiqr*-. To this end VP^2 is merged with the head T to form TP and the verb *yiqr*- is moved to TP. This movement implies movement of *yiqrᵉkā, viz* the verb with the object (in this case the pronominal suffix). The object

(pronominal suffix) is affixed to the verb and is therefore pied-piped[47] along with the verb to TP as in (67):

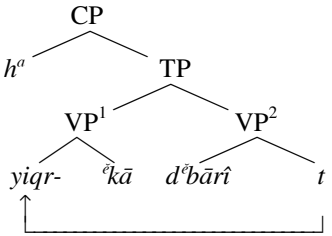
(67)



Head-features:		[MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:			[3~~MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:			[~~Acc~~]	

In the surface structure the question particle הֲ *hᵃ* precedes the verb *yiqr-*. This can be accounted for by merging TP with the head C, filled by the question particle הֲ *hᵃ*, to form CP as in (68):

(68)

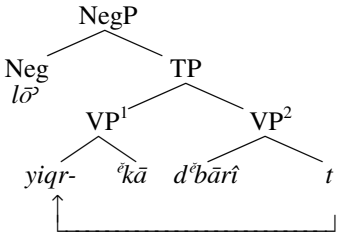


Head-features:		[MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:			[3~~MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:			[~~Acc~~]	

The discussion turns now towards the elided tag question introduced by אִם ʾ*im* in (65). As assumed above, this elided tag question contains a copy of the question in the main clause. The derivation of the tag question will therefore be essentially the same as the derivation of the main clause. One difference, however, with (68) is that TP is instead merged with the head Neg to form NegP, in the case of the tag question illustrated in (69):

47 Chomsky (1995: 264) refers to generalised pied-piping having the implication that the derivation crashes at PF when parts of a word are scattered. Cf also Watanabe (2001: 203-26) and Radford (1997: 276-82).

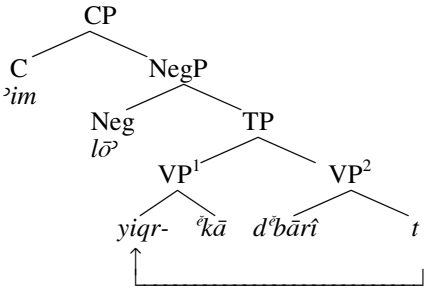
(69)



Head-features:	[MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[3~~MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

Another difference between the main clause and the tag question is that, in the latter case, NegP is merged with the head C, filled by אִם *'im*, as in (70):

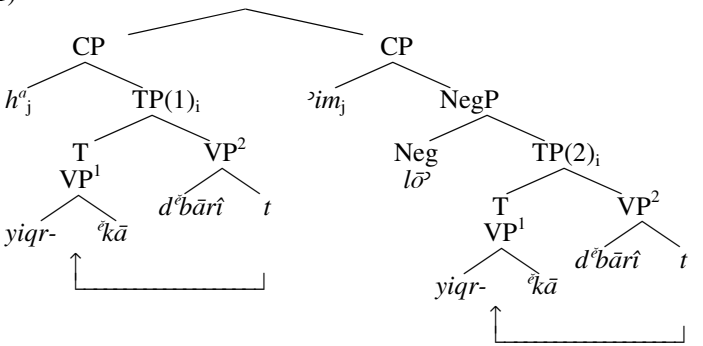
(70)



Head-features:	[MS; ~~Nom~~]	[Future]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[3~~MS~~; ~~Nom~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

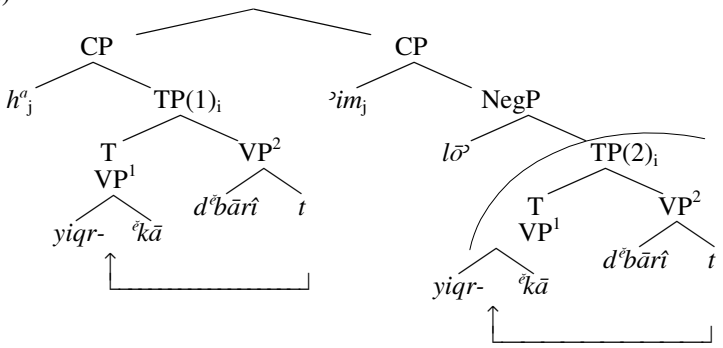
Merging of the two questions, the one in the main clause in (68) and the one presented in (70), will result in the structure in (71):

(71)

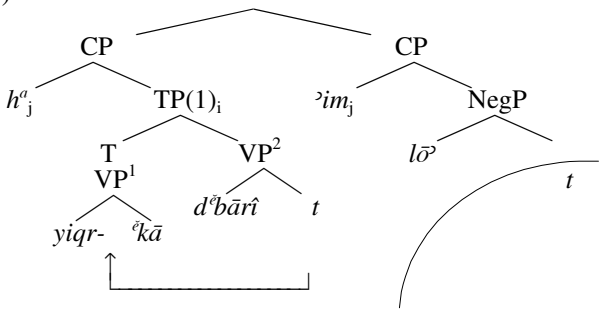


In the structure in (71) אִם *ʾim* continues the question that is introduced by the QM הַ *h*^{a}, therefore אִם *ʾim* and the QM הַ *h*^{a} are co-indexed (the co-indexation indicated as j). TP(1) and TP(2) is co-indexed (indicated as i). This co-indexed TP(2) is a copy of the question construction in the main clause; this copy is not phonologically present in the structure and will be deleted at PF (hence it is not pronounced). Hence in (73), TP(2) below the arc is erased. It is assumed here, however, that TP(2) is still *visible* for interpretation at LF. For the purposes of this research it is only assumed that deletion of TP(2) takes place at PF; however, the way in which this deletion takes place and the mechanisms that play a role in this deletion fall outside the scope of this research. However, it is assumed that the elided copy is still visible at LF for interpretation. The deletion of the elided copy is visualised in (72), with (73) illustrating that a trace *t* remains below the arc:

(72)



(73)



In terms of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (73), it is proposed that the NegP dominates both לֹא *lō'* and TP(2), hence the negative c-commands TP(2) and therefore its scope ranges over the trace *t* of TP(2). In terms of c-command, then, the negative לֹא *lō'* has sentential scope over the elided trace *t*.

Consider now the different text versions of Num 11[23]. The RSV, OA, JB, JPS, NA and GNB translate the tag question introduced by אִם לֹא *'im lō'* at the end of the verse. Consider the JB as example:

JB: *Yahweh said to Moses, "Is the arm of Yahweh so short? You shall see whether the promise I have made to you comes true or not."*

In the NIV, in contrast, the sequence introduced by the QM הֲ *h*^{a} directly precedes its counterpart, the tag question, introduced by אִם *ʾim*, thereby creating the sense that the clause *what I say will come true for you* is considered as the *content* of both interrogative clauses, the one introduced by הֲ *h*^{a}, the other by אִם *ʾim*.

NIV: *The LORD answered Moses, "Is the LORD's arm too short? You will now see whether or not what I say will come true for you."*

Following the analysis above and the discussion on the scope of the negative in the elided tag question, it is proposed that the NIV better expresses the scope of the negative ranging over the elided tag question.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the syntax of constructions in which the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the finite verbs, *i e* the imperfect and perfect verbs, as well as the command forms, *i e* the jussive, the cohortative and in absolute prohibitions. It was argued that all of these cases where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes a finite verb were examples of sentence-negation as the scope of the negative ranges over all the categories c-commanded by the negative; as indicated these categories represented the entire subsequent phrase in each case.

Chapter 5 discusses the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the different non-verbal categories. This chapter introduces another type of negation, *i e* constituent-negation. It will be argued that with constituent-negation the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* only extends over certain lexical categories following on it, and not, as with sentence-negation, on the whole clause following upon itself.