Chapter 6

The negative לֹא *lō'* with non-finite verbs

This chapter focusses on the two non-finite verb forms in BH, namely the participle and the infinitive (construct and absolute). The aim of this chapter is threefold: firstly, to present analyses of the various construction types in which these non-finite verb forms co-occur with the negative לֹא *lō'*; secondly, to describe the scope of the negative in such constructions; and thirdly, to critically assess the merit of the translations of the relevant examples in the different text versions referred to in Chapter 1. The discussion is organised as follows. Section 6.1 provides background information on the two non-finite verb forms. Section 6.2 focusses on the characteristic features of the non-finite verb forms. Section 6.3 concentrates on the distribution of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the non-finite verb forms. In Section 6.4 a discussion on the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the different non-finite verb forms is provided.

6.1 Morphological background

Non-finite verb forms in BH are verb forms which are not marked for person (the participle), or for person, gender and number (the infinitive) (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 153). Below, some general properties of BH participles and infinitives are outlined briefly as background to the analyses proposed in the rest of this chapter.

6.1.1 The participle

In BH the participle[78] represents a verbal adjective which can function as a verb, noun or adjective (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 162). Participles are inflected for number (singular and plural) and gender (feminine and masculine) and are used in both absolute and construct states. In the absolute they have a more verbal character and may govern nouns. BH participles are furthermore divided into active and passive participles. Within this system, on syntactic level, no distinction is drawn between the active and passive participles. The active participle has four main functions in Biblical Hebrew: as a substantive, an adjective, a relative and a predicate (Waltke & O'Connor 1990: 613).

6.1.2 The infinitive construct and infinitive absolute

The infinitive construct expresses an action without referring to person, gender, number or tense. For this reason the infinitive may not be used independently as the main verb of a sentence. An infinitive almost always occurs in relation to another finite verb. A characteristic of the infinitive construct forms in BH, on the one hand, is that they act syntactically like nouns, they may be governed by prepositions, and may also take pronominal suffixes. However, unlike nouns, the infinitive construct is not inflected for gender and number. Semantically, the infinitive construct has no function in itself; rather, it reflects either the syntactic function which it fulfils in a sentence, or the semantic relation between itself and the finite verb. This relation is often governed by means of a preposition (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 154). The infinitive absolute, on the other hand, differs from the infinitive construct in terms of both form and function. In contrast to the infinitive construct, the infinitive absolute in BH cannot be combined with any other grammatical or lexical morpheme, cannot be governed by a preposition, and it also cannot take a pronominal suffix (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 157-8). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 583) summarise the differences between the infinitive construct and the infinitive absolute in (1):

78 Cf Dyk (1994) for a comprehensive discussion of the participle in BH.

(1)

- Only the infinitive absolute regularly takes the place of a finite verb.
- Only the infinitive construct is regularly used with a preposition.[79]
- Only the infinitive construct can take a pronominal suffix.
- If the subject of the verbal action expressed by the infinitive absolute is stated, it is always an independent noun; with the infinitive construct it may be a pronominal suffix.

According to Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 583) the infinitive absolute is not normally negated; rather a negative particle, where needed, is normally placed before the finite verb which co-occurs with the infinitive absolute.

6.2 Grammatical features of non-finite verbs

The derivation of participle and infinitive (construct and absolute) constructions is to a large extent driven by the need to check the head-, specifier- and complement-features of these forms. The following two sections focus on the relevant grammatical features of these non-finite verbs.

6.2.1 Features of participles

As noted above, the participle in BH can function as a verb, noun or adjective. According to Dyk (1994: 49) a verbal stem is at the very heart of the participial form. She points out that participles, like verbs, may take as their complements, amongst other things, direct object nouns and verbal adjuncts (Dyk 1994: 51-6).[80] This section will focus primarily on the features of the participle when functioning as a verb. In the syntactic derivations to follow references will be made to the characteristic features of the participle when functioning as a noun or adjective.

79 Cf Van der Merwe (1997: 53) for a discussion of the infinitive governed by prepositions in temporal expressions.

80 The direct object nouns can be unmarked, or introduced either by the direct object marker את *'et* or a preposition.

Consider the following example in (2) containing a participle functioning as a verb:

(2) Job 12[3]

לֹא־נֹפֵל אָנֹכִי מִכֶּם

lōʾ-nōfēl ʾānōkî mikkem
Not-fall (Qal part masc sing) I from-you
I am not inferior to you

The participle is inflected only for person and number (unlike finite verbs which are also inflected for gender). The participle נֹפֵל *nōfēl* and its subject אָנֹכִי *ʾānōkî* carry the following head, specifier and complement-features:

	ʾānōkî	*nōfēl*
Head-features:	[1sing]	[Tense]
Specifier-features:		[MS]
Complement-features:		

The participle in this example functions as a verb and therefore carries a [Tense]-feature. The specifier-features of *nōfēl* [MS] must be checked against the head-features of *ʾānōkî*; successful checking will result in the deletion of the specifier-features on *nōfēl* since these features are un-interpretable at LF. The [Tense]-feature of *nōfēl* must be checked against the head T that carries a tense-feature.

6.2.2 Features of infinitives

In Chapter 4 the BH verbal system was discussed in terms of tense and aspect. It was pointed out that there is an interwovenness in BH between aspect and time. As regards time, the perfect verb refers more or less to the past time and the imperfect more or less to the non-past time. As regards aspect, the perfect verb refers to a completed action, and the imperfect to a non-completed action. Doron (1983: 38) draws the following distinction between finite and infinitival verbs in Modern Hebrew, one which may shed some light on the reference to time in especially the infinitive in BH. She states that the classification of sentences according to the dimension tensed/untensed, used for example for English, is not fine enough to classify the sentences of Hebrew or of Semitic languages in general. In traditional grammars of these languages, by contrast, verbs are classified

into tensed-present-infinitival. Tensed in this context includes only past and future. As regards the present-non-present dimension, Doron (1983: 40) proposes that tensed and infinitival verbs contain a feature [Tense]. As regards the tensed/untensed dimension, she distinguishes between tensed (past and future) verbs on the one hand, and present and infinitival verbs on the other. Tensed verbs, on the one hand, contain a feature [past], the positive value of which corresponds to past tense, and the negative value to future tense. Present and infinitival verbs, on the other hand, are unspecified for the feature [Past]. In short then, infinitival verbs in Modern Hebrew are specified for [Tense], but unlike tensed verbs, they are not specified for past or future, that is, they do not have the feature [± past].

Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 72) state that the BH infinitive construct is a verbal noun that expresses action without referring to time or person. Given that the infinitive construct expresses an action, but does not refer to time, a [-Tense]-feature is associated with the infinitive construct in BH. In contrast to the imperfect and perfect verbs that differentiate time and aspect, it would then follow that the infinitive construct does not refer to time in the same sense as the imperfect or perfect verbs, that is, to the time or aspect of an action. Therefore, given that the infinitive construct expresses an action, a [-Tense]-feature is assigned to it. The infinitive absolute occurs frequently in the following type of construction:

(3) Infinitive absolute of root X + verb of root X, or verb of root X + infinitive absolute of root X.

Riekert (1979: 75) refers to this construction as the paranomastic infinitive,[81] stating that it has the same function throughout – as a manner of (verbal) repetition in order to grant prominence to some of the interpretative possibilities of one or both of the components of the construct (the finite verb and the infinitive absolute) to be interpreted with reference to the contextual situation. According to Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 158) constructions like these usually intensify the verbal idea. They further propose that the infinitive absolute construction can be translated by the adverbs *surely* or *definitely*. In the analysis below, it will be assumed that the infinitive abso-

81 By paronomastic infinitive is meant a single inf abs with a finite verb of the same stem.

lute fulfils the function of an adverb in the structures in question in that it intensifies the verbal thought.

Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 161) also discuss the use of the infinitive absolute in the place of other verbs, specifically, the finite verbs. In the analysis of this type of construction as indicated below, it will be assumed that the infinitive, used in place of another verb, selects PRO[82] (as subject), and carries a [-Tense]-feature, as explicated in the above discussion of the features of the infinitive construct.

6.3 Distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the non-finite verbs

According to Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 162) a participle in BH is always negated by אֵין *ʾên* (*not*), as in (4):

(4) Ex 5[10]

אֵינֶנִּי נֹתֵן לָכֶם תֶּבֶן׃

ʾênennî nōtēn lākem teben
Not-I give (Qal part masc sing) to-you straw
I will not give you any more straw.

Van der Merwe *et al* (1999: 153) furthermore state that the infinitive construct in BH is, unlike finite verbs, not negated by לֹא *lō*ʾ, but by בְּלִי *bᵉlî*, בִּלְתִּי *biltî* or לְבִלְתִּי *lᵉbiltî*. Despite these two claims, the data searches have

82 According to Van Riemsdijk & Williams (1986: 132) the abbreviation *PRO* has been devised to stand for a phonetically null-pronoun that occupies the subject position of infinitives as in (5):
(5) John wants PRO to leave.
Radford (1997: 131) states that the kind of null-subject found in the bracketed clause in (6) has much the same grammatical and referential properties as pronouns:
(6) a. We don't want [*anyone* to upset them]
b. We don't want [*pro* to upset them]
Crystal (1985: 245) postulates that PRO represents a noun phrase which needs to be co-indexed (or bound) with another noun phrase in order to ensure the correct semantic interpretation of the sentence. For example, in sentences such as *John wants to see Joan,* the structure would be "John$_1$ wants PRO$_1$ to see Joan", where PRO marks the underlying subject.

yielded a number of instances of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the participle and the infinitive (construct and absolute). In the section below the distribution of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is exemplified in constructions where it precedes the participle and the two types of infinitive.

6.3.1 The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the participle

As was pointed out above, BH contains both active and passive participles. The discussion below will first focus on the active participles, and then on the Qal participle, the only instance of a BH participle found in the passive voice. A total of 30 examples were found of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* negating an active participle (cf Addendum T). No cases were found of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* preceding an active participle. Given that the participle may function as a verb, noun or adjective, the examples below exhibit the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding each of these categories.

- לֹא *lōʾ* with a participle functioning as a verb

(7) Zech 14[18] (participle in bold)

וְאִם־מִשְׁפַּחַת מִצְרַיִם לֹא־תַעֲלֶה וְלֹא **בָאָה**
wᵉʾim-mišpaḥat miṣrayim lōʾ-taʿᵃleh wᵉlōʾ bāʾâ
and-if-clan/tribe-of egypt not-go-up-she and-not coming-she-(Qal part fem sing)
And if the clan of Egypt do not go up and do not come,…

In (7) the participle בָאָה *bāʾâ* functions as a verb *she comes.*

- לֹא *lōʾ* with a participle functioning as a noun

(8) Gen 42[34]

וְאֵדְעָה כִּי לֹא מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם
wᵉʾēdʿâ kî lōʾ mᵉraggᵉlîm ʾattem
…and-will-know-I that not spies you…
…so I will know that you are not spies…

In (8) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* occurs before a participle functioning as a noun[83] in a verbless clause,[84] *i e* מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* [*spies*]. Lettinga (1976: 154) refers to this specific verse, Gen 42[34], in arguing that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* may sometimes be used in a verbless clause for the negation of a separate word. In terms of Lettinga's proposal, the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* would encompass the participle immediately following, *viz* מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* [*spies*].

- לֹא *lōʾ* with a participle functioning as an adjective

(9) Ezek 22[24]

בֶּן־אָדָם אֱמָר־לָהּ אַתְּ אֶרֶץ לֹא מְטֻהָרָה הִיא לֹא גֶשְׁמָה בְיוֹם זָעַם׃

ben-ʾādām ʾᵉmār-lāh ʾattᵉ ʾereṣ lōʾ mᵉṭōhārâ hîʾ lōʾ gušmāh bᵉyôm zāʿam

son-of-man say-to-her you land not clean (Pual part fem sing) she not been-rained-her on-day-of curse

"Son of man, say to her, 'You are a land which is not clean – not washed with rain on the day of curse.'

In (9) the participle מְטֻהָרָה *mᵉṭōhārâ* is used as an adjective.

Turning now to the construction in which the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the Qal passive participle. Four such examples were found (cf Addendum T), including the example in (10), in which the passive participle שָׁדוּד *šādûd* functions as a verb:

(10) Is 33[1]

הוֹי שׁוֹדֵד וְאַתָּה לֹא שָׁדוּד

hôy šôdēd wᵉʾattâ lōʾ šādûd

woe! one-who-devastates and-you not one-who-was-devastated-(Qal passive part masc sing)…

Woe to you, O destroyer, you who have not been destroyed!

83 Grossberg (1977) discusses several examples of nominalisation in BH – the shift of a word from functioning as one part of speech to its functioning as a noun.

84 Cf Buth (1999: 87-94) for a discussion of the word order of participles occurring in nominal/non-verbal clauses.

This section has illustrated the syntactic distribution of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the participle. Three types of construction were presented: those in which the participle functions as a noun, a verb and an adjective, respectively. The scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ in such constructions will be examined in section (6.4) below.

6.3.2 The negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the infinitive forms

The infinitive expresses an action without referring to person, gender, number or tense. For this reason the infinitive may not be used independently as the main verb of a sentence. In BH a distinction is made between the ordinary infinitive and the absolute infinitive, called the infinitive construct and the infinitive absolute, respectively (Van der Merwe *et al* 1999: 153).

- The negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the infinitive construct

The data searches have yielded several examples of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding the infinitive construct. No cases of the bare form (without any prefixes) of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding a bare infinitive construct (without any governing prepositions) were found. However, one example of the negative form בְּלֹא *bᵉlō*ʾ preceding a bare infinitive construct form was found, and is presented here as (11):

(11) Num 35[23]

אוֹ בְכָל־אֶבֶן אֲשֶׁר־יָמוּת בָּהּ בְּלֹא רְאוֹת וַיַּפֵּל עָלָיו
ʾô bᵉkol-ʾeben ʾᵃšer-yāmût bāh bᵉlōʾ rᵉʾôt wayyappēl ʿālāyw
or with-any-stone which-may-die-he by-her in-not to-see-(Qal inf cs) and-fells-he upon-him …
… or with any stone through which one can die, without seeing, he drops it on him so that he dies, …

Two examples were found of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding an infinitive governed by a preposition:

• לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the preposition מִן *min* with the infinitive construct

Only one example, Deut 7[7], was encountered of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* co-occurring with the sequence consisting of a preposition[85] מִן *min* and the infinitive construct.

(12) Deut 7[7]

לֹא מֵרֻבְּכֶם מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים חָשַׁק יְהוָה בָּכֶם וַיִּבְחַר בָּכֶם כִּי־אַתֶּם הַמְעַט מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים׃

lōʾ mērubbᵉkem mikkol-hāʿammîm ḥāšaq yahweh bākem wayyibḥar bākem kî-ʾattem haməʿaṭ mikkol-hāʿammîm

not from-to-become-numerous-you (preposition מִן *min* with Qal inf cs with pron suff 2nd masc pl) from-all the-people loved-he yahweh in-you and-elected-he in-you because-you the-smallest from-all-the-people

Not because of your being many more than all the peoples has the Lord attached himself to you and chose you, for you are the least numerous of all peoples.

A possible translation of the preposition מִן *min* seems to be *because*. The interesting question is whether the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (12) includes only the preposition with infinitive or whether it ranges over the rest of the sentence.

• לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the preposition לְ *lᵉ* with the infinitive construct

One case was found of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the preposition לְ *lᵉ* governing the infinitive construct. Consider example (13):

85 In Chapter 5 (section 5.7) the negative לֹא *lō* preceding the prepositions was discussed. However, the focus in this section is different as the negative לֹא *lō* with the preposition in an infinitive construction exhibits a different context.

(13) 1 Chr 15[2]

אָז אָמַר דָּוִיד לֹא לָשֵׂאת אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי אִם־הַלְוִיִּם כִּי־בָם בָּחַר יְהוָה לָשֵׂאת אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וּלְשָׁרְתוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם

'āz 'āmar dāwîd lō' lāśêt 'et-'ªrôn hā'ᵉlōhîm kî 'im-halwiyyim kî-bām bāḥar yahweh lāśêt 'et-'ªrôn yahweh ûlᵉšārtô ʿad-ʿôlām

then said-he david not to-raise (Qal inf cs) (acc)-ark-of the-god except-the-levites for-them has-chosen-he yahweh to-raise (acc)-ark-of yahweh and-to-serve-him for-ever

Then David said, "No one to carry the Ark of God, but the Levites, because the Lord chose them to carry the Ark of the Lord and to minister before him for ever."

Again, the question arises whether the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* includes only the immediately following preposition לְ *lᵉ* with the infinitive construct, or whether it extends over the whole of the subsequent sentence. This question will be addressed in Section 6.5.1.

Two examples were found of the negative לוֹא *lô'* preceding the infinitive construct, both occurring in the same verse, Jer 4[11]. The first of the two occurrences consists of לוֹא *lô'* preceding the preposition לְ *lᵉ* with the infinitive construct. The second comprises the form וְלוֹא *wᵉlô'* preceding the preposition לְ *lᵉ* with the infinitive construct. The two examples are presented in (14):

(14) Jer 4[11]

בָּעֵת הַהִיא יֵאָמֵר לָעָם־הַזֶּה וְלִירוּשָׁלִַם רוּחַ צַח שְׂפָיִים בַּמִּדְבָּר דֶּרֶךְ בַּת־עַמִּי לוֹא לִזָרוֹת וְלוֹא לְטַהֵר׃

bāʿēt hahî' yē'āmēr lāʿām-hazzeh wᵉlîrûšālayim rûaḥ ṣaḥ šᵉfāyîm bammidbār derek bat-ʿammî lô' lizrôt wᵉlô' lᵉhābar

in-the-time the-that will-be-told-it to-the-people-the-this and-to-Jerusalem wind dazzling bare-caravan-tracks in-the-desert road daughter-of-people-my not to-winnow-(Qal inf cs) and-not to-purify/sift (Hiphil inf cs)

At that time it will be said concerning this people and Jerusalem, "A scorching wind from the barren caravan tracks in the desert road blows towards my people, but not to winnow or to cleanse;

It is evident that the scope of both negatives in the above example can only range over the subsequent infinitive form. With the second form, וְלוֹא *wᵉlôʾ*, the negative serves only to negate the subsequent infinitive form. The conjunction וְ *wᵉ* serves to conjoin the two infinitives.

- The negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the infinitive absolute

The infinitive absolute most frequently co-occurs with a finite verb of the same stem. In this way emphasis is placed either on the certainty (especially in the case of threats) or the forcefulness and completeness of an event (Cowley 1910: 342). Cowley provides Gen 2^{17} as illustration:

(15) Gen 2^{17}

כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת׃
kî bᵉyôm ʾᵃkolkā mimmennû môt tāmût
for on-day to-eat-you from-it dying-(Qal inf abs) die-you-(Qal impf 2nd masc sing)
for when you eat of it you will surely die.

In (15) the infinitive absolute מוֹת *môt* occurs together with the imperfect form of the same stem תָּמוּת *tāmût*. This construct expresses the certainty of the statement.

The data search yielded eight occurrences of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding an infinitive absolute (cf Addendum U). In two of these cases, *viz* Gen 3^4 and Ps 49^8, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the Qal infinitive absolute is joined to the subsequent infinitive by means of the *maqqēf*. In (16) Gen 3^4 is presented to illustrate the co-occurrence of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*, the infinitive absolute מוֹת *môt* and an imperfect verb with the same stem, תְּמֻתוּן *tᵉmutûn*:

(16) Gen 3^4

וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּחָשׁ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֹא־מוֹת תְּמֻתוּן׃
wayyōʾmer hannāḥāš ʾel-hāʾiššâ lōʾ-môt tᵉmutûn
and-said-he the-snake to-the-woman not-dying (Qal inf abs) will-die-you …
The serpent said to the woman: "You will not surely die."

The sentence (16) expresses a certainty: one of the possibilities is to translate the sequence with "… surely! …" The question that now arises concerns the scope of לֹא *lō*ʾ over the subsequent infinitive absolute construct. The semantic contribution of the infinitive absolute in (16) seems to be the strengthening of the verbal thought conveyed by the verb (of the same stem). Hence, it seems plausible to propose that the infinitive absolute in this example functions as an adverb, describing the verb. Of the eight results from the data search, seven could be analysed in this way, as cases where the infinitive absolute functions as an adverb. In these seven cases the infinitive absolute occurs with a verb of the same stem formation to express the certainty of the action of the verb (in only one instance the stems differ, but the infinitive absolute still fulfils the function of an adverb). In the remaining case, presented in (17) below, the infinitive absolute functions as a verb:

(17) Is 58[7]

הֲלוֹא פָרֹס לָרָעֵב לַחְמֶךָ

hᵃlôʾ fārōs lārāʿēb laḥmekā

QM-not break-(Qal inf abs) for-the-hungry bread-your

Will (you) not break for the hungry your bread?

(17) differs from (16) in that the former does not contain any other verb apart from the infinitive absolute. The infinitive absolute can therefore be taken to function as the verb of the clause in (17). The examples in (16) and (17) will be revisited when the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ preceding infinitive absolutes is discussed. Clines (1998: 487), in his discussion on the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ co-occurring with the infinitive absolute, notes an interesting occurrence of the latter together with the perfect verb of the same stem, namely Ex 5[23]:

(18) Ex 5[23]

וּמֵאָז בָּאתִי אֶל־פַּרְעֹה לְדַבֵּר בִּשְׁמֶךָ הֵרַע לָעָם הַזֶּה וְהַצֵּל לֹא־הִצַּלְתָּ אֶת־עַמֶּךָ׃

ûmēʾāz bāʾtî ʾel-parʿô lᵉdabbēr bišmekā hēraʿ lāʿām hazzeh wᵉhaṣṣēl lōʾ-hiṣṣaltā ʾet-ʿammekā

and-ever-since went-I to-pharaoh to-speak in-name-your treated-badly-he to-the-people the-this and-rescuing-(Hiphil inf abs) not-rescued-you-(Hiphil perf 2nd masc sing) (acc)-people-your

"Ever since I went to Pharaoh to speak in your name, he has brought trouble upon this people, and you have not rescued your people at all."

In (18) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* occurs within the infinitive absolute and verb construct, separating the infinitive from the verb (perfect form). In the NIV, this construction is translated with the interpretation of *certainty*. Given that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* separates the infinitive absolute from the verb, the question concerns the scope of the negative in (18). Interestingly, the exact sequence (infinitive absolute + negative + finite verb) Clines considers as an exception, König (1897: 474) considers as the rule of thumb. König claims that when the infinitive absolute co-occurs with the imperfect, the negative usually precedes the finite verb. He, however, notes three exceptions, Gen 3[4b] (illustrated in (16)), Amos 9[8] and Ps 49[8]. We will return to these examples at a later stage in the discussion of the scope of the negative. One of the questions that will be addressed is whether there is a scope difference between cases where the negative precedes the finite verb, and those where it precedes the infinitive absolute.

6.4 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with participles

In this section we are examining the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in constructions where it precedes the participle. According to Dyk (1994: 172) it should be noted that if a verb intervenes between the participle and the negative, the negation applies to the verbal form and not to the participle. Also, in cases where the participle functions as the subject of a following verb, the negation applies to the verb, rather than to the participle. This complies with the hypothesis in Chapter 3 that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* only has scope over the categories following it. Consider the following example (19) in this regard (Dyk 1994: 172):

(19) Prov 28[13]

מְכַסֶּה פְּשָׁעָיו לֹא יַצְלִיחַ

mᵉkasseh fᵉšāʿayw lōʾ yaṣlîaḥ

covers (Pi'el part masc sing) revolts-his not will-prosper-he (Hiphil impf 3rd masc sing) …

He who conceals his sins does not prosper, ...

According to Dyk (1994: 172) the negation applies to the finite verb יַצְלִיחַ *yaṣlîaḥ* rather than to the participle מְכַסֶּה *mᵉkasseh*.

Consider next the example in (20), from Dyk (1994: 173), in which the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the participle with the negation applying to the participle:

(20) Deut 4[42]

וְהוּא לֹא־שֹׂנֵא לוֹ מִתְּמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם

wᵉhûʾ lōʾ-śōnê lô mitmôl šilšôm

and-he not-he-was-hating (Qal part masc sing) for-him from-yesterday day-three

... and he was not hating him yesterday

Let us now examine the syntactic derivation and the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding a participle functioning as a verb. Consider again example (2), repeated here as (21):

(21) Job 12[3]

לֹא־נֹפֵל אָנֹכִי מִכֶּם

lōʾ-nōfēl ʾānōkî mikkem

Not-fall (Qal part masc sing) I before-you

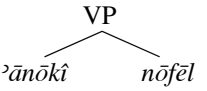
I am not inferior to you

The derivation begins with the selection of the two fully inflected forms נֹפֵל *nōfēl* and אָנֹכִי *ʾānōkî*. The head-, specifier- and complement-features of these items may be represented as follows:

	ʾānōkî	*nōfēl*
Head-features:	[1sing]	[Tense]
Specifier-features:		[MS]
Complement-features:		

The participle *nōfēl* is merged with its subject *ʾānōkî* to form a VP as in (22):

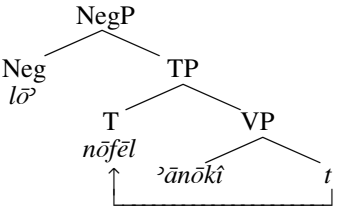
(22)



Head-features:	[1sing]	[Tense]
Specifier-features:		[MS]
Complement-features:		

The specifier-features [MS] of *nōfēl* are checked against the head-features of *ʾānōkî* [1sing]. Successful checking results in the deletion of the specifier-features of *nōfēl* since specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. It should be noted that in BH the first person singular (and plural) independent personal pronoun is used for both the masculine and feminine; in other words, no lexical distinction is drawn between a masculine and feminine first person pronoun. The independent personal pronoun *ʾānōkî* carries a [masculine] head-feature. The remaining feature to be checked is the [Tense] head-feature of *nōfēl.* To this end, VP is merged with the head T, resulting in TP, and *nōfēl* is moved to T where the participle's [Tense]-feature is checked against the [Tense]-feature of T. This accounts for the surface word order with the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately preceding the participle. Finally TP is merged with the head Neg resulting in NegP, as illustrated in (23):

(23)



Head-features:	[1sing]	[Tense]
Specifier-features:		[MS]
Complement-features:		

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* will be the set of nodes that לֹא *lō'* c-commands. In (23) the first branching node that dominates לֹא *lō'* also dominates TP and VP, therefore לֹא *lō'* has scope over TP and VP, *i e* sentence-negation. Turning now to the different translations of Job 12[3] in (21), the RSV, OA, NIV and NA all take the scope of the negative to apply over the entire clause following it. None of these translations, however, takes the position of the participle into consideration. They all seem to take the subject to fill a topic position. This cannot be the case, however, since the subject follows the participle. Consider the RSV as example:

RSV: *I am not inferior to you.*

The JPS translates the participle as an adverb and takes the subject to fill the initial position of the sentence, before the clause preceding the participial clause under discussion. To illustrate this both clauses are cited:

JPS: *But I, like you, have a mind, and am not less than you.*

It seems that the JPS translates the subject *I*, the first person independent personal pronoun, in the initial position of the sentence, not rendering it as part of the clause of which the participle forms a part.

The JB and GNB translate the negative with the participle as *in no way inferior*. In other words, each introduces two additional elements, *viz* the preposition *in* and the noun *way*. Given these variations amongst the different text versions, and assuming the above analysis of the scope of the negative in (23), it could be argued that (24) is a more plausible translation of the text in question:

(24) *Not inferior am I to you …*

Consider next the construction in which the negative לֹא *lō'* precedes a participle functioning as a noun (see section 6.3.1 above) in (8) repeated here as (25):

(25) Gen 42[34]

וְאֵדְעָה כִּי לֹא מְרַגְּלִים אַתֶּם

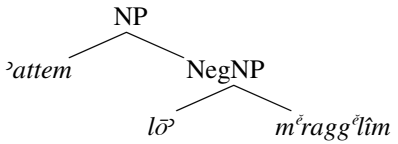
wᵉʾēdᶜâ kî lōʾ mᵉraggᵉlîm ʾattem
… and-will-know-I that not spies you …
… so I will know that you are not spies …

Example (25) contains a verbless clause with the participle מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* representing the predicate and the independent personal pronoun אַתֶּם *ʾattem* functioning as the subject of this clause. The predicate is therefore a projection of a noun phrase (NP). It is assumed here that this NP takes the form of a participle functioning as a noun. The predicate מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* is the complement of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. The NP מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm*, subject אַתֶּם *ʾattem* and negative לֹא *lōʾ* carry the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	ʾattem	*lōʾ*	*mᵉraggᵉlîm*
Head-features:	[MPL]		[MP; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:			
Complement-features:		[Neg]	

Example (25) is derived by merging the predicate מְרַגְּלִים לֹא *lōʾ mᵉraggᵉlîm*, a (neg)NP[86] (an intermediate step is the merging of the participle מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* with the negative לֹא *lōʾ*), with the subject אַתֶּם *ʾattem* to form an NP as in (26):

(26)



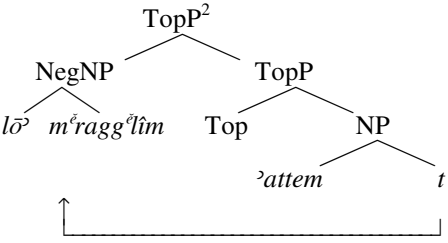
Head-features:	[MPL]		[MP; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:			
Complement-features:		[Neg]	

The [MPL] head-features of מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm* are checked against the [MPL] head-features of אַתֶּם *ʾattem*. Even though the independent personal pronoun is second person, this feature will presumably play no role in

86 The participle functions as an NP.

the derivation as the participle is not (overtly) inflected for person. The [Neg] complement-feature of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm*, resulting in the deletion of the complement-feature of the negative as complement-features are uninterpretable at LF. The only feature that still needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of מְרַגְּלִים *mᵉraggᵉlîm*. This is effected by merging NP with the functional category Top resulting in the phrasal category TopP. The predicate לֹא מְרַגְּלִים *lō*ʾ *mᵉraggᵉlîm* (NegNP) is then moved to the specifier position of TopP as illustrated in (27):

(27)



Head-features:	[MPL]	[MP; Neg; Top]
Specifier-features:		
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]	

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ in (27) is the set of nodes that the negative c-commands. The first branching node, NegNP, that dominates the negative, also dominates the NP (participle). Hence, in (27) the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ has scope only over the participle. All the different text versions of (25) Gen 42[34] take the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ to range over the participle. However, none of these text versions take the word order into consideration. Consider as example the JPS:

JPS: *... that I may know that you are not spies but honest men.*

The OA translates the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ with *geen* (*no)*, which highlights the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ more clearly.

OA: *Dan sal ek weet dat julle geen spioene is nie. [Then I will know that you are no spies.]*

In view of the above discussion of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō*, the following translation is proposed:

(28) *Then I will know that you are no spies.*

From the two examples (21) and (25) it is evident that the negative לֹא *lō*, preceding the participle, can express both sentence- and constituent-negation, the former in the case of (21), and the latter in the case of (25).

6.5 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō* with infinitives

As was pointed out in section (6.3.2) there are a number of examples of the negative לֹא *lō* preceding both the infinitive construct and the infinitive absolute. The scope of the negative לֹא *lō* in both types of constructions will now be examined.

6.5.1 The scope of the negative לֹא *lō* with the infinitive construct

This section examines the scope of the negative לֹא *lō* in two types of construction where the negative precedes an infinitive construct. In the first type the negative itself is governed by a preposition, and in the second type the negative לֹא *lō* immediately precedes an infinitive construct that is governed by a preposition. Consider again example (11), repeated here as (29), illustrating the first type:

(29) Num 35[23]

אוֹ בְכָל־אֶבֶן אֲשֶׁר־יָמוּת בָּהּ בִּלְא רְאוֹת וַיַּפֶּל עָלָיו

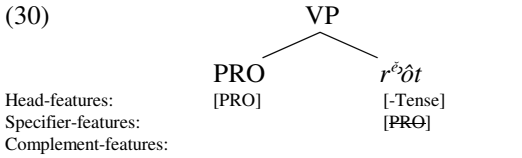
ʾô bᵉkol-ʾeben ʾᵃšer-yāmût bāh bᵉlōʾ rᵉʾôt wayyappēl ʿālāyw

Or with-any-stone which-may-die-he by-her [Or with any stone whereby *a man* may die] with-not to-see-(Qal inf cs) and-he-fells upon-him…

… or with any stone through which one can die, without seeing, he drops it on him so that he dies, …

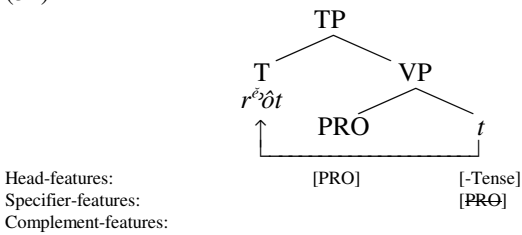
In (29) the preposition בְּ *bᵉ* governs the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ and the latter immediately precedes the infinitive construct רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt*. The infinitive רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt* carries a [-Tense] head-feature and a [PRO] specifier-feature as it selects PRO, which carries a [PRO] head-feature. The infinitive construct רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt* is merged with PRO to form VP. The [PRO] specifier-feature of the infinitive רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt* is checked against the [PRO] head-feature of PRO, resulting in the deletion of the [PRO] specifier-feature as in (30):

(30)



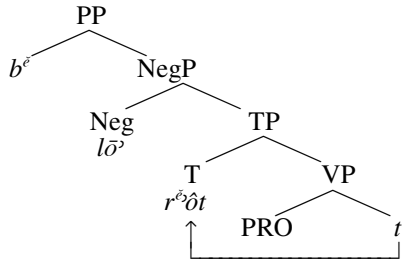
In order to check the [-Tense] head-feature of the infinitive רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt*, VP is merged with the head T to form TP, and the infinitive רְאוֹת *rᵉʾôt* is moved to T where the checking occurs, as illustrated in (31):

(31)



TP is subsequently merged with the head Neg, filled by the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ, and the resulting NegP is then merged with the head P, filled by the preposition בְּ *bᵉ*, resulting in PP. These two steps are illustrated in (32):

(32)



Head-features:	[PRO]	[-Tense]
Specifier-features:		[~~PRO~~]
Complement-features:		

The scope of the negative in (32) includes all the nodes that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* c-commands. The first branching node that dominates לֹא *lōʾ* is NegP, which also dominates TP and VP. Hence, לֹא *lōʾ* has scope over TP and VP, *i e* sentence-negation. Turning now to the different text versions in the various text versions, it is clear that the RSV, OA, JB, NIV and NA take the scope of the negative to range over PRO as well as the infinitive. However, they all add *him* or *it* as object. Consider, for example, the JB:

JB: *or, without seeing him, dropped on him a stone meant for killing and so killed him, so long as he bore him no malice and wished him no harm,…*

The JPS, on the other hand, translates the infinitive with an adverb[87] as follows:

JPS: *or inadvertently dropped upon him any deadly object of stone …*

The GNB translates the scope to range over PRO as well as the infinitive, but in contrast to the above texts, RSV, OA, JB, NIV and NA, it does not add an object like *him* or *it*. Consider the GNB:

GNB *Or suppose that, without looking, anyone throws a stone that kills someone …*

87 In a footnote in the JPS it is stated that the literal meaning is "without seeing".

Considering the above discussion on the scope of the negative and the different translations, the following translation is proposed:

(33) *… or with any stone through which one can die, without seeing, he drops it on him so that he dies, …*

A question that still needs to be answered, however, is whether the translation using the item *without* has any merit.[88] Another question concerns the syntactic contribution of the preposition בְּ *bᵉ* in combination with the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. For the purposes of this research בְּלֹא *bᵉlōʾ* is translated as *without*, but future research might shed light on the scope (and translation) of, among others things, the preposition בְּ *bᵉ* in combination with the negative לֹא *lōʾ*.

Consider now example (13), repeated here as (34), which illustrates the use of the infinitive construct after a preposition. The example in (34) is the only one of its kind that was found where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes both the preposition and the infinitive construct:

(34) 1 Chr 15[2]

אָז אָמַר דָּוִיד לֹא לָשֵׂאת אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי אִם־הַלְוִיִּם כִּי־בָם בָּחַר יְהוָה לָשֵׂאת אֶת־אֲרוֹן יְהוָה וּלְשָׁרְתוֹ עַד־עוֹלָם

ʾāz ʾāmar dāwîd lōʾ lāśêt ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm kî ʾim-halwiyyim kî-bām bāḥar YAHWEH lāśêt ʾet-ʾᵃrôn YAHWEH ûlᵉšārtô ʿad-ʿôlām

then said-he david not to-raise (Qal inf cs) (acc)-ark-of the-god except-the-levites for-them has-chosen-he yahweh to-raise (acc)-ark-of yahweh and-to-serve-him for-ever

Then David said, "No one to carry the Ark of God, but the Levites, because the Lord chose them to carry the Ark of the Lord and to minister before him for ever."

The derivation of לֹא לָשֵׂאת אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים *lōʾ lāśêt ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm* begins with the selection of PRO, *lōʾ* and the fully inflected forms *lāśêt* and *ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm*. Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 610) state that the infinitive construct, in its verbal use, may be associated with its subject only or its object only. It seems that the infinitive construct in (34) is

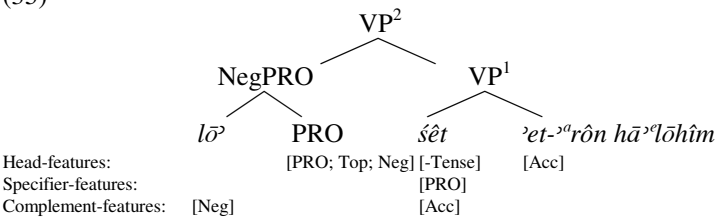
88 For a discussion on proposed translations of some prepositions cf Althann 1994.

associated with its object *ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾˡlōhîm*. The items in question have the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	lōʾ	*PRO*	*lāśêt*	*ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm*
Head-features:		[PRO; Neg; Top]	[-Tense]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[PRO]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

The object *ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm* is merged with the infinitive construct *śêt* (without the preposition) to form VP^1 and the negative לֹא *lōʾ* is merged with PRO, resulting in negPRO. NegPRO functions thus as the subject. VP^1 is subsequently merged with NegPRO to form VP^2 as in (35):

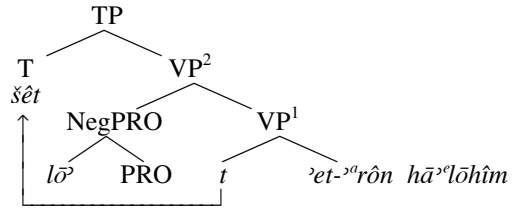
(35)



Head-features:		[PRO; Top; Neg]	[-Tense]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:			[PRO]	
Complement-features:	[Neg]		[Acc]	

In (35) PRO carries a [Top] head-feature, the reason being that PRO acts as the subject of the infinitive. The infinitive is governed by the preposition לְ *lᵉ* and PRO ends up in the initial position of the clause. As regards feature-checking, the [Acc] case-feature of *ʾet-ʾᵃrôn hāʾᵉlōhîm* is checked against the [Acc] complement-feature of *śêt*, resulting in deletion of both features. Next, the [PRO] specifier-feature of *śêt* is checked against the [PRO] head-feature of PRO with deletion of the specifier-feature of *śêt*, since specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. Finally, the [Neg] head-feature of PRO is checked against the [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ*, with deletion of the [Neg] complement-feature of *lōʾ*. One of the unchecked features at this stage is the [-Tense] head-feature of *śêt*. To check this feature, VP^2 is merged with T resulting in TP, and *śêt* is then moved to T where the [-Tense]-feature is checked, as illustrated in (36):

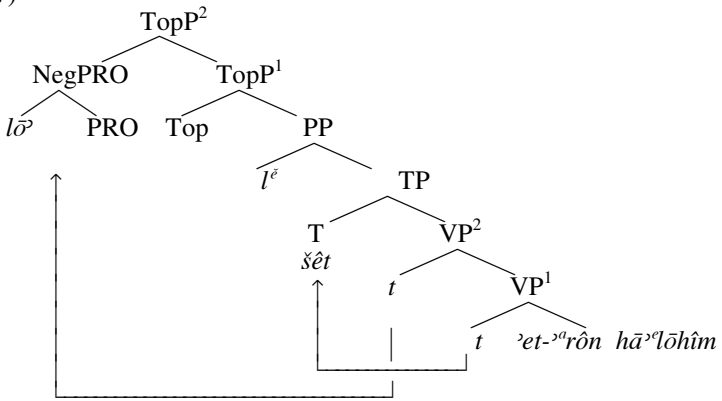
(36)



Head-features:	[~~PRO~~; Top; ~~Neg~~]	[-Tense]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~PRO~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]	[~~Acc~~]	

The preposition לְ *lᵉ* in (34) governs the infinitive *šêt*. This implies that TP is merged with the head P, resulting in PP as in (37). In the resulting structure the only remaining feature that still needs checking is the [Top] head-feature of PRO. This is effected by merging PP with the head Top resulting in TopP; finally the NegPRO (*lōʾ* + PRO) is moved to the specifier position of TopP, indicated as TopP^2 in (37):

(37)



Head-features:		[~~PRO~~; Top; ~~Neg~~]	[-Tense]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:			[~~PRO~~]	
Complement-features:	[~~Neg~~]		[~~Acc~~]	

The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (37) extends over the nodes that are c-commanded by the negative, which is only PRO. The negative thus only has scope over PRO, which implies constituent-negation.

All the different text versions, except the GNB, take the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (34) 1 Chr 15[2] to range over PRO. However, the different translations do not consider the proper word order of this sentence. For example, if the word order of (34) is considered, the phrase *except the Levites* follows the phrase *the Ark of God*. Consider for example the translation of the RSV:

RSV: *Then David said, "No one but the Levites may carry the ark of God, for the LORD chose them to carry the ark of the LORD and to minister to him for ever."*

Even though the RSV takes the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* to extend over PRO alone, it is evident from this translation (and also the others) that the phrase *except the Levites* is considered to immediately follow on the negative and to immediately precede the infinitive governed by the preposition. The JPS, for example, translates the negative part of the clause with *none, but the Levites*. Hence, the scope of the negative ranges over PRO, but the proper word order is not considered. The GNB, on the other end, considers neither the negative nor כִּי אִם *kî 'im*, introducing the alternative to be translated as *except*. Furthermore, the word order of this verse does not properly figure in the GNB's translation. Consider the GNB's translation:

GNB: *Then he said, "Only Levites should carry the Covenant Box, because they are the ones the LORD chose to carry it and to serve him for ever".*

Considering the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* the following translation is proposed:

(38) *Then David said: "No one (is) to raise/carry the Ark of God, except the Levites, for them Yahweh has chosen to raise/carry the Ark of Yahweh and to serve Him for ever."*

The above example illustrates constituent-negation. The focus in the clause is on PRO of the infinitive. Hence, a contrast is drawn between the declaration that no one (PRO) is to carry the Ark, and the declaration that only the Levites are to carry the Ark of God.

Consider next example (12), repeated here as (39):

(39) Deut 7[7]

לֹא מֵרֻבְּכֶם מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים חָשַׁק יְהוָה בָּכֶם וַיִּבְחַר בָּכֶם כִּי־אַתֶּם הַמְעַט מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים׃

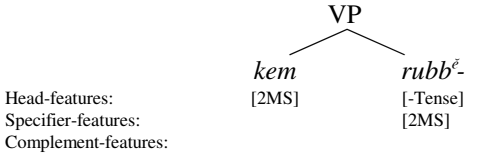
lōʾ mērubbᵉkem mikkol-hāʿammîm ḥāšaq yahweh bākem wayyibḥar bākem kî-ʾattem hamʿaṭ mikkol-hāʿammîm

not from-to-become-numerous-you (preposition מִן *min* with Qal inf cs with pron suff 2nd masc pl) from-all the-people loved-he yahweh in-you and-elected-he in-you because-you the-smallest from-all-the-people

Not because of your being many more than all the peoples has the Lord attached himself to you and chosen you, for you are the least numerous of all peoples.

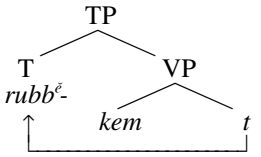
The derivation of the sequence לֹא מֵרֻבְּכֶם *lōʾ mērubbᵉkem* in (39) begins with the selection of the fully inflected forms רֻבְּ- *rubbᵉ-* (the infinitive) and כֶם *kem* (the subject). Waltke & O'Connor (1990: 583) state that if the subject of the verbal action expressed by the infinitive construct is stated (hence not PRO), it may be a pronominal suffix, as is the case in (39). The merging of this pronominal suffix with the infinitive form results in the following structure, with the different head-, specifier- and complement-features indicated:

(40)



The [2MS] specifier-features of רֻבְּ- *rubbᵉ-* are checked against the [2MS] head-features of כֶם *kem*, with the subsequent deletion of the specifier-features. In order to check the [-Tense]-feature of the infinitive VP is merged with T, resulting in the phrasal category TP, and the infinitive רֻבְּ- *rubbᵉ-* is then moved to T as in (41):

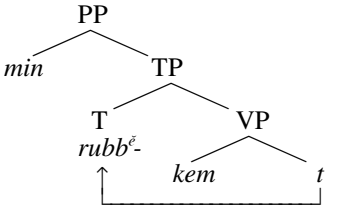
(41)



Head-features:	[2MS]	[-Tense]
Specifier-features:		[2MS]
Complement-features:		

The preposition מִן *min* in (39) governs the infinitive construct. This means that TP is merged with the head P, resulting in PP as in (42):

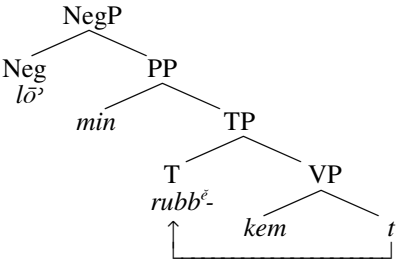
(42)



Head-features:	[2MS]	[-Tense]
Specifier-features:		[2MS]
Complement-features:		

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the preposition מִן *min* and the infinitive construct. This implies that PP is merged with the head Neg, resulting in a NegP as in (43):

(43)



Head-features:	[2MS]	[-Tense]
Specifier-features:		[2MS]
Complement-features:		

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (43) is the set of nodes that לֹא *lō'* c-commands. The first branching node that dominates לֹא *lō'*, NegP, also dominates PP, TP and VP. The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* is therefore the whole subsequent phrase, an example of sentence-negation. The merit of the translations of the different text editions will be now evaluated regarding the above discussion of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'*. Of the seven text versions considered in this research, the RSV and JPS are the only translations that take the scope of the negative to extend over the infinitive construct, hence, sentence-negation, and consider the proper sentence position of the negated clause at the beginning of the sentence. Consider the JPS as example:

JPS: *It is not because you are the most numerous of peoples that the LORD set His heart on you and chose you – indeed, you are the smallest of peoples.*

The OA and JB take the scope of the negative to range over the infinitive construct, but do not consider the proper sentence position of the negated infinitive clause. Consider the OA as example:

OA: *Die HERE het 'n welgevalle aan julle gehad en julle uitverkies, nie omdat julle meer was as die ander volke nie, want julle was die geringste van al die volke. [The LORD was pleased with you and chose you, not because you were more numerous than all the other nations, for you were the fewest of all the people].*

The NIV, NA and GNB, in contrast to the above versions, take the scope of the negative to include the verbal clause following the infinitive con-struct and do not take the proper sentence position of the infinitive clause into consideration. Consider the NIV as example:

NIV: *The LORD did not set his affection on you and choose you because you were more numerous than other peoples, for you were the fewest of all peoples.*

Given the above discussion on the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the infinitive clause and the rendering of this negation in the above translations, the following translation is proposed:

(44) *Not because of your being many more than all the peoples has the Lord attached himself to you and chosen you, for you are the least numerous of all peoples.*

As illustrated above, both sentence- and constituent-negation are found in constructions where the negative precedes the infinitive construct. Example (34) illustrates constituent-negation of PRO. The presence of the preposition לְ *lᵉ* , it seems, might contribute to the movement of PRO to the topic position of the sentence. The example in (39), by contrast, has no PRO, due to the presence of the pronominal suffix functioning as the subject. In this case the suffix carries no [Top]-feature, which means that it is not fronted. It is therefore proposed that (39) is a case of sentence-negation.

In summary, then, it is proposed that the negative לֹא *lō'*, preceding PRO in an infinitival construct where the latter is governed by a preposition, will have scope only over PRO. In contrast, a construction in which the negative לֹא *lō'* precedes an infinitive construct with a pronominal suffix functioning as subject (thus no PRO), and with the infinitive also governed by a preposition, will be an example of sentence-negation. As regards the role of the preposition, it could perhaps be argued that the preposition serves as a type of "barrier" resulting in constituent-negation of only PRO. This possibility will be left at this point as a topic for further research: due to the fact that only a small number of infinitive construct forms are negated by the negative לֹא *lō'*, it is impossible to come to any general conclusions here. A comparison of similar cases with the *usual* negative of the infinitive, בְּלִי *bᵉlî*, בִּלְתִּי *biltî* or לְבִלְתִּי *lᵉbiltî*, may shed light on this issue.

In terms of the above analyses on the distribution and scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the infinitive construct, the following proposal made by Clines (1998: 490) in terms of the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding the infinitive construct needs to be discussed critically. Clines (1998: 490), in his discussion on the negative לֹא *lō'* claims Ezra 4^3 to be a typical example of the negative לֹא *lō'* with the infinitive. This claim, however, cannot be accepted. Consider Ezra 4^3 in (45):

(45) Ezra 4^3

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם זְרֻבָּבֶל וְיֵשׁוּעַ וּשְׁאָר רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־לָכֶם וָלָנוּ לִבְנוֹת בַּיִת לֵאלֹהֵינוּ

wayyōʾmer lāhem zᵉrubbābel wᵉyēšûaʿ ûšᵉʾār rāʾšê hāʾābôt lᵉyiśrāʾēl lōʾ-lākem wālānû libnôt bayit lēʾlōhênû

but-said-he to-them zerubbabel and-jeshua and-remainder-of heads/chiefs-of the- families to-israel not-to-you-(preposition לְ *lᵉ* with the pron suff 2nd masc pl) but-to-us-(preposition לְ *lᵉ* with pron suff 1st pl) to-build-(preposition לְ *lᵉ* with Qal inf cs) a-house to-god-our

But Zerubbabel, Jeshua and the rest of the heads of the families of Israel said to them, "Not you, but we are building a temple to our God."

Notice that the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in (45) is separated from the infinitive construct לִבְנוֹת *libnôt* by the phrase לָכֶם וָלָנוּ *lākem wālānû*. It would seem more appropriate, then, to classify Ezra 4^3 with constructions in which לֹא *lōʾ* precedes a prepositional phrase (see Chapter 5, section 5.7.1). In this example לֹא *lōʾ* does not immediately precede the infinitive, and in terms of the analyses discussed in Chapter 5 (section 5.7.1), and the above discussion on the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* preceding the infinitive construct, it is proposed that the scope of the negative lies only on the PP לָכֶם *lākem*; hence, an instance of constituent-negation. The above translation (NIV) rightly considers the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* to be on the PP. Thus, Clines's claim that Ezra 4^3 is an example of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the infinitive construct is rejected.

6.5.2 The scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* with the infinitive absolute

Consider again the example in (16), repeated here as (46). In (46) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes an infinitive absolute of stem X, in turn followed by an imperfect verb of stem X. This example illustrates one of the main uses of the infinitive absolute, *i e* the infinitive absolute with a finite verb of the same stem. It was proposed in section 6.2.2 that the infinitive absolute functions as an adverb in such cases.

(46) Gen 3[4]

וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּחָשׁ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֹא־מוֹת תְּמֻתוּן׃

wayyōʾmer hannāḥāš ʾel-hāʾiššâ lōʾ-môt tᵉmutûn

And-said-he the-snake to-the-woman not-dying (Qal inf abs) will-die-you

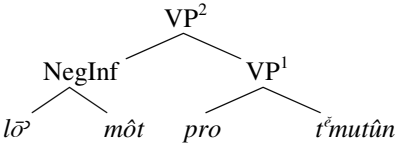
"You will not surely die," the serpent said to the woman.

This verse exhibits the so-called paronomastic infinitive absolute where the (verbal) repetition gives prominence to some of the interpretative possibilities of one or both of the components of the construction. In the sequence לֹא־מוֹת תְּמֻתוּן *lōʾ-môt tᵉmutûn* in (46), the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes a Qal infinitive absolute The derivation begins with the selection of the items *lōʾ, pro* (no explicit subject is selected) and the fully inflected forms *môt* and *tᵉmutûn*. The items in question have the following head-, specifier- and complement-features:

	lōʾ	*môt*	*pro*	*tᵉmutûn*
Head-features:		[Neg]	[2MS; Nom]	[Future]
Specifier-features:				[2MS; Nom]
Complement-features:	[Neg]			

The verb *tᵉmᵉtûn* is merged with *pro* to form VP^1. The [Nom] specifier-feature of the verb *tᵉmᵉtûn* is checked against the [Nom] head-feature of *pro*. In both cases the [Nom]-feature is deleted, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The [2MS] specifier-features of *tᵉmutûn* are checked against the [2MS] head-features of *pro*. [2MS] is deleted on *tᵉmutûn* as specifier-features are uninterpretable at LF. The negative לֹא *lōʾ* is next merged with the infinitive absolute *môt*, forming a NegInf (Negative-infinitive). The [Neg] complement-feature of לֹא *lōʾ* is checked against the [Neg] head-feature of the infinitive absolute *môt*. VP^1 is then merged with NegInf (*lōʾ môt*) to form VP^2. These operations of VP^1 and VP^2 are illustrated in (47):

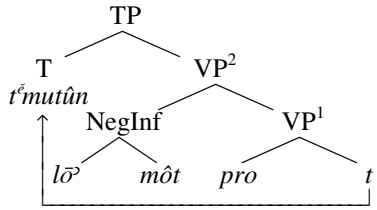
(47)



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

In order to check the tense head-feature on the verb *t^{e}mutûn*, VP^{2} is merged with the head T to form TP and the verb is then moved to T to check off its tense-feature as illustrated in (48):

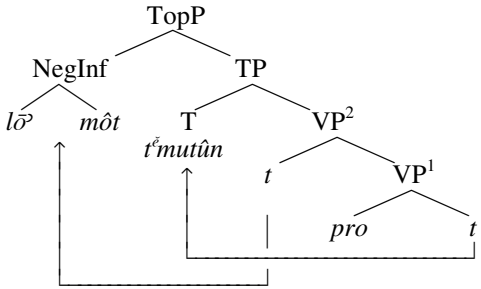
(48)



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

The only feature that still needs to be checked is the [Top] head-feature of NegInf (*lō môt*). Checking of the Top-feature is effected by merging TP with the head Top to form TopP, and then moving NegInf (*lō' môt*) to the specifier position of TopP, where checking takes place in a specifier-head configuration. The various operations are illustrated in (49):

(49)



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

The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* is the set of nodes that לֹא *lō'* c-commands. In (49) the negative לֹא *lō'* and *môt* are directly dominated by NegInf, and neither dominates the other. Accordingly, the negative לֹא *lō'* c-commands *môt* and only *môt*.

The different text versions of (46) Gen 3[4] are evaluated below:

RSV: *But the serpent said to the woman, "You will not die ….*

OA: *Toe sê die slang vir die vrou: Julle sal gewis nie sterwe; [Then the snake said to the woman: You will certainly not die;]*

JB: *Then the snake said to the woman, 'No! You will not die! …*

NIV: *"You will not surely die," the serpent said to the woman.*

JPS: *And the serpent said to the woman, "You are not going to die, …"*

NA: *Toe sê die slang vir die vrou: "Julle sal beslis nie sterf nie, … [Then the snake said to the woman: "You will certainly not die, …]*

GNB: *The snake replied, "That's not true; you will not die."*

To a greater or lesser degree these translations are all problematic. The RSV translation does not consider either the word order, or the inf abs, and it takes the scope of the negative to extend over the verb. The OA and NA translate this verse with the scope of the negative ranging only over the verb *tᵉmutûn*, and take the infinitive absolute *môt* to fall outside the scope of the negative. The JB translates this sentence as if two negatives are to be found and does not consider the infinitive absolute at all. The NIV places the scope of the negative on the infinitive absolute, thus expressing the prominence of the verb, but does not consider the word order of (46). The JPS considers neither the word order nor the function of the infinitive absolute expressing the prominence of the verb, translating it as an ordinary statement. The GNB translates this verse with two negatives and does not properly consider the translation of the infinitive absolute. Against this background the following translation is proposed on the basis of the analysis set out above:

(50) *And the serpent said to the woman: "You will not indeed die…*

To sum up, (46) is an example of constituent-negation, as the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* includes only the infinitive absolute.

According to König (1897: 474), the negative usually precedes the finite verb in constructions where the infinitive absolute co-occurs with the imperfect. In (46), however, the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the infinitive absolute in a construction where the infinitive absolute and imperfect co-occur. Consider, in contrast, example (51) below. In this example the negative לֹא *lōʾ* occurs *between* the infinitive absolute and a finite verb of the same stem:

(51) Ex 5[23]

וּמֵאָז בָּאתִי אֶל־פַּרְעֹה לְדַבֵּר בִּשְׁמֶךָ הֵרַע לָעָם הַזֶּה וְהַצֵּל לֹא־הִצַּלְתָּ אֶת־עַמֶּךָ׃

ûmēʾāz bāʾtî ʾel-parʿô lᵉdabbēr bišmekā hēraʿ lāʿām hazzeh wᵉhaṣṣēl lōʾ-hiṣṣaltā ʾet-ʿammekā

and-ever-since went-I to-pharaoh to-speak in-name-your treated-badly-he to-the-people the-this and-rescuing-(Hiphil inf abs) not-rescued-you-(Hiphil perf 2nd masc sing) (acc)-people-your

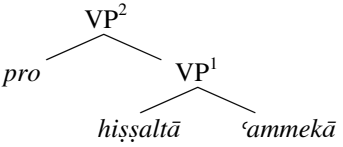
"Ever since I went to Pharaoh to speak in your name, he treated this people badly, and indeed you have not rescued your people."

The derivation of וְהַצֵּל לֹא־הִצַּלְתָּ אֶת־עַמֶּךָ *wᵉhaṣṣēl lōʾ-hiṣṣaltā ʾet-ʿammekā* in (51) begins with the selection of *pro* and the fully inflected forms אֶת־עַמֶּךָ *ʿammekā* and הִצַּלְתָּ *hiṣṣaltā*. These forms carry the following head, specifier- and complement-features:

	pro	*hiṣṣaltā*	*ʿammekā*
Head-features:	[2MS; Nom]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[2MS; Nom]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

The object אֶת־עַמֶּךָ *ʿammekā* is merged with the verb הִצַּלְתָּ *hiṣṣaltā* to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with *pro* to form VP^2 as in (52):

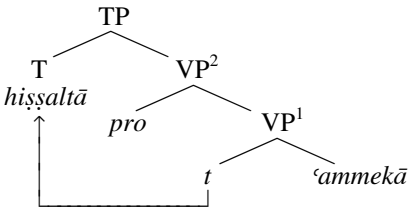
(52)



Head-features:	[2MS; Nom]	[Past]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[2MS; Nom]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

The [2MS; Nom] specifier-features of *hiṣṣaltā* are checked against the [2MS; Nom] head-features of *pro*. Successful checking results in deletion of the two [Nom] case-features and also of the [2MS] specifier-features. The [Acc] complement-feature of *hiṣṣaltā* is checked against the [Acc] head-feature of *ʿammekā*, again resulting in deletion of these case-features. The only unchecked feature is the [Past] head-feature of the verb *hiṣṣaltā.* To check off this feature VP^2 is merged with the head T to form TP and *hiṣṣaltā* is then moved to T where the checking is done, as in (53):

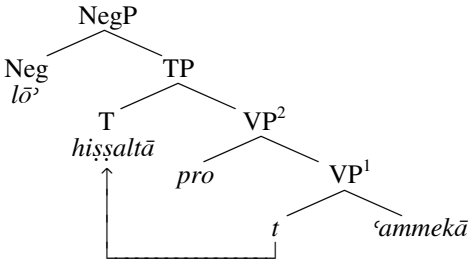
(53)



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

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lō*ʾ precedes the verb *hiṣṣaltā*. This implies that TP is merged with the head Neg, resulting in NegP as illustrated in (54):

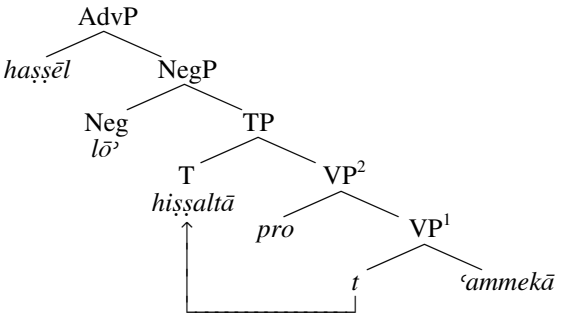
(54)



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

Turning now to the infinitive absolute הַצֵּל *haṣṣēl*, it is assumed here that the infinitive absolute functions as an adverb. This assumption is based on the fact that the infinitive absolute is used to strengthen the verbal thought expressed by *hiṣṣaltā*. In the next step of the derivation, the NegP is merged with the infinitive absolute (adverb) as in (55):

(55)



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

The conjunction וְ *w*^{ə} in (51) is a waw-copulative. Since it plays no role in determining the scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* it will not be considered here. The scope of the negative לֹא *lō'* in (55) is the set of nodes that it c-commands. The first branching node that dominates the negative is NegP, which also dominates TP, VP^2 and VP^1. This means that the scope

of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* ranges over the entire subsequent phrase; the infinitive absolute הַצֵּל *haṣṣēl*, however, falls outside the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* since it is not c-commanded by לֹא *lōʾ*. Having determined the scope in the above example, the following discussion will evaluate the merit of the different text versions regarding the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. If the scope of the negative is taken into consideration, it is evident that the infinitive absolute falls outside the scope of the negative. Hence, the negative has sentential scope over the verb phrase. In considering the different text versions, it is evident that only the OA, JPS and NA take the scope of the negative to be on the verb phrase, with the infinitive absolute falling outside the scope. The JPS renders something of the function of the infinitive absolute with the translation *and still*; the same is true for the NA with the translation *Tog* [*yet*]. Consider the NA as example:

NA: *Van die eerste oomblik af dat ek by die farao gekom het om in u Naam te praat, het hy hierdie volk mishandel. Tog het u niks gedoen om u volk te red nie! [From the first moment that I came to Pharaoh to speak in your name, he mistreated this people. Yet, you did nothing to save your people!].*

The RSV, JB and NIV, in contrast, include the infinitive absolute within the range of the scope of the negative by translating the infinitive absolute at the end of the verse. The RSV, which renders the meaning of the infinitive absolute with *at all* is an example.

RSV: *For since I came to Pharaoh to speak in thy name, he has done evil to this people, and thou hast not delivered thy people at all."*

The GNB, in contrast to all the above translations, does not consider the contribution of the infinitive absolute.

GNB: *Ever since I went to the king to speak for you, he has treated them cruelly. And you have done nothing to help them!*

Taking into account the above conclusions on the scope of the negative, together with the discussion on the translations, the following translation is proposed:

(56) *"Ever since I went to Pharaoh to speak in your name, he has treated this people badly, and indeed you have not rescued your people."*

Consider again, against this background, example (46) Gen 3[4]. Both examples (46) and (51) exhibit the same type of construction, namely an infinitive absolute with a finite verb of the same stem. The main difference between these two examples lies in the position of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* in each case. In (46) the negative לֹא *lōʾ* immediately precedes the infinitive absolute. This type of negation was analysed as an instance of constituent-negation: it is only the infinitive absolute that is negated. Example (51) Ex 5[23], by contrast, was analysed as an instance of sentence-negation: the scope extends over the entire sequence of categories following it, but does not include the preceding infinitive absolute.

This final example will examine the derivation of a construction in which the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the infinitive absolute, with the latter functioning as a verb. Consider again example (17), repeated here as (57):

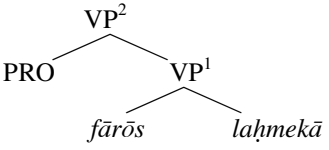
(57) Is 58[7]

הֲלוֹא פָרֹס לָרָעֵב לַחְמֶךָ

hᵃlôʾ fārōs lārāʿēb laḥmekā
QM-not break-(Qal inf abs) for-the-hungry bread-your
Will (you) not break for the hungry your bread?

Given that the infinitive absolute פָּרֹס *fārōs* in (57) functions as the verb of the clause, the derivation will be essentially the same as that of a construction with an ordinary finite verb, as discussed in Chapter 4. The derivation begins with the selection of the item PRO and the fully inflected forms לַחְמֶךָ *laḥmekā* (the object) and the infinitive absolute פָּרֹס *fārōs*. The object *laḥmekā* and infinitive absolute פָּרֹס *fārōs* are merged to form VP^1. VP^1 is then merged with the subject PRO to form VP^2. These operations are illustrated in (58), followed by a specification of the relevant head-, specifier- and complement-features (to simplify the discussion the adjunct לָרָעֵב *lārāʿēb* (for the hungry) in (57) will not be considered here):

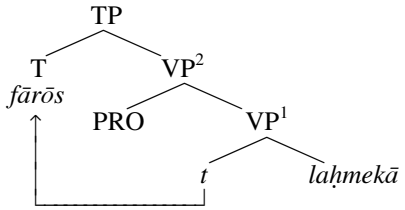
(58)



Head-features:	[PRO]	[-Tense]	[Acc]
Specifier-features:		[PRO]	
Complement-features:		[Acc]	

The [PRO] specifier-feature of *fārōs* is checked against the [PRO] head-feature of PRO, resulting in deletion of the [PRO] specifier-feature. The [Acc] complement-feature of *laḥmekā* is checked against the [Acc] complement-feature of *fārōs* and both features are subsequently deleted, as case-features are uninterpretable at LF. The only feature that remains to be checked is the [-Tense] head-feature of *fārōs*. This is done by merging VP^2 with the head T to form TP and then moving the infinitive absolute to T, where checking takes place. These operations are illustrated in (59):

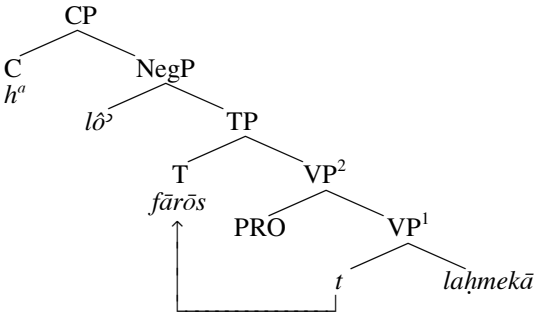
(59)



Head-features:	[PRO]	[-Tense]	[~~Acc~~]
Specifier-features:		[~~PRO~~]	
Complement-features:		[~~Acc~~]	

In the surface structure the negative לֹא *lô²* precedes the infinitive absolute. This implies that TP is merged with the head Neg to form NegP. Finally, since the QM הַ *h^a* precedes the negative לֹא *lô²*, NegP is merged with a head C, filled by the QM הַ *h^a* to form CP. These two operations are illustrated in (60):

(60)



The scope of the negative לֹא *lôʾ* in (60) is the set of nodes that it c-commands. The first branching node that dominates the negative, *i e* NegP, also dominates TP, VP^2 and VP^1. Hence, the negative לֹא *lôʾ* has scope over the whole clause following it, *i e* sentence-negation. Turning now to the different text versions, the RSV, NIV and JPS translate the infinitive absolute incorrectly as an infinitive construct *to share*, hence with the preposition לְ *lᵉ*. However, in all three of these translations the negative precedes the infinitive form. Consider for example the NIV:

NIV: *Is it not to share your food with the hungry ...*

Both the OA and NA take the infinitive absolute to introduce an object clause, translating it with *dat jy breek* (that you break) and *dat jy gee* (that you give). Neither translation considers the word order of this verse, both of them inserting a relative particle which does not occur in the BH text. These translations are as follows:

OA: *Is dit nie dat jy jou brood breek vir hom wat honger het....[Is it not that you break your bread for him that is hungry ...]*

NA: *Is dit nie dat jy vir dié wat honger is, van jou brood gee nie, ... [Is it not that you, for those that are hungry, give of your bread, ...]*

The JB translates the infinitive absolute with *sharing*, that is, as an English gerund, with the scope of the negative לוֹא *lôʾ* over the whole subsequent clause.

JB: *Is it not sharing your food with the hungry, ...*

The JPS and GNB do not consider the negative at all, translating this verse as a positive statement. Consider the translation of the GNB:

GNB: *Share your food with the hungry and open your homes to the homeless poor.*

In short then, the different texts translate the infinitive absolute in different ways, with the JB, in my opinion, coming closest to translating the infinitive absolute as a verb. Given that the scope of the negative ranges over the whole subsequent phrase, as was proposed above, the following alternative translation of Is 58[7] is proposed:

(61) *Will (you) not break your bread for the hungry?*

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the two non-finite verb forms in BH, the participle and the infinitive (construct and absolute), in constructions where they are immediately preceded by the negative לֹא *lōʾ*. The data search did not yield many of these constructions. In some cases only one example of a certain combination involving the negative לֹא *lōʾ* was found. Hence, the conclusions reached in this chapter should be regarded as preliminary. A distinction was made throughout this chapter between constituent- and sentence-negation. It was indicated that both sentence- and constituent-negation are found in constructions where the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the participle and the infinitive construct. The last part of the chapter examined constructions in which the negative לֹא *lōʾ* precedes the infinitive absolute. It was noted that one of the most frequent uses of the infinitive absolute is in combination with a finite verb of the same stem. An example of this type of construction, (46) Gen 3[4], was analysed in an attempt to determine the scope of the negative לֹא *lōʾ* when it immediately precedes the infinitive absolute. This case was argued to be an instance of constituent-

negation. The analysis of Gen 3[4] was compared with example (51) Ex 5[23]. Both have the same type of construction (infinitive absolute + finite verb of the same stem), except that in (51) the infinitive absolute precedes the negative לֹא *lō'* which in turn precedes the imperfect verb. This construction was argued to be an instance of sentence-negation. The last construction that was analysed contained the negative לֹא *lō'* preceding an infinitive absolute functioning as verb (cf example (57) Is 58[7]). This construction was argued to be an instance of sentence-negation. To summarise, then, it was found that both constituent- and sentence-negation are possible with the participle and the infinitive (construct and absolute).