

Chapter 8

Summary and conclusion

If the presentation of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ in contemporary text versions of the Hebrew Bible are considered and evaluated, it is clear that the exact scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ is not always properly presented. The purpose of this research was to determine the distribution and **scope** of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$. This endeavour rests largely on a syntactic account of the distribution of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$.

8.1 Morphological varieties of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$

Chapter 2 expounded the morphological varieties of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$. Two varieties of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ are found in BH: the defective form $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ (*scriptio defectiva*) and the full form $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ (*scriptio plena*). It was concluded that there exists, on syntactic level, no difference between these two forms. This discussion was followed by an exposition of the number of occurrences of the negative forms $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ and $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$, which also included an exposition of the different particles with which $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ and $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ are likely to be combined. Section 2.3 briefly referred to the issue regarding the *ketib/qere* readings of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$. The following table (1) summarises the findings of the data search:

(1)

Morphological form	Distribution
אֵל לֹדֹ	5 188 cases in 3 967 verses
אֵל לֹדֹ	28 cases in 28 verses
אֵל לֹדֹ	3 323 cases of the bare form in 2 767 verses
אֵל לֹדֹ	28 cases in 28 verses
אֵל וְלֹדֹ	1 598 cases in 1 383 verses
אֵל וְלֹדֹ	0 cases
אֵל בְּלֹדֹ	25 cases in 22 verses
אֵל בְּלֹדֹ	6 cases in 4 verses
אֵל שֶׁלֹדֹ	4 cases in 4 verses
אֵל שֶׁלֹדֹ	0 cases
אֵל כְּלֹדֹ	0 cases
אֵל כְּלֹדֹ	1 case
אֵל לִלֹדֹ	10 cases in 8 verses
אֵל לִלֹדֹ	0 cases
אֵל הִלֹדֹ	127 cases in 125 verses
אֵל הִלֹדֹ	147 cases in 139 verses

The next section briefly referred to the use of the *maqṣēf* to join the negative אֵל לֹדֹ to the subsequent category, as well as to numerous cases where it is not joined by means of the *maqṣēf*. It was argued that, in terms of syntactic distribution, there is no difference between those examples joined by means of the *maqṣēf* and those without it. In section 2.3 a brief reference was made to cases pertaining to *ketib/qere* readings. Some 20 examples are found where there is no certainty as to whether it is indeed the negative אֵל לֹדֹ encountered in the text or whether the negative should be superseded by another form as proposed by either the *qere* reading or the text critical apparatus in the BH text.

The inadequacy of syntactic descriptions in BH dictionaries and grammars on the distribution, let alone the phenomenon of scope, of the negative אֵל לֹדֹ was briefly indicated. It was indicated that BH dictionaries and grammars, to a great extent, merely list uses of the negative אֵל לֹדֹ. Most of the BH dictionaries and grammars do differentiate between what they refer to as item-negation and negation of the verb. However, these

divisions are not always sufficiently clear as they tend to combine what are referred to in this research as constituent- and sentence-negation. In terms of the scope of the negative in different syntactical settings, no clear distinctions are drawn.

8.2 Theoretical assumptions

It was indicated in Chapter 3 that Minimalist Syntax, the most recent theory of Universal Grammar within Chomskyan Generative Grammar, offers itself as a powerful tool to explain and determine the exact scope of the negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$. In Chapter 3 a brief outline of the fundamental principles, assumptions and devices of Minimalist Syntax was presented. In the derivations of BH sentences the operations *merge* and *move* were considered as the basic operations in the derivation of BH sentences in this research. The lexical items selected from the lexicon are merged in a strictly cyclic bottom-up fashion. A distinction was drawn between interpretable and uninterpretable features. The operation *move* was introduced as the mechanism needed for the checking of the different features of the lexical categories.

With reference to expositions of the negative in different languages, amongst others, Italian, French and Modern Hebrew, the characteristics of the negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ were expounded. The final section of Chapter 3 expounded the phenomenon of c-command as the mechanism to determine the scope of the negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ in BH. The following assumptions in terms of the negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ in BH were postulated:

- BH expresses sentential negation by means of a single negative marker, preceding the constituent it negates.
- BH expresses neither the phenomenon of Negative Concord, nor the phenomenon of Double Negation.
- The negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ is a functor/function word, that is, it represents a functional category.
- The negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ occupies the head position of the NegP.
- In the syntactic structure in BH, NegP is generated above TP.
- The scope of the negative $\text{ḥ} \text{ } l\bar{o}$ is the set of nodes that it c-commands.

8.3 Distribution and scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$

The *modus operandi* of Chapters 4-7 was to open with a discussion on the distribution of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding respectively the finite verbs (Chapter 4), the non-verbal categories (Chapter 5) and the non-finite verbs (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 discussed certain exceptional uses of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$. These discussions on the syntactic distribution of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ were followed by discussions to determine the exact scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding all the above-mentioned categories. References were made to different text versions, to evaluate their consideration of the scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ in terms of the conclusions arrived at regarding scope.

Chapter 4 opened with a discussion on the syntactic distribution of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the finite verbs, *i e* the perfect and imperfect verb forms as well as the three command forms, *i e* the cohortative, the imperative and the jussive. It was concluded that the scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding these finite verbs ranged over the whole subsequent clause, hence, sentence-negation. It was indicated that in terms of the command forms, the results of the data searches were not conclusive. No case was found of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the imperative, but, where applicable, examples were illustrated of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the jussive and the cohortative, respectively. However, it was indicated that the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding these command forms warrants further research.

The scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the non-verbal categories was discussed in Chapter 5. The non-verbal categories include categories such as nouns, adjectives, adverbs and prepositions. In each subdivision the distribution of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the above-mentioned non-verbal categories was expounded, followed by a discussion of the scope of the negative preceding these categories. In terms of the scope of the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$, this chapter introduced another type of negation, that of constituent-negation. It was maintained that the negative $\text{ḫ} \text{ḫ} \text{ḫ}$ $\text{l} \text{ḫ}$ preceding the different non-verbal categories only has scope over the particular category under discussion.

Chapter 6 provided a discussion of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding the non-finite verbs, *i e* the participle and the infinitives (construct and absolute). As the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ is not the traditionally expected negative for the non-finite verbs, the number of cases of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding the non-finite verbs was not high. A syntactic analysis of the distribution of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding these categories was provided, followed by a discussion on the scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding these non-finite verbs. In terms of scope it was indicated that the participle exhibits both sentence- and constituent-negation. In terms of the infinitive construct certain examples exhibited constituent-negation, *i e* the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ has scope only over the particular infinitive construct. Other examples of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding the infinitive construct were considered to be cases of sentence-negation. The negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding the infinitive absolute also exhibited both sentence- and constituent-negation. In conclusion, it was maintained that the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ preceding the non-finite verbs exhibited, unlike the finite verbs, both sentence- and constituent-negation.

Chapter 7 discussed some exceptional uses of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$. This chapter deviated slightly from the objective of this research, *viz* determining the scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ in BH. The cases discussed in this chapter are instances of the use of $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ in constructions where it does not convey its primary function of negation, and therefore bears no properties of scope in the clause. This chapter discussed, firstly, the use of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ in a negative answer with the meaning of *no*. This was followed by a discussion of $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ in the $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי} \text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ construction with the interpretation of asseverativeness translated as *surely* or *indeed*. The final construction that was discussed is the possible use of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ as a noun. Throughout Chapter 7 it was concluded that these discussions were preliminary and needed further research. The syntactic distribution of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לִפְנֵי}$ is summarised in the following table 2:

(2)

(i) אֵלֹהִים *lō'* / אֵלֹהִים *lō'* preceding finite verbs

The perfect verb

אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the perfect verb	Gen 4 ⁹
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the perfect verb	Jer 8 ²⁰

The imperfect verb

אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the imperfect verb	Gen 18 ³⁰
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the imperfect verb	Gen 31 ³⁵

The command forms

אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the jussive	1 Kgs 2 ⁶
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the imperative	-
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the cohortative	Deut 18 ¹⁶
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> in absolute prohibitions	Ex 20 ¹⁴

(ii) אֵלֹהִים *lō'* / אֵלֹהִים *lō'* preceding non-verbal categories

אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with common nouns and proper names	Gen 20 ¹²
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with adjectives	Gen 2 ¹⁸
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with adjectives	1 Sam 2 ²⁴
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with adverbs	Num 24 ¹⁷
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with prepositions	Lev 22 ²⁰
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with prepositions	Jer 5 ¹⁰
אֵלֹהִים <i>lō'</i> with the relative particle	1 Sam 16 ⁷

The arrow indicates the scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ expressing sentence-negation, *i e* the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ has scope over TP, VP² and VP¹. Consider Gen 8⁹ as an example of sentence-negation in (4):

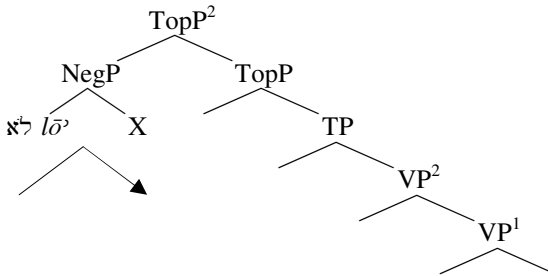
(4) Gen 8⁹

וְלֹא־מָצְאָהּ הַיּוֹנָה מְנוּחַ לְכַף־רַגְלָהּ

w^llō-moṣâ hayyônâ mănôah l^{kaf}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...

Constituent-negation implies that the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ takes a specific category as complement, with this complement carrying a topic-feature with the eventual movement of this topicalised category to the specifier position of TopP, where the checking of the topic-feature takes place. Consider the following visual representation of constituent-negation (5):

(5)



The above arrow indicates that the negative $\text{לֹא } \text{לֹד}$ exhibiting constituent-negation has scope only over the topicalised constituent that it precedes. Consider the example in (6) as an illustration of constituent-negation:

(6) Gen 32²⁹

וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא יִקְרָא עוֹד שְׁמֶךָ כִּי אִשְׂרָאֵל⁹²

wayyōmer lō' ya^cqōb ye'āmēr 'ōd šimkā kī 'im-yiśrā'ēl
 and-said-he not jacob-(proper name) will-be-called-you more name-
 your but-israel...
*Then he said, "Not Jacob will your name be called any longer, but
 Israel ..."*

In conclusion, then, in terms of scope, it was indicated that the negative $\text{לֹא } lō'$ in BH exhibits both sentence- and constituent-negation. The following table (7) summarises these findings:

(7)

The scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } lō'$		
Different categories preceded by the negative $\text{לֹא } lō'$	Sentence-negation	Constituent-negation
Perfect verbs	✓	
Imperfect verbs	✓	
Jussive	✓	
Cohortative	✓	
Imperative	-	-
Participle	✓	✓
Infinitive construct	✓	✓
Infinitive absolute	✓	✓
Common Nouns		✓
Proper Names		✓
Independent Pronouns		✓
Accusative Marker		✓
Adjectives		✓
Adverbs		✓
Prepositions		✓
Relative particle		✓

92 Cf Koehler *et al* (1974: 486) for a reference to the negation of a single word in a sentence, utilising this verse as an example.

things, the use of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ with the accusative marker $\text{אֶת } \text{ʔet}$ and the relative particle $\text{שֶׁ } \text{ʔer}$. As was indicated with these categories, further research might shed light on those cases where an empty antecedent in the relative clause is encountered. Chapter 6 discussed the use of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ with non-finite verbs. Given, firstly, that the usual negation of the non-finite forms is not accomplished by means of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$, and secondly, the relatively low number of occurrences of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ preceding these categories, a comparison of the usual negative particles with these non-finite verb forms might shed light on the characteristics of $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ with these forms. Chapter 7 briefly discussed some exceptional uses of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$, for example, its use as a noun and as a negative answer. These discussions were preliminary and extensive research on these constructions should serve to shed light on the use of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ in such constructions.

This research set out to investigate the distribution and the scope of the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$ in BH in order to facilitate a better understanding of the complexity and richness thereof. It is clear that research on the negative $\text{לֹא } l\bar{o}$, *per se*, as well as negation in BH in general, is still in its infancy; this research should be considered preliminary to further research in this field.