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## Biblical Hebrew as a Negative Concord Language

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Biblical Hebrew as a Negative Concord Language

J. Bradley Dukes

A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
Brigham Young University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

Deryle W. Lonsdale, Chair  
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## ABSTRACT

### Biblical Hebrew as a Negative Concord Language

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The typological distinction between negative concord and double negation languages has received increasing attention over the past century beginning with Jespersen (1922). Multiple negation in Biblical Hebrew has been subject to mixed treatment in this regard. Some scholars have treated all multiple negation in Biblical Hebrew as emphatic (Gesenius, Kautzsch & Cowley 1910; Dahood 1975; Holmstedt 2016) while others have labeled these constructions as pleonastic (Jouon & Muraoka 2006). Snyman (2004) determines that Biblical Hebrew is neither a negative concord language nor a double negation language based upon his assessment that “BH does not exhibit multiple negation elements.” In this thesis I explore a novel approach to evaluating the typological treatment of multiple negation in Biblical Hebrew. The criteria I use are derived from crosslinguistic observations made by Zeijlstra (2004a) and van der Auwera & van Alsenoy (2016), identifying the linguistic traits exclusive to negative concord languages (e.g. preverbal negative markers, paratactic negation, and banning true negative imperatives). I demonstrate the presence of these phenomena in Biblical Hebrew, determining it to be an NC language. I also discuss the implications these findings have on the current typology.

Keywords: Biblical Hebrew, negative concord, double negation, negation typology

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## 1. Introduction

The study of negation has taken a prominent position in the field of linguistics. It is a complex phenomenon that interacts with other syntactic and semantic phenomena. Much insight has resulted from crosslinguistic studies of negation, particularly on the topic of negative concord, which will be outlined in chapter 2. The study of Biblical Hebrew follows a long tradition that has not always kept abreast of contemporary research in linguistics. Biblical Hebrew negation is one area where enlightenment can still be gained by applying current research.

Languages interpret multiple negative expressions in one of two ways on a semantic level. When multiple negative expressions appear in standard English, the two negatives cancel each other out as the semantic interpretation is computed and a positive reading is produced (e.g., ‘I didn’t buy nothing.’ → ‘I didn’t not buy something’ or ‘I bought something’). This is called double negation (henceforth DN). On the other hand, the use of multiple negatives in French, such as *ne...pas* (‘NEG...not’), produce the effect of a single negation. This is called negative concord (henceforth NC). Although there are subcategories of NC, those distinctions are not immediately relevant.

We may classify any given language as either an NC or DN language since these phenomena are mutually exclusive. True, DN languages may contain a finite number of idiomatic multiple negative expressions, as is the case with Dutch *nooit geen* (‘nothing no’) (van der Auwera, De Cuyper & Neuckermans 2006; Zeijlstra 2010). Similarly, NC languages may implement specific syntactic strategies for producing a DN reading. These are, however, principally governed exceptions to the language’s syntactic tendencies. Since every known language contains negation (Zeijlstra 2007), any language should fall into one or the other category through an analysis of its use of negatives.

This thesis demonstrates that Biblical Hebrew (BH) contains several instances of two negatives having an NC reading (e.g., *mi-’en* ‘without no’). Gesenius et al. (1910) identified these phrases as having an emphatic negative reading. Others have referred to these constructions as redundant negation (Rubinstein, Sichel & Tsirkin-Sadan 2015) or pleonastic negation (Jouon & Muraoka 2006). This would naturally stem from the observation that these constructions are not obligatory, and that BH is a DN language. Little has been done to clearly describe these

multiple negative expressions and how they fit into the broader syntax of BH. Discussion of these instances has been absent from other researchers covering BH negation such as Waltke & O'Connor (1990), Snyman & Naudé (2003), Snyman (2004), and Naudé & Rendsburg (2013).

The sporadic use of NC expressions in BH, as well as their seemingly rigid composition, might suggest that the formation of NC-type constructions is unproductive in BH, leading to the conclusion that BH is indeed a DN language, and that these instances are merely emphatic multiple negative expressions (EMNEs). However, BH exhibits phenomena that have been cross-linguistically associated with the syntax of NC languages, phenomena which do not occur in DN languages. In this thesis, I will demonstrate the presence of these phenomena in BH through an analysis of various syntactic constructions that have been untreated in the literature and thereby determine that BH is in fact an NC language, a proposition which has not yet been thoroughly explored.

In chapter 2, I give an overview of the problem of multiple negation, how it is manifest, and the typological observations related to it, along with a summary of BH research on the topic of multiple negation. In chapter 3, I outline a novel approach to identifying NC languages that lack instantiations of NC proper. Chapter 4 contains my analysis of BH according to this novel approach. Finally, I provide my conclusion in chapter 5.



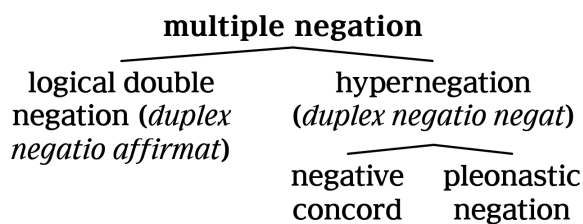
## 2. Multiple Negation: Terminology and Typology

*“In life two negatives don't make a positive. Double negatives turn positive only in math and formal logic. In life things just get worse and worse and worse.” – Robert McKee*

I begin this chapter by defining the terminology associated with negative concord and double negation respectively. In section 2.4 I introduce the typology of multiple negation cross-linguistically. I then outline the findings of Zeijlstra's (2004a) 25-language typological survey and how his findings will be implemented in this thesis. The final section of this chapter will summarize how Biblical Hebrew has been treated in the literature in relation to the phenomena I will be addressing.

The elemental nature of negation ( $\neg$ ) in language is to reverse the polarity of an utterance. We may take a simple proposition (P) such as ‘This is a dog’ and by introducing sentential negation reverse the polarity ‘This is NOT a dog’ ( $\neg$ P). All documented languages possess some form of negation (Zeijlstra 2007). Here we are concerned with how languages vary in their treatment of multiple negative elements within a single utterance. In theory, there are two possibilities: each negative element in turn reverses the polarity of the proposition; or, the addition of multiple negative elements (beyond the first) does not affect the polarity of the proposition. Indeed, we see both possibilities manifest in natural language.

### (1) Horn (2010): Distinct Multiple Negations



On the one hand, we have double negation (DN) which refers to two or more shifts in polarity (e.g.  $\neg \neg$ P). We can see this in the English example: ‘I didn't buy nothing’  $\rightarrow$  ‘I didn't not buy something’ or ‘I bought something’. Here, the presence of two negatives cancels out to form a positive. Languages that are characterized by this behavior are called DN languages; examples include Standard English, German and Norwegian, to name a few.

On the other hand, we have hypernegation which refers to the presence of additional negative elements that do not alter the polarity of the proposition. This behavior may be subdivided into two categories, negative concord (NC) which involves multiple negative elements within a single clause, and pleonastic/paratactic negation which involves multiple negation across a clausal boundary. These distinctions will be covered further in section 2.2. We can see in (2) the presence of NC in the French use of two sentential negative markers *ne ... pas* ('NEG ... not') functioning as a single negation:

- (2) *Je ne dors pas.*  
I NEG sleep **not**  
'I am not sleeping.'

Although NC refers to a subtype of hypernegation, NC may also refer more generally to any hypernegative phenomena. Hence, languages that are characterized by hypernegation are referred to as NC languages generally. Examples of NC languages are numerous and include Romance languages, non-standard English, Greek, Russian, and many others.

The problem of multiple negation has received increasing interest from modern linguists over the past few decades. It is a complex issue involving serious questions about the nature of agreement, scope, licensing, and typological variation, among others. Scholars have attempted to explain these phenomena within various linguistic theories and models, the two most prominent being Minimalism and HPSG. This thesis does not seek to address the question of underlying structure but rather to take the empirical observations regarding patterns in negation cross-linguistically and compare them with the observations made in Biblical Hebrew. For this reason, I will not offer an in-depth explanation of the pros and cons of these approaches as these differences are tangential to the outcome of this study. In the subsequent sections I will provide clear definitions and descriptions of the relevant phenomena without relying heavily on any specific theoretical framework.

## 2.1 Negative Elements

Before I discuss NC and DN, we must first be aware of the different negative elements that may participate in these constructions. At a basic level four types of negative elements are relevant to this thesis: preverbal negative marker (PNM), negative adverbial marker (NAM), negative

concord item (NCI), and n-words. I will now provide descriptions of each of these terms.

### 2.1.1 Preverbal Negative Markers

PNMs characteristically appear before the verb, as the name implies. However, the important distinction between PNM and other negative markers is that they function as a syntactic head ( $X^{\circ}$ )<sup>1</sup> rather than a syntactic phrase (XP)<sup>2</sup>. In this subsection I will discuss the tests that distinguish PNM from other forms of negation. Zanuttini (2001) offers four tests to determine whether an element is a syntactic head or a syntactic phrase. One test looks at whether the negative marker blocks clitic movement from within an infinitival clause to a position adjoining the matrix auxiliary. She uses the examples in (3)<sup>3</sup>, borrowed from Kayne (1989), to demonstrate this interaction. (3)b shows that raising the object clitic *la* ‘it’ above *ne* ‘no’ is infelicitous. However, in (3)c the clitic is allowed to raise above *pas* and not *ne*.

- (3) a. *Jean la<sub>1</sub> fait manger t<sub>1</sub> à Paul* (French)  
Jean it makes eat to Paul  
‘Jean makes Paul eat it’
- b. \**Jean l<sub>1</sub>’a fait ne pas manger t<sub>1</sub> à l’enfant*  
Jean it.has made NEG not eat to the child  
‘Jean has made the child not eat it’
- c. *Jean ne l<sub>1</sub>’a pas fait manger t<sub>1</sub> à Paul*  
Jean NEG it.has not made Paul eat it  
‘Jean hasn’t made Paul eat it’

Here the PNM *ne*, as a syntactic head, blocks the clitic from raising further than adjoining to the auxiliary *a*. Another test involves long clitic climbing, where the object clitic moves out of the complement position of an infinitival verb to a position above the finite verb (also illustrated in (3) above). The presence of a PNM will similarly prevent this movement from occurring. A third test involves the blocking of verb movement above the PNM in V-to-C movement. The

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<sup>1</sup> which constitutes a zero-level or terminal node of category X, where X is instantiated with any part-of-speech category

<sup>2</sup> which constitutes a maximal or phrase-level projection for a phrase of category X, where X is instantiated with any part-of-speech category

<sup>3</sup> Glossing abbreviations: 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person, ACC-accusative, CAUS-causative, COMP-complementizer, DAT-dative, F-feminine, GEN-genitive, IMP-imperative, IMPF-imperfective, INF-infinitive, JUSS-jussive, M-masculine, NEG-negation, NOM-nominative, PASS-passive, PRF-perfect, PTCP-participle, Q-question particle, REFL-reflexive, REL-relative, SBJV-subjunctive, SG-singular

prevention of the formation of negative imperatives is considered to be such a case and will be discussed in section 2.2.5. And the final test is the *why not* test (Merchant 2006) in which the construction ‘why not?’ is presumed to involve phrasal adjunction. As PNMs are not XPs but rather X°s, they cannot participate in this type of construction.

The status of PNMs as syntactic heads is relevant to this thesis for two reasons. First, PNMs “invoke the occurrence” of negative concord (Zeijlstra 2004a). Section 2.4 will demonstrate that the presence of a PNM in a language is a strong indicator that it is an NC language. Second, Zeijlstra claims that PNMs are responsible for the ban on true negative imperatives (see section 2.2.5). In this thesis I argue that Biblical Hebrew has negative items that function like PNMs.

### **2.1.2 Negative Adverbial Markers**

NAMs are distinct from PNMs in that they behave differently when the above-mentioned tests are applied. As was shown in (3)c, *pas*, the French NAM, allows the clitic to adjoin with the auxiliary verb *a* above it, while *ne*, the PNM in French, does not. NAMs may appear post-verbally. This is because NAMs are not syntactic heads but rather syntactic phrases. Additional tests have been conducted by Zeijlstra (2004a) to demonstrate that NAMs are XPs. Zeijlstra additionally provides arguments against Barbiers’ prior claims that the Dutch *niet*, a NAM, does not always behave as an XP. PNMs and NAMs are similar because they both function as sentential/clausal negation. Negative concord items (NCIs), on the other hand, are quite different.

### **2.1.3 Negative Concord Items**

NCI refers to a group of words that frequently, but not always, bear negative marking and may enter into a special syntactic relation (called AGREE) with clausal negation to form NC constructions (Zeijlstra 2008). The term ‘n-word’ has frequently been used to refer to both NCIs in NC languages and n-words in DN languages. This is because they are typically analogous to each other. For example, the English n-word *nobody* may be compared to the French NCI *personne* (‘nobody’). One might consider treating NCIs as a subclass of n-words if we simply define n-words as negatively marked items, but this is problematic considering that NCIs may have more in common with negative polarity items (NPIs) than n-words due to licensing

constraints. NCIs do not, however, share identical properties with NPIs (Giannakidou 2000). The complexity of describing NCIs has led some to conclude that they are lexically ambiguous, both negative quantifiers (n-words) and NPIs (Herburger 2001).

The interaction between sentential negation (negation in the matrix clause) and NPIs is further subdivided into strict and non-strict NC. The distinction is that non-strict NC languages do not require the presence of sentential negation to license NCIs. Further information on the typology of NC is discussed in van der Auwera et al. (2016). Key empirical observations tied to NC will be further addressed in section 2.4. This thesis is not directly concerned with the theoretical differences between NCIs, n-words, and NPIs, but rather whether NC is present in Biblical Hebrew or not. Therefore, I have left a deep theoretical analysis for future research.

#### **2.1.4 N-words**

For the purpose of this thesis, the term ‘n-word’ will be used to refer to any negative element that does not belong to the class of sentential negation and may be used in the absence of sentential negation such as negative adverbs (e.g. never), negative quantifiers (e.g. nobody, nothing), negative prepositions (e.g. without), etc. Although this may cause some overlap between n-words and certain conditions in which NCIs appear independently in NC languages, this definition offers the utility of disambiguating references to further empirical observations in this thesis. For further discussion on defining n-words refer to Herburger (2001) and Giannakidou (2006).

### **2.2 Negative Concord**

As discussed earlier, NC refers to the use of two or more negative elements, producing a single semantic negation. In this section, I address the possible combinations of negative elements that have been referred to as NC, specifically negative doubling and negative spread. Both phenomena have popularly been treated as agreement (since Zeijlstra 2008). However, other explanations are offered by Watanabe (2004) and Kuhn (2022). It is not necessary to delve into these theories as they lie outside the scope of this thesis.

Zeijlstra (2004a: 335) considers paratactic negation (PN) to be a subcategory of NC “since it is only possible in languages that exhibit...NC”. Horn (1991), on the other hand, treats PN as distinct from NC on the grounds that NC is restricted to within the clause, while PN involves the

relation of negative elements across the clausal boundary. This distinction is not so relevant to our discussion here as is the fact that PN has been demonstrated to be present only in languages that exhibit NC, as will be shown in section 2.4.2. Due to theoretical reasons discussed in section 2.2.3, I will adopt Horn’s view that PN is not a subcategory of NC. PN will, nevertheless, be addressed in this section. One additional phenomenon related to NC is the occurrence of multiple negative expressions, or emphatic multiple negative expressions (EMNEs). These expressions are argued to be lexicalized NC expressions occurring in DN languages. They will be covered in section 2.2.4. There is one additional phenomenon, observed by Zeijlstra to occur only in a subset of NC languages, that I will describe in section 2.2.5.

### 2.2.1 Negative Doubling

Negative doubling involves the use of sentential negation accompanied by additional negative items. This can be accomplished through various combinations of PNM, NAM, and NCI. Examples are given in (4) from van der Wouden (1994 relevant glossing added).

- (4) a. *Je n’ai vu **personne*** (Standard French – PNM, NCI)  
 I NEG-have seen **nobody**  
 ‘I haven’t seen anybody’
- b. *Valère **en**-klaapt tegen **geen** mens* (West Flemish – PNM, NCI)  
 Valère NEG-talks to **no** person  
 ‘Valère doesn’t talk to anybody’
- c. *Hulle het **nooit** gesing **nie*** (Afrikaans – NCI, NAM)  
 They have **never** sung NEG  
 ‘They have never sung’

### 2.2.2 Negative Spread

Negative spread, a term used since den Besten (1986: 205), refers to the use of two or more negative elements in the absence of sentential negation. This can be demonstrated with non-standard (NS) English in the following sentence (5) (taken from van der Wouden 1994).

- (5) a. **Nobody** said **nothing** to **nobody** (NS English)  
 b. ***Personne a rien dit*** (Spoken French)  
**Nobody** has **nothing** said  
 ‘Nobody said anything’
- c. *Valère ging **nooit** **nieverst** **noatoe*** (West Flemish)  
 Valère went **never** **nowhere** to

‘Valère never went anywhere’

### 2.2.3 Paratactic Negation

As mentioned previously, PN involves negative elements participating in NC-like behavior across a clausal boundary. PN has been referred to by many different terms in the literature such as: pleonastic, redundant, expletive, superfluous, sympathetic negation, etc. Van der Wouden (1994) divides PN into two subtypes; one negative element “triggers” additional negative elements to arise in its complement clause, or a negative element selects a negative complementizer. Examples of these two types are given in (6) and (7) (taken from van der Wouden 1994, relevant glossing added, triggers underlined).

- (6) a. *Je crains qu’il **ne** vienne* (French)  
I fear that-he NEG come.SBJV  
‘I fear that he may come’
- b. *Evitez qu’il **ne** vous parle* (French)  
Prevent that-he NEG to-you speak.SBJV  
‘Prevent that he talks to you’
- (7) a. *Timeo **ne** veniat* (Latin)  
‘I fear that he may come’
- b. Then fearing **lest** we should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day. (KJV Acts 27:29)<sup>4</sup>

The above examples illustrate that a negative verb (i.e. ‘fear’ or ‘prevent’) is triggering additional negation either in the subordinate clause or in the complementizer. PN is not only triggered by negative verbs but also by what van der Wouden calls “conjunctive elements” such as ‘before’, ‘without’, ‘unless’, giving the following (French) examples (8) (relevant glossing added).

- (8) a. *Avant qu’il **ne** fasse froid*  
Before that-it NEG gets.SBJV cold  
‘Before it gets cold’
- b. *Le lieutenant répondit [...] au salut sans qu’un muscle de sa figure **ne** bougeât*  
‘The lieutenant answered the salute in a military way without moving a muscle in his face’

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<sup>4</sup> Biblical translation abbreviations: CSB-Christian Standard Bible, KJV-King James Version, LXX-Septuagint, NIV-New International Version, VUL-Vulgate

Note: English biblical translations used in the examples are the author’s unless otherwise noted.

Note that the triggers in these examples carry implicit or connotated negation. Hence, PN constitutes a manifestation of multiple negation.

Landau (2002), in discussing PN triggered by negative verbs (n-verbs) in Modern Hebrew, offers a way to consolidate the two types of PN proposed by van der Wouden. Landau proposes that negative verbs are of two varieties: N1-verbs; and also N2-verbs, the behavior of which differs from N1-verbs in Modern Hebrew on four accounts. His contrasts are listed in (9)-(12).

- (9) The non-finite negative complementizer *me-* is optional in some N1-complements, but cannot be omitted in N2-complements unless it is "replaced" by an overt clausal negation.
- (10) N1-complements are negatively entailed, with or without *me-*; N2-complements are positively entailed without *me-*, and negatively with *me-*.
- (11) N2-verbs can take finite complements; N1-verbs cannot.
- (12) A negated N2-complement can be introduced by the complementizer *se-*, but a negated N1-complement cannot.

To explain these differences, Landau suggests that N1-verbs select for a complementizer bearing an [*i*NEG] feature (challenged by Makri 2013), while N2-verbs select for a complementizer bearing a [*u*NEG] feature. Because Landau's analysis is rooted in the Minimalist Program, relevant theoretical background will be provided here to facilitate this discussion further.

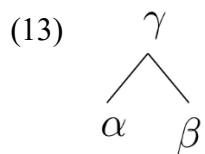
Within the Minimalist Program, features are responsible for various phenomena in morphology and syntax including movement, agreement and selectional requirements. An uninterpretable feature (*u*F) probes for and must be valued by an interpretable feature (*i*F) of a matching category. In English, the matrix verb bears an [*u*NUM] feature that must find an [*i*NUM] feature in order to be valued. Hence English verbs agree with the [*i*NUM] feature on the subject (e.g. *they are* '3<sub>PL</sub> be.<sub>PL</sub>'). Once the probe finds a suitable [*i*F] (i.e. goal) the [*u*F] is valued and deleted. If a [*u*F] goes unvalued, the utterance is found infelicitous (i.e. the derivation crashes). The process of probing, valuing, and deleting a [*u*F] is referred to as AGREE.

Landau argues that N2-verbs' selectional requirements may be satisfied in two ways: N2-verbs may select a complementizer bearing an [*i*NEG] feature or select a complementizer bearing a [*u*NEG] feature that must then be licensed by clausal negation bearing an [*i*NEG] feature in the subordinate clause. It is this dualistic behavior of N2-verbs that triggers PN, while N1-verbs do

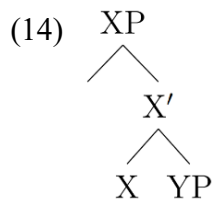


not.

Another fundamental syntactic operation within the Minimalist Program is Merge, the recursive process of combining two syntactic objects (i.e. lexical items). As is shown in (13), we may take the syntactic object  $\alpha$  and Merge it with another syntactic object  $\beta$ , producing the complex syntactic object  $\gamma$  ( $\gamma$  being a projection of either  $\alpha$  or  $\beta$ ).



The recursive application of Merge results in an underlying syntactic structure known as X-bar (14). XP indicates a maximal projection, the result of applying two Merge operations: X indicates a minimal projection or head of a syntactic object.



The adoption of Merge and X-bar theory as the fundamental mechanism and structure of syntax has led to the recognition of a suggested hierarchal arrangement (Adger 2003) in which Merge may occur: CP > TP > NegP > vP > VP<sup>5</sup>. However, languages may differ in their hierarchal structure (e.g. the absence of NegP, see section 2.4.2).

After an utterance has been fully computed syntactically, it undergoes a phonetic computation known as PF. During this stage redundant or unnecessary material may be deleted before the utterance is physiologically produced. Utilizing this terminology, a comparison between the derivation of N1-verbs and N2-verbs can be made. In (15) we have the derivation of complements for an N1-verb, as described by Landau.

---

<sup>5</sup> CP-complementizer phrase, TP-tense phrase, NegP-negation phrase, vP-little v phrase, VP-verb phrase

(15) Deriving N1-complements

- a. Merge ( $me_{-iNEG}$ , TP)  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $me-$  TP]
- b. Merge ( $me_{-iNEG}$ , TP)  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $me-$  TP]  $\rightarrow$  optional PF deletion of complementizer  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $\emptyset_{iNEG}$  TP]

In (15)a, an N1-verb selects for a complementizer bearing an [*i*NEG] feature. In (15)b, the same selection occurs: however, because this selection is recoverable the complementizer may be phonologically deleted at PF. Hence Landau's optionality of N1-complementizers to introduce their negatively entailed complements

If we simply go by van der Wouden's description of his second type of PN (i.e. the selection of a negative complementizers), it would appear that N1-verbs trigger PN. However, N1-verbs are known to occur in DN languages where the presence of N2-verbs is absent such as in Standard English (Landau 2002: 484). This may suggest that it is not the selection of negative complementizers that triggers PN but the greater degree of selectivity found in N2-verbs. Consider now, Landau's derivation of N2-complements (16).

(16) Deriving N2-complements

- a. Merge ( $me_{-iNEG}$ , TP)  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $me-$  TP]
- b. Merge ( $\emptyset_{iNEG}$ , TP)  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $\emptyset$  TP]  $\rightarrow$  AGREE ( $\emptyset$ , Neg<sup>o</sup>)
- c. Merge ( $\check{s}e_{-iNEG}$ , TP)  $\rightarrow$  [<sub>CP</sub>  $\check{s}e-$  TP]  $\rightarrow$  AGREE ( $\check{s}e-$ , Neg<sup>o</sup>)

Example (16)a looks identical to (15)a since the selection requirements of both N-verb types may be satisfied by the complementizer *me-* bearing an [*i*NEG] feature. However, the N2-verb may also only select for a [*i*NEG] feature, underspecifying which other Modern Hebrew complementizers can satisfy this requirement, provided that sentential negation be present in the subordinate clause as seen in (16)b. (16)c shows that the underspecified complementizer allows for instantiation by the lexical item *\check{s}e*<sub>-iNEG</sub>. Note that (16)a is representative of van der Wouden's second type of PN seen in (7), and (16)c is iconic of van der Wouden's first type of PN seen in (6). Biblical Hebrew n-verbs demonstrate a greater degree of selectivity than this, though the analysis proposed by Landau holds and will be the approach applied in this thesis (refer to section 3.4 for details).

#### 2.2.4 Multiple Negative Expressions

Multiple negative expressions (henceforth MNEs) constitute a group of lexicalized phrases that

contain multiple negative elements and have an NC reading. Zeijlstra (2010) proposes that they are residual NC constructions, having been lexicalized as the language transitioned to a DN language. Zeijlstra considers these expressions to be emphatic, hence his use of the term emphatic MNE (EMNE). His assumptions about these expressions are drawn from his observations in certain varieties of Dutch and Welsh. He provides four points of contrast between EMNEs and regular NC constructions. These contrasts are provided in (17).

(17) Differences between EMNEs and NC expressions:

- a. EMNEs always have an emphatic reading; NC constructions usually do not;
- b. The formation of EMNEs is not productive; speakers generally differ with respect to which EMNE they accept and which they do not accept;
- c. EMNEs are subject to strict adjacency conditions, contrary to NC constructions;
- d. Only the first element of the EMNE may carry stress, whereas in NC constructions all elements may do so.

The first distinction (17)a centers on the emphatic nature of EMNEs. To Zeijlstra this is a defining feature. However, MNEs in Dutch have been studied by van der Auwera et al. (2006) and van der Auwera (2010) as well, who do not consider these expressions to be emphatic. Recently, van der Auwera has informed me<sup>6</sup> that he does agree with Zeijlstra on the conclusion that these expressions are lexicalized and their formation is unproductive, which is argued to be the underlying cause of distinctions (17)b-c. This lexicalization has also been the central argument in explaining the preservation of the NC reading despite the language's transition to DN. The last distinction (17)d arises from the observations that some speakers interpret these EMNEs as DN when stress is not on the first element but elsewhere.

### **2.2.5 Ban on True Negative Imperatives**

True negative imperative (TNI) refers to sentential negation appearing with the imperative form of the verb in sentences that are semantically imperative. This results in a negative command. In contrast, some languages prohibit the use of the imperative form of the verb when sentential negation is present. In such cases, an alternate form of the verb is used (e.g. infinitive, subjunctive, etc.) to produce a negative command. This is referred to as a suppletive/surrogate negative imperative (SNI). Examples of these can be seen in (18) and (19) (taken from Zeijlstra

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<sup>6</sup> Personal communication, August 2022

2006, relevant glossing added).

- (18) True Negative Imperative
- a. *Slaap niet!* (Dutch)  
Sleep.IMP NEG  
'Don't sleep!'
  - b. *Nie pracuj!* (Polish)  
NEG work.2SG.IMP  
'Don't work!'
- (19) Suppletive Negative Imperative
- a. \**¡No lee!* (\*TNI) (Spanish)  
NEG read.2SG.IMP  
'Don't read'
  - b. *¡No leas!* (SNI)  
NEG read.2SG.SBJV  
'Don't read!'

Notice that in (19)a the imperative form of the verb may not be used with negation and must take the subjunctive form (19)b in Spanish when giving negative commands. These examples aid in drawing a line between constructions that are formally imperative versus constructions that are not formally imperative but still carry the illocutionary force of an imperative. The ban on true negative imperatives has been extensively explored with various explanations (Rivero & Terzi 1995; Zanuttini 1997; Han 2001). However, we will be following Zeijlstra's (2006) analysis for two reasons. First, his analysis appears to provide the best explanation for the crosslinguistic variation in the banning of TNIs. Second, this thesis is based on the typological observations made by Zeijlstra, and therefore his analysis will be adopted to maintain consistency in my approach.

Zeijlstra's explanation for a ban on TNIs is founded on three assumptions. First, the imperative operator<sup>7</sup> takes scope<sup>8</sup> from C° (Han 2001). Second, he adopts the head movement constraint (HMC) which says that in head-to-head movement the head cannot skip intermediate heads (Travis 1984). And third, the negative operator cannot c-command<sup>9</sup> the imperative operator. The implications of these three assumptions are as follows. In imperative constructions

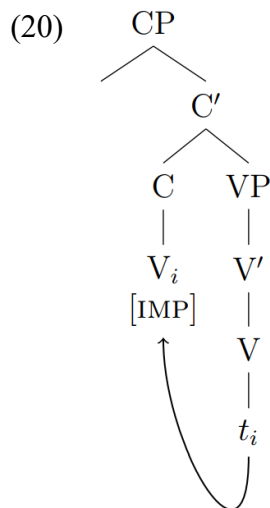
---

<sup>7</sup> Semantic operators function to modify the truth conditionality or illocutionary force of a proposition.

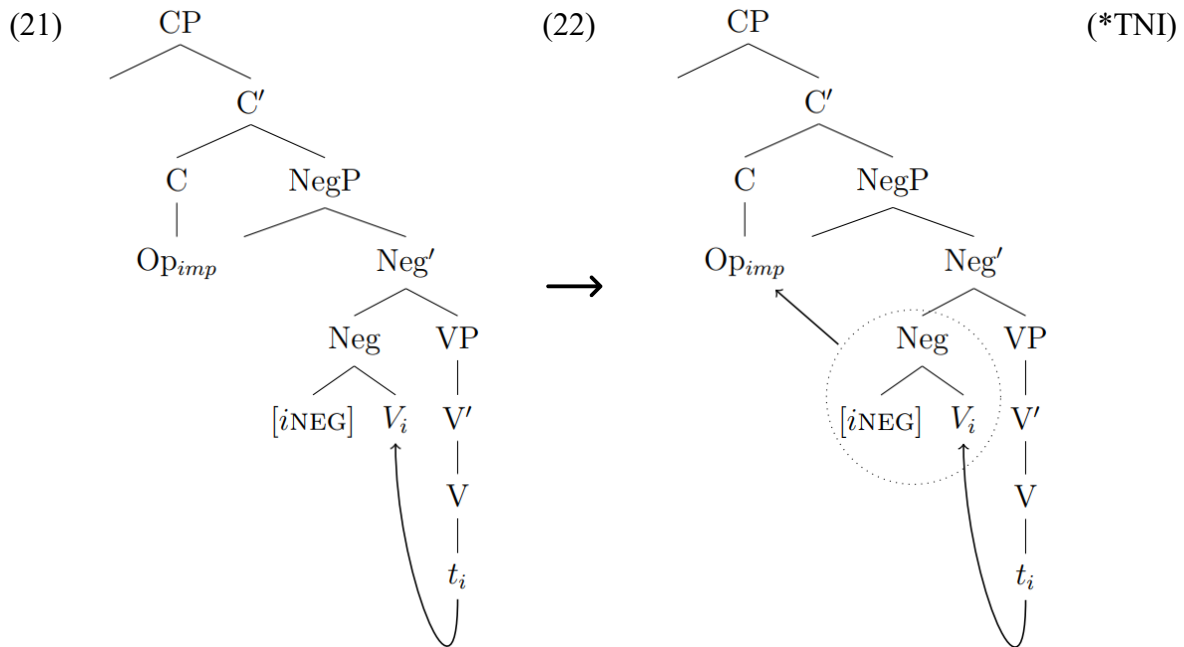
<sup>8</sup> Semantic scope refers to the semantic content within a proposition to which an operator applies.

<sup>9</sup> C-command may be defined as the relationship a syntactic object has over the syntactic object to which it has been merged (and all of its daughter syntactic objects).

the verb must raise from  $V^\circ$  to  $C^\circ$  where the imperative operator resides, leaving behind a coindexed trace (20). As this raising involves head-to-head movement, the verb must stop at each intermediate head and adjoin to any  $X^\circ$ s that lie in its path, such as the head of NegP in (21) and (22).



If, as in (21) and (22), the  $X^\circ$  at the head of NegP happens to bear the  $[i\text{NEG}]$  feature, this negation would raise with the verb into  $C^\circ$  and take scope over the imperative operator, which is not permissible. This has been the proposal for explaining the Spanish example in (19)a where *no* bears an  $[i\text{NEG}]$  feature which bans the formation of TNIs as illustrated in (22), requiring the formation of an SNI (19)b. This contrasts with the Polish and Dutch examples in (18) where the negative markers *nie* and *nie* bear a  $[u\text{NEG}]$  feature allowing the formation of TNIs.



Operating under these three assumptions, Zeijlstra suggests that the following two typological generalizations hold (23). Generalization 2 had previously been made by Zanuttini (1997).

- (23) G1: Every language with an overt negative marker  $X^\circ$  that carries  $[iNEG]$  bans TNIs.  
 G2: Every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker  $X^\circ$ .

As mentioned in section 2.1, preverbal negative markers (PNMs) are  $X^\circ$ s while NAMs are XPs. Negative markers that are  $X^\circ$ s (e.g. PNM)s are of two types, those that bear an  $[iNEG]$  and those that bear an  $[uNEG]$ . The generalizations in (23) directly link the ban of TNIs with the presence of an overt negative marker  $X^\circ$  bearing an  $[iNEG]$ .

### 2.3 Double Negation

DN refers to the cancelation of one negative by another to produce an affirmative. This is in stark contrast to NC, as discussed above. DN does not simply neutralize negation but serves several discourse-pragmatic and semantic purposes (Horn 1991). This thesis is only concerned with identifying the patterns of DN, so the semantic and pragmatic nuances will be overlooked and only the polarity reversal will be noted. DN can be produced using sentential negation in multiple clauses, sentential negation and n-words, or multiple n-words. A simple example of DN is given in (24), taken from (Zeijlstra 2004b, relevant glossing added).

- (24) (dat) Jan **niet niets eet**  
 (that) John NEG **nothing** eats  
 ‘(that) John doesn’t eat nothing’ → ‘John eats something’  
 [Jan [vP niet[*i*NEG] [QP niets[*i*NEG]] eet]]  
 $\neg \neg \exists x.[\text{eat}(j,x)] \leftrightarrow \exists x.[\text{eat}(j,x)]$

In languages that default to DN readings, the syntactic positioning of the negative elements is free. This is assumed to be because in DN languages all negative elements contribute semantic negation (Zeijlstra 2004b: 346). DN effects can also be produced in NC languages but must be accomplished through syntactic means. For example, in Hungarian (classified as a strict NC language) a negative item may be either stressed (25)a, or brought into a “Contrastive Topic” position (25)b, thereby severing a possible AGREE relation with the sentential negation, resulting in DN (Puskás 2012, relevant glossing added). Marked stress and topicality is indicated in all-capital letters.

- (25) Hungarian DN
- a. *Kolozs* **SENKINEK** **nem** mondott **semmit**  
 Kolozs-NOM **no.person**-DAT NEG said-3S **no.thing**-ACC  
 ‘Kolozs said nothing to NOBODY.’ → ‘Kolozs said something to everybody’
  - b. **MELYIK** **FILMET** **nem** ismerte **senki**  
**no** film-ACC NEG knew-3S **no.person**-NOM  
 ‘Nobody knew no film.’ → ‘Everyone knew some film’

Another strategy for producing unambiguous DN readings is through the use of what Blanchette (2015) calls “long distance DN” in which the second negative is embedded. An example is given in (26).

- (26) She **didn’t** buy a dress with **no** sleeves.  
 → She bought a dress with sleeves.

The second negative element in (26) is contained within a complex noun phrase. The syntactic complexity prohibits an NC relation from forming between the two negatives. This is similar to the morphologically incorporated *un-* type words interacting with sentential negation to produce DN (27). This is discussed extensively by Horn (1991).

- (27) I wasn’t **unkind** to her.  
 → I was (somewhat) kind to her.

One final strategy for producing DN in NC languages is negation in multiple clauses. De Swart

(2010) illustrates that NC is a clause-bound phenomenon by citing examples of this type from several sources on NC languages (28) (relevant glossing added).

(28) Multiple Negative Markers

- |    |   |             |
|----|---|-------------|
| a. | <i>Nem lehet nem nevet-ni</i>                         | (Hungarian) |
|    | NEG possible NEG laugh-INF                            |             |
|    | ‘It was not possible not to laugh’                    |             |
| b. | <i>Dhen ipa na min erthi</i>                          | (Greek)     |
|    | NEG said.SBJV NEG come                                |             |
|    | ‘I didn’t say that he should not come’                |             |
| c. | <i>Ja ne mog ne dat’ emu nagrǎdu</i>                  | (Russian)   |
|    | I NEG could NEG give him reward                       |             |
|    | ‘I couldn’t not reward him’                           |             |
| d. | <i>Nikt nie powiedział, że nic się nie wydarzyło</i>  | (Polish)    |
|    | nobody NEG said that <b>nothing</b> REFL NEG happened |             |
|    | ‘Nobody said that nothing happened’                   |             |

All three of these strategies utilize syntactic structures to create a barrier between the negative elements in order to produce DN.

## 2.4 Multiple Negation Typology

Several studies have investigated the typology of multiple negation across languages, ranging widely in their language diversity and empirical focus. Examples include looking into the positioning and distribution of negative elements within the syntax (Dahl 1979; van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2016), the diachronic patterns in negation (Jespersen 1917; van der Auwera, De Cuyper & Neuckermans 2006), and the typological dichotomy between DN and NC (Zeijlstra 2004a; Richter & Sailer 2006; van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2016), to name a few. In this thesis, I attempt to determine whether Biblical Hebrew may be considered an NC language. In my estimation, Zeijlstra’s (2004a) study offers the greatest utility in this regard. He identifies several phenomena and patterns that coexist with NC cross-linguistically and are not present in DN languages. For this reason, I have developed my methodology (see chapter 3) from his observations.

In the following section, I will introduce Jespersen’s cycle because Zeijlstra’s observations are organized according to the stages of the cycle. Then, I discuss the findings in (Zeijlstra 2004a) that will be used in this thesis.



### 2.4.1 Jespersen Cycles

What has come to be known as the Jespersen Cycle was first introduced as an abstract pattern specific to sentential negation. Jespersen (1917) made some significant observations about French sentential negation diachronically. For example, he documented an incremental shift from the preverbal negation *ne* ('NEG') to an adverbial negation *pas* ('not'), shown in (29).

(29) Jespersen Cycle in French  
*ne* 'NEG' → *ne ... pas* 'NEG not' → *pas* 'NEG'

In this pattern, we first see the original negation (*ne*) being strengthened by the addition of another term (*pas*), that term being reinterpreted as negation and then the original negation (*ne*) being replaced by the new term (*pas*). Jespersen (1917: 4) abstracts this process in the following way (30).

(30) Jespersen Cycle  
Stage 1: The original negator is weakened.  
Stage 2: The negator is strengthened by an additional word.  
Stage 3: The new word becomes an independent negator.

This pattern has been studied and refined extensively over the years as well as extended to changes in other negative items; van der Auwera, Krasnoukhova & Vossen (2020) give a detailed summary with references. Zeijlstra (2004a: 56) uses an expanded version of the Jespersen Cycle that includes transitional stages, shown in (31).

(31) Jespersen Cycle

Phase I:	Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.
Phase II:	The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes phonologically too weak to express negation by itself and a second negative adverb becomes optionally available.
Phase III:	Sentential negation is obligatorily expressed by the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb and the adverbial negative marker.
Phase IV:	The negative adverb is the obligatory marker for negation and the use of the negative marker that is attached to the finite verb becomes optional.
Phase V:	The negative adverb is the only available negative marker. The negative marker that is attached to the finite verb is no longer available.
Phase VI:	The negative marker is available in two forms: it can appear either as negative adverb or as a negative marker that is attached on the finite verb, though sometimes simultaneously.

Phase VII=I Negation is only expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

Some optionality exists in phases II, IV, and VI, where negation may be expressed by one of two viable methods. The language proceeds to the next stage when one of the competing negative forms is lost. A universal preference to preverbal negation is considered to be responsible in perpetuating the cycle (Jespersen 1917: 5), hence the return from phase VI to phase I. A diachronic attempt to establish where Biblical Hebrew lies in this cycle is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this thesis will narrow the possible phases to which Biblical Hebrew may belong.

#### 2.4.2 Zeijlstra's Typological Survey

Zeijlstra (2004a) approached his typological survey in two ways. First, he performed a diachronic study of Dutch varieties, observing specific negation-related phenomena as the language progressed through the Jespersen cycle. He then compared his results with a synchronic survey of 25 other languages, which together span the Jespersen cycle. The empirical questions Zeijlstra investigated about each language are shown in (32).

##### (32) Zeijlstra's Empirical Questions

- a. What is the syntactic status of the negative marker that expresses sentential negation in the language?<sup>10</sup>
- b. In which phase of the Jespersen Cycle can the language be classified?
- c. Does the language exhibit negative concord?  
If so, is it Strict or Non-Strict negative concord?  
Does the language exhibit Paratactic Negation?
- d. Does the language exhibit double negation?  
If so, does the language exhibit Emphatic Negation?
- e. Does the language allow true negative imperatives?
- f. What is the interpretation of constructions in which a universal quantifier precedes the negative marker?

The results of his cross-linguistic study are provided in (33), with the exception of (32)f which did not offer any diagnostic value to this thesis.

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<sup>10</sup> The “syntactic status” refers to whether the negative marker is a PNM or an NAM.

## (33) Zeijlstra's results

Language	Phase	NC	PNM	NAM	PN	Strict NC	Neg Imp
Czech	I	+	+	-	+	+	+
Polish	I	+	+	-	+	+	+
Russian	I	+	+	-	+	+	+
Serbo-Croatian	I	+	+	-	+	+	+
Greek	I	+	+	-	+	+	-
Romanian	I	+	+	-	+	+	-
Hungarian	I	+	+	-	+	+	-
Hebrew	I	+	+	-	+	+	-
Italian	I	+	+	-	+	-	-
Spanish	I	+	+	-	+	-	-
Portuguese	I	+	+	-	+	-	-
Berber	II	+	+	+	+	+	+
Catalan (I)	II	+	+	+	+	+	-
Catalan (II)	II	+	+	+	+	-	-
St. French	III	+	+	+	+	+	-
Coll. French	IV	+	+	+	+	+	-
Quebecois	V	+	-	+	+	+	+
Bavarian	V	+	-	+	+	+	+
Yiddish	V	+	-	+	+	+	+
German	V	-	-	+	-		+
Swedish	V	-	-	+	-		+
Norwegian	V	-	-	+	-		+
Standard English	VI	-	+	+	-		-
English (A)	VI	+	+	+	+	+	-
English (B)	VI	+	+	+	+	-	-

Observing the results of Zeijlstra's study, three phenomena appear to only occur as subsets within the set of NC languages. PN is the most directly linked phenomenon to NC. All languages that demonstrate NC also demonstrate PN. And all languages that demonstrate PN also demonstrate NC. This direct relationship would appear to strengthen Zeijlstra's treatment of PN as NC (see discussion in 2.2). Regardless, the presence of PN offers a strong diagnostic tool for identifying NC languages.

The second phenomenon is the use of a PNM. All languages that implement a PNM are also NC languages. However, the reverse is not true. Quebecois, Bavarian, and Yiddish are NC languages lacking a PNM. Hence, PNMs appear to be a strong diagnostic tool for identifying NC languages when present, but their absence does not prohibit the use of NC.

The final phenomenon is the banning of TNIs. As discussed in section 2.2.5, the use of a preverbal/affixal negative marker (i.e. PNM) bearing an [*i*NEG] is responsible for the ban on TNIs. As PNMs are restricted to the set of NC languages and the ban on TNIs belongs to the set of languages implementing a PNM, languages banning TNI's belong to the set of NC languages. The only exception is found in Standard English. However, Zeijlstra (2004a: 146) suggests that this is likely due to English "do"-support or the availability of *n't*. Earlier stages of English allowed TNI's when "do"-support and *n't* were not present. For this and other reasons, Zeijlstra dubs Standard English a "pseudo-NC language." The presence of a ban on TNI's can thus be safely tied to NC languages.

Zeijlstra (2004b) offers a theoretical explanation for the connection between PNMs and NC, as well as requirements for DN. Some NC languages are capable of producing DN, while DN languages cannot produce NC. Although a full explanation is not necessary within this thesis, his generalization (34) draws a clear syntactic distinction between the two.

(34) Whenever a language has a negative marker  $X^{\circ}$ , it exhibits NC. Whenever a language exhibits DN, a negative adverb XP is required.

All languages containing a PNM produce NC, and all languages that produce DN implement an NAM to do so. This generalization allows for the fact that some negative concord languages can produce double negation (i.e. NC languages possessing an NAM). He further observes that DN languages are strictly distinct from NC languages because DN languages have no *n*-words bearing a [*u*NEG] feature that need to be checked by a negative operator in NegP. Therefore, DN languages lack a NegP within the syntactic hierarchy. NC languages on the other hand must have a NegP because PNMs require it.

## **2.5 Biblical Hebrew Negation**

The study of BH has a long tradition with deep roots. Explanations for curious phenomena have been proposed and adopted. Unfortunately, these conclusions have often been drawn in the absence of much needed crosslinguistic research. One example is the presence of what I claim are NC constructions being interpreted as emphatic negatives in BH. During the time that this explanation was formulated, the terminology for such phenomena as NC, DN, and emphatic multiple negative expression (EMNE) had not been developed, nor had a clear distinction been

made between them.

Gesenius et al. (1910: 483), as they sought to explain the interpretation of two negatives having an NC reading, could not have been familiar with Jespersen's (1917) ground-breaking work on the subject of NC. Their conclusion was that these constructions were being used for emphasis. It should be noted that, whether BH is an NC language or not, the presence of NC readings such as the ones noted by Gesenius et al. would at the very least be evidence for BH having been an NC language at an earlier stage in its development (see section 2.2.4).

Without having a prominent presence of other NC constructions in BH, this would seem to put an end to the matter. Indeed, it isn't until Zilkha (1970; 1976) that we come to a reopening of the subject. Zilkha explored the presence of constructions in "Hebrew" containing multiple negation. Zilkha (1976: 165), noting the lack of accurate terminology, wrote:

In his thorough treatment of negation in general, Otto Jespersen made a major contribution towards clarifying the issue of double negation by cognizing that a linguistic negative is not comparable to the minus sign in mathematics. Thus, the mathematical conception according to which two negatives are mutually destructive is not necessarily applicable to natural languages. Accordingly, a distinction should be made between two negatives that produce an affirmative and two others that result in a negative.

In his studies, Zilkha made no distinction between BH and Modern Hebrew as he used examples from Modern Hebrew and the Mishna to demonstrate that "Hebrew" contains NC constructions. He then uses BH examples to show that "Hebrew" contains DN as well. Zilkha's astute observations could have prompted a deeper investigation, but I have found no further discussion by Zilkha or other researchers on the topic.

Referring to *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (Jouon & Muraoka 2006: 608) we find that there still remains some confusion in terminology. They refer to *beli 'en* ('NEG NEG') using the term "double negation", though they are referring to NC. Others have used the term "double negation" to refer to PN negation constructions (Köhler et al. 2001: 42). However, the terminology is not solely responsible for hindering an understanding of this phenomenon, but rather the absence of cross-linguistic research sufficient to address the problem. Snyman (2004) attempted to directly address the question of whether BH is an NC language or not. I will use his study to illustrate this issue further.

### 2.5.1 Snyman 2004

Snyman (2004) proves to be somewhat familiar with the crosslinguistic research on NC and DN. He particularly draws on the work of Haegeman & Zanuttini (1996) in the Romance languages to evaluate whether BH is an NC or DN language. Unfortunately, there are several oversights in his analysis which are of interest here. The first concerns his criteria for identifying NC languages. Snyman defines NC as an environment where “two or more negative constituents in a clause express one single instance of *sentential negation* [emphasis added]”. His analysis narrowly identifies “sentential negation” alone, and whether it involves the use of one or two negative markers. This neglects the other instances of NC behavior such as negative spread, and PN. Snyman compares BH with Italian (an NC language) as having a single preverbal negative marker. Yet he concludes that “BH exhibits neither the phenomenon of NC, nor the phenomenon of DN”. In this paper, Snyman makes no reference to the examples of “emphatic” multiple negation documented by Gesenius et al. (1910), however it is clear that he is aware of these instances as he mentions them elsewhere (Snyman & Naudé 2003). Why he neglects to address these examples is unclear.

Despite these shortcomings, Snyman’s analysis of *lo’* (‘not’) proves to be quite useful in this thesis. Snyman provides an analysis of *lo’* in BH as a syntactic head  $X^\circ$  following Shlonsky’s (1997) analysis of *lo’* in Modern Hebrew. His analysis involves two observations: BH *lo’* always immediately precedes the verb, and *lo’* raises to  $C^\circ$  when the verb does so. As discussed in section 2.1.1, this indicates that *lo’* is at the head of NegP.

Snyman comes to the conclusion that BH *lo’* is an  $X^\circ$ , but not without some misgivings. He gives two examples that he felt pose a challenge to his analysis. In (35), we find an independent pronoun intervening between *lo’* and the verb. In (36), we find a proper name intervening between *lo’* and the verb. The translations are Snyman’s (relevant glossing added).

- (35) *ha-lo’ hu’ ’amar l-i ’aḥot-i hi’*<sup>11</sup> (Gen. 20:5)  
Q-NEG he said.he to-me sister-my she  
“Did he not say to me, ‘She is my sister, ...’”

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<sup>11</sup> Note: Hebrew romanizations are written left-to-right.

(36) *va-yo'mer lo' ya'aqov ye'amer 'od šim-xa ki 'im yisra'el* (Gen. 32:29)  
 and-said.he NEG Jacob be.called still name-your but if Israel  
 “Then the man said, ‘Your name will no longer be Jacob, but Israel,...’”

Snyman & Naudé (2003) analyze constructions like (36) as examples of constituent negation, where the intervening nominal is the complement of *lo'* and then topicalized. By that analysis, the appearance of *ya'aqov* (‘Jacob’) between *lo'* and the verb is coincidental as the negation is targeting *ya'aqov* and not the verb. Although this proposal works for (36), this cannot be the case in (35). However, Moshavi (2007; 2017) demonstrates that *ha-lo'* (‘is not?’) functions as a clausal adverb that is detached from and takes scope over the entire clause. So, (35) does not pose a problem in analyzing *lo'* as a PNM. As seen in section 2.1.1, further tests will determine whether *lo'* is a syntactic head. I will address which tests will be used in this thesis in section 3.2.

### 2.5.2 Suppletive Negative Imperatives in BH

The absence of TNIs, as discussed in 2.2.5, is well documented in BH. Waltke & O’Connor (1990: 567) provide a brief summary of the topic and simply state that “the imperative form itself cannot be preceded by a negative particle”. The consensus is that the negative marker *'al* in combination with the jussive form of the verb represent the SNI for BH. In (37) we have the imperative construction contrasted with the SNI construction.

(37) Imperative	פְּנֵה-אֵלַי <i>pene 'el-ai</i> turn.IMPV.2SG to-me ‘Turn to me’	(Ps. 119:132)
SNI	אַל-תִּפְּן אֶל-קִשְׁי הָעַם הַזֶּה <i>'al tephen 'el qeši ha-'am ha-ze</i> NEG turn.JUSS.2SG to stubbornness the-people the-this ‘Do not turn to the stubbornness of this people’	(Deut. 9:27)

While this form appears to be the canonical SNI for BH, the jussive verb does appear infrequently with *lo'*. These cases have received various treatments. Some consider the possibility that the negative marker *lo'* with the jussive was “intended to be the strict command (*lo'* with the imperf. indic.)” (Gesenius, Kautzsch & Cowley 1910: 322). Gesenius et al. as well as Waltke & O’Connor consider the possibility that instances of *lo'* with the jussive are

erroneously transcribed (such occurrences are infrequent and sporadic). This thesis will focus on the use of *'al* with the jussive and *lo'* with the jussive/imperfective in forming commands in order to determine whether these negative markers should be considered PNMs bearing an [iNEG]. Tromp (1981) adds that both the SNI and the strict negative command may be formed using *bal* ('not'), but these are also infrequent. A treatment of these rare exceptions lies outside the scope of this thesis since my diagnostic approach concerns the status of the standard negative markers.

### 2.5.3 Paratactic Negation in BH

I am unaware of any studies relating to PN in BH. Nor have I found references of any kind to PN triggered by verbs in the literature. Brief references have been made to prepositional triggers of PN with little discussion. Gesenius et al. (1910: 483) make note of three PN constructions (38) in BH.

- (38) *mi-beli*  
 without-NEG  
*me-'en*  
 without-NEG  
*be-terem lo'*  
 before NEG

All of these instances fit within van der Wouden's (1994: 109) class of PN triggers which he calls "conjunctive elements". However, Gesenius et al. suggest that these constructions are emphatic rather than PN. PN, like NC, does not typically produce an emphatic reading. In accordance with our current understanding of EMNEs, this would suggest that these PNs have been lexicalized and developed an emphatic sense, implying that BH had previously been, but was no longer, an NC language (see section 2.2.4). Jouon & Muraoka (2006: 576) on the other hand, treat these constructions as being standard PN and compare them to similar constructions in Japanese and French.

Rubinstein et al. (2015) attempt to ascertain the origin of certain PN constructions (e.g. *bli še-lo'* ('without which not'), *lifney še-lo'* ('before which not'), and *'ad še-lo'* ('until which not')) in Modern Hebrew. In looking to BH they note that the examples in (38) cannot be the source of Modern Hebrew PN because they do not involve the use of *lo'*, while Modern Hebrew



PN does require the use of *lo* ' in such cases. Rubinstein et al. conclude that Modern Hebrew PN constructions were not inherited from earlier stages of Hebrew. They also note that '*ad še-lo*' ('until that-NEG'), a PN construction in Modern Hebrew, originated from Mishnaic Hebrew. However, this construction was not PN prior to its adoption in Modern Hebrew. The Mishnaic use of '*ad še-lo*' reflected the literal meaning 'while/until not' rather than being true PN as in Modern Hebrew '*ad še-lo*' ('until that-not → until'). The Mishnaic use aligns with the use of '*ašer-lo*' in BH where '*ad*' does not trigger PN (2 Samuel 17:11; 1 Kings 17:17; Ecclesiastes 12:1-2, 6).

#### 2.5.4 Double negation in BH

As mentioned in the introduction of section 2.5, several cases of DN have been documented in BH (Zilkha 1970; Zilkha 1976). As the presence of DN may suggest that BH is in fact a DN language, the syntactic properties of these constructions must be addressed to determine how they are formed and whether they contradict the hypothesis that BH is an NC language.

Unfortunately, Zilkha does not offer any syntactic analysis but only identifies instances of DN. In (39), I present all instances of DN that he found.

##### (39) BH double negation

- |  |                |
|--|----------------|
| a. <i>lo' haya davar ašer lo' her'-am</i>          | (Isa. 39:2)    |
| NEG was thing REL NEG showed.he-them               |                |
| 'There was nothing that he showed them not'        |                |
| b. <i>lo' niš'ar iš ašer lo' ba'</i>               | (2 Kgs. 10:21) |
| NEG be.left man REL NEG come                       |                |
| 'There was not a man left that came not'           |                |
| c. <i>lo' haya davar...ašer lo' qara' yehošua'</i> | (Josh. 8:35)   |
| NEG was word...REL NEG read.3MS Joshua             |                |
| 'There was not a word...which Joshua read not'     |                |

I will provide my own analysis of these constructions in section 4.3 and demonstrate that these constructions do not contradict the assertion that BH is an NC language.

### **3. Methodology**

In this chapter, I will outline a novel approach to identifying NC languages. As far as I am aware, for all NC languages the defining feature has been the presence of NC proper (i.e. multiple negative elements within a single clause being interpreted as a single semantic negation). As pointed out by Snyman (see section 2.5.1), this behavior is undocumented in BH. However, BH exhibits several other behaviors relating to negation that fall in line with NC-type languages. In this thesis, I draw on the typological observations made by Zeijlstra (introduced in section 2.4.2) to evaluate the status of BH as an NC or DN language. The utility of these criteria is based on the empirical observation that every language covered by Zeijlstra (2004a; 2004b) that contains these phenomena is an NC language.

I use a diagnostic approach that involves four syntactic behaviors: preverbal negative marking, blocking the formation of TNIs, paratactic negation, and strategic production of DN or its absence. In section 3.1, I discuss the corpora used. In section 3.2, I discuss PNMs. In section 3.3, I introduce the method used to distinguish between a true ban on TNIs and a pseudo ban on TNIs (e.g. Standard English, Romanian, Hungarian). In section 3.4, I outline the methods used to identify PN particularly in recognizing PN triggered by n-verbs. In section 3.5, I discuss the strategies available to BH in producing DN.

#### **3.1 Hebrew Corpora**

The WordCruncher software (Dzubak, Rosenvall & Shelley 1991) has been used throughout this research to access and search Hebrew texts for relevant data. The data was collected from two corpora: The Westminster Hebrew Morphology Database (2005), and The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library (Tov & Parry 2006). Although this thesis is particularly concerned with BH, I have collected additional data from the non-biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls for two reasons. First, this additional data has demonstrated a continuity in the presence of the studied phenomena throughout the various stages of BH and Qumran Hebrew. This data has also been used to provide some contrast between BH and Qumran Hebrew as they differ somewhat in their production of paratactic negation. Although I have not distinguished between the substages of BH, further insight may be gained in future research by looking into the variation within BH.

### 3.2 PNMs and NC

The first half of Zeijlstra's (2004b) generalization seen in (34), repeated here (40), claims that the presence of a negative marker  $X^\circ$  (i.e. PNM) is universally linked to the occurrence of NC.

(40) Whenever a language has a negative marker  $X^\circ$ , it exhibits NC.

This generalization may then be used to identify NC languages by its use of a PNM. As discussed in section 2.1.1, several tests may serve to identify syntactic heads  $X^\circ$ . Unfortunately, the first two tests involving clitic movement are not available in BH. Snyman (2004) demonstrated that BH *lo* functions as a syntactic head through its movement with the verb in V-to-C movement (see section 2.5.1). The BH negative marker *al*, which is used with non-indicative moods, may also be shown to be an  $X^\circ$  through its banning of TNIs which involves the inability to move to  $C^\circ$  in imperative constructions. This will receive further discussion in the following section.

The final test he mentions for identifying PNMs concerns their inability to be used in “why not?” utterances. Such constructions were not found in the corpora used for this thesis. Although the absence of these constructions in the available corpora is not independently strong evidence for the negative markers to be PNMs, it does strengthen the argument that they are PNMs, in the presence of additional evidence. For this reason, I add one additional test for identifying PNMs: the banning of TNIs reflects the presence of an [*i*NEG] feature on a PNM. This method will be described in the following section.

### 3.3 True vs. Pseudo Banning of TNIs

As explained in section 2.5.2, the absence of TNIs in BH is well documented. If this proves to involve a true ban on TNIs (which I attempt to illustrate in section 4.1), this means that BH possesses a PNM which in turn leads to the conclusion that BH is an NC language. However, Zeijlstra (2004a; 2006) has observed three ways in which the production of TNIs may be blocked that are not considered to be true bans on TNIs, but rather pseudo bans. Two of these pseudo bans occur in NC languages (i.e. Hungarian and Romanian) and one in a DN language (i.e. Standard English). Because the absence of imperative verbs in negative commands may have a variety of causes, I will consider (and refute) the possibility that BH does not truly ban TNIs.

Zeijlstra considers a true ban on TNIs to be caused by a PNM that bears an [*i*NEG], as discussed in section 2.2.5. Since the presence/absence of this feature on the PNM is usually determined by looking at the way PNMs interact with negative concord items (NCIs) in NC constructions (Zeijlstra 2006: 411), we are unable to evaluate this property of the PNM in the absence of NC proper (which appears to be the case in BH) except through the observance of a true ban on TNIs. For this reason, TNI pseudo banning in BH must be ruled out.

The first pseudo ban noted by Zeijlstra (2006) is found in Hungarian, which possesses two negative markers: *nem* and *ne*. Both bear a [*u*NEG] feature which does not ban TNIs. And as it turns out, Hungarian does permit TNIs with *ne* but not with *nem*, as shown in (41).

- (41)
- a. \*Nem olvass!  
NEG read.IMP  
'Don't read!' (Hungarian)
  - b. Ne olvass!  
NEG read.IMP  
'Don't read!'

Zeijlstra (2006: 419) suggests that “*nem* carries a [-IRR] feature that disallows it to participate in subjunctives/imperatives.” He argues that because of this feature *nem* + imperative is found infelicitous while *ne* may be used with imperatives as it bears a [+IRR] feature, an analysis which he credits, in part, to Zanuttini (1997). The featural composition of the Hungarian negative markers would then be as that shown in (42).

(42) Feature Composition of Hungarian *ne* and *nem*

Negative Marker	[+IRR]	[-IRR]	[ <i>i</i> NEG]	[ <i>u</i> NEG]
<i>ne</i>	√	-	-	√
<i>nem</i>	-	√	-	√

While Greek and Modern Hebrew each use two negative markers that alternate with mood, both negative markers prevent the formation of TNIs. This is because the one negative marker bears a [-IRR] feature while the other negative marker bearing a [+IRR] feature also bears a [*i*NEG] feature which constitutes a true ban on TNIs. The featural composition of the Modern Hebrew negative markers would look like (43).

(43) Feature Composition of Modern Hebrew 'al and lo'

Negative Marker	[+IRR]	[-IRR]	[iNEG]	[uNEG]
'al	√	-	√	-
lo'	-	√	-	√

The presence of the [iNEG] feature on 'al results in a true ban on TNIs in Modern Hebrew. As BH also utilizes two negative markers that alternate according to mood, I will consider the possibility (in 4.1) that BH TNIs are banned due solely to a mood feature, like Hungarian.

The second pseudo ban noted by Zeijlstra (2006) is found in Romanian. The explanation for Romanian's ban on TNIs differs from Hungarian because Romanian employs only one negative marker. The prevention of TNI formation in Romanian is rather attributed to the negative markers properties as a clitic, which prevents the verb to continue its movement to the head of C where OpIMP takes scope. This movement is prevented by the negative clitic marker whether the verb is imperative or not. As BH negative markers do not share this property, no analysis will be shown in this regard.

The final pseudo ban that Zeijlstra (2004a: 146) mentions comes from Standard English. According to Zeijlstra, English fails to produce TNIs on account of "do"-support in negative sentences. BH does not implement "do"-support, so no further discussion of this phenomenon is necessary.

### 3.4 Identifying PN

The identification of PN is relatively straightforward. Triggering PN by the use of a word bearing negative connotation may be manifest through the appearance of a redundant negative element (i.e. not altering the polarity of the utterance) within a subordinate clause, or else the selection of a negative complementizer. Van Helten (1883) observes the following contexts in which PN frequently appears. These are presented through van der Wouden's (1994) translation with examples (44)-(48) (relevant glossing added).

(44) PN occurs after words expressing FEAR:

- a. *J'ai peur qu'il ne vienne* (French)  
I-fear that-he NEG come.SBJV  
'I fear he will come'
- b. *J'ai peur que l'événement ne vous trompe* (French)

I-have fear that the-event NEG you mislead.SBJV  
'I am afraid the event will mislead you'

c. *Uyt vreeze dat de Staet **niet** strande* (Vondel: Dutch)

From fear that the state NEG go-under.SBJV  
'Out of fear that the state would collapse'

d. *Van vreeze datze NEG wierd NEG haer dood mishandelt* (Vondel: Dutch)

Of fear that-she **not** would after her death ill-treated  
'Fearing that she would be treated badly after death'

(45) PN may be triggered by words expressing HINDER, PRECAUTION, and PROHIBITION:

a. *J'empêche qu'il **ne** vienne* (French)

I-prevent that-he NEG come.SBJV  
'I prevent that he come'

b. *Donnez-vous garde qu'on **ne** vous attaque* (French)

Give-you guard that-one NEG you attack.SBJV  
'Take care of being attacked'

c. *Men hindre dat hier **niet** de weiflaers 't zamenrotten* (Vondel: Dutch)

One prevent.SBJV that here NEG the hesitants to gether-come  
'One should prevent that the hesitants come together here'

d. *Keer, [...] dat de schoone Abizag **niet** [...] stof bestelle, tot verdriet van getrouwe burgeryen [...]* (Vondel: Dutch)

Prevent that the beautiful Abizag NEG stuff bring about to grief of faithful citizenships  
'Prevent that the beautiful Abizag cause the sorrow of faithful citizens'

(46) PN is absent after words of DUBITATION:

a. *Je doute fort que cela soit*

I doubt strongly that that be.SBJV  
'I seriously doubt that that should be'

b. *Il nie que ce soit trouvé dans cette maison*

He denies that it be.SBJV found in that house  
'He denies that it is found in that house'

c. *In twyffel, of hy met den hals syn' schuld sou boeten*

In doubt, if he with the neck his debt would pay  
'Doubting whether he was going to pay with his life'

(47) PN is found in various types of COMPARATIVE constructions:

a. *Il est autre que je **ne** croyais* (French)

He is other than I NEG believed.SBJV  
'He is different than I thought'

b. *Paris était alors plus aimable qu'il **n'**est aujourd'hui* (French)

Paris was then more amiable than-it NEG-is today  
'Paris was more amiable than it is today'

(48) PN may also occur in subordinate constructions governed by 'conjunctive' elements such as (French) *avant que* ('before'), *sans que* ('without'), *a moins que* ('unless'), etc.

a. *Avant qu'il **ne** fasse froid*

Before that-it NEG gets cold  
'Before it gets cold'

- b. *Le lieutenant répondit [...] au salut sans qu'un muscle de sa figure ne bougeât*  
 'The lieutenant answered the salute in a military way without moving a muscle in his face'

The semantic contexts proposed by van Helten properly align with Modern Hebrew PN triggered by the verbs (49)a noted by Landau (2002) as well as the verbs (49)b and conjunctives (50) noted by Rubinstein et al. (2015).

(49) Verbs

- a. *nizhar* 'careful', *nismar* 'watchful', *hit'apek* 'restrain oneself'  
 b. *paḥad* 'fear', *da'ag* 'worry', *ḥašaš* 'worry'

(50) Conjunctives

- kim* 'at 'almost', *bli* 'without', *lifne* 'before', *ad* 'until'

The above contexts were used to conduct an initial screening of BH for any PN that might be present, and then expended to other semantically similar items.

### 3.5 DN Strategies

As discussed throughout this thesis, BH lacks negative quantifiers/NCIs. Without the availability of such negative items, BH is limited to the use of multiple negative markers to produce DN. In this thesis, I have identified the strategies used in BH to produce DN and demonstrate that they follow patterns available to NC languages (see section 4.3).

The approach outlined in this chapter identifies key phenomena restricted to NC languages. In the following chapter, I demonstrate that BH contains all of these phenomena, supporting the hypothesis that BH is an NC language. The above methodology is generic enough to apply to additional languages in the future. I anticipate the identification of other NC languages that have proven elusive due to a lack of NC proper.

## 4. Analysis

This chapter contains my analysis of negation in Biblical Hebrew as it relates to the negative phenomena discussed in chapter 3. I show that BH shares syntactic properties with NC languages and may be classified as such. Section 4.1 contains an analysis of Biblical Hebrew’s ban on true negative imperatives; section 4.2 discusses cases of paratactic negation; section 4.3 addresses the manner in which double negative readings are produced in Biblical Hebrew.

### 4.1 Biblical Hebrew Ban on True Negative Imperatives

As outlined in section 2.5.2, BH does not produce TNIs but rather uses a SNI form in which the negative marker *'al* is combined with a jussive verb. In this section, I explore the possibility that this construction is due to a pseudo ban on TNIs rather than a true ban. I observed earlier that BH neither employs a clitic negative marker like Romanian, nor does BH implement “do”-support like Standard English. Hence, the only known pseudo ban that remains to be explored is that found in Hungarian (i.e. the presence of a [-IRR] feature on the negative marker).

BH employs two negative markers, as do Hungarian, Modern Hebrew, and Greek. These negative markers also alternate with mood, like the negative markers in these other languages which suggests that the [ $\pm$ IRR] feature is present. As seen in the feature composition of Hungarian (42) and Modern Hebrew (43) negative markers that were given previously, repeated here in (51) and (52), one negative marker bore a [+IRR] feature while the other bore a [-IRR] feature to explain this alternation.

#### (51) Feature Composition of Hungarian *ne* and *nem*

Negative Marker	[+IRR]	[-IRR]	[iNEG]	[uNEG]
<i>ne</i>	√	-	-	√
<i>nem</i>	-	√	-	√

#### (52) Feature Composition of Modern Hebrew *'al* and *lo'*

Negative Marker	[+IRR]	[-IRR]	[iNEG]	[uNEG]
<i>'al</i>	√	-	√	-
<i>lo'</i>	-	√	-	√

However, BH does not employ the imperative verb with either of its negative markers, suggesting that a [-IRR] feature is not responsible for the ban on TNIs. In BH, the standard negative marker *lo'* followed by a jussive verb is used to form an SNI (53), just as *'al* with a



jussive verb (54) is used in SNIs.

(53) SNI with *lo'*

לֹא־תוֹרַד שֵׂיבַתּוֹ

(1 Kgs. 2:6)

*lo' tored seivat-o*

NEG you.CAUS.JUSS.go.down gray.hair-his

'Do not cause his gray hair to descend'

(54) SNI with *'al*

אַל־תִּשְׁחַת עַמֶּךָ

(Deut. 9:26)

*'al tašhet 'ame-xa*

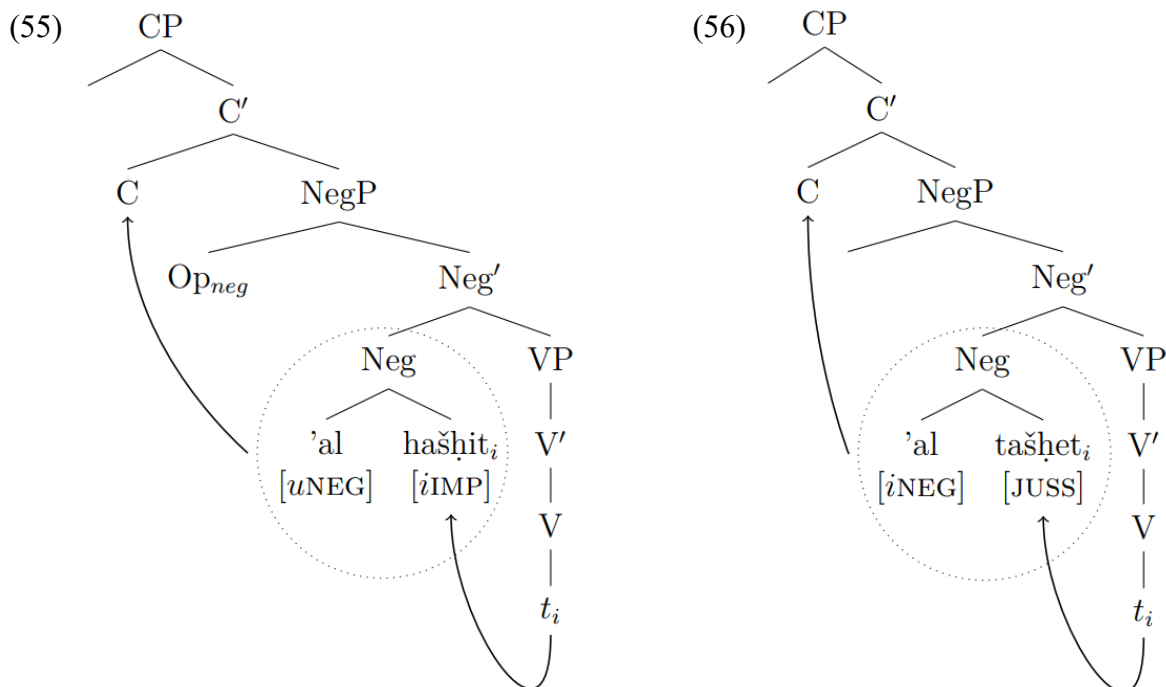
NEG you.CAUS.JUSS.decay people-your

'Do not destroy your people'

Recall that Hungarian only bans the formation of TNIs with one of its negators due to the presence of a [-IRR] feature whereas the negator bearing the [+IRR] feature was permitted in TNIs. The formation of SNIs with both negative markers in BH, as shown in (53) and (54), suggests two things. First, although *'al* bears a [+IRR] feature, the formation of the SNI with *lo'* was not prevented by a [-IRR] feature (i.e. *lo'* is underspecified in this regard).

Second, because both negative markers ban TNIs, both negative markers bear an [*i*NEG] feature. If the negative marker *'al* did not bear an [*i*NEG] feature in (54), an illicit TNI would be formed as in (55) with the imperative *hašhit*. As the negative operator would remain in NegP, the imperative would not be out-scoped by negation after being raised to C° with the negative marker. However, these constructions are undocumented throughout the BH corpora.

Having ruled out other known causes for a ban on TNIs, the underlying structure of (54) is proposed in (56) where the preverbal negative marker (PNM) *'al* bears an [*i*NEG] feature.



Taking the above analysis into account, the proposed featural compositions of the BH negative markers *'al* and *lo'* are given in (57).

(57) Feature composition of BH *'al* and *lo'*

Negative Marker	[+IRR]	[-IRR]	[iNEG]	[uNEG]
<i>'al</i>	√	-	√	-
<i>lo'</i>	-	-	√	-

This provides a distinct contrast to both Hungarian (51) and Modern Hebrew (52) negative markers that were given previously. BH (like Modern Hebrew) employs *'al* with the non-indicative moods like the jussive, hortative, etc. This implicates a [+IRR] feature on BH *'al*. However, BH does permit the infrequent use of *lo'* in SNIs, though it shows a strong preference to the use of *'al* in SNIs. This suggests that the features on BH *lo'* deviates from Modern Hebrew as BH *lo'* does not bear a [-IRR] feature (57). Additionally, because both BH negative markers ban TNIs both negative markers bear an [iNEG] feature (57), in contrast to Modern Hebrew where only the negative marker *'al* bears the [iNEG] feature (52).

Having no other causes to suspect a pseudo ban in BH, I am left to conclude that BH possesses a true ban on TNIs and both *'al* and *lo'* are PNMs bearing an [iNEG] feature. From this

analysis, two conclusions may be drawn. First, BH is an NC language as it contains PNMs. Second, because both negative markers bear an [iNEG] feature, BH may be typologically classified as a non-strict NC language rather than a strict NC language (a distinction typically drawn from the interactions between PNMs and NCIs, see section 2.1.3).

#### 4.2 Biblical Hebrew Paratactic Negation

In this section I address the existence of PN in Biblical Hebrew. As mentioned in section 2.5.3, the cases that have been documented in the past were interpreted to be emphatic negation. This would be the natural conclusion considering that PN is often non-obligatory and working under the assumption that Biblical Hebrew is a DN language. However, I will demonstrate that PN has a more dominant presence in BH than originally thought. Operating under the assumption that BH is an NC language has led to the discovery of several patterns of PN that have not previously been identified. I will demonstrate which environments can trigger paratactic negation in BH and compare these instances with Zeijlstra’s criteria for identifying emphatic multiple negative expressions (EMNEs) (see section 2.2.4).

Van Helten (1883) observed several semantic contexts that can trigger PN in NC languages, listed in section 3.4. Using these environments as a guide, several instances of PN are apparent in BH. The previously documented examples are those that fall under the CONJUNCTIVE category (e.g. before, without, unless, etc.). PN can be triggered by *min-* (‘without’) and its allomorphs (*mi-* and *me-*).

(58) PN triggered by *min-* (‘without’):

- |    |   |             |
|----|---|-------------|
| a. | עָרָיו נִצְתוּ מִבְּלִי יוֹשֵׁב<br>' <i>ara-v nitsetu mi-beli yošev</i><br>cities-his be-burned-they <u>without-no</u> inhabitant<br>'His cities are burned without an inhabitant'  | (Jer. 2:15) |
| b. | וְהָעִיר הַזֹּאת תִּהְיֶה רַב־מְעַרְבָּן יוֹשֵׁב<br><i>ve-ha-ir ha-zot teherav me-en yošev</i><br>and-the-city the-this it-be-desolate <u>without-no</u> inhabitant<br>'and this city will be desolate without an inhabitant' | (Jer. 26:9) |

The examples in (58) are clearly a manifestation of PN. However, concerns arise when we consider the possibility that these have become lexicalized EMNEs rather than being symptoms of NC. All of these examples seem to adhere to a strict adjacency condition and are claimed to be

emphatic negation (see section 2.2.4). Based on these two criteria, the examples in (58) should be considered EMNEs. However, when we consider the example in (59), as well as those from Jeremiah shown in (58), we find that individual authors do not appear to show preference for one or the other construction and freely alternate between them (using them synonymously) in a parallel construction. This contradicts Zeijlstra’s (2010) second criterion for EMNEs (“speakers generally differ with respect to which EMNE they accept”). This is because EMNEs are idiomatic while the formation of PN is productive.

- (59) נִצְדָּדוּ עָרֵיהֶם מִבְּלִי־אִישׁ מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב (Zeph. 3:6)  
*nitsdu 'are-hem mi-beli 'iš me-'en yošev*  
 be-destroyed-they cities-their without-no man without-no inhabitant  
 ‘Their cities were destroyed without a man, without an inhabitant’

The distribution of PN, as expected, is somewhat sporadic throughout BH since it is a non-obligatory phenomenon. However, it should be noted that the book of Job uses *mi-beli* exclusively. The reason for the absence of *me-'en* in Job is unclear, but the example in (60) offers an interesting contrast to patterns found in (59) and (61) where *me-'en* is used.

- (60) עָרוֹם יָלִינוּ מִבְּלִי לְבוּשׁ וְאֵין כְּסוּת בְּקָרָה (Job 24:7)  
*'arom yalinu mi-beli levuš ve-'an kesut ba-qara*  
 naked lodge.they without-no clothing and-no cover in-the-cold  
 ‘The naked lodge without clothing and without a cover in the cold’

- (61)
- a. קָרֵב הוּא מֵאֵין אָדָם וּמֵאֵין בְּהֵמָה (Jer. 33:10)  
*ḥarev hu' me-'en 'adam u-me-'en behema*  
 desolate it without-no man and without-no animal  
 ‘It is desolate without a man and without an animal’
- b. שָׂאוּ עָרִים מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב וּבָתִּים מֵאֵין אָדָם (Isa. 6:11)  
*ša'u 'arim me-'en yošev u-vatim me-'en 'adam*  
 be-desolate-they cities without-no inhabitants and-houses without-no man  
 ‘The cities are desolate without an inhabitant and the houses without a man’

In (60) and (61) the second clause contains an elided VP in parallel with the first clause. Though the KJV translates the second clause in (60) as “that *they have* no covering in the cold”, presumably taking the second clause to be nominal and *'en* being interpreted as ‘there is not’ with an implied ‘to them’. However, the LXX and the VUL both translate (60) with an elided VP, the same way they treat the constructions in (61).

Additionally, it is worth noting that the use of *me-’en* is absent from the non-biblical texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) with a single exception (62), while *mi-beli* appears 11 times.

- (62) מאין יושב (6Q12:3)  
m-’n yošv  
without-no inhabitant  
 ‘Without an inhabitant’

The context of (62) is extremely fragmented but the wording bears a striking resemblance to the contexts found in (58) and (59) which could explain its deviation from the rest of the non-biblical texts in its use of *me-’en*. If the absence of *me-’en* in Job and the DSS is in consequence of the authors finding *me-’en* to be ungrammatical this would be strong evidence that *me-’en* and *mi-beli* were developing into EMNEs. This question will not be addressed in this work.

Another CONJUNCTIVE that may trigger PN in BH is *terem* (‘before’). However, there appear to be only two cases, both in the book of Zephaniah (63).

- (63) PN triggered by *terem* (‘before’):
- a. בְּטָרֶם לֹא־יָבוּא עֲלֵיכֶם חֲרוֹן אַף־יְהוָה (Zeph. 2:2)  
 be-terem lo’ yavo’ ‘ale-khem ḥoron ’aph adonai  
 in-before NEG it-come upon-you fierce anger lord  
 ‘Before the fierce anger of the Lord comes upon you’
- b. בְּטָרֶם לֹא־יָבוּא עֲלֵיכֶם יוֹם אַף־יְהוָה (Zeph. 2:2)  
 be-terem lo’ yavo’ ‘ale-khem yom ’aph adonai  
 in-before NEG it-come upon-you day anger lord  
 ‘Before the day of the Lord’s anger comes upon you’

The cases in (63) are clearly PN as well. They also appear to follow a strict adjacency condition. However, there are other cases of PN in BH that are not adjacent. These involve the use of n-verbs.

In my analysis of PN triggered by n-verbs selecting negative complementizers, I have adopted Landau’s (2002) distinction between N1 and N2-verbs outlined in section 2.2.3. N1-verbs select a complementizer bearing an [*i*NEG]feature. According to Landau, the complementizer may be elided (or replaced with a  $\emptyset_{iNEG}$ ) with some N1-verbs since the [*i*NEG] feature is recoverable, and the negativity of the subordinate clause is entailed.

N2-verbs may be identified by their flexibility in complement selection. N2-verbs either

select a complementizer that bears an [*i*NEG] feature, or a complementizer bearing a [*u*NEG] feature accompanied by sentential negation in the subordinate clause. As N2-verbs exhibit NC behavior, the identification of N2-verbs in BH is the aim of this section. I am unaware of any prior work identifying these types of verbs.

In Modern Hebrew the complementizers available to satisfy N2-verbs targeting infinitival clauses are *me-* which bears an [*i*NEG] feature, or  $\emptyset_{uNEG}$  followed by *lo* ('not'). Finite clauses require the use of the complementizer *še-* followed by *lo*. Many complementizers are available in BH that meet N2-verb requirements but vary slightly in their syntactic properties. The reflexive form of *šmr* ('guard') → *hišamer* ('beware'), an n-verb I have identified as an N2-verb, shows the widest variety and complexity of PN in BH. The examples in (64) are representative of most configurations that satisfy N2-verb requirements in BH and the DSS. Although the English translations lack nuance (in part due to linguistic incompatibility), the goal is to demonstrate the syntactic relationship between the verb and its complementizer.

(64) PN triggered by *hišamer* 'beware'

- a. (Deut. 6:12)  
הִשָּׁמֵר לְךָ פֶּן־תִּשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה  
*hišamer le-xa pen-tiškaḥ 'et-adonai*  
beware.IMPV.SG to-you **lest**-you.forget ACC.lord  
'Beware of forgetting the Lord'
- b. (1Q26 1:5)  
הַשְּׁמֵר לְכֶּה לְמָה תְּכַבְּדָה מִמֶּנּוּ  
*hšmr l-kh lmh tkbd-kh mmn-v*  
beware.IMPV.SG to-you **lest** you.honor-you than-him  
'Beware of honoring yourself more than him'
- c. (Gen. 31:29)  
הִשָּׁמֵר לְךָ מִדַּבֵּר עִם־יַעֲקֹב  
*hišamer le-xa mi-daber 'im-ya 'aqov*  
beware.IMPV.SG to-you **from**-speak.INF with-Jacob  
'Beware of speaking with Jacob'
- d. (Job 36:21)  
הִשָּׁמֵר אֶל־תִּפְּנוּ אֶל־אָוֶן  
*hišamer 'al-tephen 'el-'aven*  
beware.IMPV.SG NEG-you.turn to-sin  
'Beware of turning to sin'
- e. (Jer. 17:21)  
הִשָּׁמְרוּ בְּנַפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם וְאַל־תִּשְׂאוּ מִשָּׂא בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת  
*hišamru benaphšote-xem ve-'al-tiš'u masa' be-yom ha-šabat*  
beware.IMPV.PL in-souls-your **that-NEG**-you.lift burden in-day the-sabbath  
'Beware that your souls do not lift a burden on the sabbath day'

The verb *šmr* in its reflexive form may be thought of as a ditransitive, taking two complements. As the verb is used reflexively, the first complement is the agent which may—but need not—be

emphasized using the reflexive pronoun. This reflexivity may be extended to objects of inalienable possession (a phenomenon yet to be addressed in the literature) such as the spirit, soul or wife as seen in (64)e and (65). These can be introduced by the prepositions *be-* ‘in’ or *le-* ‘to’.

(65) וְנִשְׁמְרֶתֶם בְּרוּחְכֶם וּבְאִשְׁתְּכֶם וְעוֹרֵיכֶם אַל־יִבְגְּדוּ (Mal. 2:15)  
*ve-nišmrtem be-ruḥa-xem u-ve-’ešet ne’ure-xa ’al-yivgor*  
 and-beware.2MP in-spirit-your and-in-wife youth-your NEG-he.deceive  
 ‘And beware that neither your spirit nor your wife deceive’

The first complement can be followed by a statement containing actions the agent takes to prevent the second complement (i.e. undesirable action/outcome) as seen in (66). I consider this to be an adverbial to the matrix verb *šmr*.

(66) הַשְׁמְרוּ מֵאֲדָה לְנַפְשׁוֹתֵיכֶם [לַעֲשׂוֹן] אֲתָם לְמַה יֵבֹר וְחָרָה אֲפָי (1Q22 II:9)  
*hšmrv m’dh l-npšvty-km l-’svt ’vt-m lmh yb ’r v-ḥrh ’p*  
 beware.IMPV.PL well to-souls-your to-do.INF ACC-them lest he.blaze and-burn anger  
 ‘Beware well that your souls, by doing them, may avoid anger blazing and burning’

Reflexive *šmr* is assumed to be an N2-verb since it can take complementizers that bear a [*u*NEG] feature along with sentential negation in the subordinate clause without resulting in a double negative reading as seen in (64)d-(64)e. To better illustrate the syntactic behavior of N2-verbs in BH the subcategorization frames of *hišamer* based on the examples in (64)a-(64)e are represented in (67)a-(64)e respectively.

- (67) Subcategorization frames of *hišamer*
- a. *hišamer* (PP) *pen* TP
  - b. *hišamer* (PP) *lmh* TP [not found in BH]
  - c. *hišamer* (PP) *me*-Infinitive
  - d. *hišamer* (PP)  $\emptyset_{u\text{NEG}}$  *’al* Jussive
  - e. *hišamer* (PP) *ve-* *’al* Jussive

Each construction serves a distinct syntactic purpose, introducing different clausal types. Subcategorization frames (67)a,b introduce tensed clauses (b does not appear to be available in BH). (67)c introduces infinitival clauses. Finally, (67)d-e demonstrate the alternation between the use of a null complementizer or *ve-* with negation in the subordinate clause. The pattern is clearly that of an N2-verb and demonstrates NC behavior.

Arguments may arise against the analysis that I have proposed above for (67)d-e. Therefore, I will offer a brief rebuttal to what are, in my view, the two most pressing objections. The first objection concerns the use of the conjunction *ve-* as a complementizer. However, it has been demonstrated that *ve-* is used as both a coordinating and subordinating conjunction (Jouon & Muraoka 2006: 584–604). The ambiguity found in the syntactic function of *ve-* has been frequently noted (Steiner 2000; Holmstedt 2013) and appears to suit the analysis of *ve-* as a complementizer capable of bearing a [*u*NEG].

A second objection may arise due to the similarity between these cases and the SNI form in BH. As we saw in the previous section, *'al* + jussive is used as a substitution for the negative imperative. We can see in (68) that this similarity has influenced the way containing verses have been translated in the KJV where it is treated as an imperative (compare with (64)d-e).

(68) KJV

- a. Take heed, regard not iniquity (Job 36:21)
- b. Take heed to yourselves, and bear no burden on the sabbath day (Jer. 17:21)

Of the 19 translations consulted (including the LXX and VUL), only the NIV (69) has interpreted the syntax in the way I have proposed.

(69) NIV

- a. Beware of turning to evil (Job 36:21)
- b. Be careful not to carry a load on the Sabbath day (Jer. 17:21)

The VUL and the CSB translate Job 36:21 similarly to the NIV. However, they translate the NEG + jussive as a negative imperative when *ve-* is present in Jer. 17:21. Despite the overwhelming tendency to interpret *'al* + jussive as the negative imperative, neither the *'al* nor the jussive verb (also referred to as the “short prefix form”) are restricted to this usage. As pointed out by Hornkohl (2018), there is an inconsistency in the distribution of form and mood throughout BH. In connection with the “short prefix form” he notes its use in (70) where it appears within a subjunctive context.

(70) הֲלוֹ יְהִי כְדִבְרֶךָ

(Gen. 30:34)

*hen lu yehi xi-dvare-xa*

behold oh.that it.be.JUSS as-word-your

‘Behold, oh that it would be according to your word’



Other authors have further suggested that the short prefix form is not modal at all but rather associated with a past-perfective meaning and the modality is derived from the syntactic position of the verb (Gentry 1998). A further discussion of this may be left for future research as there are other N2-verbs that I will address later in this section that are not so problematic.

Several additional subcategorization frames for *hišamer* have proven difficult to characterize. The examples in (71) and (72) lack a complement clause but are still accompanied by a PP.

- (71) *hišamer* m-DP  
 ולהשמר מכול ערות (1Q33 X:1)  
*v-l-hšmr m-kvl 'rvt*  
 and-to-beware.INF **from**-any nakedness  
 ‘And to beware of any nakedness’
- (72) *hišamer* be-DP
- a. השמר בנגע־הצרעת לשמר מאד (Deut. 24:8)  
*hišamer be-nega 'ha-tsara 'at li-šmor me'od*  
 beware.IMPV **in-touch-the-plague** to-guard.INF well  
 ‘Beware of the touch of the plague to guard well’
- b. ועתה השמר־נא בבקר (1 Sam. 19:2)  
*ve-'ata hišmer-na' ba-boqer*  
 and-now beware.IMPV-please **in.the-morning**  
 ‘And now, guard yourself in the morning’
- c. הכינותו למועד רצון להשמר בבריתך (1QH-a VII:15)  
*hkynvt-v l-mv 'd rtsvn l-hšmr b-bryt-k*  
 establish.you-him for-appointment favor to-beware.INF **in-covenant-your**  
 ‘You established him as a favored appointment to guard himself in your covenant’

(71) may be analogous to (67)c as they seem to share the same lexical item, *me-*. (72)a is somewhat more problematic since the preposition *be-* was seen to introduce the reflexive subject of *hišamer* in (64)e and (65). However, *be-* has been shown to take an adverse meaning (e.g. ‘in spite of’) in certain semantic contexts (Köhler et al. 2001: 104–105) or perhaps *be-* would be better translated as ‘in regards to’. The PP in (72)b is clearly adverbial, lacking a clausal argument. I suggest that in (72)c the PP is adverbial as well.

Another set of N2-verbs found in BH show far less freedom of selectivity in their complement clauses and only alternate between two subcategorization frames. These subcategorization frames are *me-* for non-finite clauses, and *le-vilti* (‘to-not’) for finite (though

not with PN) and non-finite clauses. The examples in (73) and (74) show this alternation between *me-* and *le-vilti* using the causative form of *švt* ('cause to cease') and the causative form of *nv*' ('cause to refuse' → 'dissuade').

(73) *švt*

- a. הַשְׁבִּיתִים מִרְעוֹת צֹאן (Ezek. 34:10)  
*hišbati-m me-re 'ot tso 'n*  
 cease.CAUS.I-them **from**-tend.INF flock  
 'I will cause them to cease tending the flock'
- b. וְהַשְׁבִּיתוּ בְנֵיכֶם אֶת־בְּנֵינוּ לְבִלְתִּי יִרָא אֶת־יְהוָה (Josh. 22:25)  
*ve-hišbitu bene-khem 'et-bane-nu le-vilti yero ' 'et-adonai*  
 and-cease.CAUS.they children-your ACC-children-our **to**-NEG fear.INF ACC-lord  
 'And your children will cause our children to cease fearing the Lord'

(74) *nv*'

- a. תְּנִיאוּן אֶת־לֵב בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעֲבֹר אֶל־הָאָרֶץ (Num. 32:7)  
*teni 'un 'et-lev bene yisra 'el me- 'avor 'el-ha- 'arets*  
 you.dissuade ACC-heart children Israel **from**-go.over.INF to-the-land  
 'You dissuaded the heart of the children of Israel from going over to the land'
- b. וַיִּנְיֵאוּ אֶת־לֵב בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְבִלְתִּי־בֹא אֶל־הָאָרֶץ (Num. 32:9)  
*va-yani 'u 'et-lev bene yisra 'el le-vilti-vo ' 'el-ha- 'arets*  
 and-dissuade.they ACC-heart children Israel **to**-neg-enter.INF to-the-land  
 'And they dissuaded the heart of the children of Israel from ('to not') entering the land'

(74) shows an almost minimal pair of sentences used by, presumably, the same author. Any semantic nuances between the use of *me-* and *le-vilti* are outside the scope of this work. The NC behavior shown in (73) and (74) is more vivid when contrasted with non-n-verbs that do not select for a [*u*NEG] in the complementizer, allowing for both positive and negative subordinate clauses as shown in (75).

(75)

- a. אִם־יִהְיֶה חָזָק לַעֲשׂוֹת מִצְוֹתַי (1 Chr. 28:7)  
*'im-yehezaq la- 'asot mitsvota-i*  
 if-he.be.strong **to**-do.INF commandments-my  
 'If he will be strong in doing my commandments'
- b. חָזָק לְבִלְתִּי אֲכֹל הַדָּם (Deut. 12:23)  
*hazaq le-vilti 'akhol ha-dam*  
 be.strong.IMPV **to**-NEG eat.INF the-blood  
 'Be strong in not eating the blood'

The source of the difference between N2-verbs and non-n-verbs lies in the fact that the latter do not bear any negative entailment, nor do they select for a negatively marked complement. N1

and N2-verbs require that the subordinate clause be negated.

The use of *le-vilti* is rather infrequent, only occurring 86 times in the Hebrew Bible. Additionally, *vilti* is never used in the non-biblical texts of the DSS without the clitic *le-*. This may indicate a lexicalization of *le-vilti* as a single negative complementizer like *me-*. However, this diachronic change is beyond the scope of this thesis. (76) contains a list of the N2-verbs I have found thus far in BH.

- (76) N2-verbs  
*hšmr* ‘beware’, *švt* ‘cease’, *gr* ‘restrain’, *hṭm* ‘refrain’, *khh* ‘fail’, *nv* ‘refuse’

Although this may not be a comprehensive list of N2-verbs that instantiate PN in BH, I believe that it is sufficient to demonstrate a strong presence of PN in BH. This provides strong evidence that BH is in fact an NC language and follows the typological observation that NC and PN are directly linked.

### 4.3 Double Negation Strategies in Biblical Hebrew

In this section, I identify cases of DN in BH as well as instances of multiple negative elements that did not give rise to DN readings and are not considered NC. These items are addressed to determine whether they resemble DN strategies available to NC languages or not. The regular production of DN in BH involves the use of two negative markers separated by a clausal boundary. This strategy encompasses all DN noted by Zilkha (see section 2.5.4) as well as the additional examples I give in (77) through (79).

- (77) כִּי אֵין אָדָם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִחַטָּא (1 Kgs. 8:46)  
*ki 'en 'adam 'ašer lo' y.ḥeṭa'*  
 for NEG man REL NEG he.sin  
 ‘For no man doesn’t sin’
- (78) עַד־אֶחָד לֹא נִפְדָּר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־עָבַר אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן (2 Sam. 17:22)  
*'ad 'aḥad lo' ne'dar 'ašer lo' 'avar 'et ha-Yarden*  
 until one NEG he.be.lacking REL NEG he.cross.PERF ACC the-Jordan  
 ‘Not even one was lacking that did not cross over Jordan’
- (79) וְגַם אֵל יִתְּנָהּ לְאִשָּׁר לֹא הוּכַן לָהּ (4Q271 3:9)  
*v-gm 'lytnh-h l-'šr lv' hvkn l-h*  
 and-also NEG he.give.her to-REL NEG he.be.prepared for.her  
 ‘And also, he ought not give her to whom is not prepared for her’

Note that (77) is equivalent to the English “nobody doesn’t sin” which employs a negative

indefinite to produce DN within a single clause. As BH lacks negative indefinites, an alternative strategy is employed. The presence of the relativizer *'ašer* in these instances falls in line with the observations made that NC relations cannot extend through a clausal boundary, as the relativizer introduces an embedded clause which provides such a boundary. This strategy is available to both NC languages and DN languages. However, as such, it does not contradict the hypothesis that BH is an NC language.

Two negative markers appear a handful of times within a single clause in the corpora used. The examples in (80) and (81) employ two adjacent negative markers to produce an emphatic NC reading.

- (80) *המבלי אין־קברים במצרים לקהתנו למות במדבר* (Exod. 14:11)  
*ha-mi-beli 'en qevarim be-mitsrayim leqahta-nu la-mut ba-midbar*  
 Q-because-NEG NEG graves in Egypt take.you-us to-die in.the-wilderness  
 'Is it because there are absolutely no graves in Egypt you have brought us to die in the wilderness?'
- (81) *המבלי אין־אלהים בישראל אתם הלכים לדרש בבועל זבוב אלהי עקרון* (2 Kgs. 1:3)  
*ha-mi-beli 'en 'elohim be-yisra'el 'atem holexim li-drosh be-va'al zevuv 'elohe 'eqron*  
 Q-because-NEG NEG gods in Israel you.PL go.PT.PL to-see after-Beel Zebub god Akron  
 'Is it because there are absolutely no gods in Israel you are going to search after Beelzebub, the god of Akron?'

Although this may not constitute true NC, it is not DN either. These cases, I believe, belong to the class of EMNEs although they do not appear to be derived from an NC construction as suggested by Zeijlstra (see section 2.2.4). This issue will need to be addressed in future research as it requires further investigation into the production of EMNEs.

Another instance of two negative markers, found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, contains the negative markers *bl* 'NEG' and *lv'* 'NEG'<sup>12</sup> (82). However, this is a textual variant that does not match the text in the Leningrad codex (83) where *lo'* is absent.

- (82) *ופריצ חיות בל לוא יעלנה* (1QIsa-a 28:25–26)  
*v-pryts hyvt bl lv' y'lnh*  
 and-violent beast NEG NEG 3MS.ascend.3FS  
 'And a violent beast will not ascend it'

<sup>12</sup> The transliterations *bl* and *lv'* are equivalent to *bal* and *lo'*.

(83) וּפְרִיץ חַיֹּת בְּלִיַּעְלָהּ  
*u-ferits ḥayot bal ya 'alen-ah*  
and-violent beast NEG 3MS.ascend.3FS  
'And a violent beast will not ascend it'

(Isa. 35:9)

Parry (2019) determines that the addition of *lv'* in the Dead Sea Scrolls passage is the result of a scribal error. A *lv'* appears directly above in the preceding line of the manuscript and was mistakenly duplicated here. I will adopt Parry's analysis and conclude that this instance is not an intentional use of multiple negation.

Other instances of multiple negatives that appear within a single utterance and do not result in a DN reading are given in (84) and (85).

(84) וְאִם־אֵין לֹא יִהְיֶה  
*ve-'im 'yin lo' yiye*  
but-if NEG NEG it.be  
'But if not, it will not be'

(2 Kgs. 2:10)

(85) הֲלֹא דַרְכֵיכֶם לֹא יִתְכַנּוּ  
*ha-lo' darxei-xem lo' yitaxenu*  
Q-NEG ways-your NEG they.be.just  
'Is it not your ways that are not just?'

(Ezek. 18:25)

In (84), the negative markers appear within a conditional statement. Although there is a clausal boundary separating the two negatives, this does not constitute DN. (85) also contains two negative markers. However, Moshavi (2007; 2017) argues that instances of *ha-lo'*, like (85), constitute a "non-interrogative, non-negative" adverb introducing a pragmatic assertion. For a deeper analysis of *ha-lo'*, one may refer to his papers and references.

## 5. Conclusion

The typology of BH negation has been clouded by the absence of NC proper and a lack of negative concord items (NCIs) within the available corpora. In an attempt to indirectly assess whether BH is in fact an NC language, I have identified four phenomena that have been typologically linked to NC languages in the literature. They are: preverbal negative markers (PNMs), a ban on true negative imperatives (TNIs), paratactic negation (PN), and strategic DN. In this thesis, I have demonstrated the presence of all four phenomena in BH as well as addressed potential counterexamples within the data. By so doing, I have provided a strong argument for classifying BH as a non-strict NC language. Admittedly, the approach I have used does not prove the existence of NC proper in BH, however it does provide further evidence supporting the assumption that such phenomena as PN are parametrically linked to NC proper through the presence of the NegP in the hierarchical structure (Espinal 1992).

This research contributes to the present literature in three main ways. First, it contributes to the general typology of negation by providing evidence for the presence of an NC language lacking NCIs. This is significant considering that all prior literature centers around languages that manifest NC proper. This research also outlines a diagnostic approach that may be used on other languages that have proven difficult to classify. The identification of such languages will further add to the typological data already available. Finally, this research has identified patterns in PN triggered by N2-verbs that have gone undocumented in BH until now. Further exploration of existing data should identify additional N2-verbs that I have not yet discovered during the course of this thesis.

However, a deeper study may find further diachronic and synchronic differences in the manifestation of these phenomena—beyond the differences I have documented between BH and Qumran Hebrew—through further subdividing the corpora as well as conducting a comparative study of BH and related Semitic languages focusing on NC phenomena. Two small contributions that deserve further research in BH are the identification of inalienable possession and the formation of EMNEs. I have found nothing in the literature discussing inalienable possession in BH, however my data has indicated the presence of several such items and provided one environment in which this phenomenon may be further studied, namely, as the subject of

reflexive verbs. The second contribution that must be further investigated is demonstrating the presence of EMNEs within an NC language that are not formed through the lexicalization of an NC construction—a contradiction to the current proposal for EMNE formation in the literature.

The study of dormant languages such as BH, lacking access to the intuitions of native speakers, is greatly limited in its ability to accurately discern the underlying syntactic structures of the language. However, this thesis has demonstrated the invaluable insights that may be gained through a use of the vast lexical, syntactic, semantic, and typological observations afforded by modern linguistics that plausibly reflect native intuitions.

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