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The Biblical Hebrew infinitive

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Abstract

The paper proposes that the same functional categories which determine the inflection of the Biblical Hebrew finite verb also determine the feature specification of the Biblical Hebrew infinitive. This proposal depends both on demonstrating that the infinitive is a verb, rather than a noun (or a verbal noun), as traditionally assumed, and on showing that the functional categories that embed the infinitive are clausal rather than nominal. The article starts by examining the traditional distinction between the *Infinitive Absolute* and *Infinitive Construct*, and makes an argument for a single infinitive, with two allomorphs. The former is a verb marked as [+Mood], while the latter is marked as [–Mood], and both are also specified for two other clausal functional categories: T and Asp/Mod. These two latter categories determine a 4-way classification of finite/infinitival verbs: [+T+Asp/Mod], [+T–Asp/Mod], [–T+Asp/Mod], [–T–Asp/Mod]. This classification determines a concomitant 4-way alternation of attachment options of subject and/or object clitics to the verb: [+subj.cl.+Obj.cl.], [+subj.cl.–Obj.cl.], [–subj.cl.+Obj.cl.], [–subj.cl.–Obj.cl.], and moreover accounts for the distribution of the different verb forms.

Keywords

finiteness – event nominals – infinitive – clause – mood – tense – aspect – modality – Biblical Hebrew

1 Introduction

Biblical Hebrew (BH) verbal forms manifest rich inflection within the finite clause, encoding the functional categories of temporality (T), mood (Mood), grammatical aspect (Asp), and modality (Mod). These categories have been widely discussed in the literature, and their relative role is still under debate

(recently Hataṽ 1997, 2008, Joosten 2002, Cook 2006, 2012 and others). In particular, Asp and Mod have proven hard to disentangle in BH, and the present work will reflect this by assuming a composite Asp/Mod category. But what has not so far been proposed is that the same categories regulate the use of the infinitive as well. It is the aim of the present paper to demonstrate the function of these categories within the infinitive clause. I argue that BH has a single infinitive category, which is specified for different combinations of T, Mood, and Asp/Mod, giving rise, in addition to the finite (Fin) construction, to various infinitival constructions: Nom-inf, Poss-inf, and PRO-inf. The examples in (1) illustrate, using the same verb *remember*, the Fin and infinitival constructions in their typical functions. The Fin construction is a clause in the indicative mood, or in a variety of irrealis moods (imperative / jussive / cohortative), and Nom-inf is an irrealis root clause. Poss-inf and PRO-inf are embedded clauses with a variety of functions, and their distribution will be discussed in detail below.¹ Poss-inf often functions as a temporal adverbial, and PRO-inf—as a purpose adverbial:²

(1) a. Fin

i. Indicative

(9) וַיִּזְכֹּר יוֹסֵף אֶת הַחֲלֹמוֹת אֲשֶׁר חָלַם לְהֵם (בראשית מב)

wayyizkōr *yōsēp̄ ʔēt ha-ħālōmōt ʔāšer ħālam*
and.remembered.3MS Joseph ACC the-dreams that dreamt.3MS
lā-ħem
 to-3MP

Then Joseph **remembered** the dreams which he had dreamed about them. (Gen. 42:9)

ii. Imperative

(27) זָכֹר לְעַבְדֶיךָ לְאַבְרָהָם וְלִיִּצְחָק וְלִיַּעֲקֹב (דברים ט)

zākōr *la-ʔābādē-kā* *la-ʔabrāhām la-yiṣḥāq*
remember.IMPR.2MS to-servants-POSS.2MP to-Abraham to-Isaac
u-la-yaʔāqōb
 and-to-Jacob

Remember Your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. (Deut 9:27)

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- 1 The distinction between these two constructions, which serves the base of the distinction between the Modern Hebrew Gerund and Infinitive, was presented in Doron (2016). This distinction had not been made before in Biblical studies.
 - 2 Unless stated otherwise, all Biblical translations are from the New King James Version (NKJV). The fricative allophones of *b, g, d, k, p, t* are transcribed as the stop allophone with a diacritic (*b, ḡ, ḏ, k, p̄, t̄*). Three vowel qualities are distinguished, in accordance with the Tiberian tradition, e.g. *ā* vs. *a* vs. epenthetic *ā*. Glosses use the following abbreviations: ACC—Accusative

b. Nom-inf

זָכוֹר אֶת-יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ (שמות כ 7)

zākōr *?eṭ yōm haš-šabbāt*
remember.INFABS ACC day.CS the-sabbath

la-qaddāš-ō
 to-sanctify.INF-ACC.3MS

Remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. (Ex. 20:8)

c. Poss-inf

עַל נְהַרֹת בַּבֶּל שָׁם יִשְׁכְּנוּ גַם-בְּכִינֹו בְּזַכְרֵנוּ אֶת-צִיּוֹן (תהילים קלז 1)

ʕal nahārōṭ bābel šām yāšabnū gam bākīnū
 on rivers.CS Babylon there sat.1P also wept.1P

bə-zokr-ēnū *?eṭ šiyyōn*
in-remember.INF-POSS.1P ACC Zion

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept **when we remembered** Zion. (Ps. 137:1)

d. PRO-inf

וְהִיְתָה הַקֶּשֶׁת בְּעָנָן וְרָאִיתֶיהָ לְזִכֹּר בְּרִית עִוְלָם בֵּין אֱלֹהִים וּבֵין כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (בראשית ט 16)

wəhāyətā *haq-qešet* *be-ʕānān* *u-rəʔitī-hā*
 and.be.MOD.3FS the-rainbow.F in.the-cloud and-will.see.1S-ACC.3FS

li-zkōr *bərīt* *ʕōlām* *bēn* *?ēlōhīm*
to-remember.INF covenant.CS eternity between God

u-bēn *kol nepēš ḥayyā*
 and-between all soul living

The rainbow shall be in the cloud, and I will look on it **to remember** the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature. (Gen. 9:16)

The article is constructed as follows. Section 2 introduces the two allomorphs of the BH infinitive. Section 3 introduces the different infinitival clauses constructed from the infinitive, and their different morphosyntax and distribution. Crucially, the functional categories specifying the infinitive are clausal rather than nominal: an overt or implicit subject Determiner Phrase (DP) is

case; CS—Construct State (morphological marking of the possessee noun); F—Feminine; ILL—Illative case; IMPR—Imperative; INF—Infinitive Construct; INFABS—Infinitive Absolute; JUSS—Jussive; M—Masculine; MOD—Modal; NEG—Negation; P—Plural; POSS—Possessive case; PTC—Participle; Q—Question particle; s—Singular.

present. Section 4 further argues for the clausal rather than nominal nature of these constructions, by showing that the infinitive is a verb rather than a noun or a verbal noun—which was the category assigned to it by the traditional literature of the Bible. Section 5 briefly mentions the rise of nominalizations which eventually replaced the Poss-inf structure in post-Biblical Hebrew. Section 6 concludes.

2 One infinitive category, two allomorphs

The theoretical issues raised by the BH infinitive have not yet been tackled. Existing literature assumes two separate infinitives, traditionally called the *Infinitive Absolute* and the *Infinitive Construct*. The two are distinguished by their form and distribution, and are described as two separate categories, treated separately in separate chapters of the traditional grammar books of the Bible.³

Historically, the Infinitive Absolute is the original infinitive, also found in Akkadian (Blau 1979: § 30), while the Infinitive Construct has been claimed to originate in a different Proto-Semitic form, related to the imperfective (Bauer and Leander 1922: § 43). Yet, synchronically, I would like to propose that the two are actually syntactically conditioned allomorphs of a single infinitive category of BH.⁴ Derivationally, the Infinitive Absolute is the basic allomorph, as it is found in all the seven Hebrew verbal templates, whereas the Infinitive Construct is only derived in the active and middle templates, but not in the passive.⁵ The derivations are shown in the following table:⁶

3 For example, the Infinitive Absolute is described in Gesenius (1910: § 113), Joüon (1923: § 123), and Waltke and O'Connor (1990: § 35), whereas the Infinitive Construct is described in Gesenius (1910: § 114–115), Joüon (1923: § 124), and Waltke and O'Connor (1990: § 36).

4 This allomorphy is indistinguishable in some cases from the *Absolute* vs. *Construct* state allomorphy in the nominal system. Hence the traditional terminology *Infinitive Absolute*—*Infinitive Construct*, which is otherwise very confusing, since the infinitive is verbal rather than nominal. For example, the noun *šālōm* 'well-being' has the construct allomorph *šālōm* in e.g. the possessive construct *šālōm ?aḥēkā* 'your brothers' well-being' (Gen. 37:14). This allomorphy identical in form to the allomorphy *šāmōr* 'observe.INFABS' / *šəmōr* 'observe.INF' in the Simple Active template in table 2 (the INF allomorph is found e.g. in *lə-bilti šəmōr mišwōt-āw* 'by not observing His commandments' (Deut. 8:11)).

5 There are only two potential counterexamples: *hulleḏet* 'be-given-birth.INF' in Gen 40:20 and *hukkabbēs* 'be-laundered.INF' in Lev. 13:55.

6 In addition to the exponents shown in the table, the Infinitive Absolute of some verbs in derived templates also has exponents constructed by analogy to the Simple Active template, e.g. *niḥōm* 'fight', *yassōr* 'chasten'.

(2)

TABLE 1 Templates

Voice	Agency					
	Simple		Intensive		Causative	
Active	<i>šamōr</i> observe.INFABS	<i>šamōr</i> observe.INF	<i>kabbēd</i> honor.INFABS	<i>kabbēd</i> honor.INF	<i>haqrēb</i> offer.INFABS	<i>haqrīb</i> offer.INF
Middle	<i>hiššābaš</i> VOW.INFABS	<i>hiššābaš</i> VOW.INF	<i>hitnappēl</i> attack.INFABS	<i>hitnappēl</i> attack.INF		
Passive			<i>gunnōb</i> be-stolen.INFABS	–	<i>huggēd</i> be-told.INFABS	–

The basic allomorph, the Infinitive Absolute, serves as the citation form of the verb, and in adverbial uses (typically bare of arguments). The adverbial infinitive either directly modifies the inflected verb (3a–b), as described in Callaham 2014, Hatav 2017, and references therein, or it modifies the VP (3c–d).

(3) a. (שמות ג 7)
rāʔō *rāʔtī* *ʔet* *šōnī* *šamm-ī* *ʔāšer*
 see.INFABS saw.IS ACC oppression.CS people-POSS.IS that
bə-miṣrāyim
 in-Egypt
I have surely seen the oppression of My people who are in Egypt. (Ex. 3:7)

b. (בראשית יח 10)
šōb *ʔāšūb* *ʔēl-ekā* *kā-šēt* *hayyā*
 return.INFABS return.MOD.IS to-2MS as.the-season living
wə-hinnē *bēn lə-šārā* *ʔištekā*
 and-behold son to-Sarah wife-POSS.2MS
I will surely return to you when the season comes round again, and behold, your wife Sarah will have a son! (NET; Gen. 18:10)

- c. וַיִּשְׁבוּ הַמַּיִם מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ הַלְלוּךָ וְשׁוּב (בראשית ח 3)
wayyāšubū ham-mayim mē-šal hā-ʔāreṣ hālōk
 and.receded.3MP the-waters from-upon the-earth go.INFABS
wā-šōb
and-return.INFABS
 And the waters receded **continually** from the earth. (Gen. 8:3)
- d. בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא אָקִים אֶל-עֲלִי אֵת כָּל-אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל-בֵּיתוֹ הַחֵל וְכֵלָה (1 שׁ א ג 12)
bay-yōm hahū ʔāqīm ʔel ʔēli ʔēt kol ʔāšer dibbartī ʔel
 in.the-day that will.perform.1S to Eli ACC all that spoke.1S to
bēt-ō hāhēl wə-kallē
 house-POSS.3MS **begin.INFABS and-end.INFABS**
 In that day I will perform against Eli all that I have spoken concerning
 his house, **from beginning to end**. (1 Sam. 3:12)

For the purposes of the present article, I will mostly ignore the adverbial use (3), where the infinitive is “bare” of any functional category, and hence is not clausal and does not introduce a subject.⁷ I will only be interested in the uses of the infinitive which involve clausal constructions with functional categories, and hence a subject. The point of the present article is to show that there are two types of such constructions, one classified together with finite clauses as having conversational force, and the other—as lacking such force. A second dimension classifies clauses as having temporal anchoring, and others as lacking it. We will see the implications of this classification in the next section:

TABLE 2 Typology of infinitival forms

	+Mood	–Mood
+T	Fin (1a)	Poss-inf (1c)
–T	Nom-inf (1b)	PRO-inf (1d)

7 I consider adverbial also the “sequential use”, where the Infinitive Absolute, together with its internal arguments, is conjoined to a previous clause and interpreted within the scope of the latter’s inflection and subject:

(i) אֵת נַעֲשֶׂה לָהֶם, וְנַחֲיֵה אוֹתָם (יהושע ט 20)
zōt našše lā-hem wə-hahāyē ʔōtām
 this do.MOD.1P to-3MP and-let.live.INFABS ACC-3MP
 This we will do to them: we will let them live (Josh. 9:20).

3 Two types of infinitival clauses

The present section discusses the two different uses of the infinitive which involve clausal constructions, i.e. the verb together with all its arguments and functional categories.

3.1 [+Mood] infinitival clauses

The first construction is a clause with imperative force (including notional jussive and cohortative). The allomorph of the infinitive in this construction is the Infinitive Absolute.⁸ According to the analysis proposed here, this is due to the fact that the only functional category specified in this construction is Mood, with an [-finite] value interpreted as imperative force.⁹ Since the T and Asp/Mod categories in the clause are unspecified, there is no inflection to alter the citation form of the infinitive, nor, as we discuss below, to provide an attachment site for subject and object clitics. And as there is no temporal anchoring of the verb to the speech act, these sentences tend to be generic in interpretation unlike the discourse-bound interpretation of the finite imperative (1aii).¹⁰ I will call this construction *Nom-inf*, since it includes a nominative subject, either a null *pro* (an addressee-oriented logophoric pronoun according to Portner's 2004 analysis of the imperative), as in (4a), and also (1b) above, or a lexical DP, as in (4b–f), an option found cross-linguistically in imperative clauses (Mauck et al. 2005). As is to be expected of imperative clauses, they are typically root clauses (Palmer 2001). This might be true even when introduced by *verba dicendi* as in (4d), since practically all reported speech in the Bible is direct quotation, constructed as a conjunction of root clauses, which is possible for imperatives as well (Maier 2010).

- (4) a. שְׁמוֹר אֶת-יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לְקַדְּשׁוֹ (דְּבָרִים ה 11)
šāmōr *?eṭ yōm haš-šabbāt lə-qaddaš-ō*
 observe.INFABS ACC day.CS the-sabbath to-sanctify.INF-ACC.3MS
 Observe the Sabbath day, to keep it holy. (Deut. 5:11(12))

8 The same is true in Arabic, where the *qatāli* form which corresponds to the Infinitive Absolute also serves as an imperative (Wright 1874: Vol. 1, p. 62).

9 As is known from the literature (Portner 1997 and references therein), Mood is the category which determines the conversational force of a root clause (Indicative, Imperative, etc.)

10 This contrast is reminiscent of the contrast between the generic *lō*+Modal negation and the eventive *?al*+Jussive negation among Fin clauses.

- b. (ויקרא ו 7) וזאת תורת המנחה: הקרב אתה בני-אֶהְרֹן לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶל-פְּנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ (ויקרא ו 7)
wə-zōt tōrat ham-minhā haqrēb ʔōtāh
 and-this.F (is) law.F.CS the-grain.offering.F offer.INFABS ACC.3FS
bənē ʔahārōn līpnē JHWH ʔel.pənē ham-mizbēaḥ
 sons.SC Aaron before Lord on the-altar
 This is the law of the grain offering: **The sons of Aaron shall offer it on the altar before the Lord.** (Lev. 6:7[14])

- c. (דברים טו 2) וְזֶה דְבַר הַשְּׁמִטָּה—שְׁמוּט כָּל-בַּעַל מִשֶּׁה יָדוֹ אֲשֶׁר יִשֶׂה בְרֵעֵהוּ (דברים טו 2)
wə-ze dābar haš-šmittā šāmōt kol
 and-this (is) form.M.CS the-release release.INFABS all
baʔal.maššē.yādo ʔāšer yašše bā-rēʔ-ēhū
 creditor that credit.MOD.3MS at-peer-POSS.3MS
 And this is the form of the release: **Every creditor who has lent (anything) to his neighbor shall release (it).** (Deut 15:2)

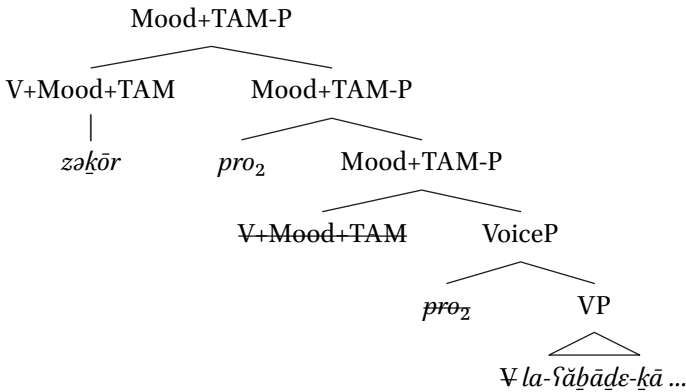
- d. וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-מֹשֶׁה מוֹת יוֹמָת הָאִישׁ רְגוּם אֹתוֹ בְּאֲבָנִים כָּל-הָעֵדָה מִחוּץ לַמִּחֲנֶה (במדבר טו 35)
wayyōmer YHWY ʔel mōše mōt yūmat
 and.said.3MS Lord to Moses die.INFABS be.made.die.MOD.3MS
hā-ʔiš rāgōm ʔōtō bā-ʔābānīm kol hā-ʔēdā
 the-man stone.INFABS ACC.3MS with-stones all the-congregation
mihūš lam-mahāne
 outside to.the-camp
 Then the Lord said to Moses, the man must surely be put to death; **all the congregation shall stone him with stones outside the camp.** (Num. 15:35)

- e. פְּגוּשׁ דֵּב שׂוֹכֵל בְּאִישׁ, וְאֶל-כֶּסֶל בְּאִוְלָתוֹ (משלי יז 12)
pāgōš dōb šakkūl bə-ʔiš wə-ʔal kəsīl
 meet.INFABS bear bereaved at-man and-NEG fool
bə-ʔiwwalt-ō
 in-foolly-POSS.3MS
 Let a man meet a bear robbed of her cubs, rather than a fool in his folly. (Prov. 17:12)

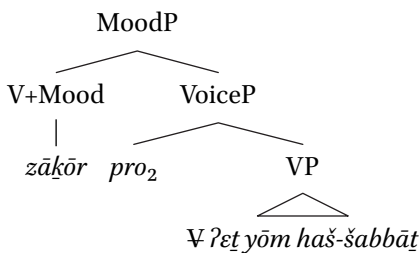
- f. אֲכֹל וְשָׂתוּ, כִּי מָחָר נָמוֹת (ישעיהו כב 13)
ʔākōl wə-šāṭō kī māhār nāmūt
 eat.INFABS and-drink.INFABS because tomorrow die.MOD.2P
 Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die. (Is. 22:13)

I illustrate with simplified structures the Fin vs. Nom-inf imperative, where the former but not the latter includes specification of T and Asp/Mod functional layers (TAM for short):

- (5) a. Fin Imperative (=1a)
zəkōr *la-šābāde-kā ...*
 remember.IMPR.2MS to-servants-POSS.2MP
 Remember Your servants ... (Deut 9:27)



- b. Nom-inf Imperative (=1b)
zākōr *ʔet yōm haš-šabbāt*
 remember.INFABS ACC day.CS the-sabbath
 Remember the Sabbath day ... (Ex. 20:8)



3.2 [-Mood] infinitival clauses

The infinitive allomorph in the second type of construction is the Infinitive Construct. This allomorph allows the attachment of pronominal clitics, something that is strictly disallowed in the Nom-inf construction, built with the Infinitive Absolute allomorph. As we will see below, this difference is due to the fact that subject and object clitics attach to the relevant functional categories—T and Asp/Mod respectively—which are present in the second type of construction but not in the Nom-inf construction.

The first subtype, familiar from other languages, has a null pronominal anaphor subject (PRO), typically controlled by another DP in the linguistic context. This is the PRO-inf construction. We will see below that it does not have temporal specification, i.e. its T is unspecified, yet it does have Asp/Mod specification. As it is not specified for T, or Mood, the subject is not assigned case, and is hence PRO. As it is specified for Asp/Mod, but not T, it allows object but not subject clitics.

The second subtype, Poss-inf, has an overt subject with possessive case.¹¹ I will argue that this construction is temporal and includes specification of the functional category T, though not of the category Asp/Mod. As it has T specification, but not Asp/Mod, it allows subject but not object clitics. It is distinguished from finite clauses, which have both T and Asp/Mod specification (and hence both subject and object clitics). I assume that it is non-finite T which assigns possessive case to the subject, in parallel to the non-finite *-ing* functional category which assigns accusative case to the subject of Acc-ing gerunds in English according to Reuland's 1983 analysis.¹²

In the following examples of PRO-inf and Poss-inf, notice the Infinitive Construct allomorphs *raʔōt* 'see' and *šūb* 'return' in (6) and (7), which differ from the corresponding Infinitive Absolute allomorphs *rāʔō* and *šōb* of the same verbs in (3) above.

11 The possessive case is a marked case of the subject in other languages as well, such as Alaskan Yup'ik (Abney 1987:28), Finnish (Kiparsky 2001), Ladakhi, Lak, Niue (Lander 2011: 590), Tagalog (Aldridge 2006, Collins 2017), Tzutujil Maya (Abney 1987:31), and others.

12 It has often been noticed that the BH Infinitive Construct subsumes properties of both infinitives and gerunds in other languages. PRO-inf subsumes both the English infinitive and the PRO-ing gerund. Poss-inf parallels the English Acc-ing gerund, despite the morphological difference between accusative and genitive. Poss-inf does not parallel the English Poss-ing, which is a nominal rather than a clausal construction (Pires 2001, 2006, 2007; Moulton 2004).

(6) a. PRO-inf

וַיִּשְׁלַח שְׂאוּל אֶת-הַמְּלָאכִים לְ[רְאוֹת אֶת-דָּוִד] (ש"א יז ט 15)
wayyišlah šāʾūl ʔeṭ ham-malʔākīm li-[rʔōt PRO ʔeṭ
 and.sent.3MS Saul ACC the-messenger to-[see.INF PRO ACC
dāwid]
 David]
 Then Saul sent the messengers back to see David (1Sam 19:15)

b. Poss-inf

וְכִ[רְאוֹת שְׂאוּל אֶת-דָּוִד] ... אָמַר אֶל-אַבְנֵר (ש"א יז 55)
wə-ki- [rʔōt šāʾūl ʔeṭ dāwid] ... ʔāmar ʔel ʔabnēr
 and-as- [see.INF Saul ACC David] said.3MS to Abner
 When Saul saw David ..., he said to Abner, (1Sam. 17:55)

(7) a. PRO-inf

וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶת-הַיּוֹנָה וְלֹא-יָסְפָה [שׁוּב אֵלָיו עוֹד] (בראשית ח 12)
wayšaʾallah ʔeṭ hay-yōnā wə-lō yāsəpā [šūb
 and.sent.3MS ACC the-dove.F and-NEG repeated.3FS [return.INF
PRO ʔēl-āw šōd]
 PRO to-3MS anymore]
 ... and [he] sent out the dove, which did not return again to him any-
 more. (Gen 8:12)

b. Poss-inf

בְּ[שׁוּב יְהוָה אֶת-שִׁיבַת צִיּוֹן] הָיְינוּ כְּחֻלְמִים (תהילים קכו 1)
bə- [šūb YHWY ʔeṭ šibat šýyōn] hāyīnū
 when- [return.INF Lord ACC return.CS Zion] were.2P
kə-ḥōlmīm
 as-dream.PTC.MP
 It seemed like a dream when the Lord brought us back to the city of
 Zion. (CEV; Ps. 126:1)

The possessive case of the Poss-inf subject is overtly marked for pronominal subjects, in particular the 1st person singular and the 3rd person masculine singular, where the possessive marking differs from accusative marking of the corresponding object clitics in the PRO-inf construction. Thus, the 1st person object clitic *-ēnī* in (8a) differs in form from the 1st person subject clitic *-ī* in (8b), and the 3rd person object clitic *-ēhū* in (9a) differs in form from the 3rd person subject clitic *-ō* in (9b):

(8) a. PRO-inf

(14 שמות ב) [הַכַּתִּי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם] וְלֹא-יְהִיֶּה בְכֶם נִגַּף לְמִשְׁחִית בְּ
ha-lā-[hārg-ēnī PRO] ʔattā ʔomēr kaʔāšer
 Q-to-[kill.INF-ACC.1S PRO] you intend.PTC.MS as
hāraḡtā ʔet ham-miṣrī
 killed.2MS ACC the Egyptian
 Do you intend to kill me as you killed the Egyptian? (Ex. 2:14)

b. Poss-inf

(13 שמות יב) [וְלֹא-יְהִיֶּה בְכֶם נִגַּף לְמִשְׁחִית בְּ] הַכַּתִּי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם] וְלֹא-
wə-lō yihye b-ākem neḡēp lā-mašhūt bə-
 and-NEG be.MOD at-2MP plague to-destroy.PTC.MS when-
 [*hakkōt-ī bə-ʔereš miṣrāyīm*]
 [strike.INF.POSS.1S at-land.CS Egypt]
 And the plague shall not be on you to destroy you when I strike the land
 of Egypt. (Ex. 12:13)

(9) a. PRO-inf

(ירמיהו לט ט) [וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-גְּדַלְיָהוּ ... לְ] הוֹצִיאָהוּ אֶל-הַבַּיִת] (ירמיהו לט ט)
wayyittanū ʔōtō ʔel gəḏalyāhū ... lə-
 and.committed.3MP ACC.3MS to Gedaliah ... to-
 [*hōšiʔ-ēhū PRO ʔel hab-bāyit*]
 [take.INF-ACC.3MS PRO to the-house]
 And they committed him to Gedaliah ... that he should take him home.
 (Jer. 39:14)

b. Poss-inf

(מ"א ח 21) [בְּרִית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת עִם-אֲבוֹתֵינוּ בְּ] הוֹצִיאָהוּ אֶתֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם] וְלֹא-
bərīt YHWY ʔāšer kārāt šim ʔābōtēnū bə-
 covenant.CS Lord that made.3MS with fathers.POSS.2P when-
 [*hōšiʔ-ō ʔōtām mē-ʔereš miṣrāyīm*]
 [bring.out.INF-POSS.3MS ACC.3MP from-land.CS Egypt]
 the covenant of the Lord which He made with our fathers, when He
 brought them out of the land of Egypt (1 Kings 8:21)

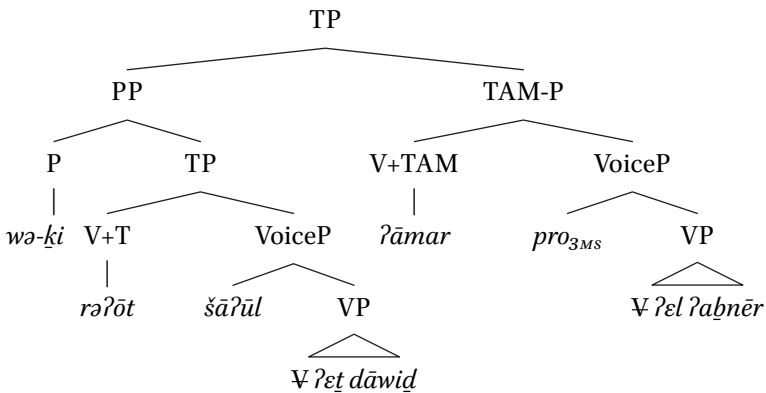
The two constructions contrast sharply in distribution. All the (b) examples in (6)–(9) above are temporal adverbials, and none of the (a) examples are. This is not an accident, as it is the case in general that temporal prepositions only take Poss-inf complements, never PRO-inf complements. I attribute this to fact that Poss-inf clauses include T specification in their structure, whereas PRO-

inf clauses do no. Thus only the former can serve as the Specifier of the main clause T head (Cinque 1999). PRO-inf clauses function as purpose clauses, as in (6a) and (9a), i.e. they are Asp/Mod phrases (AM for short) which are adjuncts to the Asp/Mod head of the main clause.^{13,14}

(10) a. Poss-inf

Spec of T: temporal adverbial (cf. 6b)

wə-ki-rəʔōt šāʔūl ʔēt dāwid ʔāmar ʔel ʔabnēr
 and-as-see.INF Saul ACC David said.3MS to Abner
 When Saul saw David, he said to Abner (1Sam. 17:55)



13 Purpose clauses are part of infinitival clauses which “are a group which displays a characteristic future-oriented, irrealis semantics” (Portner 1997: 183). Yet, as argued by Wurmbrand (2001, 2014), the seeming temporal relation of the infinitival clause to the main clause is not due to T but to Mod, which determines the inherent future orientation of purposes.

14 Purpose clauses are distinct from rationale clauses (Jones 1985, Verstraete 2008), which can be expressed by the Poss-inf construction. The latter describes a result event, as in (i) below, not necessarily the outcome and agent’s intentions, unlike the intentional/modal characterization of purpose clauses:

(i) Poss-inf: rationale clause

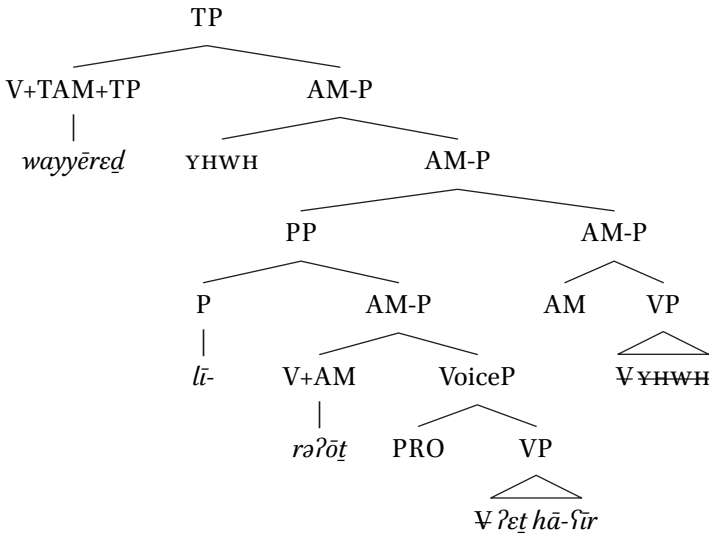
(19 למען) [הביא יהוה על אברהם את אִשְׁרֵי-דָבָר עֲלָיו] (בראשית יח 19)
wəšaməʔū dērek YHWH ləmaʕan [hābī YHWH ʕal ʔabrahām
 and.keep.MOD.3MP way.CS Lord for [bring.INF Lord
ʔēt ʔāšer dibber ʕāl-āw]
 on Abraham ACC that spoke.3MS on-3MS]
 that they keep the way of the Lord, ..., that the LORD may bring to Abraham what
 He has spoken to him (Gen. 18:19)

One syntactic difference which distinguishes purpose and rationale clauses is that only the former allow an additional controlled empty category (glossed as *e_j* in the following example):

b. PRO-inf

Spec of Asp/Mod: purpose adverbial

wayyēred YHWH *li-rəʔōt* *ʔēt* *hā-šūr*
 came.down.3MS Lord to-see.INF ACC the-city
 The Lord came down to see the city (Gen 11:5)



Infinitival clauses also function as complements, and as such are selected by different types of verbs. Poss-inf clauses are propositional TPs, and are hence selected by propositional attitude verbs, such as *know* (Gen. 19:35, Jer. 15:15), *remember* (Jer. 2:2, 18:20), *consent* (Gen. 19:21), *hear* (1Sam 14:27), *see* (Is. 52:8), illustrated in (11a). PRO-inf clauses are Asp/ModP, and hence complements of aspectual verbs, e.g. *begin* (Judg. 20:39), *repeat* (1Sam 15:35), *stop* (1Sam. 23:13), *finish* (Lev. 16:20),¹⁵ or modal verbs such as *be able* (Deut 7:22),

(ii) PRO-inf: purpose clause

הַמֶּלֶךְ הָעַם עַל-מִיטְבַּת הַצֹּאן וְהַבָּקָר לְמַעַן [זְבִיחַ PRO לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ] (שְׂמוּ אֶל אֵ טו 15)
hāmāl hā-šām_i ʕal mēṭab haṣ-šōn wə-hab-bāqār_j ləmaʕan
 spared.3MS the-people_i on best.CS the-cattle and-the-beef_j to
 [zəbōaḥ PRO_i e_j la-YHWH ʔēlōh-ekā]
 [sacrifice.INF PRO_i e_j to-Lord God-POSS.2MS]
 The people spared the best of the sheep and the oxen to sacrifice to the Lord your
 God (1 Sam. 15:15).

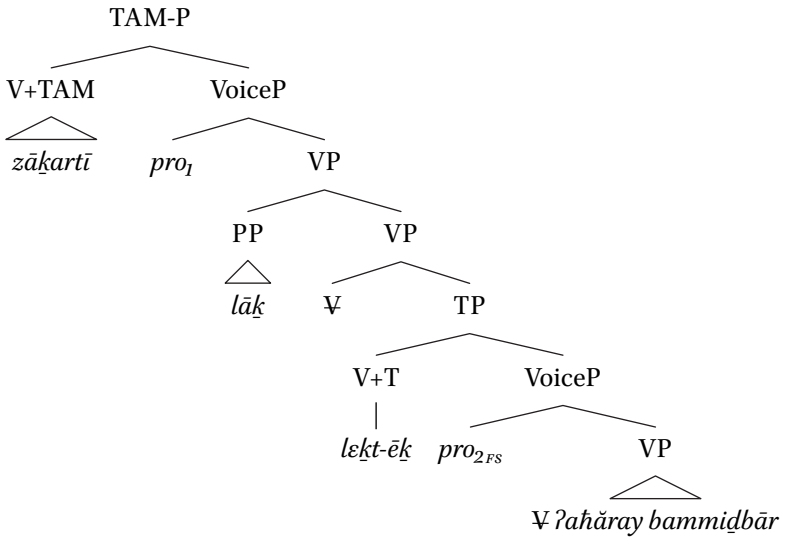
15 ter Meulen (1995) notes that aspectual verbs such as *begin*, *stop*, *continue*, can have infinitival complements if they describe an event-external change.

want (1Sam. 19:2), intend (Ex. 2:14), plan (Deut. 19:19), refuse (Num. 20:21), give up (1Sam. 27:1), order (2Sam. 17:14), prevent (Num. 22:16), illustrated in (11b).¹⁶

(11) a. Poss-inf

Complement of propositional attitude verb

zākartī l-āk ... lekt-ēk ?ahār-ay
 remember.1S to-2FS go.INF-POSS.2FS behind-1S
 I remember your following me (Jer. 2:2)

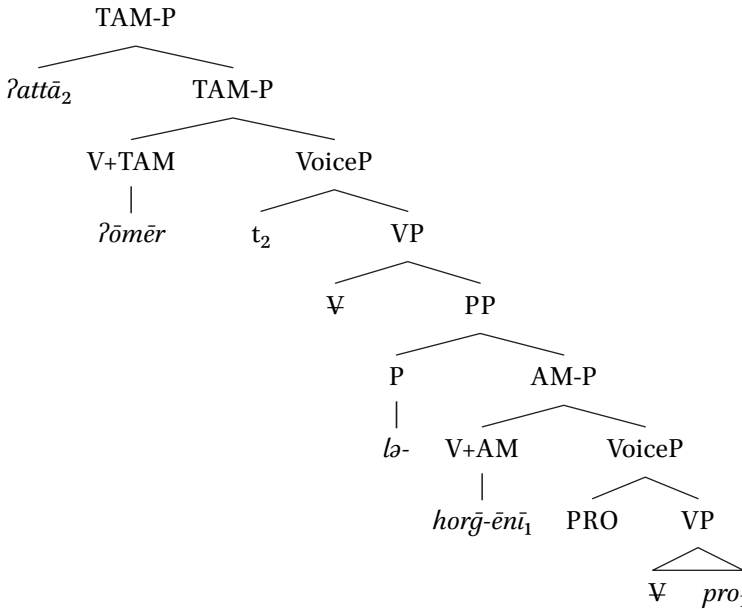


b. PRO-inf

Complement of Modal/Aspectual verb

?attā ?ōmēr la-horġ-ēnī
 you intend.PTC to-kill.INF-ACC.1S
 You intend to kill me. (Ex. 2:14) cf. (8a)

¹⁶ Additional examples are given in Doron (2018).

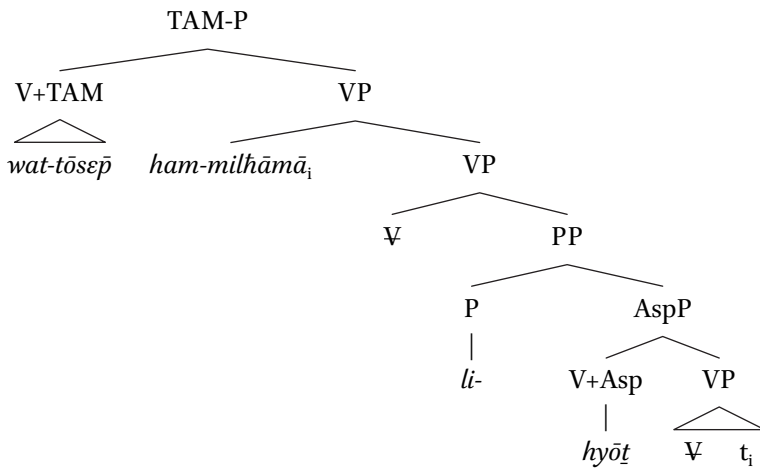


Aspectual and modal verbs in the (1b) structure are control verbs expressing root modality (Ability, Deontic). When the same verbs modify the aspectual and modal dimension of a state/event which is not determined by the actions or abilities of an agent, their modality is interpreted as alethic (metaphysical), they do not have an agent, and function as raising verbs (Hacquard 2011). The following examples describe the beginning (a), repetition (b), possibility (c) of an event/state, independently of an agent. The non-agentive subject of the complement raises from the infinitival clause, leaving a trace (t) which is an empty category different from PRO, yet like PRO is restricted to case-less positions:

- (12) a. (בראשית י"ח) [להיות t לְשָׂרָה אֲרַח בְּנָשִׁים] pro הָיָל
hādāl *pro*_{3MS} *li-* [*hyōt* *t*_{3MS} *lə-šārā* *?ōrah*
 ceased.3MS *pro*_{3MS} to- [be.INF *t*_{3MS} to-Sarah period.M
kan-nāšim]
 as.the-women]
 Sarah had passed the age of childbearing (Gen. 18:11)
- b. (ש"א י"ט) [להיות t] ותוֹסֵף הַמִּלְחָמָה
wat.tōseḫ *ham-milḥāmā li-* [*hyōt* *t*_{3FS}]
 and.recurred.3FS the-war.F to- [be.INF *t*_{3FS}]
 And there was war again (Gen. 19:8)

- c. (17 ב יו שׁ) [[הַעִירָהּ t בּוֹא t הָרְאוּת t] לְ t יִבְלִי לְ t הָרְאוּת t]
kī lō yūkalū *pro_{3MP} lə- [hērāʔōt t_{3MP} lā- [bō t_{3MP}*
 for NEG can.MOD.3MP *pro_{3MP} to- [be-seen t_{3MP} to-[come t_{3MP}*
hā-šr-ā]
 the-city.ILL]
 because they could not be seen entering the city. (MEV; 2 Sam. 17:17)

- (13) Complement of a raising Modal/Aspectual verb
wat.tōsep̄ *ham-milhāmā_i li-* [*hyōt̄ t_i*]
 and.recurred.3FS the-war.F₁ to- [be.INF t_i]
 And there was war again (Gen. 19:8)



The importance of the examples in (12) is in demonstrating the clausal nature of infinitives with null subjects.

3.3 *The morpho-syntax of the various verb forms*

Unlike the Nom-inf construction, which is restricted to root clauses, the PRO-inf and Poss-inf constructions are embedded clauses, i.e. never have conversational force of their own. This fact has been encoded by their including no specification of the functional category Mood. Yet they can acquire conversational force and function as main clauses through a fronted *wh*-element such as *ma* ‘what’ in (14):

- (14) מה-לַעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד לְכַרְמִי וְלֹא עָשִׂיתִי בּוֹ (ישעיהו ה 4)
mal- la- [šāsōt̪ PRO šōd̪ lə-karm-ī] wə-lō šāsītī
what to- [do.INF PRO more to-vineyard-POSS.1S] and-NEG did.1S
b-ō
 in-3MS
 What more could have been done to My vineyard that I have not done in
 it? (Is. 5:4)

Another morphosyntactic distinction has been attributed above to the categories T and Asp/Mod—i.e. the variation between the different infinitive constructions, and the contrast between them and the Fin construction, in allowing the cliticization of subject and object pronouns as part of the morphology of the verb. The following table summarizes the allowed cliticization options in the different constructions, and examples are given in (16)–(17) below:

(15)

TABLE 3 Distribution of clitics

	+ Subj cl.	– Subj cl.
+ Obj cl.	Fin	PRO-inf
– Obj cl.	Poss-inf	Nom-inf

The verb in the PRO-inf construction can have object clitics (16b, 17b) but clearly not subject clitics, since, for case reasons, it does not have an overt subject of any kind. On the other hand, the verb in the Poss-inf construction can have an overt object. But crucially—not in the form of a clitic (16c, 17c). This is surprising, since both subject and object clitics appear with a Fin verb (16a, 17a):

(16) a. Fin

- הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִים לְעֵינָיִם (יחזקאל כ 14)
hag-gōyim ʔāšer hōšētī-m lə-šēnē-hem
 the peoples that brought.out.1S-ACC.2MP to-eyes-POSS.3MP
 the Gentiles, in whose sight I had brought them out (Eze. 20:14)

b. PRO-inf

(שמות יב 42) לְהוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם

la-hōšīl-ām *mē-ʔereš* *mišrāyīm*
 to-bring.out.INF-ACC.3MP from-land.CS Egypt
 for bringing them out of the land of Egypt (Ex. 12:42)

c. Poss-inf

בְּהוֹצִיאֵי אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם * בְּהוֹצִיאֵם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם (ויקרא כג 43)

bə-hōšīl-ī *ʔōtām* *mē-ʔereš* *mišrāyīm*
 when-bring.out.INF-POSS.1S ACC.3MP from-land.CS Egypt
 **bə-hōšīl-ī-m* *mē-ʔereš* *mišrāyīm*
 when-bring.out.INF-POSS.1S -ACC.3MP from-land.CS Egypt
 when I brought them out of the land of Egypt (Lev. 23:43)

(17) a. Fin

לֹא רָאִיתִיךָ (איוב ח 18)

lō *rəʔīlī-kā*
 NEG saw.1S-ACC.2MS
 I have not seen you (Job 8:18)

b. PRO-inf

וַיָּבֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ לְרֹאֲתוֹ (שׁ"ב יג 6)

wayyābō *ham-melek* *li-rʔōt-ō*
 came.3MS the-king to-see.INF-ACC.3MS
 the king came to see him (2 Sam. 13:6)

c. Poss-inf

אַחֲרֵי רֹאֲתִי אֶת-פְּנֵיךָ * אַחֲרֵי רֹאֲתִיךָ (בראשית מו 30)

ʔahārē *rəʔōt-ī* *ʔet* *pāney-kā*
 after see.INF-POSS.1S ACC face-POSS.2MS
 **ʔahārē* *rəʔōt-ī-kā*
 after see.INF-POSS.1S-ACC.2MS
 since I have seen your face (Gen. 46:30)

The ungrammaticality in the (c) examples above is not due to “heaviness” of two combined clitics, since even if the subject is not a pronominal clitic but a full lexical item, an object clitic is impossible in the Poss-inf construction:

(18) Poss-inf

וַיִּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקַיִן אֹת לְבִלְתִּי הַבּוֹת-אֹתוֹ כָּל-מֵצְאוֹ * לְבִלְתִּי הַבּוֹתוֹ כָּל-מֵצְאוֹ (בראשית 15 ד)

wayyāsēm YHWH la-qayin ʔōt la-biltī hakkōt ʔotō kol
and.put.3MS Lord to-Cain mark to-NEG kill.INF ACC.3MS any
mōšʔ-ō

find.PTC.MS-POSS.3MS

And the Lord set a mark on Cain, lest anyone finding him should kill him.
(Gen. 4:15)

**la-biltī hakkōt-ō kol mōšʔ-ō*
to-NEG kill.INF-ACC.3MS any find.PTC.MS-POSS.3MS

(19) Poss-inf

בֶּן-אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה אָנֹכִי בִשְׁלַח מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד-יְהוָה אִתִּי ... * בִּשְׁלַחֲנִי מֹשֶׁה (יהושע יד 7)

ben ʔarbāʕīm šānā ʔānōkī bi-šalōah mōše ʔebed
son.CS forty year I when-send.INF Moses servant.CS
JHWH ʔōtī

Lord ACC.1S

I was forty years old when Moses the servant of the LORD sent me ... (Josh. 14:7)

**bə-šolh-ēnī mōše*
when-send.INF-ACC.1S Moses

The ban against an object clitic in the Poss-inf construction is thus not morphophonological but morphosyntactic. I have assumed that it is the functional category Asp/Mod which licenses the object clitic, both in the Fin clause and in the PRO-inf clause. The Asp/Mod category is unspecified in the Poss-inf construction, hence the lack of object clitics. As has often been remarked in the literature, object clitics attach to inflection which is characteristically verbal (e.g. in Romance, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004).¹⁷

I summarize in (21) the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the different finite and infinitival clauses, where the relevant functional categories are ordered by the hierarchy in (20):

17 Indeed the participle, which is inflected as a noun, mostly takes genitive marked object clitics:

(20) Mood < T < Asp/Mod < Voice

(21)

TABLE 4 Summary

	Phrasal category	Projected by functional categories	Mood morphology	Verb	Subj. case	Subj. clitic	Obj. clitic
Fin clause	TAM-P	+Mood+T+Asp/Mod	±Indic.	Finite	Nom	+	+
Nom-inf	MoodP	+Mood-T-Asp/Mod	-Indic.	Inf. Abs.	Nom	-	-
Poss-inf	TP	-Mood+T-Asp/Mod	-	Inf. Constr	Poss	+	-
PRO-inf	Asp/Mod	-Mood-T+Asp/Mod	-	Inf. Constr	-	-	+

4 The clausal nature of the infinitive construction

The Hebrew grammatical tradition, ever since the Rabbinic and Karaite grammars of the middle ages, views the infinitive absolute as verbal, and the infinitive construct as nominal (Eldar 2014, Gaash 2018). The European grammatical tradition views both infinitives as mixed nominal/verbal categories (Gesenius 1910, Joüon 1923, Waltke and O'Connor 1990, Arnold and Choi 2003, and others). But, as already argued in Doron (2018), a careful analysis shows that the infinitive is verbal, and has no nominal properties whatsoever. This claim can actually be substantiated on two counts. First, the lexical category of the infinitive is V rather than N, not even a deverbal N. Second, the functional categories specifying V are clausal rather than nominal—similarly to what has been shown by

- (i) *mōšʔ-ī* find.PTC.MS-POSS.IS
- (ii) *məpalləṭ-ī* deliver.PTC.MS-POSS.IS
- (iii) *məšanʔ-ī* hate.PTC.MS-POSS.IS
- (iv) *šōlh-ī* send.PTC.MS-POSS.IS

'anyone who finds me' (Gen. 4:14); 'He delivers me' (Ps. 18:49); 'he who hates me' (Job 31:29); 'He who sent me' (2 Sam. 24:13)

Yet the participle exhibits noun/verb duality, and there are also a few cases where it heads a finite clause with accusative object clitics:

- hā-ʔēl* the-God that-arm.PTC.MS-ACC.IS
- hā-məʔazzər-ēnī hāyil* (33) הָאֵל הַמְּאַזְרֵנִי חַיִּל (תהילים יח 33) strength
- It is God who arms me with strength (Ps. 18:33[32]).

Pires (2001), (2006), (2007) for the English PRO-ing and Acc-ing gerunds, i.e. that they are clausal rather than nominal.¹⁸

First, the infinitive assigns accusative case to its direct object, as could be seen in all the examples above, where the infinitive had a direct object.¹⁹ Moreover, object clitics attached to the infinitive are always accusative rather than genitive. In the case of nominal forms, such as the participle, one mostly finds genitive object clitics (fn. 18).

Second, the infinitive has no nominal morphological inflection of gender, number, or definiteness.²⁰ The infinitive is case marked in a few examples by the accusative *ʔet*, as in (22a), but so are Fin CPs as in (22b):

- (22) a. (מ"ב יט 27)
 וַיֵּצֵא אֶתְּךָ וּבֵאתְךָ וְיָדַעְתִּי וְיָאתָ הַתְּרַגְּוֹךָ אֵלַי
wə-šēt-əkā *u-bōʔ-ākā* *yādāʔti*
 and-go.out.INF-POSS.2MS and-come.in.INF-POSS.2MS knew.1S
 וְאֶתְּךָ *hiʔraggez-kā* *ʔēlāy*
 and-ACC rage.INF-POSS.2MS at-1S
 But I know ... your going out and your coming in, and your rage against Me. (2 Kings 19:27)

- b. (דברים ט 7)
 זָכֹר אֶל-תְּשׁוּבָה אֶת אֲשֶׁר-הִקְעַמְתָּ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּמִדְבָּר
zəkōr *ʔal tiškah* *ʔet ʔāšer*
 remember.IMPR.2MS NEG forget.JUSS.2MS ACC that
 הִיֻּשְׁפְּתָא *ʔet YHWH ʔēlōh-ekā bam-midbār*
 provoked.2MS ACC Lord God-POSS.2MS in.the-desert
 Remember! Do not forget how you provoked the Lord your God to wrath in the wilderness (Deut. 9:7)

18 In English, Poss-ing gerunds are nominal.

19 Modern Hebrew allows nominalized verbs to assign accusative case as well, which is a marked option crosslinguistically. This phenomenon originates in Medieval Hebrew under Arabic influence (Blau 1990, Goshen-Gottstein 1951/2006). Yet it is not found in Biblical Hebrew, where forms such as *ʔahāba* 'love', which were later recategorized as nouns, are still infinitives:

(i) (מ"א י 9)
 בְּאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעֹלָם
bə-ʔahābat *YHWH ʔet yisrāʔel laʔolām*
 because-love.INF Lord ACC Israel forever
 Because the LORD has loved Israel forever (1 Kings 10:9).

20 There are few cases where the infinitive happens to have feminine morphology, such as *love* in the previous footnote. There are even fewer cases where the infinitive is preceded by the article *the*.

- b. (במדבר יא 25) וְיָהִי כִּנְזֹחַ עֲלֵיהֶם הַרוּחַ [וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ] *wa-γəhī kə-[nōaḥ ʔāl-ēhem hā-rūaḥ] wayyitnabbəʔū*
 and-was.3M as-[rest.INF on-3MP the-spirit] and.prophesized.3MP
 and it happened, when the Spirit rested upon them, that they prophe-
 sied (Num. 11:25)
- c. הַ [מִשָּׁל כָּכֶם שְׁבַעִים אִישׁ] (שופטים ט 2) *ha-[məšōl b-ākem šibʕim ʔiš]*
 Q-[reign.INF at-2MP seventy man]
 [Which is better for you] that all seventy ... reign over you ...? (Judg.
 9:2)
- d. וְהָיָה לְנוֹס שְׂמֹה כָּל-רֹצֵחַ (דברים יט 3) *wə.hāyā lā-[nūs šāmmā kol rōšēaḥ]*
 will.be.3MS to-[flee.INF there any murder.PTC.MS]
 that any manslayer may flee there (Deut. 19:3)

We now turn to showing that embedded infinitival clauses have the distribu-
 tion of embedded clauses rather than nominal projections. They are found as
 complements of prepositions, but only prepositions which take clausal argu-
 ments, including Fin CPs, for example the preposition *kə*— ‘as’ expressing simi-
 larity:

- (25) a. לֹא תֵצֵא כִּצְאֹת הָעֶבְדִּים (שמות כא 7) *lō tēšē kə-šēt hā-ʔābādīm*
 NEG go.out.MOD.3FS as-go.out.INF the.slaves.MP
 she shall not go out as the male slaves do (Ex. 21:7)
- b. וּמִשְׁחָתָם אֹתָם כַּאֲשֶׁר מִשְׁחָתָ אֶת-אֲבִיהֶם (שמות מ 15) *umāšaḥtā ʔōtām ka-ʔāšer māšḥtā ʔet*
 annoint.MOD.2MS ACC.3MP as-that annointed.2MS ACC
 ʔābīhem
 father-POSS.3MP
 You shall anoint them, as you anointed their father (Ex. 40:15)

Prepositions like *šim* ‘with’, which only take DPs complements and do not take
 Fin-CP complements, also do not take infinitival clauses. On the other hand,
 prepositions like *yaʕan* ‘since’, which do not take nominal complements in
 Classical BH but do take Fin-CPs, also take infinitival clauses:

- (26) a. (21-20 כ"א מ"א) יֵגַן הַתְּמַכְרֵךְ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרָע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה, הִנְנִי מְבִי אֱלֹהֵי רָעָה (מ"א כ"א 21-20)
yaʕan hiṭmakker-əkā la-ʕāśōt hā-raʕ bə-ʕēnē YHWH
 since betook.INF-POSS.2MS to-do.INF the-evil in-eyes.CS YHWH
hin-ənī mēbī ʔēl-əkā rāʕā
 behold-1S bring.PTC.MS to-2MS calamity
 Because you have sold yourself to do evil in the sight of the Lord,
 behold, I will bring calamity on you. (2 Kings 21:20–21)
- b. (29 כ"א מ"א) יֵגַן כִּי-יִבְנֶנֶע מִפְּנֵי לֹא-אֶבִי הָרָעָה בְּיָמָיו (מ"א כ"א 29)
yaʕan kī niknaʕ mip-pān-ay lō ʔābī
 since that submitted.3MS from-face-POSS.1S NEG bring.MOD.1S
hā-rāʕā bə-yām-āw
 the-calamity in-days-POSS.3MS
 Because he has humbled himself before Me, I will not bring the calamity
 in his days. (1 Kings 21:29)

The quantifier *kol* 'all', typically constructed with noun phrases, is found in the construct with infinitival clauses, but so it is with Fin CPs:

- (27) a. (מ"א ח 52) לְשִׁמַּע אֲלֵיהֶם בְּכֹל קְרָאֵם אֱלֹהֵי (מ"א ח 52)
li-šəməaʕ ʔāl-ēhem bə-kōl qoraʕ-ām ʔēl-əkā
 to-listen.INF to-3MP when-any call.INF-POSS.3MP to-2MS
 to listen to them whenever they call to You (1 Kings 8:52)
- b. (ש"ב ח 6) וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶת-דָּוִד בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ (ש"ב ח 6)
wayyōšaʕ YHWH ʔeṭ dāwid bə-kōl ʔāšer hālāk
 and.saved.3MS Lord ACC David where-any that went.3MS
 So the LORD preserved David wherever he went (2 Sam. 8:6)

Other nouns, such as *yōm* 'day', which are constructed to infinitival clauses, are also constructed to Fin CPs:

- (28) a. (דברים טז 3) לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת-יוֹם יְצִאתְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם (דברים טז 3)
lamaʕan tizkōr ʔeṭ yōm šeṭ-kā
 for remember.MOD.2MS ACC day.CS exit.INF-POSS.2MS
me-ʔereš mišrayim
 from-land.CS Egypt
 that you may remember the day in which you came out of the land of
 Egypt (Deut 16:3)

- b. (ירמיהו כ 14)
 יוֹם אֲשֶׁר-יִלְדָתְנִי אִמִּי אֶל-יְהִי בְרוּךְ
yom ʔāšer yalādat-nī ʔimm-ī ʔal yaḥī
 day that bore.3MS-ACC.IS mother-POSS.IS NEG be.JUSS.3MS
bārūk
 blessed
 Let the day not be blessed in which my mother bore me!

Moreover, like Fin CPs, infinitival clauses function as relative clauses. (29a) has a Fin CP relative clause, (29b)—a PRO-inf relative clause, and (29c)—a Poss-inf relative clause.

(29) a. Fin

- (במדבר יח 15)
 כֹּל בָּשָׂר אֲשֶׁר-יָקְרִיבוּ לַיהוָה
kol bāšār ʔāšer yaqrībū la-YHWH
 all flesh [that bring.MOD.3MP to-Lord t]
 all flesh which they bring to the Lord (Num. 18:15)

b. PRO-inf

- (בראשית כח 20)
 לֶחֶם לֶאֱכֹל
leḥem le-ʔeḵōl
 bread to-[eat.INF t]
 bread to eat (Gen. 28:20)

c. Poss-inf

- (שמות יז 1)
 מַיִם לְשִׁתּוֹת הָעָם
mayim li- štōt hā-ʕām
 water to- [drink.INF the-people t]
 water for the people to drink (Ex. 17:1)

Finally, negation is found with infinitival clauses, and it can be shown to take scope over the entire clause rather than just modifying the infinitival head. Only clausal scope can give the correct reading in (30). Sacrificing to the Lord is the purpose of sending off the people, not the purpose of not-sending off the people. Therefore, negation attaches to the full clause *letting the people go to sacrifice to the Lord* rather than to the head *letting go*. In Modern Hebrew, the negative *biltī* has grammaticalized into a prefix which attaches to lexical items, in particular adjectives.

- (30) (25 מותח) [[ליהוה לְ PRO הַעֲמֵם לְ PRO שְׁלַחְתִּי] אֶל-יֹסֵף פָּרְעָה הִתֵּל לְבִלְתִּי
 ʔal yōsēp̄ parʕō hātēl la-biltī [šalah PRO
 NEG repeat.JUSS.3MS Pharaoh deceive.INF to-NEG [send.INF PRO
 ʔet̄ hā-sām li-[zbōah PRO la-YHWH]]
 ACC the-people to sacrifice PRO to-Lord]]
 But let Pharaoh not deal deceitfully anymore in not letting the people go
 to sacrifice to the Lord. (Ex. 8:25[29])

5 The emergence of event nominals

As this paper has demonstrated, Biblical Hebrew makes heavy use of the infinitive. This correlates with the dearth of event nominals in the Bible. Yet their number increases towards late Biblical Hebrew, in the Second Temple period, a tendency that multiplies in Rabbinic Hebrew (Ben-Asher 1976), where they completely supersede the Poss-Inf construction.

Event nominals often started off as nouns referring to concrete entities, and their abstract event denotation developed later. In the Bible, the noun *malkūt* for example is not interpreted as 'reign', but as 'kingdom'. In this early interpretation, it does not have an argument structure, but, which is interesting, probably neither does it have argument structure under the event interpretation, which it later developed. In other words, even under the later interpretation it functions as a Simple Event Nominal in the terminology of Grimshaw (1990). Indeed, event nominals in the Bible, and also in RH, never have accusative-marked direct objects, which only emerged in Medieval Hebrew. Biblical event-expressions assigning accusative case are not event nominals but infinitives (cf. footnote 20).

The following examples illustrate the replacement of the infinitive in the Poss-inf construction in the early Bible (the book of Kings), by the event nominal (in the book of Chronicles, late Biblical Hebrew).

(31) a. Poss-inf

- בַּשָּׁנָה הָרְבִיעִית ... לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל
 baš-šānā hā-rabīʕūt li-mloḵ šalomō ʔal yiśrāʔel
 in.the-year the-fourth to-reign.INF Solomon on Israel
 in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel (1 Kings 6:1)

b. Event Nominal

בְּשָׁנַת הָאַרְבָּעִים לְמַלְכוּת דָּוִד

bi-šnat hā-ʔarbāʕīm le-malkūt dāwīd

in-year.CS the-forty to-reign.CS David

In the fortieth year of the reign of David (1 Chronicles 26 31)

Late Biblical Hebrew also saw a blurring of the distinction between the two allomorphs of the infinitive (*Absolute* and *Construct*), as reported by Fassberg (2007), Morrison (2013), Mor (2015, *to appear*), and others. Rabbinic Hebrew has a single infinitive allomorph, different from both Biblical allomorphs, and its distribution is that of the Biblical PRO-inf.

It seems reasonable to assume that it was the collapse of the Mood specification in the verbal system of post-Biblical Hebrew, which launched the demise of the Nom-inf construction. As to the replacement of Poss-inf by event nominalization, this is not a trivial development. I conjecture it could have been due to the introduction into Hebrew of the category D, which could have replaced the category T as the head of propositional event complement/adjuncts, favouring combination with event nouns rather than infinitive verbs. This will hopefully be the topic of further research.

6 Conclusion

The article has shown how the morphosyntax of the different infinitival clauses determines their distribution. Nom-inf clauses are root clauses with irrealis Mood, hence have the conversational force of imperatives. PRO-inf and Poss-inf clauses are not specified for Mood, and thus have no conversational force. They therefore must be embedded clauses. The lack of T specification, in addition to the lack of Mood specification, determines that the PRO-inf clause cannot be interpreted as an independent proposition, but is rather interpreted as part of the event denoted by the main clause, since it depends for its temporal anchoring on the temporal specification of the main clause. The Asp/Mod specification of the PRO-inf construction allows it to function as complement of aspectual and modal verbs, and as adjunct to Mod/Asp heads, i.e. as purpose clauses. The Poss-inf clause, on the other hand, contains a specification of T, and hence denotes a separate proposition from the one denoted by the main clause. Accordingly, it functions as a complement of propositional attitude verbs or a temporal / rationale / result adjunct. The specification of T and/or Asp/Mod in an infinitival clause has also been shown to explain the various possibilities of subject and object cliticization in the various clauses.

In sum, the paper has shown that the same functional categories which determine the inflection of the Biblical Hebrew finite verb also determine the feature specification of the Biblical Hebrew infinitive.

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