Typology of the Biblical Hebrew infinitive
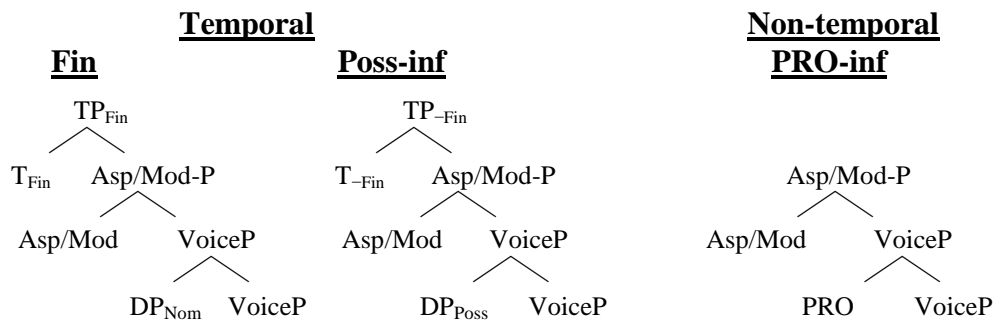*Edit Doron, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem*

1.   Introduction

Recent parametric studies of infinitival clauses (Wurmbrand 2001, 2014) have established a typology of infinitives distinguished by their restructuring signature: how much of the hierarchy of clausal functional categories is projected in the clause:

1.a $T < Asp/Mod < Voice$

The present study shows how this signature distinguishes two types of infinitival clauses in Biblical Hebrew (BH), which I call Poss-inf vs. PRO-inf, and accounts for their different distribution on the basis of their different structure.

1.b

Temporal		**Non-temporal**
Fin	**Poss-inf**	**PRO-inf**

TP_{Fin}

T_{Fin} $Asp/Mod\text{-}P$

Asp/Mod $VoiceP$

DP_{Nom} $VoiceP$

TP_{-Fin}

T_{-Fin} $Asp/Mod\text{-}P$

Asp/Mod $VoiceP$

DP_{Poss} $VoiceP$

$Asp/Mod\text{-}P$

Asp/Mod $VoiceP$

PRO $VoiceP$

Diachronically, the BH PRO-inf is the precursor of the Modern Hebrew (MH) infinitival clause (with a PRO subject), whereas the BH Poss-inf is the precursor of the MH gerund (with a Poss subject).

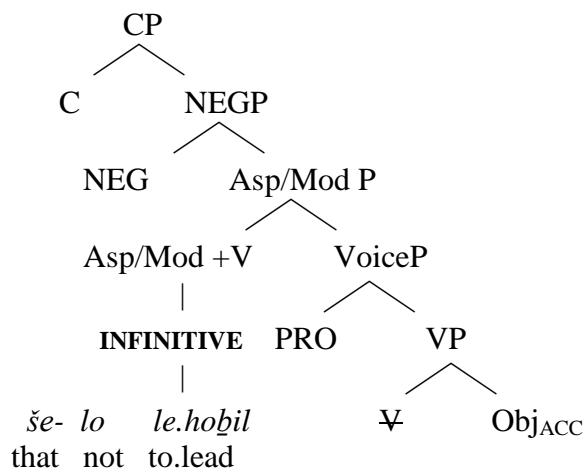## 2.   Infinitive/Gerund/Deverbal Noun in Modern Hebrew (MH)

2.   Infinitive (MH)

a   *ha-toca'ot ha-aḥronot ma'amidot be-safeq et   yeḵolt-o **le.hoḇil** et   ha-niḇheret*
the-results the-last   cast   in-doubt ACC ability-his **to.lead** ACC the-team
'The latest results cast doubt on his ability to lead the team.'[W]

b   *šimuš matun 'asuy **še-lo   le.hoḇil** le-hašpa'ot noyrotoqsiyot*
use   moderate might **that-not to.lead** to-effects   neurotoxic
'Moderate use might not **lead** to neurotoxic effects.'[W]

The standard generative insight about infinitives (since the 60's, e.g. Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968) is that they have the internal syntax of a clause.

3.   Infinitive

CP

C   NEGP

NEG   Asp/Mod P

Asp/Mod +V   VoiceP

|

INFINITIVE   PRO   VP

|

še- lo   le.hoḇil   V̶ Obj_{ACC}
that not to.lead

The standard generative insight about gerunds (Abney 1987) is that they have the internal syntax of a verbal projection and the external syntax of a nominal projection.
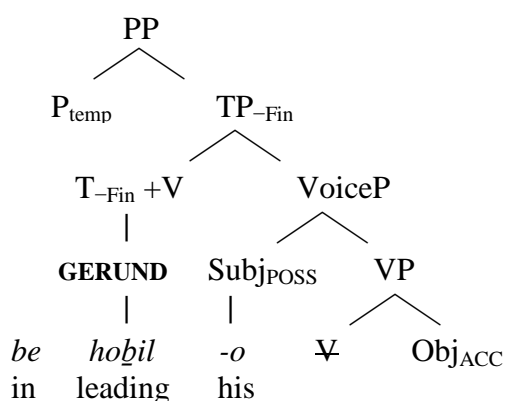
4.a   Gerund (MH)
   yeḵolot-av ba'u lidey biṭuy **be-hoḇil-o**   *et*   *niḇheret ha-atleṭiqa li-zḵiya*
   abilities-his came to   expression **in-leading-his ACC** team.CS the-athletics to-victory
   'His abilities were expressed in leading the athletics team to victory…'[W]

Deverbal nouns have mixed nominal/verbal internal syntax and the external syntax of a nominal projection:

   b   Deverbal Noun (MH)
   et 'aliyat-o šel čerčil   la-šilṭon ve-et **hoḇalat-o**   *et briṭanya b-a-milḥama*
   ACC ascent-his of Churchill to-power and-ACC **leadership-his ACC** Britain in-the-war
   '…Churchill's ascent to power and his leadership of Britain during the war…'[W]

5.a   Gerund (based on Siloni 1997)   b.   Deverbal Noun (Borer 1997)
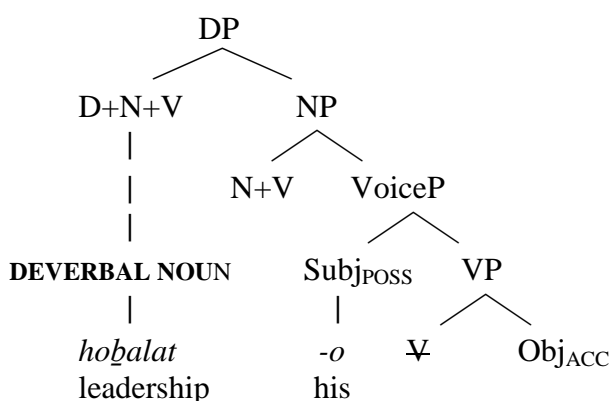
3.   The Biblical Hebrew (BH) precursor

In BH, all the above structures are infinitival.[1] The MH infinitive (with a PRO subject) is an offshoot of the infinitival BH PRO-inf construction, and the MH gerund (with a Poss subject) is an offshoot of the infinitival BH Poss-inf construction. Both PRO-inf and Poss-inf are clausal in BH – as will shown in section 6 (cf. Doron 2019a,b).

Particular clausal functional categories have been argued to determine the inflection of the BH finite verb, such as temporality (T), and Asp/Mod (AM), recently Hatav 1997, 2008, Joosten 2002, Cook 2006, 2012. The same categories also determine the feature specification of the BH inf. Two inf constructions can be distinguished according to whether they do/do not include the temporality category T:[2]

I.   PRO-inf does not have temporal specification, i.e. no T, yet it does have Asp/Mod specification. As it is not specified for T, the subject is not assigned case, and is hence PRO.

II.   Poss-inf has an overt subject with possessive case. I will show that this construction is temporal and includes specification of the functional category T. I assume that it is non-finite

---

[1] This deverbal noun construction originates in Medieval Hebrew under Arabic influence (Blau 1990, Goshen-Gottshtein 1951/2006). In Biblical Hebrew, forms such as *ʔahăḇa* 'love', which were later recategorized as nouns, are still infinitives:
(i)   *bə-ʔahăḇat   YHWH ʔɛt yiśrāʔēl ləʕōlām*
      because-love.INF Lord ACC Israel   forever
      Because the LORD has loved Israel forever (1Kings 10:9)
[2]   I will only speak here of the so-called *Infinitive Construct*.

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.[3] Crucially, possessive case does not show that the construction is nominal – we return to this in section 6 below.[4]

6.a   Poss-inf

וְכִ[רְאוֹת שָׁאוּל אֶת-דָּוִד]....אָמַר אֶל-אַבְנֵר (שי״א יז 55)

wə-ḵi- [*rəʔōṯ šāʔūl ʔɛṯ dāwiḏ*] ... *ʔāmar ʔɛl ʔaḇnēr*
and-as-**[see.INF Saul ACC David]** said.3MS   to Abner

When Saul saw David…., he said to Abner, (1Sam. 17:55)

 b   PRO-inf

וַיִּשְׁלַח שָׁאוּל אֶת-הַמַּלְאָכִים לִ[רְאוֹת **PRO** אֶת-דָּוִד] (שי״א יט 15)

wayyišlaḥ   šāʔūl ʔɛṯ ham-malʔāḵīm [*li.rʔōṯ*   **PRO** *ʔɛṯ dāwiḏ*]
and.sent.3MS   Saul ACC the-messenger   **[to.see.INF PRO ACC David]**

Then Saul sent the messengers back to see David (1Sam 19:15)

The possessive case of the Poss-inf suject is overtly marked for pronominal subjects, and differs from the accusative marking of pronominal objects:

7.

	Poss.	Acc.
1st sing.	*-ī*	*-ēnī*
3rd masc. sing.	*-ō*	*-ēhū*

8.a   Poss-inf

וְלֹא-יִהְיֶה בָכֶם נֶגֶף לְמַשְׁחִית בְּ[הַכֹּתִי בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם] (שמות יב 13)

wə-lō yihyɛ ḇ-āḵɛm nɛḡɛp bə- [*hakkōṯ-ī   bə-ʔɛrɛṣ   miṣrāyīm*]
and-NEG be.MOD at-2MP plague when-**[strike.INF-POSS.1S at-land.CS Egypt]**

And the plague shall not be on you … when I strike the land of Egypt. (Ex. 12:13)

 b   PRO-inf

הַלְ[הָרְגֵנִי **PRO**] אַתָּה אֹמֵר (שמות ב 14)

ha-[*lə.hārḡ-ēnī*   **PRO**] *ʔattā ʔōmēr*
Q- **[to.kill.INF-ACC.1S PRO]** you intend.PTC.MS

Do you intend to kill me? (Ex. 2:14)

9.a   Poss-inf

בְּרִית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת עִם-אֲבֹתֵינוּ בְּ[הוֹצִיאוֹ אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם] (מ״א ח 21)

bərīṯ   ʔăšer kāraṯ   bə- [*hōṣīʔ-ō   ʔōṯām mē-ʔɛrɛṣ miṣrāyim*]
covenant.CS that made.3MS when-**[bring.out.INF-POSS.3MS ACC.3MP from-land   Egypt]**

the covenant … which He made when He brought them out of the land of Egypt (1Kings 8:21)

---

[3] 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).

[4] 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.

b   PRO-inf

וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-גְּדַלְיָהוּ ... לְ[**הוֹצִאֵהוּ** PRO **אֶל-הַבָּיִת**] (ירמיהו לט 14)

*wayyittənū   ʔōṯō   ʔɛl gəḏalyāhū ...[lə.**hōṣiʔ-ēhū**   PRO ʔɛl **hab-bāyiṯ**]*
and.committed.3MP ACC.3MS to Gedaliah … [to.**bring.out.INF-ACC.3MS PRO to the-house**]

And they committed him to Gedaliah … that he should take him home.(Jer. 39:14)

4.   Distribution
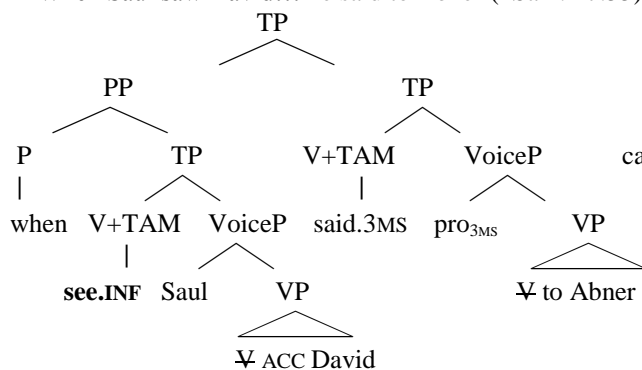
4.1   Distribution as adjuncts

The two constructions contrast sharply in distribution. All the (b) examples 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 preposition 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, when they are adjuncts, function as purpose clauses, i.e. they are Asp/Mod phrases (AM for short) which are adjuncts to the Asp/Mod head of the main clause:[5]

(11)a.   Poss-inf   b.   PRO-inf
       Spec of T: temporal adverbial   Spec of Asp/Mod: purpose adverbial

וְכִרְאוֹת שָׁאוּל אֶת-דָּוִד....אָמַר אֶל-אַבְנֵר (ש״א יז 55)   וַיֵּרֶד יְהוָה לִרְאוֹת אֶת-הָעִיר (בראשית יא 5)

*wa-**ḵi-rəʔōṯ**   šāʔūl ʔɛṯ dāwiḏ ʔāmar ʔɛl ʔaḇnēr*   *wayyērɛḏ   YHWH **li.rʔōṯ**   ʔɛṯ   hā-ʕīr*
and-**when-see.INF Saul** ACC David said.3MS to Abner   came.down.3MS Lord **to.see.INF** ACC **the-city**
When Saul saw David… he said to Abner (1Sam. 17:55)   The Lord came down to see the city (Gen 11:5)

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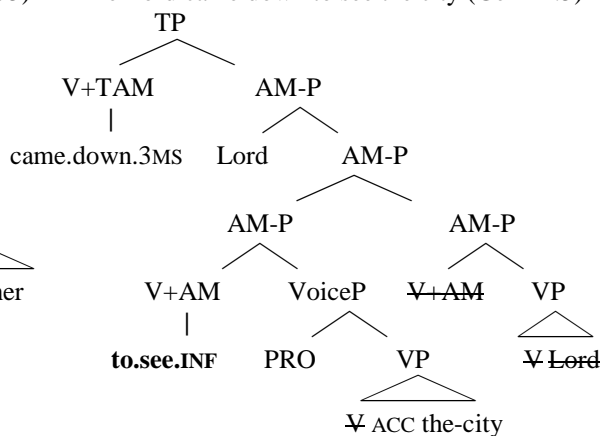
[5] Purpose clauses are part of infinitival clauses which "are a group which displays a characteristic future-oriented, irrealis semantics" (Portner 1997: 183). Yet, as argued by Wurmbrand 2001, 2014, the seeming temporal relation of the infinitival clause to the main clause is not due to T but to Mod, which determines the inherent future orientation of purposes. 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 an agent's intentions, unlike the intentional/modal characterization of purpose clauses:
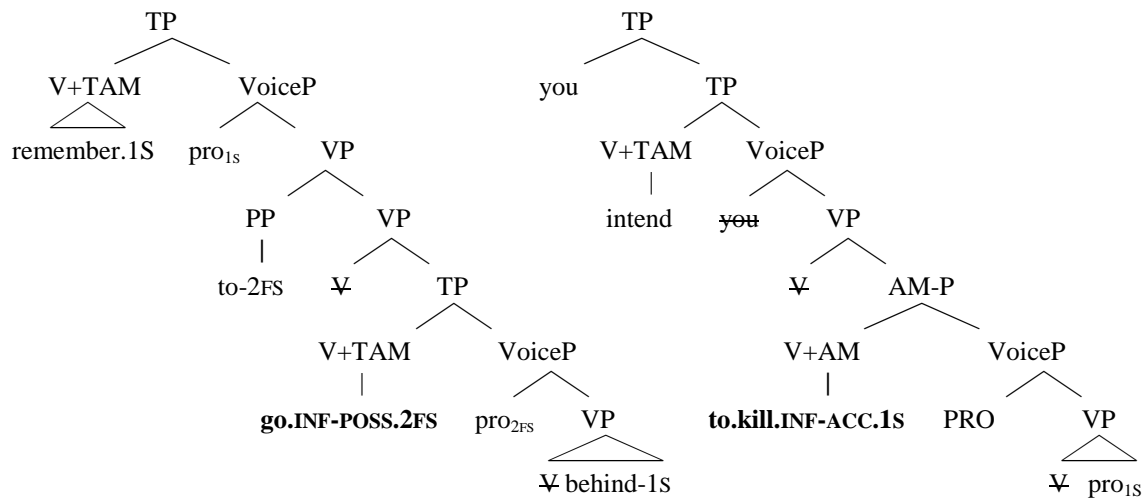(i)   Poss-inf: rationale clause
       wəšamərū   dɛrɛḵ   YHWH ləmaʕan [hāḇī   YHWH ʕal ʔaḇrāhām ʔēṯ ʔăšɛr dibbɛr   ʕāl-āw]
       and.keep.MOD.3MP way.of Lord for   [bring.INF Lord on Abraham ACC that spoke.3MS on-3MS]
       that they keep the way of the Lord,…, that the LORD may bring to Abraham what He has spoken to him
       (Gen. 18:19)

4.2 Distribution as complements

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 *remember* illustrated in (12a).[6] PRO-inf clauses are AM-P, and hence complements of aspectual verbs or modal verbs such as *intend* illustrated in (12b).[7]
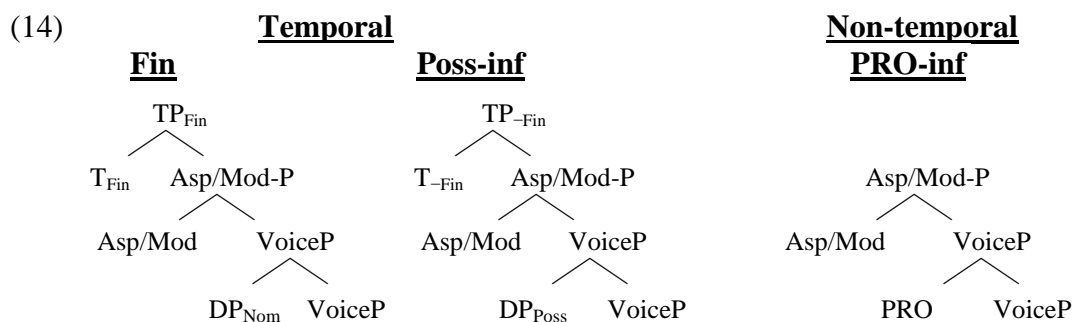
(12) a. Poss-inf b. PRO-inf

Complement of propositional attitute verb Complement of Modal/Aspectual verb

זָכַרְתִּי לָךְ ... **לֶכְתֵּךְ אַחֲרַי בַּמִּדְבָּר** (ירמיהו ב 2) אַתָּה אֹמֵר **לְהָרְגֵנִי** (שמות ב 14)

*zāḵartī   l-āḵ... **leḵt-ēḵ**   Ɂaḥăr-ay*   *Ɂattā Ɂōmēr   **lə.horḡ-ēnī***
remember.1S to-2FS **go.INF-POSS.2FS** behind-1S you intend.PTC **to.kill.INF-ACC.1S**
I remember your following me… (Jer. 2:2) You intend to kill me. (Ex. 2:14)

Tree (12a):
- TP
  - V+TAM: remember.1S
  - VoiceP
    - pro₁ₛ
    - VP
      - PP: to-2FS
      - VP
        - V̶
        - TP
          - V+TAM: **go.INF-POSS.2FS**
          - VoiceP
            - pro₂ғₛ
            - VP: V̶ behind-1S

Tree (12b):
- TP
  - you
  - TP
    - V+TAM: intend
    - VoiceP
      - y̶o̶u̶
      - VP
        - V̶
        - AM-P
          - V+AM: **to.kill.INF-ACC.1S**
          - VoiceP
            - PRO
            - VP: V̶ pro₁ₛ

4.3 Structure

The different clausal types are distinguished by what Wurmbrand 2001, 2014 has called their restructuring signature: how much of the hierarchy of clausal functional categories in (13) is projected in the clause.

(13) T < Asp/Mod < Voice

(14) **Temporal** **Non-temporal**

| **Fin** | **Poss-inf** | **PRO-inf** |

- TP_Fin: T_Fin, Asp/Mod-P [Asp/Mod, VoiceP [DP_Nom, VoiceP]]
- TP_−Fin: T_−Fin, Asp/Mod-P [Asp/Mod, VoiceP [DP_Poss, VoiceP]]
- Asp/Mod-P: Asp/Mod, VoiceP [PRO, VoiceP]

---

[6] Other such verbs are *know* (Gen. 19:35, Jer. 15:15), *remember* (18:20), *consent* (Gen. 19:21), *hear* (1Sam 14:27), *see* (Is. 52:8).

[7] Aspectual verbs are *begin* (Judg. 20:39), *repeat* (1Sam 15:35), *stop* (1Sam. 23:13), *finish* (Lev. 16:20); additional modal verbs are *be able* (Deut 7:22), *want* (1Sam. 19:2), *plan* (Deut. 19:19), *refuse* (Num. 20:21), *give up* (1Sam. 27:1), *order* (2Sam. 17:14), *prevent* (Num. 22:16).

5. The morpho-syntax of the various verb forms

5.1. P attachment

PRO-inf, which has less structure, allows the amalgamation of the preposition *l-* 'to' into the syllabic structure of the verb, which results in the lack of spirantization of the middle root consonant, as in (16a). Joüon 1923 §49f shows that this is different from the form of Poss-inf, ie the form of the verb in (16b):

16.a V+Asp/Mod

*li.n**p**ōl*   *li.š**d**ōḏ*   *li.**ḇk**ōṯ*   *li.š**p**ōṭ*
to.fall.INF (Ps. 118:13) to.rob.INF (Jer 47:4)) to.cry.INF (Gn 43:30) to.judge.INF (Ex. 18:13)

  b. V+T

*ki-nə**p̄**ōl*   *bi-ḡə**d**ōl*   *šə**p̄**ōṭ*
as-fall.INF (2Sam 3:34)   when-grow.INF (Ex. 15:16)   judge.INF (Ruth 1:1)

5.2. Clitics

Another morphosyntactic distinction I attribute to the categories T and Asp/Mod is the contrast between in allowing the cliticization of subject and object pronouns as part of the morphology of the verb.

The verb in the PRO-inf construction can have object clitics, but clearly not subject clitics, since, for case reasons, it does not have an overb 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 (17c, 18c). This is surprising, since both subject and object clitics appear with a Fin verb (17a, 18a):

17.a Fin

הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר **הוֹצֵאתִים** לְעֵינֵיהֶם (יחזקאל כ 14)

hag-gōyim ʔăšer hōṣēṯī-m   *lə-ʕēnē-hem*
the peoples that brought.out.1S-ACC.2MP to-eyes-POSS.3MP
the peoples in whose sight I had brought them out (Eze. 20:14)

  b PRO-inf

לְהוֹצִיאָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם (שמות יב 42)

lə.hōṣīʔ-ām   *mē-ʔereṣ*   *miṣrāyim*
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

בְּהוֹצִיאִי אוֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם   * **בְּהוֹצִיאִים מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם** (ויקרא כג 43)

bə-hōṣīʔ-ī   *ʔōṯām* *mē-ʔereṣ*   *miṣrāyim*
when-bring.out.INF-POSS.1S ACC.3MP from-land.CS Egypt

   * bə-hōṣīʔ-ī-m   *mē-ʔereṣ*   *miṣrāyim*
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)

18.a Fin

לֹא רְאִיתִיךָ   (איוב ח 18)

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

b PRO-inf

וַיָּבֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ **לִרְאוֹתוֹ**   (שי״ב יג 6)

wayyāḇō   ham-mɛlɛk   li.rʔōṯ-ō
came.3MS the-king   to.see.INF-ACC.3MS
the king came to see him (2Sam. 13:6)

c Poss-inf

אַחֲרֵי **רְאוֹתִי אֶת-פָּנֶיךָ**   (בראשית מו 30)   * אַחֲרֵי **רְאוֹתִיךָ**

*ʔaḥărē rəʔōṯ-ī   ʔɛṯ pānɛy-kā   / * ʔaḥărē   rəʔōṯ-ī-kā*
after   see.INF-POSS.1S ACC face-POSS.2MS 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, even then an object clitic is impossible in the Poss-inf construction:

19.   Poss-inf

וַיָּשֶׂם יְהוָה לְקַיִן אוֹת לְבִלְתִּי **הַכּוֹת-אֹתוֹ כָּל-מֹצְאוֹ**   * לְבִלְתִּי **הַכּוֹתוֹ** כָּל-מֹצְאוֹ   **(בראשית ד 15)**

a *wayyāśɛm YHWH lə-qayin ʔōṯ lə-ḇiltī **hakkōṯ ʔoṯō   kol mōṣʔ-ō***
   and.put.3MS Lord to-Cain mark to-NEG **kill.INF ACC.3MS all find.PTC.MS-POSS.3MS**
   And the Lord set a mark on Cain, lest anyone finding him should kill him.(Gen. 4:15)

   * *lə-ḇiltī hakkōṯ-ō   kol mōṣʔ-ō*
   to-NEG kill.INF-ACC.3MS all find.PTC.MS-POSS.3MS

20.   Poss-inf

בֶּן-אַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה אָנֹכִי **בִּשְׁלֹחַ מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד-יְהוָה אֹתִי** ...   * **בְּשָׁלְחֵנִי** מֹשֶׁה   (יהושע יד 7)

*bɛn   ʔarbāʕīm šānā ʔānōkī **bi-šəlōaḥ   mōšɛ ʕɛḇɛḏ   JHWH ʔōṯī***
son.CS forty   year I   **when-send.INF Moses servant.CS Lord ACC.1S**

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

   * *bə-šolḥ-ēnī   mōšɛ*
   when-send.INF-ACC.1S Moses

The ban against an object clitic in the Poss-inf construction is thus not morphophonological but morphosyntactic.

I summarize in (21) the morpho-syntactic characteristics of the different clauses:

(21)

	Phrasal Category	projected by Functional Categories	Subj. Case	Highest Case	Subj. clitic	Obj. clitic
Fin	TP$_{Fin}$	T$_{Fin}$+Asp/Mod	Nom	+ verbal: Nom	+	+
Poss-inf	TP$_{-Fin}$	+T$_{-Fin}$ +Asp/Mod	Poss	− verbal: Poss	+	−
PRO-inf	Asp/Mod	−T+Asp/Mod	−	+ verbal: Acc	−	+

Object clitics attach to verbal inflection, Nom or Acc, but not to nominal inflection, Poss (e.g. in Romance, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky 2004, Cardinaletti 2008).

6. The clausal nature of the infinitive construction

The lexical category of the infinitive (both PRO-inf and Poss-inf) is V rather than N.[8] First, the infinitive assigns accusative case to its direct object, as can be seen in the examples above. 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 clitics for clitic objects.

Second, the infinitive has no nominal morphological inflection of gender, number, or definiteness.[9] The infinitive is case marked in a few examples by the accusative *ʔεt*, as in (22a), but so are Fin CPs as in (22b):

22.

וְצֵאתְךָ וּבֹאֲךָ יָדָעְתִּי **וְאֵת הִתְרַגֶּזְךָ אֵלָי** (מ״ב יט 27)

a *wə-ṣēt-əkā*　　　*u-bōʔăkā*　　　*yādāʕtī*
  and-go.out.INF-POSS.2MS and-come.in.INF-POSS.2MS knew.1s and-ACC
  wə-ʔēt　*hiṯraggεz-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. (2Kings 19:27)

זְכֹר אַל-תִּשְׁכַּח **אֵת אֲשֶׁר-הִקְצַפְתָּ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בַּמִּדְבָּר** (דברים ט 7)

b *zəkōr*　　　　**ʔēt**　*ʔăšεr hiqṣaptā*　*ʔεt YHWH ʔĕlōh-εkā*
  remember.IMPR.2MS ACC that provoked.2MS ACC Lord God-POSS.2MS

  Remember … how you provoked the Lord your God to wrath (Deut. 9:7)

Third, the infinitive is not modified by adjectives but by adverbs, such as the adverbs *hēṭēḇ* 'well', *ʕōḏ* 'more', and *mahēr* 'at once' in (23):

23.a *ʔal tōsεp̄*　　*dabbēr*　*ʔεl-ay* **ʕōḏ** *bad-dāḇār haz-zε*
  NEG repeat.JUSS.2MS speak.INF to-1s **more** in.the matter the-this

  Speak no more to Me of this matter (Deut. 3:26)

b *lo tūkal*　　　*kallōṯ-ām*　　**mahēr**
  NEG be.able.MOD.2MS destroy.INF-ACC.3MP **at.once**

  you will be unable to destroy them at once (Deut. 7:22)

Fourth, despite the genitive case marking of its subject, the infinitive in the Poss-inf construction is not a noun. It does not head a construct state phrase. Unlike the nominal construct where the construct state (CS) noun must be absolutely adjacent to its complement, the same is not true of the infinitive in the Poss-inf construction. No adjacency required:

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

mōṣʔ-ī	*məp̄allǝṭ-ī*	*məśanʔ-ī*	*šōlħ-ī*
find.PTC.MS-**POSS.1S**	deliver.PTC.MS-**POSS.1S**	hate.PTC.MS-**POSS.1S**	send.PTC.MS-**POSS.1S**
anyone who finds me	He delivers me	he who hates me	He who sent me
(Gen. 4:14)	(Ps. 18:49)	(Job 31:29)	(2Sam.24:13)

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

  hā-ʔēl　*ha-məʔazzǝr-ēnī*　　*ħāyil*
  the-God that-arm.PTC.MS-**ACC.1S** strength
  It is God who arms me with strength (Ps. 18:33[32])

[9] There are few cases where the infinitive happens to have feminine morphology, such as *love* in fn. 1. There are even fewer cases where the infinitive is preceded by the article *the*.

24.

לְבִלְתִּי [הַכּוֹת-**אֹתוֹ** כָּל-מֹצְאוֹ] (בראשית ד 15)

a lə-ḇiltī [hakkōṯ **ʕōṯō** kol mōṣʔ-ō]
   to-NEG [kill.INF **ACC.3MS** any find.PTC-POSS.3MS]

   …lest anyone finding him should kill him. (Gen. 4:15)

וַיְהִי כְּ[נוֹחַ **עֲלֵיהֶם** הָרוּחַ] וַיִּתְנַבְּאוּ (במדבר יא 25)

b wa-yəhī kə-[nōaḥ **ʕăl-ēhɛm** hā-rūaḥ] wayyiṯnabbəʔū
   and-was.3M as-[rest.INF **on-3MP** the-spirit] and.prophesized.3MP

   and it happened, when the Spirit rested upon them, that they prophesied (Num. 11:25)

We now turn to showing that embedded infinitival clauses have the distribution of embedded clauses rather than nominal projections. They are found as complements of prepositions, but only prepositions which take clausal arguments, including Fin CPs, for example the preposition kə- 'as' expressing similarity:

25.

לֹא תֵצֵא **כְּצֵאת הָעֲבָדִים** (שמות כא 7)

a lō tēṣē **kə-ṣēṯ hā-ʕăḇāḏīm**
   NEG go.out.MOD.3FS **as-go.out.INF the.slaves.M**

   she shall not go out as the male slaves do (Ex. 21:7)

וּמָשַׁחְתָּ אֹתָם **כַּאֲשֶׁר מָשַׁחְתָּ אֶת-אֲבִיהֶם** (שמות מ 15)

b umāšaḥtā ʔōṯām **ka-ʔăšɛr māšḥtā ʔɛt ʔăḇīhɛm**
   annoint.MOD.2MS ACC.3MP **as-that annointed.2MS ACC father-POSS.3MP**

   You shall anoint them, as you anointed their father (Ex. 40:15)

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

26.

יַעַן הִתְמַכֶּרְךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה, הִנְנִי מֵבִי אֵלֶיךָ רָעָה (מ"א כא 20-21)

a **yaʕan hiṯmakkɛr-əḵā** la-ʕăśōṯ hā-raʕ bə-ʕēnē YHWH
   since betook.INF-POSS.2MS to-do.INF the-evil in-eyes.CS YHWH

   hin-ənī mēḇī ʔɛl-ɛḵā 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. (2Kings 21:20-21)

יַעַן כִּי-נִכְנַע מִפָּנַי לֹא-אָבִי הָרָעָה בְּיָמָיו (מ"א כא 29)

b **yaʕan kī niḵnaʕ** mip-pān-ay
   since that submitted.3MS from-face-POSS.1S

   Because he has humbled himself before Me… (1Kings 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.

לִשְׁמֹעַ אֲלֵיהֶם בְּכֹל **קָרְאָם אֵלֶיךָ** (מ"א ח 52)

a li-šəmōaʕ ʔăl-ēhɛm bə-ḵōl qorʔ-ām ʔɛl-ɛḵā
   to-listen.INF to-3MP **when-any call.INF-POSS.3MP** to-2MS

   to listen to them whenever they call to You (1Kings 8:52)

וַיֹּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶת-דָּוִד בְּכֹל **אֲשֶׁר הָלָךְ**   (שמ״ב ח 6)

b *wayyōšaʕ   YHWH ʔɛṯ dāwiḏ **bə-ḵōl   ʔăšɛr hālāḵ***
   and.saved.3MS Lord ACC David **where-any that went.3MS**

   So the LORD preserved David wherever he went (2Sam. 8:6)

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

28.

לְמַעַן תִּזְכֹּר אֶת-**יוֹם צֵאתְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם**   (דברים טז 3)

a *ləmaʕan tizkōr   ʔɛṯ **yōm ṣēt-ḵā   me-ʔerɛṣ   miṣrayim***
   for   remember.MOD.2MS ACC **day.CS exit.INF-POSS.2MS** from-land.CS Egypt

   that you may remember the day in which you came out of the land of Egypt (Deut 16:3)

יוֹם **אֲשֶׁר-יְלָדַתְנִי אִמִּי** אַל-יְהִי בָרוּךְ   (ירמיהו כ 14)

b **yom ʔăšɛr yəlāḏaṯ-nī   ʔimm-ī***   *ʔal yəhī   bārūḵ*
   day that bore.3MS-ACC.1S mother-POSS.1S NEG be.JUSS.3MS 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

כָּל בָּשָׂר **אֲשֶׁר-יַקְרִיבוּ לַיהֹוָה**   (במדבר יח 15)

kol bāśār   ʔăšɛr yaqrīḇū   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

לֶחֶם **לֶאֱכֹל**   (בראשית כח 20)

lɛħɛm [lɛ.ʔɛḵōl PRO]
bread [to.eat.INF t]
bread to eat (Gen. 28:20)

c Poss-inf

מַיִם **לִשְׁתֹּת הָעָם**   (שמות יז 1)

mayim li- šətōṯ   hā-ʕām
water to-[drink.INF the-people t]

water for the people to drink (Ex. 17:1)

7.   Conclusion

The article has shown how the morphosyntax of the different Biblical infinitival clauses determines their distribution. The lack of T 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. This novel classification within BH accords Wurmbrand's 2001 classification of infinitival clauses, and also with Givón's 1980 classification of embedded clauses according to how much they amalgamate withing the main clause: to what extent the main and embedded clause describe a single event or two separate events.

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