The Semantic Potential of עַל in Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, herby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted to any university for a degree.

Signature:

Name in Full: Andrea Kaye Mena

Date:

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis beskryf die semantiese potensiaal van die Bybelse Hebreeuse lekseem עַל in Genesis, Psalms en Kronieke vanuit die perspektief van kognitiewe taalkunde. Hierdie taalkundige model bied 'n teoretiese raamwerk van hoe mense leksikale betekenis kognitief organiseer. So 'n teoretiese raamwerk is baie geskik vir die beskrywing van 'n polisemiese lekseem soos עַל. Die behoefte aan 'n meer toereikende teoretiese raamwerk blyk uit die manier waarop bestaande Bybels-Hebreeuse hulpbronne die lekseem beskryf, byvoorbeeld, hulle bied weinig meer as lyste van vertalingsekwiwalente. Hulle bied, nietemin, 'n beginpunt waarop voortgebou kan word met behulp van 'n kognitiewe taalkundige model. So 'n metodologie word gevind in Tyler en Evans (2007) se gevallestudie van "over", 'n gebruiklike Engelse ekwiwalent vir עַל. Tyler en Evans dui aan hoe om die mees prototipiese semantiese betekenis (d.i. die "proto-toneel" of "proto-scene") vas te stel, asook hoe om tussen die ander semantiese nuanses ("senses") te onderskei. Al hierdie nuanses verteenwoordig die lekseem se semantiese potensiaal. Hierdie tesis maak op 'n heuristiese wyse gebruik van hierdie metodologie. Terselfde tyd neem dit drie ander faktore in aanmerking: Eerstens, word die sintaktiese raamwerk waarin עַל voorkom, vasgestel ten einde te bepaal hoe sintaktiese informasie, veral werkwoordelike valensie, bydra tot die semantiese potensiaal van die voorsetsel. Tweedens, word die frekwensie van elke semantiese kategorie bepaal om tot moontlike insigte rakende prototipiese gebruike binne die vasgestelde korpus te kom. Derdens, word 'n sg. "radial structure" voorgestel om die semantiese verhoudings tussen die prototipiese en nie-prototipiese kategorieë te illustreer.

Hierdie studie beskryf, eerstens, die proto-toneel, wat een entiteit *bo-oor* of *op* 'n ander behels. Daarna word vyftien ander afsonderlike semantiese kategorieë van עַל binne 'n "radial structure" voorgestel (d.i. die Vertikale Groep: Meer, Superior en Beheer; "Contingent" Lokatief; Begeleiding, In, Na, Teenoor, Vir, Voor, Oorsaaklik, Norm, Fokus van Aandag, Instrumenteel, en Psalmopskrifte). Laastens, word voorstelle gemaak in verband met die verskeie betekenisse van die morphologies-komplekse lekseme מֵעַל (d.i. Weg van bo-op, Weg van , Bo, en "Contingent" Lokatief) en כְּעַל (d.i. Met Betrekking Tot).

Abstract

This thesis offers a description of the semantic potential of the Biblical Hebrew lexeme עַל in Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles according to a cognitive linguistic perspective. This specific linguistic approach offers a theoretical framework of how humans cognitively organize lexical meaning, which is advantageous for highly polysemous lexemes, such as עַל. The need for this study arises because existing Biblical Hebrew resources do not utilize such a framework as is evidenced by their lists of translation equivalents, rather than full descriptions of meanings, and their lack of a clearly defined semantic model underlying their lexical treatment. However, they do provide a starting point that can be built upon with a cognitive linguistic based methodology. Such a methodology is found in Tyler and Evans (2007) case study of *over*, a frequent English translation of עַל. Tyler and Evans (2007) present how to determine the most prototypical semantic sense (i.e., the Proto-Scene) and how to distinguish between other distinct semantic senses, all of which represent the lexeme's semantic potential. This thesis heuristically utilizes this methodology while strongly considering three other factors. First, the syntactic frame surrounding עַל is evaluated to assess how syntactic information, specifically verbal valency, contributes to the preposition's semantic value. Second, the frequency of each semantic category is assessed to determine possible insight into prototypicality within the defined corpus. Third, a radial structure is proposed to represent the semantic relationships between the prototypical and non-prototypical categories. This type of organization illustrates a clearly defined semantic model underlying the lexical treatment.

This study first describes the Proto-Scene, which involves one entity *over* or *upon* another. Then, fifteen other distinct semantic categories of עַל are presented within a radial structure (i.e. The Vertical Cluster: More, Superior, and Control; Contingent Locative; Accompaniment, In, To, Oppositional, For, Frontal, Causal, Norm, Focus of Attention, Instrumental, and Psalms Titles). Finally, the various senses for the morphologically complex lexemes are proposed. These include מֵעַל (i.e. From Upon, Away From, Above, and Contingent Locative) and כְּעַל (i.e. As Concerning).

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Dedication

To my Baby Girls, Elianah Kaye and Cynthia Ruth –
May you delight in studying God's Word.

And to my husband, Ricky –
What adventure shall we embark upon next?

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Abbreviations

BDB	*The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CG	Cognitive Grammar
Chron.	Chronicles
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
DCH	*The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*
Gen.	Genesis
GOE	Goodness-of-Exemplar
HALOT	Koehler and Baumgartner's *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*
ICMs	idealized cognitive models
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew
LM	landmark
Ps.	Psalms
TR	trajector
WO	Waltke and O'Connor's *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Lewis Carroll ([1865]2004:219) narrates how Humpty Dumpty comments on the rewards of birthdays to Alice and states that there's

"…only one [day] for birthday presents, you know. There's glory for you!"

"I don't know what you mean by 'glory,'" Alice said.

Humpty Dumpty smiled contemptuously. "Of course you don't – till I tell you. I meant 'there's a nice knock-down argument for you!'"

"But 'glory' doesn't mean 'a nice knock-down argument,'" Alice objected.

"When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master – that's all."

Scanlin (1992:127) brings up a good point through this witty dialogue – "And, who decides what a word really means?" Alice should also ask *"What* do words mean?" and *"How* do words mean?" Essentially, "What is meaning?"

1.1 Problem

The above questions are general in nature but provide a starting point for this project in Biblical Hebrew (=BH). This thesis essentially asks, "What does עַל mean?" This seemingly simple question is actually twofold. First, how does any word "mean" something? Part of this research will be a journey into lexical semantics and how cognitive linguistics (=CL) provides a useful framework to describe lexical meaning. Once meaning is better understood then the question "What does עַל mean?" can be answered. The second part of the question is what עַל particularly means. Not only is it a semantically complex lexeme with a wide array of meanings, but most BH resources do not adequately describe the semantic potentials of עַל and consequently do not sufficiently answer "What does עַל mean?"

As far as the second part of the question is concerned, Barr (1973:119-120) explains the lack of adequately explained definitions within many BH lexica. He states,

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The average dictionary of Hebrew, or of most languages, offers a brief verbal indication in the language in which the dictionary is written...These simple equivalents can hardly be dignified with the term "meanings"; they are rather *glosses*, rough indications, sufficient to furnish an approximate impression of what word it is and how it functions ... the meanings reside in the actual Hebrew usage, and for real semantic analysis the glosses have no greater value than that of indicators or labels for a meaning which resides in the Hebrew itself and which depends on the prior experience of the scholar (or, in ancient times, of the actual speaker of Hebrew).

In addition to inadequately explained definitions, other shortcomings of the lexicographical treatment of BH have become more apparent as developments from CL have provided new horizons in lexicography and semantics. De Blois (2000:5-12) and Van der Merwe (2004:121-128; 2006a:92-94; 2006b:85) reveal that the major BH lexica do not apply much information of recent developments in lexicography and CL. Nor, do the lexica reveal strong underlying semantic models.[1] As a result, De Blois (2000:19-32) and Van der Merwe (2004:128-131; 2006a:98-105; 2006b; 2006c:261-269) both aim to utilize the insights from cognitive linguists in order to improve the treatments of BH lexemes. These works provide a suitable starting ground for this thesis.

1.2 Purpose

The aim of this thesis is to provide an adequate explanation to the question "What does עַל mean?" based on CL methods, which will build upon existing BH resources that lack such methodology. More specifically, "What is the semantic potential of עַל?" implies a theoretical approach utilized by CL. Before addressing why CL is the preferred approach to language, the term "semantic potential" will be defined. Semantic potential, or meaning potential, is how the meaning of a word or grammatical construction relates to its context. Potentiality of lexical meaning consists of the different possibilities of interpretations and is based on the premise that meaning is not found in the linguistic system alone. Kerin Norén and Per Linell

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[1] Two of the main lexica, which will be considered for this study, *Brown-Driver-Briggs' Hebrew and English Lexicon* (2006) (originally published in 1906) and Koehler and Baumgartner's *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (2001) (originally published in 1953) predate the developments from the view of CL. Therefore, much of the insights discussed are not utilized. David Clines' *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (2007) and Waltke and O'Connor's *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990) are contemporaneous with these developments.

(2007:390) explain how "A theory of meaning potentials assumes that parts of a word's meaning are evoked, activated or materialised ... *in different ways in the different types of contexts*, in which it is exploited."

Lexical meaning cannot be dissected from the linguistic system, the world, or the language user. As Nick Riemer (2010:15) explains, the human mind produces language and each lexical unit has a particular referent in the world as represented to the language user. Like Humpty Dumpty, there is justification to his notion that the language user determines its meaning. In a specific situation, a speaker will say an utterance with an intentional referent in mind. The perceiver must consider the linguistic statement, the context, the situation, and the referents in the world in order to ascertain the utterance's meaning. If the speaker intends an unknown referent for a lexical unit, then the perceiver will be confused, like Alice in the dialogue. Consequently, Alice is justified as well if a nonsensical referent is chosen for a particular lexical unit – Alice is confused and communication has failed. In order for an utterance to be perceived, the referent in the world must be clear (for Alice's sake) and the linguistic unit must express the mind of the speaker (for Humpty Dumpty's sake). The array of possible interpretations of a linguistic expression points to the semantic potential of a lexical item.

Riemer (2010:94-96) explains how a word may have a wide range of semantic potentialities and a large scope of referents in the world. For example, its senses can be literal, metaphorical, or ironic. The semantic potential of a lexeme brings up the question of how humans organize these meanings in order to decipher and use language on a daily basis. With such an infinite number of lexical potentialities, there is a need for some sort of cognitive categorization in order to process the vast amounts of semantic data. Fortunately, CL provides a convincing theoretical model for how a human organizes language and linguistic meaning.

Therefore, due to the potential advantages of applying CL to the study of BH, lessons from this groundbreaking approach to linguistics will be utilized in this analysis of עַל. Also, cognitive linguists have given considerable attention towards a semantically related counterpart in English of עַל - *over*. Specifically, Tyler and Evans' (2007) case study of *over*

provides substantial ground to hypothesize that a new analysis of עַל from a CL perspective will provide insight into its lexical meaning.

On a final note, this study does not consider: 1) the relationship of עַל with other spatial prepositions; 2) the issue of whether or not the division of space is universally the same; and 3) any text-critical problems of the examples in detail.

1.3 Outline

The first half of Chapter 2 provides an overview of CL in order to give a backdrop of the latest research in general linguistics. The general principles of CL are explained, followed by their applications in cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar. The second half is a review of two case studies of *over* (Lakoff 1987 and Tyler and Evans 2007). This review will help shed light on how cognitive linguists apply theoretical frameworks to spatial prepositions. This overview precedes the BH literature review in order to establish the basis of the criteria used in reviewing the BH resources.

Chapter 3 reviews three major lexica (i.e., *Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (2006), Koehler and Baumgartner's *Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (2001), and David Clines' *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (2007)) and one syntax resource (Waltke and O'Connor's *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (1990)). Based upon the lessons from CL set forth in Chapter 2, these four works will be assessed to see how BH resources approach lexical meaning of spatial prepositions and semantically analyze עַל.

Chapter 4 provides a working hypothesis and methodology in order to create a CL-based semantic framework for עַל. Lessons from CL and the case studies of *over* in Chapter 2 will help create a heuristic tool used to explain the senses of the lexeme consisting of the most prototypical sense as well as the other distinct senses.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of עַל by utilizing the methodology in Chapter 4. These heuristic tools will illustrate the lexeme's semantic potential and the brief description of each sense offers the meanings, not just translation values, of עַל. Also, the empirical data is from the books of Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles, which provide a sample of genre (narrative

and poetry) and two diachronic stages of BH. Genesis is narrative text primarily from a pre-exilic time (=CBH), and Chronicles is narrative text from a post-exilic time (LBH) (Sáenz-Badillos 2004:52, 116). The book of Psalms contains data from both times.

The occurrences of עַל that are evaluated include when it occurs morphologically independent and when it occurs morphologically dependent upon another preposition within a compound (e.g., מֵעַל and כְּעַל). The lexical forms of עַל־כֵּן, עַל־יְעַל־כָּן, כִּי־עַל־אֲשֶׁר, and עַל כִּי will be left for further study due to either their rare occurrences or to their complex nature.

Chapter 6 concludes the findings of this research summarizing how the lessons from CL have been applied to the analysis of עַל. In addition, ideas for future study are explained in order to expand this analysis and adequately explain the semantic potential of this complex lexeme.

Chapter 2: Overview of Cognitive Linguistics and Case Studies of *Over*

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to first provide a brief overview of CL in order to explain the framework in which this research of BH will take place. This overview precedes the literature review of the various BH works (Chapter 3) in order to establish the precedent of lexical studies being set in modern linguistics. The hypothesis of this research is that CL will provide a more precise semantic model than the models used by BH resources. An explanation of CL will help clarify the criteria used throughout the BH literature review and therefore help elucidate the shortcomings of the BH works. Also, it is necessary to describe the overview of CL in order to move on to the second part of the chapter – two case studies of *over* by cognitive linguists. One reason in focusing upon עַל for this research is due to the amount of attention that cognitive linguists have given to *over*, a frequent English translation of the BH preposition. These two case studies will be used heuristically as the semantic potential of עַל is analyzed and the various possible relationships between meanings are considered. Discussing the case studies prior to the BH literature review will also help establish the cognitive approach to lexical studies. These models of *over* will aid in revealing the difficulties within the BH literature's treatment of עַל.

This chapter addresses CL in four sections. It first provides a brief overview of the general principles and assumptions of CL. Before delving into CL though, the foundational topics of language and linguists will be briefly addressed. The enterprise of CL claims that it can best describe how a symbolic and meaningful language interacts with the language user and the user's world. This claim can be seen through three main assumptions of CL: the Cognitive Commitment, the Generalization Commitment, and embodied meaning.[2]

Second, this chapter explains the basic principles of cognitive semantics and lessons gleaned from a cognitive approach to meaning. The first theory discussed is prototype theory, involving radial networks and basic-level categories, which help explain how humans possibly utilize phenomena like categorization to organize different embodied experiences.

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[2] These follow how Evans and Green (2006:27-47) laid out the general commitments of CL.

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The second section, extensions of meanings, aims to explain the various semantic relationships of a polysemous lexeme and how meanings might develop. The third section, idealized cognitive models, explains how linguistic knowledge is set within our knowledge of the world in the forms of cognitive models and more specifically, frames. All of these lessons of cognitive semantics provide helpful explanatory tools for lexical meaning.

Third, this chapter includes a section about another relevant field of CL: a cognitive approach to grammar. Because all aspects of language are meaningful, a framework for cognitive grammar is dependent on a cognitive approach to meaning. Also, the study of grammatical constructions is an extension of the study of lexemes, due to the inseparable relationship among all linguistic levels – phonemes, lexemes, and constructions of all sizes. The main topics presented below are the general principles and assumptions of a cognitive approach to grammar, the importance of a construction, and the semantics of constructions.

Last, in order to see the applications of CL, two case studies of *over* will be reviewed - Lakoff (1987) and Tyler and Evans (2007). Lakoff (1987) offers numerous senses for *over*, which will be challenged by Tyler and Evans (2007), who give a more streamlined approach for explaining the distinct senses of lexemes.

2.2 General Principles and Assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics

The question "What does עַל mean?" mentioned in Chapter 1 requires a discussion of language, semantics, and grammar. As a foundation, this section will introduce the underlying questions of "What is language?" and "What are the goals of linguists?" Next, the basic assumptions and principles of CL will be described. While there are several schools of thoughts for the CL movement, this section focuses on the fundamental commitments commonly held by all cognitive linguists. These tenets are what set this approach apart from any other linguistic approach (Evans and Green 2006:3-4).

2.2.1 Language and Linguists

Language is an embodied network of phonemes, morphemes, lexemes, and constructions that combine to express **meaningful** forms for the intent of thought or communication (Evans and

Green 2006:6). Language consists of symbols, represented by meaningful subparts of a word, whole words, or constructions. For example, the prefix un- in *unclear*, the word *lamp*, and a whole construction of words, such as, *let's do lunch tomorrow* are all **symbolic** forms. The organized letters of these symbols do not mean anything in and of themselves. Rather, the meaning of each form comes from the cognitive content or referent associated with each symbol. Each form is paired with a meaning, and this pairing is a symbolic assembly. Language is quite functional and interactive (Evans and Green 2006:9). The symbolic assemblies of a language are used to encode thoughts and to communicate between humans.

Linguists first strive to learn the systematic structure of language – the relationships between words, how words relate to their meanings, and how language is conventionally arranged in patterns (Evans and Green 2006:14-15). Second, linguists aim to describe these processes through models. Linguists may approach their study of language from a number of theoretical perspectives and choose to concentrate on different fields, such as phonology, semantics, or acquisition. CL focuses on how language use reflects aspects of human cognition.

2.2.2 Commitments and Assumptions of Cognitive Linguistics

2.2.2.1 Cognitive Commitment

The Cognitive Commitment states that language and its organization reflect underlying general cognitive principles, not just specific language principles (Evans and Green 2006:41). CL claims that language is an integrated part of **cognition** (Langacker 2008:7). The meaning of a linguistic expression cannot be understood without utilizing a wide array of cognitive processes (Langacker 2008:4). First, the hearer must weigh any background knowledge and understand the physical, social, and linguistic contexts. Second, the hearer can interpret a linguistic expression several ways but should interpret what the speaker intended. Third, humans use tools such as metaphor to express non-literal meaning in order to express meaning. Four, humans use cognitive constructions and networks in order to perceive, conceive, and remember language and the highly complex world. These constructions and networks instantiate relevant information so that linguistic expressions may be used to communicate. This instantiation is cued by various cognitive operations. Theories like mental spaces and conceptual blending offer possible solutions as to what these cognitive operation are (see 2.3.2.2) (Evans and Green 2006:162-263).

Consequently, **conceptualization** is an important factor of language, because "conceptualization resides in cognitive processing" (Langacker 2008:31). Actually, CL claims that language and linguistic meaning depends on conceptualization (Langacker 2008:8, 30-31). According to Langacker (2008:30) conceptualization emphasizes the dynamic nature of language and many cognitive processes, such as (1) new and conventionalized notions, (2) intellectual ideas, emotional and motor experiences; (3) construal of physical, linguistic, social, and cultural contexts, and (4) the apprehension of conceptions that gradually progress or disclose over time. Any communicator must utilize each of these aspects of conceptualization. Linguistic meanings do not stay static over time or in different contexts. Rather, they change through experiences and evolve through discourse. This is why cognitive linguists do not argue that linguistic meanings are associated with fixed concepts of the world but dynamic conceptualizations. (See 1.2 on how the dynamic nature of lexical meaning throughout various contexts and the wide range of possible interpretations is the basis of the **semantic potential.**)

Since language is part of cognition and conceptualization, it also works with and utilizes other psychological phenomena, such as **categorization**. Every human categorizes in order to understand and process the world. For example, a human identifies a *rose* automatically and classifies it with other *flowers*. This highly complex world allows and forces a functional person to develop tens of thousands of categories from very general to extremely specific (Taylor 2007:xi). "An understanding of how we categorize is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human" (Lakoff 1987:6).

2.2.2.2. Generalization Commitment

The Generalization Commitment argues for common principles that help explain the structure of all aspects of language, such as morphology, semantics, and syntax. Different parts of language are not separate modules in the brain but quite unified by several common principles.

Both semantics and grammar are **meaningful**. One comprehends a word not just by looking up the meaning in the dictionary, but by experiencing the word in the world, interacting with

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others, utilizing the word, and by understanding that the word symbolizes a conceptualized entity. The connection between a lexeme and its meaning is based on embodied experience, and thus possibly very robust. Langacker describes grammar as meaningful, as well. He argues that the elements of grammar may express meanings in and of themselves, similar to lexemes. Grammatical structures allow a user "to construct and symbolize the more elaborate meanings of complex expressions (like phrases, clauses, and sentences).... And instead of being a distinct and self-contained cognitive system, grammar is not only an integral part of cognition but also a key to understanding it" (Langacker 2008:4).

While semantics and grammar are both meaningful, they are also both **symbolic** (Langacker 2008:5). The word *cup* is a symbol, because it is a phonological structure that symbolizes a concept. If any lexical item is symbolic, then any grammatical construct and notion (e.g. "noun," "relative clause," or "idiom") that combines these items to form communicative expressions is also symbolic. Langacker (2006:29) describes how

> [Grammatical structures] are claimed instead to be inherently symbolic, providing for the structuring and conventional symbolization of conceptual content. Lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum of symbolic units... it is ultimately as pointless to analyze grammatical units without reference to their semantic value as to write a dictionary which omits the meanings of its lexical items.

One might ask where grammar ends and lexicon begins (Langacker 2008:22). While some cases that lie at the poles of the continuum are clearly lexical or grammatical (e.g. *book* versus templates to create compound sentences), other cases are not so clear. For example, *a V$_i$+er V$_i$+es* gives the pattern or scheme for *a teacher teaches*. This instance is not clearly grammatical due to *a* and the affixes, but it is also not obviously lexical because of the schematic nature. Hence, lexicon and grammar exist on a continuum (lexicon-grammar continuum) and cannot be separated.

In addition to all aspects of language being meaningful and symbolic, **categorization** is essential as well. Lexical semantics is categorical, for simply naming something involves categorizing it. Naming an object as a *flower* involves understanding its qualifying characteristics, such as being a plant and having petals. Also, grammar is categorical. A

future tense verb or *preposition* entails certain meanings of the situation and, therefore, can be categorized to an extent (Taylor 2007:xi-xii).

2.2.2.3 Embodied Meaning

Conceptualization is rooted in experiencing the world. Understanding of the world is mediated and filtered completely by the physical body (Evans and Green 2006:45). People can only experience through their bodies, and only these experiences can be conceptualized – nothing more. "...we can only talk about what we can perceive and conceive, and the things that we can perceive and conceive derive from embodied experience." (Evans and Green 2006:46) Consequently, our language reflects this experiential realism and embodied conceptualizations. Geeraerts (2006a:6) further explains how knowledge of language, both semantics and grammar, are **experiential**. "The experience of language is an experience of actual language use, not of words like you would find them in a dictionary or sentence patterns like you would find them in a grammar. That is why cognitive linguists say that CL is a usage-based model of grammar..."

Further, CL emphasizes language's **semiological** function – how language is based in social interaction. Langacker (2008:28-29) states,

> The cognition envisaged by cognitive linguists is noninsular, being grounded in perception and bodily experience. Since mental development is stimulated and guided by social interaction, the skills and knowledge acquired are very much attuned to the sociocultural surroundings. The conceptualizations we entertain are undeniably internal, in the sense of taking place in the brain, yet reach beyond it in the sense of being conceptualizations of some facet of the world. In speaking, we conceptualize not only what we are talking about but also the context in all its dimensions, including our assessment of the knowledge and intentions of our interlocutor. Rather than being insular, therefore, conceptualization should be seen as a primary means of engaging the world.

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2.3 Cognitive Semantics

Now that some of the most basic principles and assumptions of CL have been reviewed, cognitive semantics will be discussed. This field will be described first, because the cognitive perspective emphasizes the meaning of all levels of language. Cognitive semantics will offer insights into lexical meaning and how one may more accurately describe the semantic potential of עַל.

Cognitive semantics began as a reaction to the objectivist world-view (Evans and Green 2006:156). The objectivist world-view relates linguistic meaning solely to the world without considering the contribution of the users' cognition. This predominant view was found inadequate by cognitive semanticists in the 1970s and a new approach was birthed. Evans and Green (2006:156) describe this new approach as: "...cognitive semantics sees linguistic meaning as a manifestation of conceptual structure: the nature and organization of mental representation in all its richness and diversity, and this is what makes it a distinctive approach to linguistic meaning." As with CL, cognitive semanticists are not in agreement as to the exact framework, but this section will describe some basic tenets.

The first theory discussed is prototype theory and how it relates to the concept of salience. This has to do with how membership of a category is graded. While it does not fully explain how meanings relate to cognition for linguistic semanticists, some effects of prototype theory and several insights gleaned from it contribute to a comprehensive theory of meaning. The next sections, extensions of meanings and idealized cognitive models, describe cognitive operations that do contribute to a comprehensive theory of semantics.

2.3.1 Prototypicality and Salience

As mentioned in Chapter 1, categorization is necessary due to the vast number of lexical meanings from the dynamic nature of language's semantic potential. Also, categorization is essential to cognition and to all levels of language – from morphology to syntax. Categorization is crucial to semantics and determining the meanings of linguistic expressions. A more accurate way of how humans categorize will help linguists in discovering how meanings are categorized.

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While prototype theory does not offer a complete theory of mental representations, cognitive linguists still find prototype theory useful as a heuristic tool in lexical semantics. Consequently, the characteristics of prototypicality contribute to finding a comprehensive theory of mental representations and help the cognitive linguists reach toward their goal of describing meaning.[3]

The types of applications explained here are prototype theory, radial network, and basic level categories. Prototype theory and radial networks introduce the notion of salience at the semantic level. According to Cruse (2004:55), salience has to do with how easy it is to access information about something. This concept will be applied to prototype theory. Basic level categories introduce salience at the onomasiological level.

2.3.1.1 Prototype Theory

The nature of categorization is more complicated than a category being defined by a simple list of attributes (Geeraerts 2006b:146). According to Geeraerts (2010:187) there are four typical characteristics of prototypicality. First, members within a category show different degrees of membership. In other words, not all members of a category are equal; the best examples of a category are the most central (Croft and Cruse 2004:77). A large number of experiments have been completed investigating the idea of Goodness-Of-Exemplar (GOE). A typical test might involve giving a person a category and a list of members of the category. The person must assign a number from one to seven to each member; one indicates a very good example of the category, and seven indicates a very poor example. After a large number of people have been tested, usually there is a strong indication for the best example, also known as the **prototype**. For instance, a *rose* is more prototypical of a *flower* than a *hibiscus*. It should also be noted that the results fluctuate depending upon culture. A *hibiscus* might be a better example of a flower in a tropical climate.

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[3] Some cognitive linguists have raised critical questions concerning prototype theory. However this study does not discuss this debate. For more information, see Riemer 2010:233-237; Evans and Green 2006:268-269; Croft and Cruse 2004:87-91; and Geeraerts 2006b:146-158.

Second, categories exhibit a **family resemblance** structure where the semantic meanings or examples form a radial network with clusters of similarities and links of relationships (Geeraerts 2010:187).[4]

Third, categories are blurred at the periphery (Geeraerts 2010:187). Categories do not necessarily have sharp, clear boundaries. Research within cognitive linguistics indicates that category boundaries are fuzzy (i.e. **fuzzy borders**) and flexible depending upon context (Cruse 2004:128). The color *blue* clearly entails the traditional *royal-blue* and usually includes *sky-blue*, but what about *turquoise*, which contains green? CL provides for flexibility of the category *blue* to allow for these non-prototypical and border-line examples. The examples that are more proto-typical and easier to categorize are more salient and clearer.

Fourth, categories cannot be described by an established list of necessary and sufficient attributes (Geeraerts 2010:187).

Geeraerts (2010:188-189) explains how these four characteristics of prototypicality form a conceptual map showing how each relates to one another (see Figure 2.1 below). The first (a) and third (c) effects deal with how good the members are of the category, and by extension, that the exact demarcation of the categorical boundaries is unclear sometimes. The second (b) and fourth (d) effects describe the actual nature of the definition, where the semantic structure shows how some definitions are more similar or less similar than others. The flexibility of the category's definition reveals that there is usually not a set list of attributes for each prototypical category. The chart also illustrates how the first and third effects depict that not each member is equal. The more prototypical examples are the more salient. Also, the center of the radial network is the most exemplar member and the outlying clusters and members are more on the periphery and less prototypical. The third and fourth effects emphasize how a prototypical category is not always crystal clear; the boundaries are fuzzy and the lack of a set criterion for the members exhibits demarcation issues.

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[4] More about radial structures will be discussed below (see 2.3.1.2).

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	Extensional Characterization (on the level of exemplars)	Intensional Characterization (on the level of definition)
Non-Equality (salience effects, core/periphery)	(a) differences of typicality and membership salience	(b) clustering into family resemblances
Non-Discreteness (demarcation problems, flexibility	(c) fuzziness at the edges, membership uncertainty	(d) absence of necessary-and-sufficient definitions

Figure 2.1 Four Types of Prototypicality Effects[5]

These effects will be helpful in determining a cognitively plausible semantic framework for עַל. Prototypicality and degree of membership will be considered during the analysis. There are a number of properties that seem to correlate to a GOE score (Croft and Cruse 2004:78). First, when people are asked to list members of a category, usually the more frequently listed examples and the examples listed first correlate to the higher rated (closer to one) GOE scores. **Frequency** will be considered in analyzing the prototypicality of senses of עַל. Due to the fact that a bigger sample cannot be taken of BH literature than what is available, gathering as much empirical data from the BHS is beneficial. Second, members with higher GOE ratings have more common features shared; this property is called family resemblance, as mentioned above. This notion is important for the thesis, because it will help in constructing a possible radial network of meanings (see 2.3.1.2).

Third, the theory of fuzzy borders will allow for flexibility of semantic categories. If a usage of עַל is unclear, it may be noted that it can occur as an example of two different meanings. The fourth effect is a direct contradiction to the formal approach that states how a definition involves necessary and sufficient attributes. A usage of עַל as an example of fuzzy borders is a contradiction of this effect as well. How could a word show necessary and sufficient attributes of two different semantic categories? Cognitive semantics not only allows for such cases but says that attributes might carry over into different meanings of a lexical item.

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[5] Taken in its entirety from Geeraerts (2010:189).

2.3.1.2 Radial Network

As mentioned above, one of the effects of prototype theory is the establishment of a radial network. How does this apply to polysemous expressions? **Polysemy** is where one phonological form represents two or more related senses (Taylor 2007:103, 106) and can be seen with *baby* (an infant or an adult acting childish). When a word can be read in multiple ways, this leads to fuzziness. A person is sensitive to the word's semantic or meaning potential. Different constructions and different contexts prompt certain semantic usages of a lexeme, and the interpreter must infer from the context which sense the communicator intends.

As mentioned above, prototype theory supports the notion of family resemblance. This idea is applied to lexical semantics in a more general sense with **radial structures**, which allows for organizing the different semantic senses in clusters showing links among the senses. This thesis builds off of works such as Brugman and Lakoff (2006:109) who state, "the common practice of giving a list of meanings of ambiguous items is neither the only way, nor, for polysemous words, the most efficient way, of storing such semantic information." In radial network theory, the central node (which symbolizes a usage) of the network is the most prototypical usage. Less common and less central usages branch off from the center node. (Geeraerts 2006b:146). Each non-central member is a variant of the prototype or is a variant on another variant (Brugman and Lakoff 2006:109).

The connection between senses may involve shared information, may move from a general to specific case, or show a metaphorical relationship (Brugman and Lakoff 2006:110). Brugman and Lakoff (2006:110) further explain,

> ...the relations between senses are not arbitrary, but are rather principled, systematic, and recurrent throughout the lexicon. Moreover, the relationships are natural, in the sense that they are either relationships that arise naturally within the cognitive system, or they are characterized by metaphors that have an independent existence in the conceptual system. From an explanatory point of view, the natural and independently motivated character of the links allows us to explain why polysemy should exist as a general phenomenon. From the point of view of language processing studies, it suggests that the lexicon has a structure that is made use of in processing.

Further, Lakoff's (1987) study "*There*-Constructions" provides evidence that radial structures can be utilized to more precisely describe the relationships between usages of grammatical structures. His (Lakoff 1987:463) case study aims to illustrate that radial networks occur in grammar, and function similarly to those used within lexical semantics, namely motivating connections between form and meaning. Once again, the lessons learned from CL not only apply to lexemes but to constructions as well.

The concept of radial structures is illustrated below in the overview of Tyler and Evans' (2007) case study of *over* (see 2.5.2.2.3). They create a radial network in order to depict how the different polysemous senses of *over* possibly relate to one another. A radial structure will also be formed during the analysis of על in creating a semantic framework to describe the meanings of the polysemous BH lexeme within a CL framework (see 5.4).

2.3.1.3 Basic Level Categories

Prototype theory and radial structures introduce the notion of salience at the semasiological level. The members of a category and the different senses are analyzed in regards to salience to determine their GOE rating or how close they are to the core of the cluster. Geeraerts (2010:200) extends the concept of salience to the onomasiological domain by arguing that the generic level of a folk taxonomy, which is the basic level, oftentimes supplies naming terms and are therefore highly salient. These words at the basic level are used for everyday communication (Cruse 2004:133). For example, if a twittering noise is heard outside, a person is most likely to say that a *bird* was making the noise, not an *animal* or *cardinal*.

Categories involve different levels of inclusiveness and specificity (Cruse 2004:133). For example, a *sedan* is a type of *car*, which is a type of *vehicle*. *Car* is at a special level of specificity and is an example of a basic level category. One of the characteristics of a basic level is that it is the most inclusive level where a clear image can be formed. One cannot imagine a generic *vehicle* or *vegetable* without picking a specific type, such as a *truck* or *carrot*. Also, the basic level allows for efficient categories to be created. This involves distinctness from similar categories, resemblance within the category, and information about the category. For example, dividing the category *vegetable* by color does not give the best

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categories, because it would place broccoli and various green squashes within the same basic category. This categorization would include various vegetables that do not resemble each other much (other than the color). *Broccoli* and *squash* would be better examples of basic categories; *squash* would include gems, zucchinis, and yellow squash, which have more resemblance. *Broccoli* could include all the different colors and variations of that vegetable. This type of categorization indicates more information about the category, such as texture and appearance.

Geeraerts (2010:201) further explains how basic level categories are highly effective, because they contain the maximum number of attributes shared by the members of the group while minimizing the number of attributes shared with members of other categories. This is why basic level categories are usually learned first by a child and are named by short and simple words. This is important for this thesis because it helps explain how a human understands categories, which is essential to the prototype theory. This study will hopefully glean from this theory in order to best organize the categories (or senses) of עַל. In trying to more precisely describe the Hebrew lexeme within the CL framework, basic levels will perhaps aid in evaluating resemblance within categories, distinctness from fellow categories, and how members of a category can contribute the largest amount of information possible (Cruse 2004:134).

2.3.2 Extensions of Meanings

Prototype theory does not offer a comprehensive theory of symbolic structures, which is essential for cognitive semanticists in their quest to explain meaning. However, this section describes some cognitive operations that help further explain a comprehensive theory describing the relationship between linguistic meaning and the conceptual structure.

This section pertains to the semantic relations among the various readings or interpretations of a word. In a situation like עַל where the lexeme is polysemous, insight into how different meanings are related to one another or how they might possibly form will prove to be very helpful. Even some of the BH resources that will be reviewed in Chapter 3 make note of literal versus figurative usages. The cognitive approach offers theories on how one particular usage might produce other usages.

These polysemous relationships are illustrated by means of radial structures (see 2.3.1.2), an effect of prototype theory (see 2.3.1.1). Each node of the radial structure represents a prototypical sense, whether central or non-central (Evans and Green 2006:328-333). The prototypical senses are organized with links between senses explaining how they are related.

2.3.2.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Taylor (2007:134) states, "Metaphor is seen as a means whereby more abstract and intangible areas of experience can be conceptualized in terms of the familiar and concrete. Metaphor is thus motivated by a search for understanding." First, cognitive linguists claim that metaphor is not a purely linguistic mechanism but is deeply rooted at the cognitive level (Geeraerts 2010: 204). Take *Life is a rollercoaster*, for example. The experience of life itself is understood and experienced and compared to the experience of a rollercoaster and its elements of fear, unknown twists and turns, and unpredictable jerks in speed. Conceptual Metaphor Theory looks at the fact that possible metaphors are endless and not limited to conventionalized expressions. In fact, they are not even limited to speech. For example, a 'thumbs up' gesture stems from the metaphoric pattern that up is good in language (*Business will pick up next week*) and down is bad (*Why so down this morning?*).

Second, correlations can be drawn from aspects of the source domain to aspects of the target domain (Taylor 2007:135). *Life is a rollercoaster* consists of the *rollercoaster* being the source domain and *life* being the target domain. The riders are the people going through life, the cart is life itself, the entire ride experience points to the rush of life, and the unexpected turns and throws of the ride depict the unknown events in life.

Third, Conceptual Metaphor Theory states that metaphors are experiential (Geeraerts 2010:207). Humans tend to understand one concept in terms of another concept, and usually seem to use more concrete ideas as the basis for understanding more abstract or vaguer concepts. **Image schemas**[6] are tools to heuristically describe the human experience as an image. Langacker (2008:32) describes them as:

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[6] Tyler and Evans (2007:29-31) use the term "redescriptions" instead of image schemas in order to avoid possible confusion. It might be mistakenly thought that image schemas only involve information gathered through visualization, not all the senses.

> ...schematized patterns of activity abstracted from everyday bodily experience, especially pertaining to vision, space, motion, and force. Image schemas are seen as basic, 'preconceptual' structures that give rise to more elaborate and more abstract conceptions (or at least provide their skeletal organization) through combination and metaphorical projection.

Lakoff (1987:267) lists some simple structures that occur often everyday: CONTAINERS, PATHS, LINKS, FORCES, BALANCE, UP-DOWN, FRONT-BACK, PART-WHOLE, CENTER-PERIPHERY. CONTAINERS refers to the containment of an entity. A child knows what containment is by playing in a box and feeling the boundaries of the cardboard, or an adult experiences containment while driving to work in a car. This image schema is applied to non-spatial concepts in *coming out of sleep* and *a full heart*. PATHS is utilized in *Life is a rollercoaster* with the source, path, and destination. LINKS helps people conceptualize abstract notions with the idea of the spatial ideas of close links and separation (*We need to connect next week*).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the tool of image schemas will both be helpful in the analysis of עַל in Chapter 5. Metaphor will explain how BH lexemes that symbolize abstract concepts are related to concrete usages of the same lexeme.[7] Also, the concept of image schemas is illustrated through the spatial diagrams used by Lakoff (1987) and Tyler and Evans (2007) in their case studies of *over* (see 2.5.2.2). In order to better understand how *over* acts within in a syntactic construction, they depict the relationship of the necessary characters or lexemes through diagrams. Simple image schemas are the basis to these diagrams, which are utilized in Chapter 5.[8]

2.3.2.2 Mental Spaces and Blending

Whereas Conceptual Metaphor Theory involves two conceptual domains (source and domain), blending theory utilizes these two spaces as the input with additional spaces. Geeraerts (2010:210-211) explains how,

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[7] For example, the Control Sense of עַל (see Chapter 5) has a similar idea to *over* in *She is director over the department*. The director is not literally standing over the department but is figuratively in charge of it (see the case studies of over below for information).

[8] For example, the diagram for the In Sense of עַל shows a simple spatial relationship of one entity being *in* another. This involves the CONTAINERS image schema on one object being contained by another.

The crucial addition of blending theory is the blend space, which represents the interaction of the input spaces: in the blended space, knowledge of source and target inputs combines into a coherent information structure that is temporarily activated in the mind of the language user. The fourth space in Fauconnier and Turner's analytic schema (1994:4-5) is the generic space, which contains schematic material shared by the two input spaces.

Geeraerts (2010: 211) gives the example of the Grim Reaper, as the cloaked skeleton who brings death as the target domain. However, there is more than one source domain – an agricultural reaper and a killer; these are the two input spaces. The fourth space of generic information includes information such as agent, object, action, means, etc. This example shows some advantages of blending theory over the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. First, it shows the relationship between the source and target spaces and how metaphors are complex structures, not just similarities between two domains. The Grim Reaper does not exist in the sphere of farming and he does not reside in the domain of death either. Second, this tool can better analyze more complicated metaphors. Third, Conceptual Metaphor Theory tends to only deal with idioms and other conventionalized expressions, where blending theory is able to analyze metaphors created ad hoc in discourse.

2.3.2.3 Conceptual Metonymy

While metaphor is based on resemblance between two domains and one domain helps structure the understanding of another domain, metonymy is based on association of two components within one domain (Cruse 2004:209). For example, *Give him a hand* illustrates how one entity *hand* is used to refer to another entity, which is the person supposing to help. Both components are within the same domain of a situation needing help. Some patterns of metonymy are THE PART FOR THE WHOLE, such as where one part of the body (hand) stood for the whole person (Cruse 2004:210 and Geeraerts 2010:214). Another example is, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT as in *I'm reading Austen* and *Austen* represents a work of Austen, the author. In *Spain won the 2010 World Cup* the soccer team of *Spain* represents the whole nation; this is an example of REPRESENTED ENTITY FOR REPRESENTATIVE.

2.3.3 Idealized Cognitive Models

As mentioned above (see 2.3), prototype theory does not offer a comprehensive theory of mental representations. Conceptual Metaphor Theory, mental spaces and blending, and conceptual metonymy are cognitive operations that help cognitive semanticists explain a theory of how humans conceptualize meaning. In addition, prototype effects were seen as results of **Idealized Cognitive Models** (=ICMs), another descriptive tool that contributes to a comprehensive theory of mental representations.

Lakoff's thesis for *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (1987:68-69) is that people organize knowledge into conceptual structures called ICMs. These are used in order to organize all the information stored in the long-term memory about a particular concept (Riemer 2010:240). Lakoff (1987:68-69) gives the example of *Tuesday*, where one must understand the frame of a week with the rising and setting of the sun determining a day and seven days are in a week. Once the whole picture of a week with a weekend is understood then the ICM is seen. Tuesday can only be described in relationship with the framework of the entire week and with all the stored information about time. According to the ICM theory, this underlying knowledge required to understand the concept Tuesday is stored in an ICM (Riemer 2010:240).

Also, ICMs cause semantic categories and prototype effects. Consider the ICM behind *bachelor*, which instantiates ideas about the acceptable age for marriage, a monogamous marriage but says nothing about priests or long-term committed but unmarried couples. A *bachelor* is an unmarried man according to its ICM. This ICM does not fit perfectly with a world where a priest is an unmarried man but would not be considered a bachelor. A young 30-something with a certain type of reputation with women would be a more prototypical example of the concept BACHELOR than a priest, because this is most frequent. As a result of ICMs causing prototype effects, ICMs consequently cause radial structures to be formed among the central and less central prototypical senses of words (Riemer 2010:250-254). According to Riemer (2010:253) radial structures give a "detailed specification of the ICM underlying" the concept behind a word and "of the metaphorical and metonymic relations in which this ICM participates."

Because ICMs are foundational for prototype theory, radial structures and the extension of meanings, they are a necessary part of this thesis. While prototype theory along with the various cognitive operations mentioned above do not create a perfect framework for understanding meaning, they offer much needed insight into semantics.

2.4 A Cognitive Approach to Grammar

Because the cognitive perspective emphasizes meaning, the model for cognitive semantics must be established before developing an approach to grammar. Furthermore, a cognitive approach to grammar is dependent upon a cognitive approach to semantics. Therefore, this study now turns to explain some theories in how the linguistic system itself is related to linguistic meaning. In order to answer "What does עַל mean?" and describe the lexeme's semantic potential, linguistic context must be considered. A cognitive approach to grammar emphasizes the inseparable marriage between semantics and constructions. Therefore, the syntactic constructions in which עַל occurs will be considered with the aim of shedding light on the lexeme's semantic potential.

2.4.1 General Principles and Assumptions

Like CL and cognitive semantics, there are several different perspectives and foci for various cognitive approaches to grammar. As mentioned above, the Generalization Commitment (see 2.2.2.2) argues that all aspects of language are meaningful and symbolic. Some cognitive approaches to grammar focus on how syntactic constructions can symbolize their meanings through schemes. For example, *Elianah was tickled by Andrea* is a passive sentence (Evans and Green 2006:478). The object that receives the action is the subject of the sentence and is referred to as the PATIENT. The object performing the action is after the verb and called the AGENT. There is also a passive verb string. The scheme: PATIENT *'passive verb string' by* AGENT shows the symbolic nature of the construction. The schematic nature of the construction symbolizes meaning apart from any lexical items inserted into it.[9]

Two cognitive approaches to grammar will be used as means to describe some basic theoretical tenets of how humans use grammar according to a cognitive approach. First,

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[9] See below for more information on schemes.

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Croft's (Croft and Cruse 2004) construction grammar emphasizes how the meaning of a construction cannot be predicted based on the meanings of their smaller lexical units. Therefore, the complex constructions are stored as complete units and should be treated as such. Second, Langacker's (2008) Cognitive Grammar offers a very detailed theory to grammar. Evans and Green (2006:481) state that his theory could be considered a construction grammar due to his constructional perspective of types of grammatical units.[10]

This section proceeds with a discussion of Croft's construction grammar first in order to establish the need for a cognitive approach to grammar and the significance of syntax at all. Langacker's (2008) approach agrees with Croft (Croft and Cruse 2004; as cited in Evans and Green 2006:480-481) and emphasizes how an individual lexeme cannot be understood apart from its structural frame and the schematic nature of the syntactic construction in which the lexeme occurs. Second, if the syntactic construction is necessary to knowing how a lexeme is used within a natural language, the construction is therefore also crucial in understanding the lexeme's semantic value. Croft's (Croft and Cruse 2004; as cited in Evans and Green 2006:480-481) and Langacker's (2008) views of how syntactic constructions are to be interpreted semantically will be briefly described.

2.4.2 The Necessity of a Construction

One CL approach to grammar is called construction grammar, which arose out of a concern for how generative grammar (1960s to the 1980s) explained idioms (Croft and Cruse 2004:225). Therefore, this section first looks at how this generative approach describes syntax.

According to generative grammar, a person's linguistic knowledge (form and meaning) is divided into three separate components that consist of the properties of a sentence: 1) phonological, 2) syntactic, and 3) semantic (Croft and Cruse 2004:225-227). Each component governs properties of its own type with its own rules. In Figure 2.2 below, they are 'horizontal' components. The lexicon is different than these components because it gives each word its phonological structure, syntactic category, and semantic component. The lexicon combines all three components and consequently, is a 'vertical' component. In

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[10] The overview of different approaches will be limited due to the very basic level of this introduction. Evans and Green (2006) offer an extensive look at the main approaches to grammar.

addition, there are 'linking rules' that explain how the components relate to one another, such as how the syntactic structure of a sentence relays into the semantic structure.
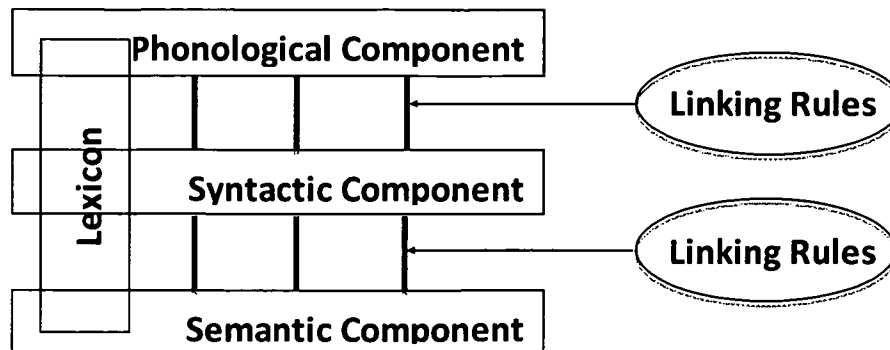
Figure 2.2 The Generative Grammar Paradigm

Another important characteristic of generative grammar is that words are the highest level at which idiosyncratic properties are given (Croft and Cruse 2004:227-229). Phrases and sentences are governed by very general rules. Words, however, are phonologically and semantically arbitrary. This arbitrariness of words is limited to the lexicon. As a result of this view, the concept of construction and construction-specific rules are unnecessary. For a grammatical construction larger than a word, all the syntactic constructions and properties can be described with the general rules of the individual words which make up the construction. Croft and Cruse (2004:229) explain, "Chomsky's position (1993:4) on the generality of syntax and the irrelevance of constructions to the analysis of grammar is the complement of his view that all arbitrary and idiosyncratic aspects of grammar should be restricted to the lexicon."

To explain this further, consider an idiom, which is a construction that cannot be predicted completely by analyzing their individual parts isolated from each other (Croft and Cruse 2004:230-231). In other words, idioms have become conventionalized over time. As a result, they have become part of a speaker's grammatical knowledge. Some idioms are considered extragrammatical (Fillmore et al. 1988 as cited in Croft and Cruse 2004:230-231) and do not even comply with the general rules of syntax, such as *No can do* and *Believe you me* (Nunberg et al. 1994:515 as cited in Croft and Cruse 2004:230-231). Generative grammar would consider these constructions as problems, but CL takes them as the basis for construction grammar. Consider two types of idioms: substantive and schematic (Croft and Cruse 2004:233-234). Fillmore et al. (1988 as cited in Croft and Cruse 2004:233-234)

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describes a **substantive** idiom as one in which it is lexically fixed and all the elements are pretty much set in stone. For example, *It takes one to know one* cannot really be altered except for a minor change like the verb tense. A **schematic** [11] (or 'formal' according to Fillmore et al. 1988 as cited in Croft and Cruse 2004:233-234) idiom is one that is lexically open, where at least part of the construction can be supplied by the user. For example, *(X) blows X's nose* has significant flexibility depending upon the speaker ranging from *Elianah blew her nose* to *The elephant blew his nose*.

As a result, idioms need to be treated as constructions (Croft and Cruse 2004:236-237). How do they fit within the generative grammar's model, though? A substantive idiom could be a multi-word entry in the lexicon due to its idiosyncratic and arbitrary nature, which would be fairly consistent with generative grammar's practice of placing all arbitrary items in the lexicon. But what about schematic idioms, which cannot occur in the lexicon due to their flexibility? They are semantically and sometimes syntactically irregular and, therefore, do not follow generative rules of syntax and semantics at all times. The syntactic and semantic properties of these idioms must be associated with the constructions themselves. As a result, schematic idioms would have to vertically cut across all three of the generative grammar's components.

These grammatical issues regarding idioms were the first issues addressed by construction grammar. Due to some idioms' highly schematic nature, there is just a small step from idioms to any syntactic structure (Fillmore et al. 1988:501, 534; Langacker 1999:19 as cited in Croft and Cruse 2004:248-249). There is a place for syntactic constructions within grammatical knowledge and the model of language. Croft and Cruse (2004: 249) state, "Reanalyzing general syntactic rules as the broadest, most schematic constructions of a language is just the other end of the substantive-schematic continuum for idioms/constructions." Thus, CL argues that a construction is a syntactic configuration made up of phonological components that has its own semantic interpretation and therefore cuts vertically (along with the lexicon) against all three horizontal components of generative grammar (see Figure 2.3) (Croft and Cruse 2004:247).

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[11] "Schematic" is consistent with Langacker's term. He describes schematization as another phenomenon used in cognition. Langacker (2008:17) defines it as "the process of extracting the commonality inherent in multiple experiences to arrive at a conception representing a higher level of abstraction."
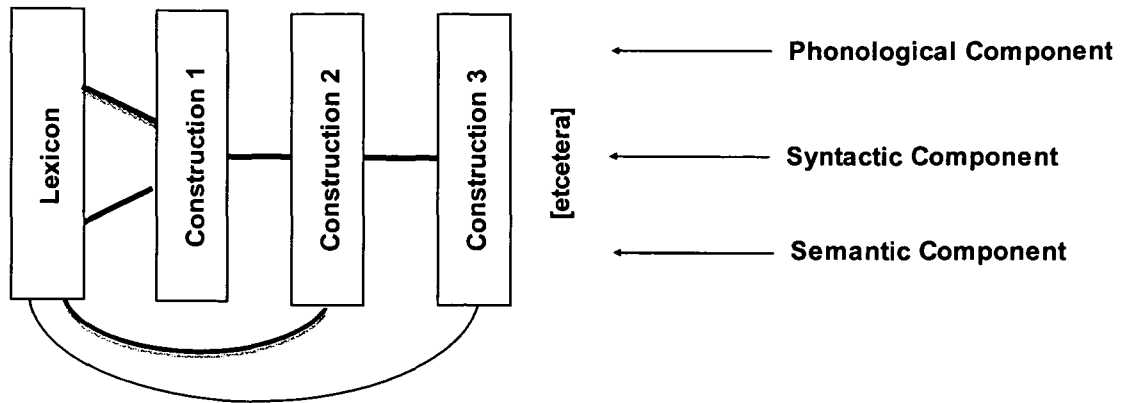
Figure 2.3 The Construction Grammar Paradigm

In his approach called Cognitive Grammar (=CG), Langacker (2008) supports the need for constructions within the study of linguistics and argues that a syntactic structure must be considered in even understanding a lexeme. Langacker (2008:240) explains how a lexeme is more complicated than a straightforward definition, as in a form (e.g. [cat]) symbolizing an entity ([CAT]). A lexeme also occurs in larger structural contexts, which are very typical and entrenched in our linguistic knowledge. A determiner might precede *cat* ([DET cat]) while a prepositional phrase oftentimes follows *cat* ([cat PP]). These structural frames are quite conventional and are a crucial part of a lexeme's description. Langacker (2008:241) claims,

> Though standard, it is quite wrong to think of a lexeme as existing independently of its frames. Linguists are guilty of this misconception when they speak of lexical items being 'inserted' into syntactic structures. What this overlooks is how lexical items are acquired in the first place: by abstraction from usage events where they occur in particular structural contexts. These contexts provide the initial basis for a lexeme's apprehension, and thus remain-in schematized form-as the learner becomes proficient in using it conventionally. Essential to knowing a lexical item is knowing how it is used. Rather than being obtained after a lexeme is acquired, this knowledge is an inherent aspect of its acquisition.

To a small extent these frames shape a lexeme's meaning; different elements cause different variations of a lexeme's semantic usage.[12] Therefore, the syntactic construction must be

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[12] Also, see the discussion of semantic potentiality in section 1.2.

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evaluated along with the lexeme in order to best understand the semantic value of an expression. This approach to syntactic constructions will be utilized while analyzing עַל. The entire construction in which עַל resides will be considered in determining the lexeme's function and context. Often, the syntactic construction will help determine the function of the lexeme. For example, the terms trajectory (TR) and landmark (LM) are crucial in this research. As demonstrated below in the case studies of *over* (see 2.5), these are the essential components of the syntactic frame of the spatial preposition. Likewise, the TR and LM associated with עַל will be identified for each occurrence in the empirical data (Appendix 1), analyzed in Chapter 5, and used in determining the various semantic senses.

Valency is a related aspect of these structural frames and syntactic constructions that create clauses and sentences. While frames are necessary in order to describe the participating lexemes in a cognitively plausible fashion, valency has to do with how words can combine to form the frames (Evans and Green 2006:225). Usually valency refers to the number of components needed to complete its meaning, such as subject, direct object, and indirect object. For example, the verb *read* requires a subject and object to make sense, while an indirect object is optional – *Rick read a book (to Elianah)*. The verb *gave* in the following sense requires all three components – *Rick gave a book to Elianah*. Even though the term can be expanded to refer to other types of constructions,[13] not just clauses or sentences, this paper only refers to valency in regards to verbs (Evans and Green 2006:583). Verbal valence is relevant to this thesis due to the relationship of a verb with an indirect object. Along with other aspects of syntactical information surrounding עַל, the valency of verbs will be evaluated to see what patterns might be present.[14]

2.4.3 Semantics and Constructions

Since constructions are significant due to the schematic nature of syntax, the semantics of constructions are important as well. Semantic interpretation rules can be applied to any construction, whether substantive or schematic. Idioms were often considered noncompositional, an indivisible unit, by generative grammarians because the whole was not

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[13] Langacker discusses the broader view of valency in his book *Cognitive Grammar* (2008:183-214).

[14] This will be more apparent with Tyler and Evans' treatment of *over* using a minimal specification interpretation (see 2.5.2), which is the approach used in Chapter 5.

understood as predictable from the parts; and as a result, idiomatic meanings did not coincide with the regular semantic interpretation rules of normal syntactic expressions. However, construction grammarians argue that they are indeed compositional and comply with semantic interpretation rules.[15] Therefore, idioms are best understood, both syntactically and semantically, as constructions, so naturally even regular syntactic structures need to be considered, as well. Consequently, any construction is compositional, and the meanings of the various parts contribute to the meaning of the whole. Further, the construction's interpretation is unique to that particular construction and cannot be derived from more general syntactic patterns. In other words, the semantics of a construction are dependent upon that syntactic structure. This supports the syntax-lexicon continuum while maintaining a place for not just individual words, but grammatical constructions within grammatical knowledge, as well (Croft and Cruse 2004:252-256).

Langacker (2008:245) clarifies that compositionality only contributes partially to linguistic meanings, because meanings depend on so much more. This is where a construer's imagination, conceptual substrate, and interpretative abilities come into play.

> Strictly speaking, then, a complex expression's meaning cannot be computed from lexical meanings and compositional patterns ... but is more accurately seen as being prompted by them. Nonetheless, constructional schemas are meaningful and make an essential semantic contribution to complex expressions. If they do not tell the whole story of how composite meanings are arrived at, such schemas at least supply essential information as to how the component conceptions fit together and how their integrated content is construed ... They influence the interpretation of component lexical items and may further contribute their own conceptual content...In these various ways, grammar itself has a substantial and systematic role in determining the meanings of composite expressions.

Further, Croft and Cruse (2004:291-292) argue how frequency and embodiment (see 2.2.2.3) play a huge part in communication. The more a word or construction is used, the more entrenched the word or construction becomes to those who experience it. "Knowledge of language emerges from language use," according to Croft and Cruse (2004:1). Analyzing the syntactic usages will be integral in describing the semantic potential of עַל.

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[15] For an example of the compositionality of an idiom, see *spill the beans* (Croft and Cruse 2004:252).

2.5 Case Study: *Over*

Now, this thesis will review two case studies (Lakoff 1987 and Tyler and Evans 2007) of *over* in order to see how some of the previously discussed theories of CL, cognitive semantics, and a cognitive approach to grammar have been applied to the analysis of an English lexeme. These case studies will serve as a point of departure of the heuristic analysis of עַל. It is hypothesized that they may offer some guidelines and methodologies that could help explain the Hebrew lexeme in a similar fashion.

2.5.1 Lakoff

Lakoff (1987:416-417) utilizes categorization, prototype theory, and ICMs to guide his analysis and description of *over*. He first distinguishes a prototypical spatial sense (Schema 1: The Above-Across Sense) and creates a radial network with the prototypical sense in the center and the other spatial senses branching outward. For Lakoff ICMs are the basis of these semantic categories (see 2.3.3). These tools describe human categorization and cause prototype effects, such as goodness of example and radial structures (Tyler and Evans 2006:27-271). Second, Lakoff describes metaphorical extensions of the spatial senses. The metaphorical extensions of *over* are created by taking the spatial ICM from the source domain and applying it to a target domain (Lakoff 1987:417). This will be exemplified below (see 2.3.2.1).

Schema 1, **The *Above-Across* Sense** and the central sense, according to Lakoff (1987:419-425), involves the elements of *above* and *across* while maintaining neutrality of contact. His example is *The plane flew over*. The plane is the TR while the LM is something over which the plane flies. The path of the TR is *over* and *above* the LM. Lakoff then breaks this schema down to six more specific examples or subschemas. All subschemas have a TR following a PATH,[16] but aspects of the LM change. A *yard* is an extended LM, a *hill* is vertically extended, and a *wall* is a vertical object. Also, he differentiates between instances without contact and

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[16] Image schemas will be represented with small caps as in section 2.3.2.1.

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those with contact, such as *Sam walked over the hill*. There is contact between *Sam* (TR) and the *hill* (LM).[17]

Lakoff (1987: 420-422) justifies having these many instances of Schema 1 by taking a **full specification interpretation**. This interpretation looks at the sentence *Sam walked over the hill* and states that the verb *walks* matches the contact aspect of *over* and the direct object *hill* matches the vertical extended aspect with *over*. According to Lakoff (1987:422), a **minimal specification interpretation** would say that the verb and direct object add these specifications to the preposition; therefore, these extra detailed instances would be unnecessary. These two interpretations make the difference between one representation in the lexicon (minimal) versus six lexical representations (full). The approach taken in Chapter 5 follows Tyler and Evans (2007), who utilize a minimal specification interpretation. Their critique of Lakoff's approach is summarized below (see 2.5.2.1).

Schema 2, **The Above Sense**, involves the notion of *above* with a stative sense without a PATH as in *Hang the painting over the fireplace* (Lakoff 1987:425-426). There is no contact and no *across* sense, therefore, there is not a PATH for the TR. One variant of this schema is when a one-dimensional trajectory extends along a sort of path, but does not move. For example, *The power line stretches over the yard* includes a one-dimensional TR, that is, the *power line* that extends over the LM, *yard*.

Schema 3, **The Covering Sense**, is a variant of schema 2 where the TR extends across the boundaries of the LM (Lakoff 1987:426-430). The aspect of contact is neutral. For example, *The board is over the hole* involves the TR of *the board* completely covering the LM of *the hole*. An extension of this is when the TR moves along a path to a destination as in *The city clouded over*. Another example of the covering schema is when quantifiers (e.g. *all*, *most*, etc.) are combined with *over* as in *The guards were posted all over the hill*. Here, the guards are individual multiplex TRs that cover the LM. These individuals may also have a path and *walk all over the hill*. One final note is that the TR does not necessarily have to be vertically located over the LM. Consider *The veil was over her face* where the two objects are technically next to one another. This is a *rotated* schema.

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[17] Lakoff continues to add two more instances with endpoints, where the TR has a final destination.

Schema 4, **The Reflexive Schema** is when the TR is the same as the LM (Lakoff 1987:430-433). In order to understand this concept, first look at *The syrup spread out*. The syrup is not moving out with respect to another LM but in regards to itself and its original boundary. An example of this with *over* is *Roll the log over* and *Turn the paper over*. The entity is moving along itself.

Schema 5, **The Excess Schema** is when *over* is usually a prefix (Lakoff 1987:433-434). *The bathtub overflowed* and *I overate* both show excess, one being physical and the other metaphorical. The second example uses the image schema of AN ACTIVITY IS A CONTAINER; eating is a container and the stomach can overflow in a sense.

Schema 6, **The Repetition Schema** is seen in *Do it over* (Lakoff 1987:435). Here, *over* is an adverb and an extension of schema 1's *Sam drove over the bridge*. The image schema ACTIVITY IS A JOURNEY is applied where doing an activity is like a path over an extended LM. Also, the LM is understood as an already completed activity.

Lakoff (1987:435-438) proceeds to discuss some of the metaphorical senses used for *over*. These senses will utilize a spatial domain as their source domain and apply an image schema in order to arrive at a target domain and a metaphorical sense. The most common source domains are containers, orientation, journeys and vertical impediments. The first example is *She has a strange power over me*. The metaphor is CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN. This is an extension of schema 2 where the TR is above the LM. Another example is *Sam was passed over for promotion*, which is an extension of schema 1. The first metaphor applied is CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN, because the person who was in charge of giving a promotion is over Sam. The second metaphor is CHOOSING IS TOUCHING. Here, there is no contact between the supervisor and Sam, so one can assume that Sam was not chosen for promotion.

Lakoff (1987:438-439) also emphasizes that he is not trying to explain the meanings necessarily but simply how they make sense. The relationships among senses are not arbitrary but quite natural once one realizes how metaphorical extensions are motivated from spatial domains and how various principles link each sense to others. Further, Lakoff (1987:440) says, "There are certain very natural relationships among image-schemas, and these motivate polysemy, not just in one or two cases, but in case after case throughout the lexicon. Natural

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image-schema transformations play a central role in forming radial categories of senses." An example of this type of transformation is when an image-schema with a path has a corresponding image-schema with an end point – *Sam walked over the hill* (path) and *Sam lives over the hill* (end of path). Lakoff (1987:444) explains,

> It seems to me that image-schema transformations are cognitively real; the pervasiveness of the kinds of relationships between senses of lexical items that those transformations characterize is a strong indicator of their cognitive reality. And the naturalness of these transformations relative to our visual experience suggests that image-schema transformations and the schemas they relate are ... truly imagistic in character.

2.5.2 Tyler and Evans

2.5.2.1 Critique of Lakoff

In his case study of *over*, Lakoff (1987:420) takes a full specification interpretation approach, in which he considers numerous spatial aspects of the word. Tyler and Evans (2007) take the minimal specification interpretation approach. The authors (2007:40) state their concern,

> One reason why the number of distinct senses has been exaggerated is that too much importance has been ascribed to the lexical representation, and not enough to the context in which specific interpretations arise...One scholar who has argued that polysemy is more fine-grained than may be the case is George Lakoff in his (1987) case-study of *over* (Kreitzer, 1997; Vandeloise, 1990; Tyler and Evans, 2001 as cited in Tyler and Evans 2007:40).

They go on to describe how Lakoff (1987) specifically points out three different types of LMs in his Above-Across schema – extended (e.g., *yard*), vertical and extended (e.g., *hill*), and vertical (e.g., *wall*). The important thing is not the length or height of the LM but the relationship between the LM and the TR are similar within each schema. The Above-Across schema is possible not because of the specific attributes of the LM or TR but because the TR is higher than the LM.

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Also, Tyler and Evans (2007:15-16) claim that other parts of the sentence may partly contribute to the meaning. For example, verbs may carry some information about the trajectory of the TM.[18] *Jumped* motivates a certain image for the TR's path in *The child jumped over the ball*. *The ball* also gives an idea as to whether contact occurs during the jump. A minimal specification interpretation would argue that the verb, direct object, and preposition carry semantic information required to understand the sentence.

Lakoff's utilization of the full specification interpretation for the description of *over* is criticized by Tyler and Evans (2007). The authors (2007:55) claim that Lakoff fails to consider the important role of context and what one can infer from it (Kreitzer 1997, Vandeloise 1990, Tyler and Evans 2001 as cited in Tyler and Evans 2007:55). Tyler and Evans (2007:55) explain that lexical items, such as *over*, are "sufficiently abstract representations, such that when integrated at the conceptual level with contextual cues, a range of on-line interpretations can be derived. These interpretations, which are created for the purposes of local understanding, fill in the relevant details of the scene being specified." A sentence is more than a lexically coded string of words. For example, Lakoff (1987:419-425) gives a separate sense under Schema 1 involving a path. However, Tyler and Evans (2007:72-73) argue that *over* does not have an inherent sense of a path; this is implied by context. In the sentence *She walked over the bridge* the path is implied by the LM, *the bridge*, because crossing a bridge is the default function of it.

Tyler and Evans (2007:45-46) also state that the central sense for Lakoff's (1987) case study of *over* is "asserted rather than being argued for" and based on the theory of prototypicality. The authors (2007:46) argue that prototypicality was for the purpose of explaining categorization of things and "it is less clear that it represents a useful heuristic when thinking about lexical categorization (Evans, 2003; Wierzbicka, 1990), particularly for non-objects, such as relations and processes." More of Tyler and Evan's criteria of best determining the primary sense will be discussed below during the analysis of their case study of *over*. They also provide a proto-scene, which is a very minimal imagic representation of the primary sense.

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[18] This is consistent with the notion of verbal valency (see 2.4.2).

2.5.2.2 Analysis of *Over*

2.5.2.2.1 Primary Sense

The primary sense, according to Tyler and Evans (2007:47-50), can best be determined by considering both linguistic and empirical evidence. There are five criteria of the linguistic evidence and all should be considered, not just one. First, the earliest attested usage is a good candidate for the primary sense, and *over*'s is related to the Sanskrit *upari* 'higher' and the Old Teutonic form *ufa* 'above' (Oxford English Dictionary 1989). Second, predominance across the network has to do with the sense that occurs in most of the distinct senses of the lexical item. Tyler and Evans (2007:64-106) determine 15 distinct senses and eight of these involve the TR higher than the LM. Third, a word's involvement in a composite form might not necessarily indicate the primary sense, but a failure to be in a composite form might suggest how that sense is probably not the main sense. For example, *overhang* supports that the primary sense of *over* involves the sense of 'higher.' However, the On-the-other-side sense does not occur in a composite form and is probably not the best candidate. Fourth, the organization of spatial particles into compositional groups indicates a possible primary sense. For example, *above* and *over* form a natural group with *under* and *below*. The opposite sense of *under* and *below* promote that the main sense of *over* involves 'higher.' Fifth, since language is user-based and evolves over time, each distinct sense should have derived from the primary sense or be traceable to a sense that was derived from the primary sense (Langacker 1987 as cited in Tyler and Evans 2007:47-50).

2.5.2.2.2 Proto-Scene

The proto-scene is an imagic representation of the primary sense without the full details of individual scenes (Tyler and Evans 2007:65-68). For example, instead of visualizing the details of a picture hanging *over* the sofa, a proto-scene would emphasize the schematic nature of the focal elements, such as the TR and LM and allow for any specific object to fill it. The proto-scene also captures the conceptual-spatial relation between the TR and LM, as in 'higher.' The proto-scene (see Figure 2.4 below) of the primary sense of *over* involves two claims. First, the spatial configuration is where the smaller TR (circle) is higher than the bigger LM (solid line) while maintaining close proximity with the possibility of the TR coming into contact with the LM. (The dashed line represents the limits of proximity.) For

example, *The bee is hovering over the flower* and *The tree is leaning over the river.* The second claim of the proto-scene is the functional configuration: the TR and LM are still under the influence of one another. Unlike *above, over* also has the sense of control as in *She has a strange power over me.*
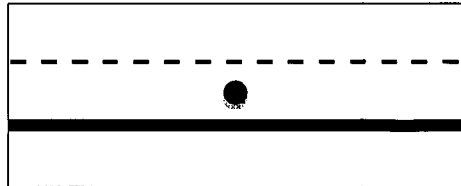
Figure 2.4 The Proto-Scene for *over*

2.5.2.2.3 Other Distinct Senses

According to Tyler and Evans (2007:42-43) two criteria determine a spatial particle's distinct sense from the primary sense. First, a distinct sense "must contain additional meaning not apparent in any other senses associated with a particular form, that is, a distinct sense must involve non-spatial meaning or a different configuration between the TR and LM than found in the proto-scene" (Tyler and Evans 2007:42-43). Second, instances of the sense must be independent from context. In other words, the meaning cannot be inferred from another sense or its context. (An example will be discussed below with The On-the-other-side-of Sense.)
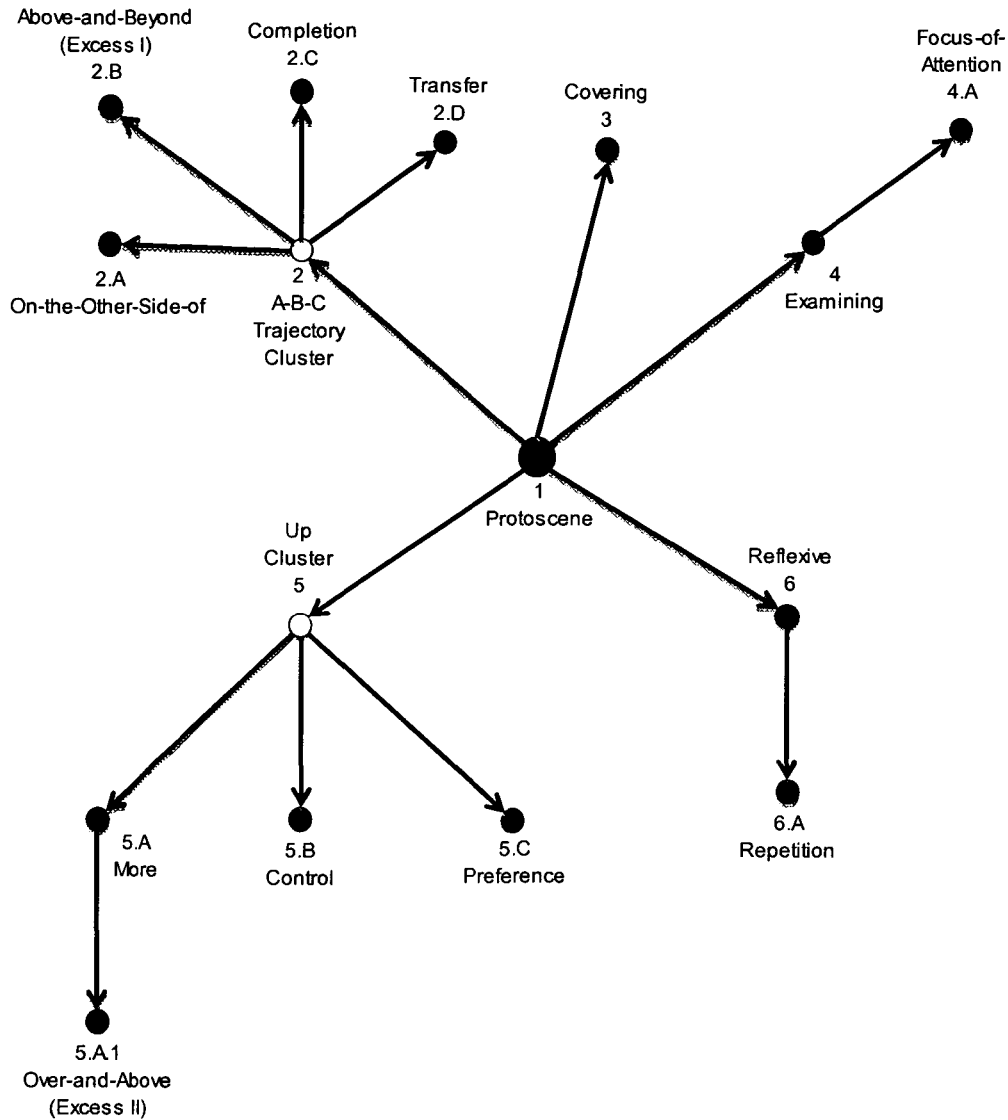
Figure 2.5 Tyler and Evans' Semantic Network for *over*

With the proto-scene being the primary sense of *over*, Tyler and Evan's second attested sense is actually a group of five distinct senses called **The A-B-C Trajectory Cluster (2)**. This cluster consists of: On-the-other-side-of (2.A), Above-and-beyond (Excess I) (2.B), Completion (2.C), Transfer (2.D), and Temporal (2.E) (Tyler and Evans 2007:80-81). These derive from the conceptualization as seen in the sentence *The cat jumped over the wall*. Point A is where the cat begins on one side of the wall; point B is directly over the wall; and point C is the landing spot on the other side of the wall. **The On-the-other-side-of Sense (2.A)** is exemplified in *Arlington is over the Potomac River from Georgetown*. This usage meets both criteria of a distinct sense in that it has additional meaning from the proto-scene. Also, it is contextually independent. The motion and trajectory is usually motivated by the verb (e.g.

jumped), but the verb *is* does not involve any motion and therefore no points of A, B, or C. So, this sense cannot be derived from the context.

The Above-and-beyond (Excess I) Sense (2.B) is different because it involves an agent over aiming or going beyond its target (Tyler and Evans 2007:83). While *the cat* landed on its target on the other side of *the wall*, *the arrow* goes too far in *The arrow flew over the target and landed in the woods*. **The Completion Sense (2.C)** refers to when the action of the verb is completed as in *The soccer game is over* (Tyler and Evans 2007:85). Here, point C is understood metaphorically as the completion of the task. **The Transfer Sense (2.D)** is illustrated in the sentence *She turned the keys over to the janitor* (Tyler and Evans 2007:86-87). *The keys* (TR) are transferred from point A to point C – into the possession of *the janitor*. **The Temporal Sense (2.E)** is seen in *Their friendship has remained strong over the years* (Tyler and Evans 2007:88). In order to see how this is an extension of the proto-scene consider another example of the primary sense: *The boy walked over the hill*. The bigger the hill, the longer it takes to traverse it; there is a connection between distance and time.

The Covering Sense (3) involves a bigger TR than LM as exemplified in *The tablecloth is over the table* (Tyler and Evans 2007:90-91). Also, the viewer is more directly involved with this sense. For example, instead of the viewer being 'off-stage' and just watching the bee as it hovers over the flower, the TR is actually in between the viewer and LM. The tablecloth is positioned in between the construer and the table and must be in order to cover it. The vantage point must be higher than the TR.

The Examining Sense (4) is the result of a change in vantage point (Tyler and Evans 2007:93-94). Here the vantage point is that of the TR, which looks at the LM. The TR must be higher than the LM and within close proximity in order to properly examine it. Consider the situation in Mary looked over the manuscript quite carefully. Mary's eyes (TR) must be higher than the document while in proximity. **The Focus-of-attention Sense (4.A)** is an extension of the Examining Sense because the TR is focused on the LM. The little boy cried over his broken toy shows how the TR, the boy, is focused on the LM, the toy, but not necessarily looking at it.

The Vertical Elevation or Up Cluster (5) includes four distinct senses and is the result of the TR being elevated higher than the LM as construed by the viewer (Tyler and Evans

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2007:96-103). The More Sense (5.A) can be seen in *Jerome found over forty kinds of shells on the beach*. When there is an increase in amount of a physical object, the level often rises. The normal understanding of this sense is "more than." **The Over-and-above (Excess II) Sense (5.A.1)** is closely related to the More Sense but has the idea of "too much." Here, the LM is a container and the TR consists of objects held in the container, which increase in level higher than the brim of the container and overflow. Compounds, such as, *overflow, overfill*, and *overeat*, are connected to this sense. **The Control Sense (5.B)** is associated with power and control. *She has a strange power over me* does not exemplify the female being physically higher but as one with control.[19] **The Preference Sense (5.C)** can be seen in *I favor soccer over tennis*. Being physically higher usually implies a greater amount, which is preferred rather than a lesser quantity. This phenomenon is illustrated with *He's feeling up today*. The state of happiness is symbolized with *up* – a higher elevation and preferred state.

The Reflexive Sense (6) is the last distinct sense (Tyler and Evans 2007:103-105). Tyler and Evan describe this usage as when *over* is "utilized to mediate a spatial relation between the two positions, even though the same entity cannot simultaneously occupy two distinct spatial positions in the world. Hence, the dynamic, evolving character of experience is reanalyzed as a static spatial configuration." Examples are *The fence fell over* and *The log rolled over*. **The Repetition Sense (6.A)** could not be predicted from the proto-scene and involves iterations. Consider the sentence, *This keeps happening over and over*. This usage must be used with process verbs that allow for repetition.

2.6 Conclusion

The first half of this chapter provided a brief overview of CL focusing on three different aspects: general principles of CL, cognitive semantics, and cognitive approaches to grammar. The common principles that establish the foundation of CL are: (1) language reflects general cognitive principles (the Cognitive Commitment), (2) all levels of language share common structuring principles (the Generalization Commitment), and (3) language reflects the assumption that meaning results from experience of the world through the body (embodied meaning). Next, cognitive semantics strives to take the lessons of categorization from

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[19] Tyler and Evans (2007:101) disagree with Lakoff's view (1987:435) that this happened due to a conceptual metaphor. Rather, they argue that it derived from an independent association between control and vertical elevation.

prototype theory in order to create a comprehensive theoretical model of how specific linguistic information is prototypically networked in embodied systems. Cognitive operations, such as The Conceptual Metaphor Theory, mental spaces and blending, conceptual metonymy, and ICMs, all contribute to the explanation of how linguistic meaning directly reflects the embodied experience of humans. The cognitive approaches to grammar attempt to apply the lessons from cognitive semantics to constructions. Also, a lexeme cannot be removed from its syntactic frame, because the construction surrounding a word is essential to lexical meaning.

CL offers a groundbreaking framework of linguistic description that does not separate semantics from grammar. Its approach to semantics offers a new perspective in how to answer the question "What does עַל mean?" In order to describe the semantic potential of this BH lexeme, one must understand how humans organize information that results from embodied experience in the world. From this embodied experience, a person produces language. CL strives to understand the cognitive processes of semantics in order to better describe linguistic meaning. Having established a foundation in CL, this thesis is now methodologically situated to handle the data from the BHS, as well as critically review traditional BH resources.

The second half of the chapter includes a brief summary of two case studies of *over*. Due to the amount of attention that cognitive linguists, specifically Lakoff (1987) and Tyler and Evans (2007), have given to *over*, a frequent English gloss of עַל, this offers an advantageous point of departure for this research. This research follows the precedent set by Tyler and Evans (2007) for two reasons. First, they offer a convincing critique of Lakoff (1987) as mentioned above (see 2.5.2.1). Second, their critique is in line with the approach to grammar by Croft (Croft and Cruse 2004; as cited in Evans and Green 2006:480-481) and Langacker (2008) discussed above (see 2.4.3). A construction's semantic value is compositional, whether in full (Croft and Cruse 2004) or in part (Langacker 2008). The meanings of all the lexical units composing a construction must be considered in helping to determine the complete meaning of the construction. If this approach is to be taken, then the words around עַל should be considered and will contribute to the lexical meaning. The individual BH lexeme will not carry the entire semantic weight and therefore, a minimal specification interpretation will be utilized in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Rationale

The aim of this chapter is to review three major BH lexica and one syntax resource in order to see how they answered, "What does עַל mean?" This review will be done in light of the lessons from CL explained in Chapter 2 and how a cognitive linguist views meaning. First, in order for a word to have linguistic meaning, one must understand that meaning resides in cognition and is reflected through language as the word is used within the world to interact with others. Also, a word's meaning must not be separated from any syntactic construction in which it is associated, according to cognitive approaches to grammar. These lessons, among others, will be used as a heuristic means in order to appreciate the efforts of available wisdom in the field of BH and to make mention of some of their inadequacies.

This study hypothesizes that the CL model offers a more cognitively plausible approach to understanding language than the models utilized by most BH resources available. If the underlying models used within BH scholarship are inadequate, then the treatments of lexemes within BH resources will consequently be inadequate. For example, most BH students only learn basic translation values for BH lexemes, such as "over" for עַל. However, cognitive linguists (Riemer 2010:23) and biblical scholars (Barr 1973:119-120) argue that translations are not the equivalent of a meaning in a language. CL offers a different semantic model which can be utilized to more precisely explain meaning, and specifically, the meaning of עַל.

Unfortunately, there is long history of inadequate descriptions of meanings, due to the brevity of a typical definition. Riemer (2010:76-77) gives the example of *bachelor* and the common dictionary definition of "an unmarried man." This concise definition proves insufficient when one considers a widower, the Pope, and priests – all unmarried men but would hardly be called bachelors. Conciseness is not the answer in creating a proper definition in any language.

Similarly, many BH lexica offer insufficiently brief definitions that seem to be no more than translations. According to De Blois (2000:3), a major weakness of many Hebrew lexica is

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that they offer a gloss, instead of a description of a meaning, and this allows for limited insight into a word's meaning. Barr (1973:119-120) states that glosses "are not themselves meanings nor do they tell us the meanings; the meanings reside in the actual Hebrew usage, and for real semantic analysis the glosses have no greater value than that of indicators or labels for a meaning which resides in the Hebrew itself." More information is needed in order to understand the word and the concept behind that word. Wierzbicka (1985:5) expands that "when it comes to concepts encoded in words of a foreign language, especially a culturally distant one, the intuitive link between a word and a concept is missing, and a full definition is the only way of ensuring true understanding of the cultural universe encoded in the language's lexicon."

In addition to the critique mentioned above and lessons from CL, De Blois (2000) and Van der Merwe (2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c) have begun to sensitize scholars to several weaknesses of BH lexica. This chapter includes a review of three major BH lexica and one syntax resource in the light of these insights. However, it must be mentioned that most of these developments in CL were not contemporaneous with the compilation of some of these lexica (e.g. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* and *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*). While wanting to appreciate the efforts of available wisdom in the field of BH lexicography, this review aims to use a CL-based framework in a heuristic means to evaluate how these works describe the various usages of עַל. Then, these older works can be built upon with methodologies grounded in CL.

3.2 The Literature and Criteria

Three English-BH lexica that treat עַל are *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (=BDB), Koehler and Baumgartner's *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (=HALOT), and *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (=DCH). These three span the past century (1906, 1953, and the 1990's respectively) and provide a good sample of scholarship over the years. They are also the lexica that are used by most BH students, particularly BDB and HALOT.[20] The one major syntax resource reviewed here is Waltke and O'Connor's *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (=WO).[21]

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[20] Other lexica available (among many others not mentioned below) but not reviewed for this study are:

First, the overall organization according to the general arrangements of the semantic categories and aspects of the treatment (e.g. philology, frequency, variant spellings, etc.) will be considered. This helps in giving an idea about what the authors choose to emphasize and the general flow of the translation values. Second, each BHS reference given as examples of the semantic categories will be studied. This gives an idea of the authors' understanding of the lexical item. This also reveals to what extent the authors considered syntactic information surrounding עַל.

Chapter 2 describes the basic CL model as well as how it has been applied to the English preposition *over*. The basic premises used by the CL approach are the standards by which these four BH resources will be reviewed. Specifically, the criteria that will be utilized consist of three main areas.[22]

First, cognitive approaches to grammar argue not only that a whole construction is necessary in understanding the function of an individual word but that the syntactic relationships within the construction partially contribute to the semantics of the word (see 2.4.2 – 2.4.3) (Langacker 2008:240-241). What a word symbolizes cannot be understood apart from its

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1) *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* is a translation (by Samuel Tregelles in 1846) of *the Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* written by Wilhelm Gesenius in 1833 (Gesenius 1846:626-630). This lexicon will not be reviewed, because BDB is based upon it and other works by Gesenius.

2) The *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament* based on the works of Gesenius and Furst (Mitchell, 1960:469-470). It is very brief and merely lists the main semantic values of עַל with supporting texts.

3) *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* by William Holladay is based on the work of Koehler and Baumgartner (1988:272-273). As the title suggests, it is for beginning to intermediate level students of BH and limits the amount of lexical information available for an easier read.

4) Theological dictionaries are also common BH resources, but do not treat עַל. Some of the most commonly used are: the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry; the *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* written by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann; and the *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* edited by Willem A. VanGemeren.

[21] Two grammars (among many others not listed) not reviewed are:

1) Gesenius's grammar, *Hebräische Grammatik* (1813) has been revised several times and undergone many editions. The latest English edition (Arthur Ernest Cowley), titled *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, is based on the Emil Kautzsch's updated version (Cowley 1910). It is not reviewed due to its brief semantic treatment of the preposition; only four semantic categories are listed.

2) *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* by Joüon and Muraoka originally published in 1991 is not reviewed, because they do not treat the semantics of the lexeme.

[22] The three criteria will be used primarily for the critique. These will be considered for the advantages of each resource as well, but other positive aspects will be mentioned, such as readability.

usage, so immediate context and syntactic information must be considered in determining semantics. This review will evaluate whether the BH resources adequately considered this type of information. For example, valency grammar will also be considered here and how עַל is used with certain types of verbs or particular verbal stems (see 2.4.2).

Second, frequency (see 2.3.1.1) is one property that might correlate to a GOE score and the degree of membership (Croft and Cruse 2004:78). When people are asked to list members of a category, usually the more frequently listed examples and the examples listed first correlate to more prototypical members. While no one speaks BH, statistical analysis may be done of the published BHS in order to determine frequency of usage. This review will evaluate whether or not the existing resources utilized statistical analysis to the degree that might provide insight into semantic categories and degrees of prototypicality. For example, do the lexica provide how many times עַל is semantically categorized as meaning "over"? Does this usage occur more often than the other usages and could that indicate that it is the most prototypical meaning of עַל?[23]

Third, CL has provided insights into the organization of polysemous lexical items.[24] Instead of merely listing the various semantic values, the meanings can be better organized by means of a radial network (see 2.3.1.2). The most prototypical meaning resides in the middle, and the less prototypical usages are connected to each other through different relationships, such as metaphor (see 2.3.2.1). For instance, concrete usages often occur first in language, followed by abstract meanings. A radial network even allows for fuzzy borders where a usage might occur in two different semantic categories (see 2.3.1.1). The BH resources' articles on עַל will be summarized and built upon from a CL point of view, including a well-justified semantic model that motivates their conceptualization and understanding of linguistic meanings. This will result in a clearly organized treatment of the BH lexeme. For example, do the authors consider concrete and figurative meanings separately and note possible semantic relationships between the two types? Also, are the semantic categories clearly organized, with unambiguous examples, indicating a clear conceptualization of the lexical meaning? If there are ambiguous examples, does the resource mark them as such?

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[23] The author acknowledges the laborious act of such a task, especially for the works of BDB and HALOT since electronic advancements were unavailable to help. This thesis answers the two questions pertaining to frequency based upon the statistical analysis of four books in the BHS: Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles.

[24] See the case studies of *over* (Lakoff 1987; Tyler and Evans 2007) in section 2.5.

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3.2.1 *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*

The work of BDB ([1906] 2006: 752-759), the oldest of the three, was based upon Wilhelm Gesenius' *Thesaurus Linguae Hebraicae* (published from 1829 to 1858). The three authors were influenced by the philological comparative method (Waltke and O'Connor 1990:41) and thought that semantic change could be explained by identifying relationships between genetic languages and by understanding the cultural and historical contexts of the languages (Geeraerts 2010:1).[25] Thus, the authors devote a fairly sized portion of the entry to philology, as well as, organize the entries according to stem or root as claimed in the preface: "The relation of Semitic derivatives to the stems is such as to make this method of grouping them an obvious demand from the scientific point of view." (BDB [1906] 2006:x).

BDB divides their treatment into three main groups: עַל as a preposition, as a conjunction, and as compounds.[26] The section on prepositions begins with a brief philological study of עַל, and then lists the different forms of the preposition, even noting frequency of occurrence of certain forms in the Pentateuch and poetry. Next, it lists the main semantic categories as follows:

As a Preposition[27]

1) Upon, of the substratum *upon* which an object in any way rests, or *on* which an action is performed - a) specifically of: *clothing*, etc., With verbs of *covering* or *protecting*, even though the cover or veil be not *over* or *above* the thing covered, but *around* or *before* it; b) Of what rests heavily *upon* a person, or is a burden to him; c) Of a duty, payment, care, etc., imposed *upon* a person, or devolving *on* him; d) עַל is used idiom. To give pathos to the expression of an emotion, by emphasizing the person who is its subject, and who, as it were, feels it acting *upon* him; e) חָיָה עַל– to live *upon* (as upon a foundation or support); f) Of the *ground*, or *basis*, *on* which a thing is done;

2) It expresses *excess* (syn. מִן);

3) It denotes *elevation* or *pre-eminence*, as עֶלְיוֹן עַל high (fig.) *above*;

4) It expresses *addition* - a) Introducing the complement of a verb; b) Used absolute; c) Hence by an easy transition it denotes *together with*, *with*;

5) It expresses the idea of being suspended, or extended, *over* anything, without however being in contact with it, above, over;

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[25] Geeraerts (2010:1-46) offers a chapter on the historical-philological approach.

[26] The first group is the substantive meaning "height," which will not be discussed here.

[27] The more minor sub-categories are not included in order to maintain some conciseness.

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6) From the sense of *inclining* or *impending over*, עַל comes to denote *contiguity* or *proximity*, English *by* (or sometimes on) - a) In designating localities, esp. those beside water; b) examples of *at*; c) Idiomatically, with עָמַד and נִצַּב to stand *by* (lit. *over*, - orig. no doubt with reference to one supposed to be seated);

7) In connexion with verbs of *motion* (actual or figurative) - a) Of motion from a higher place downwards, *down upon*; b) From a lower place upwards, *up upon, up to* as עלה עַל to go up upon; c) Expressing direction *towards* (not common, except in sense *against*; d) In a hostile sense, *upon, against*: so very often, after every kind of verb expressing or implying attack;

8) By writers of the silver age, עַל is sometimes used with the force of a *dative*;

9) With other particles.

As a Conjunction

1) עַל אֲשֶׁר *because that*;

2) עַל כִּי similar in meaning, but less frequent;

3) עַל alone – a) *because*; b) *notwithstanding that, although*.

As Compounds

1) With כְּ (rare and late) – a) *as concerning, as upon*; b) pleonastic for כְּ;

2) מֵעַל from upon, from over, from by – used with much delicacy of application in many different connexions, corresponding mostly with the different sense of עַל. Thus – a) *from upon* idiomatically, when removal, motion, etc., from a *surface* is involved; b) Of relief from a burden or trouble: as of a plague, stroke, rod, etc., removed *from* (resting) *on* one; c) *From beside*, in different *nuances*; d) In late Hebrew, עַל = *above*; e) מֵעַל לְ

3.2.1.1 A Critical Discussion of BDB

BDB offers a thorough and well thought out treatment of עַל with much consideration given to the underlying syntax and conceptualization of the word (Criterion 1). First, BDB points out the relationship of עַל with certain types of verbs and specific verbs. For example, BDB's category 1e points out how עַל interacts with חָיָה as "to live upon (as upon a foundation or support)." Also, under 1f, BDB deals with עַל with verbs of speaking such as רבד and רמא. These two instances illustrate the close relationship between syntax and lexicon by dealing with how the meanings of עַל are affected by specific verbs.

Second, BDB also considers the valency of verbs in its treatment of עַל (Criteria 1). Category 4, expressing addition, discusses how עַל can introduce the complement of verb. Also, category 7 deals entirely with verbs of motion. This is crucial in truly understanding the

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semantics of עַל. BDB often shows how the underlying syntactical constructions and how the relationship between the preposition and the verbs' valency help distinguish various categories of meanings.

Third, BDB is not only aware of how עַל relates to verbs but also to other prepositions. For example, the authors consider when the usage of עַל seems to be interchangeable with or similar to אֶל. In 7c, which is described as "expressing direction towards," the authors point out when עַל and אֶל occur in close proximity or when the two seem to be semantically synonymous. This shows sensitivity to not only BH, but how various words can relate to one another.

Fourth, BDB shows significant insight into the conceptualization of עַל and the word's semantic potential (Criterion 3). For example, category 7, "in connexion with verbs of motion," includes numerous spatial concepts that עַל demonstrates (e.g. "down upon," "up upon," "towards," "against"). BDB even specifies "with the force of over and towards" under "towards" giving examples like Ps. 14:3 "The Lord looks out over the sons of men."

3.1   יְהוָה מִשָּׁמַיִם הִשְׁקִיף עַל־בְּנֵי־אָדָם   "The Lord looks out over the sons of men"
Ps. 14:3

The authors differentiate this category from previous subgroups in the same group "down upon" and "up upon" and also from category 5, "being suspended…without however being in contact with it, above." BDB does well to capture the complexities of the preposition and the different spatial relationships it creates.

BDB also acknowledges figurative concepts as well. For instance, category 5 ("being suspended…without however being in contact with it, above") is also noted to be different than category 3, "elevation or pre-eminence." A simple spatial relationship is categorized separately from a sense of superiority. Category 3 lists עַל as denoting a figurative value of "above" as in Ps. 89:8 "awesome above all those who surround him."

3.2   וְנוֹרָא עַל־כָּל־סְבִיבָיו   "awesome above all those who surround him" Ps. 89:8

Another example of BDB's insight into the conceptualization of עַל is within category 1, "upon." Here, it includes physical concepts, such as clothes on someone, as well as figurative senses - "burdens upon someone. The lexicon even points out a spatial nuance of "upon" with "against" as in Lev. 1:5 "the blood against the altar."

3.3   וְזָרְקוּ אֶת־הַדָּם עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ   "to pour the blood against the altar"
                                                         Lev. 1:5

Further, עַל introduces "the ground or basis" for an action. In this case, BDB extends the spatial idea of an object resting "upon" something to the concept of a person acting "on account of" or "because" of a particular reason. This nuance also includes speaking or commanding "upon" or "concerning" someone or something. BDB shows sensitivity to a polysemous preposition with physical and figurative senses and explains them through a neatly organized semantic map.

While BDB's treatment of עַל sheds much light on the complex lexeme, some aspects of it could be called into question according to CL. First, the authors' consideration for syntactic information is a bit limited and does not fully meet the first criterion. As mentioned above, BDB relates a few semantic groups to particular types of verbs, but then mentions syntactical constructions only a few times in other groups. For example, עַל occurs with an infinitive in 2 Sam. 18:11 under category 1c, "of a duty…"

3.4   וְעָלַי לָתֶת לְךָ עֲשָׂרָה כֶסֶף   "and it would have been incumbent on me
                                                       to give" 2 Sam. 18:11

However, they do not indicate if the lexeme occurs elsewhere with an infinitive or whether the constructions with the infinitive should be regarded as a distinct semantic category. Like HALOT, it operates with a "haphazard treatment of syntactic information" (Van der Merwe 2004:123 and 2006a:93). BDB could have more accurately treated עַל, according to a CL perspective, if it had exhaustively considered the syntactic patterns of עַל. As exemplified above with BDB's own treatment of עַל, valency grammar may give insight into the semantics of a word (Van der Merwe 2004:123). This combined with an overall stronger evaluation of the syntactic information could shed light on the lexeme's semantic potential.

Second, BDB predates the field of CL, so it is not surprising to discover that the authors do not discuss the frequency of any grammatical constructions or semantic values (they do note the frequency of a few forms with pronominal suffixes). While BDB points out עַל with certain verbs, as mentioned above, it does not give the number of occurrences. According to a CL framework, a statistical analysis could possibly help to identify the prototypical usages (Criterion 2), as well as, rare constructions and concepts of the word. Even BDB distinguishes the spatial and metaphorical usages of particular semantic categories. A statistical analysis could show whether the spatial meanings are more frequent than the figurative or vice versa.

Third, while BDB thoroughly and clearly describes the semantic potential of עַל, there are some examples that seem to be unclear or appear to be placed in the wrong category (Criterion 3). For example, Job 29:3 "when his lamp shone over his head" under category 5 seems to fit here.

3.5	בְּהִלּוֹ נֵרוֹ עֲלֵי רֹאשִׁי	"when his lamp shone over my head" Job 29:3

However, what distinguishes it exactly from the category 7cd, "over and towards," listed in the subcategory "expressing direction towards" within the main group "in connexion with verbs of motion" where it contains examples like Ps. 31:17 "make your face to smile upon your servant"? Both have the same type of sense, but the verb in Ps. 31:17 (רוא) does not seem to be a "verb of motion," which qualifies category 7. While הלל in Job 29:3 is in the other category (Example 3.5).

3.6	הָאִירָה פָנֶיךָ עַל־עַבְדֶּךָ	"make your face to smile upon your servant" Ps. 31:17

BDB does make note of the strong resemblance between these two groups, but it does not point out the interchangeable examples.

Is. 19:16 "he waves over them" under category 5 might present another case of confusion between semantic groups.

3.7 　　　　　　　　הוּא מֵנִיף עָלָיו　　　　　　"he waves over them" Isa. 19:16

It is unclear why the authors place this example here when it contains a "verb of motion" (יָנִיף) and could be under the subcategory 7d, "against," as in a hostile sense. Again, the criteria for establishing the categories are a bit inconsistent and unclear. A third example of a need for a more precise conceptualization is how Num. 3:26 is included under category 6a consisting of a contiguous notion "by."

3.8 　　　　　　וְאֶת־מָסַךְ פֶּתַח הֶחָצֵר אֲשֶׁר　　　　"the curtain at the entrance to the courtyard
　　　　　　　　עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּן וְעַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב　　　that surrounded the tabernacle and the
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　altar" Num. 3:26

This categorization is true somewhat, however, the nuance also involves "surrounding" with the lexeme סָבִיב. BDB does not make note of this sense but merely lists the reference in a long list of others that exemplify "by." Perhaps instances involving סָבִיב and a sense of "surrounding" could have been categorized separately from category 6a "by." These examples that pose confusion may reflect a questionable semantic model underlying BDB's treatment of עַל (Van der Merwe 2004:121 and 2006b:85).

BDB offers a thorough treatment of עַל and gives some weight to the underlying syntax in determining the semantic categories. Not only are particular verbs and prepositions noted as they interact with עַל, but how the preposition relates to the valency of verbs is also mentioned. Another advantage of BDB is its underlying semantic map that creates a well-organized treatment of עַל. The complexities of עַל are plainly put forth in such a way that a translator can gain a fairly good understanding of the preposition. Despite all of these advantages, the lexicon does not always meet the three CL-based criteria set forth in this review. The frequency of any of the syntactic constructions or semantic values is also not indicated. Such a statistical profile might have been useful to determine the prototypical categories from those that are less typical. Also, some of the BHS references seem to be placed in the wrong semantic category. It would have benefited the users if the authors had noted a usage that could have been placed in more than one category or that was simply difficult to categorize.

3.2.2 Koehler and Baumgartner's *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*

Originally published 50 years later than BDB (1953 in German), HALOT was also influenced by the philological comparative method and assumed that changes in lexical usages could be explained by identifying relationships between related languages and by understanding the cultural and historical contexts of the languages (Geeraerts 2010:1).[28] One difference though is its organization of non-verbs is not by root but by fully specified (i.e. vocalized) form.[29] Also, HALOT includes less philological data than BDB and proceeds lightly and cautiously in drawing conclusions based on this type of data (O'Connor 2002:201). HALOT (2001:LXXI) does not attempt to explain how any idioms or words of the cognate languages can be compared to BH, because of the "difficult ground, full of dangers and fallacies" and because scholars are still far from knowing all they need to of the cognate languages.

HALOT begins with a philological study of עַל and then lists the different forms of the preposition with various pronominal suffixes and other affixes (2001:825-827). Next, the authors list ten main semantic values with various subgroups followed by a list of emendations.

1) **on** - a) for example, "upon themselves," "sleeves on him"; also as "in" such as "in this scroll"; b) **over** ("a spring meaning at, beside"); c) **in front of, before**; d) duties and obligations which are incumbent on someone; e) for physical and mental perceptions; on, meaning relying on, supported on something; f) **above**, meaning **more than**; g) **on the side of, supported by**;
2) **on account of**;
3) **with regard to, concerning**;
4) **according to**;
5) - a) **against** (in a hostile sense); b) **opposite, against**;
6) **to, towards** – a) in the sense of אֶל; b) **in addition to**; c) **together with**; d) **in addition to, to**;
7) **from far off**, same as definition 8a;
8) with מִן as מֵעַל – a) **downwards from, above and outside, away from**; b) **over, on**; c) beside; d) in comparisons, more than;
9) as a conjunction – a) **because**; b) עַל כִּי **because**; c) עַל לֹא notwithstanding, that...not, although;

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[28] Geeraerts (2010:1-46) provides a useful overview of the historical-philological approach.

[29] See O'Connor (2002:192) and his explanation of the influences behind this shift in BH lexicography in the 1950's.

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10) in Psalm titles

3.2.2.1 A Critical Discussion of HALOT

O'Connor (2002:200) claims that the semantic analysis of HALOT is more orderly than BDB. O'Connor (2002:200) explains how HALOT among others of the mid-century "tend to be more schematic in logical or developmental terms." HALOT's (2001:LXXII) introduction states,

> "The safe principle of modern semantics is to look first for the original meaning of a word (in many cases more concrete and restricted than the secondaries) and from this to derive the word's more abstract and even more spiritual meanings. As a rule today one endeavours to draw a genetical sequence of the meanings a word is apt to assume."

HALOT presents the various semantic values of עַל in terms of ten main categories. It begins with a spatial gloss of "on" and moves to a more abstract sense via metaphor of "on account of." From there, it continues with other abstract usages of "with regard to, concerning" and "according to." The authors give "in the manner of" and "in the way of" as other translation values that could be used in the case of category 4, which they labeled with the translation value "according to." This implies that they acknowledge the fact that a semantic category may have several possible translation values. Then, HALOT reverts back to more physical senses of "against," "to, towards" and "from far off." This last definition leads into the eighth value of מֵעַל, which often has a similar sense. The ninth value is how it is used as a conjunction, and last is a list of עַל in psalm titles.

Although HALOT gives a much shorter treatment of עַל than BDB, it has much to offer. First, this lexicon appears to cover the semantic potential of the preposition in a fairly concise and thorough way. A reader can quickly scan through the meanings and gain a basic understanding of the range of senses, from concrete and spatial to abstract and metaphorical. For example, under the spatial meaning of category 1 "on", HALOT includes a metaphorical sense for category 1d - "duties and obligations" may be the entity "on" another. The authors organize a metaphorical sense schematically developing from the concrete and spatial sense

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"on." This is evidence of the authors having a sort of semantic model established to guide their understanding of the lexical meanings (Criterion 3).

Second, HALOT notes specific verbs that the lexical item occurs with (Criterion 1), such as category 6a, "in the sense of אֶל," within the main group "to, towards." However, the authors do not specify how each of these verbs is a verb of movement requiring a complement of place supplied by a prepositional phrase. For example, consider 1 Chron. 12:23 as example 3.9.

3.9   יָבֹאוּ עַל־דָּוִיד   "they came to David" 1 Chron. 12:23

The valency of the verb of movement יָבֹאוּ requires the prepositional phrase עַל־דָּוִיד. The lexeme עַל introduces the necessary complement of place. However, HALOT implies that a feature of this semantic value is the construction of a verb of movement plus עַל.[30] Another keen observation by the authors is found under category 9a, "because," when they point out the verbs' involvement in Gen. 31:20 and Ps. 119:136.[31]

3.10   עַל־בְּלִי הִגִּיד   "because he did not tell" Gen. 31:20

3.11   עַל לֹא־שָׁמְרוּ תוֹרָתֶךָ   "because they do not keep your law"
                                            Ps. 119:136

Although HALOT does not describe the significance in much detail, the fact that the verb immediately follows עַל is important and changes the function of the particle.[32]

Third, when עַל combines with other morphemes, the authors regard it as a different semantic category (Criterion 1). The authors list when different syntactic relationships possibly reveal distinct lexical meanings. For instance, category 2 "on account of," lists examples of עַל־זֹאת

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[30] Another good example of HALOT's treatment of עַל with a verb is in category 8d, "in comparisons, more than." HALOT points out the usage of לִגְדַל in Mal 1:5 with this semantic value. Even though, it is not explicitly stated, this example reminds the reader of the verb's semantic valency. The verb in "be magnified beyond the border" requires a comparison, and מֵעַל supplies it.

[31] The analysis in Chapter 5 includes Gen. 31:20 under the Instrumental Sense, not under the Causal Sense.

[32] More on how עַל functions as a connector will be discussed in Chapter 5.

and עַל־כֵּן, which mark an action or fact based on previous statements. Also, the lexicon lists מֵעַל as a separate main group (category 8) and when the lexeme combines with other particles to function as a conjunction (category 9).

Although we must appreciate HALOT's reference to syntactic constructions and consideration of עַל with other prepositions and particles, there is still some room for improvement. Like BDB, HALOT predates the CL movement and did not aim to meet the criteria set forth in this review. However, it is often not clear whether the syntactic information provided has any semantic significance or not. The few times HALOT refers to the various syntactic constructions in which עַל is used, it is usually to simply point out the adjoining verb or particle. Thus, it does not meet the CL-based Criterion 1. For example, category 3, "with regard to, concerning," only contains three examples and the syntactical basis for this semantic value is not explained. HALOT mentions Gen. 41:32 with an infinitive and that the ל in Jer. 32:31 helps to strengthen the עַל, but this is all the syntactic information given by the authors.

3.12	וְעַל הִשָּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם	"and concerning the repeating of the dream" Gen. 41:32
3.13	כִּי עַל־אַפִּי וְעַל־חֲמָתִי הָיְתָה לִּי הָעִיר הַזֹּאת	"for this city has been to me a source of my anger and my wrath" Jer. 32:31

Another instance is when HALOT considers some of the syntactic constructions within category 1d, "duties and obligations which are incumbent on someone," and notes עַל with a ל and infinitive. However, it does not point out עַל with its pronominal suffix in the construction with the noun הַדָּבָר in Ezra 10:4.

3.14	כִּי־עָלֶיךָ הַדָּבָר	"for this matter concerns you" Ezra 10:4

With this inconsistent consideration for syntax, it is unclear what exact role the syntactic and morpho-syntactic features of constructions play in distinguishing the semantic categories. For example, category 4, "according to," lacks any syntactic criteria. Are these quotations only grouped together based on the authors' translation value or does a common syntactic

construction underpin this semantic value? While the quotations consist of עַל combined with only nouns and particles, HALOT typically does not refer to this or draw conclusions from it. Another example of this deficiency is within category 9b, "עַל כִּי" as "because" and "עַל אֲשֶׁר" as "for the reason that." HALOT again does not explain the syntax of the surrounding words in the quotations. Does the lexeme occur before or after the main clause? The authors also do not describe the different sense of "because." Are these instances where the conjunction marks a reason for a natural occurrence or a motivation for an assertion by someone? As a result of this approach, HALOT seems sometimes to be a list of loosely organized translation glosses (Van der Merwe 2006b:85).

A second shortcoming of HALOT is the absence of statistical information concerning the categories (i.e. senses) that are distinguished (Criterion 2). Koehler (2001:LXX) states in an introduction, "As far as possible all quotations are given, but where that list would be meaningless on account of the great number of occurrences, a statement is made concerning the frequency of the word and the parts of the texts where it is to be found". However, no statement concerning frequency is found in the treatment of עַל. And while one would understand how lengthy a complete list of quotations would be, statistical analysis could at least be included to give an idea to the reader. In describing a language based on a closed corpus of text, the frequency and distribution of occurrence of the members of the various senses may provide better insight into the more prototypical uses of the preposition within that specific corpus. In HALOT, the main groups seem to be in a moderately logical order, but it is hard to determine whether this is the best organization possible. Even though "on" is listed first and seems to be the most common translation value, HALOT does not provide any supporting evidence that this could be the prototypical usage of עַל.

Despite the praise of O'Connor (2002:200) in regards to HALOT's more schematic order than that of BDB, this lexicon does not fully meet the third criterion, which is based upon a CL framework. A clearly defined semantic model would help explain the various relationships among meanings of a polysemous word. Without a clear theoretical understanding of how linguistic meanings develop, a clearly conceptualized treatment of a lexeme is impossible to create. As a result, there is ambiguity from one main category to another. For example, category 5 ("opposition") includes subgroups "against (in a hostile sense)" and "opposite, against." This is quite a shift from category 4, "according to." The

lack of explanation given to the possible relationship between the two meanings and how one has perhaps developed from another was not a priority to the authors. CL may offer some plausible explanations of these shifts.

The lack of a well-justified semantic model results in ambiguity within an individual category. For instance, category 1g includes both "supported by" and "on the side of," which are two distinct concepts. While these translation values are connected through similar spatial concepts and seem to present the notion of two things next to each other in some manner, the semantic senses are distinct and should possibly be considered as separate categories. Chapter 5 will illustrate how two different concepts such as these should be described separately. Another example of ambiguity within a category pertains to the category 1g "on the side of, supported by." Several of the examples referred to seem to take more of an instrumental value of "by means of." For example, Ps. 50:5 is better rendered as "made a covenant *by* sacrifice" rather than "*supported by* sacrifice." HALOT does not indicate why he places these two very different semantic senses together under one subcategory. The criteria set forth in Chapter 5 will distinguish between spatial senses ("on the side of") and instrumental senses ("by means of").

3.15   כֹּרְתֵי בְרִיתִי עֲלֵי־זָבַח   "Those who have made a covenant with me by sacrifice" Ps. 50:5

Lastly, the placement of this entire subgroup in the main group "on" is confusing, since they don't seem to be an immediate extension of it. The categorization of this subgroup seems to be underdeveloped. A semantic may provide a clearer picture of the polysemous relationships among and within the semantic categories.

In summary, HALOT's treatment of עַל appears to cover the semantic potential of the preposition in a concise manner, loosely organizes the values into a list based on the author's experience of BH, uses numerous quotations for support, and sometimes references the relevant underlying syntactic constructions. However, HALOT does not fully meet the three criteria stated above, which were established for heuristic means for the benefit of this research. The authors do not consistently consider how the syntactic constructions surrounding the particle may offer insight into the semantic values. Also, HALOT does not consider statistical data, such as frequency, to the extent that could possibly aid in giving

insight into prototypicality. Finally, the treatment supplies a confusing list oftentimes, due to organizing semantic categories according to translation values rather than semantics.

Both HALOT and BDB offer thorough treatments of עַל and seem to cover its semantic potential. In regards to Criterion 1, both occasionally mention specific verbs in which the lexeme interacts with, but BDB considers the valency of verbs and how עַל relates to types of verbs (e.g. verbs of movement) significantly more than HALOT. BDB gives more syntactic information surrounding the preposition. However, neither one fully meet Criterion 1, because both are quite limited in considering syntactic information in forming their semantic categories. Also, neither one include statistical data of syntactic constructions or semantic categories (Criterion 2). Finally, despite O'Connor's (2002:200) claim that the semantic analysis of HALOT is more orderly than BDB, this review finds BDB's treatment of עַל to be orderly. This is true partly because BDB gives more weight to syntactic constructions and how these reveal distinct semantic categories. Also, BDB shows more sensitivity to a polysemous preposition with numerous concrete senses and the figurative senses that develop from them. Overall, BDB seems to distinguish between all these senses in a more organized way than HALOT. Oftentimes, HALOT's confusing organization seems to be based on English translation values rather than how the word actually developed and how linguistic meanings are conceptualized. However, BDB does not fully meet Criterion 3, due to some quotations being placed in the wrong semantic category. The theory of fuzzy borders was not used by either lexicon in clarifying difficult quotations to the readers, which is understandable due to the fact that neither lexica were contemporaneous with the development of CL.

3.2.3 David J.A. Clines' *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*

The volumes of DCH were published throughout the 1990's. DCH is different than BDB and HALOT because its editors excluded non-Hebrew philological data, due to its "theoretical base in modern linguistics" (Clines 1993:14-15).[33] Instead of focusing upon the individual words, it places emphasis upon the whole sentence and context. The concern of DCH is not "only with meanings, but with syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships" (Clines 1993:25).

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[33] For a critique of this stance, see O'Connor (2002:201-202).

Another difference of DCH from its predecessors is the inclusion of all kinds of Hebrew earlier than 200 CE, hence the title including *Classical Hebrew*. The four corpora include the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, The Qumran manuscripts, and inscriptions (Clines 1993:14).

DCH begins the treatment of עַל by listing the number of occurrences within the BH corpus and the various forms with pronominal suffixes (2007:385-98). It proceeds to list an outline of his semantic values with the main categories as follows:

1) in spatial senses
2) location of feelings, perceptions, states
3) direction of the mind, disposition
4) of good fortune, blessing, etc., **upon**
5) of hostility, opposition
6) of culpability, moral condition, **upon**, i.e. **against, accounted to**
7) of obligation, duty, liability, charge
8) expressing addition, accompaniment
9) of excess, comparison, **above, over, beyond, in excess of, (more) than**
10) of pre-eminence, exaltation, **above**
11) **over**, i.e. **in charge of**
12) of benefit, the 'pathetic' עַל
13) of purpose, **for (the purpose of), as**
14) of cause, ground
15) **concerning, about, of, with regard to, as regards**
16) **according to**
17) **(in exchange) for**
18) **to the account of, to the debit of, owing by, at the expense of**
19) of time, duration
20) of instrument, **by (means of), with, through**
21) **with, to (the accompaniment of)**
22) **in spite of, notwithstanding**
23) perhaps introducing object
24) as a conjunction
25) עַל־מָה on account of what?, why?
26) As first constituent of compound preposition
27) לְבַד עַל **besides, apart from**
28) כְּעַל
29) מֵעַל
30) מֵעַל לְ
31) עַד־מֵעַל **as far as above**
32) מֵעַל פְּנֵי **from (upon the face of)**

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3.2.3.1 Critical Discussion of DCH

Considering biblical literature as well as extrabiblical literature, DCH is abundant with semantic categories. Compared to HALOT or BDB, Clines gives different categories sometimes perhaps due to these extra references; category 17, "(in exchange) for," contains two references from Sirach and only one from Ezekiel. DCH offers several advantages. First, the layout of such a large number of translation values is quite readable. Each quotation is given in both Hebrew and italicized English. The outline in the beginning is also helpful for navigation and for a quick overview of the lengthy treatment.

Second, DCH occasionally discusses syntactic information (Criterion 1), such as when עַל is followed by an infinitive construct in 2 Sam. 18:11. This quotation occurs in category 7, "of obligation, duty, liability, charge." Also, Clines supplies Gen. 14:32 under category 15 "concerning, about of, with regard to, as regards" and mentions that עַל is followed by an infinitive construct.

| 3.16 | וְעָלַי לָתֶת לְךָ עֲשָׂרָה כֶסֶף | "it would have been (incumbent) on me to give you ten pieces of silver" 2 Sam. 18:11 |
| 3.17 | וְעַל הִשָּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם | "as regards the repetition of the dream" Gen. 14:32 |

Similar to BDB and HALOT, DCH also includes separate semantic categories for when עַל combines with other prepositions or particles (categories 24b-32).

Third, DCH is aware of when עַל seems to be semantically interchangeable with or similar to אֶל. Clines creates a separate category "to, as equivalent of אֶל" under category 3a ("direction of the mind, disposition" – "of attention, communication").

Fourth, DCH includes a table for each letter of the alphabet of the words in order of frequency (Criterion 2). The lexeme עַל is the most frequently occurring word beginning with the letter ע (Clines 2007:62). This is generally helpful, because it indicates the number of occurrences within the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, The Dead Sea Scrolls, and inscriptions.

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Fifth, Clines shows sensitivity to one aspect of the third criterion – fuzzy borders. He periodically mentions when distinction between categories is a bit hazy as he does between category 8a ("(in addition) to, besides") and 8b ("(together) with") with a brief note. Other unclear distinctions between categories include definitions 12a ("for (the sake of), to (the advantage/disadvantage of)") and 12b ("for, i.e. on behalf of"); definitions 14b ("for") and 15 ("concerning, about, of, with regard to, as regards"). Occasionally, DCH will note the specific quotation that could be included within two different categories, such as Ps. 110:4. It is listed under category 15 ("concerning, about, of, with regard to, as regards") with the note "unless according to, i.e. §16."

3.18   עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק   "with regard to the manner of Melchizedek" Ps. 110:4

These notations regarding unclear categorization is evidence that Clines was sensitive to the complex nature of polysemous lexemes. As discussed above under Criterion 3 and under Prototype Theory (2.3.1.1), some categories may not have sharp, clear boundaries.

With 32 main categories and numerous subcategories, DCH seems thorough to the reader at first glance. The introduction states that instead of focusing upon the individual words, it places emphasizes upon the whole sentence and context. The concern of DCH (1993:25) is not "only with meanings, but with syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships." However, the extent of its insights to BH semantics is questionable.

First, there is a lack of consideration for the relevant syntactic information that surrounds עַל that could shed light on lexical meaning (Criterion 1). DCH mostly offers "glosses supplemented with lists of the systematic syntagmatic distribution of lexical items" (Van der Merwe 2006b:85; also see De Blois 2000:10). Van der Merwe further explains that this treatment "does not necessarily give any insight into the lexical meaning of BH expressions themselves" (2006a:94). He also states that without considering the valency of the adjoining words, the treatment does not give as much semantic explanation as it could (2006a:94). For example, knowing whether a prepositional usage is an optional or obligatory constituent of a particular verb would offer a more precise understanding of the semantics of עַל and those verbs. Instead, DCH simply lists the different translation glosses or contexts in which the particle occurs (e.g. "of purpose" or "of time").

The list of glosses and concepts also raises the questions of how Clines arrives at his various glosses of עַל. Clines, however, is not clear if or how the syntactic and morpho-syntactic features of constructions are used to distinguish the various categories of meaning (Criterion 1). Rather, DCH gives a great deal of weight to the context and situation of the occurrence. This explains the separate categories for "location of feelings," "direction of the mind" (including "attention," "of compassion," and "of trust"), "of good fortune," "of hostility," "of culpability," and "of obligation." DCH seems to analyze the preposition based on the contextual circumstances, without systematically considering how syntactical information could influence lexical meaning.

Further, DCH seems too dependent upon the semantic structure of English, rather than BH. For example, he lists three different subcategories of category 8 "expressing addition, accompaniment" including "(in addition) to, besides," "(together) with," and "(following) upon, (one) after (another)." It appears like the three distinctions are based upon the English translation values. De Blois (2000:10) argues,

> A Hebrew dictionary is to teach us something about meaning in Hebrew and too much emphasis on the semantic structure of the English language may prevent us from really understanding what goes on in Hebrew. Only a structural semantic analysis of Hebrew can help us to understand what the language is trying to communicate...

Lexical meaning arises from language usage. Therefore, the basis for Criterion 1 is that the BH syntactical information would provide insight into how עַל is used and its lexical meaning.

Second, while DCH does contain the frequency count of the lexical item in the beginning of the treatment (the same information is included in the table according to the BH letter), it lacks any detailed statistical analysis, such as frequency and distribution, for each semantic category (Criterion 2). While this was not stated as a goal of the lexicon, more statistical profiling might provide better insight into the more prototypical uses of the preposition and may also help in postulating the development of the word in a more substantiated manner. Are the concrete usages more frequent than the figurative?

Third, the organization and underlying semantic structure of his list of categories is weak (Criterion 3). As a result, some examples of the semantic categories create obscurity. For instance, Hosea 11:11 "I will make them dwell in their houses" is placed under category 1a, "spatial sense" - "simple location." However, the difference between this reference and Jer. 51:51 "strangers have come into the holy places of the house of Yahweh," which is under category 1b, "goal, target, direction," is not explained by the Clines.

3.16	וְהוֹשַׁבְתִּים עַל־בָּתֵּיהֶם נְאֻם־יְהוָה	"I will make them dwell in their houses" Hosea 11:11
3:17	בָּאוּ זָרִים עַל־מִקְדְּשֵׁי בֵּית יְהוָה	"strangers have come into the holy places of the house of Yahweh" Jer. 51:51

Both seem to have a sense of spatial location, so why is the Hosea reference placed under "simple location"? Is it a difference of type of verb (explicit movement, i.e. *they have come*, versus implied movement of the causative verb, i.e. *they were being moved*) or the different underlying syntactical constructions? Another example of obscurity is how Gen. 35:5 and 1 Sam. 11:7 are both under category 2, "location of feelings, perceptions, states." However, these references could easily appear under the definition 5, "of hostility, opposition" like 1 Sam. 11:2.

3.18	חִתַּת אֱלֹהִים עַל־הֶעָרִים	"and the terror of God was upon the cities" Gen. 35:5
3:19	וַיִּפֹּל פַּחַד־יְהוָה עַל־הָעָם	"and the dread of Yahweh fell upon the people" 1 Sam. 11:7
3.20	וְשַׂמְתִּיהָ חֶרְפָּה עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	"and I will set it as a reproach upon all Israel" 1 Sam. 11:2

Both categories include "upon," and it seems that the author bases the distinction on the type of "object x" which is "upon" some people. Examples 3.18 and 3.19 could be categorized as feelings or perceptions that are upon people, and example 3.20 could be considered an action which somebody undertook to set something on somebody else. The author does not explain the distinction, though. One must ask if this type of contextual distinction is justifiable and the best criterion used for distinguishing semantic categories. Chapter 5 utilizes a criteria based in CL that considers more than the English context. The methodology shows sensitivity

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to the BH syntactical frame and how the surrounding lexemes contribute to the preposition's lexical meaning.

DCH offers an extensive treatment of עַל beginning with a very readable outline that helps give an overview of the possible translation values and contexts in which the lexeme might occur. Also, DCH considers extrabiblical texts and overall frequency, which broadens the possible semantic categories and understanding. DCH, also, periodically notes a word that the lexical item occurs with, as well as when the distinction between categories might be a bit hazy. While DCH has contributed to the treatment of עַל, readers need to be sensitive to its shortcomings. It appears to be simply a list of translation values with little weight given to the relevant syntactic information and statistical data. Finally, the most problematic issue with DCH is that it seems to use contextual grounds based in English for distinguishing the various categories and/or the relationships among them.

Compared to BDB and HALOT, DCH does not explicitly consider relevant syntactic information, particularly the valency of verbs, as much as either BDB or HALOT (Criterion 1). This is surprising considering the time of publication and its alleged theoretical basis within modern linguistics. Clines' emphasis is upon the context of the whole sentence but is not upon the syntactic constructions of עַל. Finally, in regards to Criterion 3, DCH mentions more frequently to when distinction between two semantic categories might be a bit hazy.

3.2.4 Waltke and O'Connor's *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*

WO is an intermediary resource on the syntax of BH and was meant to be used as both a textbook and reference tool (WO 1990:IX). Before WO was published in the early 1990's there was no intermediate or advanced syntax resource in English and the need had long been noticed. Also, WO was intended to be used with other works like Gesenius, Kautzsch, and Cowley. While there is some reference to comparative Semitic data due to the large influence Gesenius had on the authors, knowledge of other languages is not presupposed of the readers (WO 1990:IX-XI).

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According to WO, prepositions are relational in nature, and the authors point out that usually scholars primarily focus upon the preposition's relationship to its object (particularly in regards to comparative data). Rather, the whole of pattern of *verb* + *preposition* + *object* must be considered, and the syntax resource's responsibility is to provide a framework in which a lexicon can be used in describing a preposition in relationship with its verb (WO 1990:190). WO is the first reference work in this review that utilizes a framework consistent with CL, which was lacking in BDB, HALOT, and DCH.

WO (1990:216-218) begins with a brief overview of עַל as a preposition or conjunction. It is also mentioned that the lexeme could be related to the noun עַל "height." The treatment has six main categories:

1) Spatial
2) Metaphorical
3) Excess
4) Norm, Cause, and Goal
5) Oppositional
6) Marks a topic or circumstance

3.2.4.1 Critical Discussion of WO

WO supplies a concise and thorough overview of the semantic senses of עַל. For example, category 1 lists a variety of locative senses and types of verbal movements considered, including "simple locational," "comprehensive locational," verbs of "covering and protecting," and verbs of motion that have a "terminative sense." Due to the fact that this resource is not a lexicon, the authors limit the number of quotations to illustrate each subcategory to one or two. The authors also consider the metaphorical senses in category 2, including when עַל marks a burden, someone "feels pathos upon himself," a "reflexive" sense, or "advantage." Again, these are merely listed in WO with a brief explanation in order to give an idea of the range of senses.

The first advantage, as stated above, is that the authors' framework acknowledges the verb's contribution to the preposition (Criterion 1). The valency of the verb governs the usage of the preposition, and an ideal lexicon would categorize the meanings of the preposition according to their combinations with specific verbs (WO 1990:191-192). For example, WO gives the

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example of Zeph. 3:17 and notes that category 2 "metaphorical" includes psychological predicates with verbs of feeling and thinking, e.g. rejoicing.

3.21   יָשִׂישׂ עָלַיִךְ   "He will rejoice over you." Zeph. 3:17

3.22   חוֹמָה הָיוּ עָלֵינוּ   "They were a wall about us." 1 Sam. 25:16

WO also mentions how the comprehensive locational sense "around, about" under category 1 "spatial" often involves verbs of covering and protecting. The authors give Example 3.22 with the verb הָיָה, which is not a verb of covering. However, the reader is sensitized to this particular semantic category and the possible types of verbs associated with it.

3.23   וְלֹא־תַעֲלֶה בְמַעֲלֹת עַל־מִזְבְּחִי   "You shall not go up to my altar via steps. Exod. 20:26

3.24   וַאֲנִי שָׁמַעְתִּי עָלֶיךָ   "I have heard it said of you…" Gen. 41:15

WO also considers how the lexeme relates to other prepositions. For instance, Example 3.23 illustrates the terminative sense of the lexeme. The authors make a parenthetical that the preposition אֶל sometimes shares the same terminative sense (under the spatial category) as עַל. Also, Example 3.24 shows how the lexeme may function similarly to the inseparable לְ by marking a topic (under category 6).

Second, the authors' framework for understanding BH includes a well contemplated consideration of the nature of a polysemous lexeme and its underlying semantic model, e.g., how different semantic categories may have developed from or be related to other categories (Criterion 3). First, they explain how the spatial sense is often the basic meaning for the preposition. Then, WO (1990:192) continues, "From this notion other senses, referring to temporal and logical relations, can be seen as having developed." As a result, they list the spatial sense first among the categories. WO mentions under category 5 that a "concessive" sense (Example 3.25) may be derived from the "oppositional" sense (Example 3.26). This is further evidence that they indeed operate with a clear semantic model.

3.25 עַל־מִשְׁפָּטִי אֲכַזֵּב "Despite my (being) right, I am considered a liar." Job 34:6

3.26 לֹא יִהְיֶה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים עַל־פָּנָי "You shall not have other gods over against me." Exod. 20:3

Also, under category 4, the authors note that there is difficulty to distinguish between some examples of "norms and causes" or between "causes and goals." This would be an example of fuzzy borders according to CL and illustrates how semantic categories are not always clearly demarcated and definable.

Despite these advantages, there are a few shortcomings of WO. First, WO fully acknowledges the pivotal role of syntactic information in the distinction of semantic categories. However, it is not always clear how the authors have used syntactic information in their distinction of semantic categories (Criterion 1). For example, WO (1990:217) states under the metaphorical sense (category 2), "When the subject feels the pathos 'upon' himself or herself, the 'l –phrase is reflexive."

3.27 וַתִּתְעַטֵּף עָלַי רוּחִי "My spirit faints within me." Ps. 143:4

However, other than Example 3.27, no syntactic information is given to help determine when עַל is reflexive. It is not clear whether this "sense" is only profiled when the preposition is used with a Hithpael (i.e. a conjugation with a reflexive meaning). Also, when the authors mention the difficulty of distinguishing between norms and causes or between causes and goals under category 5, syntactic constructions could offer some insight in determining the differences.

Second, WO does not provide any statistical analysis (Criterion 2), but this is to be understood since it is a syntax tool, not a lexicon. They only mention that the "separative" sense (Example 3.28) under category 6 "oppositional" is rare.

3.28 בְּצֵאתוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם "when he went out from the land of Egypt" Ps. 81:6

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Third, WO aims to present a framework in which to understand lexical information. However, its semantic model could be further refined in light of CL principles (Criterion 3). For instance, Example 3.28 above illustrates the "separative" sense, which is placed under the "oppositional" sense (category 6). However, the spatial nature of the usage could be another subcategory of category 1. Yet, there is no mention of two categories being possibilities. Another instance of a quotation occurring in two categories is 2 Kngs. 17:3. WO lists it under the "metaphorical" sense as a "disadvantage", but it could easily have been quoted under the "oppositional" sense (category 6).

3.29	עָלָיו עָלָה שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר	"Shalmanezer came up against him." 2 Kgs. 17:3

The authors could also operate more explicitly with the notions of "fuzzy borders." In addition, an explanation of how the different semantic categories could be related to one another or developed from one another could also have been considered more systematically (Criterion 3). The authors imply that the metaphorical sense (category 2) develops from the spatial sense (category 1) by the order of categories and by their claim that most prepositions have a basic spatial sense (1990:192). It will be evident from the findings of this study that a more sophisticated mapping of the shifts of meaning could be postulated.

3.2.5 Other Treatments of עַל

There are few works apart from HALOT, BDB, DCH, and WO that discuss עַל and its role within BH. Reider (1940) suggests that a few occurrences of עַל are the substantival form of the verbs הלע (1 Sam. 2:10; Job 36:33; 37:15) and ללע (Isa. 59:18; Prov. 14:14; Job 37:16). Greenfield (1977:371) only mentions how עַל seems to have replaced עַד in a few scripture references (e.g. Josh. 2:7; Judg. 7:22). Sutcliffe (1955:437) has a short note on how עַל might be rendered as "from" in order to connote removal, but it does not necessarily mean "from" exactly. For example, Dan. 6:19 is sometimes translated "his sleep fled from him" in order to capture the element of separation. While English tells directly the source of the objects origin, i.e. "him," Hebrew tells more of where it was when taken i.e. "his sleep fled [from where it was] on him." This is a good reminder to not let the translation value determine the semantic

categories of a word. Rather, BH must be understood in context before one translates it into a target language.

3.3 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review three major BH lexica and one syntax resource in order to see how they treated the lexeme עַל according to three criteria based upon some lessons from CL. First, lexical meaning cannot be understood apart from its construction. This review established that all four BH resources, to various degrees, did not fully meet this criterion. Second, a statistical analysis of the semantic categories could offer insight into the more prototypical and less typical senses. However, none of the BH resources considered a statistical profile of frequency among the semantic categories. Third, CL offers a semantic model to understanding the conceptualization of a polysemous lexeme and how the different meanings possibly develop from one another through such means as metaphor. The two case studies of *over* in Chapter 2 illustrated different applications of CL frameworks, which provided a point of departure in evaluating the BH resources. This review found that the BH resources met the third criterion. There was often ambiguity in regards to categorization of quotations or confusion between semantic senses. Also, relationships among meanings and the possible development of one meaning from another were rarely mentioned or explained. The spatial sense is usually assumed to be the most basic meaning for עַל but the resources offered little to no substantial evidence for this claim other than this being the tendency of prepositions (WO).

This literature review shows that BDB, HALOT, DCH, and WO have treated this complex word with great care. However, they do not meet the three CL-based criteria set forth in this chapter. CL brings an alternative approach to answering, "What does עַל mean?" In order to understand lexical meaning, one must understand that meaning resides in usage. Therefore, the semantic potential of עַל is reflected through BH and must not be separated from any syntactic construction in which it is associated. This approach, and in particular the aspects mentioned in the three criteria, will be utilized going forth with this study. Chapter 4 explains the hypothesis of this study and the methodology that will be utilized in more accurately describing the semantic potential of עַל.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The literature review in Chapter 3 established that current descriptions of עַל lack a well-justified framework for semantic explanation. It is hypothesized that the methodologies utilized in the case studies of *over* as presented by Tyler and Evans (2007)[34] provide the point of departure needed for looking at spatial lexemes and syntactic constructions in BH in order to describe more adequately the polysemous nature of עַל. Geeraerts (2010:183) claims, "Cognitive semantics is arguably the most popular framework for the study of lexical meaning in contemporary linguistics." These lessons from CL will be applied to an analysis of עַל within Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles (Chapter 5) based upon the methodological principles described below.

Assuming:

- that the cognitive processes for modern humans are the same as for humans in the ancient world;
- that the semantic values of עַל, whether as a preposition or a conjunction and whether solo or part of a compound, are instances of polysemy;
- and that Tyler and Evans' (2007) framework and theoretical analysis for the study of *over* offer heuristic guidelines to be used similarly with an analysis of עַל.

The five methodological principles that will guide the empirical research of Chapter 5 will be spelled out in the next section.

4.2 Methodological Principles

4.2.1 Empirical data of the lexeme will be gathered to determine the underlying syntactical constructions in which עַל occurs.

Chapter 2 explained the necessity of the syntactic frames to the understanding the lexeme's usage (see 2.4.2-2.4.3). Constituency is a means to describe syntactic relationships where a word or group of words functions as a single unit in a hierarchical structure. For example, עַל

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[34] Section 2.5.2.1 explains why Tyler and Evans (2007) is preferred over Lakoff (1987). Also, the third methodological step in this chapter offers a brief explanation.

is oftentimes by definition a constituent in a prepositional phrase. Langacker (2008:192-193) describes how the head of a syntactic construction is also called the profile determinant, which gives the profile of the construction. For example, *jar lid* is a type of lid, not a jar; *lid* is the head or profile determinant of the expression. He (2006:56-57) states, "At a given level of organization, a construction's head can be identified with its profile determinant. *Above* is thus the head within the prepositional phrase *above the table*..." This is important in identifying the actual syntactic constructions of עַל for this research, which will be the groundwork for the analysis. This study will look at whether עַל is the profile head or not and how it relates to the surrounding words in the construction.

Langacker's (2008) practice of schemes offers the framework of abstractions that will help describe these syntactic relationships. For example, עַל could act as a preposition within a prepositional phrase, so the scheme could be עַל + noun. Once the relationships of the constituents within the expression are identified, they can be categorized for the purpose of determining patterns and other insights. Furthermore, Tyler and Evans (2007:62) explain that a preposition mediates the linguistic relationship between a TR and LM. The TR is in focus and more salient than the LM. In English, they give the formula TR + prep + LM to describe the relationship's iconicity. Unlike English, there is some flexibility with word order in BH. For example, the LM might precede the TR. So, Tyler and Evans (2007) exact formula will not always be present in each BH instance, but a TR and LM will always exist.

The first step of this study will be to look at each occurrence of עַל in Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles to determine in what type of syntactic structures עַל exactly occurs. Please note the exploratory nature of this thesis – only the data from four books of the BHS (Genesis, Psalms, and 1 and 2 Chronicles) are being investigated. The data is by no means complete, but in the choice of a corpus, it has been attempted to include narrative material from both CBH and LBH (Sáenz-Badillos 2004:52, 116), as well as poetic material. The book of Psalms contains data from both these two diachronic stages of BH.

4.2.2 The syntactic constructions offer insight into the different semantic values of עַל.

The syntactic construction is necessary to fully describe lexical meaning (see 2.4.3). Syntax and lexicon occur on a continuum and cannot be divorced. Cruse (2004:296-298) poses an important question of what is "the extent to which the syntactic properties of words are determined by, or predictable from, their meanings?" There is the possibility that within a particular grammar, grammatical choices may be dictated by meaning. In other words, semantic features may determine grammatical properties.

Langacker (2008:245) explains how an expression's meaning is prompted by syntactic patterns: "[Constructional schemas] influence the interpretation of component lexical items and may further contribute their own conceptual content...In these various ways, grammar itself has a substantial and systematic role in determining the meanings of composite expressions." According to cognitive approaches to grammar and specifically CG, the syntactic frame must be consulted in order to understand a lexeme; the components of the syntactic construction partially contribute to the semantics of the lexical meaning.

Valency is another aspect of these syntactic frames that create clauses and sentences (see 2.4.2). While frames are necessary in order to understand the participating lexemes, verbal valency has to do with how words can combine with the verb in order to form a proper frame. Similarly, WO (1990:191-192) claims that the verb governs the usage of the preposition. In other words, the verb is necessary to fully describe the semantics of the lexeme.

Therefore, the syntactic constructions of עַל and the verbal valency must be considered before determining the lexeme's semantic usages. This is the primary reason why Tyler and Evans' (2007) model is preferred instead of Lakoff's (1987) (see 2.5.2.1). Lakoff's (1987) full-specification approach grants too much semantic weight to the independent lexeme and does not consider how the syntactic components around the lexeme contribute to its lexical meaning. Tyler and Evans' (2007) minimal specification approach considers the context of the formula TR + prep + LM and how all the aspects, including the verb, are necessary to establish the semantic meaning of the preposition.

4.2.3 The frequency of usages will offer insight into the possible prototypical and non-prototypical semantic usages of the lexeme.

If phonemes, words, simple constructions, and complex constructions occur on a continuum, then prototype theory can be applied to each level. Chapter 2 discussed this theory and the examples were of single words (2.3.1.1.). Taylor (2003:226) states,

> A construction is constituted by the pairing of a meaning with a form. Consistent with the prototype approach, both meaning and form need to be stated, in the first instance, in terms of central cases. Both may display prototype effects. A construction may be used to express meanings which differ to a greater or lesser extent from the central specification.

Further, there are several properties that contribute to the GOE score of a category member, such as frequency and family resemblance (see 2.3.1.1). While a GOE score will be assigned to each usage, these properties will be considered as carefully as possible when proceeding with this research. However, due to the fact that BH is a dead, written language, evidence is limited; live speakers cannot be surveyed. Therefore, this exploratory study will statistically profile four BHS books. The number of occurrences within in each semantic category will be calculated in order to identify any correlations between frequency and prototypicality. Also, the distribution across CBH and LBH will be considered.

Specifically, Tyler and Evans' (2007) methodology of determining the Proto-Scene will be utilized (see 2.5.2.2.1). The five criteria are discussed in Chapter 5 (see 5.3). Specifically, the fifth criterion states that each distinct sense should have derived from the primary sense or should be traceable to a sense that was derived from the primary sense. If more senses are traceable to and resemble the Proto-Scene, than these relationships support the hypothesis that the postulated Proto-Scene is the most prototypical sense. This criterion is consistent with the notion of family resemblance (see 2.3.1.1), which argues that commonalities between meanings possibly reveal how the senses developed.

4.2.4 Knowledge of the prototypical and non-prototypical senses can contribute to a more accurately described semantic map.

After Taylor (2003:239-241) argues that constructions show prototypicality, he further states that grammatical constructions can even be metaphorically extended. He discusses the difference between *He swam across the Channel* where *across the Channel* merely points to the path. On the other hand, *He swam the Channel* denotes a challenge for the swimmer. When one recognizes the application of prototype theory to grammatical constructions, the flexibility of a construction's properties becomes apparent and acceptable. A linguistic unit does not have to fit into a syntactic and/or semantic mold to meet certain requirements as a "preposition." Rather, humans regularly use symbols in non-prototypical ways.

After the syntactic patterns and prototypical senses are considered, extensions of meaning can be explored. This study will heuristically utilize Tyler and Evans' (2007) approach of principled polysemy in order to distinguish the distinct senses and how the various senses relate to one another. They take the *minimal specification interpretation* approach and have two criteria for determining these senses (see 2.5.2.2.3).

Additionally, the theory of family resemblance will also be utilized in determining how the semantic meanings relate to one another. Each semantic sense will be depicted with a diagram of the TR and LM. These spatial diagrams are based upon the concept of image schemas (see 2.3.2.1) and were used by Lakoff (1987) and Tyler and Evans (2007) in their case studies of *over* (see 2.5). These imagic representations will help in illustrating the family resemblance and similarities between semantics categories. After the possible relationships are established, a radial structure (see 2.3.1.2 and 2.5.2.2.3 for an example) will be created to illustrate the semantic potential of עַל and the relationships among categories.

4.2.5 From the semantic map, a more organized lexical treatment can be created for עַל.

A plausible radial structure lays the foundation for a more organized lexical semantic treatment. The treatment will be more than a list of possible translations. Rather, the well-justified semantic map will offer a more thorough explanation of lexical meaning including descriptions of each semantic category based upon the CL principles. With such lexical

semantic descriptions in hand, BH scholars and students will have lexical resources that explain meaning rather than simply list glosses.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter formulated the framework for the description of עַל based on the general principles of CL. The five methodological steps that will be utilized in the description of עַל are: First, the underlying syntactic constructions in which עַל occurs will be determined. Second, these syntactic frames will be used to determine the semantic usages of עַל. Verbal valency will specifically be considered during the analysis. Third, the frequency of each semantic meaning and the methodologies of Tyler and Evans (2007) will be used in determining the more prototypical and less prototypical semantic usages. Fourth, knowledge of the prototypical and non-prototypical usages will help organize a semantic map of the polysemous word. Fifth, a well-conceptualized semantic map will ultimately contribute to a more adequate description of עַל.

Chapter 5: The Semantic Potential of עַל

5.1 Introduction

Building upon several lessons from CL and the shortcomings of several existing BH resources, the methodological principles as outlined in Chapter 4 will be utilized in this chapter to analyze עַל.[35] Four main sections logically explain the process in determining the lexeme's semantic potential. The first section of this chapter describes in more detail the analysis of the empirical data. The second and third sections present the Proto-Scene and other distinct senses of עַל respectively (only morphologically simple occurrences with or without a pronominal suffix). Tyler and Evans' (2007) minimal specification approach and model is preferred over Lakoff's (1987) due to Lakoff's lack of consideration to what can be inferred from context and how the syntactic components around *over* contribute to the preposition's semantic value (see 2.5.2.1).[36] Also, Tyler and Evans' (2007) models utilize image schemas of the TR and LM to represent the semantic senses. Similar spatial scenes will be given for each sense of עַל when it occurs morphologically independent. Due to the usage of a minimal-specification approach, the figures in this study are oversimplified on several occasions. Also, the radial structure found below only includes עַל as it occurs morphologically independent. The fourth section describes עַל as it occurs morphologically dependent upon other prepositions (מֵעַל and בְּעַל). This study contains a separate evaluation for these compounds, because they displayed different semantic values than those of עַל as it occurs morphologically independent.

5.2 The Analysis

The occurrences of עַל are as follows: Genesis - 281; Psalms – 303; 1 and 2 Chronicles – 481; and Total – 1065. These books were selected in order to have a sample of both narrative and poetic texts. Also, it offers a diachronic slice of BH literature (see 1.3). These numbers

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[35] As mentioned in chapter 1, this study does not consider: 1) the relationship of עַל with other spatial prepositions; 3) the issue of whether or not the division of space is universally the same; 4) any text-critical problems concerning the examples used; and 5) occurrences of עַל־כֵּן, כִּי־עַל־כֵּן, עַל־אֲשֶׁר, and עַל כִּי.

[36] Due to the exploratory nature of this study, this thesis does not offer a critique of Tyler and Evans' (2007) model.

include all instances of עַל in simple morphologies and within complex morphologies, such as מֵעַל and כְּעַל. The text analyzed and the examples given below are taken from the text of the BHS[37] and copied from Accordance Bible Software.

When considering the lexeme's syntactic construction, special attention was given to the entities associated with the lexeme. A preposition mediates the relationship between a TR and LM, according to Tyler and Evans (2007:62). Also, the valency of verbs was another aspect considered when evaluating the syntactic frame. Due to the claim that the syntactic frame cannot be dissected from the individual lexeme (see 2.4) and the significance of context according to the minimal-specification approach (see 2.5.2.1), this research postulates that the verbs associated with עַל will sometimes prompt the lexeme's meaning.

Chapter 5 also describes several semantic categories. For עַל these include: Proto-Scene, More, Superior, Control, Contingent Locative, Accompaniment, In, To, Oppositional, For, Frontal, Causal, Norm, Focus of Attention, and Instrumental. These will be explained and substantiated in detail below. More senses are listed for when עַל occurs in a compound. Due to the nature of fuzzy borders (see 2.3.1.1), many instances may be classified in two or even three different categories. However, Appendix 1 only states the final classification determined by this research. Any examples of fuzzy borders will only be mentioned within this chapter, not the appendix.

Please note that spatial and non-spatial examples occur within the same semantic category. While Lakoff's (1987) full specification approach separates metaphorical usages from spatial ones, Tyler and Evans (2007) utilize a minimal specification approach (see 2.5.2.1). Tyler and Evans (2007:32-35) combine spatial and metaphorical usages as long as they can be explained by an experiential correlation, which is how humans interact with and perceive a spatial world. Certain associations arise from our interaction. One example of this type of experience is when a vertical elevation of a physical entity is correlated with an increase in the quantity of the entity. If there is some soup in a pot, there will be an increase of soup as the height rises. Other examples of this concept are *Prices go up* and *She got a high grade*. An increase in quantity is associated with vertical elevation. This concept of experiential

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[37] Specifically, the Westminster Morphological Database of Accordance Bible Software (v 8.4.6) will be utilized.

correlation is applied to the analysis of עַל and its semantic categories. There are several senses that correlate the basic locative sense of עַל with activities.

5.3 Proto-Scene

Tyler and Evans' (2007) Proto-Scene is the mental representation of the primary sense without the full details of specific usages involving a variety of verbs (i.e., being and motion) and entities (i.e., concrete and abstract) (see 2.5.2.2.2). The five criteria of determining the primary sense have been considered (Tyler and Evans 2007:45-50).

First, the *earliest attested sense* is a good candidate for the primary sense. Exact dating cannot be determined for Genesis, Chronicles, and Psalms, so the earliest sense is difficult to determine. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 3, BDB groups the preposition with a substantive meaning "height" (see 3.2.1) and WO postulates that the preposition may be related to the same noun (see 3.2.4). This possible relation could point to an early sense of עַל being concrete. Also, Gesenius (1910:297) claims in his grammar that all prepositions were once substantives, and Joüon and Muraoka (2005:485) state that עַל had originally a locative meaning. Similarly, WO argues that most prepositions have a spatial sense and this is typically the most basic sense (1990:192). All of these claims support this analysis' position that the Proto-Scene is a spatial relationship.

Second, *predominance* has to do with the spatial configuration that occurs in most of the distinct senses of the lexical item throughout the radial structure. There are fifteen senses of עַל and seven have the TR higher than the LM. Six senses have the TR and LM next to one another. One has the TR within the LM, and one sense is a combination of the TR being above and next to the LM (Instrumental Sense).

Third, a word's involvement in a composite form might not necessarily indicate the primary sense, but a failure to be in a composite form might suggest how that sense is probably not the main sense. Interestingly, the most frequent sense of מֵעַל is the From Upon Sense, which includes the TR being higher than the LM (see 5.5.1.1).

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Fourth, the organization of spatial morphemes into compositional groups indicates a possible primary sense. This cannot be determined from this analysis, because only על has been researched so far (see 5.6 for more information).

Fifth, since language evolves over time, each distinct sense should have derived from the primary sense or be traceable to a sense that was derived from the primary sense. The senses that can be traced back to the Proto-Scene are the Contingent Locative, In, To, Frontal, Causal, Instrumental, and Focus of Attention Senses along with the Vertical Cluster. How each of these relates to the Proto-Scene will be discussed below for each respective sense. This is in accordance with the notion of family resemblance (see 2.3.1.1), where commonalities between meanings possibly reveal how the senses developed. If more senses are traceable to and resemble the Proto-Scene, then these relationships support the hypothesis that the Proto-Scene is the prototypical sense.

The Proto-Scene for על can be translated as *upon*, *over*, or *on*. It is by far the most frequently occurring sense with 355 times out of 1013 times within the defined corpus. As discussed in Chapter 2, frequency sometimes indicates the most prototypical sense (see 2.3.1.1). Also, the occurrences are evenly distributed throughout the two different genres as well as CBH and LBH. The circle represents the TR; the bolded line represents the LM; and the dashed line symbolizes a constraint on the proximity. The TR is higher than the LM within the same sphere of influence, as seen in Figure 5.1. The TR may be in contact or within potential contact of the LM.[38]
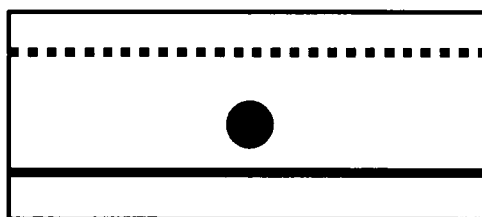

Figure 5.1 The Proto-Scene

Consider some basic examples of the Proto-Scene with concrete entities as the TR and LM (Examples 5.1 and 5.2). The TRs *creatures* and *rain* are higher than the LMs *earth* and are in contact, which is not specifically indicated in Figure 5.1. Contact is not required though in the

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[38] Please note that this Proto-Scene looks identical to Tyler and Evans' (2007) Proto-Scene for *over* in their case study, but distinctions will be identified.

Proto-Scene as seen in Example 5.3. The verb *hovering over* contributes to this nuance of *over* and should not be considered separately. The issue of contact in these texts exemplify the differences of the full-specification and minimal-specification approaches (see 2.5.2.1). Lakoff's (1987) full-specification approach would have two separate configurations for contact and non-contact between the TR and LM. However, Tyler and Evans (2007:40) argue that Lakoff's approach is too exaggerated and not enough credit is given to the context. As seen above, the verb *hovering over* implies that there is no contact between the TR and LM. The issue of contact is not governed by the preposition necessarily. Different movements or different shapes of the TR do not warrant new spatial configurations for the preposition.

Now, while Tyler and Evans state that their Proto-Scene for over (the same as Figure 5.1) allows for *potential* contact, this Proto-scene for עַל allows for a fuller nuance of contact. Figure 5.1 cannot just depict both contact and non-contact. The importance is the vertical relationship between the TR and LM - the TR is higher than the LM.

5.1	וּבְכָל־הָרֶמֶשׂ הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ	and all the creatures that move on the earth (Gen. 1:26)
5.2	אָנֹכִי מַמְטִיר עַל־הָאָרֶץ	I will send rain on the earth (Gen. 7:4)
5.3	וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים מְרַחֶפֶת עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם	but the Spirit of God was moving over the surface of the waters (Gen. 1:2)

Tyler and Evans (2007:66) allow for some distance between the TR and LM in their treatment of *over*, but not when the TR leaves the LM's sphere of influence. In other words, if the TR becomes too far from the LM, they cannot influence or govern the other. Once, the TR passes this point, the preposition *above* best describes the spatial relationship. In regards to עַל, though, there are three examples (Examples 5.4-5.6) where there is significant distance between the TR and LM, but there is not enough evidence to create a new sense.[39]

5.4	וְעוֹף יְעוֹפֵף עַל־הָאָרֶץ	and let birds fly to and fro over the earth (Gen. 1:20)

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[39] Since there are only three examples in Genesis that only pertain to nature, I postulate that there is something particular about them. Perhaps, the *cloud* that brings the rainbow is still within the sphere of influence of the earth, due to its significant covenantal promise. Or *the sun* has just risen and is not considered that high.

| 5.5 | בְּעַנְנִי עָנָן עַל־הָאָרֶץ | when I bring a cloud over the earth (Gen. 9:14) |
| 5.6 | הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא עַל־הָאָרֶץ | the sun had risen over the earth (Gen. 19:23) |

The Proto-Scene also includes abstract entities, such as loving-kindness in Example 5.7.[40] Tyler and Evans' model allows for metaphorical usages to be combined with spatial ones. This is a natural extension of Example 5.2, because the Lord is typically understood as above humankind. People usually understand his giving of gifts as a downward motion upon them.

| 5.7 | יְהִי־חַסְדְּךָ יְהוָה עָלֵינוּ | let your loving-kindness, O Lord, be upon us (Ps. 33:22) |

More nuances are included within this sense, such as different orientations and types of movements. Example 5.8 has a TR *bracelets* that relates with the LM *hands* with a more of an *around* sense. This nuance is suggested by the nature of both the TR and LM, and this sense of עַל should not be treated separately. Also, types of movement vary greatly depending upon the verbs, such as a downward motion in Example 5.2 versus an upward motion in Example 5.6. The final positions of the TR and LM are considered to be distinctive, not necessarily the process or motion in arriving in these positions.[41]

| 5.8 | וְאֶת־הַצְּמִדִים עַל־יְדֵי אֲחֹתוֹ | the bracelets on the hands/wrists of his sister (Gen. 24:30) |

Finally, whereas Tyler and Evans create a distinct sense for both covering and reflexive in their analysis of *over* in English, they are not distinct for עַל in BH. Even though the covering nuance makes a new configuration with the TR larger than the LM, the verb (e.g. הסב) always prompts this usage as seen in Example 5.9.[42] Likewise the reflexive sense creates a new

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[40] Examples like "wrath came upon Israel" (1 Chron. 27:24) can be categorized within the Oppositional sense, due to the nature of the TR. I kept these with the Proto-Scene due to the similarities with their positive equivalents (i.e., "loving-kindness").

[41] There are two instances of "the male goats mating with" (הָעֹלִים עַל־הַצֹּאן) in Gen. 31:10 and 12, which are categorized here. A literal translation of "going up on" is understood in order to show how it might be understood as an example of the Proto-Scene. It is different than the other instances due to their idiomatic nature.

[42] Other verses with the covering nuance are 1 Chron. 28:18; 2 Chron. 5:8 (2x); Ps. 44:20; and 106:17.

configuration when just one entity occupies multiple positions. For example, *She turned over the page* has only one entity, *page*, in the initial and final positions along with all the in-between points. However, the sentential context in Example 5.10 determines this usage of עַל. This reference exemplifies the reflexive sense with one entity (*my people*) doing an action with two positions or states – before and after humbling. This reflexive meaning is prompted by the Niphal reflexive of כנע.

5.9   הֶעֱטִיתָ עָלָיו בּוּשָׁה   you covered him with shame (Ps. 89:46)

5.10   וְיִכָּנְעוּ עַמִּי ... עֲלֵיהֶם   My people humble themselves ... upon themselves (2 Chron. 7:14)

5.4 Distinct Senses

The two criteria of determining a distinct sense have been considered (Tyler and Evans 2007:42-45). First, a distinct sense "must contain additional meaning not apparent in any other senses associated with a particular form, that is, a distinct sense must involve non-spatial meaning or a different configuration between the TR and LM than found in the proto-scene" (Tyler and Evans 2007:42-43). Second, some examples of the sense must be independent from context. In other words, the meaning cannot be inferred from another lexeme's sense within its syntactic frame. It is important to note that the second criterion does not contradict the basic tenets of the minimal-specification approach. It does not nullify the need to consider the valency of verbs. Not all occurrences of a sense have to be independent of context, only some. Tyler and Evans (2007:15-16) argue that that context does partially contribute to lexical meanings, and this view agrees with the cognitive approach of grammar of how the syntactic frame of a construction, particularly the valency of verbs, cannot be dissected from the individual lexeme (see 2.4.2-2.4.3 and 2.5.2.1). The second criterion according to Tyler and Evans points to the view that a distinct sense of a lexeme has become highly conventionalized within a language.

Figure 5.2 is the semantic network of עַל. Occurrences of the lexeme when it is morphologically dependent will be analyzed afterwards. The Proto-Scene is in the middle with the distinct senses branching from it. A black circle indicates a sense, while the white

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circle of Vertical Cluster indicates simply a group of senses with related spatial configurations. The lines of connection indicate some sort of family resemblance (see 2.3.1.1) where the two senses' configurations are similar. These relationships will be discussed in each section.

The order shown below in the radial cluster illustrates the proposed order in which the senses could eventually be presented in a grammar or lexicon. After the Proto-Scene are the spatial senses (2-6) with the more stationary senses listed first (2-4) followed by the senses that seem to involve more movement (5). The Frontal Sense (6) is listed last under the spatial senses, because it created the most difficulty during the analysis. The Vertical Cluster (2) is first due to its very natural extension of the Proto-Scene. The Contingent Locative Sense (3), Accompaniment Sense (3.A), and In Sense (4) follow afterwards because they exhibit stationary positions, as well. The To Sense (5) and those associated with it are next because motion occurs more frequently than the non-spatial senses (7-9). And the Frontal Sense (6) is the last spatial sense treated due to the reason mentioned above. The remaining senses (7-9) are listed next from the highest frequency to the lowest frequency and because they are not spatial.
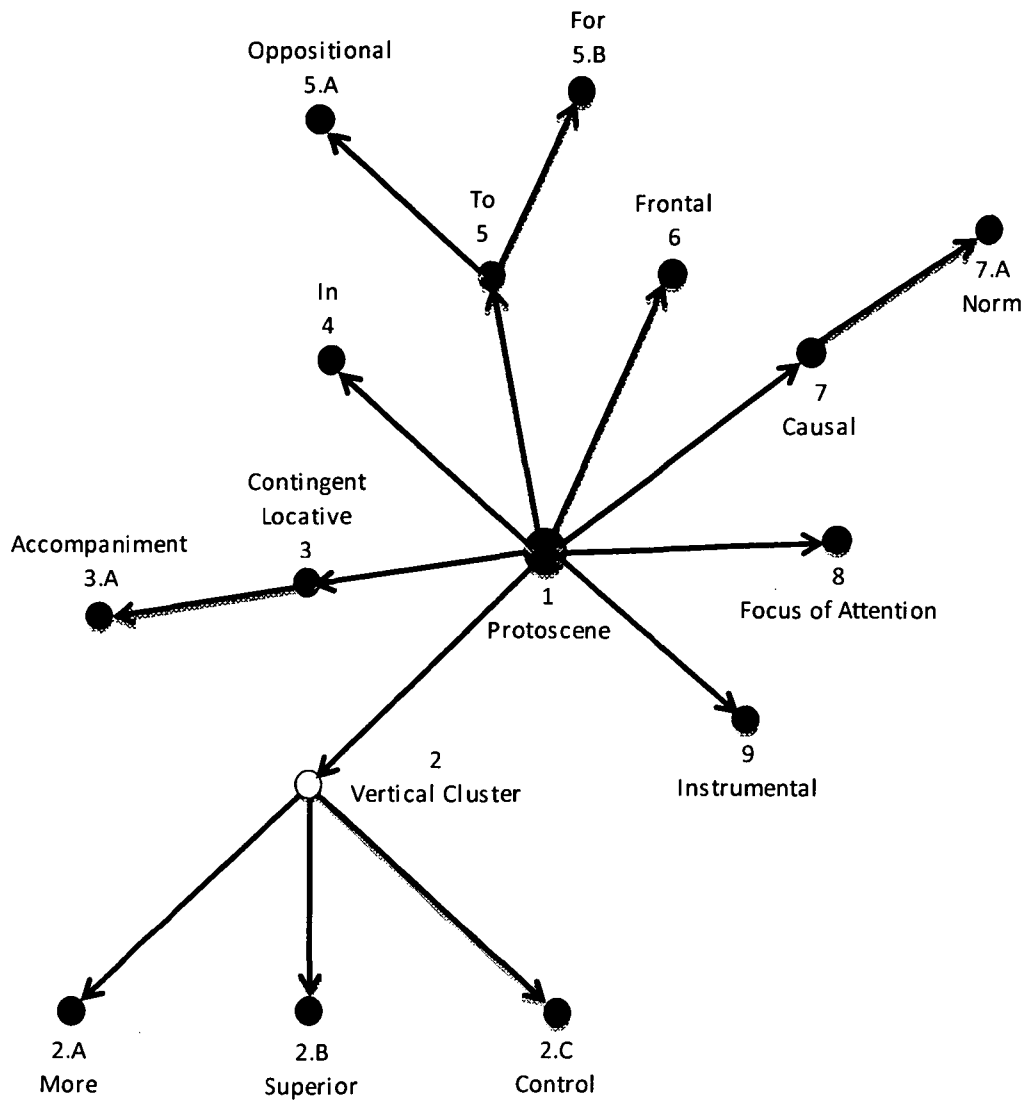
Oppositional
5.A

For
5.B

To
5

Frontal
6

7.A
Norm

In
4

7
Causal

Contingent
Locative
3

Accompaniment
3.A

1
Protoscene

8
Focus of Attention

2
Vertical Cluster

9
Instrumental

2.A
More

2.B
Superior

2.C
Control

Figure 5.2 The Semantic Network of עַל

5.4.1 The Vertical Cluster (2)

This group of senses is similar to Tyler and Evans' (2007:96-97) "Up Cluster" of *over* senses. These involve a TR that is higher than an LM. Figure 5.3 shows how the TR (circle) is vertically elevated over the LM (vertical line) and is also privileged. Additionally, height is often associated with an increase of quantity (see "Semantic Category" in 5.2).
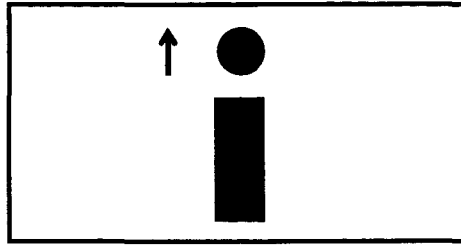
Figure 5.3 The Vertical Cluster

5.4.1.1 The More Sense (2.A)

The More Sense can be translated as *more than, besides, above,* or *higher* and occurs 19 times in the defined corpus. Figure 5.4 shows the TR (sphere) as over the LM (vertical line). As mentioned above, the experiential correlation of a higher elevation indicates that more quality has been conventionalized among members of the speech community. This is a natural extension of עַל, which has the primary sense of *over*. To reiterate, height often implicates greater volume. There is a new configuration different than any other relationship between the TR and LM for עַל. Examples 5.11 and 5.12 exemplify the More Sense of עַל. In the first example, there is a threat if the man takes additional wives (TR) other than his daughters (LM); the second example discusses one portion of food (TR) in addition to the brother's portion (LM).
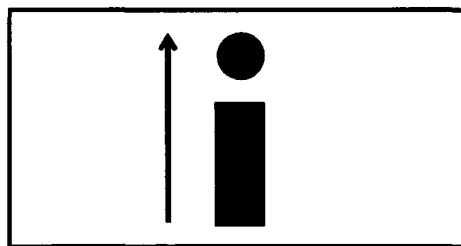

Figure 5.4 The More Sense

| 5.11 | וְאִם־תִּקַּח נָשִׁים עַל־בְּנֹתַי | and if you take wives besides my daughters (Gen. 31:50) |
| 5.12 | וַאֲנִי נָתַתִּי לְךָ שְׁכֶם אַחַד עַל־אַחֶיךָ | and I give you one portion more than your brother (Gen. 48:22) |

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Several instances involve verbs that greatly contribute to the sense of עַל being within this category. Example 5.13 utilizes the verb יסף often translated "to add" in English and obviously prompts the preposition to take the More Sense.[43] On the other hand, there are examples where the verb and other lexical items do not contribute to the sense of עַל. Example 5.14 is an example of why the More Sense meets the second criterion of being a distinct sense. Neither the noun *my goodness* (from which the translation renders *I have no good*) nor the pronouns *I* and *you* direct the translation of עַל. Also, the example illustrates how the More Sense allows for not only concrete entities but abstract ones as well. Goodness cannot be spatially measured but there is still a concept of having a greater quantity of it.

| 5.13 | יֹסֵף יְהוָה עַל־עַמּוֹ | may the Lord add to his people (1 Chron. 21:3) |
| 5.14 | טוֹבָתִי בַּל־עָלֶיךָ | I have no good besides/beyond you (Ps. 16:2) |

5.4.1.2 The Superior Sense (2.B)

The Superior Sense may be translated as *above* or *more than* and is an extension of the Vertical Cluster.[44] It occurs 21 times within the defined corpus, and 20 of the times are within poetry. Vertical height is not only associated with more quantity as is the case with the More Sense; vertical elevation is also correlated with superiority. Tyler and Evans (2007: 117-120) explain how this experiential correlation has developed. For example, just as a higher mound of money is more and typically considered better than a smaller mound, the taller, larger person will typically win in a physical fight and will prove superior in strength. Figure 5.5 below shows the relationship between the TR (circle) and the LM (box). The TR is held superior over and therefore, above the LM. The LM is dashed, because the TR is in focus.

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[43] Other examples are 1 Chron. 22:14; 2 Chron. 10:11, 14; 28:13 (2x); and Ps. 61:7.

[44] I considered the possibility of this sense being an extension of a spatial relationship with more distance between the TR and LM named the Above Sense. There were three verses that could have been included in the Above Sense – Gen. 1:20; 9:14; 19:23. See the footnote in the Proto-Scene category for why this sense was not distinguished.
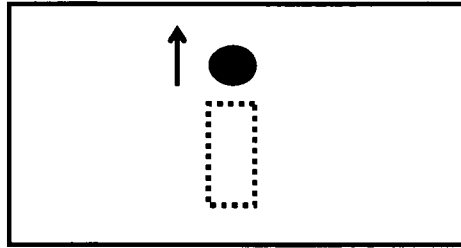
Figure 5.5 The Superior Sense

Examples 5.15 and 5.16 are instances of the Superior Sense. The TRs, *the Lord* and *God*, are desired to be superior over the LMs of *all gods* and *the heavens*. The translation of *above* for עַל shows that there has been a correlation of vertical height, which illustrates the superiority of the TRs. Also, all of the occurrences of this sense are in Psalms except for 1 Chron. 16:25 (Example 5.15).

5.15   וְנוֹרָא הוּא עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים   and [the Lord] is to be feared more than all gods (1 Chron. 16:25)

5.16   רוּמָה עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם   [God] be exalted above the heavens (Ps. 57:6)

Whereas the Superior Sense is a distinct sense, the evidence that necessitates a discrete category is not as strong as the More Sense. Its configuration is definitely different than the More Sense with the nuance of superiority. The difficulty is with deciding whether the usage is contextually independent or not. The instances of the Superior Sense are mostly limited to only a few verbs: רום ("to be exalted"), גדל ("to magnify"), ירא ("to be feared"), and עלה ("to be exalted").[45] Three of the verbs have to do with making an entity larger and prompt עַל to be rendered this way. The verb ירא occurs in 1 Chron. 16:25, which is narrative, and in the poetic texts Ps. 89:8 and 96:4. The narrative text analyzed seem to take a more basic usage (e.g., more concrete and spatial) than poetic literature, so there seems to be a bit of a Superior Sense established with the narrative genre. Also, וְנוֹרָא (*to be feared*) does not contribute to the sense of עַל much, if any. Finally, Examples 5.17 and 5.18 are two examples where an author

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[45] These instances might be included within the Proto-Scene category, but they seem to have the extra nuance of a higher quality. Also, instances such as Ps. 52:8 and 86:14 could be understood as having a sense of superiority, but the verbs within the clauses along the nuance of hostility substantiate them as examples of the Oppositional Sense.

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uses only nouns in conjunction with עַל (the English copula verb in Example 5.18 has been supplied by the translator).[46] While the two TRs, *great king* and *majesty*, have a sense of grandeur, this Superior Sense of עַל seems to be contextually independent and known as a conventionalized usage.

| 5.17 | וּמֶלֶךְ גָּדוֹל עַל־כָּל־אֱלֹהִים | and a great King above all gods (Ps. 95:3) |
| 5.18 | הוֹדוֹ עַל־אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמָיִם | his majesty is above earth and heaven (Ps. 148:13) |

5.4.1.3 The Control Sense (2.C)

The Control Sense can be translated as *over* or *upon* and is another extension of the Vertical Cluster. It occurs 129 times within the defined corpus and is by far the most frequent sense of the Vertical Cluster. Also, most of the occurrences are in Chron. (LBH). Similar to the Superior Sense, it has been experientially correlated with height. Consider the same example as above with the Superior Sense. The superior victor of a fight is usually depicted as higher. He is not only superior but in control of the fight as the one who is above the other on the ground. An English example would be *She is over the department,* which gives a sense of control and authority.[47] As Figure 5.6 depicts, the TR is higher than the LM with a spiral dashed line indicating the TR's control of the LM. Examples 5.19 and 5.20 give the TRs of *you* and *overseers* who are in control over the LMs, *us* and *land.*

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[46] One might argue that גָּדוֹל in Example 5.17 helps contribute to the Superior Sense of עַל. Other examples of verbless clauses within this semantic category are Ps. 57:12; 108:6; 113:4; 148:13. They could be included within the More Sense or Proto-Scene category, but the lofty language of glory (כָּבוֹד) and majesty (הוֹד) gives a subtlety of superiority.

[47] The distinction between עַל used in the Superior Sense and the Control Sense seems to be typically determined by the verbs. The Superior Sense used the specific verbs: רום ("to be exalted"), גדל ("to magnify"), ירא ("to be feared"), and עלה ("to be exalted/raised up"). This sense had to do with comparison mostly, hence *more than* could be used to translate עַל.
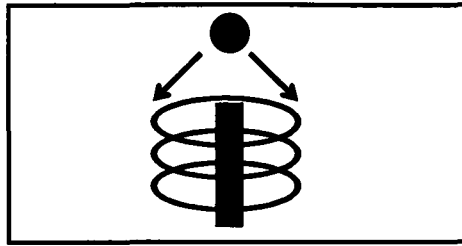
Figure 5.6 The Control Sense

| 5.19 | הֲמָלֹךְ תִּמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ | are you really going to reign over us (Gen. 37:8) |
| 5.20 | וַיַּפְקֵד פְּקִדִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ | and he appointed overseers over the land (Gen. 41:34) |

While this is similar to the Superior Sense, the Control Sense has different configuration. The former sense had a nuance of comparison and higher quality; this latter one has a primary sense of authority and power, which can be seen with some of the verbs used with it: פקד ("to appoint") in Example 5.20 and מלך (to reign over) in Example 5.19. Also, the Control Sense cannot be derived by context as seen with Examples 5.21 and 5.22 below. The first example has the root הָיָה used as a copula verb, and the second is a verbless clause. The nouns do not indicate control in and of themselves either.

| 5.21 | אַתָּה תִּהְיֶה עַל־בֵּיתִי | you shall be over my house... (Gen. 41:40) |
| 5.22 | וְיוֹאֵל אָחִיו עַל־אֹצָרוֹת | and Joel his brother was over the treasuries (1 Chron. 26:22) |

5.4.2 The Contingent Locative Sense (3)

The Contingent Locative Sense can be translated *by*, *at*, or *near* and occurs 59 times fairly even across genre and diachronic stages. It seems to be an extension of the Proto-Scene in terms of entities' presence at a location. Example 5.23 is an example where עַל could be

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understood in terms of both the Contingent Locative Sense and the Proto-Scene. The people are present *at* a location, which is technically upon a certain area.[48]

| 5.23 | וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־עָמְדָם | and they stood at their stations (2 Chron. 30:16) |

As far as the spatial relationship is concerned, the TR is next to the LM in close proximity. The configuration given in Figure 5.7 shows the TR (circle) close to the LM, which is a bolded horizontal line to indicate more of an inanimate location. The dashed line indicates that there is a limit of proximity.[49] This sense meets both requirements for being a distinct sense. It depicts a new configuration between the TR and LM that is in no other sense.
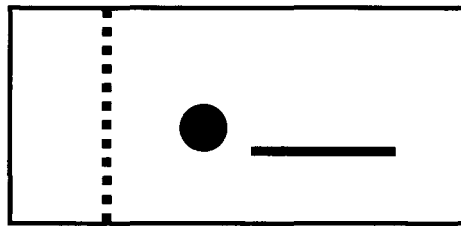

Figure 5.7 The Contingent Locative Sense

Also, the meaning cannot be inferred from the context, as seen in Example 5.24. The English copula verb is supplied by the translator, and nothing within the context determines this sense of עַל. This example also illustrates how this sense quite often involves geographical locations, which might contribute to this semantic category

5.24	אֵיל פָּארָן אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּדְבָּר	El Paran which is by/near the wilderness (Gen. 14:6)
5.25	אָנֹכִי נִצָּב עַל־עֵין הַמָּיִם	I am standing by a spring of water (Gen. 24:43)
5.26	אֲדֹנָי עַל־יְמִינְךָ	the Lord is at your right hand (Ps. 110:5)

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[48] This could also be an example of a metaphorical extension of the Proto-Scene. The translation of *at* contributed to its treatment here. If this is the case, then the connection between the Contingent Locative Sense and the Proto-Scene is unclear. Another example of this type of use of עַל is 2 Chron. 18:23.

[49] Gen. 18:2 "three men were standing near/opposite him" seems to be an exception to this rule. The narrative states that Abraham gets up and runs to them, which implies some distance between the TR and LM. The decision to place it in this category is based on the verb נצב. See below for more information about this verb.

Contact is optional. Example 5.24 mentions a TR and LM that are bordering one another, while the subject in Example 5.25 is simply in the vicinity of the *spring*.[50] Example 5.26 shows how a metaphorical sense of a concrete (and often geographical) location has evolved in that *the Lord* is not literally *at your right hand* but available and quite present. Two very common verbs which help determine the usages of עַל are דמע and בצנ ("to stand").[51] It seems like these stationary verbs utilized the Contingent Locative sense of עַל to explain the location of the TR.

5.4.3 The Accompaniment Sense (3.A)

The Accompaniment Sense may be translated as *with* or *among* and occurs 10 times within the defined corpus. It is an extension of the Contingent Locative Sense. While the Contingent Locative Sense describes when the TR is close to the LM, the Accompaniment Sense emphasizes both proximity and a nuance of association between the TR and LM. In the Figure 5.8 below, the TR is the circle and the LM represents an animate entity with an elongated circle. The dashed lines indicate a close proximity and a limit in separation from one another. The two arrows illustrate the bond or association occurring between the two entities.
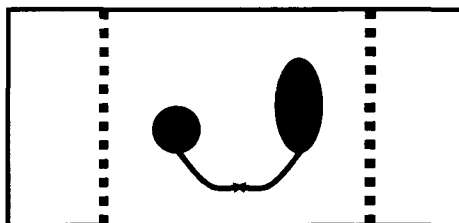

Figure 5.8 The Accompaniment Sense

As seen below in Examples 5.27 and 5.28, the LM is always an animate object, such as *flocks* and *Solomon*. Notice the movement implied by the verbs – *put* and *assembled* – where the TRs are moving towards the LMs. But the Accompaniment Sense also indicates association. The herds are grouped together under one owner, *Laban*, and *the congregation* unites with *Solomon*.

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[50] Example 5.25 could be considered another example of the Proto-Scene. When a person stands on the bank of the stream or lake, he or she is technically higher than the body of water. Similar examples are Gen. 16:7 (2x); 24:30; 24:4; 49:22; Ps. 1:3; 104:12; and 137:1.

[51] Examples are Gen. 18:2, 8; 24:13, 30 (2x), 43; 28:13; 41:1, 3; 45:1; 1 Chron. 6:24; 2 Chron. 7:6; 18:18; 23:13; 30:16; 34:31; 35:10; and Ps. 109:6.

5.27   וְלֹא שָׁתָם עַל־צֹאן לָבָן   and did not put them (herds) among/with Laban's flocks (Gen. 30:40)

5.28   וְכָל־עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַנּוֹעָדִים עָלָיו   and all the congregation of Israel who were assembled with [Solomon] (2 Chron. 5:6)

The Accompaniment Sense is a distinct sense from others due to the new configuration, especially that of association or connection. Also, Example 5.29 shows how עַל may be used in this sense without being contextually dependent on another word. No other lexical sense in 1 Chron. 7:4 contributes to עַל being translated as *with*. This usage has been conventionalized over time.

5.29   וַעֲלֵיהֶם לְתֹלְדוֹתָם   and with them by their generations (were 36,000 troops) (1 Chron. 7:4)

5.4.4 The In Sense (4)

The In Sense of עַל may be translated as *in, within,* or *throughout* and occurs 76 times within Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles. They are distributed evenly throughout genre and diachronic stages. Tyler and Evans (2007:183-84) describe it as "a spatial relation in which a TR is located within a LM which has three salient structural elements – an interior, a boundary and an exterior." There is a concept of containment that underlies it. Figure 5.9 shows the TR (circle) within the boundaries of the LM (three bolded lines) and a dashed line that delimits the interior and exterior. It is a distinct sense due to the new configuration of the TR and LM.
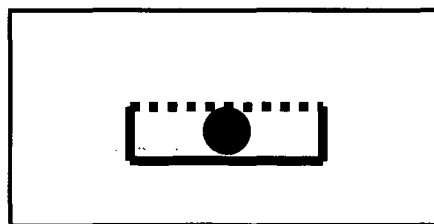

Figure 5.9 The In Sense

Examples 5.30 - 5.32 show some typical examples of the In Sense. The LM may be a singular location (5.30) or a comprehensive location (5.31). While there is a sense of containment, this

sense also has a subtlety traced back to the Proto-Scene. Examples 5.30 – 5.32 could be understood with עַל translated as *upon*. In other words, the bottom boundary of the LM could be related to the LM in the Proto-Scene. The cup could be seen as being placed *upon* the palm of Pharaoh's hand, or the words were written *upon* the *Book*.

5.30	וָאֶתֵּן אֶת־הַכּוֹס עַל־כַּף פַּרְעֹה	and I put the cup into the hand of Pharaoh (Gen. 40:11)
5.31	וַיָּשֶׂם אֹתָהּ יוֹסֵף לְחֹק עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל־אַדְמַת מִצְרַיִם	and Joseph made it a statute on that day throughout the land of Egypt (Gen. 47:26)
5.32	וְהִנָּם כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	and they were written in the Book of the Kings of Israel (1 Chron. 9:1)

This containment sense involves non-spatial entities, as well. Example 5.31 utilizes an abstract TR (*statutes*) restricted to *the land of Egypt*.[52]

Also, Example 5.33 gives an example of how this sense of עַל may be contextually independent from other lexical items in the same clause. Neither nominal phrase - מַחֲלָקְתּוֹ (*his division*) nor עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה אָלֶף (*24,000*) associated with the preposition contribute to this lexical meaning. This phrase is used 12 times in 1 Chron. 27. It therefore seems reasonable to argue that this usage had been conventionalized in BH.

| 5.33 | וְעַל מַחֲלָקְתּוֹ עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבָּעָה אָלֶף | and in his division were 24,000 (1 Chron. 27:2) |

Another nuance is the sense of control as shown in Example 5.30. In other words, *Pharaoh* (LM) possesses the *cup* (TR). The phrase עַל־יַד is translated literally *in the hands of* and is metaphorically extended to *in the care of* as shown in Example 5.34. The locative sense of control has evolved to include more than a location but a manner of attention and supervision. Additionally, it marks the location of *trust*, such as *the Lord* in Example 5.35.

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[52] This usage could also be understood as an example of the Control Sense where the law has legal authority over the land. Another example is 2 Chron. 35:25.

| 5.34 | וַיִּתְּנוּהוּ עַל־יַד הַמִּפְקָדִים | and handed it into the care of the supervisors (2 Chron. 34:17) |
| 5.35 | וּבְטַח עָלָיו | trust in [the Lord] (Ps. 37:5) |

5.4.5 The To Sense (5)

The To Sense can be translated as *to* or *toward* and occurs 67 times in the defined corpus. A TR is directed towards a LM, which is its end goal.[53] The prepositional phrase that refers to the LM functions as an adverbial of place, marking this goal. This is an extension of the Proto-Scene, as seen in Example 5.37. The people could be understood as looking *upon* Sodom.[54] In Figure 5.10 the TR is the circle while the LM is the bolded line. The arrow signifies the orientation of movement of the TR towards the LM. Therefore, a process or action is always involved. Examples 5.36 and 5.37 give some basic examples of the To Sense with two types of action – going and seeing.
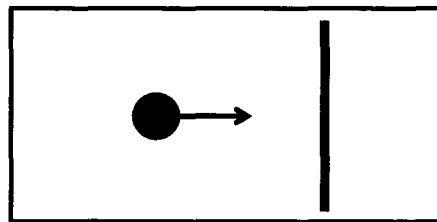

Figure 5.10 The To Sense

| 5.36 | וַיֵּצֵא יוֹסֵף עַל־אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם | and Joseph went out to the land of Egypt (Gen. 41:45) |
| 5.37 | וַיַּשְׁקִפוּ עַל־פְּנֵי סְדֹם | and they looked out toward Sodom (Gen. 18:16) |

The To Sense is a distinct sense based on the fact that it requires a new configuration of the oriented TR moving towards the LM. Also, it meets the other criterion of being contextually independent from the other senses in the verse. Example 5.38 illustrates a different subtlety of the sense where the TR (people) is extending and spreading outwards to the LM (*borders*) to

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[53] Often, עַל and אֶל are regarded as synonyms in some contexts - the books of Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, in particular (BDB 2006:41).

[54] This could be the case where Sodom is of a lower elevation than the TR's location.

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fill a domain (*Gilead*). Additionally, there are no other words in the example that gives עַל the

To Sense. Neither the act of *living* nor *borders* contribute to the meaning *to*. This sense of the

lexical item has been established in the users' memory.

5.38	וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בַּגִּלְעָד ... עַל־תּוֹצְאוֹתָם	and they lived in Gilead to/as far as the borders (1 Chron. 5:16)

The next two examples show how the sense changes from a spatial usage to a more

metaphorical one. The LM in Example 5.39 is not the person's actual *right hand* or *left*.

These terms simply symbolize a direction. Similarly, the LM in Example 5.40 is metaphorical

in regards to the manner of the speaking - the subject speaks tenderly.

5.39	וְאֶפְנֶה עַל־יָמִין אוֹ עַל־שְׂמֹאל	so that I may turn to the right hand or to the left (Gen. 24:49) (2x)
5.40	וַיְדַבֵּר עַל־לְבָבָם	and he spoke to their hearts (2 Chron. 32:6)

Additionally, the verbal might not be an action but more of a perception or process. Consider

the following examples in Examples 5.41 and 5.42 where stative verbs are used. Both a TR

and LM exist, but the motion has been replaced with a process of perceiving the TR as

beautiful or *pleasing*.

5.41	אַף־נַחֲלָת שָׁפְרָה עָלָי	yes, an inheritance is beautiful to me (Ps. 16:6)
5.42	יֶעֱרַב עָלָיו שִׂיחִי	let my thoughts be pleasing to him (Ps. 104:34)

5.4.6 The Oppositional Sense (5.A)

The Oppositional Sense can be translated as *against*, *at*, or *upon*.[55] This sense occurs 111

times in the four books and has a configuration as shown in Figure 5.11 with a TR (circle)

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[55] There are several occurrences where עַל could be translated as *upon* and categorized with the Proto-Scene, but this would not capture the adverbial sense of hostility. Some examples are 2 Chron. 24:23; 28:20; 36:17; Ps. 27:2 and 138:7.

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and a LM. The LM is represented by an elongated sphere in order to illustrate an animated entity. More regarding this will be discussed below. The jagged arrow symbolizes the type of movement – hostility. This sense does not only mark the LM as the end goal of the action but profiles the manner of the verb. In other words, this sense of the preposition is not only locative but adverbial of manner, as well. This is why it is regarded as an extension of the To Sense. While the LM is the goal of the action, it adds a new sense of aggression and hence meets criterion one of being a distinct sense and offering a new configuration. Also, the arrow comes down onto the LM, because there is still a sense of coming upon it. This is why the translation *upon* is an option. Examples 5.43 and 5.44 are some basic examples where the TRs *battle* and *he* are aggressively against the LMs of *Saul* and *his master*.
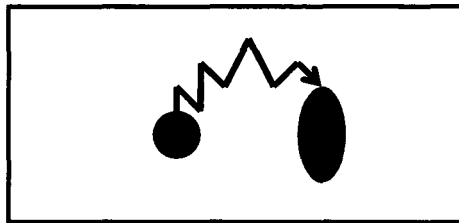

Figure 5.11 The Oppositional Sense

| 5.43 | וַתִּכְבַּד הַמִּלְחָמָה עַל־שָׁאוּל | and the battle became heavy against Saul (1 Chron. 10:3) |
| 5.44 | וַיִּמְרֹד עַל־אֲדֹנָיו | and he rebelled against his master (2 Chron. 13:6) |

The second criterion for distinguishing a separate sense, the need to be contextually independent from other lexical meanings in the clause, can be seen with Examples 5.45 and 5.46. The first example's verb *stood* does not indicate a particular type of action or direction other than an upward stance by the subject. The second example is a verbless clause and the translation value *was* must be inserted in English. Therefore, it can be hypothesized that the Oppositional Sense has been established in the user's memory as a separate usage for עַל.

| 5.45 | וַיַּעַמְדוּ עַל־עֻזִּיָּהוּ | and they stood against Uzziah (2 Chron. 26:18) |

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5.46   וְהוּא עַל־לָכִישׁ   he was against Lachish (2 Chron. 32:9)

The Oppositional Sense involves more than spatial relationships. Examples 5.47 and 5.48 illustrate this sense using verbs of communication where words, not a physical entity, oppose the LM. While the TR may be physical or abstract, the LM is always physical, whether it is a person, a group of people, or a geographical location filled with people as in Example 5.49.

5.47   וּסְפָרִים כָּתַב ... וְלֵאמֹר עָלָיו   he also wrote letters ... to speak against
                                               him (2 Chron. 32:17)

5.48   פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם   they open their mouths against me
                                               (Ps. 22:14)

5.49   וַיַּעֲמֹד שָׂטָן עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל   and Satan stood up against Israel
                                               (1 Chron. 21:1)

Another nuance of the Oppositional Sense is when various verbs of surrounding occur with עַל (סבב in Example 5.50). While this creates a new configuration of the TR and LM, all of the instances involve a verb that prompts this sense. There is no instance of עַל in the defined corpus where the sense of *around* or *surrounds* is contextually independent.[56]

5.50   אַנְשֵׁי סְדֹם נָסַבּוּ עַל־הַבַּיִת   the men of Sodom surrounded the house
                                               (Gen. 19:4)

5.4.7 The For Sense (5.B)

The For Sense may be translated as *for* or *for the sake of* and occurs 24 times in Genesis, Chronicles, and Psalms. Figure 5.12 illustrates the configuration between the TR (circle) and the LM (dashed line). This sense can best be understood in contrast to the To Sense, which had a bold line as the LM and indicated a direct goal – the TR was moving towards a definite LM. The For Sense has the same TR with an arrow indicating orientation. On the other hand, the dashed LM signifies an oblique goal. Tyler and Evans (2007:146-147) give examples of the English *to* and *for* senses with *She is hurrying to the ball* versus *She is hurrying for the*

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[56] Other examples are Ps. 17:9 and 88:18 with the verb נקף and Ps. 40:13 with אפף.

ball. The first sentence has *ball* as the primary goal of the TR; the second sentence contains the LM, *ball*, as a means to an end with an ultimate goal still to be met (e.g. to ultimately score a goal). This is why the For Sense is considered an extension of the To Sense.
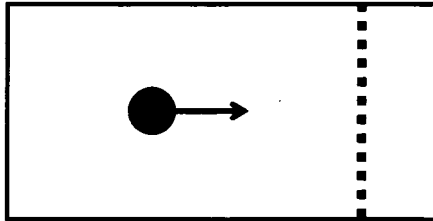

Figure 5.12 The For Sense

Next are three examples of the For Sense with each a different semantic nuance similar to Tyler and Evans' model (2007:153-154). First, Example 5.51 shows a Purpose subtlety.[57] *They cast lots* (TR) for the purpose of *my clothing* (LM). Second, Example 5.52 offers a Benefactive nuance. *Hezekiah prayed* (TR) to benefit *them* (LM). Third, Example 5.53 illustrates an Intended Recipient sense. *You have promised this good thing* (TR) for a recipient – *your servant* (LM). These nuances have all been included under the one umbrella of the For Sense. The For Sense is a separate sense due to its unique configuration of the TR and LM. Also, עַל can be contextually independent. For instance, in Example 5.52 *for* cannot be derived from *Hezekiah prayed* or the object of the preposition, *them*.

5.51	וְעַל־לְבוּשִׁי יַפִּילוּ גוֹרָל	and they cast lots for my clothing (Ps. 22:19)
5.52	הִתְפַּלֵּל יְחִזְקִיָּהוּ עֲלֵיהֶם	Hezekiah prayed for them (2 Chron. 30:18)
5.53	וַתְּדַבֵּר עַל־עַבְדְּךָ הַטּוֹבָה הַזֹּאת	you have promised this good thing for your servant (1 Chron. 17:26)

5.4.8 The Frontal Sense (6)

The Frontal Sense may be translated as *across*, *opposite*, *in front of*, *before*, and *in the presence of*, depending upon the entities and action involved in the relationship. It occurs 12 times but mostly within Genesis and Chronicles. Figure 5.13 illustrates the relationship between the TR and LM. The TR is a circle and the LM is represented with an elongated

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[57] Two instances of fuzzy borders are Ps. 89:48 and 105:14; it is classified under the For Sense (Purpose) but could be understood as an example of the Causal Sense.

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circle due to its animated nature. It might not be actually animated but has this quality due to the fact that it has an orientation, which is signified by the arrow pointing forward toward the TR. Therefore, the LM has a front and back like an animated object.
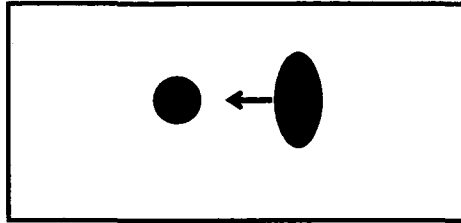

Figure 5.13 The Frontal Sense

Examples of the Frontal Sense are seen below with Examples 5.54 and 5.55. The LMs of *him* and *the temple* are oriented forward and facing their respective TRs, *the gift* and *the pillars*. Notice that one LM is a person while the other is an inanimate building with a front. Also, the first example has a forward motion involved with both the TR and LM moving. The second one involves an upright motion, but the *pillars* and *temple* are ultimately stationary.

| 5.54 | וַתַּעֲבֹר הַמִּנְחָה עַל־פָּנָיו | so the gift was sent on ahead/in front of him (Gen. 32:22) |
| 5.55 | וַיָּקֶם אֶת־הָעַמּוּדִים עַל־פְּנֵי הַהֵיכָל | and he erected the pillars in front of the temple (2 Chron. 3:17) |

This sense seems to be an extension of the Proto-Scene in that the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי could be literally understood as *upon the face* or *before the face*. (This sense only occurs with the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי.) The configuration of the Frontal Sense has shifted the orientation of the TR and LM to have a vertical relationship next to one another, whereas the Proto-Scene is mostly horizontal with the TR on top of the LM. Note in Example 5.56 how there are two uses of עַל right after one another. The first is the Proto-Scene and the second is עַל־פְּנֵי. There is a natural succession from the prototypical relationship between the TR (*birds*) and LM (*earth*) in the first instance to the TR (*birds*) flying *before* or *in front of* the LM (*sky*) in the second. The horizontal orientation of the Proto-Scene has shifted to a vertical orientation, here. (A shift in orientation is not enough justification to create a new configuration, though.) Also, the sky has a front or face as indicated by פְּנֵי.

5.56   וְעוֹף יְעוֹפֵף עַל־הָאָרֶץ עַל־פְּנֵי רְקִיעַ   and let birds fly to and fro over the earth
        and across the expanse of the sky/heavens

        הַשָּׁמָיִם   (Gen. 1:20) (2x)

The new configuration meets the first criterion of the Frontal Sense being a distinct sense. Difficulty arises in regards to meeting the second criterion, though. This sense only occurs with the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי. As a result, the possibility arose to treat this phrase separately along with the compounds discussed below. However, this phrase did not exhibit a different syntactic function than עַל or exemplify several different semantic categories than the ones included in the radial network.[58] Rather, in several instances of the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי, it could be included in other semantic categories of עַל described above.[59] The remainder of the instances constitutes the Frontal Sense. The occurrences within the Frontal Sense category utilize this different configuration. The following Example 5.57 shows how the phrase עַל־פְּנֵי takes this sense without the help of other sentential context. The translation *opposite* cannot be derived from the verb *live* or either of the nouns - *he* and *brothers*.

5.57   וְעַל־פְּנֵי כָל־אֶחָיו יִשְׁכֹּן   and he will live opposite all his brothers
        (Gen. 16:12)

On the other hand, Example 5.57 seems to be a conceptual blending of the Contingent Locative and Oppositional Senses. The TR and LM are next to one another and are at odds with one another. It is difficult to hypothesize with certainty how the Frontal Sense relates to the other senses of עַל.

5.4.9 The Causal Sense (7)

The Causal Sense can be translated as *because of* or *on account of* and occurs 31 times mostly within Genesis and Psalms (CBH). Figure 5.14 shows the relationship between the TR

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[58] As discussed below מֵעַל shows the three new senses of From Upon, Away From, and Above (along with only one instance of the Contingent Locative Sense). The compound כְּעַל takes a new semantic sense entirely of As Concerning. The other compounds usually function as a connector and often exhibit new semantic senses different than those described in the radial structure of עַל.

[59] For example, Gen. 1:2 (2x) and many others are examples of the Proto-Scene. Gen. 18:16 and 19:28 are examples of the To Sense. Gen. 23:19; 25:9, and 18 (among others) are examples of the Contingent Locative Sense. 2 Chron. 6:31 exemplified the In Sense. Ps. 21:13 shows the Oppositional Sense.

(circle) and LM (solid, horizontal line). The LM is at the bottom of the sequence to indicate the grounds for the TR's action. The dashed line indicates cause and motive. As a result of the LM, the TR, which is shown by the solid arrow, acts accordingly. The Causal Sense could be understood as an extension of the Proto-Scene. If the LM is understood as the *cause* or basis upon which the TR acts and the LM as the grounds is taken in a metaphorical light, the TR is consequently higher than the LM. Like the Proto-Scene, the TR is higher than the LM.[60]
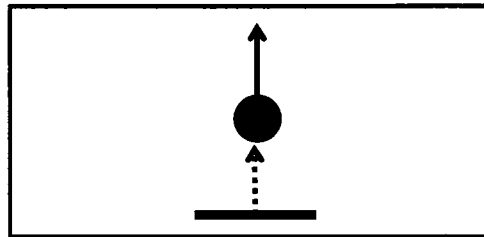

Figure 5.14 The Causal Sense

In Examples 5.58 and 5.59, עַל mediates between a TR and LM. The TRs are verbal clauses, but the LMs (*because of Rebekah* and *because of your righteous judgments*) are nominal phrases. However, Example 5.60 shows how the LM does not consist of a nominal but a verbal clause *because they do not keep your law*. This reference is an unusual occurrence, due to its seemingly conjunctive function.

5.58	פֶּן־יַהַרְגֻנִי אַנְשֵׁי הַמָּקוֹם עַל־רִבְקָה	lest the men of this place kill me because of Rebekah (Gen. 26:7)
5.59	אָקוּם לְהוֹדוֹת לָךְ עַל מִשְׁפְּטֵי צִדְקֶךָ	I will rise to give thanks to you because of your righteous judgments (Ps. 119:62)
5.60	פַּלְגֵי־מַיִם יָרְדוּ עֵינָי עַל לֹא־שָׁמְרוּ תוֹרָתֶךָ	my eyes shed streams of water, because they do not keep your law (Ps. 119:136)

The Causal Sense is a distinct sense due to its unique configuration in Figure 5.14. Also, it has been conventionalized over time as an independent sense. For example, in Example 5.61 no other lexical items in the syntactic structure direct the rendering of עַל to *because of*.

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[60] There are instances of fuzzy borders (Chapter 2) where an instance could be categorized under the Causal Sense or Focus of Attention, such as Gen. 27:41; Ps. 119:164; and 138:2 (2x). A similar footnote mentions how many examples listed under the Focus of Attention Sense could be understood as causal.

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5.61   חֲמָסִי עָלֶיךָ   my wrong is because of you (Gen. 16:5)

5.4.10 The Norm Sense (7.A)

The Norm Sense may be translated as *according to* and occurs 22 times in the defined corpus. In Figure 5.15 the TR (circle) must meet some sort of standard (LM). The LM is a horizontal line in order to illustrate the basis of the regulations. The dashed arrow shows how the TR must conform to the LM. The upward, solid arrow illustrates the action of the TR. The Norm Sense is an extension of the Causal Sense due to the similar configurations. The main difference is the nuance of conformity taken by the TR. Examples 5.62 and 5.63 give examples of this sense. First, *they restored the house of God* (TR) *according to its measurements* (LM). The second example shows a more abstract take on the Norm Sense. *They served* (TR) *according to their order* (LM).
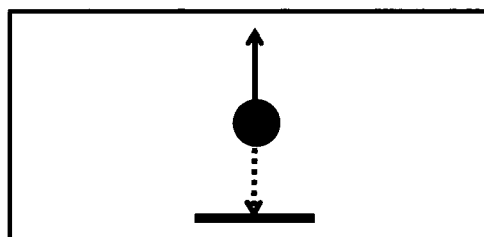

Figure 5.15 The Norm Sense

5.62   וַיַּעֲמִידוּ אֶת־בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים עַל־מַתְכֻּנְתּוֹ   they restored/set up the house of God according to its measurements (2 Chron. 24:13)

5.63   וַיַּעַמְדוּ כְמִשְׁפָּטָם עַל־עֲבוֹדָתָם   and they served in their offices according to their order (1 Chron. 6:17)

This new configuration along with the fact that this sense of עַל cannot be derived from other sentential context makes the Norm Sense distinct. No other lexical items' senses in Example 5.62 contribute to the usage of עַל. This sense has been conventionalized as an independent usage of עַל. Also, עַל־פִּי is a common fixed expression found within the Norm Sense, as seen in Example 5.64.[61]

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[61] Other examples are Gen. 41:40; 45:21; and 1 Chron. 12:33.

5.64   וַנַּגֶּד־לֹו עַל־פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה   so we told him according to these words
(Gen. 43:7)

In Examples 5.62 - 5.64 the prepositional phrase headed by עַל (see 4.2.1) syntactically functions as an adjunct of manner. In other words, *according to its measurements* is the manner in which *they restored the house of God* (Example 5.62). Example 5.65 is another example of עַל syntactically functioning as an adjunct of manner. Here, it modifies a nominal clause אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעֹולָם. It contains a verbless clause, and the English copula verb (*are*) has been supplied.

5.65   [62]אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעֹולָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק   you (are) a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek (Ps. 110:4)

Similar to the analysis of עַל־פְּנֵי under the Frontal Sense, the phrase עַל יַד has been categorized having different senses of עַל due to its diverse nature.[63] Example 5.66 shows how this is typically used in First and Second Chronicles according to the Norm Sense.[64] This analysis took the references concerning the hierarchy of people or musical orders as *according to the direction of*[65] rather than *over* as is the rendering with the Control Sense, because the author selected this particular phrase instead of typical wording with the Control Sense (e.g. with the verb *appointed*, etc.). There seems to be a lighter nuance designating assignments and directions with עַל יַד, rather than with the Control Sense of authority.[66]

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[62] There is some difficulty with this text. The NET Bible (2007) explains how the phrase עַל־דִּבְרָתִי is a variant of עַל־דִּבְרַת, which is a variant of עַל דְּבַר. It may be argued that both phrases can be translated as "concerning" or "because of," but the NET Bible (2007) states that "neither of these nuances fits the use of עַל־דִּבְרָתִי in Ps 110:4. Here the phrase probably carries the sense "according to the manner of" and translates it as "after the pattern." Allen (2002:81) agrees and translates this phrase as "according to the way of, on the model of." NASB (1988) and NRSV (1989) also render it as "according to the order;" and ESV (2006) states "after the order."

[63] 1 Chron. 26:28, 29:8 and 2 Chron. 34:17 are classified as instances of the In Sense. Ps. 63:11 is designated as the To Sense. Gen. 24:30 is listed under the Proto-Scene. 1 Chron. 6:16 is regarded as a member of the Control Sense due to the verb. 1 Chron. 7:29 is categorized as an instance of the Contingent Locative Sense.

[64] Other occurrences are 1 Chron. 25:3, 6 (2x); 2 Chron. 26:11, 13; 23:18; and 29:27.

[65] BDB (2006:391) agrees with this rendering and translates these occurrences (except 2 Chron. 26:11) as "according to the hand(s) of = at the guidance, direction of." Braun (2006) translates these examples as "at the side of" or "at the direction of" and argues that the proximity of the people is the main thrust of the phrase as opposed to authority. He does admit to the difficulty of עַל יַד. If proximity is the main nuance, then these occurrences might be better placed as an extension of the Contingent Locative Sense.

[66] Klein (2008) claims that עַל יַד should be translated as "under the direction of" and the plural עַל־יְדֵי should be translated as "according to the orders of." He says that they are parallel in 1 Chron. 25:2, 6 and that they have a sense of authority. If this rendering along with many translations (NASB, NET, ESV, NIV, and NRSV) is

5.66   בְּנֵי אָסָף עַל יַד־אָסָף הַנִּבָּא עַל־יְדֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ   the sons of Asaph were according to the direction of Asaph who prophesied according to the direction of the king (1 Chron. 25:2) (2x)

5.4.11 The Focus of Attention Sense (8)

The Focus of Attention Sense may be translated as *about*, *concerning*, or *over* and occurs 49 times in the defined corpus. This is a new configuration where the vantage point is that of the TR, and the LM is the focus of attention, and is the same as Tyler and Evans' configuration for a sense of *over* (2007:95-97). This new vantage point is why the TR is included within the eye icon in Figure 5.16. In contrast, the vantage point of the Proto-Scene is off-stage. The viewer sees the relationship between the TR and LM and does not participate. Here, however, the LM is the object of the TR's viewpoint.
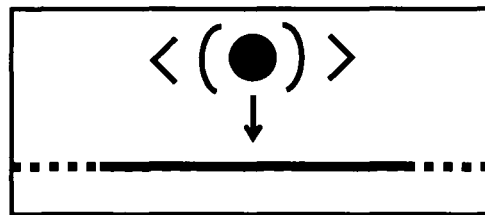

Figure 5.16 The Focus of Attention Sense

This usage of עַל is used mostly to modify verbs of communication.[67] In Example 5.67 עַל is the head of the prepositional phrase *about the house of your servant* (LM) and modifies the verb *have spoken* (*you have spoken* is the entire TR) by explaining the topic of the speech. Similarly, in Example 5.68 *I heard* (TR) is being modified by *about your words* (LM).

5.67   וַתְּדַבֵּר עַל־בֵּית־עַבְדְּךָ   and you have spoken about the house of your servant (1 Chron. 17:17)

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correct, then these occurrences would be best placed under the Control Sense. It is simply hard to say. Another question that might offer insight is how this phrase is different than יַד תַּחַת.

[67] There are some occurrences where עַל in this sense modifies a noun phrase (מִשְׁפָּט / practices - 1 Chron. 23:31; מִצְוָה / commandments – 2 Chron. 8:15; חָזוּת / visions – 2 Chron. 9:29; מַשָּׂא / oracles – 2 Chron. 24:27; דָּבָר / words – 2 Chron. 34:21) and marks a topic shift by the author (Gen. 41:32). Notice the nouns imply acts of communication; the shift between modifying a verb and a noun is therefore understandable.

5.68   שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּאַרְצִי עַל־דְּבָרֶיךָ   I heard in my land about your words
                                                                 (2 Chron. 9:5)

The Focus of Attention Sense is a distinct sense because of the new configuration, especially with the vantage point being that of the TR. Also, this understanding of עַל does occur as contextually independent from other surrounding lexical items. Consider Example 5.68 above – none of the other lexical units contribute to the meaning of עַל. This relationship between the TR and the LM has been conventionalized as an independent usage of עַל.

The Focus of Attention Sense involves verbs of emotions as well. See Examples 5.69 - 5.71 below. Here, עַל is often translated as *over* and marks the focus of distress, mourning, and rejoicing.[68] These exemplify how this sense is an extension of the Proto-Scene, as well.

5.69   אַל־יֵרַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ עַל־הַנַּעַר   do not be distressed in your eyes over the boy (Gen. 21:12)

5.70   וַיִּתְאַבֵּל עַל־בְּנוֹ יָמִים רַבִּים   and he mourned over his son for many days (Gen. 37:34)

5.71   וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ הָעָם עַל־הִתְנַדְּבָם   and the people rejoiced over their freely given offerings (1 Chron. 29:9)

5.4.12 The Instrumental Sense (9)

The Instrumental Sense can be translated as *by* or *with* and occurs 12 times in Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles. In this sense עַל heads a prepositional phrase (see 4.2.1) that syntactically functions as an adjunct of manner connoting instrumentality. As the name of the sense suggests, it specifies how a verb is done. Figure 5.17 gives the configuration between the TR and LM. The TR is resting on the LM in order to signify dependence, agency, and means. The arrow proceeding from the TR shows the action being done. In Examples 5.72 and 5.73, the verbs *shall live* and *does not slander* (TRs) are modified by an instrumental phrase of the LM – *by your sword* and *with his tongue*.

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[68] These could also be examples of the Causal Sense, because the LM in a way causes the distress, mourning, and rejoicing. This is an example of fuzzy borders (see 2.3.1.1) and an overlap occurs between the Causal Sense and the Focus of Attention Sense. Some instances could occur in either. In addition to these, Ps. 10:3 could be argued as an example of Causal with the verb *boasts* (הָלַל).
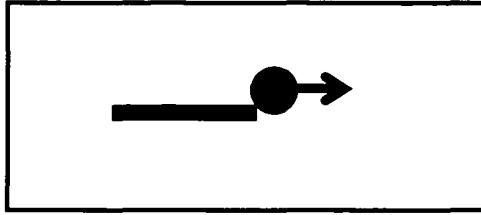
Figure 5.17 The Instrumental Sense

5.72   וְעַל־חַרְבְּךָ תִחְיֶה   and you shall live by your sword
(Gen. 27:40)

5.73   לֹא־רָגַל עַל־לְשֹׁנוֹ   he does not slander with his tongue
(Ps. 15:3)

The following Example 5.74 shows how the Instrumental Sense could be understood as an extension of the Proto-Scene or an example of fuzzy borders. The preposition עַל is translated *on* and the action is being done *upon* the TR. However, עַל also indicates the means of the action – *belly*.

5.74   עַל־גְּחֹנְךָ תֵלֵךְ   on your belly you will go/crawl
(Gen. 3:14)

The Instrumental Sense has been included as a new sense of עַל, because this usage meets the two criteria of being such. First, Figure 5.17 shows the distinct relationship between the TR and the LM. Second, this sense has been conventionalized in some occurrences as an independent semantic function. In Example 5.72, the subject (*you*), verb (*shall live*), and the object (*your sword*) do not contribute to the Instrumental Sense of עַל.

There are two difficult references (Examples 5.75 and 5.76) that have been included in this sense. Example 5.75 includes the lexeme as the head of a negated verbal clause as the LM - עַל־בְּלִי הִגִּיד לוֹ (*by not telling him*). It has been included here due to its rare nature. In Example 5.76, עַל is the head of two infinitive constructs - הֹדֹת and וְהַלֵּל. It seems like the two LMs are done at the same time as the TR (*who prophesied* - הַנִּבָּא).

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| 5.75 | וַיִּגְנֹב יַעֲקֹב אֶת־לֵב לָבָן הָאֲרַמִּי עַל־בְּלִי הִגִּיד לֹו | and Jacob deceived the heart of Laban the Aramean by not telling him (Gen. 31:20) |
| 5.76 | בְּכִנּוֹר הַנִּבָּא עַל־הֹדוֹת וְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה | who prophesied with the harp by giving thanks and praising the Lord (1 Chron. 25:3) |

5.4.13 Psalm Titles

There are a total of 16 Psalm titles containing עַל. The LMs are unknown and are typically understood as either instruments or a musical style. See Example 5.77.[69]

| 5.77 | עַל־הַגִּתִּית | on the gittith OR according to the Gittith style (Ps. 8:1) |

Examples 5.78 and 5.79 are two verses that indicate that the LM might be a musical style, since the TR already includes a musical instrument. Therefore, these have been designated under the Norm Sense, but mentioned here due to their similarities with the Psalm Titles.

| 5.78 | בִּנְבָלִים עַל־עֲלָמוֹת | with harps according to alamoth (1 Chron. 15:20) |
| 5.79 | בְּכִנֹּרוֹת עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית | with lyres according to sheminith (1 Chron. 15:21) |

5.5 Compounds

The lexeme עַל is morphologically dependent upon other particles 52 times in Genesis, Chronicles, and Psalms. The two compounds attested are מֵעַל and בְּעַל.

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[69] Other examples are Ps. 6:1, 8:1, 12:1, 22:1, 45:1, 46:1, 53:1, 56:1, 60:1, 61:1, 62:1, 69:1, 77:1, 81:1, 84:1, and 88:1.

5.5.1 מֵעַל

This is the most common compound involving עַל. It occurs 50 times in the defined corpus. There are four different senses that מֵעַל symbolizes: From Upon, Away From, Above, and Contingent Locative. They are described below in order from most frequently occurring to least.

5.5.1.1 The From Upon Sense

The From Upon Sense may be translated as *from upon* or *from* and occurs 31 times in the defined corpus. Not only is it the most frequently occurring sense of this compound, but it is evenly distributed across genre and CBH and LBH. It seems to take on some of the sense of the Proto-Scene of עַל, but there are some dissimilarities. Whereas the Proto-Scene did not require contact between the TR and LM and could be rendered *upon* or *over*, the From Upon Sense involves actual contact between the TR (circle) and the LM (solid line) as seen in Figure 5.18. The arrow indicates movement of the TR away from the LM.
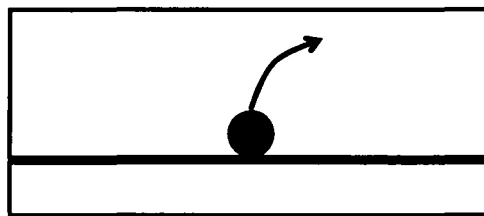

Figure 5.18 The From Upon Sense

Similar to the Proto-Scene the relationships involved are either concrete (Example 5.80) or metaphorical (Example 5.81). The *stone* and *mouth of well* in Example 5.80 are both concrete, while the relationship between the TR (*plague*) and LM (*me*) in Example 5.81 is more metaphorical. This is a distinct sense because of the new spatial configuration. Also, the sentential context does not always contribute to the meaning of מֵעַל, as seen in Example 5.80. The verb גָּלַל could occur in any direction.

5.80   וְגָלֲלוּ אֶת־הָאֶבֶן מֵעַל פִּי הַבְּאֵר   and they rolled the stone from the mouth of the well (Gen. 29:8)

5.81   הָסֵר מֵעָלַי נִגְעֶךָ   remove from me your plague (Ps. 39:11)

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5.5.1.2 The Away From Sense

The Away From sense of מֵעַל can be translated as *away from* or *from* and occurs 13 times in the four books. The lexeme עַל seems to contribute the Accompaniment Sense, which is why Figure 5.8 is the basis for Figure 5.19. Notice that the two arrows connecting the TR (circle) and LM (elongated circle) from the Accompaniment Sense are now dashed to indicate that the association is now broken. The solid arrow shows the movement of the TR away from the LM. The lexeme מִן contributes to this removal. Therefore, the Away From Sense is a combination of how the two prepositions contribute to one meaning – the separation of what was once together.
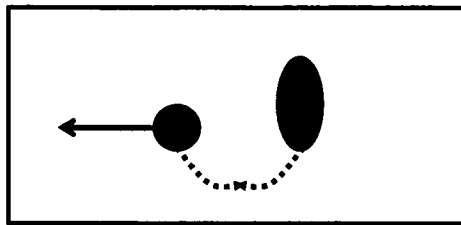

Figure 5.19 The Away From Sense

As the examples below show, the entities involved are mostly animated objects, which is why the LM is shown as an elongated circle. There is one instance where a nominalized action is used for the LM (*service* in Example 5.83). For the most part, though, this sense shows separation between people (*he* and *me*) as in Example 5.82. The verbs in the first two examples governs the *away from* translation for מֵעַל; the verb in Example 5.84 does not. One can turn in or towards any direction. This example and the new configuration offered in Figure 5.19 show that this sense is distinct.

5.82	וְיַעֲלֶה מֵעָלָי	he will withdraw from me (2 Chron. 16:3)
5.83	וְהַשֹּׁעֲרִים לְשַׁעַר וָשַׁעַר אֵין לָהֶם לָסוּר מֵעַל עֲבֹדָתָם	and the gatekeepers at each gate did not have to leave from their service (2 Chron. 35:15)
5.84	וַיִּסֹּב מֵעֲלֵיהֶם	and he turned away from them (Gen. 42:24)

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5.5.1.3 The Above Sense

The Above Sense of מַעַל may be translated as *above* and occurs five times in the defined corpus. As Figure 5.20 shows, there is considerable distance between the TR (circle) and the LM (solid line). The dashed line indicates this distance.[70] As seen in Examples 5.85 and 5.86, the authors are pointing out distance between the TRs (*incense altars* and *loving-kindness*) and the LMs (*them* and *sky*). Example 5.85 includes the lexeme לְמַעְלָה, which indicates height, and Example 5.86 contains גָּדוֹל, inferring a magnitude of distance. It could also be argued that the מִן has lost its privative, or alienating, meaning (Van der Merwe 2011). This was not the case with the From Upon and Away From Senses, because the TRs were being separated from the LMs.
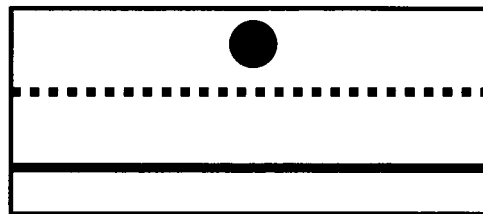

Figure 5.20 The Above Sense

The Above Sense is a distinct sense due to its unique spatial configuration. Also, Example 5.85 is an example of how the meaning of מַעַל cannot be inferred from any of the sentential context. Another side note is that the entities involved in this sense may be abstract, as seen in Example 5.86.

5.85	וְהַחַמָּנִים אֲשֶׁר־לְמַעְלָה מֵעֲלֵיהֶם גִּדַּע	and he broke the incense altars that were above them (2 Chron. 34:4)
5.86	כִּי־גָדוֹל מֵעַל־שָׁמַיִם חַסְדֶּךָ	for great above the sky is your loving-kindness (Ps. 108:5)

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[70] Gen. 1:7 and Ps. 148:4 illustrate a vertical relationship between the TR and LM, but it is difficult to know for certain if distance is implied by the context. They have been included in this category, because there is not enough evidence to create a new semantic category similar to the Proto-Scene of עַל.

5.5.1.4 The Contingent Locative Sense

The Contingent Locative Sense of מֵעַל may be translated as *near*, *by*, *beside*, or *at*. It only occurs once (Example 5.87) in Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles. Figure 5.21 below is the same as Figure 5.7 for the Contingent Locative Sense of עַל. Example 5.87 does not suggest any difference. The TR is *Uzziah's forehead* and is close to the LM (*incense altar*). The two criteria are met for this to be a distinct sense – the configuration is different than any other for מֵעַל and the senses of the surrounding context do not govern this rendering of מֵעַל. This sense also indicates that the מִן has lost its privative meaning (Van der Merwe 2011).
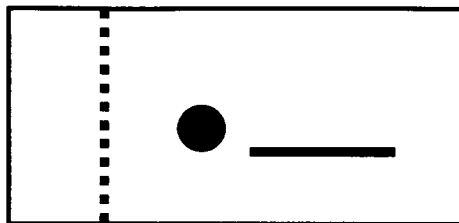

Figure 5.21 The Contingent Locative Sense

5.87	וְהַצָּרַעַת זָרְחָה בְמִצְחוֹ ... מֵעַל לְמִזְבַּח הַקְּטֹרֶת	and a disease broke out on [Uzziah's] forehead ... beside the incense altar (2 Chron. 26:19)

It is difficult to say with only one occurrence whether this sense is related to the Away From Sense for מֵעַל. It would possibly look similar to the relationship between the Contingent Locative Sense and Accompaniment Sense for עַל.

5.5.2 כְּעַל

There are two occurrences of כְּעַל, which are used as a preposition and can best be translated as *as concerning*. This compound has a comparative sense, which stems from the כְּ, hence the *as*. The *concerning* part of the translation comes from the Focus of Attention Sense of the עַל. Figure 5.22 shows the TR (black circle) doing an action (solid arrow). The action is done according to, which is shown by the dashed arrow, a hypothetical situation (LM = the gray section of the figure, which is identical to the Focus of Attention Sense configuration above – Figure 5.16). Examples 5.88 and 5.89 are the two examples where the the TRs' actions (*they*

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spoke about God… and *I have rejoiced…*) are completed as if they were the LMs (*the gods…* and *all the riches*).
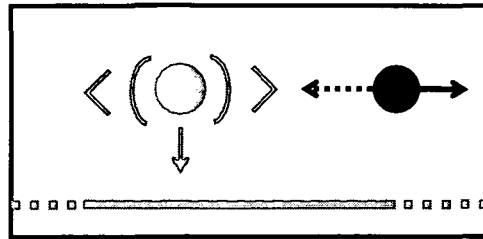

Figure 5.22 The As Concerning Sense

5.88   וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֶל־אֱלֹהֵי יְרוּשָׁלָם כְּעַל אֱלֹהֵי עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ

and they spoke about the God of Jerusalem as concerning the gods of the peoples of the earth (2 Chron. 32:19)

5.89   בְּדֶרֶךְ עֵדְוֹתֶיךָ שַׂשְׂתִּי כְּעַל כָּל־הוֹן

I have rejoiced in the way of your testimonies as concerning (as much as) all the riches (Ps. 119:14)[71]

5.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to gather statistical analysis of all of the occurrences of עַל from Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles in order to describe the semantic potential of the lexeme. The lexical treatment began with the Proto-Scene and then described fifteen other distinct senses for עַל (i.e. The Vertical Cluster: More, Superior, and Control; Contingent Locative; Accompaniment, In, To, Oppositional, For, Frontal, Causal, Norm, Focus of Attention, Instrumental, and Psalms Titles). Then, it described the various senses for the morphologically complex lexemes. These included מֵעַל (i.e. From Upon, Away From, Above, and Contingent Locative) and כְּעַל (i.e. As Concerning).

The methodology as described in Chapter 4 was utilized to determine the Proto-Scene (or prototypical sense), other distinct senses, and the radial cluster. First, the syntactical constructions in which עַל occurs were evaluated by identifying the TR and LM. Second, the syntactic information of the construction, specifically verbal valency, offered insight into the semantic usages of עַל. (See Appendix 1 for a compilation of occurrences for each semantic

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[71] Translations, such as the NRSV and NASB translate this compound as "as much as."

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category.) Third, Tyler and Evans' (2007) methodology of determining a Proto-Scene aided in determining the most prototypical semantic usage. In addition, frequency of each semantic category also helped to identify the more prototypical senses from the less prototypical (Appendix 2). Fourth, knowledge of the prototypical and non-prototypical usages was used to create a semantic map of the polysemous word. Tyler and Evans' (2007) model also provided guidelines in distinguishing distinct senses based on a minimal-specification approach. The spatial configurations for each prepositional sense offer an image to symbolize meaning. Fifth, the radial structure established the groundwork for a more refined description of עַל than the descriptions given by current lexica (Chapter 3). The various semantic categories offered a thorough description of lexical meaning, rather than a list of glosses or translation values.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Chapter Summaries

This research addressed the question, "What does עַל mean?" or more specifically, "What is the semantic potential of עַל?" The need to revisit this question even after more than a century of BH scholarship was due to the fact that the existing BH resources did not adequately answer the question. The shortcomings of the BH lexica became more apparent in light of several lessons from a current popular linguistic model – CL. Consequently, the hypothesis of this thesis was that CL provided a more cognitively precise semantic model than the models used by BH resources. This study addressed the question "What does עַל mean?" in two parts. First, how did CL offer a new perspective on lexical meaning? And second, how can these lessons apply to the BH lexeme in order to describe its semantic potential within a CL framework?

The first half of **Chapter 2** answered the first part of the question and gave an overview of CL's approach to lexical meaning. Not only is language daily experienced as users live in a spatio-physical world, but language is governed by general cognitive principles. CL explains linguistic meaning in terms of embodied meaning and conceptualization. For example, prototype theory helps explain how the mind possibly utilizes phenomena like categorization to organize different semantic information. Properties, such as frequency, help explain the more prototypical members from the less prototypical. And radial structures provide a way to network the various meanings of polysemous lexemes in a well-justified manner utilizing concepts such as metaphor to explain relationships between meanings. In regards to language being experiential, image schemas are tools to help explain how the mind conceptualizes everyday experiences and creates metaphorical extensions of lexical meaning. These concepts help contribute to a well-justified semantic model and help explain how the mind conceptualizes and organizes such an infinite amount of lexical information.

Additionally, all levels of language - ranging from phonology to grammatical constructions – exist on a continuum. In order to answer "What does עַל mean?" and find the lexeme's

semantic potential, linguistic context must be considered. A cognitive approach to grammar emphasizes the inseparable marriage between semantics and constructions. Linguistic meaning cannot be understood apart from the lexeme's syntactic frame. The frame provides the lexeme's syntactic function, how it relates to the other words in the construction, and its semantic meaning. Further, verbal valency is an important notion that expresses the dependence of a prepositional phrase to its verb.

The second half of Chapter 2 offered a review of two case studies of *over*, a common translation of עַל. Due to the large amount of attention that cognitive linguists have given to *over*, these two case studies were used heuristically to analyze the semantic potential of עַל and to consider the possible relationships among meanings. This review preceded the BH literature review in order to illustrate a well-justified semantic model for a spatial preposition. Understanding the principles of CL, how they can be applied to lexical meaning, and how they have been applied to an actual analysis of a spatial preposition similar to עַל helped explain some of the inadequacies of BH resources.

In light of these lessons of CL, **Chapter 3** reviewed four popular BH resources used by students and linguists today. While the resources all answered, "What does עַל mean?" according to their own standards, they did not always meet the CL-based criteria utilized in the review. First, because a word's meaning cannot be understood apart from its usage, the review evaluated whether the BH resources adequately considered immediate context and syntactic information (e.g. verbal valency) in their semantic evaluation. Second, it assessed whether or not the existing resources utilized statistical analysis (e.g. frequency) to the degree that might provide insight into semantic categories and degrees of prototypicality. Third, the BH resources were evaluated for a well-justified semantic model that motivated a clearly organized treatment of the BH lexeme. The CL principles set forth in Chapter 2 show that the contributions and wisdom of existing BH scholarship can be built upon and refined by applying the lessons of CL.

Chapter 4 formulated the overall aim of this study as establishing the framework for the study of עַל based on the general principles of CL and Tyler and Evans' (2007) case study of

over to the study of BH. A new treatment of this preposition was needed based upon the findings that the available BH resources do not provide much insight into the polysemous relationships among the various senses of עַל. The methodological steps used in this analysis began with determining the underlying syntactical constructions of עַל to gather insight into the semantic usages, specifically through the means of assessing verbal valency. Next, the frequency of each semantic meaning and the methodologies of Tyler and Evans (2007) (e.g. criteria for the Proto-Scene) were heuristically utilized to determine the more prototypical and less prototypical semantic usages. Then from the knowledge of the prototypical and non-prototypical usages, the distinct senses were established by utilizing the criteria from Tyler and Evans (2007). This information helped create a well-justified semantic map of the polysemous word and was illustrated with a radial structure. Finally, a well-justified and better-conceptualized semantic map ultimately contributed to a more descriptive and more cognitively adequate treatment of עַל according to CL principles.

By implementing the CL-based methodology set forth in the previous chapter, **Chapter 5** answered the second part of the "What does עַל mean?" and presented the semantic potential of עַל in the books of Genesis, Psalms, and Chronicles. In order to accomplish this analysis the empirical data was analyzed using Tyler and Evans' (2007) methodologies for determining a Proto-scene, or the most prototypical sense. Also, their (Tyler and Evans 2007) criteria for establishing distinct senses of spatial prepositions were heuristically utilized to create a well-justified radial structure of עַל. Along with Tyler and Evans (2007), the three criteria used to review the existing BH literature in Chapter 3 were also considered.

First, the syntactic frames (e.g. TR and LM) were evaluated to see how syntactic information contributed to the lexeme's semantic value. It has been established in this study that verbal valency offered significant insight into the semantic categories that need to be distinguished, because the preposition's lexical meaning is often prompted by its verb. Second, the frequency of each semantic category (Appendix 2) gave some insight into how much a usage had been conventionalized within the BH culture and which semantic categories were more or less prototypical than others. Third, a radial structure of the polysemous word was organized from the knowledge of the prototypical and non-prototypical categories and from

Tyler and Evans' (2007) minimal-specification approach model. This well-justified semantic map ultimately built upon the wisdom available in existing BH resources. The semantic categories in Chapter 5 presented a thorough treatment of the lexeme's semantic potential within the defined corpus.

The most prototypical semantic category was the Proto-Scene, which included the TR higher than the LM but still in close proximity to one another. This semantic category could be translated as *over* or *upon* and occurred the most frequently of all the senses - approximately one-third of the 1113 total times. In addition, it was evenly distributed between prose and poetry, as well as, CBH and LBH. The Vertical Cluster included the More Sense, Superior Sense, and Control Sense. This cluster of senses was an extension of the Proto-Scene by the means of experiential correlation – something that is higher is of more quantity. In regards to the Superior and Control Senses, certain syntactic information offered insight into the different semantic values of עַל. Several times, various verbs would help differentiate the two semantic categories from one another. This is significant evidence of how the valency of verbs helps prompt the lexical meaning of prepositions, and consequently, supports the view of how important syntactic information is for determining the semantics of an individual lexeme.

The Contingent Locative Sense involved a TR in close proximity to the LM. Again, the valency of verbs offered insight into this sense. An extension of the Contingent Locative Sense was the Accompaniment Sense. This has an additional nuance of some sort of association between the TR and LM. The In Sense described a spatial relation where a TR is located within a LM. A concept of containment underlined it, even though there were no upright boundaries in many cases. The To Sense had a spatial configuration where the TR was directed towards a LM, which was its end goal. This sense also extended to the Oppositional and For Senses. The Oppositional Sense added a manner of hostility to the To Sense. The spatial configuration of the For Sense looked almost identical to the configuration of the To Sense, except for the LM signifying an oblique goal.

The Frontal Sense has a configuration where the LM was represented as animated, due to its orientation towards the TR. This sense was quite different than the others, because its usages consisted only of the phrase עַל-פְּנֵי. The Causal Sense showed the LM at the bottom of the

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sequence to indicate the grounds for the TR's action. As a result of the LM, the TR acted accordingly. The Norm Sense was an extension of the Causal Sense due, but had a nuance of conformity taken by the TR. The Focus of Attention Sense offered a different configuration where the vantage point was that of the TR, and the LM was the focus of attention. This sense was another example of how the valency of verbs (usually verbs of communication) helped determine the semantic categories of עַל. In the Instrumental Sense, the diagram showed the TR doing an action but rested on the LM in order to signify dependence, agency, and means. Finally, there were a total of 16 Psalm titles and the LMs were unknown. They were usually understood as either instruments or a musical style.

The compound מֵעַל took four different senses. First, the From Upon Sense indicated movement of the TR away from the horizontal LM. Second, the Away From Sense showed the TR moving away from the LM and breaking any association. Third, the Above Sense implied more distance between the TR and LM than the Proto-Scene of עַל. Fourth, the Contingent Locative Sense was the same as the equivalent sense of עַל. There were two occurrences of כְּעַל and both had a comparative sense which stems from the כְּ, and a nuance of focus from the Focus of Attention Sense of the עַל. It could best be translated as *as concerning*.

As seen with this brief overview, Chapter 5 presented a lexical treatment of עַל in a much more meaningful way than the glosses or translation values in the current BH lexica. A BH student or linguist does not have to apply guesswork in choosing how to translate עַל but can make an educated translation value based evaluating the syntactic frame of the lexeme based upon the BH and utilizing the spatial configurations offered for each sense. These images depict the visual description of the relationship between the TR and LM found within the syntactic frame. Focusing upon the image schemas of each meaning, rather than a mere translation, gives a cognitive description of the semantic values and helps illustrate how the meanings are possibly related to each other through family resemblance. Also, the organization of the senses throughout the radial structure considers prototypicality, family resemblance between semantic categories, and spatial versus non-spatial meanings for a logical order. This type of organization results in a clearer explanation of the lexeme's various meanings and therefore, easier navigation for the user (see 5.4 for a detailed explanation of the distinct senses' order). All of these methodological principles led to a

cognitively plausible lexical treatment of עַל and a sharpened answer to the question, "What does עַל mean?"

6.2 Areas of Future Study

Due to the exploratory nature of this study, there are several areas of future study in order to better understand CL. As mentioned in Chapter 2, several aspects of CL could be further researched in order to better understand the nature of language, polysemous words, spatial prepositions, and grammatical categories. First, Tyler and Evans (2007:46) argue that the prototype theory is not the best model to categorize lexical meanings for non-objects. While this research utilized Tyler and Evans' (2007) criteria for establishing a Proto-scene, more should be understood on the different methods of categorizing the polysemous meanings of relational words, such as prepositions. Second, any critiques of Tyler and Evans' (2007) case study of *over* could shed some light on improving a semantic model for spatial prepositions. Because CL sets forth the basic principles for how language is conceptualized and lexical meaning through usage, there are several different approaches when it comes to the actual lexical analysis.

In order to better understand the BH lexeme עַל, several areas of future study could be broached. First, all of the BH resources reviewed in Chapter 3 referred to the close relationship of עַל to אֶל, which indicates a close relationship between the two. This could enhance the understanding of עַל, especially since they are synonymous in several instances. Also, one of the criterions for the Proto-scene given by Tyler and Evans is based upon the organization of spatial particles into compositional groups. However, this criterion was not considered, because the study only analyzed עַל. Fortunately, Rodriguez (2011) has completed a study of תַּחַת (*under*, *below*), which is often considered its opposite. Further, עַל יַד poses several questions and perhaps analyzing תַּחַת יַד would give insight into the phrase's semantic meaning.

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Second, this study only analyzes עַל within Genesis, Chronicles, and Psalms and much more could be gleaned from analyzing the rest of the BHS. A broader corpus would shed more light upon the infrequent occurrences of particular senses (e.g., Frontal) and some of the phrases (e.g. עַל־כַּן, כִּי־עַל־כֵּן, עַל־אֲשֶׁר, and עַל כִּי). Also, analyzing more BH text would help determine if other types of syntactical data (e.g. infinitive constructs, etc.) could contribute to lexical meaning. With all of these issues at hand, there is much room for growth and improvement in regards to the semantics of עַל and other BH lexemes. Continuing the journey into understanding how CL describes lexical meaning would help explain how a polysemous BH lexeme can be conceptualized and utilized by a BH user within the language. Then, broadening the analysis of עַל would aid in better describing the semantic potential of עַל and more accurately answering "What does עַל mean?"

Appendix 1: Occurrences of עַל by Semantic Category

Proto-Scene
The TR is higher than the LM within the same sphere of influence (*over, upon, on*)
Gen. 1:2 (2x), 11, 15, 17, 20, 26, 28, 29, 30; 2:5, 21; 6:1, 12, 17; 7:3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 17, 18 (2x), 21 (2x), 23; 8:1, 4, 9, 17 (2x), 19; 9:2 (2x), 14, 16, 17, 23; 11:4, 8, 9; 15:11, 12 (2x); 17:3, 17; 18:19; 19:16, 23, 24 (2x), 31; 20:9 (2x); 21:14; 22:2, 6, 9, 17; 24:15, 30, 42, 45, 47, 61; 26:10; 27:12, 13, 16 (2x); 28:9, 13, 18; 29:2, 3; 30:3, 28; 31:10, 12, 17, 34; 32:32, 33; 33:4, 13; 34:12; 35:5, 14 (2x), 20; 37:23; 38:14, 28, 30; 40:16, 19; 41:3, 17, 42 (2x), 56; 42:26; 44:13, 21; 45:14 (2x), 15, 20; 46:4, 29 (2x); 47:20; 48:7, 14 (2x), 17 (2x), 18; 49:22; 50:1 (2x), 23; **Ps.** 3:9; 4:5, 7; 5:12; 7:17; 8:2; 10:14; 11:2, 6; 14:2; 16:4; 18:11 (2x), 34; 21:6; 22:10, 11; 24:2 (2x); 29:3 (2x); 31:17; 32:4, 8; 33:22; 36:5 (2x); 37:10; 38:3; 40:3; 41:4, 12; 42:8; 44:20; 45:4; 47:9; 50:16; 51:21; 53:3; 55:4, 5, 11, 16, 23; 56:13; 57:6; 60:10 (2x); 62:8; 63:7; 68:35; 69:10, 16, 25, 28; 71:6; 72:6, 13; 78:24, 27; 79:6; 80:16, 18 (2x); 88:8, 17; 89:20, 46; 90:13, 17; 91:13; 94:23; 102:8; 103:13 (2x), 17; 104:3, 5; 105:16, 38; 106:17; 107:40; 124:4, 5; 125:3, 5; 128:6; 129:3; 131:2; 132:3, 18; 133:2 (3x), 3; 135:14; 136:6; 137:2; 139:5; 140:11; 141:3; 145:9; 149:5; **1 Chron.** 6:34 (2x); 9:33; 10:4, 5; 12:9, 16; 13:7, 10; 14:17; 15:15, 27; 16:40; 18:7; 20:2; 21:16, 26; 27:24; 28:2, 5, 18, 19; 29:15, 23, 25 (2x), 30 (3x); **2 Chron.** 1:6; 2:3; 3:5, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16; 4:4 (2x), 12 (2x), 13, 14, 19; 5:8 (3x); 6:10, 13 (2x), 16, 18, 27; 7:3 (2x), 11, 14, 22; 8:12, 17; 9:8, 15, 16, 19; 10:4, 9, 11; 13:11, 18; 14:10, 13; 15:1, 5; 16:7 (2x), 8; 17:10; 18:9, 16, 18, 23; 19:2, 7, 10 (2x); 20:3, 9, 12, 14, 29; 23:11, 20; 24:9, 18, 25; 25:3, 28; 26:15 (2x), 16; 28:4, 9, 11, 13 (2x); 29:8, 21, 23; 32:5, 8, 10, 12, 18, 25 (2x), 26; 33:16; 34:4, 5, 24 (2x), 28 (2x); 35:16; 36:15 (2x), 17

More
The TR is of greater quantity than the LM (*more than, besides, above, higher*)
Gen. 31:50; 48:22; **Ps.** 16:2; 61:7; 71:14; 103:11; 104:6; 115:14 (3x); **1 Chron.** 21:3; 22:14; 26:29; **2 Chron.** 9:6; 10:11, 14; 21:15; 28:13 (2x)

Superior
The TR is of superior quality than the LM (*above, more than*)
Ps. 13:3; 27:6; 35:26; 38:17; 55:13; 57:6, 12 (2x); 89:8; 95:3; 96:4; 97:9; 99:2; 108:6 (2x); 113:4 (2x); 137:6; 138:2; 148:13; **1 Chron.** 16:25

Control
The TR is in control of the LM (*over, upon*)
Gen. 2:16; 7:19, 24; 28:6; 37:8; 39:4, 5; 41:33, 34, 40, 41, 43; 42:6; 43:16, 19; 44:1, 4; 49:26; **Ps.** 2:6, 7:8; 47:3, 9; 83:19; 97:9; 103:11; 108:10 (2x); 110:6; **1 Chron.** 6:16; 9:19 (2x), 20, 23, 26 (2x), 27 (2x), 28, 29 (3x), 31, 32; 11:2, 3, 10, 25; 12:4, 39; 14:2, 8; 16:40; 17:7, 10; 18:14, 15, 17; 21:4; 22:10, 12; 23:1, 4; 26:20, 22, 24, 26, 30, 32; 27:2, 4, 6, 16, 25 (2x), 26, 27 (2x), 28 (2x), 29 (2x), 30 (2x), 31; 28:4 (2x), 5; 29:26, 27; **2 Chron.** 1:1, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 10; 6:5, 6, 33; 7:13; 8:3, 14 (2x); 9:8, 30; 10:17, 18; 13:1, 5; 17:1; 19:9, 11; 20:31; 21:4, 8; 22:12; 23:18; 26:21; 27:5; 30:17; 31:12, 14, 15; 32:1, 6; 34:12, 13; 36:4, 10, 23

Contingent Locative
The TR is next to the LM in close proximity (*by, at, near*)
Gen. 14:6; 16:7 (2x); 18:2, 5, 8; 23:19; 24:13, 30 (2x), 43; 25:9, 18; 28:13; 29:2; 31:46; 38:21; 41:1; 45:1; 47:31; 49:17 (2x), 22, 30; 50:13; **Ps.** 1:3; 23:2; 81:8; 104:12; 106:7, 22, 32; 109:6; 110:5; 121:5; 137:1; **1 Chron.** 6:24, 29; 7:29; **2 Chron.** 7:6, 21; 9:18; 17:15, 16, 18; 18:18; 21:16; 23:10, 13 (2x), 19; 26:9 (3x); 30:16; 34:31; 35:10, 15, 20

Accompaniment
The TR is in close proximity to and associated with the LM (*with, among*)
Gen. 30:40; 32:12; 33:1 (3x); **Ps.** 7:11; **1 Chron.** 7:4; 11:42; **2 Chron.** 5:6; 11:13

In
The TR is contained within the boundaries of the LM (*in, within, throughout*)
Gen. 24:47; 30:37; 40:11, 21; 42:37; 47:26; 48:2; **Ps.** 7:9; 31:15; 37:4, 5, 11, 29; 42:5, 6, 7, 12; 43:5; 49:7; 68:30; 74:13; 91:12; 131:2; 137:4; 139:16; 142:4; 143:4; 146:5; **1 Chron.** 5:10; 9:1; 23:28 (3x); 26:28; 27:2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; 29:8, 25, 29 (3x); **2 Chron.** 6:31; 9:29 (2x); 12:10; 16:11; 20:34; 24:27; 25:26; 27:7; 28:26; 32:32; 33:18, 19; 34:10, 17 (2x), 21, 24, 31; 35:2, 10, 24, 25 (2x), 27; 36:8

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To
The TR is directed towards the end goal, which is the LM
(*to, towards*)
Gen. 18:16, 19; 19:28 (2x); 24:18, 49 (2x); 34:3; 38:12; 40:13, 21; 41:13, 45; 49:13; 50:21; **Ps.** 13:6; 16:6; 18:42; 19:7; 35:13; 37:5; 48:11, 15; 49:12; 63:11; 86:13; 90:16; 94:2; 103:10; 104:34; 109:5; 116:7; 117:2; 119:17; 142:8; **1 Chron.** 5:16; 11:15; 12:18, 20, 21, 23, 24; 13:2 (2x); 21:10; 22:8, 9; 23:14; **2 Chron.** 1:6; 15:4, 9; 19:10; 20:11, 24; 24:6; 28:16; 30:1 (2x), 9, 22; 31:9; 32:6, 9 (2x), 18, 25, 31; 36:15

Oppositional
The TR is directed towards the end goal (LM) in a hostile manner
(*against, at, upon*)
Gen. 14:15; 19:4; 34:25, 27, 30; 40:2 (3x); 41:10; 42:36; 43:18 (2x); 50:20; **Ps.** 2:2 (2x); 3:2, 7; 15:3, 5; 17:9; 21:12, 13; 22:14; 27:2, 3 (2x); 31:14, 19; 35:15, 16, 20, 21; 37:12; 40:13; 41:8 (2x), 10; 52:8; 54:5; 56:6; 59:4; 62:4; 64:9; 81:6, 15; 83:4 (2x), 6; 86:14; 88:18; 92:12; 94:21; 109:2, 6, 20; 119:69; 124:2; 138:7; **1 Chron.** 5:20; 10:3; 11:11, 20; 12:20, 22; 14:10; 21:1, 16; **2 Chron.** 6:34; 12:2, 9; 13:6, 7 (2x), 12; 14:10; 16:1; 18:22, 31; 20:1, 2, 12, 16, 22, 23, 37; 21:16; 22:5; 24:21, 23, 25, 26; 25:27; 26:7 (2x), 13, 18; 28:12, 20; 30:10; 32:2, 9, 16 (2x), 17; 33:11, 24, 25; 35:21; 36:6, 8, 17

For
The TR is directed towards the oblique goal, which is the LM
(*for, for the sake of*)
Gen. 19:17; 24:22; 38:29; **Ps.** 22:19; 42:2; 44:23; 45:5; 57:3; 66:5; 69:8; 79:9 (2x); 89:48; 90:17; 105:14; 116:12; **1 Chron.** 6:34; 16:21; 17:26; **2 Chron.** 29:21 (3x), 24; 30:18

Frontal
The LM is oriented in front of the TR
(*across, opposite, in front of, before, in the presence of*)
Gen. 1:20; 11:28; 16:12; 25:18; 32:22; **Ps.** 18:43; **2 Chron.** 3:4 (2x), 8, 17; 5:9; 9:20

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Causal
The LM is the grounds for the TR's action (*because of, on account of*)
Gen. 12:17; 16:5; 20:3, 11, 18; 26:7, 9; 27:41; 30:33; 37:8 (2x); 42:21; 43:18; **Ps.** 10:13; 32:6; 39:12; 50:8; 56:8; 70:4; 115:1 (2x); 119:62, 136, 164; 138:2 (2x); **1 Chron.** 10:13; **2 Chron.** 25:4 (2x); 29:9

Norm
The TR acts in conformity to the LM's regulations (*according to*)
Gen. 41:40; 43:7; 45:21; **Ps.** 31:24; 40:16; 99:8; 110:4; **1 Chron.** 6:17; 12:33; 15:20, 21; 25:2 (2x), 3, 6 (2x); **2 Chron.** 23:18; 24:13; 26:11, 13; 29:27; 31:2

Focus of Attention
The LM is the object of the TR's viewpoint (*about, concerning, over*)
Gen. 12:20; 21:11, 12 (2x), 25; 24:9; 26:21, 22, 32; 37:34; 41:15, 32; **Ps.** 7:1; 10:3; 32:5; 40:8; 119:162; **1 Chron.** 17:17, 23 (2x); 19:2, 5; 21:7, 15; 22:11, 13; 23:31; 29:9; **2 Chron.** 7:10; 8:15; 9:5 (2x), 29; 15:15; 16:9, 10; 18:7, 17; 23:3; 24:27; 29:36; 31:9; 32:20; 34:21, 27 (2x); 35:24, 25 (2x)

Instrumental
The LM is the agent or means of the TR's action (*by, with*)
Gen. 3:14; 27:40; 31:20; 48:6; **Ps.** 15:3; 50:5; 92:4 (3x); 94:20; **1 Chron.** 25:3; **2 Chron.** 2:15

Psalm Titles
The LMs are unknown (either instruments or a musical style) (*on* or *according to*)
Ps. 6:1; 8:1; 12:1; 22:1; 45:1; 46:1; 53:1; 56:1; 60:1; 61:1; 62:1; 69:1; 77:1; 81:1; 84:1; 88:1

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מֵעַל - From Upon
The TR moves away from being upon the LM (*from upon, from*)
Gen. 4:14; 6:7; 7:4, 17; 8:3, 7, 8, 11, 13; 24:46, 64; 27:40; 29:3, 8, 10; 38:14, 19; 40:17, 19 (2x); 41:42; 48:17; **Ps.** 39:11; 119:22; **1 Chron.** 14:14; 20:2; 21:22; **2 Chron.** 7:20; 10:10; 13:4; 33:8
מֵעַל – Away From
The TR moves away from being associated with the LM (*away from, from*)
Gen. 13:9, 11; 17:22; 18:3; 23:3; 25:6; 35:13; 42:24; 45:1; **2 Chron.** 7:20; 16:3; 20:10; 35:15
מֵעַל – Above
The TR is considerably higher the LM (*above*)
Gen. 1:7; **Ps.** 108:5; 148:4; **2 Chron.** 24:20; 34:4
מֵעַל – Contingent Locative
The TR is next to the LM in close proximity (*by, at, near*)
2 Chron. 26:19

כְּעַל - As Concerning
The TR acts according to the LM's hypothetical situation (*as concerning*)
Ps. 119:14; **2 Chron.** 32:19

Appendix 2: Frequency of Each Semantic Category

עַל As it Stands Alone	
Sense	**Frequency**
Proto-Scene (1)	355
Vertical Cluster (2)	
More (2a)	19
Superior (2b)	21
Control (2c)	129
Contingent Locative (3)	59
Accompaniment (3a)	10
In (4)	76
To (5)	67
Oppositional (5a)	111
For (5b)	24
Frontal (6)	12
Causal (7)	31
Norm (7a)	22
Focus of Attention (8)	49
Instrumental (9)	12
Ps. Titles	16
Total	**1013**

עַל In Compounds	
Sense	**Frequency**
מֵעַל	
From Upon	31
Away From	13
Above	5
Contingent Locative	1
כְּעַל	
As Concerning	2
Total	**52**

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