

# Description of the BH lexeme לָאֵ: *A Cognitive Approach*

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby 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.

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## ABSTRACT

In this investigation, I aimed to account for the semantic potential of the Biblical Hebrew (BH) preposition לָּ as well as for that of other grammatical constructions associated with the lexical item in Genesis and Jeremiah. Research in Cognitive Linguistics (e.g. prototype theory, categorisation, and conceptualisation) has provided insight into ways in which natural language could be investigated in a more justified way. Tyler and Evans (2003), in particular, provide a model called the "*principled polysemy approach*", through which the present study laid the groundwork for identifying the primary meaning of the lexical item. This investigation hypothesised that the preposition is highly polysemous and that the range of its semantic potential must be mapped by means of various cognitive mechanisms.

Within the CL framework, my research was conducted by investigating all instances of לָּ found in Genesis and Jeremiah. An empirical analysis of the prepositional constructions shed light on the ways in which the preposition is related to different event schemas. In order to describe the semantics of the preposition in finer detail, this study established the proto-scene of לָּ, that is, Orientation. The present study determined that the notion of Orientation gives rise to other distinct categories of the preposition, namely, Literal Goal (to), Movement into Containment (into), Addressee, Transference (or Recipient), Focus of Perception, End-point Focus, Direction (towards), Hostility (against), and Area (about/of). Among these senses, the Literal Goal sense was identified as prototypical. The semantic network proposed in this study showed how these senses are related.

While the emphasis of the present study was on the meaning of the preposition, it also took into consideration instances interchangeable with the near synonyms of לָּ. Senses such as End-point Focus, Hostility, and Area were recognised as the most typical categories where לָּ and לָּ are interchangeable.

## OPSOMMING

In hierdie studie poog ek om rekenskap te gee van die semantiese potensiaal van die Bybels-Hebreeuse (BH) voorsetsel לָאָ, asook van die ander grammatikale konstruksies wat daarmee geassosieer word in Genesis and Jeremia. Navorsing in Kognitiewe Taalkunde (bv. prototipe-teorie, kategorisering en konseptualisering) bied insig in die maniere waarop natuurlike taal op 'n meer verantwoordbare wyse beskryf kan word. Tyler en Evans (2003), in besonder, bied 'n model wat hulle die “principled polysemy approach” noem. In hierdie studie is hierdie model gebruik om die grondslag te lê vir die identifisering van die primêre betekenis van die leksikale item. Hierdie studie verdedig die hipotese dat die voorsetsel so hoogs polisemies is dat die omvang die semantiese potensiaal daarvan met behulp van verskeie kognitiewe meganismes uitgewerk moet word (“mapped”).

Al die gevalle van לָאָ in Genesis en Jeremia is in my navorsingsprojek ondersoek in terme van die Kognitiewe Taalkunde raamwerk. 'n Empiriese analise van die voorstelkonstruksies het lig gewerp op die wyses waarop die voorsetsel gekoppel is aan 'n verskeidenheid van gebeurtenisskemas. Om die semantiek van die voorsetsel in fyner detail te kon beskryf, is die protoskema van לָאָ bepaal. Dit is naamlik, Oriëntasie. Hierdie studie het vasgestel dat die konsep van Oriëntasie aanleiding gegee het tot ander onderskeidende semantiese kategorieë van die voorsetsel se gebruik, naamlik, Letterlike Doel (na), Beweging tot binne-in 'n houer, Aangesprokene, Oordrag (of Ontvanger), Fokus van Persepsie, Eindpuntfokus, Rigting (in die rigting van), Vyandigheid (teen), en Area (oor/van). Van hierdie betekenisonderskeidings is Letterlike Doel die mees prototipiese gebruik. Daar is ook in terme van 'n semantiese netwerk 'n voorstel gemaak oor hoe die verskillende betekenisonderskeidings met mekaar verband hou.

Alhoewel hierdie studie op לָאָ gefokus het, is daar ook in ag geneem dat dit dikwels as 'n wisselvorm van die naby-sinoniem לָע gebruik word. Die kategorieë Eindpuntfokus, Vyandigheid en Area is geïdentifiseer as die mees tipiese gevalle waar לָאָ en לָע as wisselvorme gebruik word.

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## Abbreviations

BDB	<i>Brown, Driver and Briggs</i>
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BHRG	Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CBH	Classical Biblical Hebrew
CG	Cognitive Grammar
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
Gen	Genesis
GKC	Gesenius, Kautzsch and Cowley
Jer	Jeremiah
JM	Jouion and Muraoka
KB	Koehler and Baumgartner
LM	Landmark
TR	Trajector
WO	Waltke and O'Connor

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Problem statement and focus

In Biblical Hebrew (BH), the lexeme לְ is identified as a preposition. The preposition is considered to be polysemous, as it displays a wide range of meanings. If one consults the BH lexica, such as Brown-Driver-Briggs (BDB) (2006) and Koehler and Baumgartner (KB) (2001), one arrives at nine headings in each case. Although both lexica provide classifications, and label some usages of the preposition, a number of questions remain:

1. Which are semantic values, e.g. meanings with senses?
2. What are the criteria for these distinctions?, and
3. Are some of these values more prototypical than others?

The current BH lexica seem silent on these issues. One aspect of the lexica that does stand out is the inadequacy of the comments on the semantics. The problem lies in the way the lexica treat the lexeme: Instead of presenting semantic accounts, the lexica often tend to provide only possible translation values (§ 3.2). Consequently, with the given glosses or translation values, which are considered superficial references, BH readers cannot conceptualise how the preposition is used. BH readers also cannot, by consulting the lexica, often gather which specific constructions are involved.

It will be hypothesised in this study that the shortcomings of current BH lexica are a symptom of certain underlying problems. In a recent study by Van der Merwe (2009:267), problems involving the traditional listing of translation values were discussed. The following lines are worth mentioning in the present research:

“Semantic distinctions in the lexica are made, but the grounds of the distinctions, beyond that of possible translation values, are seldom clear. ... While it can be argued that most of the semantic nuances illustrated by means of the translation values capture the semantic potential [of a lexeme], it is unclear whether these translation values refer to

definable semantic classes<sup>1</sup>, whether there is a polysemic relationship between these classes, and/or whether these classes can be associated with specific syntactic constructions.”

The above lines were written with regard to the focus particle **ገጸ**, but they are equally cogent for all of the prepositions, including the “goal” preposition **ገጸ**. For this reason, the focus of this study will fall on providing a more adequate semantic description of the preposition **ገጸ**. As a point of departure, the perspectives and methods in this semantic analysis will follow the approach of Cognitive Linguistics.

## 1.2 Preliminary study

As far as the semantic description of language is concerned, Cognitive Linguistics (CL) has in recent years had a major impact on lexical studies, as evidenced by a comparison with any other recent theories (Geeraerts 2007:1160). Thus, it is hypothesised that a number of important and relevant notions identified in CL could be applied to BH lexical semantics and may shed light on the way the polysemous BH lexeme **ገጸ** can be justifiably described.

The methodological premise of the present study entails two fundamental notions<sup>2</sup>: (1) Cognitive Linguistics is committed to a symbolic view of language (Langacker 1987:11). This implies that grammatical constructions consist of pairings of form and meaning (Langacker 1991:532). Taking the view that syntactic patterning is inherently meaningful, the present study will carefully describe syntactic patterns or constructions involving the given lexeme.

(2) CL views semantics as being inherently encyclopedic in scope (Taylor 2007:567). In the field of BH linguistics, De Blois (2002:1) and Van der Merwe (2006:89) have pointed out the necessity of including encyclopedic information in bilingual BH lexica. Since the emphasis here rests on the fact that “knowledge of what words mean and knowledge about how words

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<sup>1</sup> As far as the translation values are concerned, similar criticisms are heard from Barr (1973). He is of the opinion that these simple equivalents are mere glosses, or rough *indications*, not semantic *indicators* or labels for a meaning (Barr 1973: 120). It should be noted that Barr used the words “indication” and “indicator” separately. Whereas the former is related to the translation value, the latter refers to the semantic catalogue or meaning.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardenfors (1999) and Evans & Green (2006) for some more tenets of cognitive semantics.

are used are both types of ‘semantic’ knowledge”, the encyclopedic view takes into account a far broader range of phenomena than the purely linguistic (Evans & Green 2006:215). Thus, the cognitive reality behind a language, such as the ways of thinking, experience, and practices, can all help us understand a word’s meaning.

Such fundamental aspects are applicable to lexical semantics in BH. Some BH prepositions have recently been empirically studied in terms of a CL frame of reference, viz., Rodriguez (תחת 2011), Lyle (עם and את 2012), Mena (ל 2012), Lemmer (מן 2014), and Hardy (2014). Each of these studies demonstrates how prepositions could be analysed from a cognitive perspective, thereby rendering their prototypical uses and their polysemous relationships. Thus, it is assumed that CL may also shed light on how the BH preposition ל can be semantically and syntactically expounded on.

### 1.3 Goals and hypothesis

The aim of this study is to describe the BH lexeme ל in a heuristic way by means of CL. In order to identify the semantic potential of the BH lexeme ל, the following assumptions are made:

- that CL is methodologically reliable enough to be employed in a study of the preposition,
- that cognitive semantics could offer a theoretical framework within which the polysemous senses of lexemes can be analyzed, and that it could therefore, for example, assist in deciding how to determine the prototypical semantic sense and how to distinguish between other less prototypical but distinct semantic senses,
- that the ‘constructionist’ approaches would provide insight into the relationship between form and meaning, and
- that the semantic description of the Hebrew lexeme ל would finally reflect (i) the importance of prototypicality effects for lexical structure, (ii) the intractability of polysemy, and (iii) the structured nature of polysemy (Geeraerts 2007:1161).

## 1.4 Outline

The project will commence with a literature study regarding aspects of cognitive linguistics that may be relevant to the description of prepositions. Basic CL notions that are often used in the analysis of prepositions, like *conceptualisation* and *prototypes*, will be critically investigated. In addition, the potential of *constructionist approaches*<sup>3</sup> to contribute to a possible syntactic model will be investigated. These investigations will establish a theoretical frame of reference for the description of the preposition לָאֵל, and help to formulate criteria in terms of which the BH resources could be evaluated. Based on the insights drawn from CL, a working hypothesis will be formulated to assess the BH resources.

A literature review of the major BH resources, such as lexica and grammars, will be undertaken in order to critically evaluate their descriptions of the preposition in terms of the above-mentioned working hypothesis.

In the subsequent empirical phase of the research, the syntactic constructions involving the lexeme found in Genesis and Jeremiah will be systematically analysed and described. This research will account for how the preposition is used in syntactic constructions, particularly with regard to whether a constituent headed by the preposition should be regarded as obligatory or optional, as far as the valence of the verb is concerned. Cases where לָאֵל is used interchangeably with לְעַל will be marked as such. It is hypothesised that a determination of frequently occurring formal constructions will provide a basis for the sense distinctions of the preposition.

Finally, utilising the insights gleaned from the above-mentioned discussion, the study will embark on a semantic description of the lexeme in chapter 5. All the instances of the lexeme in the given corpus will be accounted for. Its semantic potential will be described with reference to various senses that could be distinguished, explanations of the polysemous relationships, and the identification of formal patterns that could be associated with some of the sense distinctions. The research findings will eventually be described in terms of a radial map of the sense distinctions.

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<sup>3</sup> Constructionist approaches aim to account for the full range of facts about language as patterns of form and meaning (Goldberg 2003:219).

## Chapter 2

### Literature review

#### 2.1 Introduction

In Biblical Hebrew (BH), as in many of the world's languages, morphemes that indicate the grammatical role of a given noun as a Locus (as expressed by English 'at') or Goal (English 'to') belong to a general group called prepositions. BH prepositions display a degree of polysemy that has often seemed to defy attempts at a systematically integrated statement of the individual meanings of these propositions<sup>4</sup>. In recent years, however, a number of studies in BH have taken the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) as their starting point. By using CL's tenets, Rodriguez (2011), Lyle (2012), and Mena (2012) have been able to provide coherent semantic analyses of selected individual prepositions. The present work adopts the same framework, and by building on the approaches used in these earlier studies – albeit with some modifications – offers a semantic account of the BH preposition לָ.<sup>5</sup>

The aim of this chapter is to provide a brief account of “meaning” in Cognitive Linguistics (CL), and as such, it proceeds with a review that assesses the strengths of three previous studies that have used this framework to provide semantic accounts of selected BH prepositions. The chapter concludes by setting out those adjustments that will be made to the model for the purposes of the present study focusing on לָ.

#### 2.2 Meaning in Cognitive Linguistics

The theory of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) began to develop round 1975 (Nerlich and Clark 2007: 591). This not uncontroversial framework differs from Generative Syntax in its rejection of the idea that there is a separate, distinct language faculty. Instead, the encoding and decoding of meaning is seen as an application of general cognitive processes. While

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<sup>4</sup>The essential meanings of the individual morphemes in this class are often perceived as either elusive, or bewilderingly multi-faceted (Bordet & Jamet 2010:10).

<sup>5</sup> This morpheme, which has ancient roots in the Semitic family, is cognate with Akkadian *ili* or *eli* and Arabic *īla*.

Generative frameworks typically treat meanings as received values stored in a kind of ‘mental lexicon’, the CL model proposes a greater reliance on the speaker’s ‘mental encyclopedia’, and assumes that, while words may be minimally specified at some level, the meanings ascribed to words in situations of actual use are actively negotiated by speakers, on the basis of general knowledge and contextual awareness. As Tyler and Evans (2003:3) put it in their CL-based study of English prepositions:

A consequence of this is the assumption that lexical entries, albeit crucial, act merely as prompts for meaning construction, and that meaning construction is largely a conceptual process, involving elaboration and integration of linguistic and non-linguistic information in a highly creative way.

Given that meaning is not confined to language but is constructed in the mind of the language users, the notion that the semantic values associated with words are not fixed could be postulated as a working hypothesis. On this view, meanings are determined within the context of the utterance. Therefore, Evans (2006:492) is of the opinion that word meaning is not static “meaning”; instead, meanings are taken to be dynamic mental processes of lexical concept integration. This processual nature of linguistic semantics is captured in the notion of conceptualisation.

According to Langacker (1987:99), meaning is equated with conceptualisation<sup>6</sup>, and meaning relies on our ability to conceptualise the same objects, situations, or spaces in various ways. For example, a lexical item “cat” may be associated with different images in the mind, including both conventional and idiosyncratic images reflected from personal experience (Boers 1996:13). This linguistic phenomenon reveals that meaning is not an inherent “property” of a word or sentence. Rather, “a word’s meaning” is defined as something “evoked” from mental images<sup>7</sup>. Put differently, words evoke, or symbolise, human mental images (Shead 2011:33).

This view is further explained by Langacker (2003:180). He claims that “an expression’s meaning is not ‘in’ its words, but emerges through mental construction that draws upon all

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<sup>6</sup> Östman and Fried (2005:5) express this similarly. They define semantics as “cognition *par excellence*: it touches, directly and naturally, on categorization, reference, sense, prototypes, and propositions”.

<sup>7</sup>In this regard, Croft and Cruse (2004:98) claim that “words do not have meanings, nor do sentences have meanings”.

available resources.” Thus, in order to make sense of a given situation, the particular image schema evoked serves as an ideal representative concept. An oft-cited example will make the notion clearer (Fillmore 1977:97):

- a. He spent three hours on *land* this afternoon.
- b. He spent three hours on the *ground* this afternoon.

In both sentences the words *land* and *ground* refer to the same location. However, while sentence (a) evokes the background scene of a sea voyage, sentence (b) connotes the domain of air travel. The two sentence pairs are semantically distinct because of the contrasting mental images imposed on the conceived situation. This implies that the meanings of linguistic forms are understood within the context in which the items appear.

The notion “context” is a broad term. When taken specifically, it is one of the “conceptual substrates” that shape our understanding of concepts and categories. Langacker identifies different facets of the ‘conceptual substrates’ as follows:

- (i) the physical, social, and cultural **context**—both the immediate context and presumed shared knowledge; (ii) the **viewing arrangement**, i.e., the relationship between the conceptualizers and the situation being conceived and linguistically expressed; (iii) **mutual assessment** by the interlocutors of what the other knows and is now attending to; (iv) the **ongoing discourse** itself, including the conceptual structures evoked and constructed as it unfolds; and (v) how all the foregoing factors **develop** and **change** as the discourse proceeds (their history, current status, and future projection)” (Langacker 2003:184).

Thus, in order to understand any concept, it is necessary to possess a large body of knowledge (Taylor 2003:87). This implies that when an utterance is given, various aspects of a person’s ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ contribute to the meaning evoked.

So far the section 2.2 surveyed how the notion of meaning is viewed from the CL perspective. Adopting the CL model requires (i) a minimal specification of meaning for entries in the ‘mental lexicon’, drawing on various theoretical concepts such as the notion of Prototypes, and (ii) a model of the processes whereby meaning is “decoded” by the speaker with reference to his or her own internalised “mental encyclopedia”.



The present work, which adopts the CL framework, will propose a “lexical entry” for לְּ that is “underdetermined” in the sense outlined above, but fully capable, as a model, of accounting in an integrated manner for all attested uses of the morpheme. In the next section, the theoretical frameworks recently used to describe BH prepositions will be discussed.

### 2.3 Recent applications of Cognitive Semantics to BH prepositions

Drawing on insights from CL, investigations into the meaning of BH prepositions have recently been conducted under Christo van der Merwe at the University of Stellenbosch. For instance, Rodriguez (2011) has evaluated תָּחַת by using several insights from Cognitive semantics, and Lyle (2012) has explicated the prepositions מֵעַל and תָּחַת with a Cognitive orientation. A similar study has been conducted by Mena (2012) in which she applied several key concepts of Cognitive semantics to the study of לְּ.

The point of departure for each of these studies is the idea that the lexical items analysed are polysemous, and that each item is considered to be a radial category structured around prototypical senses. Furthermore, it is recognised that the prepositional meanings do not all occur with equal frequency and are not all of importance. Thus, as these studies engage with the lexical semantics, *categorisation* is also of major concern. With respect to categorisation, the primary theoretical framework often concerned with and utilised in discussing the semantics of the lexemes is Prototype theory<sup>8</sup>.

According to the basic assumption of Prototype theory, categorisation is deeply rooted in the way we conceptualise things, events, space, etc. People conceptualise certain members of a category as better examples of that category than others. Hence, categories display different ranges or degrees of membership<sup>9</sup>. For instance, *Apple* is considered a better instance of FRUIT than *Tomato* or *Walnut*. The instances are unequally graded but they display

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<sup>8</sup> The notion of the prototype was first introduced by Eleanor Rosch (1978). She defines the prototype as the most central instance of any given category (1978:36). Prototype theory has, however, been challenged with regard to the internal relations of categories. According to Martin, the prototype represents cognitive salience instance among other categories. However, the prototype is not always defined as the generator for subcategories (Martin 2000:35).

<sup>9</sup> In contrast to this prototype model of categorisation, the traditional model of categorisation views categories in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features. Their features are binary, categories have clear boundaries, and all members of a category enjoy equal status (Taylor 2003:20-21).

overlapping sets of properties (as demonstrated in Table 1). Thus, while members of categories are not uniform, the members are related by what Wittgenstein (1953) called *family resemblance*. The following is a general illustrative example of the prototype theory approach.

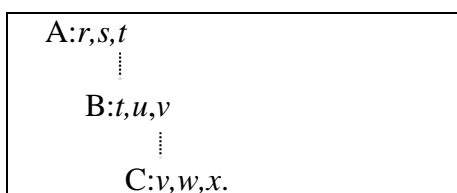


Table 2.1 Overlapping sets of properties

Prototype theory makes sense in terms of its treatment of relational items like prepositions. The most prototypical semantic category of a preposition describes a spatial and concrete meaning whereas an abstract meaning is labeled less prototypical. Accounting for the BH prepositions, Rodriguez, Lyle and Mena ascertain that the lexemes exhibit different degrees of prototypicality. Consider an example Mena (2012:120-125) proposes. She identifies that a prototypical category of על represents a spatial relation where a Trajector (TR) is higher than the Landmark (LM) as in (1) below. By contrast, non-spatial meanings such as the Norm sense in sentence (2) are considered less prototypical.

(1) אָנְכִי מִמַּטֵּיר עַל-הָאָרֶץ I will send rain on the earth (Gen 7:4)

(2) וַנִּגְדַּלּוּ עַל-פִּי הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה so we told him according to these words (Gen 43:7)

The question then arises as to what specific methodology can help us identify the central category and the peripheral ones. This elicits the question of how a number of categories of BH prepositions can be accounted for in a principled, systematic manner within a cognitive linguistic framework. In the subsequent part of this chapter, some methodologies utilised in representing motivated semantic potentials of BH prepositions will be reviewed, which in turn may delimit the theoretical framework for the semantic potentials of the Biblical Hebrew lexeme על. Although there is no set rule as in Rodriguez, Lyle, or Mena, the following selections may at least provide some guidance in setting a methodology.

### 2.3.1 Lyle's utilisation of the polysemy principle framework

Considering the nature of semantic polysemy, Rodriguez (2010) argues that the many senses surrounding תחת constitute a motivated semantic network in which distinct senses are

organised around what Tyler and Evans (2003) call the *proto-scene*<sup>10</sup>. The concept *proto-scene* has been developed for the polysemy principle framework by the authors. Rodriguez conducted pioneering work in the polysemy of the BH preposition תַּחַת while employing this model. Guided by Tyler and Evans's principles, Lyle (2011) and Mena (2012) also demonstrated how the proto-scene gives rise to distinct senses, which in turn exhibit the semantic network of their target lexemes.

Altogether, five criteria have been proposed for determining the primary sense associated with a preposition: (i) earliest attested meaning, (ii) predominance in the semantic network, (iii) relations to other prepositions, (iv) relations to other spatial particles, and (v) grammatical predictions. These criteria are regarded as explanatory tools that provide a point of departure for empirical research into prepositions. In this study, Lyle will be reviewed with respect to the polysemy principle framework. The reason for this is that he is more specifically concerned with these criteria than Rodriguez or Mena.

Lyle assumes that these five criteria are “most helpful” (2012:57) in identifying the proto-scene. In this regard, Lyle follows Tyler and Evans (2003). He begins his semantic exploration with an analogy: “a semantic network is a tree” (Lyle 2012:60). The analogy he uses clarifies the relationship between the “semantic branches” (e.g., distinct senses) and the “semantic seed” (primary sense). He demonstrates how these criteria help to identify the semantic seed for ׀ע and תַּחַת.

First, Lyle is positive about finding **the earliest attested meaning** of the target lexeme in spite of the troublesome nature of the linguistic dating of the earliest sense. His confidence is based on the hypothesis that spatial particles, being a closed class, are generally left unaltered through history (Tyler and Evans 2003:47). He is therefore of the opinion that it is possible to reveal semantic correspondence between the target lexeme's prepositional form and its nominal origins. With this in mind, he traces the earliest uses of ׀ע and תַּחַת by consulting Klein's (1987) *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*, and hypothesises that the origins of the lexemes are related to the notion of *together-ness*.

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<sup>10</sup> The word *proto-scene*, a primary meaning component, is a technical term coined by the authors. It refers to the combination of an idealised mental representation (*proto*) and a conceptual relation of a particular configuration between the objects (*scene*) (Tyler and Evans 2003:52).

After this, Lyle moves to the second criterion, **predominance in the semantic network**. He identifies the common configurational schema that occurs throughout the network, that is, a frame wherein a trajectory (TR) is located in some form of spatial proximity with a landmark (LM). This finding, Lyle suggests, demonstrates that the predominant senses represented by עַם and אֶת indicate “*a shared spatial proximity*” in its most basic form.

Beyond the first two criteria, Lyle applies a third one that considers עַם and אֶת’s composite forms. According to Tyler and Evans (2003), a word’s involvement in collocation might not necessarily indicate the proto-scene, but a failure to be in a composite form might suggest that that sense is probably not the primary sense. Centred here, Lyle considers the most dominantly occurring compounded forms of both עַם and אֶת. He claims that these compounded forms express two distinct senses: Source and Separation. What he deduces is that these senses involve the notion of “*spatial proximity*”, which in turn delimits the remaining variety of senses as viable candidates.

Lyle proceeds to Tyler and Evans’s fourth criterion, **relations to other spatial particles**. He first presents some particles that describe the spatial dimension of proximity, and then compares and contrasts their types as well as degrees of spatial proximity. In comparison to other spatial particles<sup>11</sup>, Lyle points out that עַם and אֶת are more prone to express the contrast set of together-ness and apart-ness. He argues that together-ness is slightly different than proximity in that the former is more general while proximity tends to be more specific (Lyle 2012:62). In order to demonstrate how the related particles express different semantic distinctions, the following two examples are given:

(1) Gen 9:12

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים זֹאת אוֹת־הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר-אֲנִי נֹתֵן בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם וּבֵין כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה אֲשֶׁר אִתְּכֶם לְדֹרֹת עוֹלָם:

“And God said, “This is the sign of the covenant that I am making between me and you and every living creature that is with you, of generations to come.”

(2) Ex 34:23

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<sup>11</sup>E.g., אֶל, בְּ, אֶת in the sense of ‘by’ and עַל, אֶצְל, עַל-יָד in the sense of ‘beside’ or ‘next to’ that describe the spatial dimension of proximity.

שְׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בְּשָׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרָךְ אֶת־פְּנֵי הָאֲדֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

“Three times a year, all of your men are to appear before the Lord, YHWH, the God of Israel.”

According to Lyle, אֶת in (1) generally expresses the notion of *together-ness* between two un-orientated entities as in Gen 9:12 (*general proximity*). However, אֶת־פְּנֵי in (2) relates two entities with one exhibiting orientation as in Ex 34:23 (*specific proximity*). In an attempt to elucidate the originality of a primary sense from others, Lyle uses such a contrast set. In the formation of this contrast set, a likely candidate for a primary sense might be discovered (Tyler and Evans 2003:49).

Lastly, Lyle arrives at Tyler and Evans’s fifth criterion, **grammatical predictions**. While implementing this criterion, the parameters of Heine et al. (1991) are also incorporated into the investigation. Assuming that the theory of grammaticalisation is relevant, Lyle traces the development of the senses backwards to their originating condition. His conclusion is that the semantic evolution seems, most likely, to have run from *Shared Presence* to the more grammaticalised stage of *Shared Activity*<sup>12</sup> (Lyle 2012:94). The grammaticalisation can be seen as in Fig. 2.1.

Shared Proximity (e.g. ‘in front of’) > Shared Activity (e.g. ‘support’)

Figure. 2.1 Development of אֶת and עִם

As Lyle demonstrates in his study, establishing the proto-scene is a task that stands central to the semantic investigation. Once the proto-scene has been established, much of the PRINCIPLED POLYSEMY can be seen. The proto-scene would serve as central meaning, and

<sup>12</sup> Here are examples of Shared Activity and Shared Presence cited from Lyle (2012:69, 74).

a. Shared Activity:

כִּי־תִרְאֶה חֲמֹר חַמְזֹר שֹׁנֵאֵךְ רֹבֵץ תַּחַת מִשְׂאוֹ וְחִדַּלְתָּ מֵעֹזֵב לוֹ עֹזֵב תִּעֲזֹב עִמּוֹ:

“When you see your enemy’s donkey lying under its burden and would refrain from raising it, you must nevertheless raise it **with** him” (Ex 23:5).

b. Shared Presence:

שְׁנַיִם־עָשָׂר אֲנַחְנוּ אַחִים בְּנֵי אָבִינוּ הָאֶחָד אֵינָנוּ וְהַקָּטָן הַיּוֹם אֶת־אָבִינוּ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן:

“We are twelve brothers, sons of our father, one is no more, and the youngest is now **with** our father in the land of Canaan” (Gen 42:32).

function as a sanctioning sense, from which various distinct senses are derived. Therefore, Tyler and Evans's polysemy framework is considered the scientific apparatus underpinning this semantic analysis of the preposition לָאֵל.

Having touched on Lyle's exploration of the polysemy principle framework, I will now turn my attention to Rodriguez's panchronic description of semantic evolution and grammaticalisation.

### 2.3.2 Rodriguez's use of Grammaticalisation and Radial Network

In Rodriguez's semantic research, much of the emphasis is placed on the panchronic aspect of meaning. Rodriguez asserts that a diachronic analysis is more suited than synchronic plotting to the charting of semantic growth. Thus, in order to describe the polysemous senses of תַּחַת, a panchronic description of semantic evolution is notably employed. In particular, in conducting fieldwork, grammaticalisation is the core of his study of תַּחַת.

Rodriguez asserts that grammaticalisation is a natural linguistic phenomenon. He provides cross-linguistic examples where nouns become functional prepositions, followed by an instance found in Biblical Hebrew. He observes that the lexeme אָחַר is a perfect example to use when illustrating evolutionary aspects of linguistic phenomena, and believes that אָחַר was used to symbolise a real object and over time in a language community came to symbolise abstract relationships (Rodriguez 2011:39). Similarly, תַּחַת is believed to have undergone an evolutionary process entailing a grammatical shift. Rodriguez argues that the lexical item originally symbolised nominal meaning in the Substantival frame<sup>13</sup> and over time came to symbolise relationals, that is, the Vertical Spatial *under* node (Rodriguez 2010:61-61).

In order to show a process of abstraction, Rodriguez interprets the data collected from the Masoretic text and organises them into a model. After this, he briefly discusses how lexemes might be organised in a radial network, as depicted in fig. 2.2 exemplifying certain prototypical occurrences.

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<sup>13</sup> Note that this "substantival frame" of Rodriguez can be called into question. He uses a word class to refer to a frame.

In the radial network for  $\text{תחת}$ , he shows how the nominal node develops into the relational ones. He first identifies the proto-scene for  $\text{תחת}$ , viz., Substantival frame, which is a concrete thing, and places the sense on the left side of the scale. As the radial network shows, a secondary nominal node comes to signify the Place node out of the Substantive node. This node contains another nominal frame symbolising an LM in a vertical TR-LM relationship.

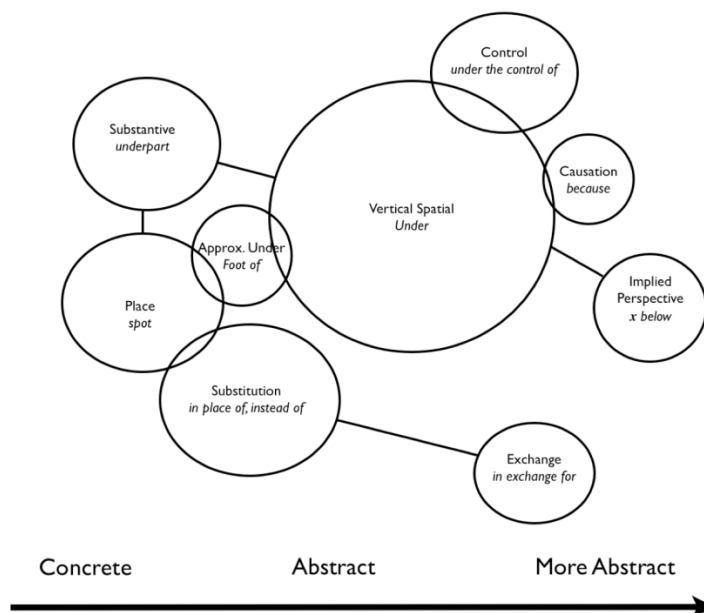


Fig. 2.2 Semantic Network of  $\text{תחת}$  (Rodriguez 2011:62)

In addition to extensions from the prototype, Rodriguez observes new schemas that arise through the process of abstraction. The Place sense is abstracted, and motivates the Substitution frame. A further abstraction from Substitution results in the Exchange frame. Table 2.2 shows a prototypical example of each sense involved.

As mentioned above, Rodriguez recognises a grammaticalisation shift that occurs from the Substantival frame into a relational use, that is, the Vertical Spatial *under* node. He places the Approximately Under frame between a concrete nominal node (Place) and an abstract node (Vertical Spatial). As this abstracting process becomes obvious, exemplars expand outward. The Control frame is placed further to the right of the grammaticalisation scale, followed by the Causation and Implied Perspective frames (Rodriguez 2011:63-71).

Place 'Spot'	Substitution 'Instead of'	Exchange 'In exchange'
אֲבָנִים הַקִּיּוֹם יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּתוֹךְ הַיַּרְדֵּן תַּחַת מִצֵּב רַגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים	וַיֵּשֶׁב שְׁלֹמֹה עַל־כִּסֵּא יְהוָה לְמֶלֶךְ תַּחַת־דָּוִד אָבִיו	יֵשֶׁב עִמָּךְ הַלַּיְלָה תַּחַת דּוֹדָי בְּגֵן
Joshua set stones in the middle of the Jordan at the place where the priests' feet were stationed. (Jos 4:9)	Then Solomon sat on the throne of Yahweh as king in place of David his father. (1C 29:23)	He may sleep with you tonight in exchange for your son's mandrakes. (Gen 30:15)
—————→		

Table 2.2 Development of תַּחַת (e.g. Place&gt;Substitution&gt;Exchange)

Grammaticalisation theory offers an account of the historical development of a lexeme's grammatical formatives<sup>14</sup>. As such, Grammaticalisation theory would be useful in the tracing of abstract grammatical notions back to a very concrete concept that involves the human experience of movement and orientation in space (Bybee 2007:969).

In the next section, the focus is on Mena's constructionist approach to lexical meaning. I shall discuss her claim that the grammar and semantic features of a word are closely linked, and explain her use of a minimal specific approach to syntactic analysis.

### 2.3.3 Mena's consideration of syntactic constructions

Undertaking a linguistic analysis involves both semantic and syntactic exploration. In Mena's study, she adopts the Generalisation Commitment that argues that "all aspects of language are meaningful and symbolic" (Mena 2012:23). Like other constructionists, she asserts that the syntactic construction is necessary to fully describe lexical meaning (Mena 2012:71). Therefore, with the aim of shedding light on the lexeme's semantic potential, she uses cognitive approaches to grammar as a means of describing the syntactic constructions in which על occurs.

The crucial point Mena extracts from the cognitive linguistics framework is the idea that grammar and lexicon form a continuum of symbolic structures. She is certain that a word's

<sup>14</sup>In the field of BH linguistics, Hardy (2014) takes the grammaticalisation theory into consideration as a theoretical framework. In his research, various BH prepositional morphemes are investigated with respect to a diachronic evolution.



grammatical properties are inseparable from its semantic features (Mena 2012:71). Building upon this linguistic phenomenon, she deduces that the basis for the investigation involves the analysis of syntactic constructions of על. In particular, the configuration TR + PREP + LM is predominantly used in order to determine the lexeme's semantic features (Mena 2012:79). For example, in the treatment of על in Gen.19:23, she demonstrates how the spatial configuration between the TR ('the sun') and LM ('the earth') depicts the vertical relationship.

(3) Gen 19:23

הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ יָצָא עַל-הָאָרֶץ

“The sun [TR] rises over the earth [LM]”

The model Mena uses for syntactic analysis is a “minimal specific approach” established by Tyler and Evans (2003). She argues that this model is preferable to Lakoff's (1987:420) full specification interpretation approach. She advocates that the minimal specific approach better describes the meaning of על (Mena 33-34), because other parts of the sentence (such as verbs) may also contribute to the meaning of the preposition (Tyler and Evans 2007:15-16). For example, the verb *jumped* in the sentence *The child jumped over the ball* motivates a certain image for the TR's path. The following discussion illustrates why a minimal specific approach is preferred in discovering how a lexeme is used (Mena 2012:34):

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 (Kreizer 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, [...] Tyler and Evans (2007:72-72) 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.

Concerning the semantic potential of the preposition על, Mena claims that the notion of verbal valency needs to be considered (Mena 2012:71). She notes that the syntactic frames are

necessary because the components of the syntactic construction contribute to the semantics of the lexical meaning. For example, in 2 Chron 9.5 the preposition **עַל**, being the head of the prepositional phrase, is used to modify the verb phrase *I heard*. According to her, this usage of **עַל** is commonly attested when the preposition modifies verbs of communication, and the lexeme in this usage denotes ‘the focus of attention sense’.

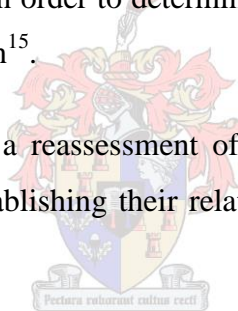
(4) 2 Chron. 9.5

שָׁמַעְתִּי בְּאַרְצִי עַל־דְּבָרֶיךָ

“I heard in my land about your words”

The present study agrees that discerning how the participating lexeme combines with various types of verbs is crucial in understanding the semantic potential of the lexeme. This is because an individual lexeme cannot be understood separately from its structural frame and the schematic nature of the syntactic construction (Langacker 2008:245). Therefore, analysing syntactic constructions is necessary in order to determine how the given lexeme relates to the surrounding words in the construction<sup>15</sup>.

The following section will provide a reassessment of the theoretical tools that have been discussed so far, with a view to establishing their relative usefulness as regards the present study.



## 2.4 Methodological considerations

So far, this survey has provided an overview of Cognitive Linguistics-based studies that have recently been used for the semantic description of polysemous lexemes in BH. Tyler and Evans’s principled polysemy framework, grammaticalisation theory and radial network, and the cognitive approach to grammar can be taken as a bundle of linguistic tools for a semantic study. Each of these approaches is considered relevant to a certain extent for the purposes of the present work, which seeks to formulate a semantic account of the lexeme **לָאֵל**. In this section, the theoretical frameworks discussed above will be reassessed to some extent with

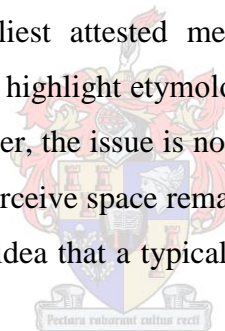
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<sup>15</sup>Mena’s approach to grammar corresponds to Cruse’s notion (Cruse 2004:296-298) that one can identify how grammatical choices may be dictated by meaning by examining syntactic configurations. This does not mean that the syntax determines the semantics, but rather the converse, that is, semantic features determine grammatical properties.

regard to their relevance to this study, and to ascertain whether these approaches have any shortcomings, or what specific areas need more attention in order for the researcher to attain a better description of the target lexeme.

First, Tyler and Evans's *principled polysemy* model as implemented by Lyle is considered as a tool to provide heuristic guidelines in finding the proto-scene. Like the lexemes investigated previously, the target lexeme under investigation is polysemous. As Lyle demonstrates, establishing the proto-scene is a crucial step. The identification of primary meaning by means of this principle will allow one to correlate it (primary meaning) to the degree of prototypicality, particularly where frequency itself is not a sufficient marker for providing the basic meaning of the preposition in the given corpus. Once the primary meaning is identified, one may begin to portray the semantic depth and network.

However, the methodology is not without problems. Particularly, an issue called the "etymological fallacy" (Lyons 1977:244) has been raised regarding criterion no. 1. From a synchronic point of view, the earliest attested meanings tell us nothing about current meanings. This observation seems to highlight etymology's major problem. When it comes to the semantics of prepositions, however, the issue is not a major one. This is because, as Tyler and Evans claim, the way humans perceive space remains unchanged over many thousands of years. One can therefore accept the idea that a typical preposition retains the same spatiality its earliest sense had.



Another potential problem related to criterion no. 1 is that it cannot be applied to a preposition whose earliest historical attestations consist of more than two competing senses. For instance, the earliest historical uses of the English preposition *before* include both locative and sequential senses (Tyler and Evans 2003:164). In a case such as this, the authors suggest that the other criteria, such as use in composite forms, or predominance in the semantic network, may help identify the better candidate for the proto-scene. Therefore, no matter how many etymologic senses are attested, it is possible to posit the proto-scene. In light of this, the proto-scene of the BH lexeme לָפָנַי can also be adequately designated despite the multiple pieces of etymological evidence<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>16</sup>According to Klein (1987:28), the earliest meanings of לָפָנַי are 'motion *toward* or *to*, or direction *toward*'. He adds a seemingly locative ablatival meaning (*at* and *by*).

Second, the grammaticalisation theory utilised by Rodriguez is assumed to serve as a vehicle to illustrate how distinct senses are developed. Using this approach, one may attempt to motivate how abstract senses are extended from a more concrete meaning. However, while grammaticalisation theory appears promising, observing how the distinct senses are developed through the process of abstraction is not without difficulties. This is because in the study of ancient languages like BH, it may not be possible to offer an account of diachronic changes that took place in each stage of the language. As Bybee (2007:968) states, “of all the tens of thousands of words in a language, only a small set shows lexical items entering into the grammaticalisation process”. This means that one cannot rely solely on a diachronic analysis.

As finding grammaticalisation paths that lead to the development of distinct senses seems to be of doubtful value when it comes to the elucidation of meaning, the present study places more emphasis on general cognitive principles to explain semantic extensions. These include metaphor, metonymy, or image schema transformations. In particular, the notion “partial sanction” developed by Langacker (1987) may serve as a promising cognitive model to help the researcher grasp how separate features of meaning are related to one another in a radial structure.

Briefly, “partial sanction” motivates particular extensions from a prototype. Langacker offers an account of how the current prototype extends to the new instance. He characterises the notion as follows (1987:69):

Often there is some conflict between the specifications of the sanctioning and the target structures, so that the former can be construed as schematic for the latter only with a certain amount of *strain*. When this is so, the relation between the sanctioning and the target structures is one of only partial schematicity, and the relation provides only partial sanction. Partial sanction can be equated with deviance or ill-formedness, but it should be emphasised that a considerable amount of nonconventionality is tolerated (and often expected) as a normal feature of language use.

In the above quote, one finds a component that is crucial to an understanding of how extension of meaning can operate, namely, the concept of prototype and flexibility of categorisation. Recall that meaning is not stable<sup>17</sup>. This flexibility enables a more creative

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<sup>17</sup> With respect to *categorisation*, the *prototype-extension* can explain the flexibility of meaning.

extension of the category (Langacker 1987:66-71), and the newly entered extension is characteristically a non-central category. Thus, in the radial network, the extension is considered a marginal member of the category<sup>18</sup>.

The extended senses clustered around the central category can be related by a semantic link. Although the extended meaning acquires a different image-schematic component of a scene, tracing (finding) a semantic link between members of a category is not impossible. This is due to the fact that schematic structures are preserved while semantic change occurs. According to Oakley, “details of source images are generally ignored but schematic structures are preserved” (2007:222).

Given that the radial network structure of the polysemy is not made up *ad hoc*, but involves links connecting senses, the task of the lexical semanticist will be to figure out what relationship exists between members of the network, and how distinct senses are related to each other. In addition to the concept of grammaticalisation, the present study will use cognitive mechanisms to grasp how separate features of meaning are developed (§ 5.3).

Third, before being able to apply the models just introduced, it will be necessary to consider the actual use of language that mirrors language users’ knowledge of the linguistic system. Since the preposition לָּ most frequently enters into valential complements of a verb, recognizing how the preposition interacts with various verbs is essential. By determining how the preposition לָּ is collocated with different types of verbs, one may be able to portray its semantic potentials. For instance, when לָּ occurs with a motion verb שׁוּב (to return) in the self-motion schema, the preposition signifies a **goal**<sup>19</sup>.

In addition to the valency patterns of לָּ, this study will look at another aspect of syntactic patterns from a cognitive perspective. In cognitive approaches to grammar<sup>20</sup>, grammatical

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<sup>18</sup> It is of course possible that, through convention of use, a marginal member may in time become a prototype, and again, there need not be only one prototype.

<sup>19</sup> In an event schema such as “A returns to B”, the action of self-movement typically takes an Agent, a human instigator, who performs the act, and a place the Agent goes to (Goal).

<sup>20</sup> Although some of the terminology differs, Cognitive Grammar and Construction Grammar have a lot in common. As Langacker (1991:8) states, “anything stable in construction grammar has a direct analog in cognitive grammar”.

forms are determined by lexical semantics (Cruse 2004:296-298). Instead of describing the formal aspects of constructions, cognitive approaches to grammar consider the syntactic constructions as symbolic units. The main underlying idea in CG is that all syntactic representation is seen as a continuum of forms and meanings, like words (Croft and Cruse 2004:257). This means that grammatical representation is fundamentally symbolic (Langacker 1987:56-62). In this study, the model explicated by Radden and Dirven (2007) is adopted, as this model describes the relationship between the meaning of a sentence and the meaning of the words of that sentence, both lexical and grammatical (Michaelis 2003:166). The following lines will provide a brief account of the key grammatical concepts. These will be particularly relevant in chapter 4.

Radden and Dirven (2007:269-270) suggest that sentences consist of two basic types of conceptual units, viz., things<sup>21</sup> and relations<sup>22</sup>. In a given situation, things are associated with autonomous conceptual units that generally play specific thematic roles, such as agent, patient, theme, location, etc. According to the authors, the roles participating in a sentence<sup>23</sup> define the configuration of thematic roles (2007:267, 269). The configuration of thematic roles in turn determines the schematic meaning of a situation or an event schema. The event schema denoted by the set of thematic roles in a situation derives from the argument structure of the head verb. Thus, the sentence (5), for example,

(5) וַיָּבֹא אֲלֵיהֶם יוֹסֵף בַּבֹּקֶר “Joseph came to them in the morning” (Gen 40:6)

denotes a self-motion schema, because it involves basic configurations of roles like an agent and a location, and the semantic frame associated with the head verb *came* denotes a scene/schema of moving.

One of the advantages of this approach is its descriptive power as a theory of sentence semantics. It makes possible an account of sentence meaning associated with the preposition אֶל. It also allows us to describe the relationship between the preposition and “a finite set of possible event types” (Goldberg 1995:39). In this manner, one may be able to better identify

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<sup>21</sup>Or “open words” like nouns.

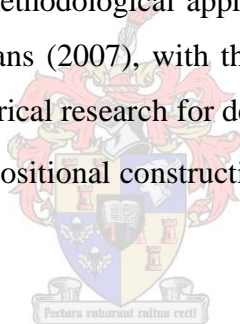
<sup>22</sup>Relations are associated with dependent conceptual units that are expressed as verbs, adjectives, and prepositions. The principle that combines the two conceptual units is based on the figure-ground alignment.

<sup>23</sup>Radden and Dirven call a sentence a “conceptual core”.

how the preposition  $\text{ከ}$  can be matched to various event schemas. By understanding grammatical representations using the model outlined above, the present study will take into account the conceptual structures containing the preposition  $\text{ከ}$  in chapter 4.

## 2.5 Summary

This survey began with an account of semantic modelling from the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics, from which the conclusion emerged that meaning cannot be determined without the general knowledge a lexical item evokes. The chapter then reviewed how BH polysemous items have been investigated by others using a Cognitive Linguistics framework. Lastly, it was explained what adaptations would be made to these previous approaches for the purposes of the study of  $\text{ከ}$ , because although the present study conforms in general to the methods employed by Rodriguez, Lyle, and Mena, some modifications to their methodologies were considered necessary. The overall methodological approach taken in this study is similar to the model established Tyler and Evans (2007), with the additional contributions of Radden and Dirven (2007). As a part of empirical research for developing the semantic network of the preposition  $\text{ከ}$ , the nature of the prepositional construction (TR + V + LM) will be taken into account.



## Chapter 3

### Literature review concerning ኃጻ

#### 3.1 Introduction

The discussion in chapter 2 focused on the lexicographic implications of CL frameworks, and considered the methodologies relevant to the investigation of ኃጻ. Before applying a cognitive approach to the lexical study of ኃጻ, the present study will review how the preposition has been treated in the field of BH linguistics. This review involves discussing what is presently known about the preposition ኃጻ with respect to syntactic patterns and semantic structures. Prior to investigating this in detail, our discussion of the resources will begin with a macro-level view.

BH scholars have recently addressed some problematic features of the BH lexica. De Blois (2000) and Van der Merwe (2004) criticise the inadequacies of existing BH lexica from a theoretical perspective. Van der Merwe states that, in the lexica, semantic distinctions are illustrated by means of translation values; however, the grounds for these distinctions or motivations are often implicit (Van der Merwe 2009:267). Having noticed this major problem underlying the BH lexica, De Blois and Van der Merwe are of the opinion that any investigation into the description of BH lexical items should take into account the linguistic framework within which the lexical items operate. A fruitful lexical description of BH lexemes cannot be achieved without the utilisation of adequate theoretical frameworks.

Furthermore, with regard to the components and structures of dictionaries, Imbayarwo (2008:3) acknowledges that the microstructure of the current BH lexica presents immediate problems that prevent readers from accessing data. He suggests that the “data should be structured in such a manner as to facilitate optimal and successful retrieval of desired information from the lexicon”. In the same vein, Lyle (2012:25) claims that a taxonomic explanation of BH references causes readers to fail to recognise the way different senses are interrelated. His argument implies that a clear and adequate ordering of categories involves the notion of sense distinction or a lexeme’s radial structure.



As the problems on the macro level have now been pointed out, our attention turns to data provided by BH resources. This survey will focus on the micro level, drawing on the major BH lexica and grammars, and available journal articles.

### 3.2 Biblical Hebrew lexica

In this section, BH lexica that provide insights into the semantic potential of לְּ will be reviewed. In particular, this survey will look at the major BH lexica, such as BDB and KB. In addition to the older lexica, a more modern work, DCH by Clines, will be included in this review.

In order to evaluate the articles provided by the BH resources, this study will consult a set of criteria established by Mena (2012:44). In her recent study, she develops three criteria for reviewing the BH lexical item לְּ:

- (1) the syntactic relationships within the construction (Langacker 2008:240-241),
- (2) the frequency of usages (Croft and Cruse 2004:78), and
- (3) the organisation of the underlying semantic structure of the categories (Lakoff 1987:83).

This study implements Mena's three-step approach to critiquing BH lexica. Her criteria provide the key notions that address the problems in BH lexica with respect to the preposition לְּ, and it is hypothesised that these criteria will also make it possible to evaluate the current BH resources that deal with the preposition לְּ.

In the following sections, the survey will present how the lexeme לְּ is treated by BDB, KB and DCH on the basis of Mena's criteria. This will lay the foundation for further discussion of structures associated with לְּ in the following chapters.

#### 3.2.1 BDB ([1906] 2006:39)

BDB is one of the most influential English-language BH lexica. According to O'Connor's survey (2002:187), BDB is the 20th century's earliest BH lexicon. Based on the tradition of Wilhelm Gesenius, the work of BDB is a paragon of comparative philological methodology of the time. Our focus in this review will fall on the three criteria suggested by Mena.

BDB regards אל as a preposition. The entries below illustrate that BDB provides much more than mere translation values. BDB offers some thoughts regarding the preposition's relative position in the syntactic construction (**Criterion 1**). As can be seen below, BDB illustrates how the preposition enters into valential complements of various motion verbs. A range of instances in entry 1 relates the preposition to different motion events. Where available, particular verbs and words are mentioned in terms of how they interact with אל. By considering how the syntactic relationship is explicated by BDB, one may gain some insights into how the preposition relates to the valency of verbs.

1. of motion *to* or *unto* a person or place, after every kind of verb expressing motion בוא, הקלד, יצא, נתן *to give* Gen 21:14; *to sell* Gen 37:36, etc. Gen 6:16 אל אמה *unto* the length of a cubit, etc. Once, exceptionally = *even*: Jb 5:5 ואל-מצנים יקחהו and *even* out of thorns he taketh it. 24:11 אל הבריה made to kneel down *at*; And of time (rare) מעת אל-עת 1 Ch 9:25.

2. Where the limit is actually entered, *into*, as Gen 6:18 and thou shalt enter *into* the ark; & so after verbs of throwing, casting, putting Gen 39:20 אל-בית ויתנהו put him *into* the prison house. In connexion with a number or multitude *into* which something enters, *in among* Jer 4:3 sow not אל-קצים *in among* thorns.

3. Of direction *towards* anything: (a) of physical acts or states, as Gen 42:28 אל תרד *to* tremble (turning) *to*, אל-פנים פנים *face to face* Gen 32:31 (b) with words such as אמר *to say to* Gen 3:1 often, דבר 8:15 often, קרא 19:5, החפיל 20:17 etc., שמע *to hearken to* 16:11, הלל *to praise to* 12:15 (c) with words expressing the direction of the mind, as קנה *to wait*.

4. Where the motion or direction implied appears from the context to be of a hostile character, אל = *against*: Gen 4:8 אל-הבל ק' ויקם and Cain rose up *against* Abel; with בא of calamity, etc., coming *to* or *upon* any one Gen 42:21. אל הנני Behold I am *against* (thee, you etc.).

5. *Unto* sometimes acquires from the context the sense of *in addition to*, as Lv 18:18 thou shalt not take אשה אל אחותה *a woman to, in addition to*, her sister 1 S 14:34 *to eat* אל-החם *together with* the blood (על 32 & generally על).

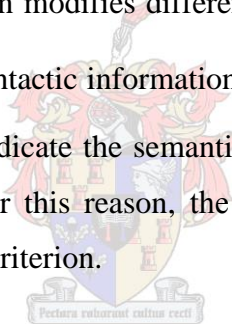
6. *in regard to, concerning, on account of*: התאבל *to mourn concerning* 1 S 15:35; הנחם *to repent as regards* 2 S 24:16; And specially with verbs of saying, narrating, telling, etc. *with regard to*, as אמר Gen 20:2.

7. Of rule or standard, *according to* (rare): ... אֶל־פִּי *according to* the command of.

8. Expressing presence at a spot, *against, at, by*, not merely after verbs expressing or implying motion (cf. 1, Gen 24:11), as אֶל־נְהַר פְּרָת *by* the Euphrates Ez 3:15.

9. Prefixed to other preps. it combines with them the idea of *motion* or *direction to*: thus אֶל־אַחֲרַי *behind* 2 S 5:23, אֶל־בֵּין *in between* Ez 31:10; אֶל־מְחוּצָה *to* the outside of Lv 4:12, 21; אֶל־נֹכַח *to* the front of Nu 19:4; אֶל־תְּחַת *below* Ju 6:19 1 K 8:6 *al.* (v. sub תְּחַת).

However, although it is true that the preposition is used in conjunction with motion verbs, these motion verbs do not necessarily guarantee that the preposition אֶל is understood as having only one sense. Rather, the fact that the preposition may be collocated with various motion verbs indicates that it has different semantic potentials. For instance, when אֶל modifies some motion verbs like *go, return, enter*, it usually refers to a goal of geographical place or person. When the preposition modifies different types of motion verbs like *give*, אֶל denotes a recipient. As far as אֶל's syntactic information as given by BDB is concerned, BDB is not explicit enough. It does not indicate the semantic significance of the details of verbal constructions and configurations. For this reason, the authors' consideration of syntactical constructions does not meet the first criterion.



In addition to the insufficiency of the syntactic information, there is the issue of ambiguity. BDB presents a subcategory of the preposition under entry 1, and explains that the preposition in Gen 24:11 is correlated with a verb of motion. BDB asserts that the preposition denotes motion or direction. However, the same example reappears under entry 8 without any explicit note as to why this identical example expresses a different meaning. The presentation of an identical example in two semantic categories results in ambiguity. The question then arises as to what sense the preposition אֶל refers to in וַיִּבְרָךְ הַגְּמְלִים מְחוּץ לְעֵיר אֶל־בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם “*he made the camels kneel down at the well outside of the city*” (Gen 24:11). BDB's different explanations cause difficulties in categorising the use of אֶל in the given example.

A further problem is that BDB does not present a clear account as to whether a prepositional usage is obligatory or optional. According to Van der Merwe (2004:123, 2006:94), valency is a crucial parameter to consider when one tries to better understand the semantics of lexical items.

When using the CL framework, one can examine BH lexica whether the existing resources utilise statistical analysis or not (**Criterion 2**). Frequency is one property that might correlate with the degree of prototypicality (Croft and Cruse 2004:78). The more widely used categories are usually likely to be more prototypical members.

It seems that BDB does not clearly indicate whether the spatial meanings of the preposition are more common than its figurative ones. BDB does not make note of the frequency of occurrences, but uses additional marks, such as “rare” or “not frequent”, particularly when לָ is used in abstract meanings. Although BDB indicates some rare usages of the preposition, such as the one in entry 1 (of time) and 7 (of rule or standard), no prototypical or most frequent usage(s) of the preposition are indicated.

As far as the organisation of the underlying semantic structure of the categories is concerned, BDB’s authors appear to be aware of a common feature of some senses. The categories from entries 1 to 4 have shared semantic potentials, viz., motion events; entries 1 and 2 deal with concrete spatial motion events, in which individual categories are related to particular types of verbs and prepositional objects; entry 4 provides an account of an extended motion event, and entry 3 includes both spatial and extended senses.

After dealing with the most closely related senses (entries 1-4), BDB lists other less core meanings of the preposition. Importantly, by placing the semantically unpredictable entry at the marginal space (entry 8), the authors seem to intend to separate it as an extended spatial meaning. Such an arrangement may help the reader gain a picture of the range of senses. However, this picture is not specific enough to enable the reader to see the polysemous nature of the preposition; while BDB lists the entries from spatial to abstract senses, it does not make any attempt to indicate if and how the semantic categories are related to one another<sup>24</sup>.

As far as the subcategories identified under the heading entries are concerned, it is also arguable whether the subcategories are reasonably related or not. Consider the translation value “even” from entry 1. This translation value does not match the overarching heading “of motion to or unto a person or place” at all. Since this subcategory is a distinct concept, and

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<sup>24</sup> CL allows for insights into how polysemic chains can be organised. The central meaning of a polysemic item serves as a sanctioning sense by which one may categorise other distinct senses associated with that particular lexical item. The radial set model can present relational links between the sense categories.

not an immediate extension of the main category, it should be treated in a separate category.

The translation values within a category often cause ambiguity when sense relationships are being identified. Since BDB lists the lexeme's translation values without providing semantic distinctions, ambiguity is apparent between glosses. Consider the two translation values “for the sake of” and “with regard to (about)” in entry 6. Although there are similarities between these glosses, there nonetheless exists a definite distinction: While the former expresses a nuance of beneficence, the latter signifies a reference, and semantic demarcations should be made between these two senses.

As a lexicon, BDB provides a useful starting point for lexical semantics. The overall information associated with the preposition אֶל is not irrelevant to semantic analysis of the lexeme. However, the syntactic information provided for אֶל in BDB does not fully meet the first criterion suggested by Mena. Next, the translation values not accompanying a semantic definition should be motivated. A range of unrelated meanings in an entry needs more careful attention. In addition, the reader's understanding of the different meanings would greatly benefit from an exposition of the frequency of each sense.

### 3.2.2 KB (2001:50-51)

Alongside BDB, Koehler and Baumgartner (KB) is considered one of the major BH resources for lexical studies. It is based on the philological comparative method, and the authors provide data such as etymology and cognate equivalents to Hebrew. A brief morphological analysis is also provided, followed by an exposition of meaning.

As far as אֶל is concerned, one may observe in KB eight main entries for the lexeme's senses or translation values, plus one entry for extra meanings when compounded with other prepositions. The following is an abridged excerpt from KB's entry on אֶל.

1. used with actions and events directed towards something, like to go, to come, to throw Lv 1:16, to bring Gen 2:19, to look Is 8:22, to hear Gen 16:11; אֶל נָתַן to give to Gen 18:7, אֶל דִּבֶּר to say to 8:15, אֶל לָקַח to get for 2K 13:15, אֶל בּוֹא to enter a woman, to have sexual intercourse Gen 16:2 (→אֶל בּוֹא1b).

2. of direction **towards** something: אֶל-פֶּה Nu 12:8; אֶל-עֲזָרָה for (our) help La 4:17, אֶל קָוָה to reach for = to wait for Hos 12:7.

3. אֶל often stands for → עַל and vice versa, esp. → BArm. עַל, but also indicates movement towards something Gen 4:8.
4. **up to, against** Jr 51:9; → אֶל אַמָּה up to a cubit in height Gen 6:16.
5. **in, into:** אֶל-הַיָּם into the sea Jon 1:5, אֶל-מְעָרַת inside the cave Gen 23:19.
6. concisely for rest at the end of an action אֶל יֹשְׁבִים sitting at (the table) 1K 13:20, אֶל-מַיִם by water Jer 41:12.
7. with verbs of accumulation 1K 10:7 (MSS עַל) and connection Da 11:23; so אֶל **in addition to:** אֶל-אֲחֵתָהּ Lv 18:18.
8. **in consideration of:** אֶל בְּכָהּ 2S 1:24 and אֶל הַנְּחָם 2S 24:16 because of, אֶל-נַפְשׁוֹ for his life 1K 19:3; אֶל אָמַר concerning Gen 20:2, אֶל הַשְּׂמוּעָה the news about 1S 4:19.
9. compounded with other preps: אֶל-אַחֲרָי behind 2K 9:18, אֶל-תַּחַת under 1K 8:6, אֶל-מִבֵּית לְ inside 2K 11:15, אֶל-מִחוּץ לְ outside Lv 4:12; → עֵבֶר, נֹכַח, מוּל, בֵּין →

It seems that the numerals in each of the entries' heading indicate semantic demarcations or signal that the preposition is used in new contexts. However, KB does not clearly provide its grounds for the demarcations. For example, both entries 1 and 2 involve “direction towards something”, but the lack of explanation causes one to wonder in what sense entry 2 is different from entry 1.

Like BDB, KB also offers syntactic information regarding אֶל (**Criterion 1**). However, this information is not consistent. Only three entries (1, 6, and 7) demonstrate how אֶל is used with respect to the different types of verbs. The valency of the verbs is often missing, and types of actions or events are not specified. KB tends to list examples of verbs without considering the syntactic relations the preposition necessitates. Consequently, it is challenging to ascertain how אֶל is correlated with each verb. Moreover, the roles of the objects in the prepositional phrases are not provided at all.

The constructions of אֶל described in entry 7 may also be called into question. The authors say

that the preposition is used “*with verbs of accumulation and connection*”, and provide a translation value “in addition to”. However, the examples from La 3:41, and Ezk 19:11 and 45:2 do not conform to the overarching syntactic information. The verbs **גָּשָׁה**, **הִיָּה** in the example sentences hardly express accumulation or connection.

With respect to criterion 2, KB provides the basic meaning, viz. **towards**. However, it does not provide any statistical evidence. Since no statistical analysis appears in KB, the reader may have difficulty determining the more and less prototypical uses of the preposition in the entries. The question is which usage is more common amongst seven different categories. In particular, when it comes to the abstract meaning (‘up to’, ‘against’) in entry 4 and the spatial meaning (‘in’, ‘into’) in entry 5, it is not clear which one is the more typical usage<sup>25</sup>? Similarly to BDB, this lexicon provides little insight when it comes to the identification of the prototypical sense(s)<sup>26</sup> of **לְ**.

As far as the organisation of the underlying semantic structure of the categories (**Criterion 3**) is concerned, the overall structure of KB is similar to that of BDB. It begins with concrete/spatial senses of categories, followed by abstract ones. However, there is a striking difference between the two lexica in the way they deal with the proximity sense of the preposition. While BDB treats the proximity sense inconsistently by placing the same example in two different semantic categories, KB assigns one semantic category to the proximity sense (entry 6). The position of this category is marginal within the spatial group (entries 1-6). From this, it is assumed that KB views the proximity sense as an extended meaning of the core sense. From a CL point of view, one may say that the way KB organises the categories is superior to the approach employed by BDB.

That being said, there is no explicit explanation as to why KB separates a particular category (entry 5) from a closely related main line (motion events). The use of **לְ** (into) in entry 5 is correlated to the motion events; however, the semantic category is strangely split from the main line. This split is due to the irrelevant placement of the Biblical Aramaic (BArm) **עַל**.

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<sup>25</sup>Although KB seems to have more of a schematic order than BDB in terms of the manner in which it organises from spatial to abstract meaning, it is odd to observe this reverse placement.

<sup>26</sup>Note that a lexeme may have different senses and one more of those senses may represent the prototypical senses of that lexeme. In turn, each sense may have prototypical members of that specific sense.

Since the authors' philological insight regarding the relationship between the BH preposition לָא and the BArm לַע is not the focus of this study, the survey does not discuss the philological information given by KB. The main focus of this critique remains the overall organisation of the sense categories.

Regarding the organisation visible in KB, the concrete meanings and the abstract ones are clearly separated. However, the lexicon encounters the same linearisation problem faced by BDB. As we have noticed, the link between the different readings of the preposition is loose, and the semantic structures are not clearly mapped out on to the linear order. This is probably a result of the authors' failure to point out explicitly the polysemous relationship between the different senses of the lexeme.

### 3.2.3 DCH (Clines et al 1993:260-271)

DCH is a modern BH lexicon. Clines purports to use a modern method of lexical analysis. The author (or, more accurately, editor) makes an effort to point out the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships between lexemes, and to offer large data collections (Clines 1993:25). In addition to this, DCH is characterised by its synchronic approach (Clines 1993:14): Clines covers the Hebrew Bible, Ben Sira, the Qumran manuscripts, and inscriptions from the earliest times to 200 CE. Unlike other more traditional lexica, DCH does not try to postulate the etymologies of lexemes. These characteristics make DCH different from its predecessors.

As far as the data provided for לָא in DCH are concerned, these mainly consist of verbs or phrases collocated with the preposition, English translation values, and very brief explanations of a given meaning. The list of semantic categories follows here:

- 1a. **to**, of movement, usu. horizontal, where goal of movement is reached,  
**into**, esp. where goal is place or structure, + בָּוא *come* Gen 6:20, for sex Gen 6:4, *flow into* Ezk 4:8, *send* Gen 32:4, *sell* Gen 37:36, *gather to ancestors* in death 2 C34:28.
- 1b. **towards, in the direction of**, where contact is not made, + קלע *sling* stone at Jg 20:16.
2. **on(to), into**, expressing vertical motion.
  - a. downward motion, + נפל *fall* in obeisance, onto face Jos 5:14.
  - b. onto, of upward motion, + עלה *raise oneself* from one place to another Ezk 9:3.



- 3a. of perceptual and verbal acts and dispositions of one person **to(wards)** another person, place, etc., + מרא say Gen 3:1, שבע swear to Jer 38:16, קרא call Gen 3:9, שמע hear, i.e. listen to Gen 16:11, בין understand Ps 28:5
- 3b. **addressed to, intended for,** + כתב write Jg 8:14.
4. **above, over,** without contact, + נוף wave hand 2 K5:11.
- 5a. **at, in, by, in the vicinity of,** etc., with no clear sense of movement towards, + בנה build Jos 22:11, נשא carry on shoulder Ezk 12:12.
- 5b. **alongside, next to,** + קבר bury with Gen 49:29.
- 5c. **in the presence of, before,** + חרש be silent Is 41:1.
6. **against,** + לחם fight Jer 1:19.
7. **about, concerning,** + חרש be silent about tears Ps 39:13.
8. **due to, because of,** + אנה sigh because of news Ezk 21:12.
9. **in aid of, in support of,** + עור rouse oneself on behalf of Ps 7:7.
- 10a. **over, in charge of,** + משל rule Jer 33:26.
- 10b. **under (the charge of),** + עזב leave work Jb 39:11.
11. **of, belonging to,** + בחר be selected as belong to living Ec 9:4.
12. **for (the benefit of),** + בקע conquer territory Is 7:6.
13. **as well as, in addition to,** + הרג kill Jos 13:22.
14. **(in comparison) to,** + קבל correspond to Ex 26:5.
15. perh. **to the tune,** in headings to psalms, + אֶל-הַנְּחִילוֹת to 'Nehiloth' Ps 5:1.
16. **to the point of,** + שמחה rejoice to the point of joy, i.e. exceedingly Ho 9:1.
17. perh. **with, by means of,** + אֶלַיְךָ כִּסְתִי I cover myself with you Ps 143:9.

18. followed by other particles
- a. אַחֲרֵיהֶם **behind, to the rear of** troops 2S 5:23
  - b. אֶל-בֵּין **in between, among**, with ref. to boughs reaching to between clouds Ezk 31:10
  - c. אֶל-מִבֵּית ל **to within, behind** veil of tabernacle Lv 16:15
  - d. אֶל-מוֹל **in front of** mountain Ex 34:3
  - e. אֶל-מַחוּץ ל **(to) outside** camp or city, in context of unclean activities or objects Lv 4:12
  - f. אֶל-פְּנֵי **in front of** opposite alter Lv 6:7
  - g. אֶל-תּוֹךְ **inside, into the middle** of see Ex 14:23
  - h. אֶל-תַּחַת (1) **beneath**, (2) **instead of** tree Jg 6:19
  - i. other combinations, אֶל-נֹכַח פְּנֵי אֹהֶל-מוֹעֵד *toward the front of the tent of meeting* Nm 19:4
19. prob. corrupt for אֶל **not**, הִשָּׁמֵר לָךְ אֶל-תִּסּוֹף רְאוֹת פְּנֵי *watch over yourself (not) to see my face again* Ex 10:28.

The method employed by Clines is based on structural linguistics. As mentioned above, DCH places its emphasis on syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships when distinguishing what it regards as categories of meaning. The preposition אֶל is, thus, treated according to the rules of syntax (criteria 1). Figure 3.1 shows this method, where the syntagmatic relations are plotted on a horizontal axis, and the paradigmatic relations (the set of words that can substitute for a certain element, e.g., the verb of the clause as in Figure 3.1) are listed on the vertical axis.

Clines makes note of the fact that the meaning of the preposition אֶל is often uncertain. Nevertheless, the collected examples with their syntagmatic relations suggest that he observes that the preposition correlates with motion verbs. He then specifies different types of movements on the basis of two dimensions, viz., horizontal direction and vertical direction. With respect to the horizontal direction, Clines distinguishes between two types of goals of movement (one in which a goal is reached, and one in which contact is not made). With respect to the vertical direction, he again distinguishes between downward motion and upward motion.

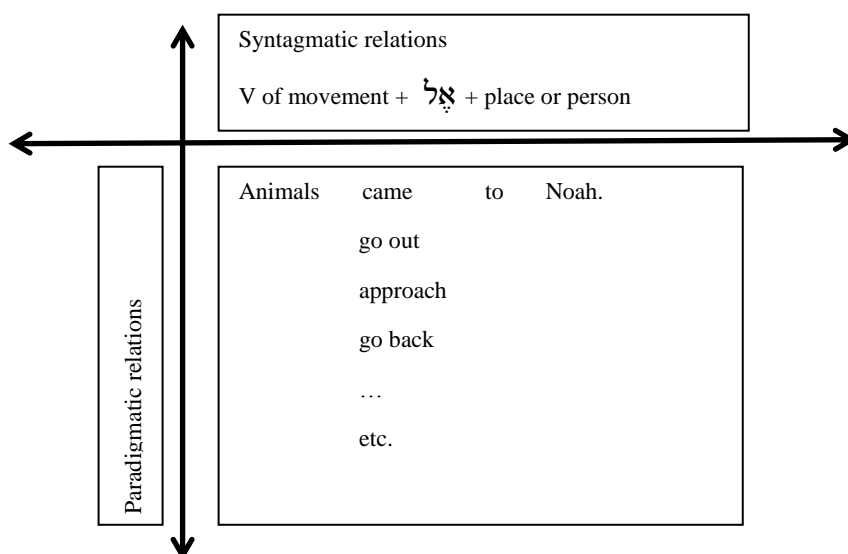


Figure 3.1 Clines's syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis of לָאֵל

However, the semantic features provided by Clines are not entirely helpful when one wishes to know the meaning of the preposition לָאֵל. This is because these semantic features are too broad to enable the identification of particular senses of לָאֵל. Consider entry 1a, which lists examples of the syntagmatic/paradigmatic relations of the horizontal movement with translation values, such as *to*, *into*, *at*, *near*, *around*, and *against*. All these examples show that the goal of movement is reached. However, it is not difficult to notice that these translation values represent different semantic categories. More than four ranges of meaning are included in a single entry, viz., Goal, Containment, Proximity, and Hostility. Clines makes no explicit semantic explanations other than providing mere syntactic information with a high degree of semantic feature of "reach-ness".

It must be noted that the meaning of a word cannot be clearly established by simply considering its connection to other words in the same sentence, or by considering other words available to the speaker of a given sentence. Therefore, a syntagmatic/paradigmatic analysis cannot be a sufficient theoretical foundation on which to base the discovery of the meaning of a word.

Considering its quantity of information, DCH is huge in size, and replete with 19 semantic categories. Despite its bulk, however, it dedicates very little space to providing frequency

distributions (**Criterion 2**). According to Clines, the lexeme לָא occurs 5464 times in the Masoretic Texts, 79 times in Ben Sira, 229 times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and 33 times in the Hebrew inscriptions. The lexeme לָא is the third most frequent word among those that begin with the letter א (Clines 1993:68).

Even though it does list these facts, DCH does not provide any detailed statistical analysis of the various categories that he distinguishes. Although DCH sometimes uses the modifier *usually* in the category 1a, it does not give statistical evidence. Offering data on frequency and distribution for each semantic category would have greatly benefitted this lexicon. As Geeraerts states (2007:1162), readers “may expect the lexicon to refer to prototype instances of categories or to typical features of the members of those categories”.

DCH provides around 20 distinctive categories of the preposition לָא. A distinction is established between the spatial senses and the abstract ones, and Clines separates לָא's dynamic senses from its static ones by grouping them in different categories. Nonetheless, it is difficult to see the relatedness between the senses that surround לָא (**Criterion 3**). One of the most serious and easily noted problems is the lack of coherence between senses; various senses that are semantically unrelated to one another are found within a single category. For example, in category 1a, where motion or dynamism is the basic meaning associated with לָא, other separate meanings are grouped in the same category: PATH, POSITION, and OPPOSING. With their unclear semantic distinctions, these obscure instances create a certain vagueness that makes the task of determining the lexeme's meanings a difficult one.

### 3.3 Biblical Hebrew Grammars

When describing the preposition, traditional BH grammars provide some reference to comparative philological data. Although there is no consensus on the original meaning of לָא, many scholars who are traditionally inclined agree that the preposition is derived from a noun that expresses direction. In the following section, this study will consider traditional BH grammars, such as GKC and JM. Furthermore, WO will be also taken into consideration in this review.

### 3.3.1 GKC and JM

The BH grammars mentioned above label לָא a preposition. With respect to the analyses of לָא, the semantic treatments by GKC and JM are incomplete, and the number of sense categories supplied by GKC is far lower than the number supplied by the BH lexica. In GKC (§ 119. g), one can find only three categories of לָא:

1. motion or direction *towards*,
2. location in answer to the question *whither?* or *where?*, and
3. combination of two different ideas, namely, motion *to* a place and acting *in* the place.

The brief discussion of לָא in GKC is probably a product of the principle of separating lexical meaning and grammatical structure. In the time of Gesenius, BH linguists believed that lexical elements have semantic content, whereas grammatical elements do not. For this reason, it is assumed that many semantic data were not collected in the work of GKC. Nevertheless, it is unclear why GKC does not provide any data concerning the syntactic patterns of לָא, as this makes it extremely difficult to grasp the ways in which the preposition is used.

Compared to the number of categories in GKC, there are more semantic categories in JM (2006:456). The following is an extract from JM:

1. motion *towards*, with exclusion, or with inclusion (=ב) of the destination,
2. direction *towards*,
3. hostile direction *against* (=לע),
4. *in addition to, besides* (=לע),
5. *because of, concerning, about* (=לע),
6. *according to* (=לע),
7. *near, at*.

The semantic categories of JM are almost identical to those of the older lexicon, BDB. Plus, the ordering of the categories in JM is also similar to that of BDB. This demonstrates the fact that there has been little progress in the elucidation of the preposition. What makes matters worse is that JM does not provide any examples from BHS; it merely presents English translation values.

When it comes to the semantic categories, one may say that semantic distinctions are established by means of translation values. However, there exists a lack of explanation as to how these categories are defined as distinctive meanings. Instead of providing semantic motivation, JM indicates some senses that are interchangeable with לַע or לְ. However, there are no explicit notes explaining in what ways these overlap.

As far as grammatical constructions are concerned, JM again falls short of providing syntactic information. Except for the note that לְ cannot stand before an infinitive, nor before the relative conjunction וְלְ, there is no syntactic description of לְ.

### 3.3.2 Waltke & O'Connor (1990)

The description of לְ also receives attention in the modern BH grammar by WO (1990), in which the preposition is seen as a term of *relation*. The authors are very much aware of the characteristics of prepositions with respect to the fact that “the spatial sense or reference of a given preposition is not an absolute value, however; it is always governed by the verb of the clause” (WO 1990:191). This represents a significant deviation from traditional grammars that draw meanings primarily from philology.

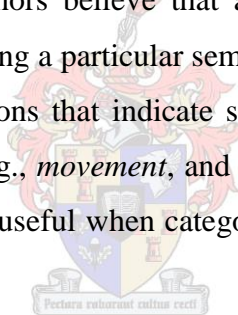
As far as לְ is concerned, WO (1990:191-2) distinguishes five main categories. The authors subdivide main categories according to their syntactic and/or semantic peculiarities:

1. The contingent locative sense (‘at, by, near’)
2. Senses involving movement
  - a direction (‘toward’)
  - a goal or termination (‘into’)
  - a limit or degree (‘as far as, up to’)
3. Dative
  - a simple dative (‘to’ the recipient of a gift or an address)
  - an ethical dative of interest, advantage, or disadvantage (‘for, against’)
  - a normative dative (‘in accord with’)
4. Comitative
  - accompaniment (‘with’)
  - addition (‘in addition to’)
  - personal comitative (‘with someone’)
5. Specification (‘concerning’).

WO begins the description with spatial senses of לָּ that refer to basic locational relations, viz., position and movement, followed by other various “logical” (abstract) senses. In this way, the authors seem to indicate that the spatial meaning of the preposition is the prototypical one from which other abstract senses can be seen as having been derived (WO 1990:192). This arrangement makes it easier for the reader to map the range of different senses. In this regard, WO’s treatment is in accordance with criterion 3 of CL.

In comparison with all the other descriptions of לָּ considered earlier, WO provides much more of an insight into semantics. Whereas the major lexica and traditional grammars reviewed in this study often present the sense categories by simply adding translation values, WO labels categories with specific relation types, such as contingent locative, direction, goal, and termination. These semantic labels are helpful in interpreting the preposition’s function, as well as in distinguishing different senses.

In classifying these senses, the authors believe that a particular verb associated with the preposition can be helpful in describing a particular semantic function of the preposition (WO 1990:190). Thus, WO uses expressions that indicate such syntactic information with broad characteristics of verbal elements (e.g., *movement*, and *simple dative*). The authors show that these different syntactic patterns are useful when categorising different semantic functions of לָּ according to criterion 1.



Compared to BDB, KB, DCH, and other BH grammars, WO’s investigation moved the debate a step forward in terms of semantics. Whereas the resources discussed earlier provide mere translation values, WO provides semantic senses. However, WO’s investigation does have some shortcomings.

Firstly, WO is not always clear with regard to syntactic information. It is to be expected that headings 2 and 3 can be separately grouped, because of the wide roles of different types of syntax. However, the categories of לָּ need more detailed syntactic information; otherwise it becomes difficult to determine when לָּ expresses the contingent locative, the comitative, or the specification senses. Moreover, the authors should display an awareness of the fact that there are cases where syntactic constructions cannot be the governing criteria that distinguish different semantic categories.

Secondly, it is difficult to see whether WO seriously considers the importance of frequency. There are two supporting reasons for this assertion: 1) WO begins with one of the most rarely occurring senses, instead of starting with the most frequent sense. 2) WO does not provide any statistical evidence of different senses. Considering these two reasons, it is difficult to identify which sense is more or less prototypical, as prescribed by criterion 3.

### 3.4 Journal articles

The preposition לְאֵל has received little attention from BH scholars; its most substantial treatments are found in dictionaries and grammars. Besides its treatment in these resources, there are journal articles, most of which discuss לְאֵל in line of interchangeability with עַל<sup>27</sup> (Sperber 1966; Pulikottil 2001; Barrick 2004-7). In these existing literatures, לְאֵל is often understood as being equivalent to עַל, e.g. “*May your work appear לְאֵל (unto) your servants, and your majesty עַל (unto) their sons*” (Ps 90:16).

While some acknowledge that not all semantic categories are interchangeable, the articles do not provide much empirical evidence regarding which senses of לְאֵל overlap with those of עַל. In addition, although these prepositions are considered near-synonyms, these articles provide very little to no criteria for establishing under which exact circumstances they (the prepositions) are semantically equivalent. Regarding this issue, Waltke and O’Connor (1990:187) are of the opinion that semantic overlap is partial, since the function of prepositions is to indicate the nature of a relationship.

The inadequacy of the articles mentioned above demonstrates how little attention has been paid to the semantics of לְאֵל. In contrast, Mitchell’s article provides a useful point of departure for the discussion of לְאֵל’s semantic potentials. Mitchell investigates the syntactic combinations of לְאֵל and the words immediately preceding or following it in order to uncover the meanings of the preposition.

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<sup>27</sup>For more instances, see Sperber (1966:288). According to Sperber (1966:288, 633), לְאֵל and עַל are used “promiscuously”. However, Barrick (2004-7) is of the opinion that Sperber is too extreme in his opinion.



### 3.4.1 Mitchell (1888)

The work of Mitchell (1888:43-120) is the oldest of the articles surveyed in this study. Like other traditional BH resources, it views the preposition לְ as the construct of a noun originally derived from a Hebrew root. He provides accounts of לְ's philology, etymology, and forms, and three classes of grammatical constructions in which translation values were also included. The following is an extract briefly describing the meaning attached to syntactic patterns:

A. לְ points to an object to which something is referred.

[A 1] The preposition is used with the person or thing with reference to which the position of another is determined, where the simplest, local significations of the word are found:

[A 2] The preposition is used with a person or thing with reference to which a given action is performed or attempted.

[A 3] The preposition is used with a person or thing with reference to which a certain state of things is predicated.

B. לְ points to an object toward which effort is directed.

[B 1] The preposition is used with the person or thing that an effort is calculated to reach.

[B 2] The preposition is used with the person or thing toward whom or which a certain position or attitude is assumed.

C. לְ points to an object which is expressly or implicitly attained.

[C 1] The preposition is used with the person or thing that is the limit of motion, as in coming, going, bringing, sending, etc.

[C 2] The preposition is used with the person or thing that receives something transferred, as in giving, selling.

[C 3] The preposition is used with the person or thing that is an object of contact, as in adding, joining.

[C 4] The preposition is used in constructions denoting the measure of extent.

In this study, Mitchell attempts to demonstrate how these headings could be the governing categories under which various types of constructions are distinguished. It seems that Mitchell recognises the importance of syntax as a contributor to the semantic potential of the preposition. Although he does not provide a theoretical framework, it is clear that the verbal elements of the sentence are considered the determinant in identifying different types of constructions.

It is also probable that Mitchell intends to use some semantic features to distinguish different constructions. For instance, the idea of *reachness* or *contact* is the key element on which the

distinction between the overarching headings B and C is based. Furthermore, Mitchell is aware of the fact that there is a component of *attitude* (e.g. in B2). By using this component, a favourable sense and a hostile sense are distinguished. In this regard, Mitchell's work is more advanced than BDB or HALOT, even though Mitchell's work was published earlier than these resources.

However, Mitchell fails to provide any motivation as to why verbal elements are not considered under heading A. This makes it unclear whether the prepositional phrases under heading A are obligatory syntagms or not. Even though the author provides lists of all occurrences of לָּ in the form of a concordance, some examples are rather vaguely matched with categories. For instance, he relates the use of לָּ in Gen 6:4 with "the sense of *to*" (C I a); however, this interpretation is too vague to help the reader understand the preposition's specific meaning in the given context.

Mitchell's manner of describing meanings of לָּ by providing translation values is another problem. Although different constructions are established, the same translation values of the preposition are often repeated within the wide variety of construction patterns (e.g. *against* in the hostile sense in A2, B1, and C1). This demonstrates that the wide range of syntactic patterns does not correlate with an actual semantic function of לָּ. This inadequacy might be a factor in the decision of many BH scholars not to use Mitchell's work.

In short, the representation of לָּ in Mitchell is unsystematic, vague, and misleading. As is the case with other resources, his lexical treatment needs further development, including a theoretical semantic framework.

### 3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed how the BH preposition לָּ is described by the major BH lexica. Three points established by Mena (2012) were used as assessment criteria.

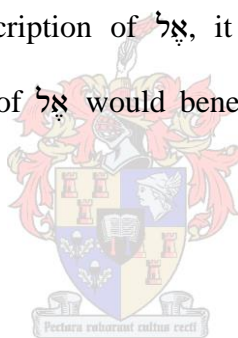
All the resources that were consulted classified לָּ as a preposition, and they acknowledge that the preposition is related to the notion of *motion* or *movement* of someone or something. They ascribe the translation values 'to', 'towards' to לָּ and list many more translation values,

which take into account limited insight into a word's meaning (De Blois 2003:3).

With respect to the criteria, the resources did not explicitly or adequately describe the lexeme's syntactic constructions. In this regard they did not fully meet the first criterion. None of the lexica or grammars offered statistical evidence for the more prototypical and less typical senses. In other words, they failed to meet the second criterion. The resources also did not meet the third criterion, as the overall organisation of the semantic categories was often odd, and sense relationships were not motivated.

A number of surveys and critiques of BH lexica note that the contribution of modern linguistics to lexicology as well as semantics in the field of BH was limited at the time of GKC, BDB, and KB. The linguistics of the time was primarily concerned with historical research (or comparative philology). This may go some way towards explaining the deficiencies of the lexica under discussion.

From our survey of available description of אָל, it is evident that we are justified in hypothesising that the descriptions of אָל would benefit from a more adequate theoretical model.



## Chapter 4

### Event schemas associated with לָאָ

#### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the major BH lexica, and saw that they all consider the lexeme לָאָ to be a preposition expressing primarily spatial relations. They also agree that the preposition often occurs with motion verbs. However, as far as the syntactic information provided by the BH lexica is concerned, new comprehensive research on the grammatical construction of לָאָ is undoubtedly needed on account of the following reasons:

- i. The majority of the BH lexica lack a comprehensive account of syntactic considerations in describing לָאָ. As discussed in chapter 3, various types of motion verbs are arbitrarily agglomerated into one category, causing difficulties in identifying specific constructions where לָאָ is used.
- ii. Little or no investigation concerning the frequency of syntactic patterns is substantiated by means of empirical evidence, an essential requirement in identifying the most prototypical patterns of use.
- iii. A description of the syntactic patterns of לָאָ – one which is based on modern linguistic methodology – does not yet exist<sup>28</sup>. Consequently, these lexica provide inadequate syntactic descriptions of the preposition לָאָ.

For these reasons, this chapter envisions an empirical investigation into syntactic constructions that involve the preposition לָאָ. The study will utilise Radden & Dirven's (2007) model as a linguistic framework for the description. As indicated in chapter 2, Radden & Dirven's (2007) model is hypothesised to provide a wealth of accounts as to how the conceptual structure of a situation is reflected in grammatical structure. The current investigation will commence with a brief overview of the theoretical considerations underpinning it.

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<sup>28</sup> Bodine (1992:90) points out that there is a gap between the advancement of the study of syntax by linguists and the application of their work to BH.

### 4.1.1 Theoretical considerations

In CL, linguistic units are regarded as assemblies of symbolic components. In light of this view, grammatical constructions should deal with the specific formal patterns of sentences as well as their conceptual situation as units of thought. Radden & Dirven claim that “at the level of thought, we need no more than two basic types of conceptual units: things and relations” (2007:41). They argue that a **relation** (expressed as verbs and adjectives) and **things** (or conceptual entities<sup>29</sup> expressed as nouns) form the conceptual core of a situation. The term “conceptual core” is defined as a relational unit combined with conceptual entities that participate in the structure of a situation. The conceptual entities are referred to as participants.

The participants play conceptually prominent roles that include the agent, the theme, the cause, etc. The most common participant roles are agent and theme, and they are often involved in actions. Location is one of the less central participant roles. According to Radden & Dirven, event type such as action characterises the roles played by the participants. The roles participating in a conceptual core define role configurations, which determine the schematic meaning of a situation. In other words, once a schematic meaning is identified, it indicates what should be expected in any given situation.

As far as the grammatical configuration of roles is concerned, the configuration characterises basic clauses and sentences. In this regard, the configuration of roles can be discussed in terms of the notion of construction<sup>30</sup> (Radden & Dirven 2007:271). According to Goldberg, a construction (or a schema) determines the event type of a situation<sup>31</sup> (Goldberg 1995:24). To be more specific, a construction classifies the schematic meaning of an event, licenses the array of thematic roles (e.g. an agent, a theme, a recipient, etc.), and influences the verb’s valence (Michaelis 2003: 170). For instance, in the sentence *she knit him for his birthday*, the ditransitive construction designates a transfer event, and licenses three thematic roles: an agent, a theme and a recipient. The verb’s valence has been increased up to that of a verb of transfer owing to the construction (Michaelis 2006: 73-84).

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<sup>29</sup> The conceptual entities are equivalent to the notion of “participants”. These elements play specific roles, like agent and theme.

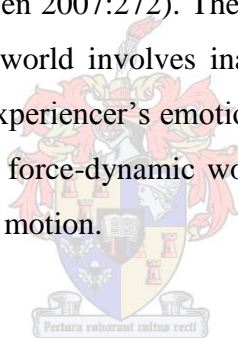
<sup>30</sup> Constructions are schemas stored in the memory (lexicon) (Booij 2010:5).

<sup>31</sup> Unlike the CL-based syntactic model, the projection-based models of sentence meaning tend to focus on the argument structure of the verb.

As a cognitive model of language, the way the semantic arguments are realised syntactically is congruent with the fundamental cognitive-based insight that grammar consists of constructions (form and meaning). Since the framework is in line with the perspective of cognitive linguistics with respect to the principle of pairing of form and meaning, the way the basic configurations of roles represent schematic meaning is a viable alternative.

This investigation lays its foundation on a usage-based approach to language. It is hypothesised that a grammatical analysis would be more productive if accompanied by a statistical analysis. This is because statistical evidence may be useful when one attempts to illustrate a lexeme's more prototypical usages.

With the theoretical considerations discussed above, the present investigation will explore the various event schemas associated with לָקַם. The event schemas will be considered in terms of three different “worlds of experience”: the force-dynamic world, the material world, and the psychological world (Radden & Dirven 2007:272). The force-dynamic world is related to the TR's motion, whereas the material world involves inactive states of an entity. Lastly, the psychological world deals with the experiencer's emotion or cognition. It is hypothesised that the preposition mostly occurs in the force-dynamic world, because the major BH resources tend to associate the preposition with motion.



#### 4.1.2 Corpus

The preposition לָקַם is one of the most frequently used words in BH. The lexeme is evenly distributed throughout the Hebrew Bible. This survey demonstrates the preposition's occurrences with respect to the event schemas in Genesis and Jeremiah. The former corpus may represent the typical uses of the lexeme in narrative material in the early state of the language, and the latter may represent the lexeme's uses in both poetic and prophetic material in the late state of the language.

As far as the frequency of the preposition is concerned, the lexeme occurs 989 times in our corpus (470 times in Genesis and 519 times in Jeremiah respectively). In 421 instances it is used with a pronominal suffix. The present study will deal with all of the instances including figurative and non-figurative use of the preposition. The analysis begins with the most frequently appearing category of the world, viz. force-dynamic worlds.

## 4.2 In force-dynamic worlds

The force-dynamic worlds mainly involve motion events of things or people. In a motion event, things or people move from one place to another. When energy is transmitted from the mover to the impacted object, this may cause the latter to move as well. The force-dynamic world involves four schemas: the action schema, the self-motion schema (an agent's self-propelled motion), the caused-motion schema (a thing's motion caused by another entity), and the transfer schema. The preposition **אֶל** operates in each of these schemas.

### 4.2.1 Self-motion events

The self-motion schema describes events in which a human agent instigates his/her own motion. Most self-motion events involve Source, Goal and Path. Self-motion is generally associated with inherently directed motion. As the following examples demonstrate, self-motion is usually expressed by the intransitive construction or the intransitive predicate-complement construction. In BH, the preposition **אֶל** is most frequently used to express Goal.

The BH preposition **אֶל** frequently enters into the valential complements of a verb. It usually collocates with verbs in motion events (Van Wolde 2009:140). BH verbs of inherently directed motion include **שוב** *return*, **בוא** *go, go into*, **יצא** *go out*, **חבר** *join*, **מהר** *hurry*, **רוץ** *run*, **סור** *turn*, **הלך** *walk*, **נגש** *go near*, etc. They are classified as intransitive verbs, and take the preposition **אֶל** as a predicate-complement (henceforth  $C_p$ ) functioning as a goal complement. This configuration describes a relation in which the TR is orientated with respect to an LM.

#### 4.2.1.1 In Genesis

In total, the preposition occurs 142 times<sup>32</sup> in Genesis in a self-motion schema (142/470, i.e. 30.2%). Compared to the directional **עַל**, which occurs four times in Genesis<sup>33</sup>, **אֶל** occurs much more frequently.

<sup>32</sup> Gen 3:19b X2, 4:8, 6:18b, 6:20b, 7:1aa, 7:7a, 7:9a X2, 7:13, 7:15 X2, 8:9 X4, 8:11a, 8:12b, 12:1b, 13:4, 14:3, 14:7, 14:17, 15:1, 15:15a, 16:2, 16:4, 16:9, 18:6a, 18:7a, 18:10a, 18:14b, 18:21ab, 19:2a, 19:3a X2, 19:5b, 19:6a, 19:27a, 20:3a, 20:4, 20:6, 20:13b, 21:32c, 22:2ab, 22:3c, 22:5b, 22:9a, 22:19a, 22:19b, 24:4a X2, 24:5ab, 24:10b

As illustrated in the table below, the goal of the trajector (TR) can be a person (e) or a place (a, c, d). Animals are another possible candidate for the TR's goal (b).

a	עד שׁוּבְךָ אֶל־הָאָדָמָה	Till you return to the ground (Gen 3:19)
b	וְאֶל־הַבָּקָר רָץ אַבְרָהָם	And Abraham ran to the herd (Gen 18:7)
c	סוּרוּ נָא אֶל־בֵּית עַבְדְּכֶם	Please, turn aside to your servant's house (Gen 19:2)
d	וּלְךָ־לָךְ אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַמֹּרְיָה	"Go to the land of Moriah!" (Gen 22:2)
e	וַיֵּשׁ יַעֲקֹב אֶל־יִצְחָק אָבִיו	So Jacob went near to Isaac his father (Gen 27:22)

The goal of a trajector's motion is indeterminate with respect to its shape. This means that the endpoint of a path that a trajector is moving along can be the inner side of the landmark entity (f), or that the path may stop short of the landmark. BH does not have special lexical forms to distinguish between these options.

f	וּבֹאֵת אֶל־הַתֵּבָה אַתָּה וּבְנֶיךָ	Then the Lord said to Noah, "Go into the ark, you and your household" (Gen 6:18)
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Although the preposition *אל* is usually used with animate TRs, there are a few cases where inanimate TRs are used, as below. One may argue the inanimate TR is conceptualised as having human feature (g) or something transmitted by humans (h). No matter what kinds of subjects they are, the preposition in motion events still describes goal or direction of the trajector.

g	עַל־כֵּן בָּאָה אֵלֵינוּ הַצָּרָה הַזֹּאת:	Therefore this distress has come to us (Gen 42:21)
h	בְּסִפְּכֶם בָּא אֵלַי	Your money came to me (Gen 43:23)

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X2, 24:20b, 24:29b X2, 24:30b, 24:38a X2, 24:41ab, 24:42a, 26:1b, 26:26a, 26:27b, 27:9a, 27:18a, 27:22a, 27:43, 28:5a, 28:9a, 28:21a, 29:21, 29:23, 29:30, 29:34b, 30:3, 30:4, 30:16, 30:25c, 31:3b X2, 31:13b, 31:18a, 31:24a, 31:52b X2, 32:7a, 32:7b X2, 32:9a, 33:14b, 34:6a, , 34:20a, 35:27a, 36:6b, 37:18b, 37:23a, 37:29a, 37:30a, 37:35, 38:16a, 38:2, 38:8, 38:9, 38:16 X2, 38:18, 38:22a, 39:14b, 39:16b, 39:17b, 40:6a, 41:14bb, 41:55b, 41:57a, 42:21 X2, 42:24ba, 42:29a, 43:13, 43:19a, 43:21a, 43:23ab, 44:17b, 44:18a, 44:24a, 44:30a, 44:34, 45:4ab, 45:9ab, 45:9b, 45:18a, 45:25b, 46:31b, 47:5b, 47:15b, 47:18, 48:2a, 48:5a.

<sup>33</sup>According to Mena (2012), *על* can be used in constructions where the TR is directed towards the end goal. She provides 15 cases of this use of *על* found in Genesis. Of these, only four instances involve the self-motion schema, viz., Gen 24:49 (X2), 38:12, 41:45.



In the following examples, the verb *הָיָה* in the prophetic passages is often rendered as having a dynamic meaning. In this regard, the theme *דְּבַר־יְהוָה* (“the word of the Lord”) in (i) is interpreted as an entity undergoing an appearing process in the self-motion schema. The construction is considered as a conventionalised expression for a prophetic announcement, because it refers to an event, viz. the word of Yahweh CAME to Abraham.

i *הָיָה דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם* The word of the LORD came to Abram (Gen 15:1)

The self-motion schema in BH is extensively used as a source domain for metaphorical extensions. For instance, in the domain of man-woman interaction, the [*בּוֹא* + *אֵל* + LM (female entity)] construction signifies a sexual relationship as in (j) below. There are 15 instances<sup>34</sup> in Genesis. This construction always involves a female entity as an object of the preposition. Similarly, the expression *לָגַעַ אֵלֶיהָ* *to reach to her* in (k) below is understood as a specialised expression denoting sexual intercourse (KB 2001:668).

j *וַיָּבֹא אֶל־הָגָר וַתְּהַר וַתְּהָרָא* And he went into Hagar and she became pregnant (Gen 16:4)

k *עַל־כֵּן לֹא־נָתַתִּיךָ לָגַעַ אֵלֶיהָ* Therefore I didn't allow you to reach<sup>35</sup> to her (Gen 20:6)

Another metaphorical extension is found in the domain of **death**. In Genesis 37:35, the expression *descending into Sheol* refers to ‘dying’. This usage occurs only once in Genesis.

l *אֲרָד אֶל־בְּנֵי אַבְרָם שְׂאֵלָה* I will indeed go down to my son mourning to the grave (Gen 37:35)

A metaphorical use of *אֵל* in (*בּוֹא אֶל־קַרְבָּנָה*) involves a unique construction in the domain of eating. In BH, the noun *קרב* refers to the inward part of an animal covered by fat. The literal translation of this expression, *going inward part of cow*, would mean “to devour” the animal. The relationship between the TR and the LM as in (m) has been conventionalised as an independent metaphorical usage of *אֵל*. This expression is very rare; it occurs only twice in Genesis.

m *וַתֵּבֹאוּ אֵל־קַרְבָּנָה* And they went to inward part of them (Gen 41:21)

<sup>34</sup> Gen 6:4b, 16:2ab, 16:4a, 29:21b, 29:23a, 29:30a, 30:3, 30:4, 30:16a, 38:2b, 38:8a, 38:9b, 38:16b X2, 38:18b.

<sup>35</sup> Most translations give “touch” instead of “reach”.

The following example is a rare one; it is found only once in Genesis. In the example below, the self-motion verb קוּם is collocated with the preposition אֶל. Motion *towards* is apparent, but the preposition is understood to convey a sense of hostility.

n	וַיָּקָם קַיִן אֶל-הֶבֶל אָחִיו וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ	And Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him (Gen 4:8)
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#### 4.2.1.2 In Jeremiah<sup>36</sup>

The preposition occurs more than 136 times in the self-motion schema in Jeremiah (136/519, i.e. 26.2%). As in the cases of Genesis, the preposition אֶל is used as a C<sub>p</sub> of intransitive verbs. As the list below presents, human beings are typically used as TRs in this schema. An abstract entity (disaster) can be the candidate of the TR as in (a) below. As far as the prepositional objects are concerned, one can easily notice that they are animate entities (a, b, c, d, e, g) or place (f). However, when we consider the types of LM, they are underspecified. The schema does not specify whether the end-point is a depression (f).

a	רָעָה תָּבֵא אֲלֵיהֶם	Disaster will come to them (Jer 2:3)
b	הֲיָשׁוּב אֵלֶיהָ עוֹד	Shall he return to her again? (Jer 3:1)
c	אֵלֶיכֶם לֵי אֶל-הַגְּדֹלִים	I will go to the leaders (Jer 5:5)
d	וַיִּקְהַל כָּל-הָעָם אֶל-יִרְמְיָהוּ בְּבַיִת יְהוָה:	And all the people assembled against Jeremiah In the house of the Lord (Jer 26:9)
e	וַהֲקִרְבֹתִיו וַיִּגַּשׁ אֵלַי	And I will cause him to draw near, And he will approach me (Jer 30:21)
f	הַנָּס מִפְּנֵי הַפֶּחַד יִפֹּל אֶל-הַפֶּחַח	Anyone who flees from the face of the fear will fall into the pit (Jer 48:44)
g	בָּאוּ וַיִּגְלוּ אֶל-יְהוָה	They will come and join themselves to the Lord (Jer 50:5)

<sup>36</sup> Jer 1:2, 1:4, 1:11, 1:13, 1:19, 2:1, 2:3bb, 2:31bb, 3:1ab, 3:1bb, 3:6b, 3:7a, 3:10a,4:1ab, 4:5b, 5:5a, 6:3a, 7:1, 7:12a, 8:14a, 9:2b, 11:1, 13:3, 13:8, 13:11, 14:1, 14:18b, 15:19ba, 15:19bb, 15:20, 16:1, 16:19b, 18:1, 18:5, 19:2a, 21:1, 24:4, 24:7, 25:3, 25:32ab, 26:9b, 27:1, 27:3b, 28:12, 29:30, 30:1, 30:21ab, 30:21b, 31:6bb, 31:12, 31:21bb, 32:1, 32:6, 32:7a, 32:8a X2, 32:26, 33:1, 33:19, 33:23, 34:1, 34:7, 34:8, 34:12, 35:1, 35:2aa, 35:11, 35:12, 36:1, 36:14b, 36:20a, 37:13bb, 37:16a X2, 36:27,37:6, 38:2b, 38:11a, 38:17ab, 38:18a, 38:19b, 38:25aa, 38:27a, 39:1aa, 39:15, 40:1, 40:4b X2, 40:5aa, 40:5ab, 40:6a, 40:8a, 40:10ab, 40:12ab, 40:13b, 41:1a, 41:6bb, 41:7a, 41:10b, 41:14b, 41:15b, 42:7, 43:8, 44:1, 46:1, 46:16ba, 46:16bb X2, 46:25, 47:1, 47:3b, 47:5a, 48:8a, 48:21a X3, 48:44a, 49:4bb, 49:19aa, 49:28b, 49:31a, 49:34 X2, , 50:5b, 50:6b, 50:16bb, 50:18 X3, 50:21a, 50:44a, 51:9, 51:44ab, 51:60a, 52:15a.

In the example below (h), the verb סָחַר is considered a motion verb (KB 2001:750), in which the TRs (or agents) instigate their own motion. Here, the expression, סָחַרוּ אֶל-אֶרֶץ (“go about into a land”, meaning “wander around”), refers to a dispersed motion in any direction relative to a landmark. The construction occurs only once in Jeremiah.

- h                      כִּי-גַם-נְבִיא גַם-כֹּהֵן סָחַרוּ    For both prophet and the priest go about into a land,  
                           אֶל-אֶרֶץ וְלֹא יָדְעוּ                      but they know not (Jer 14:18)

Some specific constructions in the self-motion schema are considered as metaphorical expressions. Within a military context, the Hebrew construction [נָפְלוּ אֶל-הַכַּשְׂדִּים]<sup>37</sup> seems to be a conventional form expressing an action of surrender (i). It may be argued that perhaps the image schema of approaching the enemy and falling to their feet in an act of subordination is what lies behind this expression. The expression occurs 3 times in Jeremiah<sup>38</sup>. Contextually, the expression, “go out to Y” (meaning “surrender”), is used as an alternative expression of the construction (j). These expressions occasionally occur in Jeremiah<sup>39</sup>.

- i                      אֲנִי דָאֵג אֶת-הַיְהוּדִים                      I am afraid of the Jews  
                           אֲשֶׁר נָפְלוּ אֶל-הַכַּשְׂדִּים                      that surrendered to the Chaldeans (Jer 38:19)
- j                      אִם-יֵצֵא תֵצֵא אֶל-שָׂרֵי מַלְאֲכֵי-                      if you indeed go forth to the officers of the king of Babylon,  
                           בָּבֶל וְחִיתָה נִפְשְׁךָ                      you will live (Jer 38:17)

The verb עָלָה in קוּמוּ עֲלוּ אֶל-קֶדָר can be rendered as ‘to go up’. However, in conjunction with the preposition אֶל, it may signify an action of hostility as in (k) below. In this sense, the verb can be followed by either of the prepositions, such as אֶל or עַל (Jer. 50:3; 9; 21). In Jer. 50:21, both of the prepositions are complemented by the verb (l). The object of the prepositions may be a nation or people as a target. The preposition in this construction still retains the spatial meaning of goal.

- k                      קוּמוּ עֲלוּ אֶל-קֶדָר                      Arise, go up to Kedar,

<sup>37</sup> Jer 37:13bb, 38:19b, 52:15a.

<sup>38</sup> There are instances where the preposition עַל is used in place of אֶל: Jer. 21:9, 37:14, 39:9.

<sup>39</sup> Jer 38:2, 38:17ab.

- וְשָׂדְדוּ אֶת־בְּנֵי־קֹדֶם and spoil the men of the east (Jer 49:28)  
 1 עֲלֵהְאָרֶץ מֵרְתַיִם עָלֶיהָ against the land of Merathaim go up to her,  
 וְאֶל־יְשֻׁבֵי פְקוֹד and to the inhabitants of Pekod (Jer 50:21)

As mentioned above, the preposition אֶל is interchangeably used with עַל in the sense of hostility. The number of cases where a PP headed by אֶל complements פָּקַד is far lower than the number where a PP is headed by עַל (3 vs. 24<sup>40</sup>). Likewise, אֶל in the [אֶל+לחם Niph.] construction is rarely attested<sup>41</sup>, but עַל is mostly combined with the verb.

It is worth noting that the hostility is more frequently realised by the preposition עַל in Jeremiah. Furthermore, the LM marked by עַל usually refers to a place (city)<sup>42</sup>. Where אֶל is used, the preposition often marks a person or a group of people as LM (m).

- m הִנְנִי פוֹקֵד אֶל־אֲמוֹן מִנָּא Behold, I will visit Amon of No<sup>43</sup> (Jer 46:25).

In the following example, the verb הָיָה is used in the self-motion schema. As a conventionalised expression, the construction appears more than 42 times in Jeremiah<sup>44</sup>.

- n וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֵלַי And the word of the Lord came to me (Jer 1:4).

The self-motion of an inanimate entity, such as a river, is used as a source domain for a metaphorical extension. In Jer. 51:44a, the word “nations” is viewed as a river, and the LM is the goal of the TR.

- o וְלֹא־יִנְהָרוּ אֵלָיו עוֹד גּוֹיִם And nations will not flow unto him anymore (Jer 51:44).

<sup>40</sup>Instances [עַל+פקד]: Jer 1:10, 5:9, 5:29, 9:8, 9:24, 11:22, 13:21, 15:3, 21:14, 23:2, 23:34, 25:12, 27:8, 29:32, 30:20, 36:31, 44:13, 44:29, 46:25, 49:8, (50:18 X2) 51:27, 51:44, 51:47, 51:52.

<sup>41</sup> Jer 1:19a, 15:20ab.

<sup>42</sup> Jer 34:22,37:8, 32:24, 32:29, 34:1, 34:7, 34:22, 37:8, with an exception of 21:2.

<sup>43</sup> The word *No* refers to the god of Thebes (NET).

<sup>44</sup> Jer 1:2a, 1:4, 1:11a, 1:13a, 2:1, 7:1a, 11:1a, 13:3a, 13:8a, 14:1a, 16:1a, 18:1a, 18:5a, 21:1a, 24:4a, 25:3ab, 27:1b, 28:12a, 29:30, 30:1a, 32:1a, 32:6b, 32:26, 33:1a, 33:19, 33:23, 34:1a, 34:8a, 34:12, 35:1a, 35:12, 36:1b, 36:27a, 37:6, 39:15, 40:1a, 42:7b, 43:8, 44:1aa, 46:1a, 47:1a, 49:34aa. Jer. 25:1 is exceptional, in that the preposition עַל is used instead of אֶל. Since this appears only once, it might be a scribal error.

## 4.2.2 Caused-motion event<sup>45</sup>

The caused-motion schema describes events in which an agent causes the motion of themes to a location (goal) involving an energetic force. Thus, verbs used in this schema are called displacement verbs. According to Radden & Dirven (2007:292), “the caused-motion construction is characterised by a subject denoting a cause, a predicate denoting motion, a direct object denoting the moving theme, and a complement denoting the goal or source; more abstractly: X causes Y to move to/from Z”. Sentences in this schema usually display the transitive predicate-complement pattern. In the cause-motion schema, a theme moves by transmitted energy, and the לִּפְנֵי־PP may function as a C<sub>p</sub> to express the location of the moved theme.

### 4.2.2.1 In Genesis

The preposition occurs more than fifty times in Genesis in this usage (54/470, i.e. 11.4%). Most instances of “caused motion” in the book of Genesis are expressed by verbs such as בֹּא (Hiph.) *to bring* (a), or שׁוּב (Hiph.) *to bring back* (c). In BH, the sentence pattern that involves the caused-motion usually requires a “three-place” predicate<sup>46</sup>, in which two arguments (a subject plus a direct object) and one C<sub>p</sub> fill the slots.

a וַיְבִאֶהָ אֱלֹהֵי־אָדָם And (God) brought her to the man (Gen 2:22)

<sup>45</sup> Gen 1:9a, 2:19b, 2:22b, 6:19, 8:9bb, 14:22, 19:5c, 19:8b, 19:10b, 23:19a, 24:5c, 24:20a, 25:6b, 25:8, 25:9a X2, 25:17, 28:15ab, 29:13ab, 29:23a, 30:14ab, 30:40b, 31:39, 32:4a, 35:29, 37:2b, 37:13ab, 37:22ab, 37:22b, 37:32ab, 38:25a, 39:20a, 40:3, 40:11b, 42:17, 42:20a, 42:25a, 42:34a, 42:37ab, 42:37b, 43:9b, 43:23b, 44:8a, 44:21ab, 44:32b, 46:28a, 47:17a, 48:9b, 48:10b, 48:13b, 48:21b, 49:29ab, 49:33b, 49:33ab, 50:24b

<sup>46</sup> In ordinary language, every sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The subject is what the sentence is about and the predicate is what is said about the subject. Sentences are divided into several patterns depending on the predicate. Consider the verb *work* used intransitively as in (i): It only takes a subject argument, i.e. it is a “one-place” predicate. When sentences are “about” more than one thing, they are expressing some kind of *relation* between arguments. In the case of (ii), the predicate *enjoy* requires two slots for arguments: E= “\_\_\_ enjoys \_\_\_”, i.e. it is a “two-place” predicate. The “three-place” predicate *brought* in (iii) requires two arguments (a subject plus a direct object) and one C<sub>p</sub> (predicate-complement) as B= “\_\_\_ brought \_\_\_ to \_\_\_”.

- i. Joseph works hard.
- ii. Peter enjoys fishing.
- iii. Laban brought Jacob to his house.

- b הוֹצִיאָם אֵלֵינוּ וְנִדְעָה אֹתָם Bring them out to us, that we may know them!" (Gen19:5)
- c וְהִשְׁבַּתִּיךָ אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה הַזֹּאת And I will bring you back to this land (Gen 28:15)

In the caused-motion construction, a subject denotes a cause, while a direct object denotes the moving theme; S (cause) + V (bring) + O (theme) + DP. The directional preposition (DP) as a complement denotes the goal or source. In this case, as the examples (a-c) above show, the complement is realised with the preposition אֶל (expressing goal).

Verbs that may also be used in this construction include the likes of קוּה *Niph. to be gathered together*, and אָסַף *to gather*, among others. The action in energetic events affects or forces a direct object physically (d, e, f, g) or mentally (h).

- d וַיִּתֵּן פָּנָיו הַצֹּאן אֶל־עֶקֶד And he set the faces of the flock towards streaked (Gen 30:40)
- e וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָם ... אֶל־בַּיִת הַסֵּהר And he put them ... into the prison (Gen 40:3).
- f וַתְּמַהֵר וַתַּעַר כַּדָּהּ אֶל־הַשִּׁקְתָּ She hurriedly emptied her jug into the trough (Gen 24:20)
- g וַאֲקַח אֶת־הָעִנְבִים וַאֲשַׁחֵט אֹתָם אֶל־כּוּס פַּרְעֹה And I took the grapes and squeezed them into Pharaoh's cup (Gen 40:11)
- h וַיִּט אֵלָיו חֶסֶד And He (God) extended mercy to him (Gen 39:21)

The metaphorical usages of the caused-motion event display conventionalised expressions. The example (i) below involves four structural components: i) a human entity, ii) a verb אָסַף *Niph. to be gathered*, iii) the preposition אֶל, and iv) an LM ('ancestor'). In Hebrew, the expression "X is gathered to his people" can be understood in the domain of death. This expression probably relies on the image schema of a person who was buried in a family tomb/cave and whose bones (or more probably bits of bone dust) were collected in a hole in the cave. The idea of death in this case might be a passive event with respect to the verb (*Niph.* of אָסַף). There are a total of five cases<sup>47</sup> to be found in Genesis.

- i וַיִּאָסֶף אֶל־עַמּוּיוֹ And he was gathered to his people (Gen 25:8)

<sup>47</sup> Gen 25:8b, 25:17b, 35:29b, 49:29ab, 49:33c.

In the case of (j), where Abraham takes an oath, the gesture of raising his hand is understood as a symbolic<sup>48</sup> action. However, the conventionalised expression *sending one's hand to someone* in BH refers also to *doing harm to somebody* as in (k). The three-place predicate in (k) requires a C<sub>p</sub>.

- j                    הָרִימְתִי יָדִי אֶל־יְהוָה    I raise my hand to the LORD (Gen 14:22)  
 k                    אַל־תִּשְׁלַח יָדְךָ אֶל־הַנַּעַר    Do not send your hand to the lad (Gen 22:12)

#### 4.2.2.2 In Jeremiah

The caused-motion schema occurs 101 times in Jeremiah (101/519 instances, i.e. 19.4%). The caused-motion construction in Jeremiah<sup>49</sup> requires motion verbs like בוא (Hiph.) as in (a), שלח (Hiph.) as in (b), שוב (Hiph.) as in (c), נתן (in the sense of “put”) as in (d), and עלה (Hiph.) as in (e) are coded as predicates. In sentence (a) below, the theme participant (or the direct object) is affected by the action, and its final location denotes the goal, which is expressed by אל<sup>50</sup>. The following are examples of this schema, in which different verbs are collocated with the preposition אל.

- a                    וָאָבִיא אֶתְכֶם אֶל־אֶרֶץ הַכַּרְמֶל    And I brought you into a fertile land (Jer 2:7).  
 b                    וְהִשְׁלַח אֶל־הָאֵשׁ    And he threw them (the scrolls) to the fire  
                          אֲשֶׁר אֶל־הָאֵח    that was on the firepot (Jer 36:23).  
 c                    לְהָשִׁיב כְּלֵי בַיִת־יְהוָה וְכָל־הַגּוֹלָה    To bring back the vessels of the Lord's house and all  
                          מִבְּבָבֶל אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה    the exiles from Babylon to this place (Jer 28:6).  
 d                    נָתְנוּ אֶת־יִרְמְיָהוּ אֶל־הַבּוֹר    They had put Jeremiah in the dungeon (Jer 38:7).  
 e                    וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ אֶל־נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר    And they brought him up to Nebuchadnezzar,  
                          מֶלֶךְ־בָּבֶל    the king of Babylon (Jer 39:5).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Conklin (2011:14-16).

<sup>49</sup> Jer 2:7a, 2:27ab, 3:17, 4:3, 6:19a, 6:21a, 7:20a, 7:25b, 9:16b, 11:11ab, 11:23b, 13:11b, 13:14a, 19:15ab, 21:1ab, 21:4b, 23:38b, 25:4a, 25:9, 25:15bb, 25:17b, 26:5ab, 26:12b X2, 26:22, 26:23ab, 26:23b, 27:3a X5, 27:22bb, 28:3a, 28:4a, 28:6b, 29:1 X4, 29:3b, 29:10b, 29:14b, 29:19b, 29:25b X3, 29:26b X2, 29:28a, 30:3b, 31:9, 32:33a, 32:37b, 32:42ab, 33:4, 33:4, 34:22a, 35:2ab, 35:4a, 35:15aa, 35:17ab X2, 36:14a, 36:23ab, 36:31ba, 37:3a, 37:7ab, 37:14b, 37:18b, 38:6a, 38:7ab, 38:9ab, 38:11b X2, 38:14a X2, 38:22ab, 38:23a, 39:5a, 39:14ab, 39:16ab, 40:15, 41:7b, 42:5b, 42:6, 42:9b, 42:12b, 42:20aa, 42:21bb, 43:1ab, 44:4a, 48:11ab, 48:44b X2, 49:36a, 50:19a, 51:1a, 51:12a, 51:63, 52:9a, 52:26b.

<sup>50</sup> Jer 2:7, 26:23, 35:2, 35:4, 37:14.

The caused-motion construction can also involve a threatening theme (רעה “evil”) as a direct object (f), and the LM is a nation or a geographical location filled with people<sup>51</sup>. As instance (g) illustrates, על and אל signify the opposition/hostility sense (Mena 2012:96). When על is used instead of אל, the verb בוא<sup>52</sup> is typically collocated.

- f                    הנה אָנֹכִי מְבִיא רָעָה    Behold, I will bring evil  
    אֶל־הָעַם הַזֶּה    upon this people (Jer 6:19)
- g                    הִנְנִי מְעִיר עַל־בָּבֶל וְאֶל־יִשְׁבֵי    Behold, I will arouse a destroying wind against Babylon,  
    לֵב קַמֵי רוּחַ מְשַׁחִית    and against the dwellers of Leb-kamai (Jer 51:1)

The verb הלך (Hiph.) entails a marking of a human theme, to which the subject (agent) forces the motion of the theme. The construction displays a valency pattern requiring a transitive predicate-complement. In Jer 31:9, the primary concept of the preposition is lost<sup>53</sup>.

- h                    אֹלֵיכֶם אֶל־נְחָלֵי מַיִם    I will make them walk by the rivers of water (Jer 31:9)

Caused-motion events can also occur metaphorically. In Jer 7:20, the abstract theme is used in the passive construction of the caused-motion event. Be it physical or abstract, the object, or the theme forced by an agent, is affected. However, this occurs only once in Jeremiah and in other instances the preposition על is used<sup>54</sup>.

- i                    הנה אָפִי וְחִמָּתִי נִתְּקָתָה    My anger and fury shall be poured out  
    אֶל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה    to/upon this place (Jer 7:20)

### 4.2.3 Transfer event

Events in the transfer schema describe an agent’s transfer of a thing to a recipient. Acts of transfer are acts of change of ownership of a thing, in which the recipient becomes the new owner. In BH, sentences in the transfer events usually take the transitive predicate-

<sup>51</sup> Jer 6:19, 11:11, 11:23, 32:42, 35:17, 48:44, 49:36, 50:14ab.

<sup>52</sup> Jer 5:15, 11:8, 15:8, 17:18, 18:22, 19:3, 23:12, 25:9, 36:31, 42:17b, 44:2, 45:5, 49:5, 49:8, 49:37, 51:64. In such cases, the preposition אל seems to be interchangeable with על.

<sup>53</sup> This could also be a case where אל is used interchangeably with על. Cf. Ps 23:2

<sup>54</sup> 2 S 21:10, 2 Ch 34:21, Dan 9:11; 27.



complement pattern. As can be seen in the following examples in both Genesis and Jeremiah, the directional preposition אֶל functions as C<sub>p</sub> in the construction.

In the transfer schema, the preposition אֶל is collocated with verbs of transferring, such as נָתַן *to give*, מָכַר *to sell*, נָשָׂא *to lift up*. The transfer schema also involves acts of abstract transfer, such as the transmission of a message. Where an abstract thing is transferred, אָמַר and דִּבֶּר (Piel) are commonly used.

#### 4.2.3.1 In Genesis

In BH, indirect objects (recipients) are usually expressed in a prepositional phrase. As far as the occurrences of the transfer schema that focused on the transmission of physical things are concerned, the preposition לְ is prototypically used. The preposition אֶל is used with verbs of physical transfer. Our statistical evidence shows a few instances of its use. In Genesis the preposition אֶל associated with transfer of the concrete things occurs only five times<sup>55</sup>. Note that the direct objects in the transfer schema can be omitted as in (a) below.

- |   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| a | וַיִּתֵּן אֶל-הַנְּעֵר                                     | And he (Abraham) gave <i>it</i> to him (Gen 18:7)                          |
| b | וַיִּקַּח-לֶחֶם וְחֶמֶת מִיַּם וַיִּתֵּן<br>אֶל-הַגֵּר     | And he took bread and a skin of water and<br>gave to Hagar (Gen 21:14)     |
| c | וְהַמִּדְיָנִים מָכְרוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-<br>מִצְרַיִם לְפֹטִיפָר | And the Midianites sold him (Joseph) into<br>Egypt to Potiphar (Gen 37:36) |

Verbs of communication, such as אָמַר as in (d), דִּבֶּר (Piel) as in (e), and פָּלַל (Hith) as in (f) focus on the transmission of the message. This use represents 47.6% (224/470 instances)<sup>56</sup> of

<sup>55</sup> Gen 18:7b, 21:14, 35:4a, 37:36, 43:34a.

<sup>56</sup> Gen 3:1b, 3:2a, 3:4a, 3:9a, 3:14a, 3:16a, 4:6a, 4:8a, 4:9a, 4:10, 4:13a, 6:21, 8:15, 8:21ab, 9:8a X2, 9:17a, 11:3a, 12:1a, 12:4a, 12:11a, 12:15, 13:14a, 13:8, 14:21a, 14:22a, 15:7a, 15:9a, 16:2a, 16:5a, 16:6a, 16:13a, 17:1bb, 17:9a, 17:15a, 17:18a, 18:9a, 18:13a, 18:27ab, 18:29a, 18:31ab, 18:33ab, 19:5a, 19:12a, 19:14a, 19:18a, 19:21a, 19:31a, 19:34ab, 20:2a, 20:6a, 20:10a, 20:17, 21:12a, 21:12b, 21:17ab, 21:22ab, 21:29a, 22:1b, 22:2b, 22:5a, 22:7a, 22:11a, 22:15a, 23:3b, 23:13a, 24:2a, 24:5a, 24:6a, 24:14a, 24:24a, 24:25a, 24:30ab, 24:39a, 24:40a, 24:43b, 24:44a, 24:45a, 24:45b, 24:50b, 24:56a, 24:58ab, 24:65a, 25:30a, 26:2c, 26:9b, 26:16a, 26:27a, 27:1ba, 27:1bb, 27:5a, 27:6a, 27:6b, 27:11a, 27:19a, 27:19ab, 27:20a, 27:21a, 27:26a, 27:38a, 27:39a, 27:42c, 27:46a, 28:1a, 29:21a, 29:25b, 30:1b, 30:14b, 30:25b, 30:27a, 30:29a, 31:3a, 31:4, 31:11a, 31:16b, 31:29b, 31:35a,

the corpus. All of the verbs related to *speaking* have a place for the Speaker, be the speaker lexicalised or pronominalised<sup>57</sup>. The configuration [X אָל+אַמַר Y] represents the typical construction. In most cases, the preposition אָל is more regularly used than other prepositions such as עַל<sup>58</sup>.

d	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה	And it (the serpent) said to the woman (Gen 3:1)
e	וַיְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים אֶל־נֹחַ לֵאמֹר	And God spoke to Noah and said (Gen 8:15)
f	וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל אַבְרָהָם אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים	And Abraham prayed to God (Gen 20: 17)

Since BH word order is variable, any constituents can be fronted for semantic or pragmatic reasons. As an example, Gen. 3:16 illustrates the fronting of the prepositional phrase (g).

g	אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה אָמַר	Unto the woman he said (Gen 3:16)
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The example (h) contains a reciprocal structure. In BH, the reciprocity can be marked in a special construction, such as אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ. The members of a plural subject carry out the role of both agent and patient with respect to each other (Van der Merwe 1999:364).

h	וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ	And they said to one another (Gen 11:3)
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31:43a, 32:10a, 32:17b, 32:20b, 32:28a, 33:13a, 34:4a, 34:11a X2, 34:11b, 34:12b, 34:14a, 34:20b, 34:30a X2, 35:1a, 35:2a X2, 37:6a, 37:10a X2, 37:13a, 37:19a, 37:22a, 37:26a, 39:8a, 39:10a, 39:17a, 39:19a, 40:8a, 40:8b, 40:14, 40:16b, 41:15a, 41:17a, 41:24ba, 41:25a, 41:28a, 41:38a, 41:39a, 41:41a, 41:44a, 41:55ab, 42:7bb, 42:9b, 42:10a, 42:12a, 42:14a, 42:14b, 42:18a, 42:21a, 42:21ab, 42:22ab, 42:24bb, 42:28a, 42:31a, 42:33a, 42:36a, 42:37a, 43:2b, 43:3a, 43:5b, 43:8a, 43:11a, 43:19b, 43:29ab, 44:4ba, 44:6a, 44:7a, 44:20a, 44:21a, 44:22a, 44:23a, 44:27a, 45:3a, 45:4a, 45:9ab, 45:12b, 45:17aa, 45:17ab, 45:24b, 45:27a X2, 46:30a, 46:31a X2, 46:31b, 47:3a, 47:3b, 47:4a, 47:5a, 47:8a, 47:9a, 47:23a, 48:3a, 48:4a, 48:9a, 48:11a, 48:18a, 48:21a, 49:1a, 49:29a, 50:4ab, 50:16, 50:17b, 50:19a, 50:24a.

<sup>57</sup> Where a subject is not lexicalised, the verbal conjugation helps to identify the subject (e.g. Gen. 39:8a, 39:10a). However, where the speaker is unknown, אָמַר is in the Niphal stem (Miller 2003:388).

<sup>58</sup> The synonymous preposition עַל is far less common in Genesis. According to Mena's data, the preposition occurs only two times (Gen 34:3, 50:21) in a similar construction, which involves a manner of speaking (Mena 2012:122). According to Jenni, "ל + אָמַר" is typically used when someone with a higher status talks to somebody with a lower status (2000:139). For instance, when God speaks to humans, the construction is used (e.g. Gen 1:28). However, the data collected in this research refute this hypothesis. See Gen 3:9, 3:11, 3:14, 4:8, 8:15, and many more.



transfer schema. BH verbs **אמר, דבר** are most frequent (c, d). In Jeremiah, other verbs related in this schema, such as **ריב** as in (e), and **שָׁבַע** as in (f), are attested. The meaning of these verbs must be taken in context. For instance, the basic use of the verb **אמר** is ‘to speak’, but in many instances the verb is translated as ‘to answer’ as in (d).

c	<b>אַל־תִּאֲמְנוּ בָם</b>	Do not trust them
	<b>כִּי־יִדְבְּרוּ אֵלַיְךָ טוֹבוֹת</b>	when they speak good things to you (Jer 12:6).
d	<b>וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ אֲלֵיהֶם</b>	Then Jeremiah answered them,
	<b>כֹּה תֹאמְרוּן אֶל־צְדָקְיָהוּ:</b>	“Thus tell Zedekiah” (Jer 21:3).
e	<b>לָמָּה תִּרְיִבוּ אֵלַי</b>	Why do you complain to me? (Jer 2:29).
f	<b>וַיִּשָׁבַע הַמֶּלֶךְ צְדָקְיָהוּ</b>	And King Zedekiah swore secretly
	<b>אֶל־יִרְמְיָהוּ</b>	to Jeremiah (Jer 38:16).

In acts of communication, when a message is given to the addressee to whom the speaker is hostile in an aggressive manner, the preposition is often translated as ‘against’ or ‘at’ (g). BH verbs, such as **נבא** (Niph.), **ענה** as in (h) etc., contextually fall into this category. These constructions occur around 10 times in Jeremiah<sup>61</sup>.

g	<b>וְאָתָּה תִּנְבֵּא אֲלֵיהֶם</b>	Therefore you prophesy against them
	<b>אֵת כָּל־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה</b>	all these words (Jer 25:30).
h	<b>יַעֲנֶה אֵל כָּל־יֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ</b>	He will shout against all the inhabitants of the earth (Jer 25:30).

In the examples below, the sentences do not necessarily need two participants (that is, speaker and addressee). Without an addressee, the Lord speaks about a nation or a person by using the

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19:11a, 19:14b, 20:3b, 21:3a, 21:3b, 21:8a, 22:8b, 22:11, 22:18, 22:21a, 23:21b, 23:33b, 23:35a, 23:37a, 24:3a, 25:2, 25:3b, 25:15a, 25:27a, 25:28b, 25:30 x2, 26:2ab, 26:4a, 26:8ab, 26:11 X3, 26:12 X4, 26:16a X2, 26:16b, 26:17b, 26:18b, 27:2a, 27:4ab, 27:4bb, 27:9b, 27:12a, 27:13, 27:14ab, 27:16a X2, 27:19, 28:1b, 28:5a, 28:8, 28:13a, 28:15a, 28:16, 29:7ab, 29:12ab, 29:16 X2, 29:21 X2, 29:24, 29:31, 30:2b, 30:4 X2, 32:8, 32:12, 32:16a, 32:18, 32:25a, 32:36, 33:3a, 34:2a, 34:2b, 34:6a, 35:5b, 35:14ba, 35:17b, 36:2ab, 36:2b, 36:4b, 36:7, 36:15a, 36:16b, 36:18ab, 36:19a, 36:31, 36:32, 37:3b, 37:7aa, 37:18a, 38:1b, 38:4aa, 38:4ab, 38:8b, 38:12a, 38:14b, 38:15a, 38:16a, 38:17aa, 38:19a, 38:20b, 38:24a, 38:25ab X2, 38:25b, 38:26a, 39:12b, 39:14, 40:2b X2, 40:14a, 40:15a, 40:16a, 41:6ba, 41:8a, 42:2aa, 42:2ab, 42:4aa, 42:4ab, 42:5a, 42:8a X2, 42:9a, 42:20a, 43:1a X2, 43:2b, 43:10a, 44:16a, 44:20a, 44:24a X2, 45:1a, 45:4a, 46:13a, 47:7 X2, 51:1 X2, 51:12, 51:61a, 51:62.

<sup>61</sup>Jer 25:30, 26:11b, 26:12b X2, 27:13b, 28:8b, 36:7bb, 50:1a X2, 51:62a. Cf. **על** also occurs similarly in this sense (e.g. Jer 12:14, 16:10, 19:15, 23:2, 35:17, 32:42).

[אמר or דבר + אל-PP] construction (i, j). In this construction, the preposition אל is used to express Area sense. In Jeremiah, the construction occurs 14 times<sup>62</sup>, and the preposition על<sup>63</sup> can be used in place of אל.

- i           כִּי כֹה אָמַר יְהוָה אֶל־שָׁלֻם      For the Lord says about Shallum,  
                     בֶּן־יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה      the son of Josiah King of Judah (Jer 22:11).
- j           וְאֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר      And these are the words that the Lord has spoken  
                     יְהוָה אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶל־יְהוּדָה:      concerning Israel and concerning Judah (Jer 30:4).

In the sentence (k) below, the theme ‘stumbling blocks’ is placed with ‘the people’. This construction can be interpreted as having metaphorical meaning. In this context, the *stumbling blocks* may imply a hindrance in the form of the foreign armies<sup>64</sup>.

- k           הִנְנִי נֹתֵן אֶל־הָעָם הַזֶּה      Behold, I will lay stumbling blocks before this people  
                     מְכַשְׁלִים      (Jer 6:21).

### 4.3 In material worlds

The material world is understood as the world in which entities (or themes) are inactive. They just exist, change or undergo processes without taking an active role (Radden & Dirven 2007:272). In the material world, events or states share a common characteristic, that is, the role ‘theme’ is used as their subject participant.

The material world is framed in three types of schemas: (1) The occurrence schema describes the state or process in situations where a theme resides, (2) the spatial schema describes a relation between a theme and a location or a trajectory, and (3) the possession schema describes a relation between a possessor and a theme.

<sup>62</sup> Jer 22:11a, 22:18a, 27:19a, 29:16a X3, 29:21a X2, 29:31ab, 30:4 X2, 32:36b, 33:14b, 40:16b

<sup>63</sup> Jer 14:15, 16:3, 22:6, 23:15, 27:21, 33:4, 34:4, 36:29, 36:30// 39:11

<sup>64</sup> It is also possible to translate this sentence “I am giving to these stumbling blocks”. See Lundblom (2008:433) in his commentary in the Anchor Bible Series. Note NET Bible interprets the stumbling blocks as invading armies.

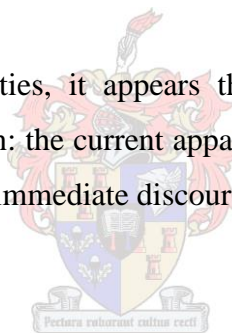
### 4.3.1 In Genesis

The material worlds in BH are usually expressed in verbless clauses or a nominal clause with הִיָּה. A relation between a theme and a location is described without a specific verb as the examples below indicate. The number of occurrences is not high<sup>65</sup> (2 instances). In other words, the preposition אֶל is rarely used in the material worlds.

- a                      וְהִיִּיתָ קְרוֹב אֵלַי      And you shall be near me (Gen 45:10).  
 b                      וּמִקְנֵה הַבְּהֵמָה אֶל-אֲדֹנָי      And our herds of cattle belong to my lord (Gen 47:18).

Notable in (a) is the fact that the אֶל-PP is often used with קְרוֹב in BH. The current situation is the result of a movement in the preceding context of the TR to the LM. The example (b) is used in a construction where one normally uses ל. However, one may also argue that it is used here because the speakers want to say “our money and our cattle ‘have gone over’ to the addressee<sup>66</sup>”.

If one considers all these possibilities, it appears that one could actually explain these unprototypical uses of the preposition: the current apparent static situation represents the goal of some movement or transfer in the immediate discourse-active context.



### 4.3.2 In Jeremiah

The preposition אֶל associated with the material world does not occur frequently in Jeremiah (16 instances<sup>67</sup>). In (a) the thematic role **location** serves as a participant within the conceptual core (or sentence) and syntactically functions as a complement. The theme in the nominal clause is ‘fire’, which is related to the LM (‘fire pot’). Here, the meaning of the preposition אֶל overlaps with that of עַל – the TR is higher than the LM.

With respect to the use of אֶל in (a) and (b), the conceptualisation behind the two instances differs significantly. Whereas the TR in (a) displays a static relation to the LM, the TR in the

<sup>65</sup> Gen 45:10ab, 47:18ab.

<sup>66</sup> The Common English Bible reads: “We can’t hide from my master that the silver is spent and that we’ve given the livestock to my master”.

<sup>67</sup> Jer 13:11, 21:13, 35:15, 36:12, 48:11, 48:19, 50:35 X2, 50:36 X2, 50:37 X4, 50:38, 51:35.

situation (b) tells of an upcoming disastrous event that obviously involves movement. A situation that is the result of another event is indeed involved, but it remains a static situation. Bloodguilt (due to things done to Jerusalem) will be on the Chaldeans. Therefore, both examples fall into the category of the material world.

- a                   הָאֵשׁ אֲשֶׁר אֶל-הָאֵחַ    The fire which is on the fire pot (Jer 36:23).
- b                   וְדַמִּי אֶל-יֹשְׁבֵי כַשְׂדִּים    And my blood will be upon the inhabitants of Chaldea (Jer 51:35).

In Jer 48:19, the verb עמד seems to be related to the spatial schema in the material world. However, the preposition אֶל is understood as signifying the end-point focus in the motion schema. It is possible to argue that אֶל stands in place of על. It is not untypical to stand next to (עַל) a road in a mountainous country like Israel. Although example (c) does not literally express this movement, the preposition’s directive nuance can be envisaged in this schema as “go and stand by the road”.

- c                   אֶל-דֶּרֶךְ עֹמְדִי           Stand by the road (Jer 48:19).



#### 4.4 In psychological worlds

The psychological world describes people’s psychological experiences such as emotions, perceptions, and thoughts. A person can have a psychological experience that is caused by an internal cognitive ability, or by external stimulation or causation.

##### 4.4.1 Perception and cognition schema

The internal world of cognition/perception is normally dependent on a person’s cognitive ability (Radden & Dirven 2007:283). Perceptions and cognitions are so close that the connection between them is sometimes reflected as a *cause and effect* relation (e.g. Job 13:1<sup>68</sup>). As far as the frequency of the preposition אֶל is concerned, it rarely occurs in the perception and cognition schema, and its occurrence is lower than in other schemas involving movements.

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<sup>68</sup> הַיְחַלְכַל רְאֵתָהּ עֵינַי שָׁמְעָה אָזְנִי וַתִּבֶּן לָהּ: “Behold, my eyes have seen all, my ears have heard and understood it.” (Job 13:1).

#### 4.4.1.1 In Genesis

Perceptual and cognitive experiences relate the roles of the TR and LM, termed “experiencer” and “theme”. The prepositional phrases below are obligatory elements, and the absence of the לָאֵל-PPs makes the sentences incomplete. The preposition in this schema occurs 30 times in Genesis<sup>69</sup> (i.e., 6.3%).

- a                      וַיִּשַׁע יְהוָה אֶל-הֶבֶל  
  וְאֶל-מִנְחָתוֹ      And the LORD looked at Abel  
  and his offering with favour (Gen 4:4).
- b                      כִּי-שָׁמַע יְהוָה אֶל-עֲגֻדָּךְ      “For the LORD heard your affliction” (Gen 16:11).

The verb שָׁמַע, which has a perceptual nuance, typically appears in this schema. As in (b) above, the Lord as an experiencer listens to someone’s affliction, which is a theme. It seems that where the preposition לָאֵל is used with the verb, the experiencer pays attention to the voice/sound. When the verb is collocated with בּ, a common preposition in the perception schema, the experiencer in the construction just hears the sound without making an effort. Hence, the preposition לָאֵל in this schema marks the focus of perception sense.

Expressions that describe perceptions may have other meanings. For example, ‘to listen to a human entity’ may have a specific meaning, ‘to agree or obey someone’, as in (c) below.

- c                      וַיִּשְׁמַע יַעֲקֹב אֶל-אָבִיו וְאֶל-  
  אִמּוֹ וַיֵּלֶךְ פָּדָנָה אֲרָם:      And Jacob listened to his father and his mother (obeyed),  
  and left for Padan Aram (Gen 28:7).

#### 4.4.1.2 In Jeremiah

In Jeremiah, perceptual verbs such as שָׁמַע, רָאָה and קָשַׁב (Hiph.)<sup>70</sup> are relatively often followed by an לָאֵל-PP. The preposition in this schema occurs 42 times<sup>71</sup> (i.e., 8%) in Jeremiah.

<sup>69</sup> 4:4b X2, 4:5a X2, 12:7 X2, 16:11b, 17:1, 18:1, 21:17bb, 23:16a, 26:2, 26:24, 28:7 X2, 30:17a, 30:22b, 32:31, 34:17a, 34:24a X2, 35:1, 35:7, 35:9, 39:7, 39:10b, 45:1, 45:1bb, 46:29, 48:3, 49:2.

<sup>70</sup> The verb קָשַׁב is used exclusively in poetry, and denotes the activity of paying close attention or obeying. The preposition לָאֵל is used as a complement in the following verses: Jer 18:18; 18:19, Neh 1:11; 9:34, Ps 142:7, Isa 51:4, Zec 1:4. In some verses, ל, בּ, and עַל are also constructed with the verb.



Despite the close link between perception and cognition, the distinction is recognisable. Whereas (a) is related to perception, (b) can be conceived through a cognitive ability. When the preposition אֶל marks the focus of perception, it functions as a complement of the verb of perception.

- a                      רָאִיתִי ... וְאֶל־הַשָּׁמַיִם    I looked up at the sky,  
                             וְאֵין אוֹר                      and there is no light (Jer 4:23)
- b                      לָכֵן שָׁמְעוּ עֲצַת־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר    Therefore, listen to the counsel of the Lord which he has  
                             יַעַן אֶל־אֲדוֹם וּמַחֲשָׁבוֹתָיו    planned against Edom, and the purposes that he has  
                             אֲשֶׁר חָשַׁב אֶל־יִשְׂבֵי תִמָּן    purposed against Teman. (Jer 49:20)

The perception/cognition schema also involves acts of showing (c). When the indirect object (a person) is to be expressed in the construction, אֶל is used to express goal. Considering other cases of its use<sup>72</sup>, it appears that the preposition is employed as a complement.

- c                      אֲרֹאֶה נִקְמַתְךָ מֵהֶם    Let me see your vengeance from them,  
                             כִּי אֶלֶיךָ גִּלִּיתִי אֶת־רִיבִי    for I have *revealed* my cause to you (Jer 11:20)

#### 4.4.2 Emotions schema

Emotions are psychological experiences and are generally triggered by some cause. In the emotion schema, an entity stimulated by external causation is an experiencer. The preposition in this schema often indicates the Focus of attention. Both the experiencer and the cause may become a primary participant and be expressed as the subject of the sentence (Radden & Dirven 2007:282).

##### 4.4.2.1 In Genesis

In the following instance, the sentence begins with an *experiencer-subject*, and the *cause* is not explicit. The context helps one identify the cause or stimulus. With respect to the use of

<sup>71</sup> Jer 4:23, 7:4a, 7:26a, 7:27ab, 10:2a, 11:11b, 11:20, 14:12, 16:12bb, 17:24a, 17:27a obey, 18:18b, 18:19a, 20:12, 25:7a, 26:4b, 27:9a X5, 27:14aa, 27:16ab, 27:17a, 29:8b, 29:12b, 29:19a, 34:14b, 34:17a, 35:13b, 35:14bb, 35:15b, 35:16b, 36:25b, 37:2, 37:14ab, 38:15b, 44:16b, 49:2, 49:20a X2, 50:45

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Gen 35:7, 1S 3:7; 21, 1S 14:11, Amo 3:7.

the preposition אֶל, the PP is not obligatory in this schema<sup>73</sup>. Note that the preposition אֶל rarely occurs in this schema in Genesis<sup>74</sup>.

a וַיִּתְעַצֵּב אֶל-לְבוּ And he was grieved to His heart (Gen 6:6)

The preposition in the following example (b) involves a unique construction, which is used as a predicative prepositional phrase in a nominal clause. In BH, the expression “*X is not towards Y as before*” can be taken as a specialised expression. The expression is about someone’s attitude toward Y. Here, the prepositional phrase designates a goal of the theme.

b רָאָה אֶנֶכִּי אֶת-פְּנֵי אָבִיךָ כִּי-  
אֵינְנוּ אֵלַי כְּתָמֹל שְׁלֹשָׁם towards me as before (Gen 31:5)

Unlike the examples above, there exists an example that falls into the fuzzy boundary between perception schema and emotional schema. Consider Gen. 39:7 below (c). The example exhibits a distinctive syntactic construction, in which the verb is not a perception verb. However, it is not difficult to notice that the construction [נָשָׂא + one’s eyes + אֶל (towards) Y] is related to the perception schema. While it is true that the perceptual nuance is attested in the verse, it must be noted that the perception is motivated by the emotion. Hence, example (c) is a case where the perception schema and the emotion schema overlap. As BDB explains, “*lifting up one’s eyes towards somebody*” means “*looking at somebody with desire*”.

c וַתִּשָּׂא אִשְׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת-עֵינֶיהָ  
אֶל-יוֹסֵף And his master’s wife lifted up her eyes  
to Joseph (Gen 39:7)

#### 4.4.2.2 In Jeremiah

A few verses describe the emotional state of entities in Jeremiah<sup>75</sup>, and two verbs are related to the emotional schema: נחם in the Niph. stem, and פחד in the Qal stem. In BH, the verb נחם is normally employed to indicate God’s repentance (a). The prepositions אֶל and עַל are interchangeably used with the same verb נחם (cf. Jer 18:8). Here, God’s repentance is

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Gen 34:7.

<sup>74</sup> Gen 6:6, 31:5, 39:7 (It also belongs to the Perception/Cognition schema), 42:28, 43:30, 43:33.

<sup>75</sup> Jer 26:3, 26:13, 26:19, 42:10, 48:1, 48:31, 48:36, 50:29X2, 50:31, 51:25.

triggered by the behaviour of his people, and the PP refers to the Area sense. Likewise, the לְ-PP in (b) marks the Area sense. Neither PP is obligatory in the construction.

- a            וַיָּשְׁבוּ אִישׁ מִדְרָכּוֹ הָרָעָה    (If) every man returns from his evil way,  
                   וְנִחַמְתִּי אֶל־הָרָעָה    I may repent of the evil  
                   אֲשֶׁר אָנֹכִי חָשַׁב לַעֲשׂוֹת לָהֶם    that I planned to do unto them (Jer 26:3)
- b            יָדוּ אֵלֶיהָ    Shoot at her,  
                   אֶל־תַּחֲמְלוּ אֶל־חַץ    do not have compassion for any arrows (Jer 50:14)

The following example (c) forms a fixed expression with הִנֵּה (Miller-Naude and Van der Merwe 2011:74-75) in which God's uneasy state of mind is expressed. No verbs are specified to indicate God's emotional state. Instead, context gives a clue, in that the Lord is concerned with the results of causes triggered by human sins. The preposition לְ is used in the sense of hostility. A feeling of hostility that is typically associated with עַל comes into play. In this regard, the meaning of לְ overlaps with that of עַל.

The emotion schema involves a figurative expression as in (d). Here the verb זָדָה is profiled as a hostile action against a LM, as is often attested with עַל.

- c            הִנְנִי אֵלֶיךָ    Look, I am against you (Jer 21:13)
- d            כִּי אֶל־יְהוָה זָדָה    For she has boiled up the Lord,  
                   אֶל־קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל    Against the Holy One of Israel (Jer 50:29)

In the sentence (e) below, לְ is collocated with the verb יִצְהָלוּ (“they neighed”) figuratively. Here we have a clear instance of a distributive use of לְ. The verb of emotion is profiled as a movement with a goal.

- e            אִישׁ אֶל־אִשְׁתּוֹ רָעָהוּ יִצְהָלוּ    Each neighing for his neighbor's wife (Jer 5:8)

#### 4.5 Other usages

So far, we have seen that the preposition לְ expresses the goal/direction of the TR in a wide variety of events and states. However, as noticed earlier, the LM expressed by the preposition

אֶל is not always synthesised in a “source-path-goal” schema, and the sense of goal as the primary concept is, at times, lost altogether. In some cases, the sense of *proximity* prevails instead of that of motion or direction, as in (a, b, c)<sup>76</sup>. It seems that the אֶל-PPs are used as adjuncts of place, and these are instances where אֶל and עַל are interchangeable. There are just a few cases (0.6 %).

- a            וַיִּבְרָךְ הַגְּמָלִים מִחוּץ לְעִיר    He made the camels kneel down outside the city  
                                  אֶל-בְּאֵר הַמַּיִם    by the well (Gen 24:11 a, cf. 24: 30)
- b            וַיִּט אֶלֶיהָ אֶל-הַדֶּרֶךְ    And he turned aside to her by the road (Gen 38:16)
- c            וַיִּחְמוּ הַצֹּאן אֶל-הַמְּקָלוֹת    And the sheep mated before the rod (Gen 30:39)

The PP is used as an adjunct in the example below, and it must be noted that the preposition is not interchangeable with עַל. Here, the LM is not the goal of the Agent(s), but the place where the Agent performs the action can be the end-point of the Agent’s movement. Thus, the goal is not completely lost. However, one may argue that the object of the agent’s action, *seed*, is elided (or implied) by the verb “sow”. The seed is caused to land among the bushes. This means we are dealing with a force-dynamic world with a goal.

- d            וְאַל-תִּזְרְעוּ אֶל-קוֹצִים    And do not seed (seeds) among thorny bushes (Jer 4:3)

The preposition אֶל in Gen. 6:16b is used to indicate a certain manner of Hebrew measurement in the sense of *up to*. It occurs only once in Genesis (0.2%).

- e            צֹהַר תַּעֲשֶׂה לְתֵבָה וְאֶל-אַמָּה    Up to a cubit you shall finish it from the top<sup>77</sup>  
                                  תִּכְבְּלָנָה מִלְּמַעְלָה    (Gen 6:16)

The Hebrew verb נָכַר is somewhat puzzling when one endeavours to identify its verbal usage. The Hiph. stem of the verb נָכַר *to recognise* is related to perception or cognition. However,

<sup>76</sup> Further investigation is required into whether there are cases where אֶל is interchangeable with עַל.

<sup>77</sup> The meaning of this construction is uncertain. Wenham renders the phrase אֶל-אַמָּה as adverbial, “a cubit upwards” (Wenham 1987: 173).

the Hith. of the verb has a different meaning, “to act as a stranger” as in Gen. 42:7. The preposition collocated with the Hith. of נָכַר indicates direction towards.

f וַיִּרְא יוֹסֵף אֶת־אֶחָיו וַיִּכְרַם    And Joseph saw his brothers, and recognised them,  
וַיִּתְנַכֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם    but he acted as a stranger to them (Gen 42:7)

The prepositional phrase in (g) functions to modify the theme *the repetition of the dream*. Dream is often conceptualised as “coming to somebody”. The example below might be a shortened version of ‘concerning the second dream that came to Pharaoh’.

g וְעַל הַשְּׁנוֹת הַחִלּוּם    And concerning the repetition of the dream  
אֶל־פַּרְעֹה פְּעָמַיִם    (that came) to Pharaoh twice (Gen 41:32)

The preposition אֶל is used as part of a reciprocal construction as in (h, i) below. In other words, the preposition indicates the goal(s) of a reciprocal process. The instance of אֶל in Jer 36:16 is used to express reciprocity after the verb פָּחַד. When the verbs of *fear* or *amazement* as in (j) are used with this reciprocal construction, the emotion schema is involved.

h וַיִּתְחַדּוּ אִישׁ אֶל־אָחָיו    They were terrified one to another (Gen 42:28)  
i וַיְהִי כִשְׁמָעָם אֶת־כָּל־    When they had heard all the words, everyone was afraid to  
הַדְּבָרִים פָּחַדוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ    each other (Jer 36:16)

## 4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the analysis was aimed at gathering syntactic as well as statistical data concerning אֶל in Genesis and Jeremiah. Some of the insights that can be gleaned from a syntactic distribution of אֶל as illustrated in chapter 4 are as follows:

- There is a strong correlation between the verbs used and the preposition אֶל. A semantic analysis of the preposition אֶל must take into account how these two elements interact in order to be regarded as a particular category of meaning. The overall syntactic patterns observed where אֶל occurs in Genesis are more or less the same as

those in Jeremiah. In the given corpus, the preposition most frequently occurs in the force-dynamic world. The לָּ-PP usually modifies motion-verbs as a complement.

- As the language develops, the preposition is extensively used in Jeremiah. The syntactic constructions attested in Jeremiah display more diverse patterns than those found in Genesis. In both the material and psychological worlds, the number of occurrences of לָּ increases significantly in Jeremiah.
- The force-dynamics categories turned out to be valuable heuristic instruments to categorise the various syntactic constructions containing לָּ. This implies that the force-dynamics that needs to be expressed actually determines the choice of the verbs and constructions used.
- The lexeme לָּ predominantly occurs in force-dynamic worlds. It is often used with motion verbs and in most cases the PP functions as a complement of that verb (in self-motion schema 26.3%, in object transfer schema 11.3%, in abstract transfer schema 45.2%). The preposition לָּ appears more frequently than עַל in force-dynamic worlds. In Genesis, עַל never has a goal/direction sense with self-motion verbs.
- It is probable that the lexemes לָּ and עַל are interchangeable. In particular, where they refer to proximity, they are often interchangeable<sup>78</sup>. There exists a higher frequency of instances where לָּ and עַל are interchangeably used<sup>79</sup> in Jeremiah than in Genesis. This would mean that the syntactic and semantic borders between the two prepositions had become fuzzier.
- The types of landmark in relation to the preposition לָּ include zero-dimensional point, a 3-dimensional container, recipient, addressee, etc. Yet, compared to the preposition לָּ, the usual type of landmark of the preposition עַל is a 2-dimensional surface.
- The preposition לָּ expresses various meanings within a single event schema. In the self-motion schema, it can express literal goal (*to*), direction (*towards*), hostility (*against*), movement into containment (*into*), end-point focus (e.g. *by*, *near*), etc.

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<sup>78</sup>One must take into consideration the textual witnesses, which sometimes provide clues in this regard.

<sup>79</sup>Jer 25:2b, 27:19, 33:14, 34:7b, 34:22a, 44:20a, 29:31, 33:4, 36:2b, 36:18ab, 37:14, 38:19b, 51:44a, 26:15.

Nevertheless, the statistical analysis provided clear evidence that the **literal goal** is prototypically expressed by the preposition לְ.



## Chapter 5

### A semantic description of the preposition לְ

#### 5.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, it was shown that the lexical item לְ is used with various constructions. The grammatical investigation established in Chapter 4 helps us to understand the usage patterns generated by the preposition. Our findings make apparent the fact that the preposition has a strong correlation with motion verbs. The preposition's compatibility with a dynamic context is seen in most of the event schemas, particularly in the force-dynamic world (§ 4.2.1).

In addition, the statistical evidence<sup>80</sup> collected from the given corpus (Genesis and Jeremiah) also contributes to an understanding of the semantic potential of לְ. As the syntactic constructions in which לְ may occur have been considered, the aim of Chapter 5 will be to explore the following questions:

- What are the meanings of the different constructions containing לְ?
- What light do the syntactic constructions in which the preposition is used shed on describing its meaning(s)?
- How are the different categories of לְ related?

Based on the assumption that prepositions are polysemous, the semantic structure of לְ can be represented as constituting distinct but interrelated senses. This range of distinct senses can be accounted for in terms of a semantic network of interrelated nodes and links. In light of the working hypothesis, it can be said that the semantic network associated with לְ “is accounted for by virtue of the interaction between the Sanctioning sense (or Primary sense), conceptual

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<sup>80</sup> It must be noted that the statistical investigation into the given corpus is not fully representative when it comes to the prototypical meaning of the preposition, as there are cases where the most frequently occurring sense cannot be the prototypical meaning. For instance, the Substitute sense is not regarded as the prototypical sense, although it is present in about 30% of all לְ occurrences (Rodriguez 2011:66). For a similar argument, see Yoo (2013:149).



processing and structuring, and context” (Evans 2005:34). All of these factors are deemed significant in describing the semantic network of the target lexeme. Hence, the present chapter will focus much of its attention on the following three tasks:

- Identifying the primary sense: The key to a successful analysis of the polysemy network is establishing an appropriate primary sense, or proto-scene. In order to do this, the study will employ a model of word meaning termed the *principled polysemy approach* to lexical concepts, as outlined in Tyler and Evans<sup>81</sup> (2007). With regard to the semantics of לָא, the present study will consider the authors’ five criteria for determining the proto-scene (§5.2).
- Motivating the sense extensions by means of cognitive processing: The term “conceptual processing” refers to the cognitive mechanisms that explain how various senses extend. Section §5.3 will hypothesise on how a particular sense develops from other senses. The section will also provide a diagram that depicts how the distinct senses are related. In the various sub-sections, each of the sense categories will be described.
- Relating particular senses with situated language use: In determining the meaning of לָא, “the immediate linguistic environment” or “sentential context” of the neighbouring words is considered the most important factor. As discussed in Chapter 4, the preposition’s syntactic relation to the other words used in the construction allows us to identify how it (the preposition) maintains a special kind of semantic relation with other members in the sentence (Tyler and Evans 2007:32; Dash 2008:22).

## 5.2 The proto-scene of לָא

In order to determine which sense should be considered to be the proto-scene of לָא, the study will first consider the five criteria used to pinpoint the proto-scene. A single criterion cannot lead to the unearthing of sufficient evidence for determining the appropriate proto-scene; however, when the five criteria are consulted together, a substantial body of evidence can point to one lexical concept that constitutes the primary sense among the many distinct ones.

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<sup>81</sup> This approach was originally developed in order to model the semantics of polysemous English prepositions.

The proto-scene is the synchronic sense most closely related to the historically earliest sense. Thus, the first criterion suggests that the earliest attested sense is a good candidate for the proto-scene. Although exact dating cannot be established, linguistic evidence may provide some clues. For instance, BH scholars argue that most prepositions originally had a spatial meaning (GKC § 101, JM § 103a, WO § 11.1.1a). Evidence for a substantival origin is found in the form of the pronominal suffixes spatial prepositions can take. As for the preposition לָאֵל, GKC (§ 103o) suggests that it is developed from the substantive meaning of אֵל (direction). WO also argues that לָאֵל and ל bear some etymological relation (footnote 126, Newman 2000, cited in Tobin 2008:278). It is therefore reasonable to hypothesise that the earliest meaning associated with the preposition לָאֵל relates to a notion of direction or goal.

As far as the criterion of predominance is concerned, the majority of distinct senses associated with לָאֵל involve a spatial relation in which the goal-orientated TR is directed with respect to a profiled (highlighted) LM. The analysis presented in this chapter will provide substantial evidence that the spatial preposition לָאֵל involves a TR orientated towards an LM that is construed as a goal. The criterion of predominance suggests that the paired notion of Orientation/Goal is likely to be the best candidate for the proto-scene, e.g. (a). By contrast, where a TR is *not* orientated in the direction of an LM in terms of a spatial relation, לָאֵל might not involve the proto-scene, e.g. (b).

- a            וּלְדָלָאֵל אֶרֶץ מֹרְיָה    “Go to the land of Moriah!” (Gen. 22:2)
- b            וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִרְהָם אֶל-שָׂרָה    Abraham said *about* Sarah his wife, “she is  
אֵשֶׁתִּי אַחֲתִי הוּא וַיִּשְׁלַח    my sister” (Gen. 20:2)

Its use in composite forms (criterion 3) may aid in finding the primary sense. According to Tyler and Evans (2007:48), any sense not attested in a composite form is likely a poor candidate for primary sense. JM (2005:462) lists the compound prepositions formed with לָאֵל, namely אֶל-אַחֲרַי *behind*, e.g. (c), אֶל-בֵּין *between*, e.g. (d), אֶל-תַּחַת *under*, e.g. (e). Concerning these compounded forms of לָאֵל, JM states that their meanings are dependent on the idea of TR’s motion.

- c            וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוּא מֵהֶלֶךְ וְלִשְׁלוֹם    Jehu replied, “None of your business,

	סב אֶל-אֲחֵרֶיךָ	follow me!” (2 K 9:18 NET)
d	בא אֶל-בֵּינֹת לְגִלְגָל אֶל-תַּחַת לְכְרוּב	Go in between the wheelwork underneath the cherubim (Ezk 10:2)
e	וַיָּבִאוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת-אֲרוֹן בְּרִית-יְהוָה אֶל-מְקוֹמוֹ ... אֶל- קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדָשִׁים אֶל-תַּחַת כַּנְּפֵי הַכְּרוּבִים:	And the priests brought the ark of the covenant of the Lord to his place ... to the most holy, under the wings of the cherubims (1 K 8:6) cf. Jer 38:11

Although the English translation values of these forms do not reflect the meaning of אֶל, the sentential context does indicate that אֶל plays a semantic role that expresses the notion of orientation<sup>82</sup>. The BDB's lists of אֶל prefixed to other prepositions are accorded with this idea. It seems that the combination of two different ideas may represent more specific spatial relations (GKC § 119b). A plausible interpretation is that the orientated entities may be located with reference to the location of the LM. Therefore, this criterion suggests that orientation is the key element in אֶל's composite forms.

Within the group of spatial expressions, some particles appear to code the same spatial dimension אֶל expresses. In BH, the directional ה (or *he locale*), e.g. (f), ל, e.g. (g), and עַל, e.g. (h) form the cluster of particles that also describes the spatial dimension of direction.

f	וַיִּנְהַג וַיִּנְהַג אֶת-כָּל-מִקְנֵהוּ... לְבוֹא אֶל-יִצְחָק אָבִיו אֶרְצָהּ כְּנָעַן:	And he carried away all his cattle ... to go to his father Isaac to the land of Canaan (Gen 31:18)
g	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-יַעֲקֹב שׁוּב אֶל-אֲרָץ אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וּלְמוֹלְדֹתֶיךָ	And the LORD said to Jacob, “return to the land of your fathers and to your relatives” (Gen 31:3)
h	וַיֵּצֵא יוֹסֵף עַל-אֲרָץ מִצְרַיִם	And Joseph went out to the land of Egypt (Gen 41:45)

The fourth criterion, *relations to other spatial particles*, considers the relativistic nature of these members. When used as directive particles, each commonly involves a TR's orientation towards an LM. However, when examined closely, each displays its own distinctive features.

<sup>82</sup> With regard to the combinations of prepositions, GKC rightly points out that “each preposition retains its full force” (GKC § 119d).

In a nutshell, while the LM marked by לָאֵל can be of various types (e.g. place, person), the directional ה is usually suffixed with place. As far as לָע's directional use is concerned, לָע is used less frequently than לָאֵל. Lastly, while ל still semantically overlaps with לָאֵל in some domains, ל designates far more abstract relations (e.g. possessive, purpose, benefactive), which לָאֵל may not mark. A typical example is ל's occurrences in infinitive constructions.

The fourth criterion also contains a contrast set that involves aspects of the spatial configuration of the TR and LM, as in the contrast between English *from* and *to*. According to Tyler and Evans, the meaning component used to differentiate members of a contrast set is likely to be key in establishing the primary sense. In terms of spatial configuration, לָאֵל most clearly contrasts with מִן 'from' (BHRG 39.3).

i	מִן־הַקֶּצֶה אֶל־הַקֶּצֶה	From end to end (Exo 26:28)
j	מִפֶּה אֶל־פֶּה	From mouth to mouth (Ezra 9:11)

In the examples above, לָאֵל and מִן form a minimal pair in terms of orientation/separation. Unlike לָאֵל, the configuration in which מִן is involved is the notion of a TR being separated from an LM. Switching between לָאֵל and מִן results in totally different directions. In other words, the LM marked by לָאֵל is the goal, whereas the LM marked by מִן is the source.

The fifth criterion concerns the notion of grammatical predictability. Given that a number of distinct lexical concepts derive in a principled and motivated way, it follows that a likely candidate for the proto-scene will be one with which the other senses would most naturally be associated. This entails that a number of distinctive senses in the semantic network can be plausibly predictable on the basis of the proto-scene. In this regard, the proto-scene is the one that gives rise to additional senses through extension (Langacker 1987).

On the basis of the fifth criterion, the notion of Orientation is considered the basic schema, from which more detailed specifications of the schema are elaborated. As the foregoing discussion shows, Literal Goal sense, Movement into Containment sense, Transference sense, Addressee sense, Direction, Focus of Perception sense, and Hostility sense are viewed as

**elaborations/instantiations** of the proto-scene. These senses are associated with the proto-scene in terms of the Orientation schema.

The proto-scene associated with לָאֵל has now been established by employing the five criteria proposed by Tyler and Evans (2007:47): The preposition primarily designates a spatial relation in which the TR is orientated with respect to a salient or highlighted LM. This configuration often occurs in scenes where motion of a TR is associated with לָאֵל. In addition to the spatial configuration between TR and LM, the proto-scene also involves functional elements<sup>83</sup>. When combined, the two aspects (the spatial configuration and functional elements) constitute the proto-scene of the preposition (Tyler and Evans 2007:26). Thus, the core semantics associated with לָאֵל is captured by “the functional nature of the semantics associated with spatial relations” (Evans 2010:218). With this in mind, the present study hypothesises that orientation is an inherent functional characteristic of the preposition לָאֵל.

As the following lines of evidence demonstrate, the concept “orientation” is associated with both a dynamic reading in (k), and static readings in (l) and (m). This entails that the dynamic aspect contains additional information not available in the orientation readings in (l and m). Consider the following examples:

k	וְאֶל־הַבָּקָר רָץ אַבְרָהָם	And Abraham ran to the herd (Gen 18:7)
l	וַתִּשָּׂא אִשְׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף	And his master’s wife lifted up her eyes to Joseph (Gen 39:7)
m	נִבְכְּמוּ רַחֲמָיו אֶל־אָחִיו	His affection towards his brother boiled up (Gen 43:30)

In (k), a dynamic reading associated with לָאֵל is apparent only because a verb of motion is supplied. In other words, the dynamic reading is simply contingent upon sentential context that involves motion. By contrast, the static readings in (l, m) clearly indicate that orientation

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<sup>83</sup>The functional information is deemed crucial because it forms part of the linguistic content (or semantic representation) encoded by the given preposition. Evans further elaborates on the term “functional element”, stressing the non-spatial parameters, such as the concept of containment for the English preposition *in*. He argues that “Non-spatial parameters are a functional consequence of humanly relevant interactions with the spatio-geometric properties in question. The way ‘spatial’ lexical concepts are ordinarily employed by language users would appear to require such a functional understanding if ‘spatial’ lexical concepts are to be correctly interpreted in context” (Evans 2010:218).

is an inherent part of the meaning associated with the preposition. Be it dynamic or static, the primary scene of לָאֵלֶּיךָ constitutes a meaning of orientation.

As the proto-scene of לָאֵלֶּיךָ, i.e. ‘orientation towards a goal’, has now been accounted for, the next stage will apply the proto-scene while illustrating how the distinctive senses are interrelated by the sanctioning sense.

### 5.3 The distinct senses of the preposition לָאֵלֶּיךָ

Tyler and Evans (2007:42-43) provide two methodologies that can be used to determine distinct senses. On the one hand, a distinct sense has “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). On the other hand, a distinct sense is one for which context does not provide any clues as to the correct interpretation of its use.

By means of these methodologies, a number of distinct senses of לָאֵלֶּיךָ are presented in figure 5.1. It is worth noting that it is the notion of orientation that leads to the establishment of these various meanings. The array of distinct senses associated with לָאֵלֶּיךָ constitutes a semantic network. The diagrammatic overview of the semantic network for לָאֵלֶּיךָ shows that there are seven distinct senses derived from the proto-scene involving Orientation + diverse semantic factors (referred to as elaboration), and two extended senses which do not involve Orientation (referred to as extension).

The Literal Goal sense is the prototype of the basic schema of the preposition לָאֵלֶּיךָ. Recall that elaboration implies consistency or compatibility with reference to the proto-scene. Thus, senses motivated by the proto-scene share similarity or resemblance, that is, Orientation in the case of לָאֵלֶּיךָ. By contrast, senses that are not predictable with respect to the proto-scene are characterised as extension of the proto-scene. With respect to the preposition לָאֵלֶּיךָ, both End-point focus sense and Area sense are viewed as extensions of the proto-scene. These two

senses are not directly derivable from the proto-scene owing to the lack of Orientation<sup>84</sup>. In the pictorial representation, the two senses are depicted with dotted lines.

The senses indicated by the darker circles are the ones in which movement of TR is more literal. They include Literal Goal sense, Movement into Containment sense, Transference sense, Direction sense, and End-point focus sense. The senses indicated by the white circles are associated with less literal movement. These include Addressee sense, Hostility sense, Area sense, and Focus of perception sense.

The degrees of concreteness or abstractness of these senses differ to some extent. The more concrete the senses are, the darker they are. The abstract meanings of the preposition are indicated with bright circles. It must be noted that the senses regarded as extension (End-point focus sense and Area sense) are in most occurrences interchangeable with the preposition **לְ**. Arrows with both sides represent semantic interchangeability.

The radial network for **לְ** consists of nine subcategories. The general meaning of the preposition **לְ** is outlined in the following way:

A = Proto-scene (basic schema): Orientation

B = Prototype: Orientation + Literal Goal sense

C = Orientation + Movement into Containment

D = Orientation + Transference (recipient)

E = Orientation + Addressee

F = Orientation + Direction

G = Orientation + Focus of perception

H = Orientation + Hostility

I = Envisaged orientation + End-point focus

J = Area (extensions of the proto-scene)

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<sup>84</sup> In order to trace the evolutionary process of the sense, different conceptualisation or linguistic conventions are to be motivated. The processes might also be traceable to a sense that is derived from the proto-scene.

B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I = elaborations of the proto-scene

i, J, h = categories interchangeable with עַל

The following diagram (Figure. 5.1) will aid in a visualisation of how these senses are interrelated.

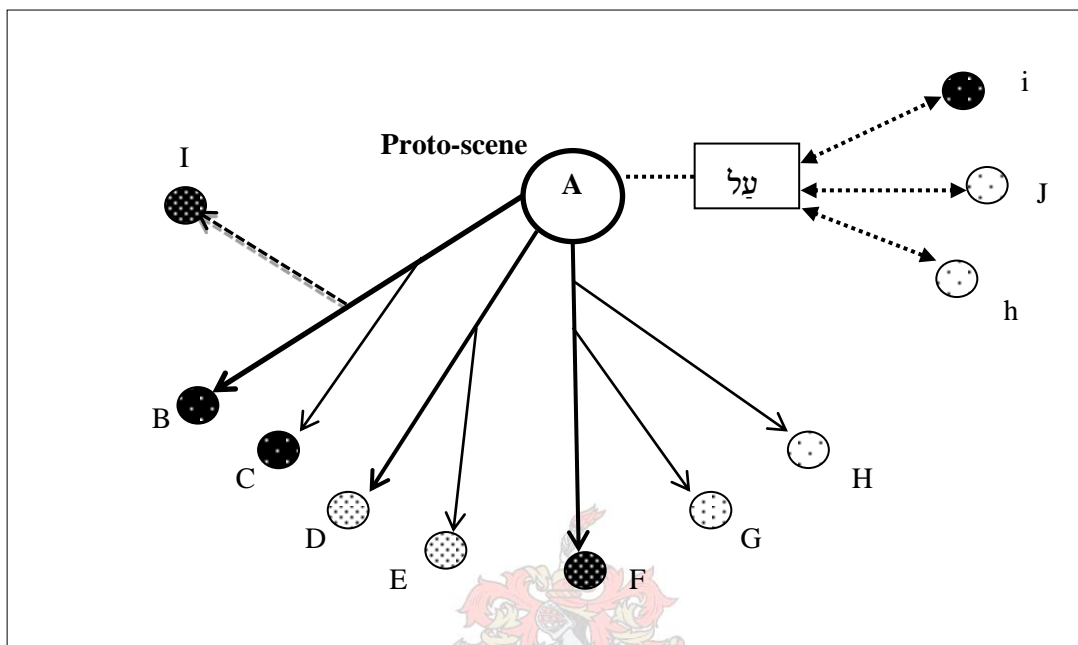


Figure. 5.1 Radial network for the preposition עַל

In the following sub-sections, the distinct senses of the preposition עַל will be described. While providing semantic accounts of these senses, the study will highlight that they are instances of structured polysemy that developed by means of motivated semantic extensions.

### 5.3.1 The Literal Goal sense

The Literal Goal sense is identified as prototypical for the entire category עַל. The sense occurs 310 times comprising 32.8% of instances of the preposition in our corpus<sup>85</sup>. The

<sup>85</sup> Instances in Genesis: 1:9a, 2:19b, 2:22b, 3:19b, 3:19c, 6:20b, 7:9a, 7:15, 8:9ab, 8:9bb, 8:11a, 8:12b, 12:1b, 13:4, 14:3, 14:7, 15:1a, 15:4a, 15:15a, 16:9, 18:6a, 18:7a, 18:10a, 18:14b, 18:21ab, 19:3, 19:5b, 19:5c, 19:6a, 19:8b, 19:10b, 19:27a, 20:3a, 20:4, 20:13b, 21:32c, 22:2ab, 22:3, 22:5bb, 22:9a, 22:19a, 24:4a X2, 24:5ab, 24:5b, 24:10b, 24:20b, 24:29b, 24:30b, 24:38a X2, 24:41ab, 24:42a, 25:6b, 26:1b, 26:26a, 26:27a, 27:9a, 27:18a, 27:22a, 27:43, 28:5a, 28:9a, 28:15ab, 28:21a, 29:13ab, 29:23a, 30:14ab, 30:25b, 31:3a, 31:4, 31:13b, 31:18a, 31:24a, 31:39, 31:52 X2, 32:7a X3, 32:9a, 33:14b, 34:6a, 34:20a, 35:27a, 36:6b, 37:2b, 37:18b, 37:22bb, 37:23a, 37:29a, 37:30a, 37:32ab, 38:16a, 38:22a, 39:14b, 39:16b, 39:17b, 40:6a, 41:14b, 41:55b, 41:57a, 42:20a, 42:21b,



meaning of the preposition אֶל corresponds to the meaning of English ‘to’. Figure 5.2 shows a relation in which the orientated TR is directed towards the salient LM. The preposition is usually collocated with verbs of movement and marks the landmark as the goal (or the end-point) of the movement undertaken by the TR (§ 4.2.1).

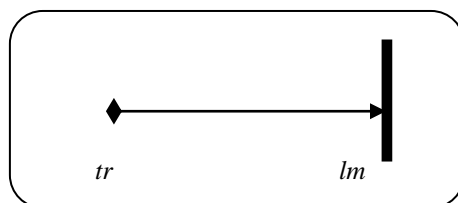


Figure 5.2 The Literal Goal sense

Regarding spatial particles of orientation, Tyler and Evans’s argument is likely to fit for the preposition אֶל. Like the English preposition *to*, the BH preposition אֶל in conjunction with a motion verb evokes a goal. This is in fact the consequence of the schemas (e.g. self-motion, caused-motion) that evokes a goal. For instance, when a verb such as שׁוּב is supplied, the preposition contextually denotes that the LM is the literal GOAL of the TR. The Literal Goal entails the idea of an intentional action to reach (or bring somebody to a) goal.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 5.1 | וּתְבֹא אֵלָיו הַיּוֹנָה                | And the dove came back to him (Gen 8:11)                               |
| 5.2 | אֵלֶיךָ גּוֹיִם יָבֹאוּ מֵאַפְסֵי-אָרֶץ | The nations shall come to you from the end of the earth<br>(Jer 16:19) |
| 5.3 | וַיְבִאֶהָ אֶל-הָאָדָם                  | And (God) brought her to the man (Gen 2:22b)                           |

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42:24b, 42:25a, 42:29a, 42:34a, 42:37ab, 42:37b, 43:9b, 43:13, 43:19a, 43:21a, 43:23ab, 43:23b, 44:8a, 44:17b, 44:18a, 44:24a, 44:30a, 44:32b, 44:34, 45:4ab, 45:9a, 45:9b, 45:18a, 45:25b, 46:31b, 47:5b, 47:15b, 47:17a, 47:18, 48:2a, 48:5a, 48:9b, 48:10b, 48:13b, 48:21, 50:24b; Instances in Jeremiah: 1:2a, 1:4, 1:11a, 1:13a, 2:1a, 2:31, 3:1ab, 3:1bb, 3:6b, 3:7a, 3:10a, 3:17ab, 4:1ab, 5:5a, 6:3, 7:1a, 7:12a, 7:25, 9:2b, 9:16, 11:1a, 13:3a, 13:8a, 14:1a, 15:19ba, 15:19bb, 16:1a, 16:19b, 18:1a, 18:5a, 19:2a, 21:1a, 23:38, 24:4a, 24:7b, 25:3bb, 25:4, 25:9, 25:15, 25:17, 25:32ab, 26:5, 26:22, 26:23ab, 27:1b, 27:3a x5, 27:3b, 27:22bb, 28:3a, 28:4a, 28:6b, 28:12a, 29:1 x5, 29:10b, 29:14b, 29:30, 30:1a, 30:3b, 30:21ab, 30:21b, 31:6bb, 31:12a, 31:21bb, 32:1a, 32:6b, 32:7a, 32:8aa x2, 32:26, 32:37b, 32:42ab, 33:1a, 33:19, 33:23, 34:1a, 34:8a, 34:12, 34:17 x3, 34:22a, 35:1a, 35:2aa, 35:12, 35:15, 35:17ab X2, 36:1b, 36:14b x2, 36:20a, 36:27a, 36:31ba, 37:3, 37:6, 37:7, 37:13bb, 37:14b, 38:2b, 38:11, 38:14aa, 38:14b, 38:17b, 38:18a, 38:19b, 38:22ab, 38:23a, 38:25aa, 38:27a, 39:5a, 39:14ab, 39:15, 40:1a, 40:5aa, 40:5ab, 40:6a, 40:8a, 40:10a, 40:12ab, 40:13b, 40:15b, 41:1a, 41:6bb, 41:10bb, 41:14b, 41:15b, 42:5, 42:6, 42:7b, 42:9, 42:12b, 42:20, 42:21, 43:1, 43:8, 44:1aa, 44:4, 46:1a, 46:16bb X2, 47:1a, 47:5a, 48:1a, 48:8, 48:11ab, 48:44 x2, 49:19a, 49:34aa, 49:36a, 50:5b, 50:6b, 50:19a, 51:9, 51:44ab, 52:9ab, 52:15a, 52:26b.

5.4 וַיְבִיאוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל-הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹיָכִים And they brought him to King Jehoiakim (Jer 26:23)

The sense often occurs in both the self-motion schema (§ 4.2.1.1) and the caused-motion schema (§ 4.2.1.2). Note that the preposition in these schema profiles an LM that constitutes a primary goal. In the sentences above, the LMs are primary physical goals that involve reaching the highlighted LM. Hence, the functional element associated with אֶל is the LM as goal.

5.5 וַיִּט אֱלֹהֵי חַסֵּד And God extended mercy to him (Gen 39:21)

In Gen 39:21, the verb of movement is used figuratively and חסד is conceptualised as an object that is caused to move to a goal. The caused motion schema suggests a direct goal sense.

### 5.3.2 The Movement into a Containment sense

The proto-scene gives rise to other elaborated subcategories. The Movement into a Containment sense is the one most closely related to the Literal Goal sense among other meanings in the domain of spatial usage. The sense occurs 58 times in our corpus<sup>86</sup> (6.1%). While both senses commonly involve the semantic factor (an orientated TR of the Path schema), the Movement into Containment sense is dependent on the LM. The end point of the TR's movement is the LM, which can be conceived as container.

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<sup>86</sup> Instances in Genesis: 6:18b, 6:19, 7:1aa, 7:7a, 7:9a, 7:13, 7:15, 8:9ab, 8:9bb, 23:19a, 24:20a, 25:9a, 37:22b, 37:36, 39:20a, 40:3, 40:11b, 42:17, 49:29b, 49:33ab. (Instances in figurative language: 16:2, 16:4, 29:21, 29:23, 29:30, 30:3, 30:4, 30:16, 38:2, 38:8, 38:9, 38:16 X2, 38:18, 41:21 X2, 49:33); Instances in Jeremiah: 2:7, 4:3b, 4:5b, 8:14a, 21:4b, 26:23b, 35:2ab, 35:4a, 37:16a X2, 37:18b, 38:6a, 38:7ab, 38:9ab, 38:11a, 38:11bb, 41:7a, 41:7b, 48:44a, 51:63.

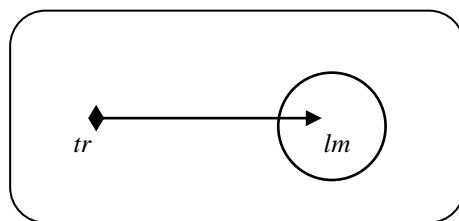


Figure 5.3 The Movement into a Containment sense

The type of LM, viz., containment, carries a particular functional element that distinguishes the Movement into a Containment sense from the Literal Goal sense. Hence, the Movement into a Containment sense is a distinct sense. It involves an altered TR-LM configuration, namely the orientated TR moves **into** the enclosed LM. Gen 7:13 illustrates a typical example, in which the animals (TR) went into the enclosed ark (LM).

5.6	בְּעֶצְמָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֶל-הַתֵּבָה בָּא נֹחַ	On that day, Noah ... entered the ark (Gen 7:13)
5.7	וְנִבְּאוּ אֵל-עָרֵי הַמְּבֻצָּר	Let us go into the fortified cities (Jer 4:5)

Figure 5.3 shows that the orientated TR finds itself inside the LM at the end of motion. As the label of the sense indicates, the Movement into a Containment sense may be translated as *into*, *inside*, or *among*.

In order to establish the sense, one must consider the force-dynamics as semantic factors besides the TR-LM relation. As illustrated in §4.2.1, the sense usually involves either the self-motion schema or the caused-motion schema in the force-dynamic world. In many occurrences, the animated TR(s) can direct its (their) motion into the LM (as in 5.6, and 5.7).

### 5.3.3 The Addressee sense

The Addressee sense is a non-spatial sense derived from the proto-scene. This sense is the one that most frequently occurs in the corpus (39.6%)<sup>87</sup>. However, this does not mean that the

<sup>87</sup> Instances in Genesis: 3:1b, 3:2a, 3:4a, 3:9a, 3:14a, 3:16a, 4:6a, 4:8a, 4:9a, 4:10b, 4:13a, 8:15, 9:8 X2, 9:17, 9:19a, 11:3, 12:1a, 12:4a, 12:11b, 12:15b, 13:8a, 13:14b, 14:21a, 14:22, 15:7, 15:9a, 16:2a, 16:5a, 16:6a, 16:13b, 17:1ab, 17:9a, 17:15a, 17:18a, 18:9a, 18:13a, 18:27b, 18:29a, 18:31a, 18:33a, 19:5a, 19:12a, 19:14a, 19:18a, 19:21a, 19:31a, 19:34ab, 20:6, 20:10, 20:17a, 21:12a, 21:12b, 21:17b, 21:22, 21:29a, 22:1b, 22:2c, 22:5a, 22:7a, 22:11a, 22:15, 23:3a, 23:13a, 24:2a, 24:5a, 24:6a, 24:14a, 24:24a, 24:25a, 24:30ab, 24:39a, 24:40a, 24:43bb, 24:44a, 24:45a, 24:45b, 24:50b, 24:56a, 24:58a, 24:65a, 25:30ba, 26:2b, 26:9b 26:16a, 26:27a, 27:1b X2, 27:5a,

Addressee sense is the prototypical meaning of אֶל. Its frequency is, in reality, due to the fact that the given corpus is characterised by narrative, in which a number of instances describe TRs engaging in verbal communication with LMs.

As noted in chapter 4, the Addressee sense occurs with verbs denoting verbal actions, in which the non-spatial meaning of addressee is marked by אֶל. Examples 5.8 and 5.9 are typical ones, in which the verbs אמר and דבר provide the sentential context that contributes the meaning of the preposition<sup>88</sup>.

5.8

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל-הָאִשָּׁה And he said to the woman (Gen 3:1)

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27:6a, 27:6b, 27:6b, 27:11a, 27:19a, 27:20a, 27:21a, 27:26a, 27:38a, 27:39a, 27:42b, 27:46a, 28:1a, 29:21a, 29:25b, 30:1b, 30:14b, 30:16, 30:25ab, 30:27a, 30:29a, 31:3a, 31:11a, 31:16b, 31:29a, 31:35a, 31:43, 32:10b, 32:17b, 32:20b, 32:28a, 33:13a, 34:4a, 34:11a X2, 34:11b, 34:12b, 34:14a, 34:20b, 34:30 X2, 35:1a, 35:2a X2, 37:6a, 37:10a X2, 37:13a, 37:19, 37:22a, 37:26a, 39:8a, 39:10a, 39:17a, 39:19a, 40:8a, 40:8b, 40:14b, 40:16b, 41:15a, 41:17a, 41:24b, 41:25a, 41:28a, 41:38a, 41:39a, 41:41a, 41:44a, 41:55a, 42:7bb, 42:9b, 42:10a, 42:12a, 42:14a, 42:14b, 42:18a, 42:21aa, 42:21b, 42:22a, 42:24b, 42:28a, 42:31a, 42:33a, 42:36a, 42:37a, 43:2b, 43:3a, 43:5b, 43:8a, 43:11a, 43:19b, 43:29ab, 44:4b, 44:6a, 44:7a, 44:20a, 44:21a, 44:22a, 44:23a, 44:27a, 45:3a, 45:4a, 45:9a, 45:12b, 45:17a, 45:17ab, 45:24b, 45:27a, 46:30a, 46:31aX2, 46:31b, 47:3a, 47:3b, 47:4a, 47:5a, 47:8a, 47:9a, 47:23a, 48:3a, 48:4a, 48:9a, 48:11, 48:18a, 48:21a, 49:1a, 49:29a, 50:4ab, 50:16a, 50:17b, 50:19, 50:24a; Instances in Jeremiah: 1:7a, 1:9b, 1:12a, 1:14a, 1:17ab, 3:6a, 3:11a, 5:19b, 7:13b, 7:27aa, 7:27b, 7:28a, 8:4a, 9:11a, 11:2b, 11:3a, 11:6a, 11:9a, 11:11ba, 11:12 ab, 11:14b, 12:1a, 12:6b, 13:1a, 13:6b, 13:12a, 13:12b, 13:13a, 14:11a, 14:14a, 14:14ab, 14:17a, 15:1a, 15:2a, 15:2b, 16:10b, 16:11a, 17:15a, 17:19a, 17:20, 18:11, 19:2b, 19:11a, 19:14b, 20:3b, 21:3a, 21:3b, 21:8a, 22:8, 22:21a, 23:21b, 23:33b, 23:35, 23:37a, 24:3a, 25:2b, 25:3, 25:15a, 25:27a, 25:28b, 25:30a, 25:30b, 26:2ab, 26:4a, 26:8ab, 26:11a X2, 26:12a X2, 26:16a X2, 26:16b, 26:17b, 26:18b, 27:2a, 27:4a, 27:4b, 27:9b, 27:12a, 27:14ab, 27:16aa X2, 28:1b, 28:5a, 28:13a, 28:15a, 29:7ab, 29:12ab, 29:24, 30:2b, 32:8ab, 32:16a, 32:25a, 33:3a, 34:2a, 34:2b, 34:6a, 35:5b, 35:14ba, 35:17b, 36:2ab, 36:2b, 36:4b, 36:15a, 36:16b, 36:18ab, 36:19a, 37:3b, 37:7aa, 37:18a, 38:1b, 38:4 X2, 38:8b, 38:12a, 38:14b, 38:15a, 38:16a, 38:17aa, 38:19a, 38:20b, 38:24a, 38:25ab X2, 38:25b, 38:26a, 39:12b, 40:2ba, 40:14a, 40:15a, 40:16a, 41:6ba, 41:8a, 42:2aa, 42:2ab, 42:4aa, 42:4ab, 42:5a, 42:8 X2, 42:9a, 42:20ab, 43:1aa, 43:2b, 43:10a, 44:16a, 44:20a, 44:24a X2, 45:1a, 45:4a, 46:13a, 48:1a, 51:61a.

<sup>88</sup> BH scholars such as Wagner, and Schmidt view these two words as synonyms. However, they argue that דבר and אמר are used differently. In the case of דבר, the verb in the Piel is used to denote primarily the activity of speaking, whereas אמר is used before the speaker's words in the style of direct or indirect discourse (Wagner 1997: 329-330, Schmidt 1997:99).

- 5.9                                      וַיֵּלֶךְ אַבְרָם      So Abram went forth  
    כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה      as the Lord had spoke to him (Gen 12:4)
- 5.10                                      כִּי אֵינֶנִּי שֹׁמֵעַ בְּעֵת קִרְאָם אֵלַי      For I will not listen when they call to Me (Jer 11:14)

The Addressee sense is typically licensed by verbs of speaking that prototypically appear in the transfer schemas (§ 4.2.1.3). The use of אֶל follows the CONDUIT metaphor (Reddy 1979; cf. §3.3). In the act of communication, words are conceived as objects that move between two parties (speaker and addressee). Figure 5.4 depicts the TR-LM relation, in which the TR represented by the message reaches the LM (or addressee). In this sense the preposition profiles the direction of the verbal action.

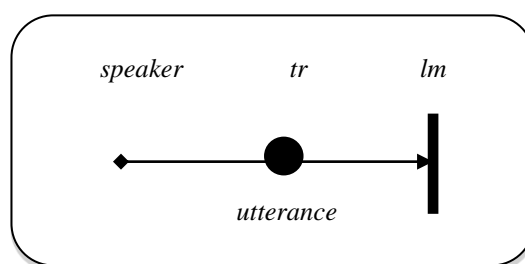


Figure 5.4 The Addressee sense

It must be noted that some expressions have a different type of LM. In the example below, “his heart” is a constituent part of the whole physical entity. In other words, the heart is a metonym referring to “the Lord”, the TR. In this regard, the construction is a reflexive expression, and can be understood in the sense of “thinking” (Wagner 1997:333).

- 5.11                                      וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל-לְבָבוֹ      And the Lord said to himself (Gen 8:21)

### 5.3.4 Transference (Recipient) sense

The Transference sense<sup>89</sup> is the least frequently occurring sense in our corpus (10 times, 1.0%). The sense is closely related to the Addressee sense. Both occur in the transfer schema construction. Thus, the sense represents a similar configuration to the one in the Addressee sense. The Transference sense is, however, distinct from the Addressee sense: Whereas the Addressee sense is correlated with verbs of speaking, the Recipient sense occurs with verbs of

<sup>89</sup> Instances in Genesis: 6:21, 18:7b, 21:14, 35:4a, 37:36; Instances in Jeremiah: 3:8ab, 32:12a, 32:16b, 36:32a, 39:14aa.

giving or selling, signalling the direction of the action of transfer in the force-dynamic world (§ 4.2.1.3).

To be more specific, in the Transference sense the TR is a thing, and the LM is a recipient to whom the object transferred by an agent reaches. The orientated TR that can be transferred is conceptualised as a factor that clearly relates to the proto-scene. Thus, the Transference sense is considered an elaboration of the proto-scene.

In the Transference sense, the action constitutes the end-point of the transfer. The examples in 5.12 and 5.14 illustrate that the usual type of the LM is a person (e.g. “Jacob”). The preposition in 5.13 signifies a type of recipient in the reverse of a transfer schema.

5.12	וַיִּתְּנוּ אֶל-יַעֲקֹב אֵת כָּל-אֱלֹהֵי הַנֹּכַר	And they gave to Jacob all the foreign gods (Gen 35:4)
5.13	וְאַתָּה קַח-לָךְ מִכָּל-מֵאֲכָל אֲשֶׁר יֵאָכֵל וְאַסַּפְתָּ אֵלַיךְ	And as for you, take every kind of food that is to be eaten, and gather (it) <i>for</i> you. (Gen 6:21)
5.14	וַיִּרְמִיָּהוּ לְקַח מִגִּלָּה אַחֶרֶת וַיִּתְּנָהּ אֶל-בְּרוּךְ	Then Jeremiah took another scroll and gave it to Baruch (Jer 36:32)

It is worth pointing out that the preposition אֶל in this category denotes the transfer of the things, not the transfer of the ownership (e.g. Jer 36:32). In cases where a shift in ownership or possession is implied, the preposition ל is prototypically used in BH. Furthermore, when a TR performs an intentional action in favour of an LM, the recipient expressed by the preposition ל can be regarded as beneficiary. However, the examples listed in this semantic category may suggest that the sense expressed by אֶל involves an agent’s action of bringing or delivering things to a recipient.

### 5.3.5 The End-point Focus sense

The End-point Focus sense<sup>90</sup> can be translated as *near*, *by*, or *at* and occurs relatively less frequently than other spatial uses of אֶל (1.1%, 11 times). In this category, the PP, characterised as an adjunct, is independent of predicates.

It is difficult to establish whether the End-point focus is acquired from the proto-scene or not. One may argue that the preposition אֶל involves orientation, profiling the end-point of the TR. In this sense, אֶל focuses on the TR being located in close proximity to the LM.

- 5.15            וַיִּט אֶל־הַדֶּרֶךְ    And he turned aside to her by the road (Gen 38:16)  
 5.16            וַיִּמְצְאוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־מִים רַבִּים    And they found him by the great waters (Jer 41:12)

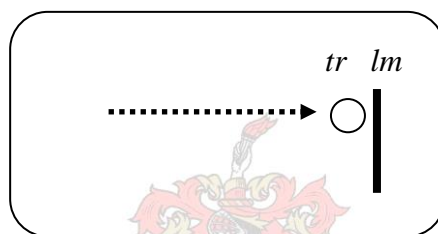


Figure 5.6 The End-point Focus sense

Examples 5.15-16 illustrate that the preposition involves TR's movements having been completed, even though the orientation of the TR is less strongly implied. Figure 5.6 shows the spatial relation in which the orientated TR is located next to the LM. The dashed line indicates that the TR's motion expressed by the verb is not literal, but still envisaged. The figure depicts a new configuration, which entails that the sense is a distinct one.

The sense demarcation is also established by the fact that the meaning cannot be inferred from the context. Neither the verb nor the LM in the sentence contributes to this semantic category.

- 5.17            וַיִּט אֶל־הַדֶּרֶךְ    And he turned aside to her *near* the road (Gen 38:16)  
 5.18            וַיַּחֲמוּ הַצֹּאן אֶל־הַמִּקְלָה    And the sheep mated *by* the rod (Gen 30:39)  
 5.19            אֶל־דֶּרֶךְ עֹמְדִי    Stand by the road! (Jer 48:19)

<sup>90</sup> Instances in Genesis: 14:17b, 15:4a, 24:11a, 24:29b, 30:39a, 38:16a, 45:10; Instances in Jeremiah: 31:9aa, 41:12b, 46:10b, 48:19a.

The End-point Focus sense expressed by אֶל is similar to the Contingent locative sense of עַל (Mena 2012:88). It is difficult to identify semantic differences between two prepositions; as seen in the example below, they often appear to be interchangeable. In many instances, the TR is higher than the LM. Considering Mena's investigation combined with the statistical evidence, it seems that עַל occurs more frequently to express the Contingent Locative sense than אֶל does to express the End-point Focus sense.

5.20 הִנֵּה אֲנִכִּי נֹצֵב עַל-עֵין הַמַּיִם Behold, I am standing by the spring of water (Gen 24:43)

### 5.3.6 The Direction sense

The preposition with the path-focus schema denotes “directed towards”. This usage is derived from the proto-scene. The preposition in this semantic category occurs 23 times (2.4%). While אֶל in the Literal Goal sense suggests movement towards a specific destination, the preposition in the Direction sense<sup>91</sup> does not necessarily imply contact between TR and LM. While the PATH schema is still at work, the preposition profiles orientation of the TR toward the LM. The dashed arrow represents the asymmetrical LM: the LM is in focus and therefore highlighted. Unlike the Literal Goal sense that requires a contact, the LM marked by the preposition suggests a general direction, without necessarily arriving at a destination.

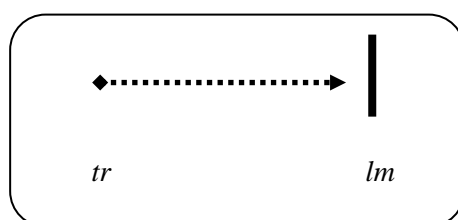


Figure 5.8 The Direction sense

In the examples below, the preposition does not refer to looking at anything in particular, but instead instructs the flock to face forwards, as in (5.21). The functional element, orientation, is conceptualised.

<sup>91</sup> Instances in Genesis: 3:16c, 4:7b, 14:22b, 19:2a, 19:3ab, 30:40b, 31:5, 39:21, 42:7b, 43:30, 43:34a; Instances in Jeremiah: 2:27ab, 4:3, 5:8b, 15:1ab, 32:33a, 40:4X2, 47:3, 48:36a, 50:14, 50:16bb, 51:3.



- 5.21 וַיִּתֵּן פְּנֵי הַצֹּאן אֶל־עֶקֶד And he set the faces of the flock towards streaked (Gen 30:40)
- 5.22 אֶל־טוֹב וְאֶל־הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֶיךָ Go wherever it seems good and right  
לְלַכֵּת שָׁמָּה לְךָ for you to go (Jer 40:4)

While retaining the notion of orientation, the Direction sense involves various event schemas, viz. the self-motion schema, the caused-motion schema, the perception schema, and the emotion schema.

### 5.3.7 Focus of Perception sense

The schematised structure in figure 5.1 represents the radial network of categories of אֶל. It shows that while the Focus of Perception sense is derived from the proto-scene<sup>92</sup>, the sense is related to the Direction sense. In this sense, the preposition אֶל profiles the one-way direction in which the TR as a receptor perceives the LM. The sense usually occurs in the perception/cognition schema (see 4.2.3.1 and 4.3.3.1). The Focus of Perception sense appears 67 times, consisting of 6.6% of our corpus<sup>93</sup>.

- 5.23 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶל־לֵאָה And the Lord paid attention (listened) to Leah  
(Gen 30:17).
- 5.24 וְאַל־נִקְשִׁיבָה אֶל־כָּל־דְּבָרָיו And let us not heed any of his words (Jer 18:18).

Figure 5.5 shows that the LM is the focus of the TR, a source of a vector. In many occurrences, the LM is the stimulus presented to the volitional receptor (TR). For example, in

<sup>92</sup> Bybee (2007:969) explains how abstract grammatical notions are linked to more concrete spatial concepts: “A relational term meaning ‘toward’ develops to mean ‘to’ whence it can become a dative marker (*I gave the book to John*) or can even further develop into an accusative (as in Spanish: *Vi a Juan* ‘I saw (to) Juan’).” In the example, Juan is the focus of perception, which is marked by the preposition ‘a’. Likewise, one may argue that the meaning of the preposition אֶל in the Focus of Perception sense is hypothesised to be derived from the Addressee and/or the Recipient senses. It is because both the Addressee/Recipient expressions and the Focus of Perception expressions are syntactically indirect objects. In this view, the motivation for extension lies in syntactic similarities, rather than in semantic ones.

<sup>93</sup> Instances in Genesis: 4:4b X2, 4:5a X2, 12:7a, 12:7b, 16:11, 17:1aa, 18:1a, 21:17, 26:2a, 26:24:a, 28:7 X2, 30:17, 30:22, 34:17, 34:24 X2, 35:1b, 35:7b, 35:9a, 39:10, 41:32, 45:1, 46:29b, 48:3ab, 49:2; Instances in Jeremiah: 4:23b, 7:4a,7:26, 11:11, 11:20b, 14:12, 16:12, 17:24, 17:27, 18:18b, 18:19a, 20:12b, 25:7, 26:4, 27:9a X5, 27:14aa, 27:16ab, 27:17, 29:8b, 29:12b, 29:19a, 34:14, 34:17, 35:13b, 35:14, 35:15b, 35:16, 36:25, 37:2, 37:14, 38:15, 44:16b, 49:2.

the prepositional phrase  $\text{אֶל-עֲנִידָה שָׁמַע יְהוָה}$  *the Lord listened to your affliction* (Gen 16:11),  $\text{אֶל}$  specifies the thing that is heard by the Lord (or TR). In this sense, the LM is the origin of the stimulus and the TR is the receptor.

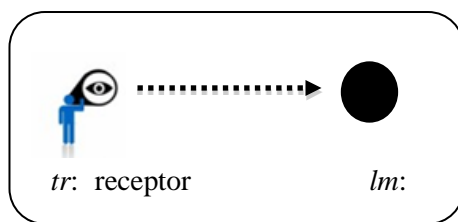


Figure. 5.5 The Focus of Perception Sense

In BH, the construction [ $\text{ראה}$  (Niph.)+  $S$  +  $\text{אֶל}$  +  $N$ ], as in (5.25), is a conventional expression. The verb  $\text{ראה}$  ‘appear’ in Niph. stem is usually found with  $\text{אֶל}$ . ‘The Lord’ who presents himself as a TR to the LM (‘Abram’) is described as performing motion with its envisaging in the perception schema. In this regard, the focus of perception sense is an extension from a non-figurative image schema of direction of movement to a figurative perception schema, in which Abraham is regarded as the ‘goal > focus of the perception’.

5.25  $\text{וַיֵּרָא יְהוָה אֶל-אַבְרָם}$  And the Lord appeared to Abram<sup>94</sup> (Gen 12:7).

It must be noted that there are different types of constructions that express perception in general. Consider the two examples below. Both constructions conform to the perception/cognition schema; however, they contain important differences in meaning. The construction encoded by the object marker  $\text{אֶת}$  expresses a general perception, in which the subject does not necessarily pay attention to what is heard. Such a construction involves a non-volitional perceptor<sup>95</sup>. By contrast, the construction encoded by the preposition  $\text{אֶל}$

<sup>94</sup> Lit. “And the Lord was seen to Abram”.

<sup>95</sup> Rojo & Valenzuela adapt the perception frame envisaged by Fillmore (<http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/framenet>) and provide modified definitions of the perception elements. For instance, they define the entity that receives and identifies the stimulus as *experiencer* or *perceptor*. When an entity perceives something in an intentional way, the perceptor is called PERCEPTOR-ACTIVE, and when an entity perceives something unintentionally, they call the perceptor PERCEPTOR-PASSIVE. The former corresponds to the volitional perceptor, and the latter to the non-volitional perceptor.

involves a volitional perceptor, which reflects the subject's active response (see section 5.3.12 for further discussion).

- 5.26 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־קוֹל הַנְּעָר And the Lord heard the voice of the boy (Gen 21:17)
- 5.27 אַל־תִּירָאֵי כִּי־שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים Do not fear, for the Lord listened  
אֶל־קוֹל הַנְּעָר to the voice of the boy (Gen 21:17)

### 5.3.8 Hostility sense

The Hostility sense is also derived from the proto-scene. The Hostility Sense<sup>96</sup> may be translated as *against*, *at*, or *upon*. In total, 70 occurrences of the sense are attested in our corpus (7.4%). The LM is a person or a group of people directed against. The sense, however, may also involve an experiencer's attitude toward the cause/stimuli. This implies that the sense occurs both in the schemas in the force-dynamic world and in the emotion schema. The preposition does not always denote final contact, as in הִנְנִי אֵלַיִךְ “I am against you”, where the TR does not reach its goal<sup>97</sup>. Rather, as the examples below illustrate, the Hostility sense often involves direction without movement (5.30).

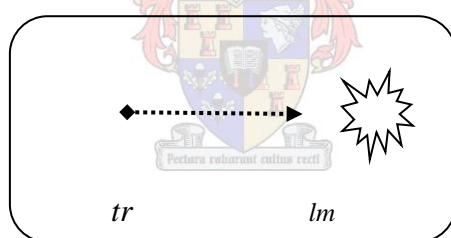


Figure 5.9 The Hostility sense

It is sometimes difficult to assign the sense without considering the conceptual content invoked by the utterance context. In the following examples, the preposition can be rendered as *against* or *upon* in the sense of hostility.

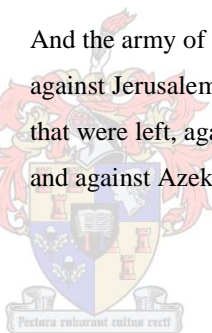
<sup>96</sup> Instances in Genesis: 4:8b, 22:12a, 32:9; Instances in Jeremiah: 1:19a, 2:3bb, 2:29, 6:19a, 7:20a, 11:11ab, 11:23b, 15:20ab, 19:15ab, 21:13a, 25:30a X2, 26:9, 26:11b, 26:12b X2, 27:13, 28:8b, 28:16b, 34:7b X2, 35:11, 36:7bb, 36:31 x2, 39:1, 39:16ab, 40:2bb, 44:7aa, 46:25a, 47:7 X2, 48:8a, 48:21 x3, 48:44b X2, 49:4bb, 48:40b, 49:19aa, 49:20a X2, 49:28b, 49:31a, 50:14ab, 50:18 X3, 50:21, 50:29 X3, 50:31a, 50:36 X2, 50:37 X4, 50:38a, 50:44aa, 50:45 X2, 51:1a, 51:12a, 51:25a, 51:60a.

<sup>97</sup> cf. עַל of the same usage Jer 23:30a; 31; 32

5.28	קוּמוּ עַל־אֶלְגוֹי	Rise up, and go up against a nation (Jer 49:31)
5.29	יִדּוּ אֶלֶיהָ	Shoot at her (Jer 50:14)
5.30	הֲנִי אֵלַיְךָ	I am against you <sup>98</sup> (Jer 21:13)
5.31	תָּרַב עַל־כַּשְׂדִּים נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְאֶל־יֹשְׁבֵי בָבֶל וְאֶל־שָׂרֵיהָ וְאֶל־ חַכְמֵיהָ:	a sword against the Chaldeans, says the Lord, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men (Jer 50:35)
5.32	כָּל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר־דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵלֵיהֶם	all the evil that I pronounced against them (Jer 36:31)

The use of אֶל overlaps with the preposition עַל in terms of hostility<sup>99</sup>. Both prepositions express the hostile/oppositional relations between TR and LM in nearly the same syntactic configurations. Consider the examples below, where Jeremiah interchangeably uses these two prepositions without creating any different meanings<sup>100</sup>.

5.33	וַחִיל מִלְדָּבָר בְּבָל נִלְחָמִים עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם וְעַל כָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה הַנּוֹתְרוֹת אֶל־לָכִישׁ וְאֶל־עֶזְקָה	And the army of the king of Babylon was fighting against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that were left, against Lachish, and against Azekah (Jer 34:7)
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### 5.3.9 Area sense

According to Dirven (1995:113), the semantic label ‘Area’ refers to the topic of verbs of saying. The sense<sup>101</sup> can be translated as ‘about’, or ‘regarding’ as an abstract meaning. The infrequency of the instances of this category implies that the sense is less typical (2.7%, 26 occurrences). In this sense, the vantage point is that of the TR, and the LM is the topic (or area) of the mental activity. This sense occurs very rarely in Genesis (1X), but more frequently in Jeremiah.

<sup>98</sup> In some passages, the PP occurs as the predicate of nominal sentences. (e.g., Jer. 50:31a, 51:25a)

<sup>99</sup> Mena assigns the use of עַל as ‘Oppositional sense’ (Mena 2012:94).

<sup>100</sup> Jer. 7:20a, 19:15ab, 28:8b, 46:25a, 50:21, 51:1a

<sup>101</sup> Instances in Genesis: 20:2a; Instances in Jeremiah: 22:11a, 22:18a, 26:3b, 26:13b, 26:19ab, 27:19a, 29:16a X2, 29:21a X2, 29:31ab, 30:4 X2, 32:36b, 33:14b, 40:16a, 42:10b, 44:1ab, 47:1a, 49:34ab, 50:1 X2, 51:60b, 51:62.

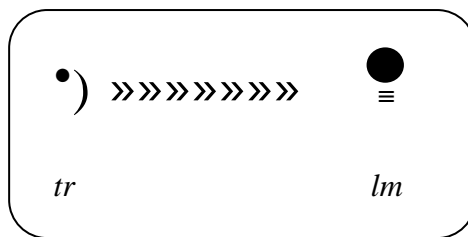


Figure 5.10 The Area sense

Determining the sense is not easy, though; sometimes other lexical items contribute to the meaning of אֶל. For instance, the LM is not the addressee, but ‘the thematic context or field’ of verbs of communication (Radden 1989:448). Moreover, the topic, for example ‘Sarah’ as in 5.34, is referred to in the third person in the following clause.

The sense is based on a metaphor: the topic is conceptualised as an area that is placed upon the LM. Thus, topic can also be expressed by עַל ‘over’. In BH, both prepositions whose concrete spatial meanings are ‘towards’ and ‘over’ denote their abstract meaning ‘regarding’.

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 5.34 | וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֶל-שָׂרָה<br>אֵשֶׁתוֹ אַחֲתִי הוּא                   | Abraham said <i>about</i> Sarah his wife,<br>“she is my sister” (Gen 20:2)                      |
| 5.35 | אֲשֶׁר הָיָה דְבַר-יְהוָה אֶל-<br>יִרְמְיָהוּ הַנְּבִיא אֶל-פְּלִשְׁתִּים | The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet<br>concerning the Philistines (Jer 47:1) |

### 5.3.10 אֶל in the specialised constructions

It is important to note that there are a number of other uses of אֶל, in which the semantic relation for the preposition is specialised differently from the usages discussed above. The impression we may get is that the typical meaning of the preposition is usually lost when it occurs in specific constructions. For instance, in an idiosyncratic combination, such as [בּוֹא + אֶל + female entity], as in (Gen. 16:4), the meaning of the combination cannot be straightforwardly inferred from the meaning of the verb and the lexeme אֶל. However, one may postulate an image metaphor in this instance, viz. a male’s genital organs that enter a female’s counterpart. In this way, the directional interpretation can be captured in the [בּוֹא +

לְאִשָּׁה+ female entity] construction. This construction indicates a sexual interaction between a TR and an LM<sup>102</sup>.

Similarly, the construction (שָׁמַע with אֶל) forms a semantic unit, whose meaning is different from other constructions, such as שָׁמַע with אֶת. Compare the differences between the two constructions.

- 5.36 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלֹהִים אֶת־קוֹל הַנָּעַר The Lord heard the voice of the lad (Gen 21:17)  
 5.37 כִּי־שָׁמַע אֱלֹהִים For the Lord has responded  
 אֶל־קוֹל הַנָּעַר to the voice of the lad (Gen 21:17)

In the above examples, the construction without the preposition אֶל seems to denote that a sound-stimulus came into the subject's ears. By contrast, the construction containing אֶל expresses an event in which the subject does not merely hear the sounds uttered, but responds favorably to someone's request, or accepts the request<sup>103</sup>.

- 5.38 וַיִּשְׁמַע יַעֲקֹב And Jacob listened  
 אֶל־אָבִיו וְאֶל־אִמּוֹ to his father and his mother (obeyed),  
 וַיֵּלֶךְ פְּדָנָה אֲרָם: and left for Padan Aram (Gen 28:7)

The example in Gen 28:7 suggests that listening to somebody sometimes involves a different kind of response, viz. obeying. In the example sentence above, Jacob complies with his parents' instruction.

There are cases where the preposition אֶל appears in reciprocal constructions, as in Jer 36:16. The examples collected in this study are usually encoded by means of pronominal expressions, such as אִישׁ and רֵעֵהוּ. According to Siegal (2012:224), these words went through a process of grammaticalisation and became pronouns. As in the example below, the reciprocity denotes mutual events between two or more participants<sup>104</sup> expressing an associative/comitative

<sup>102</sup> Instances in Genesis: 6:4b, 16:2ab, 16:4a, 29:21b, 29:23a, 29:30a, 30:3, 30:4b, 30:16a, 38:2b, 38:8a, 38:9b, 38:16ab, 38:16ab, 38:18b.

<sup>103</sup> Gen 16:11b, 21:17bb, 23:16a, 28:7, 30:17a, 30:22b, 34:17a, 34:24 X2, 39:10b, 49:2.

(some more instances: Deut. 9:19, 10:10, 1 K 15:20, 2 K 13:4, 2 K 16:9, 2 K 19:9, 2 K 16:4, 2Cron. 30:20).

<sup>104</sup> Haspelmath (2007:2087) is of the opinion that "all reciprocals express a situation with a mutual relation."

meaning (Siegal 2012:223). The role of the preposition אֶל indicates the reciprocal goals of the verbs of saying.

5.39            וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ    And they said to one another (Jer 36:16)

The construction associated with preposition אֶל in Gen. 25:8 also needs special attention. The construction in which the TR (Abraham) is gathered to his deceased ancestors (LM) means the TR is dead. The expression uses the preposition אֶל to indicate that the LM is a goal of the orientated TR in a metaphorical sense. In the image metaphor, the preposition retains its function as pointing out the goal of a verb of movement. This construction expresses a figurative meaning. In Genesis, the construction occurs seven times<sup>105</sup>.

5.40            ... וַיָּמָת אַבְרָהָם    And Abraham died,  
וַיֵּאָסֶף אֶל־עַמּוּיוֹ    and he was gathered to his people (Gen 25:8)

In Gen. 41:21, the construction is taken metaphorically. The literal translation, “the thin and bad cows went inside fat cows”, does not make sense. In fact, the construction refers to an action event, in which the TRs eat other LMs. Literally; the preposition is associated with the Movement into Containment sense. However, like other examples mentioned above, the whole construction must be regarded as a conventionalised usage. The lexical items used in this expression do not contribute to the intended meaning of the construction.

5.41            וַתִּבְאֵנָה אֶל־קִרְבָּנָה    And they (thin cows) went into their (fat cows) bellies.  
(Gen 41:21)

### 5.3.11 Problematic cases

There are cases where the preposition’s semantic categories are uncertain. The following cases are not included in any of the above-mentioned categories for this reason. In the case of Jer 48:11, it is not clear whether the construction should be regarded as an idiosyncratic expression, or whether the preposition should be taken as a scribal error. One may suggest that the word be changed to עַל to express a spatial meaning (*over, on*). Similarly, the use of the preposition in Jer 50:44ab also creates uncertainty as to whether it (the preposition)

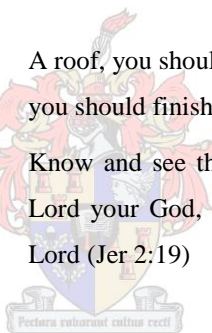
<sup>105</sup> Gen. 25:8b, 25:17b, 35:29b, 37:35ab, 49:29ab, 49:33b.

belongs to any semantic category (control sense) or not. These instances can be regarded as instances where the preposition אֶל is interchangeable with עַל.

- 5.42 שֶׁאֵין מוֹאָב מִנְעוּרָיו וְשָׁקַט הוּא אֶל־שִׁמְרָיו Moab has been at ease from his youth and has settled on his lees (Jer 48:11)
- 5.43 וּמִי בָחַר אֵלֶיהָ אֶפְקֹד And who is chosen? I will appoint over her (Jer 50:44)
- 5.44 וַיִּכְתֹּב יִרְמְיָהוּ אֶת כָּל־הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר־תָּבוֹא אֶל־בָּבֶל אֶל־סֵפֶר אֶחָד And Jeremiah recorded on one scroll all the evils that should come upon Babylon<sup>106</sup> (Jer 51:60)

Where the orthography of the preposition is dubious, it is also difficult to identify the meaning of the phrase. For instance, the whole phrase found in Gen. 6:16a is considered “the most obscure remark in the flood story” (Wenham 1987:173). Determining the semantic category of the preposition based on conjecture must be avoided. Similarly, cases like this (e.g. Jer 2:19<sup>107</sup>) remain unsolved until the text is fully secured.

- 5.44 צֹהַר תַּעֲשֶׂה לַתֵּבָה וְאֶל־אֲמָהּ אַתְּ תִּכְלֹנָהּ מִלְּמַעַלָּה A roof, you should make for the ark, and to a cubit you should finish it from above (Gen 6:16)
- 5.45 וְדַעַי וּרְאֵי כִי־רַע וּמָר עֲזִיבֶךָ וְדַעַי וּרְאֵי כִי־רַע וּמָר עֲזִיבֶךָ וְדַעַי וּרְאֵי כִי־רַע וּמָר עֲזִיבֶךָ Know and see that it is evil and bitter for you to reject the Lord your God, and that my fear is not on/in you, says the Lord (Jer 2:19)



As far as the phrase in Gen 41:32 is concerned, the meaning of the preposition אֶל is also ambiguous. This is because of the difficulties inherent in finding an elapsed predicate associated with the preposition. Since the sentential context of the phrase is not clear, the preposition may be interpreted in a number of ways. Such cases are considered to be problematic.

- 5.46 וְעַל הַשְּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם אֶל־ Concerning the repetition of the dream to

<sup>106</sup> In Jeremiah, the prepositions אֶל and עַל, and ב, are often collocated with the verb כָּתַב, and each preposition occurs interchangeably in the same construction. With עַל: Jer 31:33, 36:4, 36:18, 45:1, with ב: Jer 25:13, 32:10, 32:12, 32:44, with אֶל: Jer 30:2, 36:2, 51:60.

<sup>107</sup> McKane (1986:38) amends the given prepositional phrase אֶל־אֵלַי to אֵלַי, thereby rendering the phrase as “have no respect *for* me”.



## פְּרָעָה פִּעְמִים Pharaoh (Gen 41:32)

Difficulties also arise owing to the insufficient data available for determining the exact meanings of the preposition. For instance, the rare instances of an abstract category of the preposition לְ provide little insight into identifying the directions of semantic extension. With respect to the less central meanings, e.g., advantage and disadvantage, the earlier studies such as Mitchell (§A3c) and WO (§11.2.2) do not provide any accounts of how the preposition can decode these opposite meanings or their polysemy pattern at all.

The present study associates the Beneficiary (or advantage meaning of לְ) with Recipient as facilitating the meaning extension. Typological evidence of semantic commonality between Beneficiary and Recipient markers (Luraghi 2003:40, Croft 1991:179) may shed some light on this polysemous nature of the preposition. With limited cases in our corpus, the present study does not treat the Beneficiary category as a separate one.

## 5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented a semantic analysis of לְ from the perspective of Cognitive Semantics. The research attempted to relate how semantic representations of the preposition לְ are associated with event schemas informed by chapter 4. The event types designated by schemas were likened to sentential contexts, which helped us to identify a distinct sense of the preposition<sup>108</sup>. In our investigation we also noticed that a sense may share the same event schema with a different sense, but that in general there is a tendency to delineate which sense can appear in which event schema.

While utilising the insight from chapter 4, this investigation mainly attempted to prove the assumption that the preposition לְ, being polysemous, can be regarded as a unified category with a specific central meaning and various extensions (Literal Goal, Movement into Containment, End-point Focus, Addressee, Transference, Focus of Perception, Direction,

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<sup>108</sup> For instance, the Literal Goal sense can be instantiated when paired with the self-motion schema, in which an orientated TR reaches to a profiled LM, whereas the Transference sense never occurs in the self-motion schema.

Hostility, and Area). In order to prove this assumption, the study utilised the *principled polysemy approach* formulated by Tyler and Evans (2007). Using this framework, the study determined the proto-scene and distinct senses. This methodology has the advantage of facilitating the identification of the proto-scene, viz., the sanctioning sense of distinct senses for לָאָ. In order to ensure a better understanding of the prepositional categories, radial networks of meaning were adopted in the present work. The Radial networks provided a reasonable explanation for the ways in which the different senses of לָאָ may be structured into a coherent network of senses.

According to the radial networks, three main groups of the categories of לָאָ can be identified. As discussed earlier, Orientation identified as the proto-scene is the basic image schema in each group. The following table shows how subcategories of לָאָ are allotted in each of their main category. Note that the Hostility sense can be included both in Group 1 and Group 2. This is due to the fuzziness of the boundaries of this category. As the table 5.1 illustrates, the Hostility sense can share the image schema with the subcategories in Group 1 and 2.

<b>Group 1</b>	<b>Group 2</b>	<b>Group 3</b>
Image schema:	Image schema:	Image schema:
Orientated TR - Goal	Orientated TR - Direction	Orientated TR-Transference
Literal Goal	Direction	Transference (recipient)
Movement into Containment	Focus of Perception	Addressee
End-point Focus		
Hostility		

Table 5.1 Subcategories of לָאָ allotted in groups

While this empirical study concerned the preposition's semantic categories, it also identified that the preposition לָאָ is in some instances interchangeable with עַל. Where similar image schemas overlap between two prepositions, they tend to be used interchangeably. For instance, the instances of לָאָ in the Area sense can be interchangeable with עַל.

## Chapter 6

### 6.1 Conclusions

This study indicated that the BH resources in current use have not adequately treated the BH preposition **לְ**, as the BH reader's needs cannot be met by consulting an arbitrary listing of the various meanings of the preposition, and few or no definitions. The aim of this study was to address these problems and make a contribution to a better description of the meaning of the lexical item in question.

The literature discussed in chapter 2 paved the way for examining different approaches to determining the meaning of the preposition. The focal points of the discussion were 'conceptualisation' and 'categorisation', two important concepts pertaining to the semantic description of the word. The study's theoretical orientation was taken from the following cognitive linguistic principles:

- Meanings are flexible mental representations
- Prototypical categories exhibit degrees of typicality
- A word meaning is conceptualisation.

The review accepted these characteristics as systematically related. Then, a literature review was provided of recent studies that implemented insights from CL in their discussions of BH prepositions. The review discussed how Rodriguez (2011), Lyle (2012), and Mena (2012) treated prepositions utilising different approaches, such as the principled polysemy model developed by Tyler and Evans (2003), and the radial network, grammaticalisation, and cognitive approaches to grammar. These semantic models were deemed appropriate tools for discussing the highly polysemous preposition **לְ**.

However, such a model may not be equally suited to the study of other prepositions. Thus, a methodological modification was made to account for different scopes and levels within CL. Particularly, the cognitive grammar approach suggested by Radden & Dirven (2007) was judged to fill an important gap in this kind of study, which significantly relies on knowledge of the prepositional constructions in determining the semantic categories of **לְ**. When event

schemas are not taken into consideration, the TR-LM configuration becomes vague with respect to לָאָ.

In chapter 3, the study utilised Mena's (2012) CL-based criteria to evaluate the descriptions of לָאָ taken from the major BH resources. First, the review examined whether the existing resources provide adequate syntactic information regarding the usage of the preposition. Second, the review looked at the references with regard to degrees of prototypicality that may be deduced from the statistical analysis. Third, the review evaluated the organisations of various readings of the lexical item. The study concluded that the existing BH resources do not meet the criteria set out by Mena (2012).

In chapter 4, the research provided all instances of לָאָ in Genesis and Jeremiah. The empirical research employed here established how the target lexeme is used syntactically. The study revealed that the preposition mostly functions as a predicate-complement (C<sub>p</sub>) in various motion events (Self-motion schema, Caused-motion schema, Transfer schema, etc.). In addition, the statistical analysis that accompanied the grammatical constructions of לָאָ made it possible to better understand the preposition's prototypical usage in the corpus. The data showed that the preposition most frequently occurs with verbs of saying that introduce direct speech. However, given that the corpus is narrative, this usage was not considered to represent the prototypical use of לָאָ. The findings in chapter 4 were helpful in identifying semantic representations of the preposition in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 allowed for the data to be categorised into various semantic categories. In this study, nine senses were identified. In order to determine the prototypical usages of לָאָ, Tyler and Evans's (2007) criteria were heuristically employed. The study identified Orientation as the proto-scene of the preposition לָאָ. As a basic schema, the orientation gives rise to distinctive senses. While all the senses are elaborated from the proto-scene (except the Area sense), three main groups of categories are identified as being related to one another, namely Literal Goal sense, Movement into Containment sense, and the End-point Focus sense (as group 1); Transference sense and Addressee sense (as group 2); and Direction sense, Hostility sense, and Focus of Attention sense (as group 3). A common image schema exists in each of the groups.

It is unclear in what way the Area sense is connected to the proto-scene. This is because the Area sense does not allow the Goal-Path schema of לָּ. Instead of providing an account for the connection between the proto-scene and the Area sense, the present study related this semantic category of לָּ to the one interchangeable with עַ.

## 6.2 Areas of Future Study

The limitations of this study lie in several areas where much research is needed. First, this study only analysed instances of לָּ within Genesis and Jeremiah. Although the research findings were considered to be reliable and potentially transferable data, a broader corpus including the poetry genre would be better positioned to provide comprehensive data of frequency. If the poetry genre were to be analysed, much new information could be gleaned. As Lyle (2012) states, the Psalms would be “another closed corpus of a fixed genre that holds ripe possibilities for new meanings to emerge as the compactness of poetry demands that conventional ranges of semantic potential be exploited.”

A second option for future study would be to utilise grammaticalisation theory in order to better understand how the preposition was developed diachronically. Analysing diachronic changes of meaning may shed light on how various senses were derived, and how the extended meanings were used. This may also provide an answer to the question regarding the way some senses of לָּ became interchangeable with other prepositions, notably with עַ.

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