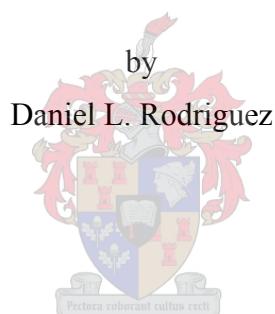


תחת מ/לפנִי, אחר

An Embodied Cognitive Approach to the Biblical Hebrew Prepositions



by
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*Dissertation presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Ancient Languages at the University of Stellenbosch.*

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March 2017

DECLARATION

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

Signature:.....

Daniel L. Rodriguez

March 2017

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DEDICATION

*In loving memory of Everett Roy Oakley, III
July 6, 1946 - October 29, 2011*

ABSTRACT

This dissertation addresses the problem of the polysemic meaning of three Biblical Hebrew (=BH) words that are used as prepositions: *'ahr*, *pn(h)*, and *t_{ht}*. Addressing this problem not only profiles the poly- and heterosemies of these words, but also establishes how usage-based methods can be applied to analyze and describe relational words in BH. Frame semantics and grammaticalization theory are primarily used for these purposes. Using these methods in conjunction with one another, lexical semantic categories are established for each preposition. All instances of each preposition in BH are grouped into these categories. Using usage-based methods, these categories are plotted onto a semantic network that accounts for 1) the historic development of each preposition, and 2) the relationship between each semantic category. Each category is further described semantically with visual tools of cognitive linguistics, namely trajectory-landmark diagrams.

Seven lexical semantic categories are established for *'ahr*: posterior anatomy, posterior space, alternative posterior, static posterior verb, posterior locative, posterior time, and causation. Six lexical semantic categories are established for the forms of *pn(h)* in question: anterior anatomy, anterior locative, comparative, dominance agent/object marker, anterior time, and causation. Finally, five semantic categories are established for *t_{ht}*: inferior anatomy, inferior space, substitution, inferior locative, and causation.

In addition to the lexical semantic categories established as a conclusion for each preposition in question, this dissertation also shows the relevance that verbal forms of the same root can have on the study of prepositional usages of such heterosemic roots.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie proefskrif fokus op die probleem van die polisemiese betekenis ten opsigte van drie Bybels-Hebreeuse (=BH) woorde wat as voorsetsels gebruik word: *'aḥr*, *pn(h)*, en *tḥt*. Deur hierdie probleem aan te pak, word nie net die polisemie en heterosemie van hierdie woorde geprofileer nie, maar ook vasgestel hoe gebruiksgebaseerde metodes gebruik kan word om relasiewoorde in Bybelse Hebreeuse te ontleed en te beskryf. Raamwerksemantiek en grammatikalisingsteorie word hoofsaaklik vir hierdie doel gebruik. Deur hierdie metodes in tandem in te span, word leksikaal-semantiese kategorieë vir elke voorsetsel voorgestel. Alle gevalle van elkeen van hierdie BH voorsetsels word volgens hierdie kategorieë ingedeel. Deur die aanwending van gebruiksgebaseerde metodes word hierdie kategorieë op 'n semantiese netwerk uitgestippel wat 1) die historiese ontwikkeling van elke voorsetsel, en 2) die verwantskap tussen elke semantiese kategorie verreken. Verder word elke kategorie semanties beskryf aan die hand van visuele hulpmiddels van die kognitiewe linguistiek, te wete trajektoriese landmerkdiagramme.

Daar word sewe leksikale semantiese kategorieë onderskei vir *'aḥr*: posterieure anatomie, posterieure ruimte, alternatiewe posterieur, statiese posterieure werkwoord, posterieure lokatif, posterieure tyd, en kousasie. Ses leksikaal-semantiese kategorieë word daargestel vir die bepaalde vorme van *pn(h)*: anterieure anatomie, anterieure lokatif, vergelyking, dominansieagent/objekmerker, anterieure tyd, en kousasie. Laastens word vyf semantiese kategorieë vir *tḥt* onderskei: inferieure anatomie, inferieure ruimte, substitusie, inferieure lokatif, en kousasie.

Buiten die leksikaal-semantiese kategorieë wat as gevolgtrekking vir elke voorsetsel aangebied word, duï hierdie proefskrif die waarde aan wat werkwoordvorme met dieselfde wortel vir die studie van voorsetselgebruiken sodanige heterosemiese wortels inhoud.

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ABBREVIATIONS

[]	a bracketed letter stands for a BHS occurrence which is bracketed
ABH	archaic biblical Hebrew
ANE	Ancient Near East
BDB	Brown, Driver, Briggs ([1906]2006)
BH	biblical Hebrew
BHRG	Van der Merwe et al (1999)
DCH	Clines (2011b)
EA	El Amarna
EBH	early biblical Hebrew
G18	Gesenius-Donner (2013)
GHCL	Gesenius-Tregelles (1847)
GKC	Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley ([1910]2006)
HALOT	Köhler-Baumgartner-Stamm (2000)
LBH	late biblical Hebrew
LM	landmark
TR	trajector
WO	Waltke-O'Connor (1990)

PREFACE

The reader should have a Hebrew Bible available, preferably an electronic one, to follow each example. Many examples in Hebrew are given with English translation. However, to avoid countless pages of Hebrew Bible verses, no Bible texts are reproduced in the literature review sections. All references listed should be consulted in a Hebrew Bible.

1. The problem of meaning and biblical Hebrew prepositions



Figure 1: One and Three Chairs by Joseph Kosuth

1.1 What is meaning?

In 1965 conceptual artist Joseph Kosuth exhibited the first installation of his famous work *One and Three Chairs*. Since then, this work of art has been recreated many times by others following Kosuth's instructions for installation. The instructions direct the installer to choose a chair and place it against a wall. The installer is to then photograph the chair and have the photograph enlarged to the actual size of the chair. The instructions also come with a dictionary definition of the word *chair* printed on a canvas. The installer is to exhibit the items from left-to-right starting with the life-sized photo of the chair, then the actual chair, and then the definition of the chair on canvas. Kosuth's art poses philosophical and linguistic questions. Which of the three is the chair? In view of these three items, what does *chair* mean? Traditional linguistic interpretations of Kosuth's art include the semiotic triangle¹ and drawing distinctions between denotation and connotation. *One and Three Chairs* has been called a "textbook study in semiotics" (Arnold 2010:71).

1. The semiotic triangle was first used by Peirce (1867) to describe how meaning works. His three categories (the three points of a triangle) were index, icon, and symbol. Later, Ogden and Richards (1923:11) updated the triangle and named the three points thought or reference, referent, and symbol. Riemer (2010:16) has updated the semiotic triangle, renaming the points PSYCHOLOGY, REFERENT AS REPRESENTED TO PSYCHOLOGY OF SPEAKER, and LANGUAGE. He further notes that the PSYCHOLOGY selects a REFERENT AS REPRESENTED TO PSYCHOLOGY OF SPEAKER and produces LANGUAGE to symbolize this perceived/conceived REFERENT.

In recent decades, cognitive science has made progress in explaining what meaning is and how it works. A modern embodied-cognitive view would state that Kosuth's "chairs" are all perceived as symbols, including the real chair. When a person looks at a chair or a photograph of a chair, the light illuminating both objects is interpreted by the retinas of the eyes and sends electrical signals to occipital lobe of the brain. The occipital lobe is simultaneously giving and receiving electrical signals to and from other relevant areas of the brain's neural network, which are giving and receiving electrical signals to and from other relevant parts of the body thus creating what a person perceives as "seeing" the chair (Purves et al 2012:229-256). If the viewer then watches someone sit in the chair or himself sits in the chair, the motor cortex is activated—all simultaneous with the connections to and from the occipital lobe, creating perceptions of motion (*ibid* 435-450). If someone reads aloud the definition of chair printed on the canvas, the temporal lobes would be activated simultaneously with everything else mentioned to process the electrical signals sent and received to and from other parts of the body and create the perception of hearing. If that reader continues with a sentence about someone sitting in the chair, both the reader's and the hearer's motor cortices would be active to create thoughts about sitting in the chair (*ibid* 277-302). This can happen when the reader and hearer are both motionless. Cognitively, all three "chairs" are equally symbolic. Neurologically, all three "chairs" activate similar brain functions and responses.²

1.1.1 Meaning is embodied

For linguists, this is evidence that meaning is made by human bodies as people interact with each other and the world around them. There is no realm of forms where the perfect, heavenly chair dwells that is the epitome of all chairs and chair-ness.³ Nor is there one sole area of

2. For a recent non-textbook summary of all the experimental neurological data, see Bergen (2012).

3. Describing the forms, Falikowski (2004:181-182) writes, "According to Plato, the forms are not simply products of anyone's mind. They have an independent existence and are considered more real than the things themselves. Unlike people, who are born and then die—who come in and out of existence—forms are eternal; they always remain. The concept or form 'human' does not disappear with an particular person's death. Thus, we can perhaps think of forms as pure essences or abstract entities capturing the essential qualities of particular

the brain equivalent to a syntax module that interfaces with other linguistic modules like semantics.⁴ The way that people talk about sitting in chairs is neurologically similar to the way that people actually sit in chairs because meaning is embodied. Instead of being separate in some other realm of existence or separate as an autonomous module, language is one of many cognitive skills common to humans. This is a basic tenet of cognitive linguistics and all usage-based models of language (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007).

Usage-based linguistic models, such as cognitive linguistics, cannot be practiced by traditional linguistic methods alone,⁵ but are subject to the findings of other disciplines. For example, the brief neurobiological description above on meaningfulness when one looks at three representations of *chair* illustrates that when one talks about "the linguistics" of the word *chair* one is also necessarily talking about human biology, motion, and histories of interactions with *chairs* and the contexts in which they occurred. This inter-disciplinary foundation for usage-based linguistics makes its various methods⁶ suitable to be used as tools of analysis of the Hebrew Bible. Actually, embodiment is not new to linguistics. The study of how air passes through the mouth and throat and how lip-shapes and tongue-movements created a common universal foundation from which all modern phonetic and phonological studies have been built. This biological data is still used in introductory linguistics course books when introducing the international phonetic alphabet, (O'Grady et al 1997:19, 63). In the same way, the facts of human experience as described by evolutionary biology, neuroscience, psychology,

things."

4. While there is some debate over localism versus holism in the brain, there is a consensus in neuroscience called *connectionism* that replaces both extreme localism and extreme holism. A connectionist view recognizes the localization of primary sensory and motor functions while acknowledging so-called higher-level functions (like memory, recognition of objects, and language) result from networks between local areas (Seung 2013).

5. These are specified in §2.6.

6. This general phrasing is not vague but rather an attempt at inclusivity among usage-based methods instead of drawing ideological (and thus methodological) lines. So, while there are differences between some aspects of cognitive linguistics and grammaticalization theory, there is also much in common as both assume a usage-based approach (though starting in different places.) In fact, Langacker (2011:79-91) has contributed to an understanding of how cognitive linguistics may contribute to grammaticalization theory. Details in regards to this dissertation are explained in §2.6, but suffice it to say here that all usage-based methods, by the questions they ask, make themselves accountable to academic disciplines outside of traditional linguistics.

and other relevant disciplines—along with the traditional oceans of knowledge that make up Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman studies—can provide similar foundations for building up-to-date methods for semantic-pragmatic analysis of biblical languages. Such interdisciplinary approaches are verifiable and updatable methodologies.

1.1.2 Representing meaning for language learning

Since language is not a separate autonomous part of human cognition, then the traditional methods of dictionary-making can be called into question because there is no real distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic knowledge in a mind.⁷ If meaning is embodied, then the study of words is not the study of a lexeme's semantic structure,⁸ but rather a study of lexical concepts "with constant reference to the general cognitive abilities of humans" (Peeters 2000:4). Traditional lexical semantics separates meaning into different parts, thereby delimiting the task of the linguist into more manageable domains, such as describing in isolation a grammatical usage, a core/conventional meaning,⁹ or one particular encyclopedic meaning.¹⁰ Thus, while the alleged encyclopedic meaning(s) of a word may be invoked to explain particular contexts, it is the semantic core (conventional meaning) that gives a basic explanation of all usages. However, embodied meaning suggests that there is in fact no semantic core (Geeraerts 2010:203-222). Rather, all meaning is contextual and thus can be described in encyclopedic ways because ascribing meaning to things and communicating one's thoughts about meanings with others is a general cognitive ability for humans. This is not to say that the reality of encyclopedic meaning solves the problems of doing lexical se-

7. See Geeraerts (1988:227). More on the brain/mind problem in §2.8.

8. Semantic structure is a structuralist concept. This separation is rooted in Saussure (1916). It has been formalized by generative semanticists like Putejovsky (1995) and Jackendoff (1991, 1997).

9. A core (or conventional) notion of meaning is a structuralist idea that stems from structuralism's commitment to semantic arbitrariness (see §2.4 for a description), which consequently views language as a system governed by rules that cannot be deduced. Thus, a word's core (or basic) meaning is instantiated by convention as opposed to context (see Geeraerts 2010:47-49 for a brief introduction to structuralist semantics).

10. Traditionally, encyclopedic meaning is the so-called conventional meaning of a word plus the contextual factors in which it occurs. Encyclopedic meaning does not reduce semantic description to a minimum, but rather attempts to account for all semantic-pragmatic factors. For example, a core meaning approach to the Spanish *restaurante* would simply give the English gloss *restaurant*, whereas an encyclopedic approach would describe much more. See §2.6.1.1 and Geeraerts (2010:203-222) for more on this topic.

mantics. Still, one may conclude that meaning(s) presented in an encyclopedic fashion can offer more explanatory power than traditional lexical semantic methods alone.¹¹

1.1.3 Cognitive linguistic foundations

Cognitive linguistics is no longer a minority view in linguistics¹² nor in the study of biblical languages.¹³ Van Wolde (2009) has summarized many basic insights from cognitive linguistics for biblical scholars, particularly the work of Langacker. More recently, Shead (2011) has applied Fillmore's frame semantic model to biblical Hebrew (BH). There have been many articles for more than a decade that have applied cognitive linguistics methods to BH.¹⁴ Even so, BH grammatical and lexical resources, for the most part, do not yet reflect these advances.

The lone lexicographic exception is De Blois' *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (SDBH) project which is more than ten years in the making. While still incomplete, SDBH currently offers usage-based descriptions of BH nouns, verbs, and complete coverage of all lexemes that begin with **א**.

1.2. BH lexicography

Biblical lexicography has come under criticism for its lack of an up-to-date linguistic method. O'Connor (2002) criticized the state of BH lexicography, specifically the lexicon of Brown-Driver-Briggs (BDB), saying that its organization was haphazard at best. Van der Merwe (2004a, 2006a) also calls for a "principled model" in BH lexica and offers cognitive linguistic

11. See §2.8 for a full treatment of embodied meaning. The effects of the cognitive revolution will prompt further questions about how meaning should be represented beyond being encyclopedic (like *Can lexical representations mimic mental representations?*). These issues are first addressed in §2.8.1.

12. See Goddard (1998:15); Geeraerts and Cuykens (2007); and Peeters (2000:3-4).

13. Cognitive linguistic papers are regularly read in the Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Lexicography sections at Annual Society of Biblical Literature (henceforth SBL) meetings. Cognitive Linguistics in Biblical Interpretation is another SBL section dedicated to the use of cognitive linguistic methods in biblical studies.

14. Van Hecke (2001, 2003, 2010), de Blois (2002), Van der Merwe (2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), Bascom (2011).

methods as a solution. Works like these have prompted others¹⁵ in recent years to reevaluate BH lexical semantics, generally on a case by case basis, insisting on a clearly articulated linguistic method. A consistent introductory theme among this body of research, exemplified in lexicography at present by SDBH, is that BH lexica can be informed by coherent semantic models that describe how the lexicographers analyzed the BH data.¹⁶

1.2.1 BH prepositions

In regards to BH prepositions, Rodriguez (2011), Mena (2012), Lyle (2012, 2013), Hardy (2014), and Lemmer (2014) have shown that usage-based methodologies can provide verifiable methods by building on the philological work of traditional BH lexica with usage-based methods from cognitive and historical linguistics. BH prepositions provide a closed corpus of lexical concepts that can be analyzed from usage-based perspectives. These lexical concepts symbolize the space-time relationships that ancient BH speakers/hearers constructed to understand and navigate their world. This field of study can provide a unique typological linguistic perspective on ancient languages in light of the modern work done on "grammars of space."¹⁷ Further, the study of BH prepositions from an embodied cognitive perspective can give a clearer understanding of the BH text for Bible readers and scholars. Van der Merwe (2003:24) explains this reasoning,

"If, furthermore, insight can be gained into the way in which Biblical Hebrew speakers structure information in specific communication situations to create and maintain mental spaces... I am of the opinion that one may claim that the first

15. Rodriguez (2011, 2013), Mena (2012), Lyle (2012, 2013), Yoo (2013), and Meghan (2014).

16. In particular, see Imbayarwo's (2008) criticism of traditional BH lexicography in this regard.

17. See Langacker (1986:1), Levinson (2003), and Levinson and Wilkins (2006). The phrase *grammars of space* is borrowed terminology from Langacker and Levinson, though the two scholars do not write about space in the same way. Langacker is referring to Fauconnier's (1985) mental spaces, and thus a *cognitive* grammar. Levinson, however, is referring to what a field linguist would call an "actual" grammar, by describing how various languages realize their experience of space through their language usage. One might say that Langacker and Levinson (each respectively representing cognitive linguistics and neo-Whorfian linguistics) here represent usage-based distinctions of *langue* and *parole* (Saussure [1916] 2007). These two schools of thought are used complementary to one another in this dissertation.

well-justifiable steps towards a more comprehensive model for the description and interpretation of Biblical Hebrew have been taken."

It should be noted that Van der Merwe here refers to all of BH. In this dissertation, the whole of BH is delimited to only a handful of prepositions. It is these "mental spaces" that are instantiated and symbolized by BH prepositions that this dissertation will explain by investigating the BH prepositions **החת**, **מ/לפנִי**, **אחר**, **עם**, **את**, and **על**.

1.3 Moving forward

These prepositions were chosen for this study in order to further test and expand the findings of Rodriguez (2011; 2013) in conjunction with those of Mena (2012), Lyle (2012; 2013), Hardy (2014), and Lemmer (2014). Those works demonstrate the plausibility of cognitive and historical linguistic methodologies used to explain polysemies and their developments of BH prepositions including **החת**, **אחר**, **עם**, **את**, and **על**. The work of these investigations will be reviewed in §2.6 and all of them will be (partly and critically) used in the framework of analysis for the prepositions in question presented in §3.4. The utility of usage-based methods like those of cognitive linguistics and grammaticalization theory cannot be overstated. In recent decades, applications of both kinds of linguistic analysis have yielded evidence across languages showing their utility for semantic description and for charting semantic development across time.¹⁸

It is necessary (and here assumed, based on Rodriguez 2011:20 and in the spirit of BDB [1906]2006:vi) that lexicographic descriptions of closed corpora be as exhaustive as possible.¹⁹ It is also necessary to acknowledge, as Clines' *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (DCH) (1993:8-10) does, that the work of lexicography is expensive, costing time and resources to

18. For evidence of the cross-linguistic utility of cognitive linguistic methods, see Rohrer (2007:33), Verhagen (2007:52), Oakley (2007:220-222), and Zlatev (2007:324). In regards to the cross-linguistic utility of grammaticalization, see the various articles in Narrog and Heine (2011:683-796).

19. Yet, even "exhaustive" searches can be shown to be deficient by later, more exhaustive searches.

continue the work. So, this dissertation cannot be exhaustive of all BH prepositions. Instead, building on the thesis of Rodriguez (2011) concerning **הַחַת** and the SBL presentation of Rodriguez (2013) concerning **אֶחָד**, this dissertation will address the problems with both of those analyses and offer a revised solution for each. In addition to **הַחַת** and **אֶחָד**, two BH prepositional forms of **פָנָה***, though there are other collocations that will be accounted for in §5) will also be accounted for. Thus, this dissertation will describe three body-part terms²⁰ in the Hebrew Bible that have come to be used as prepositions. From the perspective of traditional Hebrew studies, these three represent BH attestations of a larger linguistic phenomenon: body part words used as prepositions and pseudo-prepositions.²¹ These prepositions of body-part origin will be analyzed with usage-based methods and presented in a cognitive semantic model explaining their polysemies and the relationships between those polysemies. This addresses a problem of meaning expressed in Kosuth's *Chairs* (Fig. 1) that is also a problem in the lexical semantic descriptions of BH prepositions: how to account for polysemy. All of the BH usages of these prepositions have yet to be accounted for with methods that are sensitive to the poly- and heterosemies of BH prepositions, such as usage-based methods.

Each instance of these prepositions will be categorized, catalogued, and a semantic map explaining its polysemies (including their developments) will be posited.²² The findings of this study will be used to defend the hypothesis that an embodied cognitive approach of these

20. While **הַחַת** is not frequently used in the Hebrew Bible to describe body parts, there is a consensus in BH literature that **הַחַת** nonetheless originally symbolized the *lower back* or *buttocks*. See §6 for a full description.

21. Joüon-Muraoka (JM) (2009:103o) writes, "Hebrew, like other cognate languages, makes extensive use of pseudo-prepositions; these are a combination of one of the prepositions mentioned earlier—notably **בְּ**, **כְּ**, **לְ**, **מְ**, **שְׁלִילְ**—and a substantive, often lexemes denoting parts of body such as **צֵדֶקְ**, **עַזְבָּןְ**, **קִוְיָםְ**, **רִגְלָןְ** in the status constructus."

Based on questions posed by Rodriguez (2013), it is fair to ask why **שְׁלִילְ** is not included in this study, as Rodriguez (2013) hypothesized that **הַחַת**, **אֶחָד**, **לְפִנֵּי**, and **שְׁלִילְ** are used to in a kind of co-ordinate system used to symbolize personal space in BH (see §2.6.1 for a fuller description). **שְׁלִילְ** has been treated, albeit not exhaustively, by Mena (2012). While there are hypotheses about **שְׁלִילְ**'s etymology, none of these include an original body part substantive (see Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley (GKC) §94fn7, §103a, and §2.5.1 of this dissertation). So, it is not included in this dissertation because it is not regarded as a body part term by BH scholars. However, when relevant to this dissertation, Mena's cognitive linguistic descriptions of **שְׁלִילְ** will be utilized.

22. This is not a full explanation of the method to be used in this dissertation. The full method is described in §3.4.

prepositions can contribute to, as quoted from Van der Merwe above, the development of "a more comprehensible model for the description and interpretation of Biblical Hebrew".

Chapter 2 will review the current state of scholarship regarding BH preposition studies. While it is not the intention of this dissertation to give a full accounting of all the linguistic theories that have led to how BH prepositions are presently considered, the relevant histories of some linguistic schools will be provided, namely what this dissertation refers to as *the Gesenius tradition*. The purpose of this section is to describe the various perspectives on BH prepositions and the methodologies used to analyze them in order to position the methodology of this dissertation within larger developments in modern linguistics and BH studies. For a skilled researcher, this body of knowledge is like a toolbox. Each method is a tool that may be suitable for performing a particular task.

Chapter 3 will offer further defense of usage-based linguistic methods as justifiable methods for linguistic description. Specifically, the usage of image schemas in cognitive linguistics will be presented with a brief explanation of its universal applicability. Secondly, cross-linguistic data regarding expressions of space (and movement through space-time) will be presented in order to show the wide-ranging utility of an embodied approach to language. In the third section, a word of caution will be given in regards to the assumptions made by linguists about what embodied experience is. This warning demonstrates the problematic nature of exporting one's modernisms into the interpretation of BH. Taken as a whole, section 3 demonstrates the wide range but also the limitations of usage-based approaches in linguistics. Section 4 of chapter 3 describes the eclectic methods of analysis to be used throughout the dissertation. Different problems require different solutions and ways of working toward those solutions. Thus rather than offering a system to be implemented or a set of criteria to be satisfied, the methods used in this dissertation are like tools in a toolbox. Chapter 3 concludes describing such a toolbox methodology.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 will summarize the results of the investigation into the data of the BH prepositions *הנה* מ/^{לפנִי}, and *אחר* respectively.²³ Each chapter will include 1) a comparative Semitic analysis of the phoneme(s) in question, 2) a review of the relevant BH literature, 3) a semantic analysis of the BH data, and 4) an application of the lexical semantic method advanced in this dissertation. Chapter 7 will conclude and pose questions for future study.

23. The full data sets are available upon request.

2. Prepositions and methodologies

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this section is to establish the current scholarly consensus regarding BH prepositions. While there is a basic consensus regarding the BH word class that has been extant since the time of Gesenius (GKC §101a), usage-based approaches have been applied to BH prepositions in recent years that may now be evaluated in relation to older, more traditional methods. In order to appreciate a review of this body of literature, first the traditional BH lexica and grammars will be reviewed in relation to the principles of philology by which they were created. These works include the many grammars and lexica of Gesenius and the two major English-Hebrew dictionaries, BDB and Köhler-Baumgartner-Stamm (2000) (HALOT), that, as will be shown, utilize Gesenius' philological methods. Following the review of traditional resources, structuralist BH works will be reviewed in relation to commonly held structuralist principles. The major BH lexical project representing structuralist semantics is DCH. Following the review of DCH, neo-structuralist semantic methods, such as the functionalisms of Waltke-O'Connor (1990) (WO) and Van der Merwe et al (1999) (BHRG), will be reviewed in relation to neo-structuralist principles. Finally, the recent usage-based works (those of cognitive linguistics and grammaticalization theory) applied to BH prepositions will be reviewed, in relation to the general principles of the linguistic schools from which they come. By evaluating each description of BH prepositions within the scholarly context in which the description was made, one may evaluate the work on its own terms, by its own agenda. This is a cautionary practice in order to prevent misrepresentations and biases against particular theoretical models.²⁴

24. As stated in the title, this dissertation identifies itself as a cognitive linguistics approach that has been applied to the investigation of BH prepositions. But as Geeraerts (2010:273-277) notes, cognitive linguistics is built upon the work of previous linguistic models. So instead of simply dismissing other methods, one must

Each linguistic school of thought will be reviewed similarly. First, specific ways that prepositions have been handled in BH linguistic literature of that particular linguistic method will be reviewed. Second, a criticism of these methods will be offered. It will be shown that all schools of thought have contributed to this scholarly discussion in beneficial ways. Third, an embodied cognitive framework by which BH prepositions can be explained will be given.

2.2 Preposition as a category

Preposition is a linguistic category to which other contributors have made additions since it was first defined by Dionysus Thraxe (170-90 BCE). Today, prepositions are defined in language books as words that refer to relationships of space or time between two things.²⁵ But when Thraxe first described this set of words, he was only referring to where they occurred in an utterance. Prepositions were words that always came before other words. These included words like εν. Consider a phrase like εν τη οικια αυτου (*in his house*). Thraxe noted that a Greek would never say such an utterance with εν in a different location. *Τη οικια αυτου εν is nonsense. So Thraxe gave words like εν the name *prothesis* (preposition) because they always occur before other words or phrases (Thraxe-Kemp [170-90 BCE] 1986).

But over time, the term preposition has been packed with more than just to indicate location in a sentence. In addition to becoming associated with space and time relationships, the term preposition has also spawned other terminology, namely *postposition*,²⁶ that refers to lexical items semantically similar to prepositions but occur after their complement. There is also *adposition*, a catch-all term for all semantically relational words no matter where they occur in a sentence.²⁷ Today, some linguists also consider prepositions (especially English prepositions)

appreciate each method on its own terms and use that which is useful.

25. See an elementary level, grade 5, textbook Farr et al (2002:310-318) and a high school textbook, Anderson, et al (2012:T325-T327) for introductions.

26. Postpositions occur in languages such as Turkish (Göksel and Kerslake 2004:214-217).

27. The Summer Institute of Linguistics supports this definition of adposition. <http://www-01.sil.org/linguistics/glossaryoflinguisticterms/WhatIsAnAdposition.htm>.

as *particles*, meaning a word that does not belong to one of the main word classes (such as verb or noun), is invariable in form, and has a grammatical meaning (Richards, Platt, and Weber 1985:208).²⁸

2.3 Prepositions in Philological BH Literature

In BH studies, the consensus has long been that prepositions are nouns that came to be used adverbially and prepositionally (GKC §101a). Like many aspects of BH studies, this is the consensus because Gesenius' remarks on BH prepositions have mostly been verified by the generations of BH scholars who have followed in his footsteps. As the father of modern BH studies, his influence is not be taken lightly or oversimplified. His methods for grammar and lexicon making still endure today. In fact, one may rightfully say that Gesenius created a tradition of BH studies based on his application of pre-structuralist philology that still remains as a method to learn and study BH. This is evidenced by how ubiquitous are the use of lexical resources that are based on his lexicographic methods: BDB and HALOT, in particular, and of course the new eighteenth edition of the *Handwörterbuch* (Gesenius-Meyer-Donner 1987) (G18). In this section, Gesenius' principles for lexicography will be reviewed in order to show how closely the creators of BDB and HALOT follow those principles.²⁹

2.3.1 The Gesenius Tradition

Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius lived only 56 years. He was born 5 February 1786 in Nordhausen and died on 23 October 1842 in Halle. He was 24 years old when the first volume of the first edition of his *Handwörterbuch* was published. It would be fully completed in 1812, when he was 26 years old. Today, the eighteenth edition of his *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* has been completed. While Gesenius

28. Bussmann (1998:867) also notes that particles are generally "indeclinable word classes". More narrowly he also notes that particles "have weak lexical meaning and are ambiguous; a characteristic is the overlapping of the individual functions". BHRG demonstrates that these criteria for indeclinable word classes do not apply to the BH prepositions in question (see §2.5.2).

29. Reviews of particular lexical entries will be done in the chapters of this dissertation dedicated to those respective lexemes.

is most often considered the father of BH lexicography, as if he were only an older paternal figure, one should also remember his young age when he began his lexicographic dynasty and his short life—barely over half-a-century. In this way, he may also be remembered as a young innovator of lexicographic technology in the study of closed corpora.

Gesenius applied the philology of his day to the Hebrew Bible. Though some decades after Gesenius' death, Hecht (1888:5) (quoted and translated by Geeraerts 2010:9) describes the value of semantic analysis in the philological tradition and also its perceived border with other disciplines,

"Insofern sie zugunsten der Lexikographie die Bedeutungen in zeitlicher Folge ordnet und im Interesse der Etymologie die Gesetze der Bedeutungsänderung aufstellt, hat sie sprachwissenschaftlichen Wert. Soweit sie aber diese Gesetze aus der Natur des Geistes herleitet und eine Geschichte der Vorstellungen gibt—Bedeutungen sind Vorstellungen—, fällt sie auf das Gebiet der empirischen Psychologie.

Semantics is linguistically valuable to the extent that it chronologically classifies meanings in the interest of lexicography, and writes down the laws of semantic change in the interest of etymology. To the extent, however, that it derives these laws from the nature of the mind and that it writes a history of ideas—meanings are ideas—it falls within the realm of empirical psychology."

While distinguishing its goals from those of the psychology of the day, the philological tradition valued conceptual, psychological meaning, and sought out to describe these meanings chronologically.

Gesenius developed lexicographic principles to guide his work based on the philological methods of his day. These were applied to BH studies, which, for Gesenius, was not limited to the text of the Bible. Miller ([1927]1966:22-29) summarizes his methods in two major

groups: 1) methods for handling source material and 2) rules for making dictionaries. These two groups of methods are summarized here.

In regards to source material to inform a lexicon, BH usages took priority for Gesenius. Following these usages, Gesenius used the traditional knowledge as a secondary source for his lexicography. These traditions, for Gesenius, include other ancient versions such as Greek Bible(s) (LXX) or the Samaritan Pentateuch along with the rabbinic sources that describe BH, such as rabbinic grammars and commentaries.³⁰ Gesenius' third source for his lexicon was cognate languages. First among these in relevance to BH, according to Gesenius, were varieties of Aramaic, and then Phoenician/Punic, and finally southwest Semitic languages of which Arabic is of primary importance (Miller [1927]1966:22-24).³¹

Gesenius' second group of lexicographic principles addressed the construction of an actual dictionary to be published in a book. Miller ([1927]1966:27-29) lists Gesenius' "eight rules" of lexicography.³²

"1) What belongs to the lexicon should carefully be separated from what properly belongs to the grammar and commentary..."

"2) The lexicon should contain a complete list of constructions and phrases formed with words..."

"3) The language must be treated historically..."

30. Miller ([1927]1966:24-25) describes Gesenius' four principles for handling traditional knowledge, his term for textual criticism, "1) Care must be taken to understand the version itself. Since the translators made them, at different periods of time, the characteristics of each must be carefully studied... 2) The text of the version must be carefully restored... 3) A traditional interpretation underlies each version. The version's value therefore depends on its age... 4) Versions are useful to give the usage of a word in certain passages; what they do not give...are the root-meanings and the etymologies".

31. Gesenius also had principles for handling cognate languages, beyond their order of relevance as described above. Miller ([1927]1966:27) describes four of these principles, "1) In using dialects [i.e. cognate languages] it should not be overlooked that the Hebrew as its own settled idiom which seldom exactly agrees with that of the kindred dialects. 2) The Arabic...deserves first place as a philological aid... 3) Since the differences in kindred dialects often rest on a change of consonants, these permutations must be studied... 4) A lexicographer does well to study the analogy of significations. He should study the dialects not only for words corresponding to form, but also to meaning...".

32. These eight rules are discussed in Rodriguez (2011:13-15) in regards to נֹתָן. For a detailed introduction to pre-structuralist philology, see Geeraerts (2010:1-46).

- 4) *Variant readings should be noted...*
- 5) *Proper names deserve a place in the lexicon, only in so far as they were originally appellatives, and contain verbal roots which would otherwise be lost...*
- 6) *A lexicographer must also study Oriental antiquities...*
- 7) *The lexicographer should list progressively the significations of each word in the most natural order, as they may have developed themselves, and illustrate them by proper examples... The lexicographer thus gives a logical and historical view of each word in all its variations of signification...*
- 8) *Words should be listed alphabetically in a lexicon intended for students.*³³

Gesenius' eight rules reveal some assumptions of pre-structuralist philology. The assumption that meaning and form (semantics and grammar) are (or should be) separate is not originally a structuralist idea. This view originates in the pre-structuralist era of philology, and Gesenius assumes it. Gesenius also assumes that the language should be treated historically, not only in the mind of the lexicographer, but also in the presentation of the lexicon itself. Also, Gesenius included encyclopedic information in his lexicographic method by asserting that "Oriental antiquities" must be studied. However, different editions of the *Handwörterbuch* have differing amounts of information (see §2.3.4 for more on this issue).

The Gesenius tradition is made up of the authors of those lexica and grammars following Gesenius whom follow his rules and assumptions. These lexica include all the works that bear Gesenius' name, in all their many versions by all their many editors, and also some others.

33. Gesenius further argued for alphabetical order in three ways: 1) Some words, like נָא and בְּנָא, are primitive and cannot be said to have a tri-consonantal root with absolute certainty. 2) Some etymologies are so uncertain that a student would not know where to begin looking. 3) In ordering by alphabet, a lexicon may list derivative forms at the end of an article and thus allowing for a morphological and semantic comparison within the usages of a certain root (which is the main advantage of ordering a lexicon by root) (Miller 1966 [1927]:29).

2.3.2 BDB

BDB is largely based on Robinson's edition of *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon* (GHCL), which itself is a translation of Gesenius' Latin *Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in Veteris Testamenti Libros* (Rodriguez 2011:15, 20; BDB [1906]2006:iii, viii).³⁴ BDB's adherence to Gesenius' rules (despite its inconsistencies) is also detectable. Poly- and heterosemous words are listed first by their noun or verb usage, then adverbial, prepositional, and conjunction, giving a possible historical account based on the lexicographer's intuition. BDB preserves many collocations in its lexical entries. It notes variant readings, gives separate entries for proper names, and even gives some contextual notes. The only rule that BDB does not attend to is to be alphabetical. Instead, BDB lists root forms alphabetically.³⁵

2.3.3 HALOT

De Blois (2001:14) writes that HALOT is not based on Gesenius. It is true that HALOT is not a translation of one of Gesenius' lexica nor is it based on one of the translations of Gesenius' lexica (as BDB is largely based on Robinson's edition), but HALOT follows Gesenius' eight rules more than BDB. Like others in the Gesenius tradition, HALOT does not list syntactic information typically found in a grammar (such as the function of a preposition + infinitive construct phrase). The lexicon also lists common collocations in each lexical entry. Like Gesenius and BDB, the authors also list poly- and heterosemous lexemes in an intuitive historical fashion. They include variant readings and proper names. One benefit of history that HALOT enjoys that BDB could not is the inclusion of literature from Ugarit, Akkad, and Qumran. In light of these various features, it is not unreasonable that HALOT be considered as one of the more faithful practitioners of Gesenius' method.

34. In light of that history, it is easy to understand why O'Connor (2002:200) would criticize its organization as having been done "with a pitchfork".

35. This is not to say that the roots are not listed alphabetically; indeed they are. But specific word forms that are treated as words (especially by new students coming from a modern language), like לְפָנֶי, are not listed under the פ section. Instead, לְפָנֶי is listed under פ because the root of פָנַח is לְפָנֶי (or פָנַח, see §5). One can imagine the confusion this causes for a student who speaks an Indo-European language.

2.3.4 G18

Two-hundred and one years after Gesenius' birth, the 18th edition of his *Handwörterbuch* was published, created by lexicographers Meyer and Donner. G18 marks some distinctive developments in the Gesenius tradition, namely the inclusion of comparative data from other Semitic languages unknown in the time of Buhl's editions, such as Ugaritic, along with Hebrew manuscript data from Qumran. The lexicographers write (G18:vi),

"Das literarische und inschriftliche Material aus den mit dem Hebräischen verwandten semitischen Sprachen ist seit 1915 in einer Weise gewachsen, die man sich damals nicht hätte träumen lassen. Die lexikalische und grammatische Eröffnung der semitischen Sprachen ist so weit vorangekommen, daß man viele Grammatiken und alle Wörterbücher, sofern sie vor dem 1. Weltkrieg erschienen sind, heute kaum mehr benutzen, sondern nur noch als Monuments der Wissenschaftsgeschichte bewundern kann."

The literary and epigraphic material from Semitic languages related to Hebrew has grown since 1915 in a way that one would not have dreamed at that time. The lexical and grammatical development of (the study of) Semitic languages is so far progressed that many grammars and all dictionaries, provided that they were published before the 1st World War, are hardly used today, except as monuments of the history of science to be admired.

So now a BH lexicon bearing Gesenius' name is not just an object of wonder for the tradition in which it stands, but also can be useful in the new millennium.

G18 (vii-viii) has also refined Gesenius' eight rules of dictionary-making down to five and one observation to be kept. The lexicographers note,

- 1) Die Trennung von Wörterbuch und Grammatik, d.h. die Ausscheidung alles dessen, was in eine grammatische Darstellung der hebräischen Sprache gehört...*
- 2) Die möglichst vollständige Angabe der Konstruktionen, in denen die Wörter vorkommen...*

- 3) *Die historische Behandlung der Sprache...*
 - 4) *Die Kritik des Textes, d.h. die Beachtung der hebräischen Varianten, der alten Übersetzungen...*
 - 5) *Die Aufnahme aller Eigennamen des Alten Testaments...*
 - 6) *Die Berücksichtigung der 'Sachkenntnisse' der morgenländischen Alterthums'..."*
- 1) *The separation of dictionary and grammar; i.e., the elimination of all that belongs to a grammatical representation of the Hebrew language...*
 - 2) *The full as possible an indication of the constructions in which the words occur...*
 - 3) *The historical treatment of language...*
 - 4) *The review of the text, i.e., compliance with the Hebrew versions, the old translations...*
 - 5) *The inclusion of all proper names of the Old Testament*
 - 6) *The consideration of the "knowledge of the realities of oriental antiquity"...*

When compared with Gesenius' lexicographic rules in §2.3.1, one can observe that G18 has omitted the last two rules, that "significations" should be ordered historically and that a lexicon intended for students should be alphabetical. However, this may not be an omission but rather a refinement. The third rule—that a language should be handled historically—is followed by the listing of significations in the order of their supposed development, and thus makes the seventh rule unnecessary. Lastly, regarding alphabetical order, this is a non-issue for each lexicon that bear Gesenius' name because they will always be in alphabetical order. So instead of a rule, alphabetical ordering can be regarded as an assumption in Gesenius' lexicography.³⁶

36. Gesenius not only had a well-reasoned argument for this position, but he is also the first in known history to publish a Hebrew lexicon ordered alphabetically (Miller [1927]1966:29).

2.3.5 Grammars

In regards to prepositions, Gesenius' many lexica and grammars classify the word class as particles. According to GKC §99a particles "express the secondary modifications of thought in speech". GKC lists four types of particles: adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections. All particles allegedly derive from nouns (GKC §99a, b, §101a). GKC §101c notes historical development within the particle category by stating that many substantives used adverbially became prepositions. JM §103a follows Gesenius's historical development of prepositions but much more explicitly states that "prepositions are old nouns used first as adverbs, which were subsequently used as prepositions, namely before a noun or its equivalent". While limited by the linguistic tools of his day, the philology of Gesenius provided a Latin category-based grammatical framework for describing BH prepositions, and it used the historical linguistic tool of its day to explain motivations of semantic change across time: etymology.

2.4 BH Prepositions in Structuralist Literature

With the advent of structuralist linguistics, some philological tools became passé and fell out of use among linguists. A commonly identified example of this is the use of etymology as the historical linguistic tool of its day. The *Course in General Linguistics* says,

"Diachronic and synchronic studies contrast in every way...It is clear that the synchronic point of view takes precedence over the diachronic, since for the community of language users that is the one and only reality. The same is true for the linguist. If he takes a diachronic point of view, he is no longer examining the language, but a series of events which modify it...The conditions which gave rise to the state throw light upon its true nature and prevent us from entertaining certain misconceptions. But what that proves is that diachrony has no end in itself. One might say, as has been said of journalism as a career, that it leads nowhere until you leave it behind (Saussure [1916]2007:89)."

While philological methods continue to be used in the study of BH, clearly evidenced by the use of BDB and HALOT, BH grammars and lexica have nevertheless been influenced by Saussurean structuralism. In Weingreen's (1959) introductory Hebrew grammar, he introduces the inseparable prepositions as having "no existence as separate words" (1959:26)³⁷ and offers no historical account of them. Gibson (1994:145-151) also lacks a historical account of BH prepositions and instead focuses on the adverbial and adnominal functions of BH prepositions. One may argue that these are not exhaustive texts and thus are exempt from such criticism; nevertheless, it is fitting with the time period of structuralism's influence that these grammars avoid making historical descriptions of their own and ignore historical descriptions of the past.

2.4.1 DCH

Whereas HALOT is the epitome of philological methods in BH lexicography, DCH is the expert structuralist in BH lexicography. Unlike its predecessors, DCH is not a part of the Gesenius tradition. On the one hand, DCH (1993:22) claims to succeed BDB, and with the other hand DCH (1993:24) claims to be an "entirely new work". The intellectual heritage of BDB no doubt made an impact on the editor of DCH; nevertheless, DCH is theoretically and methodologically distinct from BDB. The Gesenius tradition (BDB included) is marked by the tools of philology, and DCH has plainly rejected those tools (DCH 1993:17, 25). Instead of philology, Clines uses the phrase "modern linguistic theory" to describe the methods used in DCH (1993:15). Through the course of his introduction, it is clear that this nameless modern linguistic theory that he refers to is structuralism.

Following the conviction of Saussure, DCH (1993:16) also rejects diachronics. Clines writes, "*The Dictionary (DCH) studies the classical Hebrew language as if it were a synchronic system. It is not a historical dictionary, and it does not aim at tracing the*

37. This is contra JM (§37b, §103a) and it ignores the fuller forms of בְּ, בָּ, and בִּ, respectively כְּמוֹ, כָּמוֹ, and כִּמוֹ.

development of the meaning of words. For most purposes we regard the classical language as constituting a single phase in the history of the Hebrew language. There were of course changes in the meanings of words throughout the millennium or more in which 'Classical Hebrew' was used, and in some cases developments can be inferred from the data in the Dictionary...So for some words it would have been possible to organize an article historically; but in general it proves impossible to prepare a dictionary of the classical phase of the Hebrew language on historical principles, since so few of the texts we have can be dated with any certainty."

This perspective is obviously contradictory to the historically-oriented methods of pre-structuralist philology evidenced by Gesenius' rules 3 and 7. Moreover, it seems to sidestep the historicism of the Gesenius tradition, which was not to ascribe dates to linguistic symbols, but rather to organize the extant data in a way that is historically plausible.

While historical development is assumed by Gesenius, Clines rejects it and instead assumes frequency within a closed corpus. Regarding the philological method, Clines writes, "The great philological enterprise, a legacy of nineteenth-century historical scholarship, was essentially a historical enquiry after original meanings and historical developments (DCH 1993:25)." This assertion of Clines may be called into question. As DCH also does, the Gesenius tradition has concerned itself with representing the multiple meanings of poly- and heterosemous lexemes (hence, Gesenius' rule 7). This desire to represent polysemies did not originate from a general philological desire of the day to establish "original meanings". Instead, this concern came from a profound desire to read the Bible defensibly.³⁸ Because, as Clines writes (cited above), "There were of course changes in the meanings of words

38. On this purpose within the Gesenius tradition, Driver's (1904:vii) commentary on Genesis records eloquently, "For the truest historian is not the accumulator of the largest number of ascertained facts, but the best interpreter of the spirit of the age which he describes, he who is best able to pick out the thread of purpose in the tangle of details. In other words, the ultimate decision on the value of the book as to be based on its context, and on its connexion with the whole of Holy Scripture."

throughout the millennium or more in which 'Classical Hebrew' was used," scholars like Gesenius and the authors of BDB wanted to track those changes in order to ensure that their readings of certain texts were defensible.

2.4.1.1 Criticism of structuralism's rejection of diachronics

One way to track changes in meaning in a language is to track similar changes in another language. This is not to say that the results found in language *b* necessarily have anything to do with the phenomenon in language *a*, but it does show that such a change is possible for humans. For example, in texts traditionally thought to be exilic or post-exilic, the noun בֵּית can be used for the temple of a deity and not just the residence of a person or family. BDB ([1906]2006:108-110) notes this usage later in the lexical entry for בֵּית and BDB also notes that the same usage occurs in Arabic. Such information does not reconstruct an original meaning, nor does it insist that Arabic data be used to interpret the Hebrew Bible. However, it does show that the apparent semantic change in BH also occurred at some stage of Arabic. Thus if a BDB-user is unsure if a certain instance of בֵּית could better be understood as *religious temple* instead of *person's house*, they can see that a similar change occurs elsewhere in Semitic. Again, this is not ironclad evidence that such a BH instance must be like the Arabic example. It is a pre-structuralist way of showing the lexicon user that the interpretation of בֵּית as *temple* is not odd and is defensible in certain contexts.³⁹ Clines also assumes that the purpose of utilizing historical data in BH lexicography is to be able to assign a date (range) to a particular usage. He writes (cited in context above) that "it proves impossible to prepare a dictionary of the classical phase of the Hebrew language on historical principles, since so few of the texts we have can be dated with any certainty." Such an assumption misses a possible utility of historical linguistics. As stated above, the point of tracing historical development is

39. Clines does not view comparative Semitics in this way. "Cognates in other Semitic languages have not been listed in this Dictionary. Such information has become traditional in Hebrew lexica of the last two centuries, but its presence in a Hebrew dictionary is highly problematic, and it is difficult to see what purpose it serves... We have not, in fact, seen it as our task to justify the meanings we propose for the Hebrew words; that is too complex a task to be accomplished within the confines of a dictionary (DCH 1993:18)."

not to date the language with a text. The point of mapping such developments is to show what has been conceptually extant in human speakers over a period of time. The Gesenius tradition and grammaticalization theorists share this viewpoint.

2.4.1.2 Criticism of structuralism's notion of arbitrary

Structuralism also described meaning differently than the philological tradition. Whereas the philologists used etymology (whether rightly or wrongly) as a tool to determine what factors might have motivated a word's meaning and change in meaning, the structuralists did not seek out such motivations. On meaning, Saussure's *Course* says,

"The link between signal and signification is arbitrary. Since we are treating a sign as the combination in which a signal is associated with a signification, we can express this more simply as: the linguistic sign is arbitrary. There is no internal connexion, for example, between the idea 'sister' and the French sequence of sounds s-ö-r which acts as its signal. The same idea might as well be represented by any other sequence of sounds. (Saussure [1916]2007:67-69)."

Saussure's claim that words have no natural connection in reality to what they signify can be called into question by cognitive science. This is not to say that cognitive scientists claim that words such as *unicorn* point to real animals. Rather, Saussure makes assumptions on what reality is that may be questioned by cognitive science. In fact, no words have any kind of connection—natural or otherwise—to reality, if by reality one means the physical external world. This is a philosophical truth that Kant ([1781]2004) pointed out long ago and that modern science has vindicated: people do not experience the world directly; people experience perceptions. Thus, if a modern, Kantian view of reality is assumed (that the world is experienced indirectly by perception mediated by the body), then Saussure is wrong. If the only kind of reality that people can experience is the reality made by their cognitive perceptions, as opposed to the reality that Saussure assumes is objectively "there", then the only kind of connections between words and the ideas they symbolize are cognitive connections. These

cognitive connections are just as real and natural as our own bodies and in fact come from our bodies.⁴⁰

But one can understand why Saussure would conclude that the connection between a word and what it symbolizes is an arbitrary connection. It is a result of his rejection of diachronics. The claim that there is no connection⁴¹ between *sörs* and the idea of *sister* can be easily accepted if one has no knowledge of the history of French. In the same way, one might also conclude that the connection between the letter *n* and the idea of *water* is arbitrary without a knowledge of the history of Hebrew. Both conclusions are mistaken. The history of alphabets in general (and the Hebrew alphabet in particular) shows that there is a strong connection between speakers' experiences and the letters they would create.⁴²



Figure 2: Taken from Chayit et al (2000:1)

The same is no less true for words and phrases, hence the pre-structuralist philological desire to gather historical, comparative data.

40. Saussure comes close to this with paradigmatic relations (see §2.4.2). However, he does not come to see these connections in the brain as natural. See §2.8 for an fuller introduction to embodied cognition.

41. To be fair, Saussure claims that there is no *internal* connection between the signifier and the signified. However, Saussure does not explain what he means by *internal*. This point will be revisited in the objections to grammaticalization, namely by Fischer (2011:35). The salient point applicable here is that historical developments in a language are an output product. Historical change in a language is not necessarily known by the speakers of that language.

42. The picture above illustrates how alphabets (Latin and Phoenician based alphabets are represented in the picture) came to be from pictographs (representing a bull for *n*). Sanders (2009:40) writes, "During the second millennium BCE the alphabet had two major forms: the oldest type, called the linear alphabet, originated in pictographs and still resembled abstract drawings. The first letter, *alef*, evoked the sign it originated from, the head of a bull."

2.4.2 Saussurean principles in BH studies

This notion of semantic arbitrariness has influenced BH studies. The structuralist approaches to BH have not introduced new meanings or functions in BH not present in the Gesenius tradition. They have assumed a minimal, non-encyclopedic semantics and instead focused on syntactic functions. Introducing prepositions, Gibson (1994:146) writes, "The prep. defines the kind of relationship which the phrase of which it is part has with the verb... In most (but not all) cases the basic relationship seems to be spatial or directional".

DCH's primary contribution to BH lexicography has been to exploit the standard semantic tools of the structuralist movement: identification of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations.⁴³ Syntagmatic and paradigmatic (or *associative*, as Saussure called them) relations are still useful tools in linguistics. They were the forerunner to neo-structuralism's *semantic domains* theory (Nida 1975),⁴⁴ which prepared the way for Fillmore's (1976) frame semantics.⁴⁵ Perhaps the long-lasting usefulness of using syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations is in their seeming contradictory nature to structuralism at large. On these relations, Saussure ([1916] 2007:121-122) writes,

"Words used in a discourse, strung together one after another, enter into relations based on the linear character of languages. Linearity precludes the possibility of uttering two words simultaneously. They must be arranged consecutively in spoken sequence. Combinations based on sequentiality may be called syntagmas...Outside the context of discourse, words having something in common are

43. Clines writes (DCH 1993:14-15), "The focus here, then, is not so much on the meanings, or the translation equivalents, of individual words as on the patterns and combinations in which words are used."

44. It should be noted that Nida (1975) is a culmination of more than a decade of work. It is chosen here as a representative of Nida's theory.

45. On the commonality that links semantic domains to frame semantics, Cienki (2007:170) writes, "Constructs such as frames, Idealized Cognitive Models (ICMs), and domains have been central to various methods of analysis in Cognitive Linguistics. Each of them provides a way of characterizing the structured encyclopedic knowledge which is inextricably connected with linguistic knowledge...Frames, ICMs, and domains all derive from an approach to language as a system of communication that reflects the world as it is construed by humans, rather than as it might be represented from some god's-eye point of view." The difference now is that when cognitive linguists talk about domains, they speak of domains of experience (Langacker 1987:488).

associated together in the memory. In this way they form groups, the members of which may be related in various ways. This kind of connexion between words is of quite a different order. It is not based on linear sequence. It is a connexion in the brain... We shall call these associative relations."

DCH includes as much information as possible on the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of each word in the dictionary. To be sure, lexica of the Gesenius tradition had already been recording syntagmatic information (however unknowingly) by simply recording all the various collocations in which a particular word might be used. DCH exhausts this data and also includes paradigmatic information by noting words semantically opposite and/or parallel to a lexeme in question. Systematic inclusion of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations in DCH is a clear step forward for BH lexicography.⁴⁶

2.5 Neo-structuralism/functionalism

The 1990's saw a small renewal of interest in BH prepositions. WO's treatment of the word class introduced functional semantic evaluations of BH prepositions at an intermediate level of study.⁴⁷ Jenni's (1992, 1994, 2000) investigations into the so-called inseparable prepositions נ, ב, and ו were exhaustive functional accounts of the BH prepositions.⁴⁸ By the end of the decade, some of Jenni's work had been systematized and translated into English in BHRG. These works have set the modern study of BH prepositions on a functional investigative course. While formal features are still discussed (more so in BHRG than the others) in all

46. It is worth noting that Saussure himself slightly contradicts his own rejection of diachronics in his description of paradigmatic (associative) relations. Not even Saussure can totally describe language without reference to how languages change over time. He writes, "There are, in the first place, a large number of expressions belonging to the language: these are ready-made phrases, absolutely invariable in usage, in which it may even require reflection to distinguish the constituent parts... These are idiomatic expressions involving oddities of meaning or syntax. **These oddities are not improvised, but handed down by tradition** (Saussure [1916]2007: 122-123, boldface added)."

47. See §2.5.1 for a full review of WO in regards to prepositions.

48. These three fit Richards, Platt, and Weber's (1985) definition of particle (assuming that one does not count sheva to pathach vowel changes as variation in form when נ, ב, and ו take a definite complement).

three above mentioned works, their focus is on how BH prepositions function in various contexts.

2.5.1 WO

WO (1990:233) begin their chapter on BH prepositions by outlining three major perspectives in historic progression: the nominal perspective, the particle perspective, and the semantic perspective. It should be noted that none of these views is completely exclusive to the others. So even though the philologists coined the nominal perspective on BH prepositions (GKC §99a, b; 101a), that is not to say that they did not also view a preposition as a particle nor does it mean they did not offer a semantic explanation, limited as it might have been. The same can be said for the other two perspectives.

WO's nominal perspective is the etymological answer of the Gesenius tradition to the question *How did the BH prepositions come to be?* The answer is *They came from nouns*. In the general particles section of GKC (§99b), the authors do make room for the possibility that some particles are derived from sources other than nouns, such as verbs. However, in the particles section specific to prepositions, no such room is made. "All prepositions derive from nouns" (GKC §101a). But one might question this assumption. While it seems clear that many BH prepositions derive from nouns, some prepositions also have verb forms. Consider בָנָה and לְפִנֵי or עַלְהָ and עַל. GKC (§30a-d) notes that the tri-consonantal nature of BH often expresses a root in both noun and verb forms.

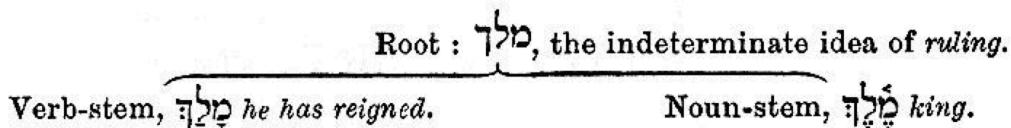


Figure 3: Taken from GKC §30d

If BH expresses its roots in both noun and verb form, how can GKC so quickly claim that all prepositions derive from nouns in light of forms like עַלְהָ and עַל or בָנָה and לְפִנֵי that are both

nouns and verbs? And what then is the preposition's etymological relationship to the verb form if not derivational? No further explanation is offered.⁴⁹

Like the particle and semantic perspectives, the nominal perspective also acknowledges that many prepositions are heterosemous, meaning they can function as nouns, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. GKC plots a historical development of these usages to moves from noun to adverb to preposition (§101c). Though vague by modern standards, Gesenius' basic historical development of BH prepositions has been vindicated by grammaticalization theory.

The particle perspective has long been the perspective of structuralism. Since Saussure's comments on diachronic study, structuralism in BH needed a method to describe BH prepositions that was separate from the etymological nature of the nominal perspective from the Gesenius tradition. It is ironic that instead of devising a new way to handle prepositions to counter their philological forefathers, the structuralists went further back in academic time to ancient Greece when Dionysus Thraxe created one of the world's first grammars. Of the eight basic word classes that Thraxe described, the *συνδεσμος* is what today is called "particle" (de Jonge 2006:81). Similar to the modern definition of Richards, Platt, and Weber (1985) cited above, Thraxe's criteria for particles is that they can decline no further. This is clearly not the case with BH prepositions that take a declination pattern with pronominal suffixes.⁵⁰ Further, as noted above, except for the inseparable prepositions, BH prepositions vary in form. It is generally accepted today that "particle" is a term for small linguistic units that do not fit into other categories.

The semantic perspective leaves aside the arguments of philology versus structuralism regarding diachrony and focuses on categorizing the semantic usages of a preposition based on semantic roles, that had been developed in Greek and Latin grammars to account for case

49. See §5 for a possible solution to this question based on historical linguistic methodology.

50. See §2.5.2, for further discussion.

endings. These categories include locative/spatial, temporal, origin, instrument, agent, interest, cause, and goal.

WO (1990:192) writes, "Most prepositions have a spatial sense, which it is convenient to take as basic. From this notion other sense, referring to temporal and logical relations, can be seen as having developed." While this "semantic" approach follows the structuralist particle approach in giving no priority to the linguistic history of prepositions,⁵¹ it nonetheless follows the philologists as seeing non-spatial senses developing from the spatial ones without seeking further motivation from comparative studies.

2.5.2 BHRG

The works of Ernst Jenni (1992, 1994, 2000) signified a significant change in the study of BH prepositions. Jenni's description of the prepositions **¤**, **↳**, and **▷** are exhaustive. Rather than looking for historical solutions, as the philologists, and rather than looking past historical solutions, as the structuralists, Jenni offered functional descriptions for the inseparable prepositions.

BHRG has summarized Jenni's functional categories in a systematic fashion. Like the structuralists before them, BHRG (1999:272-294) posits no historical development. However, unlike the particle perspective that collapsed everything into morphosyntax, BHRG describes BH prepositions in the separate traditional linguistic domains of morphology, syntax, and semantics.

The morphology section of BHRG gives more explanation than other modern grammars. Rather than simply listing the pronominal suffixes, BHRG explains in detail the morphological distinctives of the inseparable prepositions, those which decline as plural and singular nouns, and specifically the morphology of the preposition **▷**. Most striking in this section is

51. WO (1990:192) continues, "The role of the spatial sense should be qualified: usage, not etymology, decides meaning."

BHRG's use of the word "decline". Most BH grammars do not use the word "decline" to describe BH. As previously stated, such a pattern of declination indicates that Thraxe's category of "particle", while apt for Greek, is not a good descriptor of the BH phenomenon.

While BHRG divides its survey of BH prepositions into traditional linguistic categories (morphology, syntax, and semantics) and does not choose a perspective on BH prepositions (as WO's three-part scheme), its morphology section seems to give evidence for the validity of the philological "noun perspective". Morphologically, it is clear that most BH prepositions, such as **רַחֲאָה** or **תְּהִתָּה**, are nouns being used to modify other nouns or verbs.

The syntax section of BHRG's chapter on prepositions discusses the places in a sentence that BH prepositional phrases may occur. Taking traditional sentence structure and structuralist syntax as a starting point, BHRG notes that BH prepositional phrases can be in either the subject or predicate and can either be verbal complements or adjuncts.

The semantics section of BHRG's prepositions chapter stands out among modern grammars. This is no doubt due to its use and systematizing of Jenni (1992, 1994, 2000). BHRG (1999:276) first notes that not all the world's languages use prepositions and that in addition to spatial prepositions, BH also preserves a sufformative—the directional **נִ—**—that also performs a spatial function. From there, BHRG contributes to the study of BH prepositions by applying Jenni's functional categories to all BH prepositions. Like WO (1990:192), BHRG also remarks on the lacuna of research on the relationships between verbs and the prepositions that modify them.

2.6 Usage-based methods

As described in the beginning of §2, this section reviews recent literature on BH prepositions that have taken usage-based approaches. These are the most recent linguistic approaches applied to BH prepositions.

2.6.1 Rodriguez (2011)

Rodriguez (2011) is an MA thesis that attempted to exhaustively analyze the lexeme תחת from a cognitive linguistic viewpoint.⁵² The basic framework for the project was a mixture of cognitive linguistic methods—namely prototype semantics and the use of trajector-landmark (TR-LM) diagrams—and tenets of grammaticalization theory as guiding principles.

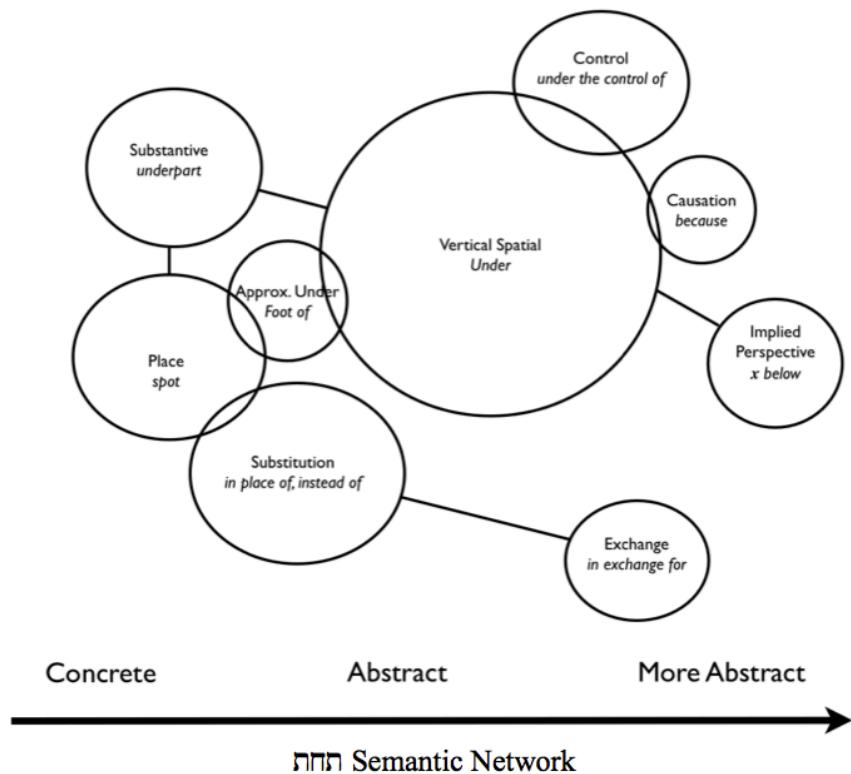


Figure 4: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:62)

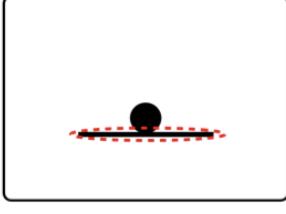
Place spot, place	
	Jos 4.9 אָבִים נָקִים יְהוָשֵׁעַ בָּתוֹךְ גִּנְדֹּן פֶּתֶח מִצְבָּה רֹנְלִי הַלְּבָנִים Joshua set stones in the middle of the Jordan at the place where the priests' feet were stationed.
תחת + noun/pro sfx - Ex 16.29; Lev 13.23, 28; 14.42 (crs Substitution); Jos 4.9; 5.8; 6.5, 20; Jdg 7.21; 2Sam 2.23 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); 7.10; Isa 25.10; 46.7; Jer 38.9 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); Amos 2.13; Zech 12.6; Job 30.14 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); 40.12; 1Chr 17.9;	
מִתְחָת - Ex 10.23; Jdg 3.16 (crs Vertical Spatial); 1Sam 7.11; Zech 6.12; 14.10;	

Figure 5: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:65)

52. The תחת section of this dissertation is an update to Rodriguez (2011).

These different linguistic schools can be complementary to one another (Langacker 2011:79-91) and viewed together as usage-based methods. The following sections (§2.6.1.1-2) introduce these methods, respectively.

2.6.1.1 Cognitive linguistic methods: prototypes, frames, and networks

Cognitive linguistics came about as a reaction to the kind of structuralism that divorced grammar and lexicon (Geeraerts 2006:3). Basic to all cognitive linguistic methods is the notion that grammar and lexicon, or form and meaning, form a symbolic continuum. Thus, while there are discernible poles, everything in a language is meaningful, because everything is symbolic. This is Langacker's (1987, 2008) application in linguistics of Kant's truth that people do not experience the world directly, but indirectly through perceptions of the body. Since it is not possible to directly experience and thus refer to things in the world but only our perceptions of them, all utterances are symbolic. The word *chair* is meaningful as a symbol, just like a comma , is a meaningful symbol, just like *would* is a meaningful symbol. There is no separation of grammatical words and lexical words in cognitive linguistics.

Another foundation of cognitive linguistics is that meaning is embodied. As previously stated, meaning does not reside in a realm of the forms. Meaning emerges in human bodies (see §1.1.1) as people interact with each other, the world around them, and with their own consciousness.⁵³ A consequence of embodied meaning is what cognitive linguists have called *prototype effects*.⁵⁴ Prototype effects are the mental organizations of various categories based on embodied experience.

53. See §2.8 for more on this topic.

54. Prototype semantic theory originates from Rosch (1973). More recent work includes Taylor (2003:41-83), Geeraerts (2006:141-165), and Rosch (2009:41-52). See Croft and Cruse (2004:87-90) and Hampton (2016:134-135) for critiques of prototype theory.

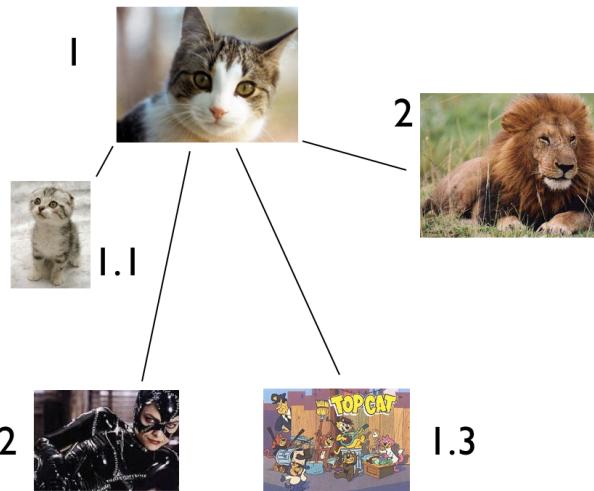


Figure 6: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:32)

Consider *cat*. The meaning of *cat* is bound up in its contexts (just as the meaning of anything is contextual). Frequently experienced contexts become entrenched in the mind and the result is what is known as a prototype. Thus, there is no fixed meaning nor semantic core for *cat*. There are prototypes based on experience, and since not all experience is the same, similarly not all prototypes are the same. So, for the typical North American pet owner, image No. 1 on Fig. 6 can symbolize what is more-or-less the prototypical (frequent and entrenched) idea of *cat*. However, if one works in a zoo or circus, perhaps image No. 2 would be the more frequent usage of *cat*.

But how does one establish prototypes with ancient languages? Loosely following Tyler and Evans (2003) methods (called *principled polysemy*) for describing the English prepositions *over*, Rodriguez (2011:63-64) concluded that the substantival usage of תְהִתָּ was the lexeme's *protoscene*⁵⁵ from which the prototypical structures of the other polysemies derive. Each polysemous and/or heterosemous node in Rodriguez's (2011) proposed semantic network of תְהִתָּ then represents a cluster of similar usages that can be described by certain TR-LM configuration (as in the Place image above).

55. This is a term exclusive to Tyler and Evans (2003) which denotes the most probable historically original prototype. Lyle (2013) follows Tyler and Evans (2003) methodology much more faithfully than does Rodriguez (2011). Lyle (2013) is reviewed in §2.6.3.

Prototype theory has proved to be a useful tool in cognitive semantics; however, with spatial scenes, the TR-LM diagrams show that linguistic symbols do not only instantiate prototypical members of a category, but whole cognitive frames that may include members of other categories.⁵⁶ A common example is *restaurant*.⁵⁷ While one's embodied experience will factor into which restaurant one is contemplating while reading this sentence, there is nonetheless encyclopedic knowledge about restaurants that the word *restaurant* brings with it. Restaurants have tables with chairs and menus and maybe ketchup bottles on the tables depending on the kind of restaurant. Restaurants have cooks and waiters. Some have bars and bartenders.⁵⁸

Cognitive linguists have shown that prepositions symbolize spatial, temporal, and other metaphoric relations between a TR and LM. Consider the following example of *over* used in Tyler and Evans (2003:68-72).

The cat jumped over the wall.

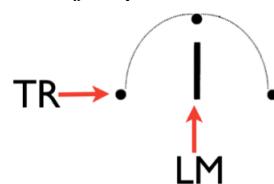


Figure 7: Taken from Tyler and Evans (2003:71)

Cat is the TR, represented by the dot. *Wall* is the LM, represented by the vertical line. The image as a whole aims to answer the question *What does over mean?* in this example sentence. The wider cognitive frame that prepositions instantiate, along with their spatial relationship, includes the participants in the relationship.

2.6.1.2 Historical linguistic methods: grammaticalization

In addition to prototype and frame semantics, Rodriguez (2011) also gave a historical analysis of בָּהֵן. The semantic network of בָּהֵן (Fig. 4) is made with an arrow at the bottom going

56. The work of Fillmore (1976, 1985) is foundational to frame semantics. More recently, Shead (2011:193-235) has applied Fillmore's radical frame semantic theory to BH, in one instance by using TR-LM diagrams to account for the meaning of בָּהֵן.

57. In the philosophy of language, Wittgenstein ([1953]2009) made an example of this phenomenon with *game*.

58. While this is similar to paradigmatic relations, its closer to semantic domains theory, although the semantic frames model is larger because of its insistence on acknowledging encyclopedic information.

from left to right. Starting on the left, this arrow marks "concrete", "abstract", and "more abstract" usages (nodes), that occur more-or-less above those markers along the arrow. This indicates a plausible explanation of how **הַהָּת** came to be used over time: first as a noun, then as a modifier (then of verbs as an adverb, and then of nouns as a preposition), then as a full conjunction similar to **וְ**. This reconstruction agrees with the pre-structuralist philological Gese-nius Tradition on **הַהָּת** (GKC §101), and Rodriguez (2011:37-39) justifies this reconstruction not (only) with comparative Semitic data but with the principles of panchrony, namely grammaticalization.

Panchrony is a view of historical linguistics that does not prioritize a synchronic view of language over a diachronic view, as Saussure did, nor vice-versa. Panchrony recognizes that both synchronic and diachronic analysis are valuable, and in fact can be used in tandem to solve one another's problems. One such problem solving tool is grammaticalization theory.

Grammaticalization is the observation over time that frequently⁵⁹ used words or phrases can come to be used in increasingly grammatical ways (such as a noun being used as a conjunction, as with **הַהָּת**), often while also shrinking in size (both phonologically and orthographically). The standard definition is given by Kuryłowicz (1965:69); "Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one." For example, Martelotta and Cezario (2011:737-738) note how Latin *por* and *inde* came to be used as a conclusive connective in the form of *porém* (*but*) in modern-day Portuguese: *Ele é pobre porém sua irmã é rica* (*He is poor but his sister is rich*). Narrog and

59. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) have described frequency of usage as being a driving force in grammaticalization (more recently in Bybee 2011). However other scholars like Lindquist and Mair (2004:xiii) argue that frequency "emerges as an interesting corollary of grammaticalization rather than as a primary cause, and some processes of grammaticalization do not seem to involve an increase in discourse frequency at all." Bybee's method of grammaticalization is assumed in the model for this dissertation presented in §3.4.

Heine (2011:3), however, note that not all scholars insist on formal changes in grammaticalization.⁶⁰

Further, it is documented in grammaticalization literature that adpositions typically develop from nouns or verbs across the world's languages, giving comparative linguistic evidence that supports the Gesenius tradition's philological intuition about all prepositions deriving from substantives.⁶¹ Based on this body of historical linguistic research, Rodriguez (2011) plausibly constructed a general pathway for **הנה** that moves from semantically concrete usages to less concrete usages. These movements along the path correspond with grammatical category membership. As usages move from concrete to abstract, so do grammatical categories shift from noun to preposition to conjunction. It should be noted that Rodriguez (2011) only employs grammaticalization theory in a general way in order to give some historical explanation to the existence of **הנה**'s polysemies.⁶² Hardy (2011; 2014), Lyle (2012), and Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b) have applied grammaticalization theory to BH prepositions in a more rigorous manner than Rodriguez (2011).

2.6.2 Hardy (2011; 2014)

Hardy (2011) utilized grammaticalization theory to explain how **הנה**'s polysemies developed. That work is discussed here and it prompts two related discussions on the roles of linguistic dating (§2.6.2.1) and on accounting for text-critical factors (§2.6.2.2). Hardy's chart (Fig. 8) shows six diachronic functional stages for the lexeme, following the principles of grammaticalization theory.

60. Namely they point to Frajzyngier (2011:625-635).

61. In fact, many languages around the world continue on from there to further develop into case markers. König (2011:516) gives the progression: noun, verb > adverb > adposition > case affix > loss. This "pathway" is also described in Heine, Claudi, Hünnemeyer (1991) and Blake (2001).

62. For a more robust application of grammaticalization theory to BH prepositions, see the reviews of Hardy (§2.6.2) and Lyle (§2.6.3).

Stage:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Uses:	Noun	Noun	Noun	Noun	Noun	
	Locative	Locative	Locative	Locative	Locative	Locative
	Temporal	Temporal	Temporal	Temporal	Temporal	Temporal
	Causal	Causal	Causal	Causal	(Causal)	
			Adverbializer	(Adverbializer)		
			Prepositional	Prepositional		
			Verbs	Verbs		

Figure 8: Taken from Hardy (2011:14)

More recently, Hardy (2014) uses grammaticalization theory to account for BH prepositions as a word class. Hardy's application of grammaticalization methodology is sound, as will be shown here, although it is specific to one particular perspective on grammaticalization. For example, following scholars such as Lindquist and Mair (2004)—and contra Bybee (1994, 2011) (and thus contra the assumptions of Rodriguez 2011 in regards to grammaticalization theory; see §2.6.1.2)—Hardy does not view frequency as a cause of grammaticalization, but rather a by-product in some cases. Thus, he does not view phonological reduction—often correlated with frequency—as a proper criteria for identifying grammaticalization (Hardy 2014:37-38). This means that Hardy would view the semantic changes of נָבָת as presented in Rodriguez (2011) as examples of change along a grammaticalization path, regardless of the fact that נָבָת does not phonologically shrink. Hardy's (2014) explanations for each of the prepositions in question in this dissertation are reviewed in each of those respective sections. Here, the general methodology used in Hardy (2014) is reviewed.

Hardy (2014:56-58) describes his method in four parts: the comparative model, language typology, the layering principle, and investigating differences in linguistic strata. These four parts are summarized here.

The first step, the comparative method, is the traditional philological method passed down from Gesenius of comparative Semitics and tracing etymology by phonemes. Though not to be used in isolation (following the advice of Barr 1968), this comparative method continues

to prove its utility, showing another point of agreement between pre-structuralist philology and usage-based linguistics.

The second step, cross-linguistic comparison, is the standard method in grammaticalization literature, whereby a particular phenomena in a language is compared to relevant parallel usages in a sampling of many other unrelated languages. This step aims to ensure some integrity of the claims made about data sets. Such a cautionary practice should be heeded in biblical studies because the corpora of study are such a small sample of BH and Greek literature, respectively, that this strategy can help prevent speculation. Hardy (2014:57) writes, "This approach is useful both positively to identify prospective changes and negatively to restrict speculative developments."

Hardy claims his third step, the investigation of overlapping meanings, to be a "language internal" way of tracking semantic-functional (that is poly- and heterosemous) changes. Citing Traugott and Trousdale (2010), Hardy argues that fuzzy exemplars that can be interpreted in more than one way are evidence of changes along a pathway (also called *cline*). Hardy (2014:58) does note that this step can only provide "positive evidence for functional changes", acknowledging that unlike step 2, this cannot be used as a tool of discernment to prevent possibly outlandish, unattested usages or changes along a cline. While this step can be useful, it will be shown in the respective preposition sections that when applied to the data of BH prepositions (particularly נִמְנָא in §4), this step is user-dependent and can lead to mistaken conclusions when misapplied.⁶³

The fourth step of Hardy's (2014:58) method is to account for "different linguistic strata—diachronic, dialectal, genre, register, et cetera—may provide usage pattern variation that can be used to detect potential changes evident within the time period of the biblical texts them-

63. Admittedly all steps in such processes are user-dependent because users have to use these steps. The point here is that each step is an etic tool, which does not mean it is not useful, just that it is not language-internal.

selves." Hardy's method (*ibid*) assumes that it is suitable to use "traditionally defined layers (of Hebrew)⁶⁴ to evaluate the source of variations." Issues of linguistic variation in BH have long been an issue for BH interpreters and so a sound method for interpreting the Hebrew Bible should rightly consider issues such as those listed above by Hardy. However, two criticisms can be made: one about the assumptions made about what can be concluded from these sets of so-called linguistic variations and the other about an "et cetera" item not made explicit in Hardy's list—textual criticism.

Hardy (*ibid*) writes that accounting for the linguistic strata that attest to variations "can be used to detect potential changes evident within the time period of the biblical texts themselves". While such items of linguistic variation should be accounted for, the assumption that (any phenomena in) biblical texts can be used to detect changes within the time period of the biblical texts themselves is not followed in this dissertation. The traditionally defined layers of BH that Hardy refers to are the so-called archaic (ABH), early (EBH), and late (LBH) stages of BH. The literature in this area is extensive and it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to give a full review of the relevant literature on this topic.⁶⁵ However, historical linguistics is relevant to this study and so a brief discussion on this topic is necessary.

2.6.2.1 Can the Hebrew Bible be used to date BH?

There has been much scholarly work done on the dating of BH as a language, so much that there has been a scholarly consensus on the existence of different diachronic strata of Hebrew known as ABH (dated around 1200-1000 BCE), EBH (also known as Standard/Classical BH or pre-exilic/First Temple Hebrew; dated from 1000-587 BCE), LBH (also known as post-exilic/Second Temple Hebrew; dated from 587-200 BCE), and later forms of Hebrew like post-

64. Such as the so-called archaic, early, and late stages of BH. See §2.6.2.1 as to why these diachronic stages are not assumed in this dissertation.

65. This issue has already been the topic of many dissertations and books. A brief chronological survey would include works like Hurvitz (1972; 1982), Robertson (1972), Polzin (1976), Kutscher (1982), Rooker (1990), Sáenz Badillos (1993), Wright (2005), and Miller-Naudé and Zevit (2012).

biblical Hebrew (dated from 200 BCE-500 CE).⁶⁶ The standard logic behind identifying these stages of BH is credited to Robertson (1972:2-3) who argued that it is known what Hebrew poetry of the 8th century BCE is like because of the poetry of prophets like Isaiah, Hosea, and Amos. Thus, "texts with more archaisms than these must therefore date earlier than them" (Young, Rezetko, Ehrensvärd 2008:330). It was thought that while a BH writer at a later stage on the chronological timeline could have written in earlier styles (although the writer would probably be betrayed at some point by the language preference selections of his own time period), the converse is not true: earlier BH writers on the timeline would not have the ability to write in the fashion of later BH writers as those conventions did not exist in their earlier time. So, a LBH writer could potentially write in an EBH style (though most likely slip into LBH habits), but an EBH writer would not be able to access LBH conventions at all (Hurvitz 2000:154-157). Since there were well-known passages that exhibited not-well explained linguistic features (e.g. Exodus 15 or Judges 5) this diachronic explanation of three stages of BH seemed to solve the problem. For some decades there was a general consensus that the poetry of passages such as Genesis 49, Exodus 15, Numbers 23-24, Deuteronomy 32-33, and Judges 5 represented conventions of ABH.⁶⁷ There was also a consensus that the Pentateuch (minus the ABH portions), Joshua-Kings, most of Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, and Micah-Zephaniah represented EBH and that Isaiah 56-66, Haggai-Malachi, Qohelet, and Esther-Chronicles represented LBH.⁶⁸

However, the works of scholars such as Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008) has challenged this consensus, particularly in their two-volume collaborative work *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts* (LDBT). While there are many issues that LDBT addresses regarding the

66. See Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008:7) for a helpful chart.

67. For a general introduction to ABH, see Young, Rezetko, Ehrensvärd (2008:312-340).

68. For an introduction on the distinctions between EBH and LBH, see *ibid* (10-44).

principles and methods of the traditional three-stage diachronic view of BH, one set of data is particularly instructive.

Distribution of 37 Grammatical and Lexical Features Cited in Rooker 1990a					
	Pages	LBH Feature	LBH in EBH	EBH Feature	EBH in LBH
1	68–71	לְוִיר	Yes	לְוִיד	Yes
2	72–74	אֵין	Yes	אַנְכִּי	Yes
3	75–77	אֲרָצָה	Yes	אַרְצִין	Yes
4	78–81	בְּ(נִ)סֶּם	Yes	בְּ(נִ)סְמָן	Yes
5	82	חִזָּה	No	חִזֵּי	Yes
6	83–85	קִים	No	תִּקְיִים	Yes
7	86–87	חַלְלוֹוּ	Yes	חַלְלָוְוּ אָנוֹ	Yes
8	88–90	אתְ קָשְׁיָא...שָׁבָב	Yes	הַקְשִׁיאָא...שָׁבָב	Yes
9	91–93	בְּבָאוֹ קָאָשָׁס	Yes	בְּבָאָוּ פָּשָׁה	Yes
10	94–96	וְרוֹאָ בְּלִשְׁוֹר	Yes	וְינִיעַ בְּלִשְׁוֹר	Yes
11	97–99	כְּפֶר לְ	Yes	כְּפֶר אָחָת	Yes
12	100–102	וְחוּלְדִּ בָּן	Yes	וְחוּלְדִּ בָּן	Yes
13	103–105	בְּגָאתָה	Yes	גָּוִירָה בְּגָאתָה	Yes
14	106–107	לְבוֹא שָׁמָה	No	יְמוֹ בְּבוֹא	Yes
15	108–10	קְרִיתָנָם אֲזָלִי	Yes	שְׁמָרָתָנָם אֲזָלִי	Yes
16	111–12	זְעַמְרָא אַשְׁר	Yes	זְעַמְרָא בַּיִ	Yes
17	113–14	וְרַחֲבָתָ קְפַשְׁתָּא אַמְתָה	Yes	וְקַטְמָשָׁתָ רַחֲבָתָ	Yes
18	115–16	עַל...	Yes	עַל...וְעַל	Yes
19	117–19	בְּיוֹן...	Yes	בְּיוֹן...בְּיוֹן	Yes
20	120–22	בְּ...שָׁמוֹת	Yes	וְאַסְמָן...הַמְּגָנִי	Yes
21	127–31	עַל	Yes	אַל	Yes
22	132–33	מְקֻמָּתָה	No	מְקֻמָּתָה	Yes
23	134–38	זְעַקְעַק	Yes	זְעַקְעַק	Yes
24	139–41	מְתָבָבָה	No	סְכִיחָה, סְפָר	Yes
25	142	נְחַזָּן	Yes	גְּרַזָּן, נְחַזָּן	Yes
26	143–46	קְרָלָה	Yes	גְּרָה	Yes
27	147–48	קְעַם	No	תְּרַדָּה אַתְּ קָאָרָה	Yes
28	149–52	קְעַדְךָ	Yes	קוֹם	Yes
29	153–55	לְהַלְלָה	Yes	לְלַלְלָה	Yes
30	156–58	בְּנֵי/בָּנִים	Yes	אַסְפָּתָ, קְבִּץ	Yes
31	159–61	בְּזִין	No	שְׁשָׁה	No
32	162–63	רְבָּהָה	No	רְמַבְּפָתָרְקָמָה	No
33	164–66	הַדְּרִיךְ	Yes	דְּרִיךְ	Yes
34	167–69	סְפִילָה	No	דְּרִיךְ	Yes
35	170–71	שְׁוֹרָה	No	חַצְרָה	Yes
36	172–73	לְשָׁמָן לְאַ	No	לְשָׁמָן אַרְתָּא אַלְשָׁן לְאַרְבָּתָה, תְּ	Yes
37	174–75	וְקָבָב וְקָבָב	Yes	בְּקָבָב וְקָבָב	Yes

Figure 9: Taken from LDBT (2008:85)

LDBT identifies many so-called EBH features in LBH texts, which does not pose a real problem to the traditional view. However, it also identifies many LBH features in alleged EBH texts, that, according to the logic of the traditional view, is supposed to be impossible. The chart above indicates lexical features characteristic of LBH and EBH, respectively,⁶⁹ and the mixture of the two into each strata's alleged domain. The two overarching conclusions from LDBT, assumed in this dissertation, are 1) the linguistic data of the final form of the Hebrew Bible indicates that so-called ABH, EBH, and LBH features coexist with each other throughout the Bible, and 2) this coexistence of so-called diachronically distinct forms should prompt scholars to look outside of the biblical texts themselves for ways to date BH. *Can the Ma-*

69. The LBH and EBH data for this chart was made from the features identified by Rooker (1990).

soretic textual traditions alone be used to date BH? No, they cannot.⁷⁰ Allegedly diachronically distinct features coexist with each other in the Hebrew Bible, and a possible cause for such linguistic variation is the presence of textual variants, an issue that Hardy (2014) does not thoroughly address.⁷¹

2.6.2.2 Alternative and variant readings

One of the previous rules of Gesenius' method discussed in section 2.3.1 is to list all textual variants of a lexeme. Modern lexicographers, particularly those concerned with page limitations, such as Holladay's (1988) concise version of HALOT, might not exhaustively list all textual variants of a particular word in a particular text, but there are many that do get listed, even in Holladay (1988).⁷² The listing of textual variants endures today as good policy for describing BH because the text of the Bible did not "fall out of heaven",⁷³ rather the text of the Bible has been passed down and preserved and copied through generations of scribes and families dedicated to the preservation of Scripture in a variety of manuscript traditions (Tov 2012). Through these handing-down processes, the text of the Bible has changed. Most of the changes among manuscripts are minor enough that Bible scholars and translators ignore or only footnote such variations.⁷⁴ Though some variations are so different from the standard

70. However, this is a basic acknowledgement about the limitations of what has been preserved of the masoretic traditions. The more pressing issue for BH scholars are the objections brought against the methods used in LDBT by scholars such as Dresher (2012) and Naudé (2012).

71. Albeit, textual criticism is not a linguistic strata. While neither Hardy (2014) nor this dissertation are dedicated to textual criticism, textual criticism nonetheless plays a regular and indispensable role in scholarly descriptions of the Bible. Hardy (2014) only mentions text critical issues in four places: a footnote on p79 in regards to בָּנָה in Ezk 20:39, a footnote on p132 in regards to בֵּן in Gen 16:5, p212 in regards to בִּיה in Prov 8:2, and p249 in regards to בְּקָרָב in Hab 3:2. To be fair, the other usage-based works considered in this chapter do not treat text critical issues in a systematic way either. However, those other works do not build semantic categories on evidence from passages that have significant text critical issues as Hardy (2014) has done. See §2.6.2.2 for a description.

72. Consider שָׁמַן in Holladay (1988:113), which notes that the usage of this word in Psa 64:7 is most likely corrupt.

73. See Prof. J. Cook's interview, available at <https://map.bloomfire.com/posts/604622-ot-textual-criticism>.

74. Consider the name of the Persian ruler in the book of Esther. Esther 1:1 in the Hebrew Bible identifies him as אֶחָדָרָוֹשׁ whereas the LXX (mentioned in the BHS apparatus) identifies him as Αρταξερξης. Regarding this difference, the NET Bible footnotes in Esther 1:1, "Where the Hebrew text has 'Ahasuerus' (so KJV, NAB, NASB, NRSV) in this book the LXX has 'Artaxerxes'. The ruler mentioned in the Hebrew text is Xerxes I (ca. 486-465 BC), and a number of modern English versions use 'Xerxes' (e.g., NIV, NCV, CEV, NLT)."

masoretic tradition that one must learn more about other alternative textual traditions in order to appreciate these variant readings.⁷⁵

One of Hardy's (2014:77-78, 89) functional categories used to describe a usage of אַחֲר is the ACCORDANTIVE function. Hardy (2014:77) writes that this function "is found in two instances and conveys the relational idea of 'in accordance with' or 'according to'".

Neh 5:15b [The governors] took bread and wine from them in the amount of forty silver shekels. (Hardy's translation) (Hardy 2014:77)

וְהַבָּחוֹת קָרְאָשָׁנִים אֵשֶׁר־לְפִי הַכְּבִידָה עַל־הַלְּמָם
וַיַּקְהֵל מִקְהָם בְּלָהָם נִיּוֹן אַחֲרָכֶם שְׁקָלִים אַרְבָּעִים

[The former governors] took food and wine from them, besides forty shekels of silver. (NRSV)

[The earlier governors] exacted from them for their daily ration forty shekels of silver. (Williamson's translation) (Williamson 1985:232)

[duces autem primi] acceperunt ab eis in pane vino et pecunia cotidie siclos quadraginta (VUL)

they also took the last money from them for food καὶ ἐλάβοσαν παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρτοῖς καὶ ἐν
and wine, forty didrachmas. (NETS) οἵνῳ ἔσχατον ἀργύριον, δίδραχμα
τεσσαράκοντα (LXX)

In keeping with this ACCORDANTIVE function, Hardy translates אַחֲר in this verse as *in the amount of*, an accordantive rendering for a monetary context. However, note the variant readings of Neh 5:15. Instead of acknowledging an ACCORDANTIVE function, the NRSV translators have rendered this use of רַחֲם as an alternative or additive function.⁷⁶ Williamson's translation, however, opts for a different approach to the verse altogether. Following the BHS apparatus, which notes the variant reading found in the Vulgate, Williamson emends אַחֲר to אַחֲד and also inserts לִיּוֹם before it making the BH phrase אַחֲר לִיּוֹם *for one day, daily*.⁷⁷ On this emendation, Williamson (1985:233) writes, "As Joüon correctly observes, MT's אַחֲר 'after' is impossible."

75. Consider Psa 133 in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The conclusion of Psa 133 in the masoretic tradition is that Yahweh has commanded the blessing of eternal life. In the Qumran versions, Psa 133 concludes with Yahweh commanding the blessing of peace over Israel.

76. Other translations that attempt to translate the רַחֲם as it is include the NET Bible ("in addition to", though they footnote the emended reading as well), JPS ("more than"), NIV 1984 ("in addition to"), and KJV ("besides", which NRSV has followed).

77. Many translations also accept this emendation. These include The Message ("a day"), CEV ("a day"), ESV ("daily ration"), and the NLT ("daily ration").

The LXX also attests another non-ACCORDANTIVE reading as it translates **אָחָר** as "a final item in a series" with *ἐσχάτον* (Danker et al 2000:397).

The **אָחָר** problem in Neh 5:15 is plausibly solved by a variant textual reading as noted in the BHS apparatus. And it can also be solved by preserving **אָחָר** and understanding it as addition in this context, as a number of Bible translations have done.⁷⁸ The practice of using a text-critically problematic verse as an exemplar for a particular function may not be prudent and will be avoided in this dissertation. Due to this lack of support, the validity of Hardy's (2014:77) notion of an ACCORDANTIVE function for **אָחָר** may be questioned.⁷⁹

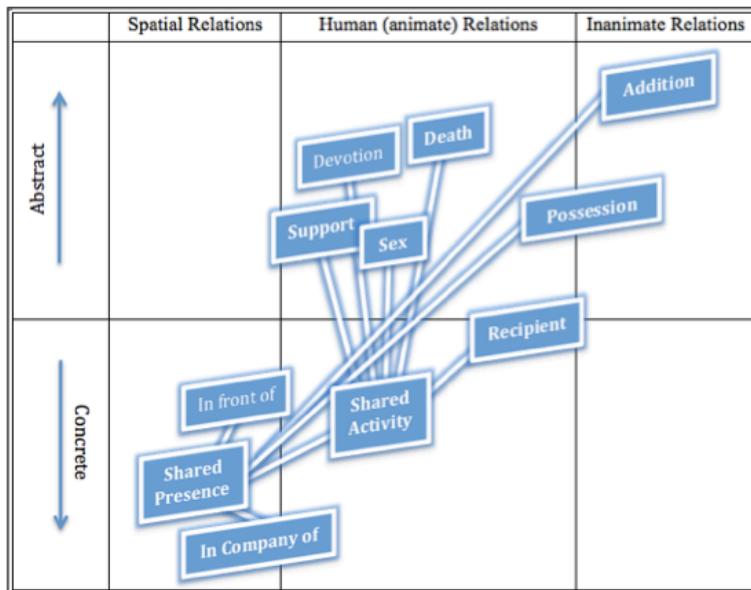
Hardy (2014) advances the methods used to describe BH prepositions by utilizing grammaticalization theory. While this dissertation will start from different foundational starting points than Hardy (that the Hebrew Bible should not be used to date BH, as one example), the application of grammaticalization theory in this dissertation will in some respects build upon the work of Hardy (2014).

2.6.3 Lyle (2012; 2013)

Lyle (2013) is a summary of the author's methodology section of his (2012) MA thesis. He has incorporated Tyler-Evans (2003) principled polysemy into the study of BH prepositions. As previously stated, principled polysemy primarily used two major tools of cognitive linguistics in their analysis of English prepositions: prototype theory/radial networks and TR-LM diagrams. Lyle (2012:100) offers a semantic map for the BH prepositions **בְּ** and **אַחֲ**.

78. These possibilities are noted in §4.1.3.5.1, §4.1.4.4.5, §4.2.2, §4.4.

79. The reader should note that in personal communication with Hardy after the publication of his 2014 dissertation he has agreed that the textual problems with the verses he cites in reference to an alleged ACCORDANTIVE function seem to outweigh such an interpretation.

**Figure 10:** Taken from Lyle (2012:100)

In this map, Lyle begins with Shared Presence as the protoscene and radiates outward to polysemies based on the prototype that increase in semantic abstractness. Lyle (2012) contributes to the field of BH studies by offering an account of related semantic frames that can be expressed by two lexemes. This is akin to the kind of contribution that Nida made to Greek lexicography with semantic domains and to that of Clines in DCH by noting syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Lyle, however, updates the method to a current cognitive linguistic convention for lexical semantics: the semantic map. Lyle (2012:9) decided to not utilize TR-LM diagrams in the nodes of the semantic map for **בָּי** and **מִקְרָא**. This decision may be questioned as it strays from the methods of principled polysemy.⁸⁰ Also, Tyler-Evans' (2003) use of *protoscene*, rather than *prototype* (which is more general in cognitive linguistic literature) is based in part on the visual representation of a spatial scene that a TR-LM diagram contributes to their use of protoscene in the principled polysemy methodology.

80. Lyle (2012:8-10) follows Riems (2010:254) in rejecting the TR-LM diagrams and also criticizes Rodriguez (2011) for using them. While not all-out rejecting frame diagrams, Cienki (2007:183) also shares the concern, "Because they (frame diagrams) are cognitive constructs, their scope is going to be determined in any instance by contextual factors as well as the subjective nature of construal. So, while they provide useful ways of thinking about the cognitive bases of linguistic structure and the relations of form to meaning, their inherent nature can make them tricky to use as analytic tools in a reliable, replicable fashion. Whether, and if so, how, these notions can be better operationalized for applied research remains to be seen."

Following Tyler-Evans (2003), Lyle (2013:53-61) explains the criteria he used to make his semantic map. Regarding the protoscene, five criteria are followed: 1) earliest attested meaning, 2) predominance in the semantic network, 3) use in composite forms, 4) relations to other spatial particles,⁸¹ and 5) grammatical predictions. While the cognitive revolution has brought scientific standards like repeatability to BH linguistics, it has also rediscovered the value of philological tools like etymology and has created methods to responsibly use etymological data. It should be acknowledged that this philological criteria is only one of five. So, while etymology does not define the semantics of a word, as the structuralists rightly note, it certainly does inform it and should be reasonably consulted. In BH studies, it is advantageous that the Gesenius tradition has already performed this step for modern scholars.⁸²

Principled polysemy's second criteria for determining a protoscene is "predominance in the network". When Tyler-Evans (2003:48) describe spatial configurations of eight of the fifteen senses of *over* that they identified, they use TR-LM diagrams to describe this diversity with images. Lyle (2013:67fn49) does not use images, making his argument harder to follow (than that of Tyler-Evans in regard to *over*) because a highly schematic diagram could have been used—arguably should have been used to properly exercise principled polysemy—to illustrate the predominance of a particular TR-LM configuration. Also, while Tyler-Evans assert that network predominance is a valid criteria for determining a prototype among polysemous senses, they do not motivate this assertion beyond their own intuition about their method.

The third and fourth criteria for principled polysemy that Lyle (2013) borrows are the preposition's use in composite forms and relation to other spatial particles. This would show struc-

81. Lyle (2013) mistakenly follows Tyler-Evans (2003) into nomenclature for Greek and English prepositions that do not fit onto Hebrew prepositions. Greek and English prepositions cannot decline, so according to grammatical tradition, they are particles. However, Hebrew prepositions can decline further and so are excluded from the traditional grammatical category of particle. See §2.5.2.

82. For the most part, Rodriguez (2011) and Lyle (2012) concede to Gesenius' etymological evaluation of how מִן and מִעַם and מִן developed. However, some concerns with Gesenius' etymology are addressed in Rodriguez (2011:15-16).

tural variability, both syntagmatically and paradigmatically. Though inconsistent with the others as criteria regarding the TR-LM configuration, it is nonetheless useful in showing varied usage in multiple contexts.

The fifth criteria, named "grammatical predictions", is not really a criteria. It is more of a measurement or way to self-check once the polysemies of a preposition have been identified. This criteria says that if the semantic network has been done properly, then one should be able to trace the steps from the most metaphorical sense to the protoscene.⁸³

Lyle (2013:59-61) further borrows the criterion of additional meaning from Tyler-Evans' (2003) criteria for polysemies derived from the protoscene. By "additional meaning", Tyler-Evans mean that a derived sense must be configurationally distinct from the protoscene that it developed from. Lyle's lack of TR-LM diagrams makes this harder to measure since the TR-LM configurations are not given. Also, Lyle (2013:fn30) notes the trouble with Tyler-Evans' model: "It is troublesome that each set of criteria implicitly requires, to an extent, the full application and completion of the other." One might ask in response *How can one track additional meaning in derived senses unless the protoscene has been firmly established?*

While principled polysemy is an important step in the history of cognitive linguistics, it is nonetheless problematic. In fact, Vyvan Evans, one of the two developers of principled polysemy, has criticized his own model since its publication. In Evans (2010:224), the author writes, "Ultimately, the difficulty for the principled polysemy framework is that while it attempted to provide a detailed account of lexical representation, because of its primary concern with detailing a rigorous methodology for establishing distinct sense-units, it failed to work out the implications of the functional nature of spatial semantics for lexical representation." It should also be noted that while Lyle (2012 and 2013) heavily relied on the principled

83. They go from prototype to derive senses, but one cannot step out to derived senses without first identifying them.

Polysemy, he also incorporated methods from grammaticalization into his methodology. In Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b), Lyle moves to grammaticalization as his primary tool for describing the lexical semantics of polysemous prepositions.

2.6.4 Mena (2012)

Mena (2012) is a rigorous application of principled polysemy to the BH preposition **ל**. Though she does not attempt to exhaust all the instances of **ל**, her work represents a good sample set of BH and a thorough use of Tyler and Evans' (2003) principled polysemy model. Mena utilizes both a map of **ל**'s polysemies across a semantic network together with TR-LM frames to describe each of those polysemies. She does not use any explicitly stated historical linguistic method, except that which is already a part of principled polysemy.

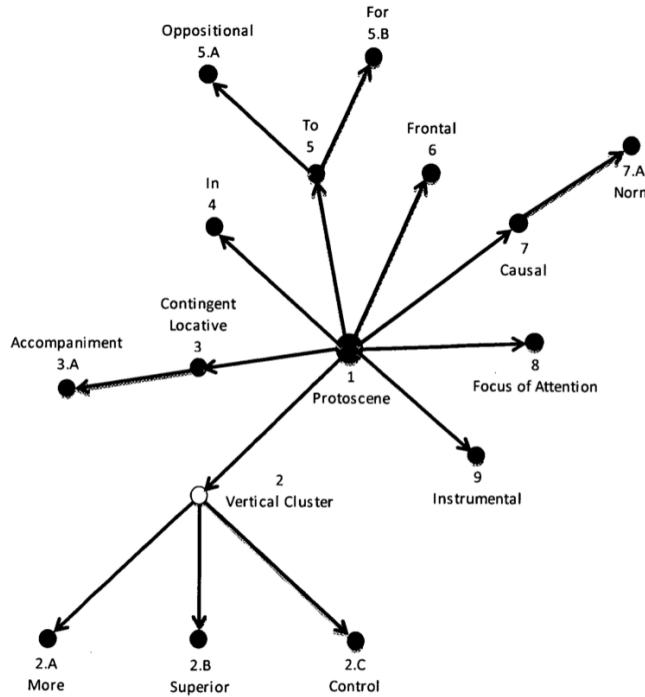


Figure 11: The Semantic Network of **ל** (Mena 2012:83)

This semantic map of **ל**'s polysemies follows much closer to that of Tyler and Evans (2003:80) than do the semantic maps of Rodriguez (2011) or Lyle (2012). Not only does she include both the network and TR-LM diagrams, she also follows principled polysemy's approach on what to include and exclude from certain categories. Metaphors do not necessarily get treatment as separate usages in her work, as in principled polysemy. Mena (2012:76) writes,

"Please note that spatial and non-spatial examples occur within the same semantic category. While Lakoff's (1987) full specification approach separates metaphorical usages from spatial ones, Tyler and Evans ([2003]2007) utilize a minimal specification approach. Tyler and Evans ([2003]2007:32-35) combine spatial and metaphorical usages as long as they can be explained by an experiential correlation, which is how humans interact with and perceive a spatial world."

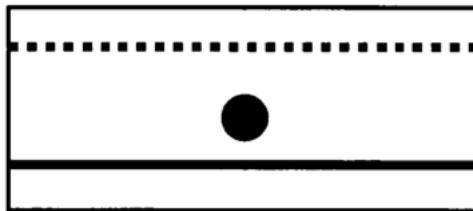


Figure 12: Taken from Mena (2012:84): The Protoscene for נִמְלָא

Like Lyle (2012), Mena (2012) utilizes principled polysemy's criteria for determining a protoscene, which among other things is the earliest attested usage and the usage whose TR-LM configuration is dominant throughout the semantic network.⁸⁴ Mena (2012:77) notes that GKC, BDB, and WO acknowledge נִמְלָא to be a noun, and so it is likely that an "early sense" could be concrete. She concludes, however, that since most prepositions have a spatial usage, the protoscene is rightly the spatial relationship instead of a substantive based on available data.⁸⁵

To venture outside of Mena's scope and purpose, one observes that she does not consider the preposition's relationship to the verb נִמְלָא. As previously noted, grammaticalization scholars have documented the change over time for adpositions, that they typically evolve from nouns or verbs to adverbs then prepositions and then cases. The Gesenius tradition has assumed that

84. Again, §2.6.3 has a full description for identifying a protoscene according to Tyler-Evans (2003).

85. This conclusion may be called into question. Perhaps it is due to an overarching lack of historical linguistic methodology in principled polysemy that explains why Mena (2012) acknowledges the likely existence of concrete usages of נִמְלָא but then diminishes the weight that carries by instead giving a relational usage the status of protoscene. If findings from grammaticalization had influenced her research (namely Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer's 1991 description of the noun/verb > adverb > adposition > case >loss), perhaps a substantival protoscene would have been considered. However, this criticism falls outside Mena's (2012) stated scope and purpose. Without a historical view, such as that provided by grammaticalization theory, one has only frequency to judge salience over the whole of the biblical corpus, and נִמְלָא used to symbolize a spatial relationship is certainly most frequent.

שׁל has evolved from some unknown form of *שָׁל as a substantive.⁸⁶ But is it possible that the concrete usage from which שׁל evolved is a verb? According to the typologies found by historical linguists like Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer (1991), it would not be the first time in the world's languages.⁸⁷

2.6.5 Lemmer (2014)

Lemmer (2014) is an application of Tyler and Evans (2003) Principled Polysemy methodology to the BH data for מִן in the book of Judges. This method has been described in §2.6.1 and §2.6.3-4 as applied by other BH researchers. While an important step in research into BH lexical semantics, Lemmer (2014) (along with Rodriguez 2011, Lyle 2012, and Mena 2012) is a bit out of date because of Evans' (2010:224) rejection of Principled Polysemy (see §2.6.3). Also, like Mena (2012), one cannot assume all the results of Lemmer's (2014) research as descriptive of מִן in BH, but rather only מִן in the book of Judges. However, also like Mena (2012), this work provides a cognitive linguistic starting point for a usage based evaluation of all 7,717 instances of מִן in BH. Lemmer (2014:77-105) organizes the usages of מִן in the book of Judges into 10 categories: position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, time, material source, origin, partitive, cause, and agent.

2.6.6 Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b)

Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b) examine the BH lexeme בְּלִי and show how the lexeme can function as a noun, preposition, conjunction,⁸⁸ negative affix, verbal negator, and as a preposition or conjunction in compound phrases. Thus, the lexeme is both poly- and heterosemous. The semantic map that the authors made differs from those of Hardy (2011), Rodriguez (2011), Mena (2012), and Lyle (2012 and 2013). It shows how בְּלִי evolved from a full noun

86. Mena (2012:77), BDB ([1906]2006:752), GKC (§101a). There is a consensus in traditional BH resources that this original substantive was שָׁל (See JM §3d; 94b, d fn7).

87. Similar concerns with regard to the verb forms of תַּחַת, אֶחָר, and פָּנָה are raised in those respective sections.

88. Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b) differentiate between a semi-conjunction and a genuine conjunction. This is a terminological distinction that will be explained in this section.

to a near-empty (semantically speaking) conjunction and even verbal negator. This map also preserves functions of בְּלִי that are unique to certain syntagms (see inside the dotted box).

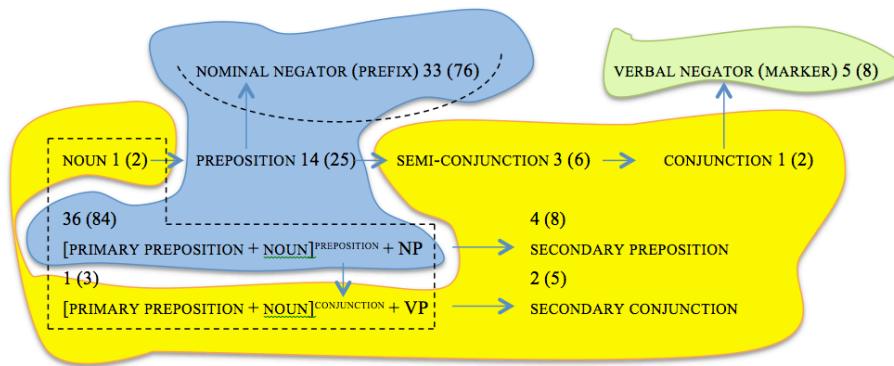


Figure 13: Taken from Andrason and Lyle (2015b:13)

A significant difference between Lyle (2012, 2013) and Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b) is methodology. Whereas Lyle (2012, 2013) employed a "traditional" cognitive linguistic model for their subjects of study that included a bit of grammaticalization theory,⁸⁹ Andrason and Lyle (2015a, b) employ a grammaticalization chain for בְּלִי that is framed in a way that is more-or-less commensurate with a general cognitive linguistic commitments. Again, the TR-LM diagrams, now common place in cognitive linguistics, are not employed. One specific deviation from Lyle (2012, 2013) is the cessation of using principle polysemy's criterion of predominance throughout the semantic network as a heuristic tool to indicate the prototypical usage (in fact, none of Tyler and Evans criteria are used). Andrason and Lyle (2015a:7) note "grammaticalization chains that constitute models for the arrangement of synchronic heterosemies have exemplary characteristics of family resemblance categories: a) there are linear categories with extensions from one pole (type *a*) to another pole (type *b*); b) *no attribute is common to all functions...* (emphasis added)". This evidence disproves the assumption made in principled polysemy that a sole attribute should be common to all functions.

89. This is not meant to diminish Lyle (2012, 2013) in terms of method. Rodriguez (2011) did much the same. Grammaticalization can a general guiding principle that all linguists should consider in their work. Or it can be the main-to-only method used, as is the case here, when applied rigorously.

2.7 Evaluation of linguistic foundations

2.7.1 All are partly right

Each of the previously mentioned authors have contributed to the field uniquely.

The Gesenius tradition in its many incarnations have already done most of the heavy lifting of comparative Semitic data. Historical linguistics has grown since the days of etymology, but still, modern theories like grammaticalization have vindicated philological convictions that could not be proven at the time: convictions like noun usages of a polysemous word developed first and metaphorical extensions evolved from them.

WO advanced the state of BH linguistic studies. In regards to prepositions, WO outlined alternative views from the traditional stance. WO offered syntactic categories based on prevailing linguistic views of the day, and in doing so, showed the lacuna in the study of BH prepositions of an accounting of the relationships between the BH prepositions—that often do look so much like nouns—and the verbs that often select them.

DCH addresses WO's concern for attention to be paid between prepositions and the verbs that govern them. While DCH does not explain these relationships,⁹⁰ it does record the syntagms in which BH prepositions occur.

BHRG's framework has made neo-structuralist applications of functional semantics to the study of BH prepositions. This includes Jenni's functional analysis of the inseparable prepositions. These summaries create a more-or-less systematic approach to the BH prepositions' many semantic and pragmatic functions.⁹¹

Rodriguez (2011), Mena (2012), Lyle (2012, 2013, and Andrason and Lyle 2015a, b), and Lemmer (2014) have begun to answer Van der Merwe's (2003, 2004a, 2006a, b) call for a

90. As stated previously, DCH does not view its role as justifying meanings of words (DCH 1993:18).

91. De Blois (2013) has also significantly contributed in this regard.

consistent methodology based on cognitive linguistic principles in accounting for the lexical semantics of BH.

Hardy's (2011) application of grammaticalization theory to בּנָא provides another historical linguistic typology that gives evidence to the scholarly consensus on the evolution of adpositions. His (2014) dissertation expands this methodology to the study of BH prepositions as a word class.

2.7.2 Problems

Each of the above mentioned works has problems and unanswered questions unique to themselves. Many of these problems were discussed during the reviews of the respective methodologies. These will be summarized here.

2.7.2.1 Assuming that all prepositions come from nouns

The methodologies do not engage the verb usages of prepositions generally accepted to be derived from nouns. The long-standing notion of Gesenius that all prepositions derive from nouns is too readily accepted by the above mentioned authors and their methods. Granted, not all the works concerned themselves with linguistic histories, but a refusal to engage in historical linguistics does not answer the discipline's questions. Modern grammaticalization theory supports the traditional stance but also notes that adpositions in many of the world's languages have in fact evolved from verbs. GKC (§99b) notes that some particles (prepositions included) may have come from verbs. And yet even with the presence of the verb forms אחר, על, and פִּנְה BH scholars continue to accept tradition without question.

2.7.2.2 Assuming that the brain is a passive recorder

The functional assessments of the neo-structuralists (WO, BHRG, and Hardy) and the embodied semantic assessments of the cognitivists (Rodriguez, Mena, and Lyle) all suffer from

the same mistaken assumption about the mind:⁹² that it "stores" information. Neurocognitive linguist Sydney Lamb (2006:5) writes,

"Most rejectable perhaps is this: the brain, hence the linguistic system, operates by means of symbols. Related to this false notion is the corollary that neurons or columns of neurons store symbolic information. But the symbolic information that seems to be so characteristic of language is not directly represented in the cortex at all. Neurons and cortical columns operate by emitting electrical activation to other nodes. This activation typically goes to multiple other nodes in parallel, and it varies in amount, depending on the amount of activation being received. A node accomplishes what it does by virtue of what other nodes it is connected to, not by virtue of any symbolic information it contains."

While this exposes the problem with any linguistic explanation about brains storing information,⁹³ it poses serious problems for the validity of cognitive linguistic methods. Lamb (2006) rightly criticizes cognitive linguistic methodologies like Lakoff's ICM's, TR-LM diagrams, and Fillmore's frame semantics as too theoretical and not actually based on what is known about human cognition.⁹⁴ Lamb's objections have prompted other cognitive linguists, namely Bascom (2011), to use the term "framing" instead of "frames". The distinction attempts to capture the neurological reality of how perceptions and memories work: they are constructed. Thus a typical framing like *restaurant*, previously discussed, is not stored in the memory

92. The first assumption that they, and many linguists over the years, have made is that a "mind" exists. Note that while Lamb's objections are valid, he does not offer an explanation of how the mind exists.

93. The literature on memory is compelling. Memories are not passive stored files of past experiences, like video files on a computer. They are re-creations of the body, hence why many law courts have begun to question the value of eye-witness testimony. Damasio (2010:141-142) writes, "Usually the brain is assumed to be a passive recording medium, like film... This is pure fiction... What we memorize of our encounter with a given object is not just its visual structure as mapped in optical images of the retina. The following are also needed: first, the sensorimotor patterns associated with viewing the object... second, the sensorimotor pattern associated with touching and manipulating the object...; third, the sensorimotor patterns resulting from the evocation of previously acquired memories pertinent to the object; fourth, the sensorimotor patterns related to the triggering of emotions and feelings relative to the object. What we normally refer to as the memory of an object is the composite memory of the sensory and motor activities related to the interaction between the organism and the object during a certain period of time... The notion that the brain ever holds anything like an isolated 'memory of an object' seems untenable."

94. In fact, Lamb insists that modern cognitive linguistics is rightly considered a part of analytic philosophy (Peeters 1999:383).

along with all the elements of its framing (menus, waiters, etc.), but rather is reconstructed each time *restaurant* is brought to mind. Framings are not static entities in the mind to be recalled, but related elements in a network that is constantly making new connections with other nodes and networks, while unused connections die off (and often come back to life). Thus, the TR-LM diagrams proposed by Rodriguez (2011) and Mena (2012) need to be reconsidered as cognitive potentials of BH speakers rather than as semantic frames or potential meanings that happened or were realized. To talk about meaning as something one uses, rather than creates or constructs, and to talk about grammaticalization processes as something that a language undergoes, rather than an observation of language output, assumes a certain constitution about language—that it is itself a thing or system. This assumption is challenged by cognitive scientists like Lamb (2006). Language is not itself a system that exists awaiting for speakers to use it any more than walking or breathing are things that exist waiting for walkers or breathers. These are cognitive skills that humans do with ease because of our evolutionary history.

2.7.2.3 Assuming that grammaticalization "happens"

There is also a potential problem with grammaticalization for the above mentioned works that invoke it, although this problem can be tempered with how grammaticalization theory is used in future studies. Grammaticalization is not a natural process.⁹⁵ It is an etic observation about languages over time. From an embodied cognitive perspective, this means that grammaticalization as a mechanism of change is not language-internal because it is not in a body but results from frequency of use in whole communities over time. Or as Sweetser (1988:401) writes, "...speakers certainly do not carry in their heads the semantic history of lexical morphemes." More recently, Fisher (2011:33) repeats this stating that a typical a speaker of a languages has "no panchronic sense..." Grammaticalization, in any language, is not a process

95. Fischer (2011:35) notes that grammaticalization paths (or *clines*) have "reality only on the level of the historical development of language-output data."

or event that has happened. Grammaticalization is the recognition of semantic and phonological (reduction) patterns of change across a span of time in utterances that did happen. If used in this admittedly etic fashion as a tool for historical linguistics, it proves to be useful.

2.7.2.4 Assuming foreign terminology

Some linguists still use ancient terms to describe language. Most of these terms come from Dionysus Thraxe's *Techne Grammatike*. Thraxe and Aristotle, though at different times, were rethinking what were the traditional, common thoughts about language in ancient Greece. The terminology that came from *Techne Grammatike* were the heuristic tools of their day to organize and systematize their thoughts about language for the purposes of ancient, formal education.⁹⁶ History has vindicated the utility of Thraxe's system of grammar. But philosophies of language have progressed since then and other options are available now. And yet, today's linguists—even many of those in the so-called cognitive revolution—still wear terminological straight-jackets that often do not apply cross-linguistically and to which each scholar gives their own interpretation. The problems with the term *particle* in relation to BH have been previously discussed (§2.5.2). In the time from Thraxe to WO, quite a lot has been packed on to Thraxe's categories. Now, a particle—instead of simply describing small bits that can decline no further—gets a syntactic description in WO's (1990:692) glossary: "**particle** a class of words that connects and subjoins nouns and verbs (including prepositions, some adverbs, the article etc.) or exists on the margins of utterances (e.g., exclamations and interjections)." While Greek particles, like the preposition *εν*, cannot decline, the same cannot be said for BH prepositions like *εντα* with a suffix. Instead of trying to maintain what were ancient heuristic tools, this dissertation will follow the lead of de Blois (2001) and use more modern heuristic categories that are commensurate with cognitive linguistics.⁹⁷

96. Of particular interest is Thraxe's ([170-90 BCE]1986:3-4) comments on reading and the purpose of a grammar education. For him, it served to facilitate what he considered to be proper reading styles.

97. As will be shown with the data, these terms are thing, relation, and action (or event/process). This is not to say that all traditional terms will be abandoned. Rather, they are tools in a toolbox. When they do the job needed, they will be used.

2.7.2.5 Limited data pool

These studies in BH prepositions also suffer from the size of their data pools.⁹⁸ With the exception of Jenni, DCH, and some of the most recent works in BH prepositions, some semantic resources (HALOT or Mena 2012, for example) have not analyzed exhaustively the prepositions they researched. The statistical results of these works may therefore be questioned. In regards to DCH, it should be noted that its thorough recording of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of BH words does not ensure any kind of semantic explanation for the end user of the dictionary. In this way, DCH's data is exhaustive but un-interpreted and thus not explanatory.⁹⁹ Though it may seem insurmountable for one lone Hebraist, it is possible to exhaustively and encyclopedically analyze the lexemes of the Hebrew Bible. In fact, Jenni has already accounted for every single usage of the prepositions בְּ, בִּ, and בֶּן. The philological tradition of Gesenius has already documented the cultural and comparative Semitic typological data that cognitive linguistics and grammaticalization theory may build upon. DCH has recorded syntagms that may be analyzed by newer methods including new technologies.¹⁰⁰ Now an updated method–informed by cognitive science–can be applied.

2.8 Embodied cognition

In biblical studies, Barr (1962, 1968) has shown the danger in equating source and target language. Embodied cognition shows that meaning is embodied (Johnson 1987; Rojo and Ibarretxe-Atuñano 2013:11). So there is no way to accurately talk about what an utterance means apart from general human cognitive abilities. Despite this fact, it is still common place in BH

98. Though it can be said that all BH studies suffers from the limited size of the Hebrew Bible. Of course, DCH does not limit itself to solely the Hebrew Bible.

99. To repeat, Clines does not view it as his job to justify the meanings of words (DCH 1993:18). Even so, this lack of explanatory power has led Van der Merwe (2006b:94) to say that DCH "does not necessarily give any insight into the lexical meaning of BH expressions themselves."

100. Such syntagmas can now be compiled electronically by syntactic databases such as Talstra's WIVU (available electronically at <https://www.logos.com/product/18617/german-bible-society-bundle>).

studies to accept a translation gloss as meaning in BH. From an embodied cognitive perspective, such an approach should be avoided.

To say that meaning is embodied is to say that meaning does not exist in definitions nor in translation nor in functional linguistic categories. Meanings exists in bodies. Meaning is made by our bodies as we interact with the world and each other.¹⁰¹ Embodied meaning as a linguistic theory is a response to the basic structuralist semantic notion that meaning exists in languages themselves as symbolic systems (Weisgerber 1927:161-183), wherein each language has its own characteristics and principles that determine how signs in the language are meaningful (Pinker 1994:55-82; Putejovsky 1995:61-90; Chomsky 2002:55, 822). On the contrary, embodied meaning asserts that language is a basic cognitive property, in the same way that motor control is a basic cognitive property of embodied units. There is no separate module for language in embodied units where syntax autonomously undergirds semantics (nor specifically in brains, contra Jackendoff 1991:3-4). Rather, meaning is determined by human bodies in their interactions with other bodies, interactions with the world in which they exist, and their perceptions of their own existence in space-time. In modern neurological terms, this means that our sensing of the world can be altered by a skilled surgeon who knows where to cut. One's thought of a *chair* is based on one's most salient experience with a chair. And the feeling of a chair or the smell of the wood its made of or the memory of a grandfather's living room chair can be taken away with the right neurological trauma because meaning is embodied.

2.8.1 Foundations

Studies in neurology show that the same brain networks that facilitate all the things humans do with their bodies, like walking and talking and being afraid, etc., are also used in relevant linguistic contexts (Ashlén 2006; Bergen 2012). This is biological evidence that language is

101. See Damasio (2010) and §2.6.1.2.

not an autonomous system, but rather one of human beings many cognitive skills. Neurology has also vindicated cognitive linguists' heuristic attempts to model semantic relationships as networks and to give encyclopedic attention to semantics in order to account for the experiential nature of meaning that is made in bodies and cultures.

Further, it is assumed in this dissertation, following Dunbar (2009:12-35) that meaning is embodied because language evolved in mammals for social purposes. On a popular level, some have assumed that humans have language to encode information so that it might be transmitted through time and space from person-to-person.¹⁰² Dunbar (*ibid*), however, convincingly argues that a social (instead of communicative) explanation fits the data better. Considering pre-historical evidence, Dunbar argues that human language allows people to form social bonds in a manner akin to primate grooming. Primates groom each other in order to establish social bonds and hierarchies. As the line of homo- primates evolved into homo sapiens, group numbers exploded. Whereas other primates needed to bond within groups that had tens of members, now humans needed to bond within groups that could number over one hundred. Grooming each other would be an incredibly inefficient way to bond with so many others. Fortunately for us humans, our physiology evolved in a such a way that made the kind of language we use today possible. Our vocal chords were now in the right position to make consonants and vowels, though it did present a choking hazard that other primates do not face. Our brains had evolved a frontal cortex so we could think abstract thoughts, though the energy requirements this puts on our species is demanding and specific to certain nutritional needs. Now instead of tediously grooming one another, we humans can socially bond with other humans (proportionally much more than our primate relatives) by speaking to each other. Language is an evolutionary continuum in mammals, developed by its users as they evolved, for making and maintaining social bonds. Such evidence of the social nature of language gives

102. And while this happens advantageously, it is not the impetus for the evolution of human language. Many species of mammals communicate effectively without a developed language.

reason to never underestimate the value of cultural studies in linguistics, particularly of ancient cultures whose people and cultures are not alive for examination.

In all mammals, but to a greater degree in humans, these forms of communication—from grooming or speaking or dancing as bees do—show intelligence. Intelligence, like the intelligence necessary for language, is not a component of the brain. Rather, intelligence is something that emerges from an embodied system interacting with its environment. Similarly, as intelligence is not a component of the brain, neither is the mind. Mind and intelligence are emergent properties of embodied systems (Gazzaniga 1988, 2012; Damasio 2010; contra Pinker 1994). Emergent properties are phenomena in a system that are not the sum of the system's components but result from the system's interactions. Gazzaniga (1988) compares intelligence as an emergent property to traffic. Traffic is not a created thing like cars, buses, highways, and roads on which they drive, nor is traffic like the concrete or rebar that make the roads nor the nuts and bolts of the car. Nonetheless everyone driving on Interstate 45 North out of Houston at five o'clock in the afternoon on a weekday experiences it. Traffic is real and one can measure it, as many radio and television reporters do with traffic reports. Intelligence can be understood by this metaphor. Intelligence is not the mammalian brain, body, or world in which the mammal is born, lives, and dies. But mammals interact with each other, other life forms, and the world in which they live. From this global system, intelligence emerges in an embodied unit, like a human or a bear or a bee. And from our unique human intelligence, we are able to speak to each other in coherent ways that other mammals cannot.¹⁰³

103. It has long been assumed in evolutionary studies that human cognitive abilities were unique among animals because of the size of the human brain. However recent studies in the DNA of neuro-synapses, by Grant (2009) in particular, demonstrate that there is a cellular basis for cognition in all vertebrates. In fact, on a much smaller scale, proteins in human brains are living lives of their own—sensing external factors and adjusting accordingly—as they have since pre-historic times, since the first of their ancestors mutated and became the common evolutionary ancestor of all vertebrates on the planet.

To sum up, meaning is embodied. Thus language is not an autonomous system, but rather a cognitive skill that emerges through development under the proper social conditions.¹⁰⁴ Further, cognition itself is neither autonomous nor restricted to human beings. Following Grant (2009), it is assumed in this dissertation that a kind of cognitive processing begins at the cellular level in all vertebrates. A result of this view is an expansion of the level of description that linguists may properly engage to do their work. In this view, language is one of many systems bound up in and resultant from other systems.¹⁰⁵

2.8.2 How can meaning be modeled?

If meaning is embodied, how can meaning be modeled? Should brain scans be used instead of traditional linguistic descriptions? For scholars like Lamb, the answer is yes. Lamb and his students at Rice University have developed robust experimental methods to track "neurosyntax" among other linguistic phenomenon in the brain.¹⁰⁶ At a simpler level, data from aphasics has long been used by linguists to contemplate linguistic organization. While the anatomical data from aphasic patients is instructive, it is necessary to interpret this data with discernment in regards to a patient's individual embodied experience. Types of aphasia have justified use of semantic network mapping in linguistic studies, but also challenged their scope. It is true that a word like *table* in an individual speaker's mind is related in a network to words like *chair* because of frequent embodied experience with such scenes. But aphasia has also shown that *table* can just as easily accessible in a network relation to a word like *fable* or another word by phonological salience instead of pragmatic salience alone (Reinvang 1985; Ashlén 2006; Ingram 2007). This is evidence that connections in embodied networks are created by many types of salience, not just what linguists consider to be properly semantic and pragmatic.

104. See Janik (2004:101-104) for more on the critical period in children on language acquisition.

105. Recent work on complexity theory and its interaction with typological-evolutionary linguistics may provide another realistic starting point for future work on BH lexical semantics. See Andrason (2014).

106. These methods include computer modeling. See <http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~lngbrain/main.htm>.

This dissertation will not venture into further neurological issues nor map the usages of BH prepositions onto brain anatomy. But the notion that meaning emerges from embodied experience seems to pose a conflict between modeling the lexical semantics of a preposition based on a speaker's knowledge (as embodied cognition seems to suggests) or creating models based on the available evidence of diachronic change in usages across time (as grammaticalization generally suggests). Again, following Sweetser (1988) and Fischer (2011), it is instructive to remember that, for example, English speakers do not know (nor need to know) the history of the verb *did* and its evolution to the past tense gram -(e)d in order to use the gram. So in order to represent the embodied meaning that a speaker may symbolize with a word, should historical linguistic evaluations be considered of secondary importance? Not at all. This is the same structuralist trap that generations of linguists have fallen into. It is a false dichotomy. While a speaker might not be aware of the historical changes they have inherited in their learned and constantly re-created language, the speaker is only able to construct novel utterances because of the evolutionary history of the community of speakers they are born into and live in. As Andrason (2013:21-22) says, "La lengua es la evolución: es lo que es contemporáneamente, pero también lo que ha sido antes y lo que será posteriormente (*Language is evolution: it's what it is at one time, but also what has been before and what will be later*)."

Also as previously stated, doing lexical semantics of BH is an etic tool for modern readers of the Hebrew Bible. Thus, for second-language learners of BH, a maximal and encyclopedic explanation of BH prepositions—their histories, the relationships they symbolize, the verbs they tend to partner with, the relevant biological and cultural factors—is warranted. As such, this dissertation will utilize the relevant tools that previous scholars have made for the description of language when appropriate. This includes comparative philological data, the analysis of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations, and creating semantic networks and images to aid in the explanation of cognitive potentials.

3. Universality of space and experience

The purpose of this section is to address the issue of universality in linguists' findings. Does phenomenon x in language y have consequences for all languages? Can the findings of linguists working on English prepositions have any legitimate bearing on the work being done on BH prepositions? From an embodied cognitive perspective, the answer is a qualified yes. There are universal properties that all humans (even all mammals) share relevant to language and communication. For example, as assumed in the designation *embodied cognition*, all humans are bodies, or more specifically, embodied units. All humans experience the world via a body, thus embodiment is universal. But not all bodies are the same. Similarly, space and time are universal. All humans (and mammals in general) navigate space and experience the passage of time. But the neo-Whorfian school demonstrates that not all human experience of space and time is equivalent (see §3.2). To demonstrate the universality of the usage-based methods relevant to this dissertation, two aspects of usage-based methodologies will be considered for their universal application: 1) the cognitive linguistic use of image schemas (§3.1) and 2) the neo-Whorfian account of space (§3.2). Following these two applications of theory, a critical look at sensory perception in the Hebrew Bible will be summarized in order to provide relevant criticism for the cognitive linguistic and neo-Whorfian schools.

Image schema have been applied to multiple languages in order to test their theoretical validity. These applications¹⁰⁷ have shown that there are some conceptual commonalities among these languages and their usages of prepositions. In this chapter, these conceptual

107. Namely the containment schema (see Fig. 14) applied to languages like Cora (Langacker and Cassad 1985); English of course (Herkovits 1986), and French (Vandeloise 1991).

commonalities are explored in a small sample of the world's languages. In addition to the work of cognitive linguistic scholars, a sample of the typological linguistic scholarship of Stephen Levinson and his students from the Max Planck Institute regarding space will be presented. As Chilton (2010:3) argues, Levinson's neo-Whorfian body of work is relevant to the investigations of cognitive linguists.

Still, caution is warranted or else a researcher might abuse a theory that masks modernisms as explanations of a reconstructed BH "mind". Specifically, Avrahami (2012) demonstrates that the so-called five senses are not universal and thus should not be imported to the study of the Hebrew Bible (§3.3). This warning is relevant to this dissertation because it shows that while various phenomena may be universal at a species level (i.e., all humans have bodies), those experiences are not necessarily equivalent (i.e., not all bodies are the same).

Thus there is a need for eclectic methods in order to critically account for the data. Some sets of data from the BH corpus will be relevant to linguists investigating typologies, in this case of space-time typologies. But other sets of data will not have relevance outside of BH and ANE studies. In this way, acknowledging what is known about the subject of research (namely, that it is ancient and foreign) and what is known about the researcher(s) (namely, that the epistemology of the Western sensorium is not universal) delimits the kinds of methodological tools that can offer explanatory value. That is to say, there is no one method that is able to critically account for all of the semantic phenomena of BH prepositions. So the "method" that will be used to account for BH prepositions in this dissertation is not one method, but several used in conjunction to complement each other. Metaphorically, this is like a carpenter approaching the day's work, diverse as each task might be from another, with a toolbox full of useful tools when used for the proper job. Such a methodological toolbox is presented in §3.4.

3.1 Image schemas

Mark Johnson (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Johnson 1987) is credited with developing the practice of creating *image schemas*, the forerunner to TR-LM diagrams, in order to describe meaning imaginatively. Image schemas are mental reductions of physical experience that provide the basis for the development of metaphors. Since these schemas depend on physical experience, Johnson (1987:44) called them *Gestalt structures*, meaning "...an organised, unified whole within our experience and understanding that manifests a repeatable pattern...experiential Gestalts have internal structure that connects up aspects of our experience and leads to inferences in our conceptual structure." As previously noted, brains do not store memories or concepts. There are no semantic or conceptual structures that can be taken apart for study. However, the word *Gestalt* does not necessarily imply that. In art, Gestalt drawings are quick, ad hoc representations of potentially anything without removing the pen or pencil from the paper. Gestalt art is constant construction that can never be done exactly the same way twice. In this way, Johnson's use of Gestalt is informative to the linguistic enterprise and commensurate with what is currently known in neurolinguistics. Two of Johnson's image schemas are containment and path. These schemas are instructive for explaining the usage of prepositions in many of the world's languages.

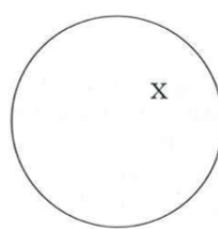


Figure 14: Taken from Johnson (1987:23): Containment

Johnson (1987:21ff) argued that the experience of containment is a primitive concept for humans from which more elaborate concepts are constructed. This experience is one of a bounded location and is experienced in the body, in a room, in a closet, etc. Since the experience is so ubiquitous, it is not surprising that many of the world's language's express a containment sense with their most basic prepositions. Consider the following examples.

These are translations of a simple containment phrase "in the room".

en la sala (Spanish)	στο δωματιο (modern Greek)
in de kamer (Dutch)	ekamelweni (Zulu)
в комнате (Russian)	v místnosti (Czech)
dans la chambre (French)	a cikin dakin (Hausa)

All of these examples can be represented by the containment figure above. Regardless of their morphosyntax,¹⁰⁸ these prepositional phrases symbolize a common human experience: being contained in a container.

Another of Johnson's image schemas is the path schema, which is a reflection of the movement we experience, both by moving ourselves through space and by observing the movements of other bodies and entities.



Figure 15: Taken from Johnson (1987:114): Path

Paths are a "series of contiguous locations" (Saeed 2009:369), so in order to move from A to B, one must also move through all the locations in between. Based on embodied experience, this movement along a path not only symbolizes movement through space, but also the passage of time. So in addition to "contiguous locations" the path schema also provides sequence in time. Because our experience of space and time go hand-in-hand, traversing space is also perceived as traveling forward through time.

While it is true that the brain does not store concepts, it does nonetheless organize itself in Gestalt networks. If one walks a path to-and-from the grocery store repeatedly, one will have the experience of memorizing that path. This memorization is the activation (and reactivation the next day and so on) of similar nodes and networks that have to be re-constructed and re-

108. Note that most are simple prepositions; however, some (as in Zulu) are prefixed and others are the remains of historical compounds. For example, the modern Greek preposition **στο** evolved from the phrase **εις το** (*to the*). This phrase came to be used more frequently than the preposition **εν**, and over time it dropped the **ει** while the **σ** attached to the article **το**, creating **στο** (Thumb 1912:100-101). Such a change over time—nonexistent in ancient Greek but clearly attested in the modern period—is an example of grammaticalization.

connected with each daily experience. Repeated reactivation of previously used networks is the sensation of memory. Topographic maps are constructed (and reconstructed) in the brain as a person moves through familiar space, like a daily route (Purves et al 2012:519-521). Further, brain scan technology has shown that the exact same nodes and networks used for space are re-used for time (Burr and Morrone 2006). One might say that space is time in the brain. These empirical studies support (in a general way) Johnson's claim that his image schemas (at least, the path schema) originate from embodied experience.

3.2 Space

There has long been an anthropocentric bias in linguistics. The situation is as if Protagoras' (481-411 BCE) statement that "Man is the measure of all things" were a prescription for how to go about linguistic research. This reality is strongly felt in the study of spatial cognition. Since Newton, scholars have recognized *relative* space and *absolute* space. In his *Principiae*, Newton (1687, quoted in Levinson 2003:7) wrote,

"Absolute space in its own nature, without relation to anything external, remains similar and immovable. Relative space is some moveable dimension or measure of the absolute spaces...from the positions and distances of things from any body considered as immovable, we define all places... And so instead of absolute places and motions, we use relative ones; and that without an inconvenience in common affairs."

Leibniz later, famously, attacked the Newtonian concept of space claiming that absolute space is unreal because it cannot be experienced. For Leibniz, space is the "relative location of things" (Levinson 2008:8). In the modern period, mathematician-philosopher Henri Poincaré wrote (1946:257), "Absolute space is nonsense, and it is necessary for us to begin by referring space to a system of axes invariably bound to the body." Thus, Poincaré's view may be described as not only anthropocentric but also egocentric, meaning that it is not just a person that is the measure of all things, but an individual's embodied perspective: the ego.

Even more recently, grammaticalization scholarship has also contributed to egocentric, anthropomorphic, and relativistic views of spatial language. Works like Svorou (1994) and Heine (1997), among others, have shown that body-part terms are some of the most frequently used words for space and time relationships. Such terminology indicates a strong cognitive connection between an individual's body and the space through which a body navigates.

While such relativistic views of space certainly have their place in the explanation of spatial cognition, there has nevertheless been a bias developed against absolute understandings of space since Newton. However, there are languages in the world that utilize absolute spatial relationships rather than relativistic ones. In the now famous (among linguists) Guugu Yimithirr language of Australia, Levinson (2003) notes that no body part terms are used to describe spatial relations. Instead, Guugu Yimithirr speakers exclusively use cardinal directions to mark spatial relationships.¹⁰⁹ In fact, this is the case with most native Australian languages. Levinson (2003:4) writes, "Old Tulo, Guugu Yimithirr poet and painter, who I am trying to film telling a traditional myth in Cape York, Australia, tells me to stop and look out for that big army ant just *north of* my foot (italics added)." Not *left of*, or *next to*, or *behind*, or *beside* the foot, but specifically *north of*. Rather than utilizing relativistic egocentric terms that define space in relation to one's body, Guugu Yimithirr speakers have internalized a relationship with the sun and moon allowing them to be constantly aware of (what Westerners call) cardinal directions. This is absolute space put to use in spatial cognition and language. No matter which way one is facing, a Guugu Yimithirr speaker always knows which ways are north, south, east, or west, just as speakers of egocentric space languages always know which way is left (of course, it is relative to their own body). As opposed to egocentric spatial terms, Levinson calls this kind of absolute spatial language *allocentric*. Brown (2006), one of

109. Levinson (2003:115-116) notes that the cardinal directions of Guugu Yimithirr speakers differs about 17 degrees clockwise from western directional grids.

Levinson's students, also records spatial information about Tzeltal, a Mayan language, which uses both relative and absolute spatial language.¹¹⁰

This information could be relevant to a question posed by Rodriguez (2013:9). In regards to the personal space of a BH speaker, why have two egocentric body-part terms (**פנה אחר** and **פנה תחת**) evolved to symbolize space in relation to a body along with two non-egocentric, non-body-part terms (**רשות** and **ריגל**)?¹¹¹ Why did **רשות** and **ריגל** not evolve over time to function as **על** and **תחת** do? Based on the findings of Rodriguez (2011)¹¹² and Mena (2012) in conjunction with the neo-Whorfian scholarship of Levinson and his students, one could hypothesize that **על** and **תחת** evolved to be used in both egocentric spatial contexts and allocentric spatial contexts. Consider cases of **הארץ מעלה** or **הארץ תחתה** or **הארץ המשמש מעלה** or **הארץ תחתה**. These describe immovable, absolute spaces. According to Levinson's research, it would be unlikely, even cognitively inappropriate, for egocentrism to be used to symbolize absolute space. Instead, **תחת** and **על** can be used allocentrically (when appropriate), whereas forms of **פנה אחר** and **פנה פנה** are only used to describe relative space relationships (Fig. 16).¹¹³

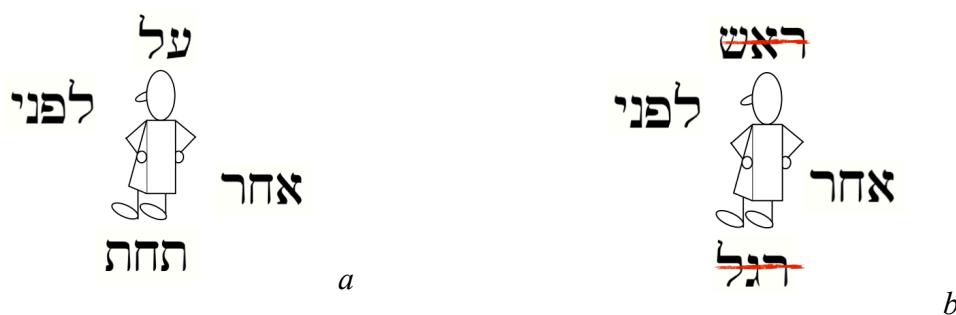


Figure 16: Taken from Rodriguez (2013:9)

110. However, Tzeltal's relative spatial language is non-egocentric as Tzeltal only has one omni-purpose preposition *ta*. "The preposition *ta* is thus semantically general over spatial concepts such as AT, IN, ON, TO, FROM, ABOVE, BELOW, etc. (Brown 2006:234)." In regards to absolute spatial language, Tzeltal speakers use what Brown calls "geocentric" language for the cardinal directions north and south, which correspond to 'uphill' and 'downhill' in the terrain of the Tzeltal community.

111. As noted in Rodriguez (2011), there is comparative Semitic evidence for **תחת** being used as a body-part term of an animal; however, there is not one instance in BH where **תחת** symbolizes the *underpart* or *buttocks* of an animal or human.

112. Again, Rodriguez (2011) only covers **תחת** and Mena (2012) is not exhaustive.

113. It should be noted that **אחר** and **תחת** are both used, infrequently, as cardinal directions. See §4 and §6 respectively.

3.2.1 Excursus: The experience of space-time unity

The universality of the experience of space logically leads to inquiring about the universality of the experience of time. If time is space in the brain (as introduced in §3.1), then one may reasonably assume that time is also universally experienced, as space is. This assumption has guided the linguistic inquiries of many cognitive linguists (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Grady 1997, Zinken 2010). These scholars have investigated temporal values assuming that time is understood as a metaphor of motor perception, especially actions in motion. Thus, just as time is space in the brain's pathways, they have conceptually described time as space in the mind.¹¹⁴

Grady's (1997) PhD dissertation began to nuance the argument from Lakoff's image-based conceptual metaphors to include subjective concepts that are responses to image-based concepts. Still understood though spatial imagery, Grady's introduction of subjective concepts describes temporal relations as responses to spatial relations, not as metaphors of them. In this way, they are distinct.

More recently building on Grady's work, Evans (2013:53-80) has rejected the notion that time and temporal relations are mediated through spatial cognition at all, arguing instead that humans experience time directly. From a semantic perspective, Evans concludes that space and time are separate domains because the domain of time expresses a characteristic that space does not: transience. Evans (*ibid*) argues two points to support this thesis that time as transience is experienced directly: 1) the diversity of temporal experiences and 2) the diversity/distribution of temporal functions throughout the brains networks.

114. This is the basis of conceptual metaphor theory (namely, Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Evans (ibid) offers many cross-linguistic examples of diverse temporal experiences. Such diversity exists in BH as well. Consider time nouns like *עת, פֵעַם, תְּחִלָה, יֹם, שָׁנָה, רְשִׁׁין*, and body-part roots used in forms like *אחרית רְשִׁׁין* and *אַחֲרִית* along with the relational form *אָז*. BH is able to express multiple different temporal experiences with a variety of lexemes.

Evans (ibid) observes that human brains, like human languages, also exhibit diversity in the distribution of temporal processing functions (like perceiving duration, \pm simultaneity, and successive events) in local clusters across neuroanatomy. He notes that temporal processing is not only performed while people are moving and/or speaking, but also unconsciously at regular intervals in order to regulate sleep patterns. These circadian rhythms are clear examples of embodied temporal experience completely separate from the domain of space, argues Evans.

However, some issues may be raised with Evans' (ibid) claims, for example, not allowing room in his analysis for the possibility that unconscious temporal processes may be regarded as another kind of temporal experience within his own taxonomy of temporal experiences. Secondly, one may argue that Evans uses biological data in ways that support his conclusions rather than providing a fuller explanation.

The neurological data he cites regarding timing mechanisms in the brain does not address some significant pieces of empirical data (Evans ibid). Modes of cognitive perception acting simultaneously have an effect on each other. This fact of human perception was made well-known with the McGurk effect (McGurk-MacDonald 1976). The McGurk effect is a repeatable experiment that anyone can do and one's knowledge of the experiment does not change the outcome. The experimenter records her voice saying /bah/. She then lip syncs to her own voice recording the same /bah/ monosyllable for an audience for a number of times (five iterations of /bah/, for example). Then the experimenter lip syncs the monosyllable /fah/ to the same /bah/ recording that had been playing. The audience will interpret ("hear") the latter syll-

lable as /fah/ even though the only audible sound is /bah/. The audience takes a visual cue from the experimenter's mouth movement (of moving the bottom lip under the top teeth to voice a fricative) and uses that information to help interpret the sound (incorrectly in this case). The McGurk effect demonstrates that human modes of experience are not experienced independently, but rather cross-modally. In regards to temporal processing, the McGurk effect is observed in severely deaf people (Bolognini et al 2012). Because the deaf do not take auditory cues, deaf individuals exhibit some impairments processing temporal duration.

Evans' (2013) bases much of his argument on circadian rhythms, however, he does this in an inconsistent way. While acknowledging the distribution of temporal processing across neuroanatomical areas, he still utilizes the notion of a central internal clock that controls circadian rhythms. While some specialists continue to discuss circadian rhythms as clocks as a helpful metaphor, there is a consensus (concisely represented in Burr and Morrone 2006) that temporal processing functions are distributed across networks, which suits different interval lengths for a particular signal along a pathway.¹¹⁵ This distribution is also observed in other mammals. For example, it has been known for several decades that dolphins sleep resting only one side of their brain at a time (unihemispheric sleep) (Mukhametov et al 1978). Thus dolphins do not have an internal clock part of their brain to regulate sleep. Rather, timing mechanisms are distributed throughout a dolphin's brain to the degree that all functions can move from one hemisphere to another when sleep is needed.

In light of the current biological information, it is reasonable for linguists to continue to describe time in spatial terms. Evans' (2013) recognition that time values might too often be under-investigated due to the accepted wisdom that they are spatial metaphors is a caution to be followed. In particular, Evan's observation of transience as an overlooked characteristic of

115. Even more relevant to Evans' claim is that the same pathways in a network that are used for space are also used for time (§3.1).

temporal perception is noteworthy and should be investigated further in future studies. However, the notion that space and time are completely separate domains is at best a controversial minority view. It is more in keeping with the biological and linguistic data (and more useful to linguists) to avoid an either/or extreme position in these matters. Instead, space and time are best understood as a unified domain for human thought. This hypothesis recognizes that time is experienced by the body directly (with sleep patterns); however, conscious access to this experience is not necessary for perceiving and talking about time. In this way of thinking, space and time cannot be divorced into separate domains. Any event situated at a location also occurs across some temporal values.

3.3 Five senses?

In addition to the biases regarding the experience of space, another bias in the humanities, and no less in biblical studies, is the assumption of the so-called five senses. The five senses—sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch—were made into a hierarchy by Aristotle (Avrahami 2012:5).¹¹⁶ This ancient five-part division of the senses has been maintained over millennia, and in the West, the sense of sight has functionally come to be the supreme sense (Foucault 1973:54-53, 107-123). This bias in favor of an Aristotelian understanding of human sensory perception should be taken seriously by all usage-based linguists.

Acknowledging distinct senses of the sensorium also acknowledges the mind/body anthropological dualism of some ancient Greeks. In Platonic thought, the soul (or mind) is the immortal part of a person and the body the mortal part. These two parts are separated at death, releasing the soul to its proper disembodied, heavenly state.¹¹⁷ The immortal soul is responsible for human appetites, passions, and reason while the body is simply a vessel (or

116. As Avrahami (2012) notes, Aristotle did not "invent" the five senses. He organized them in (what he considered to be) an abstract to concrete fashion. This hierarchy was prompted by his teacher's, Plato, *Allegory of the Cave* which describes sense perception as epistemologically problematic.

117. See *The Phaedo* (81C) and *The Phaedrus* (247B).

prison, according to Plato) used for the soul to engage in physical life via the senses (Falikowski 2004:283). As discussed above in §2.8, cognitive science has shown the flaws in this ancient view. Mind (or soul) and body are not separate parts of a person, rather mind emerges from the body's interaction with its environment, other bodies, and itself. Further, this dualism is incommensurate with the anthropology of the Hebrew Bible.¹¹⁸

In recent decades, a few BH scholars have shown that Aristotle's pentasensory scheme is not a suitable explanatory model for sense perception in the Hebrew Bible. Levin (1979) raised the issue that the sense of smell, instead of sight, might actually be a more salient sense perception than previously thought, pointing to Abel's preference for the smell of meat in Genesis 4. Malul (2002:128), drawing on evidence from the whole Hebrew Bible, posits eight sense perceptions evident in BH: sight, hearing, speech, smell, taste, touch, mobility, and the sexual sense. Avrahami (2012:109-112), a student of Malul, has updated and expanded Malul's work. She hypothesizes a septasensory model that includes sight, hearing, kinesthesia, speech, taste, olfactory, and touch. In this model, Malul's sexual sense is incorporated to an expanded understanding of the touch sense. Immediately relevant to this dissertation is the notion that the perception of motion (kinesthesia) be understood as a primary sense perception.¹¹⁹ Consider the following example where motion in Ps 115:7b (or the perception of it) is used in parallel with the senses speech (5a), sight (5b), hearing (6a), olfactory (6b), and touch (7a). This is evidence for a conceptual link between motion and other cognitive abilities.

118. The differences between the world-views of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks has been written on extensively. For an introduction to the issues and suggestions for further reading see the following articles in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (1992): Schweizer ("Body" vol. 1 767-772); Wente ("Egyptian Religion" vol. 2 408-412); Robinson, Jr. ("Exegesis on the Soul" vol. 2 688-689); Winston ("Solomon, wisdom of" vol. 6 120-127). On this topic, Avrahami (2012:26) writes, "The term 'mind' is a product of Western philosophy that evokes an essential distinction between body and mind, and between mental and physical perception. Such a distinction is alien to the biblical worldview. In fact, it seems that Israelite culture made no distinction between sensory and physical perception".

119. Following Amthor (2011), Avrahami's hypothesis is evolutionarily sound. Since the nervous systems in all animals have evolved to support motion (Grant 2009), it is likely that kinesthesia is a primary sense perception.

Psa 115:4-7 4 Their idols are silver and gold, the work of human hands.
 5 They have mouths, but do not speak; eyes, but do not see.
 6 They have ears, but do not hear; noses, but do not smell.
 7 They have hands, but do not feel; feet, but do not walk; they make no sound in their throats. (NRSV)

4 עֲצָבֵיכֶם כַּסְף וַזְהָב מַעֲשָׂה יְדֵי אָדָם:
 5 פְּהַذְלָהֶם וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ עֵינֵים לְפָנָם וְלֹא יִרְאֻוּ:
 6 אֱגָם לְפָנָם וְלֹא יִשְׁמַע אָף לְפָנָם וְלֹא יִרְחַזּוּ:
 7 יִדְקַם וְלֹא יִמְישֵׁן רְגָלֵיכֶם וְלֹא יִתְלַכֵּד
 לֹא־יְהָנוּ בְּגָרוֹנֶם:

Avrahami (2012:68-69) urges that Psa 115:4-7 be understood in conjunction with verses like Psa 135:14-17 and Deut 4:28.

Psa 135:14-17 14 For the Lord will vindicate his people, and have compassion on his servants.
 15 The idols of the nations are silver and gold, the work of human hands.
 16 They have mouths, but they do not speak; they have eyes, but they do not see;
 17 they have ears, but they do not hear, and there is no breath in their mouths. (NRSV)

14 כִּי־יְהָיָה יְהָוָה עָמֹד וְעַל־עֲבָדָיו יִתְגַּדֵּל
 15 עֲצָבֵי הַגּוֹיִם כַּסְף וַזְהָב מַעֲשָׂה יְדֵי אָדָם
 16 פְּהַذְלָהֶם וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ עֵינֵים לְפָנָם וְלֹא יִרְאֻוּ
 17 אֱגָם לְפָנָם וְלֹא יִאַזְ�נוּ אָף אָנוֹיְשָׁרוֹת בְּפִיהֶם

Deut 4:28 There you will serve other gods made by human hands, objects of wood and stone that neither see, nor hear, nor eat, nor smell. (NRSV)

28 וְעַבְדָּתֶם־שָׁם אֱלֹהִים מַעֲשָׂה יְדֵי אָדָם עַז וְאַכְלָן
 אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יְרָאָין וְלֹא יִשְׁמַעְוּן וְלֹא יִאַכְלּוּן וְלֹא
 יִרְאִיּוּ:

In these examples, the concept of idolatry is expressed by things that humans do and idols cannot. Avrahami (*ibid*) argues that these represent basic human sensory perception from the perspective of an ancient BH speaker because they are implicitly juxtaposed with the basic attributes of idols. The idols are made from a material—be it wood or stone—and have parts that a craftsman shapes—like ears and feet. And yet they cannot do these basic things as humans do.

3.3.1 Kinesthesia as a sense

One of these basic things that humans do is move. While movement is universal for (healthy) humans, thinking and speaking about movement as part of the sensorium is not universal. For Westerners in Aristotle's tradition, kinesthesia is something that humans do, but not a basic sense with which to experience the world like hearing or sight.¹²⁰ Consider also the following two examples where kinesthesia, just like the sense of hearing, is used as a metaphor for

120. Certainly of the five senses, touch is experienced when a foot touches the ground. But experiencing a foot touching the ground is not the same as experiencing movement itself as a sense. The pentasensory scheme only has room for the former. Avrahami's septasensory theory can explain both as part of the sensorium.

obedience.

Through a paradigmatic analysis of the BH words associated with motion, Avrahami (2012:75-84) has observed that verbs of motion are used to describe hearing and sight sensory perceptions. She argues that the parallel usages of these kinds of verbs indicate a cognitive link for BH speakers between walking and sensory perception in general.

- Jer 7:23-24** 23 But this command I gave them, "Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people; and walk only in the way that I command you, so that it may be well with you." 24 Yet they did not obey or incline their ear, but, in the stubbornness of their evil will, they walked in their own counsels, and looked backward rather than forward. (NRSV)

- Deut 26:17** Today you have obtained the LORD'S agreement: to be your God; and for you to walk in his ways, to keep his statutes, his commandments, and his ordinances, and to obey him. (NRSV)

- Psa 141:1** I call upon you, O Lord; come quickly to me; give ear to my voice when I call to you. (NRSV)

23 כי אם אתה דבר ר' זהה אוזני אותם לאמר
שָׁמַע בְּקוֹלִי וְחִיִּתִי לְכֶם לְאֱלֹהִים וְאֲפָם תְּהוּדָל
לְעֵם וְחַלְקָם בְּכָל־הָדָרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר אָזְנָה אֲתֶם
לְפָעֵן יְעַב לְכֶם:

24 וְלֹא שָׁמַעוּ וְלֹא־הָטָו אָזְנָנֶם וְלֹכְבָו בְּמַעֲשָׂו
בְּשָׁרוֹת לְבָם הָרָע וְהַיו לְאַחֲרֵי וְלֹא לְפָנֵים:

את־יההָה חָפְרָת חֵיוֹם לְהִזְמָה לְאֱלֹהִים וְלְכָתוֹ
בְּדָרְכֵייו וְלִשְׁמַר חֲקָיו וּמְצָתוֹ וּמְשָׁבְטוֹ וּלְשִׁמְעָ
בְּקָלוֹ:

וְהָנָה קָרָא־יְהָה חֹשֶׁה לְיַד־אָזְנָה קֹולִי בְּקָרָא־יְהָה:

Avrahami (2012:75-76) points to the above verses as evidence for an associative link between walking and hearing in BH. In the first two examples, the walking-hearing association is expressed through obedience. Yahweh tells the people through Jeremiah to obey his *voice* and to *walk* in *the way he commands*.¹²¹ Similarly in Deuteronomy 26:17, part of Yahweh's declaration (NRSV *agreement*) to Israel is for them *to walk in his ways* and *to listen to his voice*, which the NRSV renders as *obey*. Conversely, the kinesthesia-hearing association is shown from man to God in Psa 141 as the poet *calls* Yahweh and expects Yahweh to *listen*.

Avrahami also argues for a kinesthesia-sight association.

- Psa 56:14** For you have delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling, so that I may walk before God in the light of life. (NRSV)

- Psa 119:105** Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path. (NRSV)

כִּי הָאֱלֹהִים וּבְשִׁיר מִפְּנֵי הָלָא רָנוֹלִי מְהִיא לְהַחֲלָק
לְפָנֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּאֹור קְחִים:

נֶר־לְרִגְלֵי דְבָרֶךְ נָאָר לְנִתְבְּחִין:

121. A sensory *a-b-b-a* parallel structure (hearing-kinesthesia-kinesthesia-hearing) may be identified here.

Jer 23:18 For who has stood in the council of the Lord so as to see and to hear his word? Who has given heed to his word so as to proclaim it? (NRSV)

כִּי מִי עָמַד בָּסָוד יְהוָה וַיַּרְא וַיְשַׁקֵּעַ אֶת־דָבָרָו
מִי־הָקֵשִׁיב דָבָרִי [דָבָרֹן] וַיְשַׁקֵּעַ סָ

For the psalmist(s), walking and **אור light** are paradigmatically related. Avrahami (2012:77) , explaining the metaphors, writes, "Walking in the ways of God is walking in the light, and walking in the light is life." In Jeremiah 23, kinesthesia is also associated with sight as the prophet asks who has **עמד stood** in the council of Yahweh, a way of asking who has been obedient. While some might object to **עמד** being considered a verb of motion (kinesthesia), note that **עמד** in some contexts symbolizes an active participation in a group and does not imply static motionlessness. Consider Isaiah 3:13.

Isa 3:13 The Lord rises to argue his case; he stands to judge the peoples. (NRSV)

נָאֵב לְרִיב יְהוָה וַעֲמָד לְדִין עָמִים:

Describing this legal scene, Köhler (1956:155) notes that court members typically seated would stand when speaking. In the same way, Jeremiah 23:18 asks who has **עמד participated** in Yahweh's council so as to **ירא see** (another obedience metaphor). Avrahami (2012:80) writes, "At a cognitive level, the sight-walking correlation is thus juxtaposed with a physical correlation of human actions, and offers a hint about the performative character of the biblical epistemology."¹²²

Avrahami's hypothesis provides a challenge to the studies of BH prepositions and spatial cognition. If the perception of motion is cognitively parallel to other sense perceptions, then the sensorium as a whole can inform researchers on the embodied experiences of navigating through space-time, but also through relationships, performances, and virtually any other cognitive domain.

This chapter provided three things. 1) The image-reliant explanatory methods of cognitive

122. Though perhaps "epistemologies" is more fitting.

linguistics has been vindicated by cognitive science (Purves et al 2012). It is no longer simply a good intuition or theory that images are useful in semantic explanation. The interdisciplinary data shows that humans indeed do think in terms of dynamic scenes that are often better represented with images than solely by translation glosses.¹²³ 2) The neo-Whorfian linguistic school has shown that space across the world's languages can be symbolized by both egocentric and allocentric means. Some languages tend to one extreme or the other, and other languages utilize both egocentrism and allocentrism to varying degrees. It has been hypothesized that space in BH is symbolized by both egocentric and allocentric means. 3) Work on sensory perception in the Hebrew Bible (especially that of Avrahami 2012) provided a helpful caution for future work on the cognition of BH speakers. Too often researchers have defaulted to an unexamined bias regarding sensory perception: that all humans have five senses with which to perceive the world. In place of the traditional pentasensory model, Avrahami (2012) offers an alternative emic model for understanding sense perception in the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter 2 described the methods used to account for prepositions in BH. Chapter 3 has thus far summarized the methods used to account for spatio-temporal experience across cultures, with special attention to BH. A new system is not needed to account for the semantics of the three BH prepositions proposed. Rather interdisciplinary skills are required to address the problem of meaning posed in this dissertation. In this way, each of the previously surveyed contributions to the understanding of BH prepositions can be counted as tools in a toolbox available for use when appropriate.¹²⁴

123. That the flat 2D images of TR-LM diagrams, however, do not model such complex processes is a fair criticism. The suggestion by cognitive linguists, and followed by Rodriguez (2011), is that such images are useful heuristic tools for describing meaning in addition to target-language glosses. Instead of flat 2D images, an embodied cognitive lexicon would offer 3D interactivity the likes of which it might take Pixar to make. In lieu of this author's programming abilities, 2D images will have to do.

124. The danger of a toolbox methodology is the one who uses the tools. That is why the methodology section of this dissertation is now discussed, only after a thorough review of relevant BH and linguistic literature. This includes works that warn of the dangers of undervaluing the typological parallels with other cultures and on the dangers of importing the epistemology of the researcher's culture onto the subject of research. Both perspectives

3.4 Toolbox methodology

The method used in this dissertation to describe BH prepositions is eclectic. Building on the work done by previous scholars, ranging from the Gesenius tradition to the neo-Whorfian school of Levinson, the method used here will utilize in four basic approaches with various eclectic subparts and strategies. The method here is simply a tool box. The basic tools used for this task are BH resources, especially grammars and lexica, computer software that allows morphological searching and collecting of data, and linguistic tools of categorization and analysis, namely prototype theory, frame semantics, and grammaticalization theory.

The first step is always to familiarize oneself with what has come before. This dissertation is not the first to attempt a description of BH prepositions, and so rather than beginning immediately with data collection and application of a method, it is instructive to begin by reviewing the relevant literature. This first step ensures that a researcher spends time efficiently without "rediscovering" things that have been established for some time. The initial linguistic starting ground includes the comparative Semitic studies that have been a hallmark of BH philology. It also includes the semantic (and otherwise organized) categories described by the long history of BH grammarians and lexicographers. The categories can be starting places for modern researchers and will serve as such in this dissertation.

Second, the biblical data will be collected. This collection process is performed electronically with the assistance of Accordance Bible Software, version 11, using a morphologically tagged database of the BHS. The data collected is not presented in the preposition sections, but rather is presented in canonical order in separate data sets which are available upon request.¹²⁵

are necessary to avoid final conclusions based on data corrupted by the researcher.

125. Requests may be sent to drodriguez@bibleleague.org.

Third, the data is analyzed.¹²⁶ This analysis has been notated in the "Category" column of each data set (available upon request). The semantic categories established in the literature review (step one) are used as a starting point (or perhaps, first criteria) for the semantic categories of the proposed model. These basic categories are N(ominal), R(elational), and V(erb). These three terms, used in Rodriguez (2011) modifying De Blois (2001), can be used to describe basic word classes across languages from an embodied cognitive perspective. N may describe any kind of noun *thing*. R may describe any kind of descriptor or modifier. For this dissertation, R may describe what traditional grammars distinguish as prepositions and adverbs. As described by De Blois and Rodriguez, the syntactic differences between so-called adverbial usages versus so-called prepositional usages of a poly- and heterosemous form does not necessarily change the semantic-pragmatic framings that those syntactically distinct usages may create and exploit. This is not to say that the syntactic distinctions between verbal modifiers and nominal modifiers will be ignored. To the contrary, this dissertation will record significant preposition-verb lexicalized conventions.¹²⁷ However, the category-making process in this dissertation, following de Blois' research and process of creating SDBH, will prioritize semantic-pragmatic phenomena and build categories, including relevant morphological and verb-phrasal data, around those embodied cognitive frames. These three basic categories are then refined by subcategories (such as notating a difference between spatial and temporal usages within the R category).

The second analytical step serves as a checking process for the first step. Each usage of each preposition will then be organized according to each attested morphology of that preposition. This procedural step allows for the posited semantic descriptions of each preposition (§4-6)

126. Within this second step of data analysis, some cautions must be heeded. Linguistic analysis of BH must be sensitive to 1) different space-time experiences across cultures (following the neo-Whorfian school), 2) an etic approach to the sensorium (following Avrahami 2012), and 3) text-critical issues (following this dissertation's criticism of Hardy 2014).

127. Specifically in regards to the establishment of significant preposition-adverb conventions, this problem and the proposed solution for it in this dissertation is dealt with when the problem arises with the data in each preposition section.

to be viewed in a way that is more commensurate with traditional BH lexicography, as BH lexica often organize lexical material morphologically. For example, as will be shown in §4, BH literature separates **אחרי** and **אחר** into separate categories because of their morphological distinction. By organizing the described semantic usages of **אחרי** and **אחר** in BH according to their morphology, overlapping semantic values between morphologies will be revealed (as is normally the case in lexicography organized by morphology, as shown in §4.1.3, 5.1.3, and 6.1.3). This step can show if (and where if so) the posited semantic descriptions are conceptually different from those of previous BH scholars (rather than methodologically) and if a posited usage has never been described by previous BH scholars.

These subcategories are established beginning with the polysemies and grammatical categories established from scholarly consensus as established in the literature review in step one. These established usages are grouped together and described from an embodied cognitive perspective using frame semantic diagrams (TR-LM and TR-LM-like images) from the cognitive linguistic tradition. At this stage, specific usage-based refinements of categorization are implemented. First, as previously described, images are used to supplement the description of meaning. Secondly, usages that may be interpreted in multiple ways—what Hardy (2014) refers to as semantic "overlap"—are easily identified and marked as cross-listed items (listed in more than one of the polysemous subcategories). Hardy (2014:57) argues that these overlapping examples can be used to show linguistic change, be it simple semantic bleaching or full grammaticalization clines from one word class to another. Building on Hardy's insights, the frame semantic diagrams offered in this dissertation can be used to track a semantic-pragmatic frame across all of a word's occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. Identifying frequently reoccurring frames within a polysemous network (measured within a fixed corpus) was a criteria used in Tyler-Evans (2003:48) principled polysemy and Lyle's (2013:47) subsequent application of that model to BH prepositions. While such frequently occurring frames will not be used as an absolutely necessary criteria in making semantic

categories for this dissertation, such occurrences within a closed corpus nonetheless present evidence that particular TR-LM configurations are prevalent and thus likely to be influential for specific grammaticalization clines. In this way, a traditionally cognitive linguistic tool (TR-LM diagrams) can assist in the verification of hypothesized historical linguistic changes in grammaticalization theory. Contextually similar descriptions are then grouped into frame semantic subcategories (within N, R, or V). Again, this analytical step is recorded in the data sets (available upon request).

Lastly, the data will be organized for final presentation at two levels: semantic framings and hypothesized historical change. Similar to Rodriguez (2011), this dissertation will present both frame semantic descriptions of various usages and organize those usages along a historical cline that explains how each polysemy came to be. The frame semantic diagrams are made as other TR-LM diagrams have been made in cognitive linguistics, from the days of Lakoff and Brugman to Tyler and Evans. Also, the grammaticalization clines—with some modification in respective areas—are those established by Hardy (2014). This polysemous network answers the historical question of *How did these multiple meanings come to be?* and the semantic-pragmatic question of *How are these meanings embodied?* with this two-level approach. Again, traditional information regarding morphologies, collocations, and verbal patterns are not forgotten, but will be included within each semantic category.

4. אחר

The goal of this chapter is to give a plausible usage-based account of the lexical semantics of **אחר** in BH. Using the method described in §3.4, this chapter will do three things to accomplish this goal: 1) review the relevant BH literature regarding **אחר** in §4.1, 2) summarize the data collection process and the analysis of the data by morphological groups using usage-based tools in §4.2, and 3) present a lexical semantic account of **אחר** in BH in §4.3.

4.1 Literature review

אחר is used as a noun, verb, adjective, adverb, preposition, and conjunction. BH resources have categorized derived forms of this root in three basic ways: the body-part noun **אחר back** (that then comes to be used as an adverb, preposition, and conjunction), the substantive **אחר (an)other** (used adjectively), and the finite verb **חרא to wait, delay**. Some have also distinguished **חרא** from its plural construct form **חררי**, treating the two as separate lexical items.

4.1.1 Comparative Semitics

The root phoneme /ahr/ is used extensively in ancient Semitic, covering both east and west Semitic.¹²⁸ In the southwest Semitic of Arabic, Lane ([1863]1955:Book 1, 31) describes /ahr/ as a noun often in the accusative case used adverbially (hence the case term *adverbial accusative* in BH literature, see §4.1.2.1). The root is used nominally both as the body-part noun *back* /'uhur-an/ and as the alternative *another; other* substantive, which is also used adjectively, /ahar-u/. The phoneme is also used temporally, /'ahir-un/ *latter time*. Arabic also attests a verbal usage, /ahhara/ *to postpone, delay*.

128. Huehnergard (2000:xxi) describes the main distinction between Semitic language families as an east-west divide, with west Semitic also attesting northern and southern varieties.

In east Semitic, Old Babylonian attests a substantive usage of the phoneme /ahr/; /uhru(m)/ *rearmost* (Black et al 2000:419). Temporal usages of the phoneme are attested in older layers, /uhhuru(m)/ *late* in both Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian (*ibid*) and /ahritis/ *for the future* in Old Babylonian (Black et al 2000:7-8). Standard Babylonian¹²⁹ attests nominal usages construing individuals in terms of social relationships: /ahrutu/ *descendants* and /ahurru/ *junior, social inferior*. Middle Babylonian is more diverse attesting relational and verbal usages. /aharris/, /aharrum/, and /ahartis/ are all used temporally (future temporal relationships). /aharu(m)/ appears in the G and D stems as *to be behind* and *to hold back, delay* respectively. Neo Babylonian attests a temporal concept on a larger time scale, /ahratas/ *forever, for posterity*.

In the northwest Semitic recorded at Ugarit, the phoneme is used verbally and to describe temporal relationships. In the Ugaritic G stem, /'hr/ symbolizes posterior movement *to go behind*, while in the D stem it symbolizes an action similar to the Middle Babylonian D stem of the phoneme, *to delay, retain*. /ahr/ also symbolize posterior temporal relationships, *after* (Del Olmo et al 2004:39).

In Phoenician, the phoneme /ahr/ is used primarily as a locative and temporal preposition/adverb (/'hr/ *after*) but also also as a noun (Krahmlakov 2000:43). However, the noun usage is not the body-part noun but rather the alternative *(an)other* (נָשָׁא in BH) in the form /'hrym/ which is used to describe leftover food.¹³⁰

4.1.2 Grammars

4.1.2.1 The Gesenius Tradition

GKC §101a uses נָשָׁא as its example of the noun-to-preposition change through time. JM §103a (boldface added) expands this example, giving a full philological account,

129. Standard Babylonian refers to a development after approximately 1500 B.C.E. in locations where Akkadian was used as a legal or scholarly language. It attests the preservation of Old Babylonian forms alongside contemporary language (Black et al 2000:xiii).

130. /whp'mm w'hry hs'r lb'l hzbh/ *the legs and the rest of the meat shall go to the sacrificer* (*ibid*).

"Thus 'aḥar...was originally a substantive meaning the **back**; it was used afterwards as an adverb in the sense of **at the back, behind** (Gn 22.13), and in the temporal sense of **then, afterwards** (Gn 18.5); and finally as a preposition **at the back of** something, **behind** something in a local (Gn 37.17) or temporal (15.1) sense."

GKC §145d states that there is another substantive usage of the root אַחֲר; however, the grammar does not attempt an explanation on how the two are related.¹³¹

JM §94d footnote 7 argues (and then repeats in §103n) in some detail that the construct plural ' on אַחֲרī is a "pseudo-plural" insertion made "in analogical development with לְפָנִי". Citing evidence from Hebrew inscriptions,¹³² JM notes that the so-called defective spelling of the 3ms pronominal suffix was without yod. This explains instances such as 2 Sam 23:9 where a "defective" suffix added to אַחֲר (creating אַחֲרו) had to be corrected in brackets by the Masoretes (to the so-called correct spelling אַחֲרֵי). This is a textual witness to the same simple grammatical morpheme and function attested in the inscriptions: ו as a 3ms pronominal suffix, which needed to be updated in BH to distinguish between singular and plural nouns in construct with a pronominal suffix (thus סוֹטֵה his horse and סוֹטִים his horses). JM §94d calls this yod purely "historical etymological".

2 Sam 23:9a Next to him among the three warriors was Eleazar וְאַחֲרֵיו [וְאַחֲרֵיו] אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן־דָּודִי [דָּדוֹ] בֶּן־אֲחָתָה son of Dodo son of Ahohi.

Since אַחֲר and לְפָנִי* (particularly when used as prepositions) are both body-part words and often occur in antonymic contexts, JM's hypothesis that a historical-etymological plural yod would be inserted into אַחֲר in non-plural contexts (or even overtly singular) seems sound (2 Sam 2:23, Abner's individual back is אַחֲרֵי).

131. GKC §100c footnote 1 gives more attention to אַחֲר as it relates to the etymology of the word מִחָר tomorrow. The word is a result of phonemic reduction (erosion, to use the grammaticalization term) of two words once used in the phrase יוֹם אַחֲר which came to be used as one unit: מִחָר.

132. JM points to usages of אַחֲרֵי and אַלְיָה in Lachish 3:18 and Yavneh-Yam line 13, respectively.

2 Sam 2:23a But he refused to turn away. So Abner struck him in the stomach with the butt of his spear, so that the spear came out at his back.

וְנִקְנָן לֹסֶר וַיַּקְהֵל אֲבִנָר בְּאַחֲרֵי הַחֲנִית אֶל-הַתְּמַשׁ
וְתִצְאָה הַחֲנִית מֵאַחֲרֵי

אַחֲרֵי does double-duty in 2 Sam 2:23 as a substantive. In the phrase **בְּאַחֲרֵי הַחֲנִית** it symbolizes the back end of the spear, and in the clause **וְתִצְאָה הַחֲנִית מֵאַחֲרֵי** it symbolizes Asahel's actual back. In each use of אַחֲרֵי in this verse, the prefixed preposition functions prototypically (instrumental ב and a מן of origin)¹³³ with אַחֲרֵי as the construct noun in a construct chain.

Unlike אַחֲרֵי, the form ***פְנֵה** never occurs as a singular number, rather only the plural and construct plural are attested (in BH and Semitic at large, see §5.1.1 and §5.2). Thus while אַחֲרֵי is both singular and plural (**אַחֲרִים**, see §4.2.1.1) in BH, it is impossible for **לְפִנֵּי** to ever be grammatically singular (***לְפְנֵה**). It is plausible that the orthographic practice of "correcting" plural nouns with construct yods was mapped onto a frequently used spatial and temporal word where it could. In the lateral embodied relationship between אַחֲרֵי, פְנֵים, and **אַחֲרֵי**, only אַחֲרֵי has the grammatical flexibility for an orthographic change to match its embodied personal space partner. JM's pseudo-plural explanation best accounts for how אַחֲרֵי refers to one person's back in 2 Sam 2:23.

4.1.2.2 Functional Approaches

WO (1990:192-193) and BHRG §39.2 both treat אַחֲרֵי and אַחֲרִי as one preposition expressed in two forms; however, WO also notes that the singular form is used as an adverb (implying that the plural form is not) and that the plural form is used as a substantive (which implies that the singular form is not, and WO also ignores the substantive אַחֲרֵי). For both morphologies, WO list five categories: locative (Sng 2:9), locative metaphor (2 Kgs 13:2), temporal (Gen 15:1), logical (Job 39:8), and geographic (Ex 3:1). BHRG only lists four categories: locative (Sng 2:9), locative metaphor (2 Kgs 13:2), geographic (Ex 3:1), and temporal (Gen 15:1).

133. See BHRG §39.6.3ia for more on instrumental usages of ב and Lemmer (2014:93-95) on מן of origin.

In both locative and locative metaphor examples, **אַחֲר** symbolizes the location of the subject (TR in these cases) of the verbal action. This spatial location is the relationship between the TR (*he* in Sng 2:9 and *Jehu* in 2 Kgs 13:2) and the LM (*our wall* and *sins of Jeroboam*, respectively). In both cases, the action is instantiated by a verb and **אַחֲר** symbolizes the spatial relationship. One may argue then that **אַחֲר** in 2 Kgs 13:2 is not a metaphorical usage of **אַחֲר**, but rather of **לָלֶךְ**.¹³⁴ From this view, **אַחֲר** does not by itself symbolize a behavior metaphor in 2 Kgs 13:2; rather by being used in context with the verb, **אַחֲר** construes the walking/behaving of Jehu as imitating Jeroboam.

The temporal example is adverbial in nature as it symbolizes an event profiled as posterior to another. In Gen 15:1, the coming of the word (the TR in this case) to Abram is temporally posterior to the events (**הָדְבָרִים הָאֱלֹהִים**, the LM) of ch 14.

WO's (ibid) logical category (that the authors describe as noting "interest, advantage, or disadvantage") is difficult to prove from Job 39:8. It is likely that this is simply a locative usage of **אַחֲר** where the preposition symbolizes the location of the finite verb's action. In Job 39:8, rather than arguing that **אַחֲר** symbolizes the animal's interest in green plants (which seems to be implicit in the verb **שָׁרֵךְ**), Clines (2011:1072) argues that **אַחֲר** symbolizes the trajectory of the search.

Regarding WO's and BHRG's geographic directions category (Ex 3:1), WO (ibid) notes that another body-part word, **ימין** *right-hand/right side (of the body)*, symbolizes a geographic direction (south), and so **אַחֲר** may as well, relative to that usage.¹³⁵

134. HALOT (2000:247) records "walk, behave" as a metaphorical semantic category of **לָלֶךְ** in a number of contexts that do not include **אַחֲר** (Isa 33:15; Psa 15:2; Prov 6:12).

135. See §5.3.1.3 for more evidence of this assertion. It will be demonstrated that, in line with **ימין** and **אַחֲר**, the preposition **לְפָנֵי** also symbolizes a geographic direction (east).

4.1.3 Lexica

BH lexica, as with BH grammars, may be grouped in two basic categories: those following in the philological tradition of Gesenius and those that do not. GHCL,¹³⁶ BDB, HALOT, and G18 are examples of lexica of the Gesenius tradition, whereas DCH is a neo-structuralist lexicon that has different goals than those of the Gesenius tradition. Similarly, SDBH does not fall within the philological tradition of Gesenius as it aims at organizing lexicographic information according to semantic domains.

4.1.3.1 GHCL

GHCL ([1847]1954:32-33) describes אַחֲר with five major categories: אַחֲר the verb, אַחֲר the noun, אַחֲר the adverb, אַחֲרִי the noun, and the composite form אַחֲרִיכָן.

4.1.3.1.1 אַחֲר the verb

The verb form means *to tarry, delay* according to the lexicon, and it serves as the foundation for all derivatives that follow. This first description of the verb is contradictory to Gesenius' grammatical tradition and his own rules for lexicography (§2.3.1). As stated in his grammar (§4.1.2.1), *all words used as prepositions were originally substantives*, and אַחֲר is cited as a prototypical example of this change. How then can the lexicon say that the verb form is the basis for further derivations? Also, Gesenius lexicographic rules 3 and 7 state that the lexicon must be arranged historically listing polysemies in the order that they developed. In fact, no lexicon in the Gesenius tradition lists noun usages first for roots that have noun, preposition, and verb usages. Even up through the time of G18, verbs have always been placed first in

136. One might ask why this lexicon is included at all in a literature review that includes a more recent iteration of Gesenius' lexicographic work (i.e. G18). It is true that GHCL is old, outdated, and full of Christian polemics inserted by Tregelles (in a way that some take as disrespectful of Gesenius' rationalistic approach to religion, see Miller [1927]1966:17-18, 97-98). Nevertheless, it is an important work. It is important because it exists in abundance. This lexicon, being in the public domain and thus relatively cheap to print by a publisher, has been reproduced many times and is easy to acquire almost anywhere in the world (Miller [1927]1966:96-98 and personal experience acquiring this lexicon cheaply on three continents). By comparison, Robinson's (1836) first edition of Gesenius' Latin-Hebrew dictionary translated into English was not so abundant, not even in the time of Tregelles' edition ten years later (Miller [1927]1966:97). Also in the time between Robinson's and Tregelles' first editions, Hoffman and Rödiger's work on the Latin dictionary was published and Tregelles' edition benefitted from it (*ibid*). GHCL is used in this dissertation as a unique work of its time in the Gesenius tradition which fulfilled Gesenius' desire to engage with non-German speaking Hebrew students. This was his motivation in creating a BH lexicon in Latin in the first place (Miller [1927]1966:95).

these kinds of lexicographic entries. One may surmise that this is due to philological conventions in lexicography at the time. Miller (1966[1927]:29) notes the methodological similarities with other German and English lexica of the 1800s.

4.1.3.1.2 **אַחֲר** the noun

GHCL next describes **אַחֲר** as a noun and adjective, which is glossed to *another/other*. BDB ([1906]2006:29) defines this noun as "one coming behind". Thus, this noun is not simply an alternative noun for any *other*, but specifically the *other* who comes from behind. This egocentrism frames its' subject in terms of a posterior relationship with another's body. In this way, which BDB describes the noun, there is an implicit element of time as *one coming behind* is not only a spatial concept. Instances like Gen 4:25 demonstrate this temporal nuance of **אַחֲר**. In this case, Eve's naming of Seth as her **זֶרֶע אַחֲר** does not simply mean that she now has an alternative child. Rather, this new child is temporally posterior to the one who died and has taken the place of his dead brother (**תְּהִתְהַלֵּל**, see §6.2 for this usage of **תְּהִתְהַלֵּל**).

4.1.3.1.3 **אַחֲר** the adverb, preposition, and conjunction

GHCL then describes **אַחֲר** as properly a noun (*hinder part*) that has come to be used as an adverb of place (Gen 22:13), a preposition of place (Ex 3:1, see §4.1.2.2), and time (Gen 9:28), and finally as a conjunction (Ezk 40:1 with **אַחֲר אשר** and **אַחֲר** alone in Lev 14:43 and Job 42:7).

As an adverb of place, there are many good examples of **אַחֲר** modifying verbs, in fact nearly any instance of **(הָלַךְ אַחֲר(י)** would do,¹³⁷ and yet GHCL (and other lexica in the Gesenius tradition, as will be shown in §4.1.3.2-3) chooses Gen 22:13 as an example, where **אַחֲר** occurs in a verbless clause and, for text critical reasons, should likely be emended to **אַחֲד** (note that the NRSV leaves **אַחֲר** untranslated).¹³⁸

137. Gen 24:61 **וְשָׁקְטָה רֵבֶka וְנִשְׁרֹתָה וְתַרְפְּבָה עַל-הַמְּלִים וְלֹכֶבֶת אַחֲרֵי דָאִישׁ וְנִקְחֵה הַשְׁבָּד אֶת-זְרֻבָּבָה וַיָּלֹךְ** Then Rebekah and her maids rose up, mounted the camels, and followed the man; thus the servant took Rebekah, and went his way. (NRSV)

138. The BHS apparatus indicates that other manuscript traditions including the Samaritan Pentateuch, the

As discussed in §4.1.2.2, the preposition **אחר אשר** symbolizes a posterior spatial trajectory between a TR and LM in Ex 3:1. As a temporal preposition, the form construes Noah's life (the TR) in Gen 9:28 with posterior reference to the flood (the LM).

GHCL identifies **אחר אשר** *after that* in Ezk 40:1 as a conjunction along with Lev 14:43 and Job 42:7 which do not have **אשר** with the preposition. However in Ezk 40:1, **אחר אשר** does not conjoin two independent clauses,¹³⁹ rather **אחר אשר** opens an embedded clause within the second-to-last prepositional phrase of four temporal **בָּ** prepositional phrases, all of which function as temporal modifiers of the main clause **הוּא יְהוָה עַל**. This usage of **אחר אשר** is plausibly adverbial,¹⁴⁰ but it is not a true conjunction. Lev 14:43, on the other hand, is an example of **אחר** functioning as a conjunction as it joins the clauses **חִלּוּן וְאָמֵנוֹת הַנּוּעַ וְפֶרֶחּ בְּבֵית** **את-הָאָבָנִים** within the protasis of a conditional utterance introduced by **ואם**. In fact, HALOT (2000:35) cites this verse as one "connected with finite verbs". However, an emendation from the qatal verb here in MT to an infinitive is accepted by a number of scholars, making this a problematic example (Milgrom 1991:874). An uncontroversial example is preferred and found in Jer 41:16 (see §4.1.3.3.1). Lastly for GHCL's conjunction category, the lexicon cites Job 42:7. Syntactically, the functional discourse marker **וַיְהִי** is conjoined to the clause **דָּבָר יְהוָה** by **אחר** **את-הָדָבָרִים הַאֲלָאָבִיב**. Pragmatically, **אחר** functions to construe the speech of Yahweh to Eliphaz (the TR) as temporally posterior to Yahweh's speech to Job (the LM). This is seen in the distribution of such temporally posterior construals in the **דִּיחָה** clause here in Job 42:7,¹⁴¹ as a phrase with **אחר אשר** (Gen 15:1), and as a phrase with **אחרי אשר** (Gen 22:20). Such contexts with

LXX, and the Syriac Bible have record the numeral one, suggesting a Vorlage of **אחד** in BH. The Gesenius tradition reflects these textual issues in HALOT and G18.

139. See Carnie (2002:43-44).

140. It could also be that **אשר** has "nominalized" the subsequent verb and **אחר** functions as a preposition (Van der Merwe, personal correspondence).

141. Another research project on discourse analysis might consider the usage of body-part metaphors in constructions used as discourse markers and consider this particular example in Job 42:7.

אַחֲרָה occur 15 times in the Hebrew Bible, many of which attest the singular אַחֲרָה but also the pseudo-plural אַחֲרִי.¹⁴²

4.1.3.1.4 אַחֲרִי the substantive, preposition, and conjunction

GHCL then moves to discuss אַחֲרִי, which functions as a substantive (2 Sam 2:23), a preposition of place (Jdg 18:12) and time (Gen 16:13), and a conjunction mostly as אַחֲרִי אשר (Deut 24:4) but also as אַחֲרִי alone (Lev 25:48).

Like the singular form אַחֲרָה in Ex 3:1 (see §4.1.3.1.3), אַחֲרִי in Jdg 18:12 may also indicate a geographic direction based on the same mapping of the body onto local geography as אַחֲרָה.

The temporal-causal usage of אַחֲרִי אשר in Deut 24:4 qualifies syntactically as a true conjunction.¹⁴³ conjoins אַחֲרִי אשר הַטְמֵאָה with בָּעֵלה הַרְאֹן אשר-שְׁלָחוֹת לְשׁוֹב and the posterior temporal relationship is symbolizes metaphorically extends into the domain of causation.¹⁴⁴ In this case, the first husband cannot return to remarry his forsaken wife *after* she has been defiled by another man *because* she has been defiled by this other man. The cause-effect relationship cannot be divorced from the temporal relationship between the two clauses (לא-יוכל). The instance of אַחֲרִי אשר in Lev 25:48 should not be considered a proper conjunction (as the example of Deut 24:4 should be) because, similar to אַחֲרָה in Ezk 40:1 (discussed in §4.1.3.1.3); it is embedded in the protasis of a conditional statement (which starts in v47) rather than being the conjunctive link between protasis and apodosis.

142. Gen 15:1; 22:1; 22:20; 39:7; 40:1; 48:1; Jos 24:29; 1 Kgs 13:33; 17:17; 21:1; Job 42:7; Est 2:1; 3:1; 2 Chr 32:1.

143. Though the same could be said with Ezk 40:1 (§4.1.3.1.3): שָׁנָה could arguably "nominalize" the subsequent verb and אַחֲרָה would be functioning as a typical temporal preposition (Van der Merwe, personal correspondence). However, in the conclusion (§7), data from the various prepositions surveyed will be viewed together, and it will be hypothesized that שָׁנָה with a preposition is a way to construct a functional causal conjunction.

144. Evans (2013:114-126) establishes cognitive relationships between temporal and causal utterances. Sequence events are often interpreted as cause-effect relationships by mammalian brains.

4.1.3.1.5 אַחֲרִיכָן

Regarding the often maqqefed form אַחֲרִיכָן, GHCL explains that *after* in this case connotes that "things had so happened" (Gen 15:14).

In Gen 15:14, וְאַחֲרִיכָן is used to introduce events in sequence with posterior events. God will judge, *and then after* the people will come out. The events chronologically occur in the word order in which they are expressed. This is the effect side of a cause/effect relationship. God's judgement an effect after the judgement is executed. 2 Sam 24:10 on the other hand does not introduce events in a sequence. Rather, the effect is given first and אַחֲרִיכָן conjoins the clause, which explains the cause of the already stated effect. Though unnoticed in GHCL, this demonstrates that אַחֲרִיכָן can be employed in different types of posterior temporal construals.

4.1.3.2 BDB

BDB's ([1906]2006:29-30) entry for אַחֲרִיכָן is organized similar to Gesenius' lexica and uses many of the same examples. First the verbal usages are given, then אַחֲרִיכָן, then the singular אַחֲרֵךְ, followed lastly by the pseudo-plural אַחֲרִי. As stated in §4.1.2.2, BDB defines the adjective אַחֲרֵךְ as "one coming behind". The lexicographers note the future temporal significance that אַחֲרֵךְ may connote in contexts like Gen 4:25 (see §4.1.3.1.2).

Like GHCL, BDB ([1906]2006:29) organizes its usages of the singular אַחֲרֵךְ into subcategories of adverb of place and time, preposition of place and time, and conjunction (with and without שֶׁ) using many of the same references surveyed in GHCL.

BDB ([1906]2006:30) then describes the pseudo-plural אַחֲרִי, noting that the plural morphology is used much more frequently as a preposition and conjunction. The lexicon organizes its subcategories for אַחֲרִי by substantive, preposition of place, preposition of time, conjunction with שֶׁ, and with other prepositions. BDB uses many of the same references as GHCL to support these subcategories for this morphology.

However, BDB gives a significant more number of references of **אַחֲרִי** with other prepositions than GHCL, such as **אַחֲרִי** + **מִן** glossing these as *from behind* (1 Chr 17:7) and (2 Kgs 9:18), which the NRSV translates *behind me*.

In 1 Chr 17:7, it is possible **מִן** is the only preposition at work, symbolizing—along with the verb **לָקַח**—ablative motion (WO 1990:212). This away from motion is from *the back of* or *the space behind* a flock of sheep. It is also possible that the usage of a double preposition construction (**מִן** + **אַחֲרִי**), which occurs often, may imply that **אַחֲרִי** is not necessarily a noun here. It might be that this construction function as a double preposition construction in English. For example *from the table* symbolizes the same spatial relationship as *from on the table* in an utterance like *Please get my phone from/from on the table*.

4.1.3.3 HALOT

Following Gesenius and BDB, HALOT (2000:34-35) lists four categories for **אַחֲר** with minor differences. The lexicon lists the verbal usages, the noun **אַחֲר**, the substitution "name" for a deceased person **אַחֲר**,¹⁴⁵ and **אַחֲר** the adverb/preposition with **אַחֲרִי** as a subcategory.

4.1.3.3.1 **אַחֲר**

אַחֲר is described first as an adverb of place, citing, as Gesenius, the text-critically problematic verse Gen 22:13 (see §4.1.3.1.3). However unlike Gesenius, HALOT notes the manuscript issues and also offers a similar occurrence in Psa 68:26.

Psa 68:26 describes the king's ascent into his sanctuary accompanied by musicians in a particular order (Kraus 1989:55). This usage of **אַחֲר** follows the first clause of the verse. **קדמו** **שְׁרִירִים** states who goes first, then **אַחֲר** is used to introduce who follows in sequence. Though in a

145. HALOT proposes that the name *Aher* is a substitution given for an ancestor whose name was unknown, suggesting that it should be understood as "another" in **בָּנֵי עִיר חֶלְמָה בָּנֵי אַחֲרִי שֻׁפְטִים וַעֲמָדִים**. *And Shuppim and Huppim were the sons of Ir; Hushim the son of Aher* (1 Chr 7:12 NRSV). BDB ([1906]2006:31) listed this name separately from its entry on **אַחֲר** and suggests that it is used to avoid using the name *Dan*.

poetic text, one may interpret this as evidence that **אַחֲר** can be used to make an implicit predication and a link verbless clause with other clauses. While that is reason to reconsider the use of **אַחֲר** in Gen 22:13, it does not explain the text-critical issues of Gen 22:13.

HALOT (ibid) then describes the singular **אַחֲר** as an adverb of time, glossed *afterwards* (Gen 18:5). Here, **אַחֲר** functions as a conjunctive adverb linking the clause **וְסָעָדָה לִבְכֶּם** with **תֵּעֶבֶת**. These events are described in chronological order where **אַחֲר** is used as a symbol of that sequential time relationship.

Before moving to the pseudo-plural form, HALOT describes the singular **אַחֲר** as a preposition of place (Gen 37:17) and time (Gen 14:36 and with a finite verb in Jer 41:16). In the clause **וַיֵּלֶךְ יוֹסֵף אַחֲרֵי אֲחֵיו** functions as a simple posterior locative modifying Joseph's walking in Gen 37:17. Lev 14:36 and Jer 41:16, on the other hand, are not so simple because they symbolize different usages of posterior time. In Lev 14:36, **אַחֲרֵי**¹⁴⁶ sequences the events of the priest commanding the house be emptied or be unclean as prior to the priest entering the home, the event that follows the first. These events are given in chronological order as they are to be performed. However in Jer 41:16, **אַחֲרֵי** is used to profile Johanan's actions as temporally posterior to the slaying of Gedaliah, a past time event from this point in the narrative. Unlike Lev 14:36, these events are not given in chronological order.

4.1.3.3.2 **אַחֲרֵי**

HALOT (ibid) treats the pseudo-plural **אַחֲרֵי** as a morphological subcategory of **אַחֲר**, dividing its usages into four basic parts: substantive, spatial preposition, temporal preposition, and temporal preposition with infinitives.

146. According to the BHS apparatus, the Samaritan Pentateuch records the pseudo-plural **אַחֲרֵי**.

Substantiating substantival **אַחֲרֵי** as a category, HALOT offers Gen 16:13 and Ex 33:8. These are the only two BH occurrences of the egocentric body-part noun in this morphology.¹⁴⁷ **אַחֲרֵי** is used as a symbol of Moses' back(side) in Ex 33:8. **אַחֲרֵי** in Gen 16:13 may also be interpreted as a *back* (*back* of God in this case), as HALOT does, but it may also be taken at least two other ways. Wenham (2006:3) explains that some have translated this verse in a temporal fashion (which makes for difficulty in understanding) *Have I seen after the one who sees me?* (KJV), while others have interpreted this verse as *Have I really seen God and lived?* (NRSV). However, it is reasonable that **אַחֲרֵי** in this case is a substantive when compared with Moses seeing God's back in Ex 33:23. Both the verb **רָאָה** and the root **אָחַר** are used (though the morphology is a pseudo-plural form of **אָחֹזֶר**).

HALOT (ibid) describes **אַחֲרֵי** as a spatial preposition in places such as 2 Sam 2:20 and Jdg 5:14. In 2 Sam 2:20 **אַחֲרֵי** describes the end location of Abner's turning of his head (verb form of **פָנָה**). This is one of many examples shown thus far of a form of **אָחַר** modifying a verb with a posterior construal. However, Jdg 5:14 attests **אַחֲרֵי** used in a verbless clause to describe posterior movement (*following*). This is evidence that **אָחַר** may symbolize posterior motion without a verb.

HALOT (ibid) describes **אַחֲרֵי** as a temporal preposition in places such as Gen 17:8; and Ecc 7:14. Gen 17:8 exhibits a simple prepositional phrase (**אַחֲרִיכֶם**) modifying a noun (**וְעַצְמָם**). The temporal semantic value of the prepositional phrase in context construes the noun it modifies (the TR) as temporally posterior to the preposition's object (the pronominal suffix **־ם**) (the LM).

147. Most of the time **אָחֹזֶר** is used to symbolize a *back*. This form is not studied in this dissertation because it as a clearly established noun never functions as a preposition, the description of which is the task of this dissertation.

HALOT (ibid) describes **אַחֲרִי** as a temporal preposition before infinitives in places such as 2 Sam 17:21. In this case, **אַחֲרִי** profiles the event of Ahimaaz and Jonathan's climbing out of the well as temporally posterior to its object, the infinitive phrase **לְכַתֵּם**.

While the lexicographers note the collocation of **אַחֲרִי אשר**, they do not indicate that it functions as a conjunction nor that it can symbolize a causal meaning.

4.1.3.4 G18

G18 (2013:39-41) treats **אַחֲרָה** as a verb, noun, adverb, preposition, and conjunction. While G18 does include a separate entry for the pseudo-plural form **אַחֲרִי**, this entry is intentionally short and points the lexicon-user to the **אַחֲרָה** entry for further reference, where most of the usages of **אַחֲרִי** are treated.

4.1.3.4.1 **אַחֲרָה**

G18 (2013:39) states that the verb is denominative from **אַחֲרָה** and is glossed as *hinten seine, zurückhalten*, (to be back, restrain). The lexicographers compare this verbal usage with those of related languages, for example Akkadian, Arabic, and Ethiopic (Ge'ez). The verb entry is then divided into stem formations Qal, Piel, Pual, Hifil, and Hitpael. The Qal usages are glossed as *verweilen, zögern* (Gen 32:5). The Piel usages are glossed as *zögern, säumen* (hesitate, tarry) (Isa 46:13). The Pual subcategory lists unattested participle morphologies (**מִאַחֲרָה** and **מִאַחֲרָתָה**) of **אַחֲרָה** which, the lexicographers argue, serve as the etymological basis of the *tomorrow* noun **מִאַחֲרָה**. This gives an alternative etymology for **מִאַחֲרָה** rather than GKC §100cfn1's explanation of the usage of **יֹום אַחֲרָה** (as discussed in §4.1.2.1).¹⁴⁸ The Hifil usage is glossed as *zögern* (hesitate) and the lexicon-user referred back to the Qal subcategory (2 Sam 20:5), though the unbracketed formation in the text is a Piel form. The Hitpael usages are glossed as *sich verspäten, sich entziehen, nachhinken* (delay oneself, withdraw oneself, lag behind).

148. In either case of how **אַחֲרָה** evolved into **מִאַחֲרָה**, both etymologies correspond with the scholarly consensus regarding basic geographic direction in BH: one would face (**פָנָה**) the rising sun in the east (**מִזְרָח קָדָשׁ**) and thus have one's back (**אַחֲרָה**) to the sea/west (**בַּיִת**) (Rogers 1997:905).

in the Hitpael stem is unattested in BH and the lexicographers point to Sir 7:34 as their only cited example (which will not be considered here).

From a semantic view, one may question how different these usages are while acknowledging the morphological distinctions. The three examples above, though different stem formations, are all (though some only in part) glossed with *zögern* (hesitate). **רַחֲאֵל** in these examples symbolizes non-motion in a location with the expectation of future movement.

Though unattested in the Hebrew Bible, G18's Pual subcategory for **רַחֲאֵל** is instructive on an alternative etymology for **מִהָּר** than that which has already been accepted in previous generations of the Gesenius tradition.

4.1.3.4.2 **רַחֲאֵל**

G18 (2013:39-40) divides its description of the alternative noun **רַחֲאֵל** into two main categories: the adjective and the proper noun *Aher* (1 Chr 7:12, see §4.1.3.3). G18 describes the adjective usages of **רַחֲאֵל** in three subcategories: 1) *folgender, zweiter* (following, second) (Gen 17:21), 2) *ein anderer* (another) (Gen 4:25, see §4.1.3.1.2), and 3) *fremd* (Gen 29:19) (alien/strange).

G18's *folgender, zweiter* subcategory symbolizes sequence, years in sequence in Gen 17:21. However the distinction between the *ein anderer* and *fremd* categories is not so clear. Another son for Eve is in the *ein anderer* subcategory in Gen 4:25 and an unidentified stranger is *fremd* in Gen 29:19. The notion of familiarity, as distinguished in German by *ein anderer* and *fremd* in Gen 4:25 and Gen 29:29 can be attributed to the context of each passage, not **רַחֲאֵל** alone. In this way, one may refine G18's subcategories for adjectival **רַחֲאֵל** down to two: sequence and other.

4.1.3.4.3 **אַחֲר**

G18 (2013:40-41) divides the noun **אַחֲר** into two morphological parts: singular and plural.

The singular grouping is further subcategorized by part of speech: adverb, preposition, and conjunction. The adverbs are stated to be of place (Gen 22:13; Psa 68:26, see §4.1.3.1.3 and §4.1.3.3.1, respectively) and of time (Ex 5:1). Likewise, the prepositions are also stated to be of place (Num 25:8) and of time (Gen 9:28, see §4.1.3.1.3). The instances of functional conjunctions listed are all semantically temporal (Lev 14:43; Job 42:7, see §4.1.3.1.3 for both),¹⁴⁹ including the usage with **אֲשֶׁר** (Ezk 40:1, see §4.1.3.1.3).

Like HALOT, G18 acknowledges the text-critical problems with Gen 22:13 and states that **רַחֲנָה** in Psa 68:26 functions as a sequencer of participants in a procession. In Ex 5:1, **רַחֲנָה** is used temporally to introduce the latter of events in sequence. In Num 25:8, **אַחֲר** is used to symbolize the posterior path taken by Phineas (the TR) following those he would kill (the LM). In Gen 9:28, **אַחֲר** is not used to symbolize posterior temporal sequence as it was in the G18's adverbial usages (Ex 5:1). Rather this is an example of posterior deictic time, wherein a TR (Noah's life) is profiled in terms of its posterior relationship to the LM (the flood event) (see §4.1.3.1.3). These events are not in chronological sequence as in Ex 5:1. Lastly, **אַחֲר** in Job 42:7 introduces a finite verb, qualifying it as a proper conjunction. However it also occurs within a **דִּין** clause used to introduce a move in the narrative. The usage of **אַחֲר אֲשֶׁר** in Ezk 40:1 has been discussed in §4.1.3.1.3 in regards to whether or not this is a conjunction.

The plural grouping for **רַחֲנָה** is further subcategorized into substantive (Gen 16:13; Ex 33:8, see §4.1.3.3.2 for both), preposition, and conjunction. The prepositional usages are divided into prepositions of place (Lev 26:33; 2 Kgs 9:18 Psa 94:15) and of time (Jer 25:26; 2 Chr 21:18). Finally, the lexicographers list temporal conjunctive usages of the pseudo-plural form

149. In this section, the lexicographers also give an opinion on Neh 5:15, a notoriously difficult text, accepting the emendation **אַחֲר יְמֵינָם לְ**. Thus, these lexicographers have ruled out Neh 5:15 as an example of **רַחֲנָה**. See also §2.6.2.2 and §4.1.3.5.1d.

(Lev 25:48 which needs fuller explanation as to its function within a conditional statement, as discussed in §4.1.3.1.4).

אַחֲרֵי in Lev 26:33 symbolizes the posterior pathway taken by the violence (הָרֹב) unleashed (רִקְמָה) by the speaker. And though a verbless clause, אַחֲרֵי Psa 94:15 symbolizes a similar posterior spatial relationship used metaphorically. However, this may not be the case with אַחֲרֵי in 2 Kgs 9:18 as G18 has argued. In this case, the pseudo-plural is used with the preposition אל, which the lexicographers note, along with BDB (see §4.1.3.2). They translate this clause *wende um und folge mir (turn around and follow me)*. While this is a good German translation, it is also plausible that the functional preposition in this case is ל, indicating a path of movement (בְּ) which terminates in a posterior space (אַחֲרֵי). Thus, אַחֲרֵי could function as noun or participate in a double preposition construction (2 Sam 5:23, see §4.1.3.2).

The final two subcategories for G18's description of אַחֲרֵי are prepositions of time and conjunctions. In Jer 25:26, אַחֲרֵי is used to introduce a participant that is temporally past or present (non-future) from the view of the speaker or narrator. The people (the LM) are construed in non-future time, and then after them, Sheshach (the TR) will drink in the future. The participant that is modified by the prepositional phrase (Sheshach) is in future time from the perspective of the narrative, while the participant that the preposition introduces is in present narrative time (pronominal referent to the people). While this describes the temporal usage of אַחֲרֵי Jer 25:26, it does not precisely describe the usage of אַחֲרֵי in 2 Chr 21:18. In 2 Chr 21:18, the event that is in past time occurs before אַחֲרֵי in the verse, and the event that the אַחֲרֵי phrase introduces is next in sequence in relation to the first event. Unlike the first temporal example of אַחֲרֵי, these events are given in the chronological order of the narrative.

4.1.3.4.4 אַחֲרֵי

G18 (2013:41) also has a short but separate entry for the form אַחֲרֵי, labeling it an adverb in two places (Prov 28:23 and Neh 3:30). The entry for this form points the lexicon user back to

the **אַחֲר** entry for reference. Perhaps these examples could be grouped into that category in future editions. Both of these verses come with suggested emendations—Prov 28:23 that **אַחֲרִי** be changed to **אַחֲרֵי** and Neh 3:30-31 that pronominal suffixes be added—and are intelligibly read as adverbs, so one could instead group these instances, despite their morphological distinctions, with the plural category for **אַחֲר** in G18 and note the suggested emendations. Since these verses have questionable morphologies it is not clear why G18, nor any other dictionary, has built an entry on them.

4.1.3.5 DCH

DCH (2011:Vol. 1, 192-195) follows Gesenius' ordering of usages for **אַחֲר** (however DCH does not break any of its own lexicographic rules in doing so), starting with the verb and then proceeding to the adjective **אַחֲרָא** (along with the pseudonym *Aher*) and the singular form **אַחֲרָא**. DCH (2011:Vol. 1, 196-199) describes the pseudo-plural **אַחֲרִי** as a preposition, adverb, and conjunction.

4.1.3.5.1 **אַחֲרָא**

4.1.3.5.1a Temporal preposition

Unlike others, DCH (2011:193-195) begins its analysis of **אַחֲרָא** as preposition with a description of its temporal values. DCH organizes temporal **אַחֲרָא** into three subcategories: preceding a noun (Gen 10:1), preceding an infinitive (Jer 40:1; Job 21:3), and as a conjunction introducing a finite verb (Job 19:26). This gives a syntagmatic view of **אַחֲרָא** showing what kinds of words fill these syntactic slots.

In Gen 10:1, **אַחֲרָא** profiles a TR (*sons born to to Shem, Ham, and Japeth*) as temporally posterior to a LM (*the flood*) that has already happened.

In Jer 40:1 and Job 21:3, **אַחֲרָא** construes the action of the finite verb (the *coming* **הַיְהָ** of the word in Jer 40:1 and the mocking **לֹשׁן** in Job 21:3—the TRs) as temporally posterior to the events of the infinitive (the LMs). BHRG §20.1.5iv notes this usage of **אַחֲרִי** with infinitive

constructs. It seems it can apply to **אַחֲר** in these cases as well, which could be further evidence that **אַחֲר** and **אַחֲרִי** are not two separate lexical items.

In Job 19:26, **אַחֲר** introduces a finite verbal clause which pragmatically is understood as temporally posterior to the clause that succeeds it (**וּמְבָשֵׁרִי אַחֲזָה אֱלֹהָה**).

Semantically, these temporal usage of **אַחֲר** may be described as referential or *deictic* time, to use the terminology of Evans (2013:81-113) (also §4.1.3.4.3). According to Evans (ibid), temporal deixis can account for the felt experience of future evolving into the present and the present evolving into the past. In temporal deixis, a participant and/or event in an utterance is described temporally in terms of another. This necessarily creates future/past time relationships. With **אַחֲר**, these deictic temporal usages construe the LM as past-time, while the phrase that **אַחֲר** modifies is in the future from the perspective of the LM. Thus in Gen 10:1, *the flood* is a past-time event at that point in the narrative while *the descendants of Noah* are in the future from the perspective of the flood. In this way, Noah's descendants are profiled by reference to a past-time event.

4.1.3.5.1b Spatial preposition

Next DCH (ibid) describes **אַחֲר** as a preposition of place. This category is divided into two subcategories: the first a mix of nouns and verbs that occur with **אַחֲר** in spatial contexts (Ruth 2:2), the second a morphological delimitation of the composite form **מְאַחֲר** (2 Sam 7:8; Psa 78:1).

In Ruth 2:2, **אַחֲר** symbolizes the locative relationship between Ruth's gleaning and some indefinite person who may allow her to glean. However, since actions are perceived as being located in a space and passing through some time, a strict distinction between prepositions of time and place cannot be clearly maintained with verbs of motion. Just as Ruth's gleaning is

spatially behind a worker, it is also temporally after the worker has first done his own gathering of grain.

Both 2 Sam 7:8 and Psa 78:71, as another example of a double preposition construction (see §4.1.3.2), plausibly demonstrate **אַחֲר** functioning as a construct noun as part of a construct chain within a **בְּ** prepositional phrase. These are instances of a verb of motion with an ablative **בְּ** that symbolizes the motion's ablative trajectory. **אַחֲר** is the LM construct noun, part of a fuller noun phrase: back of *the flock* in 2 Sam 7:8 and *back of ewes* in Psa 78:71. These "backs" are metaphorical extensions into the domain of egocentric space, properly understood as *the space behind*. These two instances, along with 1 Chr 17:7 (as others to be shown in §4.3.1.6) are usages of a labor metaphor, where being *behind an animal* means agricultural labor with animals (like shepherding in 2 Sam 7:8).

4.1.3.5.1c Personal relationship

DCH (ibid) then describes "**אַחֲר** of personal relationship". This semantic category means to *support* someone and is divided into three subcategories: with verbs (1 Sam 12:14), preceding nouns (1 Sam 12:14 again; 2 Kgs 23:3), and **מֵאַחֲר** (Isa 59:13).

In 1 Sam 12:14 and 2 Kgs 23:3, a personal relationship can be accounted for by the finite verbs which **אַחֲר** modifies—forms of **הָיָה** and **הָלַךְ**. While **אַחֲר** certainly construes the relationship egocentrically, and thus personal in a way not possible without an egocentrism, it cannot be defended that **אַחֲר** alone symbolizes a personal relationship in these contexts (as discussed in similar cases in GHCL, see §4.1.3.1). Isa 59:13 is the only example of these four above in which a personal relationship is attributable to **אַחֲר**. Though the concept of personal relationship is certainly demonstrated in clauses such as **לִלְכַת אַחֲר יְהוָה** in 2 Kgs 23:3, Isa 59:13 is the only example of the four where **אַחֲר** symbolizes a *following* relationship without a verb like **הָיָה** or **הָלַךְ**. In this case, the verb **סָמַךְ** accounts for the (metaphorical) motion of the clause (that symbolized by the finite verb), **בְּ** accounts for the ablative trajectory, and **אַחֲר אלְ�לִינוּ** syntacti-

cally functions as a chunk noun phrase, just as *back of the flock* plausibly does in 2 Sam 7:8 (see §4.1.3.5.1b). However, just as being **אחר הצון** in 2 Sam 7:8 is not perceived as static activity, neither is being **אחר אלהינו** in Isa 59:13. In this case, **אחר אלהינו** refers to the activity of *following after* in a metaphorical sense of having a personal relationship of devotion, as in the clauses with **היה** and **הלך** in the first three examples listed above (hence they are grouped together in DCH). One might hypothesize this has occurred through frequent usages of **אחר** in such devotion-relational context with verbs such as **היה** and **הלך**. Perhaps over time such verbs could have been implied in such contexts with **אחר** used figuratively.

4.1.3.5.1d Besides

DCH (*ibid*) then creates another semantic category, labeled *besides*, for **אחר** based on one example (Neh 5:15, see §2.6.2.2). DCH notes the text-critical issue here—that **אַחֲר** may be emended to **אֶחָד**—and yet still posits this as a possible category with only one attestation. The NET Bible footnotes in this verse that reading **אחר** as "after'...makes no sense here". However, one can see a plausible pragmatic relationship with instances like Gen 4:25 (see §4.1.3.1.2), where an *additional* son is introduced by **אחר**. The difference between the two contexts is that while the added son replaced his dead brother, the additional money is added on to the food and wine tax.

4.1.3.5.1e According to

DCH (*ibid*) introduces another semantic category based on one exemplar, glossed *according to*. This category is based on **אחר צרכו יمشך תורתה** "according to his needs he pulls, i.e. distorts, *the law*" from Sirach 35:17,¹⁵⁰ and thus will not be further considered as it is outside the stated corpus of study.

150. This must be a typographical error in DCH as the utterance cited actually comes from Sir 32:17.

4.1.3.5.1f Temporal adverb

DCH (ibid) then describes the singular **אַחֲר** as an adverb of time and space. The temporal adverb category is divided into instances with verbs (Gen 24:55; 2 Chr 35:14) and the collocations **כִּי** (Lev 14:36, see §4.1.3.3.1) and **זֶה אַחֲרָךְ** (2 Chr 32:9).

Syntactically, these examples of **אַחֲר** are conjunctions (or conjunctive adverbs) linking clauses, sometimes within a verse and other times in between versification markers. Semantically, these conjunctions symbolize sequential time temporal relationships between the clauses that they link (Evans 2013:114-126). That is to say, these events are given in (chrono)logical narrative order and **אַחֲר** introduces an event as temporally posterior to the event which precedes it. According to Evans (ibid), this sequential time differs from deictic time in quality of transience. Where deictic time accounts for future/past transience, sequential time accounts for earlier/latter transient relationships. Evans (ibid) describes this as occurrence (deixis) versus succession (sequence). DCH notes that these conjunctives may occur as **אַחֲר** alone or with collocations with **כִּי** and **זֶה**. In Lev 14:36 and 2 Chr 32:9, **כִּי** and **זֶה** in the collocations **אַחֲר כִּי** and **אַחֲר זֶה** anaphorically refer to the preceding event.¹⁵¹ In Gen 24:55 and 2 Chr 35:14, **אַחֲר** similarly functions as a temporal sequencer introducing a temporally posterior event; however, it does so without **כִּי** or **זֶה**.

4.1.3.5.1g Spatial adverb

Finally for the singular form, DCH (ibid) notes a spatial adverbial usage, citing Gen 22:13 (see §4.1.3.1.3) and Psa 68:26 (see §4.1.3.3.1).

4.1.3.5.2 **אַחֲרֵי**

DCH (2011:Vol. 1, 195-200) posits seven distinct categories for **אַחֲרֵי** (that are a mix of semantic and morphosyntactic categories) as a preposition and one for it as an adverb: time,

¹⁵¹ See §4.1.4.1.4 for more on 2 Chr 32:9.

place, *junior to*, personal relationship, *in accordance with*, *because seeing that*, **מְאַחֲרִי**, and an adverbial usage *afterwards*.

4.1.3.5.2a Temporal preposition

DCH (*ibid*) describes **אַחֲרֵי** as a temporal preposition with six subcategories: preceding infinitive constructs (2 Sam 5:13), preceding nouns (Ezk 44:26), as a conjunction preceding finite verbs (1 Sam 5:9), a subcategory DCH calls *which comes after* (Gen 17:7), another idiosyncratic subcategory called *after he had done* (Job 37:4), and then the composite **אַחֲרֵיכָן** (Ezra 3:5).

Semantically, **אַחֲרֵי** in all of these examples exhibit posterior deictic temporal relations except the last two, Job 37:4 and Ezra 3:5, which exhibit events in sequential time relation. Though DCH groups them by infinitive, noun, and conjunction, the first three verses above all exhibit a thing or event (whether a noun phrase or whole clause) which is profiled as temporally posterior with reference to whatever is inside the **אַחֲרֵי** phrase (whether a nominal chunk or a whole other clause). In these case of temporal deixis, the so-called conjunction (1 Sam 5:9) is at most sub-ordinating conjunctions. On the other hand, the last two instances of sequential time where events are laid out in sequence (rather than profiling one in terms of another) demonstrate that **אַחֲרֵי** can be used as a co-ordinating conjunction. The events of Job 37:4 are co-ordinated in a temporally posterior way to the events of v3 by **אַחֲרֵי**. And in Ezra 3:5 **אַחֲרֵיכָן** co-ordinates the events of that verse as *after* the events of v4.

4.1.3.5.2b Spatial preposition

DCH (*ibid*) describes **אַחֲרֵי** as a spatial preposition with verbs of motion which the lexicon further subcategorizes by occurrences with occurrences with **הַלֵּךְ** (Gen 24:5; Amos 2:4), other motion verbs (Jer 42:16), instances of the composite form **מְאַחֲרִי** (Ex 14:19), instances without implied motion (Ezk 3:12), and connoting greater distance (Deut 11:30; Jdg 18:12).

In Gen 24:5 and Amos 2:4, **אַחֲרֵי** symbolizes the trajectory of the pathway instantiated by **הַלְּךָ**.

The difference between the two is the metaphorical context of devotion in Amos, which can be attributed to a metaphorical usage of the verb (see §4.1.2.1). The same can be said of **דָּבַק** in Jer 42:16. The concept of *chase* is symbolized by the verb and the preposition **אַחֲרִי** localizes the chasing with a posterior egocentrism.

The two instances of **מְאַחֲרֵי** in Ex 14:19 are interesting because the **מְ**'s do not seem to contribute a discernible semantic value (see §4.2.1.2).

Ezk 3:12 may be questioned as an example of **אַחֲרֵי** used in a context that lacks implied motion because audition, such as motion, is a sense by which ancient Hebrews experienced the world (see §3.3) and spatio-temporal perception is affected by cross-modal information of audition from the temporal lobe (as discussed in §3.2a).

Lastly, Deut 11:30 and Jdg 18:12 are both instances that previous BH literature have handled as geographic directions.

4.1.3.5.2c Junior to

DCH (*ibid*) describes a possible (marked *perhaps*) semantic category for **אַחֲר** called *junior to* that symbolizes being of a lower social status in relation to another; however, DCH also notes that spatial and temporal senses could account for these usages as well (2 Sam 23:11; Neh 11:8; 1 Chr 11:12).

The examples from Samuel and Chronicles represent military contexts that includes ranking of soldiers. For 2 Sam 23:11, the pericope begins when the men are introduced as **גְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר** **לְדוֹדָה** in 2 Sam 23:8 and then listed in order of rank with accomplishments noted. In these contexts, forms of **אַחֲר** are appropriate choices to make contextual metaphors based on egocentric configurations. Regarding DCH listing this as a possible category for the pseudo-plural form, note that the singular **אַחֲר** is used in the same way in 2 Sam 3:9.

Neh 11:8 is a poor exemplar for text-critical reasons. It is most likely that the **אֶחָדִי** here should be emended to **אֶחָדֵי** as translated in the Lucianic Greek Bible tradition.¹⁵² Note that the NRSV cited above has accepted this emendation.¹⁵³

4.1.3.5.2d Support

DCH (*ibid*) describes a category semantically identical to the personal relationship category that DCH posited for the singular form **אֶחָד** (see §4.1.3.5.1c) which is glossed as *in support of* and grouped into two subcategories: with verbs (Ex 23:2) and followed by nouns (Jdg 9:3).

Even in the "followed by nouns" subcategory, all of these instances contain a verb that can account for the *a support* frame. DCH does not offer one example wherein the concept of *support* can solely be attributed to the preposition. This is not to say that DCH should have done this because the dictionary's stated goal is to provide a syntagmatic analysis of ancient Hebrew words, which it has done. Nevertheless, DCH's explanatory method can be questioned as to how it accounts for verbal contributions to a semantic category made for a preposition, rather than simply recording those verbal co-occurrences. Lastly, one may ask why Amos 2:4 (see §4.1.3.5.2b), clearly a *support* context as these, is grouped as a spatial preposition rather than included here in the support category.

4.1.3.5.2e In accordance with

DCH (*ibid*) describes a category glossed *in accordance with* (Num 15:39). One might question whether these examples should be included in DCH's support category since the devotion metaphor in this case and in those cited in the support category are both instantiated with motion verbs and **אֶחָדִי**.

152. See also Williamson (1985:343) who argues that **אֶחָדִי** here is an impossible reading and should be emended to *brother/kinsmen*.

153. That being said, one could also argue that it is an excellent example of **אֶחָדֵי** as *follower* suggesting the possibility that some redactor considered **אֶחָדִי** to function as a substantive similar to **יְהֹוָה**.

4.1.3.5.2f Because, seeing that

DCH (ibid) distinguishes a causal category glossed *because, seeing that*. This usage is a conjunction that introduces a verb in a causal clause (Gen 41:39; **אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר** in Jdg 11:36). **אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר** and **אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר** in these cases introduce a causal or explanatory element in a cause-effect conditional clause construed as temporally posterior to the effect. Thus God's revelation to Joseph is the reason Pharaoh states there is no one like him in Gen 41:39. Likewise, Yahweh's giving of vengeance against an enemy is the reason for Jephthah's daughter to tell her father that he should keep his oath. In these cases, one can trace the functional link between temporal and causal usages.

4.1.3.5.2g מִאַחֲרֵי

DCH (ibid) describes the composite form **מִאַחֲרֵי** with glosses such as *from behind* and (*away*) *from (following)*. This category is grouped into two subcategories: with verbs (2 Chr 13:13, see §4.1.3.6.2) and preceding nouns (Jos 8:14).

In Jos 8:14, **מִאַחֲרֵי** modifies the participle **אָרֶב** *ambush* and the preposition **מִן** marks the origin of the ambush (from behind the city). In this case, DCH has not clearly delineated between what is attributable to **אַחֲרֵי** and what is attributable to the preposition **מִן** and verbs in context.

4.1.3.5.2h Noun

DCH (ibid), at the end of its analysis of **אַחֲרֵי** as a preposition, describes nominal usages of the pseudo-plural form, offering *back parts* and *rear* as glosses (2 Sam 2:23; 5:23) (see §4.1.2.1 and §4.1.3.3.2 respectively)

4.1.3.5.2i Afterwards

Finally, DCH (ibid) describes the pseudo-plural **אַחֲרֵי** as an adverb of time, glossed *afterwards* (Prov 28:23; Neh 3:30, 31) (see §4.1.3.4.4).

4.1.3.6 SDBH

In 2000, the United Bible Societies began publishing SDBH, an online BH lexicographic resource organized by the principles of De Blois (2001), which, methodologically, employs categorization tools of cognitive semantics.

SDBH organizes BH words alphabetically. Users can click on words or search for them. Lexical entries in SDBH are organized by part of speech, translation gloss, and definition with supporting examples. Along with this is very basic morphological information and SDBH situates each definition of a gloss within semantic domain. Thus for **אַחֲר**, SDBH (2015:0310)¹⁵⁴ identifies the form as a masculine noun and also includes **אַחֲרִי** as a form of **אַחֲרָנָה**, rather than having a separate lexical entry for the pseudo-plural. **אַחֲרָנָה** is said to be used in three word classes: noun, particle preposition, and particle adverb. The noun and preposition categories are placed within an "Orientation" domain (of body parts with the noun usages and of different states, such as space or time, with the prepositional usages).

While SDBH presents a well formulated framework for lexicography according to semantic principles, some practices from philology have been sacrificed. For example, SDBH does not attempt to deal with comparative Semitic data nor text-critical issues of the biblical manuscripts. Since these issues are intentionally outside of SDBH's stated goals for what it will describe, it would be unfair to criticize SDBH for not addressing the issues brought up by comparative Semitics and textual criticism. Rather, one can simply note a full departure from these aspects of Gesenius' lexicographic rules (see §2.3.1 and §2.3.4)

SDBH records three separate entries for the root **אַחֲר**: the verb, the noun **אַחֲר**, and the adjective **אַחֲרָנָה**.

¹⁵⁴. The number 0310, in this case, is not a page number but rather an entry number that identifies SDBH's lexicographic entry for **אַחֲרָנָה**.

4.1.3.6.1 נָהַג the verb

SDBH (2015:0309) divides the description of verbal נָהַג into four subcategories: a) *to be delayed; to linger; to be slow; to tarry* (Jdg 5:28), b) *to delay; to linger; to stay; to be slow* (Dan 9:19), c) *to delay (someone else)* (Gen 24:56), and d) *to withhold; to hold back* (Ex 22:28). One may question how SDBH's subcategory a) for נָהַג's so-called stative verbal usages is distinct from subcategory b), the active verbal usages. Both of the actions in Jdg 5:28 and Dan 9:19 are described as taking too long. Both are intransitive. Such a categorical distinction needs more explanation, otherwise these two categories can be made one.

SDBH's verbal subcategory b) for נָהַג includes Isa 5:11; Psa 127:2; and Prov 23:30. These instances of נָהַג are participles functioning as substantives.

4.1.3.6.2 נָהָר the noun and particle

SDBH (2015:0310) divides the description of nominal נָהָר into three categories: 1) noun, 2) particle preposition, and 3) particle adverb. The pseudo-plural morphology נָחָרִי is included here in these categories. Each category is further subcategorized, though the noun category only has one subcategory 1a) *back, butt* (1 Kgs 10:19; Psa 49:14), 2) particle preposition into a) *behind, after*; b) *behind, after; following*, c) *after, since, as soon as*, d) *after*; and 3) particle adverb into a) *behind*, and b) *afterward, after that*. SDBH records 5 occurrences of 1a).

In 1 Kgs 10:19, a נָהָר of position (Lemmer 2014:77-80) is prefixed to the pseudo-plural form. This composite form indicates that only the *back part* of the top of the throne was rounded. Psa 49:14 is a difficult verse to understand and translate.¹⁵⁵ Psa 49:14-21 addresses the folly

155. The NET Bible renders וְאֶחָדֵיכֶם בְּפִיְדֵיכֶם as *and of those who approve of their philosophy* similar to the ERV's (1986, 2004) *and to anyone who accepts their way of life*. However, the LXX renders the b-line of the verse temporally καὶ μετὰ ταῦταν τῷ στομάτι αὐτῶν εὐδοκήσουσιν *and afterwards with their mouth they will express contentment* (NETS). The Lutherbibel ([1534]1985) and the JPS (1985) translate this half of the verse with a similar understanding about the termination of the foolhardy's way—und das Ende aller, denen ihr Gerede so wohl gefällt and *the end of those pleased with their own talk*, respectively. The KJV and Reina-Valera (1909) share an understanding of נָחָרִים as they translate *posterity* and *descendientes* (descendants), respectively. The NIV (1985, 2011) and God's Word to the Nations (1995) both translate the composite form as *their followers*.

of the way the wealthy live their lives after describing, in vss 6-13, their fear of death and the benefit they believe their wealth to be to them (Craigie 1983:360). Within this context, Kraus (1993:479) emends **אחריהם** to **אחריהם דרכם**, as in Job 8:13,¹⁵⁶ creating a clearer parallelism with **דרכם** and in keeping with the theme of this part of the psalm, that the path of these wealthy people ends in the grave (v15). So, in this example, there are reasons why one should either take it as a kind of noun or perhaps exclude it from statistical analysis because it could plausibly be emended.

SDBH's preposition category 2 is divided into 4 subcategories: a) *behind, after*, b) *behind, after, following*, c) *after, since, as soon as*, d) *after*. The lexicographers define subcategory 2a) as the particle "linking two elements and indicating that X is located or takes place behind Y" (2 Chr 13:13).

In 2 Chr 13:13, X (the ambush) is *from* behind Y (Judah). Here, as in the previous clause, the **מן** of origin (Lemmer 2014:93-96) is used to mark the origin of an action that has a certain direction—which is in the direction of the people being attacked by the ambishers.¹⁵⁷ This origin point is posterior to the people being attacked so they will not know about it, hence its strategic advantage.¹⁵⁸

SDBH defines subcategory 2b) *behind, after, following* as the particle "linking two elements and indicating that X is committed to follow Y's leadership and example" (Hos 1:2; 2 Chr 34:33).

156. Job 8:13 **כִּי אַרְחוֹת כָּל־שָׁבֵחַ אֲלֵי וְתַקְוֹת קָנֶךָ תָּאַבֵּד** *Such are the paths of all who forget God; the hope of the godless shall perish.* (NRSV)

157. This is likely due to the activity which **ארב** connotes. The noun **מְאַרְבָּה** is likely derived from frequent usage of **-בָּה** occurring before the root in participial utterances (such as **מְאַרְבִּים** in Jdg 9:25). This semantic entrenchment could make the preposition **מן** in **מְאַרְבִּים** necessary here since the noun **מְאַרְבָּה** is perceived as an action, though here construed as a noun. That is to say, ambushes do not occur behind someone's back, as they are launched from behind someone's back. However, in order to conclusively prove this for BH, another study into the root **ארב** is necessary. See JM §88Ln for more on participles used as nouns in BH.

158. This physical basis for ignorance of events in one's proximity will be demonstrated to be instructive for non-violent and metaphorical usages of someone being ignorant of what is behind them in §4.2.1.1b and §4.3.1.2.

In this subcategory, SDBH paired certain verbs with **אֶחָד** in contexts of following a leader or being devoted to a god. Thus, one may treat **זָהָה אֶחָד** in Hos 1:2 and **סְרוּ אֶחָד** in 2 Chr 34:33 as exemplars of a verb-preposition pairing in the context of devotion/infidelity rather than usages of the preposition that symbolize devotion/infidelity. However, SDBH includes examples of this category in verbless clauses such as 2 Sam 20:11. The definition of this subcategory certainly applies to **אֶחָד** alone in this example because there is no verb in context to which a sense of allegiance may be attributed. It might well be that a verb has been elided. Nevertheless, these examples of this usage occur in verbless clauses.

SDBH defines subcategory 2c) *after, since, as soon as* as the particle "linking two elements and indicating that X take places after Y has ceased existing or has been completed" (Gen 5:4).¹⁵⁹ This is SDBH's first temporal category for **אֶחָד**. In Gen 5:4, X is Adam's days (the TR) after the completion of Y, Seth's birth (the LM).

SDBH defines subcategory 2d) *after* as the particle "linking two elements and indicating that Y has a higher status than X" (Ruth 4:4). Similar to the above description of 2c), the semantic distinctives of subcategory 2d) can be argued to be contextually prompted rather than solely attributable to a form of **אֶחָד**. In Ruth 4:4, the legal context of **לֹא** prompts for a sequence of kinsmen-redeemers, not a status difference. This sequence is similar to following someone from a posterior position, as in 2a) and 2b).

SDBH records 2 occurrences of 3a) adverb *behind* (Gen 22:13; Psa 68:26, see §4.1.3.1.3 and §4.1.3.3.1 respectively). The lexicographers define this subcategory as a "referent to the space behind the object or event in focus".

159. De Blois (2001) uses the traditional cognitive semantic labels TR and LM; however,—one may suspect in order to be more user-friendly with a wider audience—SDBH does not use those labels.

SDBH defines subcategory 3b) *afterwards* as a "referent to the time after the event in focus".

(Gen 6:4; Joel 3:1; Psa 73:24; 2 Kgs 6:24).

Distinct from subcategory 2c), this subcategory demonstrates another kind of time. In subcategory 2c), the X-portion (object of **חרא**) had to be past-time or completed relative to Y (the functional trajector in examples from 2c). In this subcategory 3b), **אחר** is used to present events in temporal sequence within a narrative framework (as discussed in §4.1.3.5.2a). Thus, unlike subcategory 2c), nothing is necessarily past-time. Rather, events in sequence are presented, and one is posterior to another in their chronology. Unlike the examples from subcategory 2c), these occurrences may be translated with *then* in English since **אחר** symbolizes sequential time relations. In Gen 6:4, Joel 3:1, and 2 Kgs 6:24, **אחריכן** is used to make anaphoric reference to the events that precede it (the days of the Nephilim in Gen 6:4 and the events of Joel 2 in Joel 3:1), thus introducing what comes after. **ואחר** in Psa 73:24 exhibits such posteriorly construed sequential time without any kind of pronoun or anaphor and functions as a conjunctive adverb (see §4.1.3.5.1f).

4.1.3.6.3 **חרא the adjective**

SDBH divides **חרא** into two categories: 1) the adjective *other, another, different* (Gen 4:25, see §4.1.3.1.2), and 2) the proper noun, the name *Aher* (1 Chr 7:12, see §4.1.3.3).

4.1.4 Recent works: Hardy (2014)

Hardy's (2014:68-118) analysis of **חר** and **אחרי**, as well as his comparison of the two forms, concludes that they are properly considered two separate lexical items, each with its own distinct grammaticalization cline.

4.1.4.1 **חר**

Regarding the singular form **חר**, Hardy (2014:68-94) identifies six usages of the form and possibly even a seventh: noun, locative adverb, preposition (behind), preposition/adverbializer (after), preposition (according to), conjunctive adverb (then), and he argues that a comita-

tive usage can also reasonably be identified in a few places. He posits an "overlap model" for the singular form that describes the semantic and grammatical changes observed in his analysis, depicted below (Hardy 2014:94). In this model (Fig. 17), there are four diachronic stages that attest the development of usages listed in the columns beneath them.

Stage:	I	II	III	IV
Noun	'back'	'back'	'back'	'back'
PREP		BEHIND	BEHIND	BEHIND
PREP/ADVZ			AFTER	AFTER
PREP			ACCRD	ACCRD
CJ ADV		(THEN)	(THEN)	THEN

Figure 17: Taken from Hardy (2014:94)

4.1.4.1.1 Noun

Hardy (2014:70-71) views the etymological descriptions of רַחֲנָה as "speculative" because reference works do not uniformly refer to רַחֲנָה as what Hardy considers to be the same kind of body-part noun. He interprets JM's (§103) rendering of the form as "back", Driver's (1933:378) as "buttocks", and GKC's (§101) "hinder part" as evidence that the actual origin of the word is not precisely clear. Further, Hardy states that the only nominal usage of the singular form is not to symbolize a body-part but rather the direction west (Ex 3:1, see §4.1.3.1.3). Though most lexicographers and grammarians have grouped this instance with other instances of geographic direction like Jdg 18:12, modifying the verb נִמְלֹא in this case, Hardy treats the form as a noun.

4.1.4.1.2 Locative adverb

Hardy (2014:71-73) states that רַחֲנָה occurs as a locative adverb in only two places: Gen 22:13 (see §4.1.3.1.3) and Prov 24:27, and he notes that both of these verses have text-critical issues that may cast doubt on the usage of רַחֲנָה. Text-critical issues aside, Prov 24:27 is not clearly categorized as its attested usage of רַחֲנָה is not spatial but rather temporal. Though one could interpret "locative adverb" as locative in time, locative is a function associated with a spatial domain.

4.1.4.1.3 Preposition (behind)

Hardy (2014:73-74) describes singular **אַחֲר** as a locative preposition with Gen 37:17 as a typical usage (see §4.1.3.3.1).

4.1.4.1.4 Preposition/adverbializer (after)

Hardy (2014:74) describes a temporal prepositional usage of **אַחֲר** "to denote a temporal participant which took place prior to the perspective of the events of the clause". He gives examples where such usages occur before noun phrases (Gen 10:1, see §4.1.3.5.1a), infinitives (Num 6:19), a demonstrative pronoun (2 Chr 32:9, see §4.1.3.5.1f), and a relative pronoun (Ezk 40:1, see §4.1.3.1.3). Hardy (2014:76) further notes two examples of the same semantic category in which **אַחֲר** syntactically functions as an adverbializer, "a subclass of subordinators, or subordinating conjunctions, which marks intra-clausal, adverbial relation" (Lev 14:43; Jer 41:16, see §4.1.3.1.3 and §4.1.3.3.1 respectively).

2 Chr 32:9 is not like the rest of these examples semantically in the way **אַחֲר** is used. **אַחֲר** in 2 Chr 32:9 does not introduce a "temporal participant which took place prior to the perspective of the events of the clause (*ibid*)" in the same way **אַחֲר** does in Gen 10:1 or Num 6:19. In Gen 10:1 and Num 10:9, **אַחֲר** is used to profile the events of the clause as temporally posterior to the flood and to a head-shaving ritual, respectively. In 2 Chr 32:9, **אַחֲר** introduces **זֶה** which refers to events prior to those of the main clause of the verse as discussed in §4.1.3.5.1f. However those events (2 Chr 32:8) are in narrative sequence with the main clause of 2 Chr 32:9. *King Hezekiah encouraged his army and then King Sennacherib sent messengers* is the narrative flow of 2 Chr 32:8-9 and **זֶה אַחֲר** conjoins the two. In this way, 2 Chr 32:9 is better suited for Hardy's "conjunctive adverb (then)" category.

In a syntactically similar way, **אַחֲר** in Jer 41:16 is rightly considered a functional conjunction rather than a subordinator because it introduces an independent clause with a finite verb (**הָכֹה אֲתִי נְדַבֵּר**). Even as a conjunction, this instance is semantically akin to **אַחֲר** in the other verses

cited above (except 2 Chr 32:9) because **אַחֲר** profiles the clause which precedes it by this prior-occurring event, as Hardy describes the category.

4.1.4.1.5 Preposition (according to)

Hardy (2014:77) introduces a prepositional usage he glosses as *according to* citing Neh 5:15 (see §2.6.2.2); Psa 73:24 (see §4.1.3.6.2); and Sir 32:17.

Hardy (*ibid*) does not mention text-critical problems with Neh 5:15, nor Sirach 32:17. As stated in §2.6.2.2, the BHS apparatus notes that **אַחֲר** in Neh 5:15 could be emended to **בְּנִזְמָן** and goes on to note that supplying **לֵיָם** is a reasonable proposal in keeping with v18, which would render the phrase as *daily ration* (as discussed in §4.1.3.5.1d in relation to DCH who categorizes this one verse as the only instance of **אַחֲר** as *besides*).¹⁶⁰

Psa 73:24 is most likely a conjunctive adverb symbolizing sequential time (see §4.1.3.6.2). The psalmist here is looking forward to a time of vindication when the wicked are destroyed (vss17-20) *and then* he will be given a position of honor.¹⁶¹

4.1.4.1.6 Conjunctive adverb (then)

Hardy's (2014:78) description of the semantic value of **בְּנִזְמָן** as a conjunctive adverb is used as the description for the *posterior sequential time* category in this dissertation (§4.3.1.9): "Functionally, it provides a sequential time link with the preceding events in temporal or logical succession, that is to say, subsequent to the previous mainline events and actions." He goes on to note that this usage "commonly" co-occurs with yiqtol verbs "marking an unrealized future outcome resulting from previous events" (Gen 24:55, see §4.1.3.5.1f). Hardy

160. Also, one could interpret **בְּנִזְמָן** here as *additional* (as one would **בְּנִזְמָן** in Gen 4:25) which the NET Bible has adopted with their rendering *in addition to*. The textual evidence of Sirach 32:17 above demonstrates that in two manuscripts, **בְּנִזְמָן** is used as a verb and only non-verbally in one manuscript. Such text-critically problematic instances might be reconsidered as representations for a semantic or grammatical category's prototypical function, both here and in DCH. In fact this verse from Sirach is DCH's only evidence for the category.

161. This does not necessarily mean that one interprets this instance of **בְּנִזְמָן** as referring to the afterlife (Tate 1990: 230). Rather, the context of this psalm seems confident that this vindication will be realized in his lifetime (vss 26-28).

(2014:79) also notes that this usage occurs in legal contexts (Lev 15:28) and with qatal verbs to "mark the end of a narrative sequence" (Jos 24:5).

This distinction between this conjunction and the other prepositional temporal usage (called deictic time in this dissertation) is significant. This grammatical distinction is paired with a semantic one: only **רַחֲם** as a temporal conjunction may symbolize sequential time.

4.1.4.1.7 Comitative

Hardy (2014:87-89) describes a possible comitative sense citing Qoh 12:2 and 1 Sam 11:7 as evidence. Quoting Seow (1997:347, 353-354), Hardy argues that clouds returning after rain does not make sense,¹⁶² and so it is more likely that **רַחֲם** Qoh 12:2 should be understood as clouds returning *with* the rain. Murphy (1992:118) comments that **בָּשָׂר** could be a storm, and HALOT (2000:Vol. 1, 205) cites this verse as an instance of **בָּשָׂר** as *rainy season*. It is a simple mistake to interpret this verse as asserting that rain comes first and then clouds *return*. Rather, this is a usage of **בָּשָׂר** which HALOT (2000:Vol. 4, 1430) glosses as *turn away from, abandon, to desist*. This verse asserts that the clouds will dissipate (or perhaps, *return to where they came from*) after they empty themselves during the rainy season (and so one had better remember the Creator before its too late and the season is over, vs 1).

1 Sam 11:7 is an example of support or personal relationship (to use DCH's language, see §4.1.3.5.1c and §4.1.3.5.2d). The people of Israel are told to come *get behind/support* Saul and Samuel under threat of violence. This notion of support is construed egocentrically with **רַחֲם** because the metaphor is based on posterior location.

4.1.4.2 אֶחָרִי

In the introduction to his sections on **אֶחָר** Hardy (2014:68) states that the prepositions **אֶחָר** and **אֶחָרִי** derive from /'ahhar/ and /'ahharay/, respectively. Later, Hardy (2014:94) states that

162. This argument seems to be based on Seow's personal experience with rain as no reason accompanies the assertion that clouds returning after rain do not make sense.

אַחֲרִי is "likely (an) original **qattal* nominal pattern with an expanding morpheme *-ay". He briefly considers the possibility (given as the reason in GKC and JM, see §4.1.2.1) that the etymology of what JM calls the pseudo-plural might come from analogical development with לְפָנִי; however, he responds "even this hypothesis remains lacking as several peculiarities are unaccounted for, such as, the independent long form of 'ale and the preservation of or shorting to 'ahar". These "peculiarities", however, may reasonably be accounted for. There is indeed a long form of the root phoneme /'al/ expressed in the verb עַלְהָ. While the origins of the preposition עַל are most often presumed to be *עַלִּי, that does not mean one should assume no relationship between the prepositional and verbal expressions of the root. Prepositions of roots that also attest verbs have not been thoroughly investigated as to how verbal usages developed from nouns in BH. Secondly, regarding the preservation of the short /'ahar/ in BH, as GKC and JM noted (§4.1.2.1), the pseudo-plural אַחֲרִי developed in analog with לְפָנִי allowing for congruent use of pronominal suffixes. Thus, while completely losing a form might be observed in the grammaticalization clines of other languages, it is not developmentally necessary in BH for such a loss to occur as אַחֲרִי and אַחֲרִי are not always suffixed.

Divergent from the singular אַחֲרִי, Hardy (2014:117) posits five categorical usages for the pseudo-plural אַחֲרִי which he represents in an overlap model (below) to track grammaticalization changes in stages. These five categories which develop over four stages are noun, preposition, preposition/adverbializer (after), preposition (cause), and prepositional verb particle.

Stage:	I	II	III	IV
Noun	'back'	'back'	'back'	'back'
PREP		BEHIND	BEHIND	BEHIND
PREP/ADVZ			AFTER	AFTER
PTCL			PTCL	PTCL
PREP				CAUSE

Figure 18: Taken from Hardy (2014:117)

4.1.4.2.1 Noun

Hardy (2014:98-100) describes four nominal usages of the pseudo-plural across three verses (Deut 11:30; Jdg 18:12, see §4.1.3.5.2b for both; 2 Sam 2:23, see §4.1.2.1). 2 Sam 2:23 is the only instance in the Hebrew Bible where a form of **אחר** symbolizes a literal human back (in **וחצא החנית מאהריו**) and it is realized with **אחרי**, following JM, because it takes a pronominal suffix.

4.1.4.2.2 Preposition

Hardy (2014:101) describes the locative preposition **אחרי** as indicating *back-region* (Neh 9:26; Num 3:23).

4.1.4.2.3 Preposition/adverbializer (after)

Hardy (2014:102-103) describes temporal usages of **אחרי** which are expressed syntactically as prepositions (2 Kgs 1:1) and adverbializers (Lev 25:48, see §4.1.3.1.4; 13:55).

4.1.4.2.4 Preposition (cause)

Hardy (2014:104) describes **אחרי** as a causal preposition stating they express "cause or grounds in an adjunct phrase" (Gen 41:39, see §4.1.3.5.2f).

4.1.4.2.5 Prepositional verb particle

Hardy (2014:105) describes 25 examples of what he refers to as "multi-word verb constructions" which can be "identified primarily by the production of new semantic meanings, which are not detectable from the sum of their parts". He focuses attention on two verb + **אחרי** constructions: **גנה אחרי מלא** (Deut 1:36) and **(גנה אחרי מלא)** (Jdg 8:33).

While both **גנה אחרי מלא** and **גנה אחרי מלא** are words in verb phrases that do travel together across the Hebrew Bible (Hardy counts 25 times combined), the semantic meaning they symbolize is not new nor is it undetectable from the parts of the verb phrases. The verb is used in cultic contexts¹⁶³ which symbolize a special devotion without the assistance of **אחרי** (Ex 29:29).

163. See also Ex 32:29; Jdg 17:5, 12. HALOT (2000:584) glosses the cultic usage "to consecrate a priest,

Further, מָלַא in the piel stem is used to connote fidelity metaphors without אחריו (1 Kgs 8:15).

In 1 Kgs 8:15, the piel verb symbolizes (ful)filling a promise. This metaphor construes the completion of Solomon's temple and transference of the Ark of the Covenant as *filling with his hand* a promise made with his mouth. In this way, God is faithful to his promise to David, realized in Solomon's life. While this is deity-to-human, instead of human-to-deity, this instance nonetheless represents a kind of fidelity metaphor akin to the one represented with מָלַא אחריו in Deut 1:36 because they are both metaphorical usages of the verb to connote fidelity. The difference between Deut 1:36 and 1 Kgs 8:15 is the use of an egocentric construal in Deut 1:36 which plausibly combines the devotion/fidelity metaphor of מָלַא with the following/devotion metaphor that אחר may symbolize on its own in verbless clauses (1 Sam 12:14, see §4.1.3.5.1c). This kind of combination is called *conceptual blending* in cognitive linguistic literature.¹⁶⁴

In a similar way, זָה can symbolize an idolatry metaphor without the use אחריו which may lead one to question how then the combination of אחריו + זָה is semantically new and undetectable from its constituent parts (Isa 23:17; Jer 3:1). In Isa 23:17, the city of Tyre is described metaphorically as a prostitute because it worships gods other than Yahweh. In Jer 3:1, a literal usage of זָה uses a cheating spouse as a metaphor to describe Judah's worship of other gods. Thus, אחריו is not required for זָה to symbolize metaphorical harlotry. The inclusion of אחריו in places such as Jdg 8:33 egocentrically construes the harlot-idolater metaphor as following the lesser god much like אחריו does in other places, such as the verbless clause of 1 Sam 12:14 and with מָלַא in 1 Kgs 8:15. In this way the concept of harlotry in blended with the trajectory-landmark frame of אחריו.

devote".

164. See Coulson (2001:151-202); Rodriguez (2011:33-34); Fauconnier and Turner (2002).

4.1.4.3 Are **אחר** and **אחרי** separate forms?

Hardy's (2014:117-118) central thesis regarding the divergent grammaticalization clines observable in the BH data of **אחר** and **אחרי** is problematic as he concludes "Only '*aḥar*, however, demonstrates the prepositional usage of ACCORDING TO and the conjunctive adverb AFTERWARDS." As demonstrated in §2.6.2.2 (and reiterated here in §4.1.4.1.5), the alleged accordative usage which Hardy claims is supported by examples with text-critical issues making them unusable as conclusive exemplars of a category. Further, it has been demonstrated in §4.1.4.2.3 that the pseudo-plural, functioning temporally, is indeed used as a conjunction introducing a clause with a finite verb. Thus, these two reasons are not plausible explanations that **אחר** and **אחרי** should be considered as separate lexical items with divergent observed grammaticalization pathways. Further, the prepositional verb particle category which Hardy (2014) posits, does not fully account for the verbal contribution to a metaphor, constructed with **אחרי**, which can be explained apart from **אחרי**.

4.1.5 Literature review summary

While organized differently in each lexicon and grammar, the scholarly consensus of the lexical semantics of **אחר** is clear. It is a body-part noun that came to be used to symbolize posterior or spatial and temporal relationships and additionally is less frequently used as a conjunction. The only reviewed work which claims something about **אחר** that others do not is Hardy's (2014) comitative usage, which he has since reconsidered¹⁶⁵ due to its lack of evidence in BH (see §4.1.4.1.7).

Additionally, this literature review has also demonstrated that surrounding verbs and prepositions do a lot of the work which is often attributed to **אחר**. Metaphors have been attributed to **אחר** that **לְאַחֲר** may account for, and spatial movements have been attributed to **אחר** that are instantiated by **מִן** (as seen in WO, discussed in §4.1.2.2). Full syntagmatic and paradigmatic

165. In personal correspondence.

analysis did not prevent this from occurring (as DCH created a personal relationship category for **אָחָת** that comes mostly from co-occurrences with **גַּלְעָד**, see §4.1.3.5.1c). While the works of the Gesenius tradition lacked a robust methodological framework suitable for explaining the relationship between egocentric nouns used as relationals and the verbs they can modify, modern methods have now over-analyzed the data creating lists of verbs that occur with a certain form of a word (as DCH) and over-applied various methods (as Lyle 2013 continued from principled polysemy and as Hardy 2014 applied cross-linguistic typologies where there was no match in the BH data).¹⁶⁶

Though not through a consensus among the generations of BH scholars,¹⁶⁷ this literature review has also demonstrated two kinds of time that **אָחָת** may symbolize. These may be described semantically as deictic time and sequential time. Utterances of temporal deixis profile some thing or some action in terms of a temporally past thing or action, while sequential time utterances construe one event as temporally posterior to another in a sequence. Hardy's (2014:78) analysis of **אָחָת** as a conjunctive adverb seems to indicate that these conjunctive usages account for **אָחָת**'s sequential time utterances.¹⁶⁸

Lastly, a heuristic tool for category-making has presented itself in the criticisms of these grammar and lexica. Lexical semantic categories evident in verbless clauses may be considered as evidence that a category is rightly posited because, in these cases, the semantic characteristics of that category cannot be attributed to a verbal contribution. Thus, while one may criticize WO or DCH for positing a category of *relational/personal support* for **אָחָת** based on evidence with **גַּלְעָד**, that is not to say that **אָחָת** cannot symbolize personal support because it

166. Regarding Lyle (2013), refer back to §2.6.3; regarding Hardy (2014), see §4.1.4.1.7.

167. SDBH does draw a distinction, but does not label it as deixis and sequence, as in Joel 3:1 (see §4.1.3.6.2).

168. However, since Hardy concluded that the pseudo-plural never functions as a conjunctive adverb (an assertion which this dissertation has disputed), then another round of analysis of all of **אָחָת**'s occurrences (over 500 occurrences) is necessary to determine if the pseudo-plural indeed functions as temporal conjunction beyond those few examples cited above in dispute with Hardy's claim (§4.1.4.2.3).

does by itself in verbless clauses such as 1 Sam 12:14 (see §4.1.4.2.5). This tool can be added to the toolbox of methodologies and used when testing whether or not a semantic category is considered legitimate.

Since the literature review of נָא has been completed, the analysis of the data can move forward in a more productive way. Specifically, contemporary approaches do not need to reinvent methods that have already been used nor rediscover meanings that have already been established.

4.2 Data collection and analysis

This section will summarize the collection and analysis processes for the BH data under examination. Each instance of נָא is listed canonically in the data sets,¹⁶⁹ tagged by functional categories N, R, or V, and notated when relevant. These examples have also been grouped morphologically so that semantic overlap may be identified, following the toolbox methodology (see §3.4) to which Hardy's (2014) overlap principle has been added (see §4.1.4.1). These morphological groupings are summarized here.¹⁷⁰

Semantically diverse exemplars within a morphological group will be described with various TR-LM diagrams. This application of a cognitive semantic tool will not only aid in semantic description but also make semantic overlap and divergence more easily identifiable across multiple usages (see §3.4 as well).

Searching for unpointed, non-verbal instances of נָא in the Westminster Morphological Database yields 899 occurrences across 815 verses in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷¹ 166 of those 899 in-

169. These are available upon request.

170. As stated in §3.4, these morphological groupings, in addition to the overlap principle, can also serve as a checking stage for the N, R, and V categories made. Since traditional BH lexica and grammars often organize their data by morphosyntax, grouping various semantic exemplars into morphological categories can show divergence from traditional BH lexical semantic resources. Such divergence might be warranted or might be a sign of caution. Either way, this step allows for such divergence to be more easily identified.

171. All morphological searches in this dissertation have been performed using a computer running Accordance

stances are singular and plural forms of **אַחֲר**. The remainder 711 instances are forms of **אַחֲר**.

Of those 711 remaining, 589 of them have a yod ' suffix **אַחֲרִי**, leaving only 122 morphological instances of singular **אַחֲר**.

Each morphology will be described first by its concrete usages and then by more abstract usages. So if a particular morphology is used as a noun, then that morphology will first be described by its nominal usages, then relational usages such as spatial and temporal relations (and their subcategories), and finally by non-spatial relational usages like causation. In this way, the semantic categories observable in each respective morphology can be viewed in a way that is more-or-less commensurate with the traditional BH lexica reviewed in §4.1.

4.2.1 **אַחֲר**

4.2.1a Posterior locative

אַחֲר can symbolize a posterior locative relationship between a TR and LM in a verb phrase (Gen 37:17, see §4.1.3.3.1) or in a noun phrase (Ex 11:5). While a locative relationship is certainly profiled in these instances of **אַחֲר**, the passage of time is also evident when co-occurring with verbs of motion (Jdg 3:22). These instances of **אַחֲר** as a posterior locative marker may be typologically considered along with other body-part terms from other languages which have grammaticalized over time to symbolize spatial relations.¹⁷²

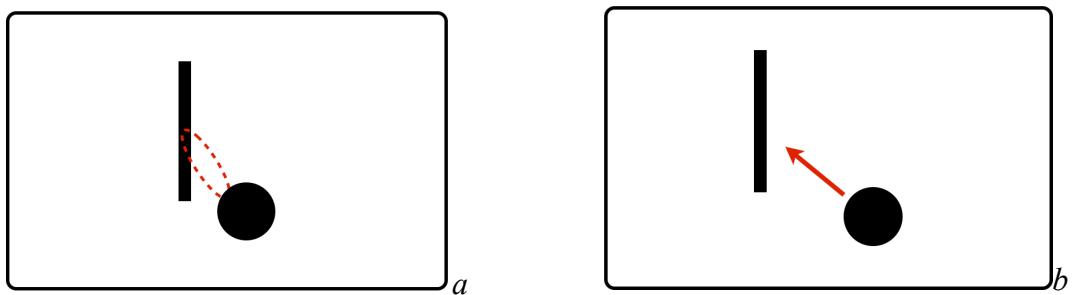
Ex 11:5 Every firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh who sits on his throne to the firstborn of the female slave who is behind the handmill, and all the firstborn of the livestock. וּמְתָתְכָלְבָר בְּאָרֶץ מִצְרָיִם מִבְּכָלְרָה פְּרֻעָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל כְּסָאוֹ עַד בְּכָלְרָה קְשָׁפָתָה אֲשֶׁר אַחֲר תְּרַחִים וְכָל בְּכָלְרָה בְּהַמִּקְדָּשׁ:

Jdg 3:22 the hilt also went in after the blade, and the fat closed over the blade, for he did not draw the sword out of his belly; and the dirt came out. (NRSV)

וַיָּבֹא נָסְחָנָא בְּאַקְרָה חַלְבָב וַיְסַגֵּר חַלְבָב בְּעַד חַלְבָב קַי לֹא שְׁלָף הַחֲרֵב מִבְּטָנוֹ וַיַּצֵּא קְפִרְשָׁדָה:

Bible Software version 11. This does not include formations of the noun **אַחֲר**.

172. Heine and Kuteva (2002:47-48) give multiple examples from languages like Icelandic, Tzotzil, Kono, and others which demonstrate the *back* body-part noun among other body-part terms "on account of their relative position, are used as structural templates to express deictic location". This usages from BH may be added to these.

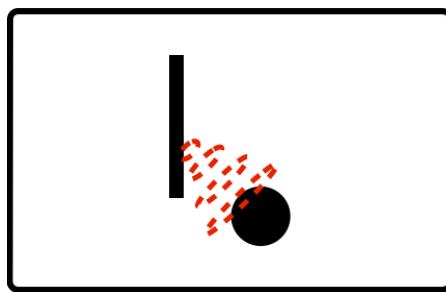
**Figure 19:** Posterior locative: ± movement

All of these usages may be described by diagrams *a* or *b* in Fig. 19. In Gen 37:17, **אחר** symbolizes the posterior spatial trajectory of Joseph's (the TR) movement (**הלך**) in relation to his brothers' location (the LM). In Ex 11:5, **אחר** symbolizes the stationary spatial relationship between a **שֶׁבֶת** (the TR) and **הַרְחִים** (the LM). Similar to the movement in Gen 37:17, the movement of **הַנֶּצֶב** (the TR) in Jdg 3:22 is profiled by a posterior relationship to **הַלְהָב** (the LM). As these parts of a dagger enter a person in this context, spatial and temporal senses coexist, meaning the hilt of the dagger went in spatially and temporally behind the blade.

4.2.1b Following/Devotion

There are some occasions where **אחר** symbolizes a metaphorical sense of posterior motion (1 Sam 12:14).

- 1 Sam 12:14** If you will fear the Lord and serve him and heed his voice and not rebel against the commandment of the Lord, and if both you and the king who reigns over you will follow the Lord your God (NRSV)
- אִם־תִּירְאֵי אֲתִיהָנָה וְעַבְרָתָם אֹתוֹ וְשָׁמְעָתָם בְּקָלְלָיו
וְלֹא תִמְרוּ אֲתִכְךָ יְהֻנָּה וְתִוְתְּמִימָן גַּם־אַפְּסִים וְגַם־הַפְּלִלְגָּה
אֲשֶׁר בְּלֹד עַל־בָּם אַחֲרֵי יְהֻנָּה אַל־יִרְאֶם:

**Figure 20:** Following/Devotion

In this case, **אחר** symbolizes a posterior relationship (hence dotted circles instead of an arrow) which is built from concrete posterior motion usages, such as with **הלך אחר** in Gen 37:17 (see §4.2.1a) above. However, there is no verb in this case. **אחר** absorbs a sense of motion and can

be used in such way in verbless clauses.¹⁷³ These usages are not frequent, and as stated before, it could be that verbs have been elided. Nevertheless, based on these usages, one may conclude that in some cases רַחֲקָה symbolizes posterior motion. This is distinguished from posterior locative (4.2.1a), which may or may not occur with motion, but will have a verb present if motion is symbolized. That this distinction is based on the presence of a verb or not might be good reason to treat this usage as a subcategory of posterior locative in the final model. Different contexts will prompt for different motion construals, such as ±speed, ±intent to kill, ±physical contact, and other contextual factors. The same frame can be used for all of these in a general categorical way and modified to reflect specific contexts.¹⁷⁴

4.2.1c Geographic direction

In one instance, the singular form symbolizes a geographic direction (Ex 3:1, see §4.1.3.1.3).

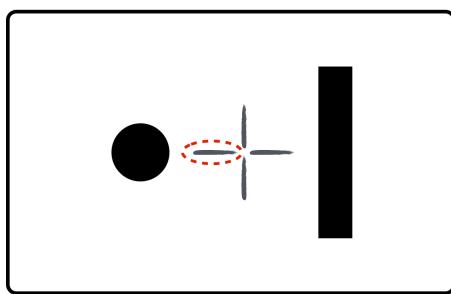


Figure 21: Geographic direction west

GHCL treats the usage in this verse as symbolizing extreme distance (*beyond*), while others have interpreted this usage as a typical posterior locative *behind* (see §4.1.4.1.1 and §4.2.1.1d).¹⁷⁵ The use of רַחֲקָה in Ex 3:1 is difficult in comparison with other usages of the

173. The majority of these semantic occurrences are realized with the pseudo-plural רַחֲקָה (see §4.2.1.1c) and/or with a prefixed גַּם (see §4.2.1.2c).

174. This is the case in Rodriguez (2013) which, for example, has multiple arrow-heads on the red relational arrow to indicate speed in the *Chase* sense which that work posits. While multiple frame semantic diagrams can be helpful for instructional uses, it is not useful for lexicographic purposes to create more explanatory devices (whether a translation gloss or a diagram) that are not reasonably based on the usage of the word in question, in this case רַחֲקָה, rather than on other identifiable contextual factors (such as verbs). In this way, the red arrow above should be understood as a marker of motion. Whether or not that motion terminates with contact with the landmark or whether the motion is fast or intended malevolently is contextual. Those factors are not attributed to רַחֲקָה.

175. See §4.1.2.2 (WO and BHRG treat this instance as geographic *west*; WO argues that the use of a body-part noun is evidence for this view), §4.1.3.1.3 (GHCL renders *beyond* in this case and treats this usage as a preposition of place), §4.1.3.1.4 (Ex 3:1 is discussed in relation to Jdg 18:12; the usage of place names in both contexts instantiates actual geography), and §4.1.4.1.1 (Hardy treats this usage as a noun *west*).

singular form. Propp (1998:180, 183) translates this usage as *behind* and says this usage of **אַחֲרָךְ** is "awkward". Child's (1974:49) commentary notes for this verse that the "primary meaning is 'behind'. 'West' is a derivative orientation which assumed that one faced east". Durham (1987:30) disagrees and calls westerly readings of **אַחֲרָךְ** in this case, such as the RSV, "misleading". Instead, he argues that the "urgent point in this passage is theology and not geography" and translates the singular form as "well into". Yet, he also notes that Targum Onkelos makes geographic distinctions regarding where Moses and the flock go relative to known Midianite territory, which does not seem to serve his thesis of theology over geography. While the precise location of Mount Horeb is unknown to modern interpreters, that does necessarily lead one to the conclusion that the writer of this narrative section or the hearers of this narrative were likewise ignorant of its location. It seems that while interpreters note the usage of embodied nouns as geographic relations (with **לִפְנֵי**, **אַחֲרָךְ**, and **מִן** in §4.1.2.2) as a likely explanation for **אַחֲרָךְ** in Ex 3:1, modern interpreters also note the difficulty in assigning cardinal directions between locations which are unknown today. Nevertheless, the evidence seems to suggest that **אַחֲרָךְ** in Ex 3:1 is most likely used as a geographic relation in a manner semantically antonymic to **לִפְנֵי** as a cardinal direction (*east*). The arguments against this position seem to be based in a modern discomfort with geographic identification with unknown places from the ancient world rather than evidence that **אַחֲרָךְ** does not symbolize geographic relations. Further, while the specific location of Mount Horeb is unknown today, the general area of the Sinai is not a mystery, nor is the territory associated with ancient Midianite clans in the southern Transjordan (Mendenhall 1992:815-818).¹⁷⁶

176. It is not debated that the territory of the Midianites is associated with the southern Transjordan, nor is it debated that the Sinai is west of that territory. Thus, even if a translator chooses to render this usage as *beyond the wilderness*, the translator may do so still having interpreted the BH text as symbolizing movement away from Midianite territory in a westerly direction.

4.2.1d Posterior deictic time

Just as **אחר** is used to mark posterior spatial deixis, it can also be used to mark posterior temporal deixis. In these usages, events are not presented in (chrono)logical order. Rather, events are presented out of order and the **אחר** phrase/clause is used to profile a main phrase/clause in terms of a temporally posterior thing or event. In the singular form, this usage may occur without a conjunction ו (Gen 9:28, see §4.1.3.1.3) or with a conjunction ו (1 Kgs 19:11-12). Configurationally, this usage is a temporal metaphor of the posterior locative frame (§4.2.1a).

- 1 Kgs 19:11-12** He said, “Go out and stand on the mountain before the Lord, for the Lord is about to pass by.” Now there was a great wind, so strong that it was splitting mountains and breaking rocks in pieces before the Lord, but the Lord was not in the wind; and after the wind an earthquake, but the Lord was not in the earthquake; and after the earthquake a fire, but the Lord was not in the fire; and after the fire a sound of sheer silence. (NRSV)

ויאמר צא ועמדת בבר לפני יהוה והנה יהנעה עבר ונרום נרוּתָה ותחזק מפרק הרים ומשבב סלעט לפני יהנעה לא ברום יהוה ואחר רוחם רעש לא ברעיש יהנעה ואחר הרעם אש לא באש יהוה ואחר האש קול דממה דקה:

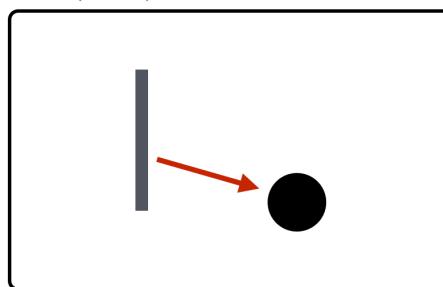


Figure 22: Posterior deictic time

In Gen 9:28, **המבול** is a LM which has already occurred in the chronology of the narrative (hence it is in grey). The main clause (the TR), **ויהיו נח...שלש מאות שנה וחמשים שנה**, is construed as temporally posterior to the flood event. Similarly in 1 Kgs 19:11-12, consecutive disastrous phenomena are introduced out-of-order, each as posterior to the one before it. In these usages, temporal relations are profiled with reference to a prior thing or event. At the sentence level, these constituents in temporal relation to each other are not provided linearly in chronological order. This is an example of profiling past occurrence, to use Evans' (2013:81-113) language, in past/future relationships (see §4.1.3.5.1a).

Semantically, however, these two instances of posterior temporal deixis are non-equivalent only because of the contextual distinctions between them. The TR in Gen 9:28 (Noah's

lifetime) is not one temporal position, but rather a timespan in relation to the LM (flood). The TRs in relation via **אחר** in 1 Kgs 19:11-12 each have temporal termination points. Each successive TR temporally ends before the next begins and then serves as LM for the next TR. While the usages of **אחר** in both of these example are non-equivalent contextually, these examples can rightly be grouped together on the basis of the profiling TRs with a past-time LM. Semantic equivalence, even perfect configurational equivalence of TRs and LMs, is not necessary for two similar usages to be grouped together. Rather, following Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994:46), such usages can be considered together categorically because for both examples, the same TR-LM diagram can "characterize the semantic substance of the focal points in conceptual space that are encoded by the gram". This "semantic substance" is a posterior deictic temporal relationship in both cases. The duration of Noah's life is contextual, not attributable to **אחר** alone. One could certainly make a TR-LM diagram that attributes a durative quality to the TR, but it would be more than a lexical semantic tool for explaining **אחר** in this case.

Heine and Kuteva (2002:48-49) note a semantic diversity of *back* temporal utterances across grammaticalization typologies. Some of the grammaticalized usages of *back*-words as temporal markers are used to describe past-time items while other usages describe items in sequence.¹⁷⁷ The grammaticalization typology of a *back*-word used to profile an item as temporally posterior describes the above usages of **אחר** as a symbol for posterior deictic temporal relations.

177. The authors write, "This grammaticalization appears to be an instance of a more general process whereby certain body parts, on account of their relative position, are first used as structural templates to express deictic location and then develop further into temporal markers (Heine and Kuteva 2002:49)". *Back* words are used to describe past time items in languages like English, Estonian, and Bule (e.g. *three years back*, /melu metane mvus/ *five days back* in Bulu), and they can be used to describe items in sequence in languages like Kikuyu and Bambara (e.g. /Thuta ucio ndanacoka guturuma/ *Then he did not again abuse us* in Kikuyu). While these two semantic distinctions are used adverbially in these examples, they are semantically distinct nonetheless. This diversity of semantic development in grammaticalization typologies provide plausibility that such semantic diversity of temporal utterances are possible in BH.

4.2.1e Posterior sequential time

As noted above from Heine and Kuteva (2002:48-49), some languages have developed usages of a *back-word* which sequence items in event order. This is distinct from using a *back-word* to symbolize past time things or events, as §4.2.1d. In BH, אַחֲר is used this way to sequence events in (chrono)logical order. These usages may be considered a subcategory of deictic time because reference is still made to the prior thing/event with a demonstrative pronoun phrase (Gen 15:1, see §4.1.3.1.3), morpheme (1 Sam 10:5), or by implication of posteriority instantiated by אַחֲר (Gen 24:55, see §4.1.3.5.1f; Lev 15:28, see §4.1.4.1.6). These instances do not profile a thing (or event) in terms of a past/future relationship, but rather in terms of successive earlier/later relationships (Evans 2013:114-126, see §4.1.3.5.1f).

1 Sam 10:5 After that you shall come to Gibeah-elohim, at the place where the Philistine garrison is; there, as you come to the town, you will meet a band of prophets coming down from the shrine with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre playing in front of them; they will be in a prophetic frenzy. (NRSV)

אחר כן פָּבוֹא גְּבֻעָה הָאֱלֹהִים אַשְׁר־שֶׁם נִזְבֵּן
פָּלָשָׁתִים וַיְהִי כִּבְאָךְ שֶׁם קְשִׁיר וּפְנִיעָתִ חֶבֶל
נְבָאִים יְרַקִּים מִהְבָּמָה וּלְפִינִים גְּבָל וְתָל וְחַלִיל
וְכָנּוֹר וְחֶפֶת מִתְּנִבָּאִים:

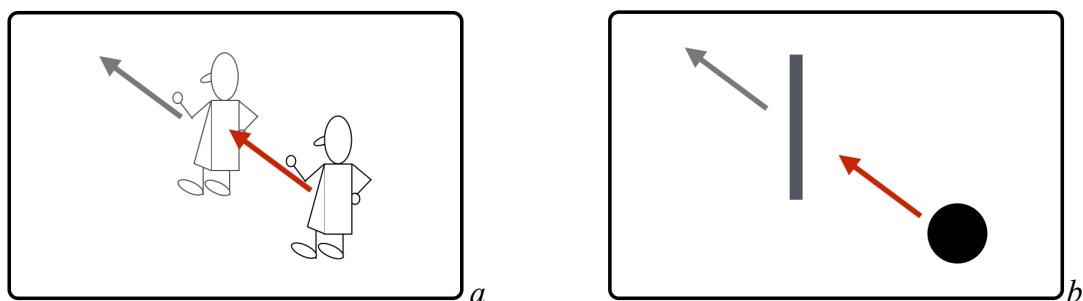


Figure 23: Posterior sequential time

From a semantic-pragmatic perspective, the events in the above examples are ordered in sequence. The phrase אַחֲר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֱלֹהִים (and likewise, אַחֲר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֱלֹהִים, see §4.2.1.1f) in Gen 15:1 functions as a sequence marker between the whole discourse of ch 14 and the discourse of ch 15, which is construed as temporally posterior to the events of ch 14 in the chronology of the narrative. In a similar way, כן in אַחֲר כן in 1 Sam 10:5, functions as an anaphor referring to prior events. The construction אַחֲר כן here introduces events in a sequence as posterior to those which came before (which are not lexicalized as with instances of deictic time). Finally, אַחֲר functions as a sequence marker by itself in Gen 24:55 and Lev 15:28. Syntactically, these

instances are functional conjunctions as they introduce a finite verb clause. In all of these cases, the LM is a prior event which is referred to anaphorically. This LM is a prior event and the TR temporally follows in sequence. As temporal metaphors of embodied space, these usages of **אַחֲר** are configurationally based on the Following/Devotion frame (Fig. 20).¹⁷⁸

4.2.1.1 **אַחֲרִי**

4.2.1.1a Thing

While the singular form **אַחֲרָא** never occurs as a substantive,¹⁷⁹ the pseudo-plural does. In these two examples, **אַחֲרִי** may be interpreted as an anatomical back, of El in Gen 16:13 and of Moses in Ex 33:8 (see §4.1.3.3.2 for both).

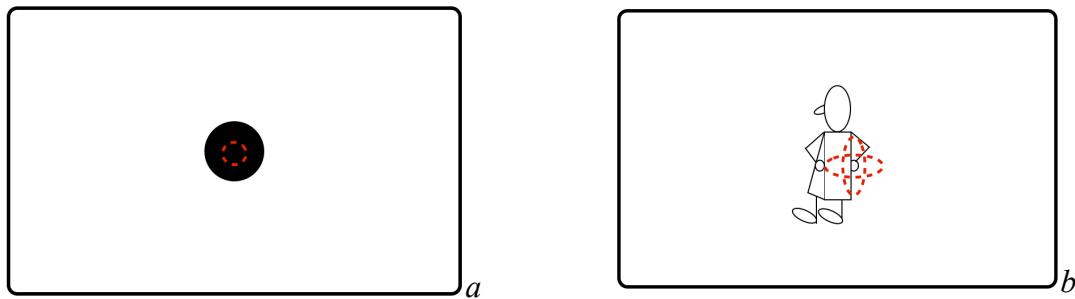


Figure 24: Thing: back

The varieties of interpretation regarding Gen 16:13 have been discussed in §4.1.3.3.2 and **אַחֲרִי** in this verse is most likely a substantive akin to God's back in Ex 33:23. In a similar way, the people look at Moses' back as he moves away from them into the tent. This is not a TR-LM diagram because it is a thing and not a relation which the diagram represents. The dotted circle is used to note that the human back as a thing is specifically in view in these usages.

178. Contra Hardy (2014:118), there is one instance (Isa 66:17) of **אַחֲר** that may possibly be interpreted as causal, wherein the phrase explains the cause for the preceding clause. In this case, the **אַחֲר** phrase explains why these worshippers go into the garden. **הַמְתַקְדִּים וְהַטְבִּירִים אֶל־הַגָּנוֹת אַחֲר אַחֲר** [אַחֲת] בְּתוֹךְ אַכְלֵי בָשָׂר הַקּוֹרֵב וְהַשְׁקֵן גַּזְבָּנָה “As for those who consecrate and ritually purify themselves so they can follow their leader and worship in the sacred orchards, those who eat the flesh of pigs and other disgusting creatures, like mice—they will all be destroyed together,” says the Lord (NET).

179. Though Hardy (see §4.1.4.1.1) describes the singular usage in Ex 3:1 as a noun, which here in §4.3.1.7 is grouped with other usages of geographic directions on a semantic-pragmatic basis.

4.2.1.1b Posterior locative

The pseudo-plural form is used in motionless frames (Gen 18:10) and with verbs of motion in kinetic frames (1 Kgs 14:9; 2 Kgs 19:21).

Gen 18:10 Then one said, “I will surely return to you in due season, and your wife Sarah shall have a son.” And Sarah was listening at the tent entrance behind him. (NRSV)

וַיֹּאמֶר שׁוֹב אֲשֶׁר בְּאַלְמָכְתִּי קָעֵת חַיָּה וְהַנָּהָבָן לְשָׁרֶב
אֲשֶׁרֶךְ וְשָׁרֶב שְׁמִיעָת פֶּתַח הַאֲהָל וְהִיא אַחֲרִיו:

1 Kgs 14:9 but you have done evil above all those who were before you and have gone and made for yourself other gods, and cast images, provoking me to anger, and have thrust me behind your back; (NRSV)

וְתַּרְעַע לְעַשְׂוֹת מִפְּלָל אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ לְפִנֵּיכֶם וְתַּלְעַד
וְתַּעֲשֵׂה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אַחֲרִים וּמִסְכּוֹת לְהַכְעִיבָּנוּ
וְאַתְּ דַשְּׁלַכְתָּ אַחֲרִי נָךְ: ס

2 Kgs 19:21 This is the word that the Lord has spoken concerning him: She despises you, she scorns you—virgin daughter Zion; she tosses her head—behind your back, daughter Jerusalem. (NRSV)

וְהַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר־דָּבָר יְהוָה עָלָיו בָּזָה לְכָל־לְעֵגָה לְכָל־
בְּתוּלָת בְּתְ־צִוְּן אַחֲרֵיכֶם רָאשׁ חֲלִישָׁה בַּת יְרוּשָׁלָם:

In Gen 18:10, Sarah stands behind the men in conversation, further marking the location of her listening in addition to בְּתֵחַדְלָה.¹⁸⁰ In 1 Kgs 14:9 and 2 Kgs 19:21, אחרי modifies verbal motion symbolizing the posterior location of the motion. While spatially similar, ואתי השלכה אחרי נוך in 1 Kgs 14:9 is a metaphor for disregarding or intentionally ignoring something. Rather than having something in one's immediate attention, לפני Ahijah tells Jeroboam's wife that her husband has attempted to put God out of his sight. The embodied metaphor for this is using two egocentric terms, one as relational and one as noun, אחרי נוה. While spatially similar, אחרי נוה in 2 Kgs 19:21 prophetic portrays a posterior locative relationship between King Sennacherib and Virgin Daughter Zion (also quoted in Isa 37:22), however in this case, the one being mocked is not aware of the mocking. There are four other references to head-shaking (of the verb נוע in the hifil stem) as derision or mockery in the Hebrew Bible: Psa 22:8, 109:25; Job 16:4; Lam 2:15. These four instances all describe head-shaking scenes where the one being mocked is aware of the mocking. In fact, Psa 109:25 uses the verb ראה to indicate that the subject sees that others shake their heads at him. However in 2 Kgs 19:21 (and Isa 37:22), אחרי נוה is used not simply to mark an egocentrically posterior location, it brings special

180. The BHS apparatus notes that נוח is spelled as נוח in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

information into the expected cultural semantic frame for head-shaking. She shakes her head *behind him* or rather *behind his back* in a way of mocking him without his knowledge (as opposed to mocking him to his face). One may well translate these phrases as *shakes her head behind you* or even *behind your back*. These usages may also be described by the posterior locative frame (Fig. 19).

4.2.1.1c Following/Devotion

Like the singular form, the pseudo-plural is also used in verbless clauses which nevertheless connote movement (Gen 32:19; Psa 45:15; 2 Sam 17:9).

- Gen 32:19** then you shall say, ‘They belong to your servant Jacob; they are a present sent to my lord Esau; and moreover he is behind us.’’’ (NRSV)

וְאָמַרְתָּ לְעֵבֶדְךָ לִיעַלְבָן מִנְחָה הוּא שְׁלֹיָה לְאָדָם
לְעֵשָׂו וְתֵגַע נִסְחָה נִסְחָה אַחֲרֵינוּ:

- Psa 45:15** in many-colored robes she is led to the king; behind her the virgins, her companions, follow. (NRSV)

לְرִקְמוֹת חֻכָּל לְפָלָק בְּתוּלוֹת אַחֲרֵיה רַעֲזָתָיה
מַוְּבָאֹת לְךָ:

- 2 Sam 17:9** Even now he has hidden himself in one of the pits, or in some other place. And when some of our troops fall at the first attack, whoever hears it will say, ‘There has been a slaughter among the troops who follow Absalom.’ (NRSV)

הַנָּה עֲתָה הוּא־נִנְחַבָּא בְּאַתָּה הַפְּחִתִּים אָז בְּאַחֲרֵי
הַפְּקוּדָת וְתֵגַע כִּנְפָל בְּפָנָם בְּפִיחָלָה וּשְׁמַע הַשְּׁמַע
וְאָמַר הַיּוֹתָה מִגְּפָה בְּעַם אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרֵי אַבְשָׁלָם:

In Gen 32:19, Jacob sends messengers ahead of him who are instructed to say that he is (coming) behind them. Psa 45:15 is in the context of a royal procession in which movement is implicit (see v16). **אַחֲרֵי** in 2 Sam 17:9 symbolizes the relationship of allegiance to a leader in battle which physically corresponds to following that leader into battle (Fig. 20).

4.2.1.1d Geographic direction

Similar to singular **אַחֲרֵי** in Ex 3:1, the pseudo-plural is used to describe a geographic direction *west* (Jdg 18:12, see §4.1.3.5.2b) (Fig. 21).

4.2.1.1e Posterior deictic time

Like the singular form, the preposition **אַחֲרֵי** is used to symbolize posterior deictic temporal relationships, where a TR is profiled as temporally posterior to a past-time LM, as it does prepositionally in Gen 5:4 (see §4.1.3.6.2). This semantic usage of **אַחֲרֵי** may also be realized

syntactically as a conjunction with passive verbs as it introduces a nifal verb clause in Lev 25:48 (see §4.1.3.1.4) (Fig. 22).

4.2.1.1f Posterior sequential time

Similar to the singular form's usages as posterior sequential time, **אחרי** is also used to sequence events in chronological order while making anaphoric reference to a prior thing or event. This usage is expressed in the functional anaphoric chunk **אחרי הדברים האלה** (Gen 22:20, see §4.1.3.1.3, Fig. 23).

4.2.1.1g Cause

The pseudo-plural **אחרי** can symbolize causation by itself (Gen 46:30; Zec 7:14) and in composite forms like **אחריהם** (see §4.2.1.5).

Gen 46:30 Israel said to Joseph, “I can die now, because I have seen for myself that you are still alive.”

וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲלֵיכֶם אָמֹתָה הַפָּעָם אַחֲרֵי רָאוּךְ אֶת-פְּנֵיךְ כִּי עָזָה חַי:

Zec 7:14 and I scattered them with a whirlwind among all the nations that they had not known. Thus the land had become desolate because of them, with no one crossing or returning, and a pleasant land was made desolate.

וְאָסַעֲרָם עַל כָּל-הַגּוֹנוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יָדַעֲוּם וְהַאֲרִין נִשְׁמָה אַחֲרֵיכֶם מַעֲבָר וּמַשֵּׁב וַיְשִׁיבוּ אֶרְץ-כְּמֹדֶה לְשֻׁקָּה: ב

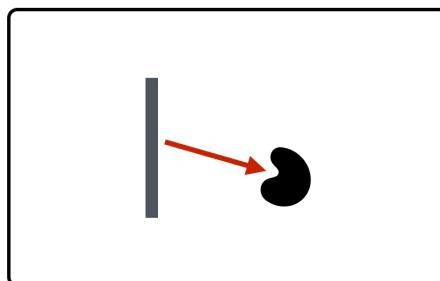


Figure 25: Cause

In Gen 46:30, Israel's seeing of Joseph is construed as a reason as to why he may now die in peace. Likewise in Zec 7:14, they (in the pronominal suffix **ם-ה-**) are stated to be the reason why the land is desolate. These are examples of which the borders are, semantically speaking, fuzzy. They demonstrate how temporal usages can give rise to causal usages. This frame is built from the posterior temporal deixis wherein a prior-occurring LM is used to construe a TR as temporally posterior to it. However in this case, the prior-occurring LM is a source of causation for an effect in the TR, hence the TR has been altered.¹⁸¹

181. Heine and Kuteva (2002:48) record that *back-words* in some African languages, like Wolof and Shona, are

4.2.1.2 (ג) + מִן + אַחֲרֵי

The preposition מִן is prefixed to the pseudo-plural אַחֲרֵי 58 times in the BHS. The majority of these instances are explained with various usages of מִן with אַחֲרֵי. However, it will be demonstrated that in some examples there seems to be no relevant semantic contribution from מִן.

4.2.1.2a Substantive

אַחֲרֵי may symbolize an actual *back* of a person (2 Sam 2:23, see §4.1.2.1), and also a metonymic extension of the body-part noun into personal space, thus *the posterior area* (Gen 19:26; Isa 30:21) (Fig. 24).

Gen 19:26 But Lot's wife, behind him, looked back, and she became a pillar of salt. (NRSV)

וְקַבֵּט אַשְׁתָּו מִאַחֲרֵיו וְתַחַזְנִיב מֶלֶחֶם

Isa 30:21 And when you turn to the right or when you turn to the left, your ears shall hear a word at your back, saying, “This is the way; walk in it.” (author)

וְאַנוֹיֶךָ תִּשְׁמַעַנָּה דָּבָר מִאַחֲרֵיךְ לְאָמֹר זֶה תְּדַרְךָ
לְכָבוֹד כִּי תָמִינוּ וְכִי תְשַׂמְאִילוּ:

In Gen 19:26 and Isa 30:21, אַחֲרֵי does not symbolize a person's actual *back* (unlike one of the usages in 2 Sam 2:23) but rather symbolizes the posterior region.¹⁸² Thus, the subject does not look or hear (in Gen 19:26 and Isa 30:21 respectively) *from* (מן) their actual back but rather from their posterior personal space.¹⁸³ This construction is evident in other occurrences of מִן with מִבַּט.¹⁸⁴

4.2.1.2b Posterior locative

מִאַחֲרֵי is used to symbolize posterior locative relationships. In these cases, מִן (often in parallel with preposition נִ) is a typical way of expressing general locative orientation (WO 1990:212) (without any ablative notion) (Ex 14:19, see §4.1.3.5.2b; Neh 4:7).

used to symbolize causation.

182. Svorou (1994:75, 85) notes that *back* in the Hali language (*/muri/*) is used to symbolize the back-region. Heine and Kuteva (2002:47) note *back-words* in other languages which function in similar ways. This back-region substantive usage, according to Heine and Kuteva, is the basis for the grammaticalization change for such *back-words* to function as a posterior locative.

183. See §6.2 for a similar usage of מִן symbolizing *under* space.

184. See Isa 63:15 and Job 36:25.

Neh 4:7 So in the lowest parts of the space behind the wall, in open places, I stationed the people according to their families, with their swords, their spears, and their bows. (NRSV) וְאַשְׁמֵיד מִפְּתָחֹתָיו לְמִקְומָם מַאֲחֶרִי לְחוֹמָה בְּצָחָקִים
[ב][צָחָקִים] נָעַטְתִּים אֶת-הָעֵם לְמִשְׁפְּתָוחָה
עַמְּתָרְבָּנִים רְמָחִים וּקְשָׁנוּתִים:

The preposition **מן** in Ex 14:19 is so general that one might consider it a semantically empty affix used likely as an analog to **מפני**. Likewise in Jer 9:21 and Neh 4:7, **מַאֲחֶרִי** is used to symbolize posterior locative relationships in a way that can be described by Fig. 19.

4.2.1.2c Following

The preposition **מן** may be prefixed to "following" usages (see §4.2.1b and §4.2.1.1c) (Job 34:27). In these cases, **מן** functions as an ablative preposition; however, **אֲחֶרִי** is the only symbol that may account for the *following* or *devotion* sense present in the text (Fig. 20).

Job 34:27 because they turned aside from following him, and **אָשָׂר עַל-כֵּן סָרוּ מַאֲחֶרִיו וְכֹל-דָּרְבֵּיו לֹא חַשְׁכִּילוּ:** had no regard for any of his ways, (NRSV)

4.2.1.2d Posterior deictic time

מַאֲחֶרִי can symbolize posterior deictic time (Deut 29:21) (Fig. 22). The preposition **מן** is semantically empty in these instances. **מַאֲחֶרִי** in Deut 29:21 symbolizes posterior temporal deixis as does its affix-less counterpart in a phrase such as **וַיַּעֲשֵׂךְ אֲחֶרִיךְ** (Gen 17:7, see §4.1.3.5.2a).

Deut 29:21 The next generation, your children who rise up after you, as well as the foreigner who comes from a distant country, will see the devastation of that land and the afflictions with which the Lord has afflicted it (NRSV)

**וְאָמַר הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַאֲחֶרֶן בְּנֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר יָקֹם מַאֲחֶרִיכֶם
וְתַגְכְּלִי אֲשֶׁר יֵבָא מִאָרֶן רְחוֹקָה וְרָאוּ אֶת-מִפְּלוֹת
דָּאָרֶן הַהְוָא וְאֶת-פְּנַחֲלָאֵיכְךָ אֲשֶׁר-חַלָּה יְהוָה בְּךָ:**

4.2.1.3 (א) + **אַל**

When used in double preposition constructions with **אל** (see §4.1.3.2), the pseudo-plural **אֲחֶרִי** may be interpreted as the second locative in a true double preposition construction (Fig. 19) or as a substantive (2 Sam 5:23, see §4.1.3.2; 2 Kgs 9:18, see §4.1.3.4.3) (Fig. 24). In these cases, **אל** symbolizes the path of a finite verb and **אֲחֶרִי** symbolizes that terminating location, *space behind*.

4.2.1.4 (ב) + **אַחֶרִיכָה**

As stated in §4.1.2.1, **אֲחֶרִי** symbolizes two things in 2 Sam 2:23. The first instance, with the preposition **ב** in this verse, **אֲחֶרִי** marks the posterior part of spear used to kill Asahel (Fig. 24).

4.2.1.5 אחריו כנ'

The composite form **אחרי-כн'** is used to symbolize posterior sequential time, causation, and the form **מאחרי-כн'** is also used to symbolize posterior sequential time.

4.2.1.5a Posterior sequential time

As a symbol of posterior sequential time, **אחרי-כн'** sequences events in their narrative order. In doing so, this form and meaning pair consistently function as a conjunction linking clauses of finite verbs (Num 4:15; Isa 1:26) (Fig. 23).

- Num 4:15** When Aaron and his sons have finished covering the sanctuary and all the furnishings of the sanctuary, as the camp sets out, after that the Kohathites shall come to carry these... (NRSV)

וכלה אַחֲרֹן וְבָנָיו לְכַפֵּת אֶת־הַקְדֵּשׁ וְאֶת־כָּל־כָּלִי
הַקְרֵב בְּנֵי קָמָנָה אַחֲרִיכֶן יָבֹאו בְּנֵי־קָרְבָּה
לְשָׂאת

- Isa 1:26** And I will restore your judges as at the first, and your counselors as at the beginning. Afterward you shall be called the city of righteousness, the faithful city. (NRSV)

וְאִשְׁבָּה שְׁפָטִים כִּבְרָאשָׁה וַיַּעֲצִים כִּבְתַּחַלָּה
אַחֲרִיכֶן וְקָרְבָּא לְךָ עִיר נָצְדָק קָרְבָּה נָאָמָּה:

4.2.1.5b Cause

As a symbol of causation, **אחרי-כн'** exploits the deictic temporal frame by presenting events out of chronological order, giving the prior-occurring event last. However in this case, the prior-occurring event is the cause of the first event given (2 Sam 24:10, see §4.1.3.1.5) (Fig. 25).

This usage of **אחרי-כн'** syntactically functions as a conjunction.

4.2.1.5c מאחרי-כн' + מִן Posterior sequential time

The composite form **מאחרי-כנ'** can be used to symbolize posterior sequential time in a similar manner to instances without the prefixed מִן (2 Sam 3:28) (Fig. 23). The מִן may be regarded as semantically empty.

- 2 Sam 3:28** Afterward, when David heard of it, he said, “I and my kingdom are forever guiltless before the Lord for the blood of Abner son of Ner. (NRSV)

וַיַּשְׁמַע דָּוִד מִאַחֲרֵי כֵּן וַיֹּאמֶר נָכִי אֱנוֹכִי וּמְמֻלָּכָתִי
מִעֵם יְהוָה עַד־עוֹלָם מִקְדָּמִי אָגָּר בְּנֵר:

4.2.1.6 אחרי אשר

As described by BH lexica (§4.1.3), **אחרי אשר** functions syntactically as a conjunction and symbolizes the cause for the preceding clause (Deut 24:4, see §4.1.3.1.4; Jdg 11:36, see §4.1.3.5.2f) (Fig. 25).

There is also an instance of **אחר אשר** which symbolizes posterior deictic time and syntactically functions as a conjunction (Ezk 40:1, see §4.1.3.1.3) (Fig. 22).

4.2.2 **אשר**

אשר functions as an adjective in a noun phrase (Gen 4:25, see §4.1.3.1.2) and alone as a substantive (1 Sam 21:10).

- Gen 4:25** Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son and named him Seth, for she said, "God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel, because Cain killed him." (NRSV)

וּבָدַע אָדָם עוֹד אֶת-אֲשֶׁר וְתַלְדֵּד בָּן וַתֹּקַרְא
אֶת-שְׁמוֹ שֶׁת קַיִּשׁ תְּלִילִי אֶלְהִים גַּרְעָל אֶחָר תְּחִזָּה
תְּבָל קַיִּירָנוּ גַּנְּגָן:

- 1 Sam 21:10** The priest said, "The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom you killed in the valley of Elah, is here wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod; if you will take that, take it, for there is none here except that one." David said, "There is none like it; give it to me." (NRSV)

וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּהֵן חָרָב גָּלִילָה הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶשְׁר-הַכִּיתָ
בְּעַמְקָן קָלָלָה הַגָּהָה-הַיָּא לְוַיָּה בְשִׂמְלָה אַחֲרֵי
הַאֲפֹוד אֶסְמָךְ תְּקַח-לְךָ כֵּחַ קַיִּין אַחֲרָת
וַיָּלַקְתָּה בָּוּה וַיֹּאמֶר דָּנָךְ אֵין כְּמוּךְ הַגָּנָה לְךָ:

From an embodied view, the sense of *other* can be explained by a substantive TR-LM frame that posits people (or objects) in sequence, profiling the posterior thing of the sequence in particular. Thus, rather than indicating a relationship, these nominal usages indicate an alternative *thing*. In these cases, a general sense of alterity is connoted as in Fig. 26. This alternative usage could be related to a possible *another/other* usage in Neh 5:15 (see §2.6.2.2 and §4.1.3.5.1d).

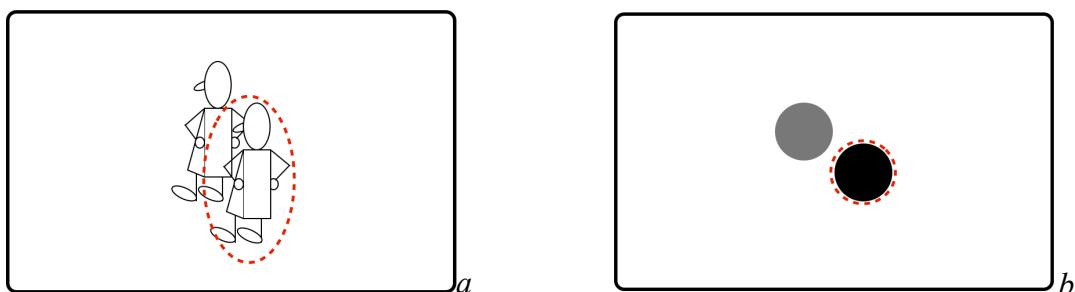


Figure 26: Thing

The alternative substantive **אשר** also occurs with a prefixed preposition **ל** (Isa 42:8). In this case, **אשר** is the object of the preposition **ל**, which marks the "recipient" of the negated action, and connotes an alternative thing. On one occasion, the alternative substantive occurs with a prefixed preposition **מן** (2 Sam 13:16). **אשר** in both instances can be described by Fig. 26

4.2.3 אַחֲר the verb

אַחֲר is also used as a verb in BH. Verbs are not the topic of this dissertation; however, to fully account for all substantival usages of אַחֲר, one must include the participial forms of the verb אַחֲר (Isa 5:11; Prov 23:30, see §4.1.3.6.1 for both). As substantives, these instances may be (minimally) described by Fig. 26.

4.2.4 Morphology summary

	אַחֲר	אַחֲר	אַחֲרִי	מֵאַחֲרִי	אַחֲרִיכָן	אַחֲר(כ) אַשְׁר	אַחֲר(כ) אַחֲר
Thing	X		X				X
Loc.		X	X	X			
Follow		X	X				
Geo.		X	X				
Deixis time		X	X	X		X	
Seq. time		X	X	X	X		
Cause			X		X	X	
Action							X

Figure 27: אַחֲר morphology summary¹⁸⁵

The alternative adjective אַחֲר only functions nominally. The singular form אַחֲר performs all semantic jobs except the nominal and causative. אַחֲרִי can symbolize all the attested usages and its collocations with כִּי and אֲשֶׁר are used in more specialized ways. Syntactically, all morphologies except אַחֲר may function as prepositions/adverbs and conjunctions (contra Hardy 2014:119). It is clear then that organizing a lexical entry by morphology or syntax will create redundancies in the lexical entry because these patterns of morphology and syntax overlap semantically. However, if a lexicographer follows Gesenius' rule of listing a word's usages in the most likely order of their evolution (§2.3.1), then it is plausible that a lexical entry can be made without semantic-pragmatic redundancy. Rather, using usage-based tools for

185. It should be noted that the categories Thing and Action are not usage categories immediately relevant to the topic of this dissertation. They are included here because they are indeed attested morphologies of these usages and it would not be representative of the data to exclude them. Also, notable subcategories, like geographic direction and sequential time, are also included here because of their relevance in BH lexicography although they will appear as subcategories in the final model (§4.3).

categorization, Gesenius' lexicographic principles can provide a plausible explanation for how a word evolved (in this case from body-part noun to relational usages) and which of its morphologies may symbolize those polysemies. In the following section, such a lexical entry for **רָאשׁ** will be proposed.

4.3 Semantic network

This section presents the data analysis in a cognitive linguistic fashion. The semantic categories described in §4.2.4 are here organized by those semantic categories into a network in a manner that accounts for historical development. This network moves from left-to-right, beginning with *back* and ending with *static posterior*. Subcategories are listed under a parent category in a smaller type face.

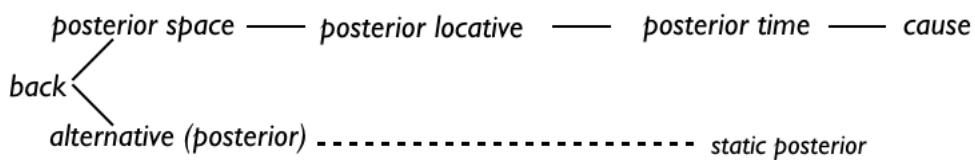


Figure 28: Semantic network of **רָאשׁ**

4.3.1 Moving through the nodes

These categories, or nodes in the network, are grouped together and described by their frame semantic diagrams. These groupings also account for morphological diversity and frequent collocations within each respective semantic category.¹⁸⁶ The remainder of this section presents each node in the network with minimal comment as the BH data itself has already been surveyed. The point here is that the data may be viewed differently than in morphological categories with unintentional semantic overlap because it has been organized by usage based linguistic principles.

186. Note that, following the conventions of Rodriguez (2011), examples which may reasonably be interpreted in multiple ways are cross-listed (=crs) in the relevant usage categories and text-critically problematic examples (=TC) are marked as such.

4.3.1.1 Posterior anatomy¹⁸⁷

Posterior anatomy <i>back, back of, end part</i>	
	וַיִּפְתֹּח אָבִינָר בַּאֲחֶרֶי הַחֲנִית אֶל-הַחֶמֶשׁ וַיִּצְאֵת הַחֲנִית מֵאַחֲרֵיו Abner stabbed Asahel in the stomach with the back (<i>a2</i>) of his spear, and the spear came out at Asahel's back (<i>a1</i>). (2 Sam 2:23)
	
(^{±prosfx} +יְחִירָא)	Gen 16:13; Ex 33:8; 2 Sam 2:23a, b; 1 Kgs 10:19

These five instances are the only body part usages of **яхורי** in the Hebrew Bible. Some of these instances, such as Ex 33:8 (see §4.1.3.3.2), are the backs of human bodies, while others, like the first instance of the pseudo-plural in 2 Sam 2:23, are the backs of objects.

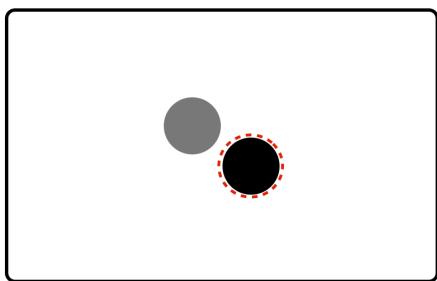
4.3.1.2 Posterior space

Posterior space <i>space behind</i>	
	סֵב אֶל-אַחֲרֵי go around to my back (2 Kgs 9:18)
яхורי	Gen 19:26 (see Isa 63:15; Psa 80:15; Job 36:25); Jos 8:2, 4, 14; 2 Sam 5:23; 2 Kgs 9:18, 19; Isa 30:21; Ezk 41:15; Zec 6:6 (crs Geo); 2 Chr 13:13a, b

187. It should be noted that in the description of usages like this which employ two TR-LM diagrams, one with images of a person(s) and the other with lines and dots, the diagrams can be used interchangeably where contextually appropriate.

These seven instances do not represent an actual *back* but rather the personal posterior space. This is a metaphorical extension from a body part into the conception of posterior space as a kind of egocentric space.

4.3.1.3 Alternative (posterior)

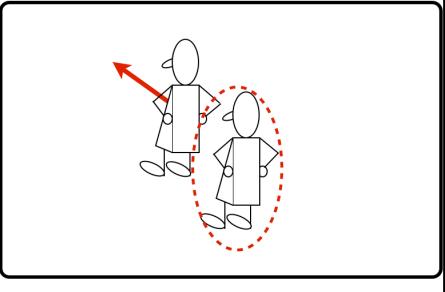
Alternative (posterior) <i>another one</i>	
	<p style="text-align: center;">שַׁתְּלֵי אֱלֹהִים צָרָע אֶחָר פֶּתַח הַבָּל כִּי חֲרָנוּ קַיִן God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel (Gen 4:25)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">וַיְחַל עוֹד שָׁבַעַת יְמִים אַחֲרִים He waited another seven days... (Gen 8:10)</p>
(*prosfx)+ אֶחָר	Gen 4:25; 8:10, 12; 17:21; 26:21, 22; 29:19, 27, 30; 30:24; 37:9; 41:3a, 19a; 43:14, 22; Ex 20:3; 21:10; 22:4; 23:13; 34:14; Lev 6:4; 14:42; 27:20; Num 14:24a; 23:13, 27, 36:9; Deut 5:7; 6:14b; 7:4b; 8:19b; 11:16; 11:28b; 13:3b, 7, 14; 17:3; 18:20; 20:5, 6, 7; 24:2; 28:14b, 30, 32, 36, 64; 29:25, 27; 30:17; 31:18, 20; Josh 23:16; 24:2, 16; Jdg 2:10a, 12b, 17b, 19b, 10:13; 11:2; 1 Sam 8:8; 10:6, 9; 17:30; 19:21; 21:10b; 26:19; 28:8; 2 Sam 13:16; 18:20, 26; 1 Kgs 3:22; 7:8; 9:6b, 9; 10:19; 11:4b, 10b; 13:10; 14:9a; 20:37; 2 Kgs 1:11; 5:17; 6:29; 7:8; 17:7, 35, 37, 38; 22:17; Isa 28:11; 42:8, 11; 65:15, 22; Jer 1:16; 3:1; 6:12; 7:6b, 9b, 18; 8:10; 11:10b; 13:10b; 16:11b, 13b; 18:4; 19:4, 13; 22:9, 26; 25:6b; 32:29; 35:15b; 36:28, 32; 44:3, 5, 8, 15; Ezk 12:3; 40:40; 41:24; 42:14; 44:19; Hos 3:1; Joel 1:3; Zech 2:7; Psa 16:4; 49:11; 105:13; 109:8, 13; Job 8:19; 31:8, 10; 34:24; Prov 5:9; 25:9; Ruth 2:8, 22; Qoh 7:22; Est 4:14; Dan 11:4; 12:5; Ezra 1:10; 2:31; Neh 5:5, 15 (TC issues); 7:33, 34; 1 Chr 2:26; 16:20; 23:17; 2 Chr 3:11a, b, 12; 7:19, 22; 28:25; 30:23; 32:5; 34:25

The posterior alternative adjective is exclusively realized with the **אֶחָר** morphology, and has thus been treated as a separate word in BH lexicography traditionally. However, the use of heuristic frame semantic diagrams,¹⁸⁸ has used images to describe what lexicographers have identified as alternative usage of the adjective. BDB ([1906]2006:29) glosses **אֶחָר** as *one coming behind* G18 (2013:39) glosses the form as *folgender, zweiter*. The syntactic usage of each instance of **אֶחָר** might vary from adjective in a noun phrase (as is the case with Gen 8:10 above) to a substantive (1 Sam 21:10); however, the consistent configuration of elements is the same. This is a sequence frame, like the *posterior one* frame above, which is used in a dif-

188. Note that these are not TR-LM diagrams because this is not a relational phrase. These are simple images (in the line of general image schema or idealized cognitive models)

ferent context to construe one of two elements as posterior to the other. The developmental change in this case, however, is the salience of the anterior element.¹⁸⁹

4.3.1.4 Static posterior verb

Static posterior one <i>one who delays, withholds/holds back</i>	
	עִם־לָבָן גַּרְתִּי וְאַחֲרֵי עַד־עַפָּה I have stayed with Laban and remained until now (Gen 32:5)
אַחֲר	Isa 5:11; Psa 127:2; Prov 23:30 (3 occurrences, Piel ptcp.)
finite verbs	Gen 24:56; 32:5; 34:19; Ex 22:28; Deut 7:10; 23:22; Jdg 5:28; 2Sam 20:5; Isa 46:13; Hbk 2:3; Psa 40:18; 70:6; Qoh 5:3; Dan 9:19

These are the participle forms discussed in §4.2.3 and §4.3.1.3 and here are treated as a sub-category of the Alternative (posterior) category (§4.3.1.3). One cannot, with available evidence, ascertain the precise development of the verbal forms of **אַחֲר**. However, it is plausible that the resemblance to the alternative (posterior) frame is a semantic family resemblance which accounts for the development of the finite verb form because the substantive adjective and the substantive participle can be described by the same diagram.

4.3.1.5 Posterior locative

Posterior locative (±motion) relation <i>in back of, behind</i>

189. Neh 5:15 is a fringe example of this category where **אַחֲר** as *follow* is plausibly construed as *another/addition* in a list of taxed items. This is a non-**אַחֲר** occurrence of this semantic frame. See §2.6.2.2 and §4.1.3.5.1d.

וְלֹכֶדֶת אַחֲרֵי חָאִישׁ

They followed behind the man (Gen 24:61)



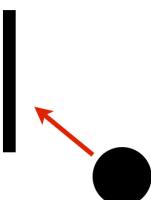
וַיֵּצֵא אֶלָּהֶם לֹט הַפְּתַחַה וַיַּקְلַת סַנְרָא אַחֲרֵיו

Lot went out the entrance and shut the door behind him
(Gen 19:6)



הַיְהּ לְבַ-אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרֵי אַבְשָׁלוֹם

The hearts of the Israelites are after Absalom.
(2 Sam 15:13)



וְהַפְּהּ נִמְ-הַוּא אַחֲרֵינוּ

In fact, he is (coming) behind us (Gen 32:19)

(⁺prosfx) + (יְ)

אַחֲרֵי Gen 18:10; 19:6, 17; 22:13 (TC issue); 24:5, 8, 39, 61; 31:23, 36; 20, 32:19, 21; 35:5; 37:17; 44:4; **Ex** 3:1; 11:5; 14:4, 8, 9, 10, 17, 23, 28; 15:20; 23:2; 34:15, 16; **Lev** 17:7; 20:5, 6; 26:33; **Num** 3:23; 14:24b; 43; 15:39a, b; 16:25; 25:8; 32:11, 12, 15; **Deut** 1:36; 4:3; 6:14; 7:4; 8:19a; 11:4, 28a, 30; 12:30a; 13:3a, 5; 19:6; 23:15; 25:18; 28:14a; 31:16; **Josh** 2:5, 7; 3:3; 6:8, 9, 13; 8:6, 16, 17a, b, 20; 10:19; 14:8, 9, 14; 20:5; 22:16, 18, 23, 29; 24:6; **Jdg** 1:6; 2:12a, 17a, 19a; 3:22, 28a, b; 4:14, 16a, b; 5:14 (TC issues); 6:34, 35; 7:23; 8:5, 12, 27, 33; 9:3, 4, 49; 13:11; 18:12; 19:3; 20:40, 45; **1 Sam** 6:7; 12; 7:2; 8:3; 11:5, 7a, b; 12:14, 20, 21; 13:4, 7; 14:12, 13, 36, 37, 46; 15:11, 31; 17:13, 14, 35, 53; 20:37, 38; 21:10a; 22:20; 23:25, 28; 24:2, 9b, c, 15a-c; 25:13, 19, 42; 26:3, 18; 30:8, 21; **2 Sam** 1:7; 2:10, 19a, b, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30; 3:16, 26, 31; 7:8; 11:8, 15; 13:17, 18, 34 (TC issue, crs Geo Loc); 15:13; 17:1, 9; 18:16, 22; 20:2a, b, 6, 7a, b, 10, 13a, b, 14; 23:9, 10, 11; **1 Kgs** 1:7, 14, 35, 40; 2:28a, b; 9:6; 11:2, 4, 5a, b, 6, 10; 12:20; 13:14 14:8, 9b, 10; 16:3, 21a, b, 22; 18:18, 21; 19:20a, b, 21; 20:19; 21:21, 26; 22:33; **2 Kgs** 2:24; 4:30; 5:20, 21; 6:19, 32; 7:14, 15; 9:25, 27; 10:29; 11:6, 15; 14:19; 17:15a, b, 21; 18:6; 23:3; 25:5; **Isa** 37:22; 38:17; 45:14 57:8; 65:2; **Jer** 2:2, 5, 8, 23, 25; 3:17, 19; 7:6a, 9a; 8:2; 9:13, 15; 11:10a; 12:6; 13:10a; 16:11a, 12; 17:16; 18:12; 25:6a; 29:18; 32:40; 35:15a; 39:5; 42:16; 48:2; 49:37; 50:21 (TC issue); 52:8; 59:13; 66:17 (crs Cause); **Ezk** 3:12; 5:2, 12; 6:9; 9:5; 10:11; 12:14; 13:3; 14:7, 11; 16:34; 20:16, 24, 30; 23:35; 29:16; 33:31; 44:10; **Hos** 1:2; 2:7, 15; 5:8 (TC issue), 11; 11:10; **Joel** 2:3; **Amos** 2:4; 7:15; **Zeph** 1:6; **Zec** 6:6 (TC issue); **Psa** 45:15; 49:14, 18; 50:17; 63:9; 78:71; 94:15; **Job** 21:33; 31:7; 34:27; 39:8, 10; 41:24; **Prov** 7:22; **Ruth** 1:15, 16; 2:2, 3, 7, 9; 3:10b; 4:4; **Sng** 1:4; 2:9; **Neh** 4:10, 17; 11:8; 12:32, 38; **1 Chr** 5:25; 10:2; 11:12; 14:14; 17:7; **2 Chr** 11:16; 13:19; 18:32; 23:14; 25:27; 26:17; 34:31, 33

מִאַחֲרֵי

Ex 14:19 a, b; **Jer** 9:21; **Neh** 4:7

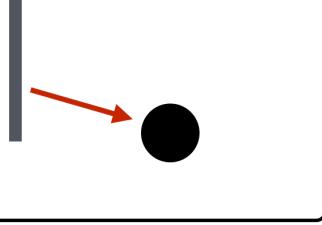
דָּבָק, רַדֵּף, הַלֵּךְ
בַּעַר

chase after (to do violence) - Gen 31:23, 36; 35:5; 44:4; Ex 14:4, 8-10, 17, 23; Lev 26:33; Deut 11:4; 19:6; Josh 2:5, 7; 8:16, 17b; 10:19; 20:5; 24:6; **Jdg** 1:6; 4:16; 7:23; 8:5, 12; 20:45; 1 Sam 14:22, 36, 37; 17:35, 53; 23:25, 28; 24:15; 26:3, 18; 30:8; 2 Sam 2:24, 28; 3:26; 14:10; 16:3; 17:1; 18:16; 20:6, 7b, 10, 13b; 21:21; 2 Kgs 5:20, 21; 7:14; 9:27; 14:19; Jer 9:15; 29:18; 39:5; 42:16; 48:2; 49:37; 52:8; Ezk 9:5; 12:14; Neh 12:32; 1 Chr 10:2; 14:14; 2 Chr 13:19

מלָא, הִיא, הַלְּקָנָה	devotion (to a god or person) - Ex 23:2; Num 14:24b; 32:11, 12; Deut 1:36; 4:3; 6:14; 8:19a; Jos 14:8, 9, 14; Jdg 9:3, 4; 1 Sam 17:13; 2 Sam 2:10; 15:13; 1 Kgs 11:6; 2 Kgs 23:3; Isa 65:2; Jer 2:5, 8, 23, 25; 7:6; 11:10; 35:15a; Ezk 13:3; 20:24; Hos 2:7; 2 Chr 34:31
גִּנְחָה	promiscuity-devotion metaphor - Ex 34:15, 16; Lev 17:7; 20:5, 6; Num 15:39; Deut 31:16; Jdg 2:17; 8:27, 33; Ezk 6:9; 23:30; 1 Chr 5:25
verbless	Gen 32:19, 21; Jdg 5:14 (TC issues); Psa 49:14; Neh 11:8
devotion	Deut 7:4; 23:15; Josh 22:16, 18, 23, 29; 1 Sam 12:14; 20; 15:11; 2 Sam 17:9; 20:2a, b; 1 Kgs 9:6; 19:21; 22:33; 2 Kgs 10:29; 17:21; 18:6; Isa 59:13; 66:17 (crs Cause); Jer 3:19; 32:40; Ezk 14:7, 11; 33:31; Hos 1:2; Zeph 1:6; Psa 49:14; 94:15; Job 34:27; Neh 11:8; 1 Chr 17:7; 2 Chr 25:27; 34:33
labor	<i>behind hand mill</i> (Ex 11:5); <i>behind animal</i> (2 Sam 7:8; Psa 78:71; Job 39:10 joke on this metaphor; Amos 7:15; 1 Chr 17:7)
ignorance	intentional indifference אחרי גִּנְחָה (1 Kgs 14:9; Ezk 23:35; without גִּנְחָה Psa 50:17); <i>behind-the-back</i> mockery (2 Kgs 19:21; Isa 37:22); forgiveness (Isa 38:17)
status	military (2 Sam 23:9, 11); legal (Ruth 4:4)
Geographic west	Ex 3:1; Jdg 18:12; 2 Sam 13:34; Zec 6:6 (TC issues)

The posterior locative sense is expressed with singular **אחר**, the pseudo-plural **אחרי**, and the composite form **מן אחרי** where the **מן** is (rarely) observed to be semantically bleached and able to combine with another form (**אחר** in this case) without changing the semantic-pragmatic force. In addition, this frame is used for a number of metaphors.

4.3.1.6 Posterior time

Posterior deictic time	
<i>after</i>	וַיְהִי יְמֵי־אָדָם אַחֲרֵי הַזְּלִיקֹן אֶת־שְׁתִּים שָׁמֶןֶת מֵאַת שָׁנָה The days of Adam after he fathered Seth were 800 years. (Gen 5:4)
	וְאֵלֶּי הַנּוּ מִקְרָם אַתְּ בָּרִיתִי אֶתְכֶם וְאַתְּ זִרְעָכֶם אַחֲרֵיכֶם As for me, I am establishing my covenant with you and your descendants after you (Gen 9:9)

אַחֲרָךְ (prosfx) + (אַחֲרִי)	Gen 5:4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 26, 30; 9:9, 28; 10:1, 32; 11:10, 11, 13, 15, 19, 21, 23, 25; 13:14; 14:17; 17:7a, b, 8, 9, 10, 19; 18:12, 19; 24:36; 24:67; 25:11; 26:18; 35:12; 41:3b, 6, 19b, 23, 27, 30; 48:4, 6; 50:14; Ex 7:25; 10:14; 18:2; 28:43; 29:29; Lev 13:7, 35, 55, 56; 14:43 a, b, c, 48; 16:1; 25:15, 46, 48; 27:18; Num 6:19; 7:8; 25:13, 19; 30:16; 35:28 Deut 1:4, 8; 4:37, 40; 10:15; 12:25, 28, 30b; 24:20, 21; 31:27, 29 Josh 1:1; 7:8; 9:16; 10:14; 22:27; 23:1; 24:20, 31; Jdg 1:1; 2:7, 10b; 3:31; 10:1, 3; 12:8, 11, 13; 1 Sam 1:9a, b; 5:9; 24:22; 2 Sam 1:1, 10; 5:13; 7:12; 17:21; 1 Kgs 1:6, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 30; 3:12; 9:21; 13:23, 31; 15:4; 2 Kgs 1:1, 14:17, 22; 18:5; Isa 43:10; Jer 3:7; 13:27; 23:25; 24:1; 25:26; 28:12; 29:2; 31:19, b, 33; 32:16, 18, 39; 34:8; 36:27; 40:1; 41:16; 51:46; Ezk 16:23; 44:26; 46:12; Joel 2:2; Amos 7:1; Job 19:26; 21:3, 21; 29:22; 42:16; Prov 20:7; Ruth 2:11; Qoh 2:12, 18; 3:22; 6:12; 7:14; 12:2; Dan 2:29, 45; 7:24b; 8:1; 9:26; Neh 13:19; 1 Chr 2:24; 17:11; 27:7, 34; 28:8; 2 Chr 1:12; 2:16; 8:8; 22:4; 24:17; 25:14, 25; 26:2; 35:20
מֵאַחֲרִי	Deut 29:21; Qoh 10:14
אחר אשר	Ezk 40:1
חיה, היה posterity never future iterative	used in genealogies (Gen 5:4, 7, 10, 13, 16, 19, 22, 26, 30) <i>your seed/children after you</i> (Gen 9:9; 17:7, 8, 9, 10, 19; 35:12; 48:4; Ex 28:43; 29:29; Lev 25:46; Num 25:13; Deut 1:8; 4:37, 40; 10:15; 12:25, 28; 29:21; 1 Sam 24:22; 2 Sam 7:12; 1 Chr 17:11) <i>before and after</i> (Josh 10:14; 1 Kgs 3:12; Isa 43:10; 2 Chr 1:12) undetermined TR (Qoh 7:14; Dan 2:29, 45) Deut 24:20-21 conjunction joining finite verb clauses (Lev 14:43a-c; Jer 41:16; Ezk 40:1 with שׁא); subordinator with infinitives (Jer 40:1)
posterior sequential time <i>afterward, then, next</i>	(אַחֲרִי) - Gen 10:18; 15:1; 18:5; 22:1, 20; 24:55; 30:21; 33:7; 38:30; 40:1; 48:1; Ex 5:1; Lev 14:8, 19; 15:28; 22:7; Num 5:26; 6:20; 12:14, 16; 19:7; 31:2, 24; 32:22; Jos 2:16; 24:5, 29; Jdg 1:9; 3:31; 7:11; 15:7; 19:5; 2 Sam 21:1; 1 Kgs 13:33; 17:17; 19:11, 12; 20:15; 21:1; Ezk 20:39 (TC issue); Hos 3:5; Psa 73:24; Job 18:2; 37:4; 42:7; Prov 20:17, 25; 24:27; Qoh 9:3; Esther 2:1; 3:1; Ezra 7:1; 1 Chr 2:21; 2 Chr 11:20; 21:18; 32:1, 9; 35:14 (אַחֲרִי) - Gen 6:4; 15:14; 23:19; 25:26; 32:21b; 41:31; 45:15; Ex 3:20; 11:1, 8; 34:32; Lev 14:36; 16:26, 28; Num 4:15; 8:15, 22; 9:17; Deut 21:13; Josh 8:34; 10:26; Jdg 16:4; 1 Sam 9:13; 10:5; 24:6, 9; 2 Sam 2:1; 8:1; 10:1; 13:1; 21:14, 18; 2 Kgs 6:24; Isa 1:26; Jer 21:7; 34:11; 46:26; 49:6; Joel 3:1; Job 3:1; 1 Chr 18:1; 19:1; 2 Chr 32:24; 33:14 אַחֲרִי (הָדָבֶר) - often terminates with הָאֱלֹהִים ; functions as discourse sequencer of units in narrative order - Gen 5:1; 15:1; 22:1, 20; 39:7; 40:1; 48:1; Jos 24:29; 1 Kgs 13:33 (אַחֲרִי (הָדָבֶר) הַזֶּה), 17:17; 21:1; Job 42:7; Esther 2:1; 3:1; Ezra 7:1; 2 Chr 32:1 conjunction - All attested morphologies can function as conj., however אַחֲרִי is most frequent (Gen 10:18; 33:7; Ex 5:1; Lev 14:8, 19, 36, 43a; Lev 22:7; Num 5:26; 6:20; 12:14; etc). אַחֲרִי functions as a conj. infrequently (Lev 14:43b, c; Job 37:4). אַחֲרִי-כֵן often functions in a similar syntactic manner, only making anaphoric reference to the prior event with כֵן .

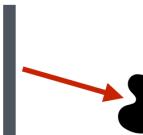
While posterior temporal relationships are of two kinds in BH, deixis and sequence, one should consider sequence a subcategory of deixis since a temporally posterior constituent is still referred to in order to profile a TR. Nevertheless, the kind of temporal transience profiled

in temporal deictic and sequential utterances is different. Temporal deixis profiles an occurrence with past/future relationships whereas the temporal sequence focuses only on earlier/latter relationships of constituents in sequence (Evans 2013:81-126, see §4.1.3.5.1a, f). Posterior temporal deixis is expressed by referring to a prior occurring thing or event (LM) as a way to profile another thing or event (TR). This usage is symbolized by both singular and plural forms along with an empty prefixed **ן**.

The second kind of time, posterior sequential temporal relation, is expressed by the singular form, the pseudo plural, composite forms, and the phrase (which is sometimes part of a **דיבר** clause) (**הדבר**(**ם**) **אחר(י)**).

The conceptual association between result and the passage of time is well established (§3.2a), and such instances provide the basis for the semantic-pragmatic step from temporal relations to logical ones, namely causation.

4.3.1.7 Cause

		Cause <i>after, then, because, for, in order to</i>
		אל-קְרֻעֵי נָא אַחֲרִי אֲשֶׁר-בָּא הָאֵשׁ חֹהֶל אַל-פִּוּתִי Don't do this evil for this man has come to my house (Jdg 19:23)
		
אחר	Isa 66:17 (crs Follow)	
אחרי	Gen 41:39; 46:30; Zech 7:14 (3 occurrences)	
אחרי אשר	Deut 24:4; Jdg 11:36; 19:23; 2 Sam 19:31 (4 occurrences)	
אחרי-כן	2 Sam 24:10	
		אחרי-כן subordinator; אחרי אשר and אחרי-כן conjunctions

As discussed throughout §4.2.1, causation can be symbolized with both the singular and pseudo-plural forms of **אחר** along with the collocations with **אשר** and **ן**.

4.4 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the relevant BH literature regarding **אֶחָר**, summarized the collection and analysis processes of the data organized by morphological groups, and lastly presented a lexical semantic account of **אֶחָר** with usage-based tools. Eight basic usages of the form have been identified and presented in the semantic network (§4.3) and in the lexical semantic descriptions of each node in the network (§4.3.1-9). Not all usages are "equal" on the lexico-grammatical continuum, nevertheless, they are all meaningful and configurationally distinct. This network also demonstrates that the basic questions of the philological era can be rehabilitated and thus are still relevant today with usage-based approaches. Now refined, the semantic categories established by the Gesenius tradition are also vindicated.

There are two specific conclusions that can be made: 1) that **אֶחָר** and **אֶחָרִי** are not different words and 2) that the alternative noun **אֶחָר** is related to the semantics of temporal relational usages of **אֶחָר**.

That the construct plural tsere-yod in **אֶחָרִי** is a pseudo-plural analogous to **לְפָנֵי** is not a new assertion (§4.1.2.1). This is simply the form that **אֶחָר** takes, in most cases, to form a construct chain, often with a pronominal suffix. Further, some significant usages in co-occurrence with **לְפָנֵי** have been demonstrated (§4.3.1.8) which supports this old assertion regarding the pseudo-plural.

Secondly, it has been demonstrated that the alternative adjective **אֶחָר** is instructive for some relational usages of **אֶחָר**, particularly Neh 5:15 (see §2.6.2.2 and §4.1.3.5.1d). Configurational similarities are also apparent with the alternative posterior frame (§4.3.1.3) and the finite verb (noted in §4.3.1.4). These configurational similarities throughout the semantic network repre-

sent possible evidence (though not a necessary criterion, see §3.4) that this nominal usage is in some historical sense related to the verb, perhaps verbal development.

5. מפני and לפני

The goal of this chapter is to give a plausible usage-based account of the lexical semantics of **מפני** and **לפני** in BH. Using the toolbox method described in §3.4, this chapter will do three things to accomplish this goal: 1) review the relevant BH literature regarding **מ/לפני** in §5.1, 2) summarize the data collection process and the analysis of the data by morphological groups in §5.2, and 3) present a lexical semantic account of **מ/לפני** in BH in §5.3.

5.1 Literature review

BH resources have long instructed that the derived forms of the root *פְנַה are expressed as a noun, preposition, adverb, conjunction, and even finite verb. Yet, there are no actual fully expressed tri-consonantal utterances of *פְנַה the noun, the preposition, the adverb, nor the conjunction. Only the plural and construct plural forms פִנֵּים and פִנֵּי are attested. Beyond that etymological issue, the forms **מפני** and **לפני** are composite forms created by the prefixing of other, more frequently used prepositions. This can cause trouble for modern interpreters trying to decide (and assuming they should try to decide) whether the semantic force of a particular usage of **מפני** or **לפני** is more attributable to the prefixed inseparable preposition or the form of **פנה** that it is affixed to.

5.1.1 Comparative Semitics

All extant evidence regarding the BH forms **מפני** and **لפני** and their root Semitic phoneme /pn(h)/ (or /fn(h)/) resides in North Semitic languages. In Akkadian, the root phoneme is expressed as in BH—as a noun, adverb/preposition, and verb (Black, George, and Postgate 2000:262-264). This body of evidence is instructive because the data can be identified by era: Old Babylonian, Neo-Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, Ugaritic, etc. While it may be the case that older and younger forms of BH exist side-by-side in the Hebrew Bible, this body of data can

show with a bit more clarity what came first. Noun forms such as /pana/, /pan/, /panatu/ and /pa(*long*)u(m)/ occur in all layers symbolizing a person's *face*, *presence*, *front* of something, and even a group *leader*. A mix of younger and older layers contain relational uses such as spatial and temporal adverbs and prepositions, such as /pananum/ and /panis/, and which respectively symbolized as anterior deictic time (*previously/before*) and simple spatial anteriority (*in front of*). The younger Neo-Babylonian era witnessed the verbal usage of the root in /panu(m)/ used in the so-called G and D stems. These verbal usages could prove to be instructive to the BH verbal uses of פָנָה since most of them are in the Qal and Piel stems (though it does also occur in the Hifil and Hofal stems in BH, while causative stems for the phonemic root are unattested in the Babylonian languages).

Looking at Ugaritic material, Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartin (2004:675) note that the root /pnm/ is only used as a noun symbolizing the face of either humans or gods. The root is also joined with the prepositions /l/ to make prepositional phrases such as /lpn/ *in front of*, /lpny/ *before me*, and /lpnk/ *before you*.

In Phoenician/Punic, /pnm/ symbolizes a *face* and metaphorically a *front* of something (Krahmlakov 2000:399). And joined with the preposition /l/, /lpn(y)/ symbolizes anterior locative and temporal scenes (ibid:261).

The comparative Semitic data gives evidence to support the long-held notion of BH philology that prepositions and adverbs evolved from their noun usages. It may also give evidence about the evolution of verbal usages egocentric roots: that the verbal usages come after an evolutionary cycle of noun-to-preposition because verbal forms of the root are only attested in later layers. Since verbal forms of the root are only attested in later layers, one might hypothesize from the comparative Semitic data that the origin of (some) verbal usages can be traced to egocentric nouns indicating an evolutionary cycle of noun-relational-verb.

5.1.2 Grammars

5.1.2.1 The Gesenius Tradition

§2.3.1 has described in a general fashion the way that various grammars attributed to Gesenius explain BH prepositions. Specific to the forms of בָּנָה, GKC §119b-c note how some prepositions do not need another preposition to symbolize prepositional relations, but can be joined with others nonetheless, such as אֶחָד. But others, such as בָּנָה, must always be joined with a preposition. For example, GKC §119b notes that compound prepositions such as מִאַחֲרֵי, מִאַחֲרִי, and מִעַם play a significant role in BH by representing "more accurately the relations of place", but in the next section GKC §119c warns, "We must *not* regard as combined prepositions in the above sense either those substantives which have become prepositions only by their union with prefixes, as לְפָנִי, מִפָּנִי *before, on account of...*". So one may conclude that GKC deems compound utterances like מִאַחֲרִי to be more accurate in describing "relations of place" than combined utterances such as לְפָנִי. This judgement seems to be explained in GKC §119d where the grammar differentiates between the two types of combinations—compound versus combined prepositions—in semantic terms. Compound prepositions are said to be "real combinations" where each form in the compound retains its' "full force".¹⁹⁰

As previously discussed (see §4.1.2.1), JM §103n notes that the construct plural form לְפָנִי has most likely analogously influenced the so-called "pseudo-plural" אֶחָד because the two are antonymic pairs. This is evidence that 1) BH speakers might have conceived of these two terms as anterior and posterior boundaries of egocentric space and 2) that the cognitive association was so strong that it influenced the grammar over time.

190. Refer back to §4.2 for instances of אֶחָד + מִן wherein מִן does not retain its semantic "full force". §5.2 will similarly demonstrate some instances of בָּנָה + מִן where מִן also does not retain its semantic force. This evidence disrupts the assertion made in GKC §119d.

5.1.2.2 Functional approaches: WO and BHRG

WO (1990:221ff) regards **לפני** and **מפני** as "frozen union" between the *face* noun and the prepositions **ל** and **מן**. This union constitutes the utterances as complex prepositions (as opposed to Gesenius' compound or combined, one may suppose). The authors note that the forms syntactically function as prepositions and are used as locatives and non-locative metaphors. Specifically, WO describes locative, temporal, referential, and comparative usages for **לפני**, and locative and causal usages for **מפני**. WO, in the same section, also categorizes **מלפני** as a synonym with **מפני**.¹⁹¹

BHRG handles both **מפני** and **לפני** as independent prepositions in their own right. BHRG §39.13 notes that **לפני** indicates spatial and temporal positioning while **מפני**, in §39.15, indicates movement or position "away from the immediate presence of x", cause, and alienation.

5.1.3 Lexica

5.1.3.1 The Gesenius Tradition

5.1.3.1.1 GHCL

GHCL (1954:678-682) treats **פָנָה*** and **מִפָנָה** within its lexical entry. One may question that inclusion within **פָנָה*** on the basis of Gesenius' own methods for lexicography (see §2.3.1), specifically rule 8 regarding listing entries according to alphabet instead of root. Since Gesenius' grammar regarded **לפני** and **מפני** as mere combined prepositions rather than compound prepositions, it is understandable why Gesenius' lexical tradition would limit the status of **لפני** and **מפני** as something less than a "word". Yet, even Tregelles' edition (1954:680) notes that **פָנָה** with prepositions "often becomes in nature a particle". While particles may be small, indeclinable words, according to Dionysius Thraxe (Thraxe-Kemp [170-190 BCE] 1986:345), they are words nonetheless.

191. Assuming WO's functional frozen union perspective of **לפני** and **מפני**, one may argue that would properly be regarded as a compound preposition with **מן** and "frozen" as the prepositions that comprise a compound.

GHCL lists three categories to describe **לפנִי**: *in the presence of*, spatial and temporal *before*, and manner. The lexical entry also notes that **לפנִי** may mark causation in some places like 2 Sam 3:31, but this assertion is made on "doubtful authority" (GHCL 1954:681).

The notion of presence in GHCL (1954:680-681) is not monolithic. The lexicon notes that there are types of presence that may be evaluated in each respective context. For example, presence may be immediate, as in standing physically before someone or being in someone's sight (Num 8:22), or it could be metaphorical, ranging from supervision (2 Kgs 4:38) to perception (Dan 1:9). All of these can be counted together as presence in GHCL.

After presence, GHCL gathers examples to create a general category of spatial and temporal anteriority tagged as *before, in front of*. In addition to varieties of examples of place and time, GHCL also claims that **לפנִי** is also used to connote worth, citing Job 34:19. However, unlike the other categories that are a mixture of contextual varieties, this subcategory is only given one example as reference.

GHCL (1954:681) finally notes that **לפנִי** can be translated as *in the manner of, like*, again only citing one example (Job 4:19).

In a separate subcategory under **פָנָה** but separate from **לפנִי**, GHCL (ibid) records a lexical entry for **מלפנִי**, noting that it refers to an *away from* spatial relationship and is also used causally.

Following **מלפנִי**, GHCL lists as a subcategory of **פָנָה***. The lexicon describes two functions attributed to **מלפנִי**: the *away from* sense (as with **מלפנִי**) and cause (also as with **מלפנִי**). GHCL also notes that **מלפנִי** does in some cases occur in places where one might expect **לפנִי** as in Lev 19:32.

5.1.3.1.2 BDB

BDB's ([1906]2006:816-818) treatments of **לפנִי**, **מִלְפָנִי**, and **מִפְנִי** give more detail than those of GHCL. O'Connor's (2002:200) criticism of organization-by-pitchfork still applies in this case, as the categories are sometimes morphosyntactic, sometimes semantic, and other times collocational with no clear indication as to why. However, the sheer amount of examples that are given in BDB as opposed to GHCL highlights the contextual diversity in which these utterances occur.

For **לפנִי**, BDB ([1906]2006:816-817) records six descriptive categories: *at face*, *front*, other phrases, position, of places, time, and *in the manner of*, *like*. As stated above, these categories are a mix of semantics, translation glosses, and collocations. BDB handles its *at face*, *front* category in the same way that GHCL handles its *presence* category: contextual varieties are listed under this usage as differing examples, including metaphors of supervision and something being *at the disposal of* someone.

BDB's ([1906]2006:817) category for "other phrases" lists frequently occurring collocations giving the user the ability to treat phrases as whole chunks in context that do not need parsing out of individual morphemes. Such phrases include **עַמְדָה לְפָנִי** which means *to wait upon* or *be in attendance to* someone and **נוֹפָה לְפָנִי** which means *to be defeated before an enemy*.

In regards to position, BDB cites examples that show different types of position relationships that can all be translated into English as *before*. These positions include being in front of someone (facing them), being in front of others (not facing them), and, metaphorically, being socially superior to others.

Regarding **לפנִי** of places, BDB acknowledges that these instances are rare, only occurring before a place name, such as Pi-hahiroth in Ex 14:2. The directionality of these usages are not explained, thus a lexicon user may assume that these are spatial positions only differentiated

by a place name. Thus, whether or not this category should be subsumed under the "position" category may be questioned.

BDB also records **לפנִי**'s temporal usages monolithically, all as the same kind of anterior time—an analog of anterior space. BDB lastly notes **לפנִי**'s utility as an adverbial marker of manner. In a separate entry, BDB ([1906]2006:818) also records an *away from* sense and a causal usage for both **מפני** and **מלפנִי**.

5.1.3.1.3 HALOT

As its predecessors, HALOT (2000:vol 3, 941-943) describes **מפני** and **לפנִי** within its article on ***בנה**. The lexicographers illustrate eight senses for **לפנִי** with translation glosses: *before* (spatial), *to be scattered*, *in front of* someone with power, *before* (temporal), *according to the opinion of*, *at the disposal of*, *in the manner of*, and *away from* (with **מלפנִי**). Attention is given to the verbs that tend to accompany **לפנִי** in these various semantic contexts.¹⁹²

Building from these examples, HALOT notes its second semantic category for **לפנִי**: *to be scattered*. HALOT cites Jer 49:5 as an example and clarifies by stating that in this context **לפנִי** refers to one person being in front of another person. However HALOT also has a *one in front of another* sense, so it is unclear why this example is grouped in *to be scattered*. Keown, Scalise, and Smothers (1995:325) comment that this refers to people in a single-file line as they were led out as prisoners of war.¹⁹³

192. For the spatial *before* sense, HALOT (2000:vol 3, 941-942) first groups together verbs used with **לפנִי** in military terminology: **החרצָבָב** (Deut 9:2), **וְסַבֵּב** (Josh 7:4 and 2 Sam 24:13), **נִפְלָא** (1 Sam 14:13; 2 Sam 3:34), and the Nifal forms of **נִנְפַּךְ** (Lev 26:17; 1 Sam 4:2; 7:10; 2 Sam 10:15, 19). HALOT also groups together examples of **לפנִי** with verbs of motion, given only in English glosses) except for the phrase **ונִזְבַּח לְפָנֶיךָ**. Regarding **החרצָבָב**, it is curious as to why HALOT notes the inflected hitpael form of **צָבָב** while referring to the other verbs by their lexical form.

193. For other examples of this *one in front of another* sense, HALOT cites 1 Sam 5:4 and Isa 53:2 both of which are better explained as simple anterior motion or anterior presence (as opposed to single file motion; the distinction is clear with TR-LM diagrams in §5.3). 1 Sam 5:4 is about a statue of Dagon falling down in front of a motionless altar and Isa 53:2 is a metaphor about a person growing into adulthood in the presence of God. These latter spatial scenes are not similar with the single-file motion sense of Jer 49:5.

Thirdly, HALOT (2000:vol 3, 942) groups together examples of **לפנִי** referring to being in front of someone in power, oftentimes kings or Yahweh. HALOT notes that some verbs tend to accompany **לפנִי** in this semantic category like **עמד** **ישב** and.

The lexicographers then group together the temporal examples of **לפנִי**, citing verses such as Gen 27:7, 10; Deut 33:1, Isa 18:5 and Amos 1:1. It will be shown in §5.2.1e that this temporal category as described by the Gesenius tradition can be expanded upon and further refined. Just as there are a variety of spatial configurations that **לפנִי** may symbolize, so to can it symbolize more than one temporal configuration.¹⁹⁴

Next, HALOT describes an *according to the opinion of* or *in the view of* sense for **לפנִי**. The majority of the examples cited to justify this category are **לפנִי אלֹהִים** or **לפנִי יְהוָה**.¹⁹⁵ HALOT then moves to a category it describes as *at the disposal of* citing references wherein a TR *before* a LM can be taken, used, or put to the service of that LM (as in Gen 13:9; 24:51).

HALOT's (ibid) final semantic category for **לפנִי** is exclusively for the composite form **מלפנִי** and is glossed *away from*. HALOT does not note a causal usage as BDB (§5.1.3.1.2).

HALOT's (2000:Vol. 3, 943) description of **מִפְנֵי** is much shorter with only four categories: *away from*, *in front of*, comparative, and cause. The *away from* sense for **מִפְנֵי** is described in the same way as the *away from* sense for **מלפנִי**. HALOT's *in front of* sense for **מִפְנֵי** is described in the same way as that sense is for **לפנִי**. The comparative sense that HALOT alleges is only supported by Job 17:12. And the causal sense of **מִפְנֵי** is described in much the same way as BDB (§5.1.3.1.2).

194. In addition to §5.2 where this data is introduced, it can also quickly be referenced in the semantic network in §5.3 or in the data sets where all instances of **לפנִי** are listed canonically (available upon request).

195. It will be shown in §5.2 that **לפנִי** not only is used as a metaphor for how one sees or thinks about another person or thing, but also a metaphor for the speech of how one talks about another person or thing.

5.1.3.1.4 G18

G18 (2013:1062) sets its entry for **לפנִי** within the larger entry of the noun **פָנִים**, noting that the triconsonantal root *פְנַח* which is not used in BH (and not titling a lexical entry by it). G18 also confirms that the construct plural formation **פָנִי** is indeed a pseudo-plural.

The lexicographers divide G18's subentry for **לפנִי** into three parts: locative, temporal, and figurative. Locative usages cover a variety of spatial scenarios. Rather than making a taxonomy of locative usages, G18 simply gives contextual explanations and translations for many examples. This method is used also in the temporal and figurative categories. Locative usages are described as *before* a person or thing (Gen 23:12), occurring with verbs of motion (1 Sam 17:57), and usages with specific verbs are discussed, namely **יצא, עמד, קומ, בוא**, and **לֹא**. For example, G18 notes that with the verb **עמד**, the preposition **לפנִי** describes a formal audience with an authority (Gen 41:46).

G18 describes temporal usages of **לפנִי** as it appears in a variety of clause types. Some are made by morphosyntax (with infinitives as Gen 27:7) others by collocation (with certain verbs as Gen 29:26 or in certain phrases as Gen 30:30). While it glosses a few examples as *previously* (*zuvor* as Neh 13:4), the lexicon does not describe a semantic (sub)category distinct from other temporal usages. All temporal usages of **לפנִי** are in the same semantic category in G18. The lexicographers do, however, describe a nuanced use of **לפנִי** in Proverbs where the preposition symbolizes the temporal relationship between a preliminary cause and the resulting effect (Prov 15:33; 16:18). This is not a different semantic usage categorically in G18, but a more specific temporal usage that includes causal notions.

Lastly for **לפנִי**, G18 describes figurative usages of *priority or preference (von Vorrang oder Vorzug)* (Gen 48:20). In these cases, a TR is not (simply) spatially anterior to a LM, rather it is preferential.

G18 (2013:1062-1063) also gives an entry for **מלפנִי** within the other subentries for **ב-פנִי-with**-prepositions. The lexicographers note that **מלפנִי** describes 1) a sense of *away* (*weg*), often with verbs of motion (Jon 1:3), and 2) causality (*wegen*) (1 Sam 8:18).

5.1.3.2 DCH

Unlike all others, DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 557-563) lists **לפנִי** independently as its own word, rather than as a subcategory of ***פָנָה**. Further, DCH's (1993:Vol. 6, 705-708) lexical entry for **פָנָה** only describes the verb **פָנָה**. Whereas GHCL, BDB, and HALOT all note that **לפנִי** comes from ***פָנָה**. Instead, BH only preserves the plural form **פָנִים** and so DCH (1993:Vol. 6 709-721) records an entry for the plural form instead of the "proper" lexical form. Along this rationale of organization, **לפנִים** is also listed independently as its own word (DCH 1993:Vol. 4, 563).

DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 557-563) records two entries for **לפנִי**, one as adverb and the other as preposition. DCH distinguishes between the two by labeling the adverbial entry **לפנִי** and the prepositional entry **לפְנִי**. Even so, DCH acknowledges that the adverbial form is expressed by more than one morphology including **לפְנִי**. DCH's organization may be questioned as to why various morphologies, syntactical functions, and collocations are generally listed under the most common usage of a lexeme except in this case where an extra entry into the dictionary is made to distinguish adverb from preposition.

Adverbial **לפנִי** in DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 557-563) is given only one reference, 1 Kgs 6:17, despite that this verse has a text-critical issue that, if accepted, emends the verse to read as a simple spatial preposition.

DCH (ibid) does not attempt to describe what **לפנִי** means by any method of semantic description (other than a few English glosses), nor any word for that matter.¹⁹⁶ Instead, it

196. That is not its stated goal (§2.4.1)

gives a list of possible morphologies, some English translation glosses (*before*, *in front of*, *in the presence of*, and sometimes *against*), and then proceeds to document all known morphosyntactic constructions that include **לפנִי** in ancient Hebrew. This list of all collocations and morphosyntactic patterns is DCH's main contribution.

DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 557-563) only records four categories for prepositional **לפנִי**: the preposition followed by a noun or pronominal suffix, the phrase **לפנִי מזה** which only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible, **לפנִי** as a conjunction, and **לפנִי** with verbs. Following this, there is a separate entry for **מלפנִי** within DCH's article on **לפנִי**.

Both the **-לפנִי**-followed-by-nouns and **-לפנִי**-with-verbs categories are made by syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis thus making the groupings of examples for each subcategory—though morphosyntactic in nature—semantically based. In practice, this results in categories that, when possible, are grouped based on kinds of semantic similarity.¹⁹⁷

For example, **-לפנִי**-followed-by-nouns are subcategorized into groups of nouns. The first group starts with **אלְהִים** and includes other kinds of divine identifications and related items (like idols and angels) (DCH 1993:Vol. 4, 557-558). The second and third subcategories group names of persons and tribes (DCH 1993:Vol. 4, 558). The third subcategory organizes mass count nouns for groups of people. The fourth and fifth subcategories record kinds of humans in terms of relationships to others and kinds of humans with power/authority. The sixth subcategory is a group of semantically unrelated items. The seventh subcategory consists of types of animals and plants. The eighth subcategory consists of place designations, including both place names and generic nouns. The final subcategory is another mixed category of semantically unrelated items including time nouns, weather nouns,

197. Clines writes of syntagmatic analysis, "If the semantic or 'sense' divisions are close to one another, the syntagmatic analysis follows the semantic analysis as a whole; but if the senses are more distinct, the syntagmatic analysis is carried out for each sense separately (DCH 1993: Vol. 1, 19)."

emotions, and even numbers.

The subcategories that DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 560-562) makes for the **ל-בְּנִי**-with-verbs category also seem to follow a general syntagmatic organization. DCH lists existence verbs, verbs of body motion within personal space, dominance/submission verbs, communication verbs, general verbs of motion, verbs of specific motion, location-bound verbs, unrelated verbs, and semi-related verbs (including a group of verbs on the range of moral acceptability, along with verbs of death/uselessness).

In between the **ל-בְּנִי**-followed-by-nouns and **ל-בְּנִי**-with-verbs categories, DCH posits two other categories: the collocation **לְפָנֵי מָה** and **לְפָנֵי לְפָנֵי** and **לְפָנֵי מָה** as-conjunction. The phrase **לְפָנֵי מָה** only occurs once in the Bible (Neh 13:4). While DCH does record this rare phrase, it does not relay to the dictionary-user that this occurrence symbolizes temporal (as opposed to spatial) anteriority. The description of what such phrases mean might well be outside of DCH's stated goals, but such a lacuna limits the usefulness of a dictionary for students. In the same way, the **לְבְנִי**-as-conjunction category is also described without reference to what it could mean. DCH does not mention that **לְבְנִי** can be used to symbolize causal relationships.

For **מִלְבְּנִי**, DCH (1993:Vol. 4, 562-563) records two semantic subcategories expressed by English translation: *from before, from the presence of* and *on account of, because of*. These semantic categories are further subcategorized into "with noun" and "with verb" groups, citing all the possible nominal and verbal combinations.

Regarding **מִפְנִי**, DCH (1993:Vol. 6. 716-719) organizes the data into four categories: *from before the presence of* (subcategorized into "with noun" and "with verb" syntagmatic groups), *because of, on account of* (likewise subcategorized syntagmatically), *away from*, and the phrase **מִפְנִי אֲשֶׁר** which DCH says functions as a conjunction and can be translated *because*. The latter two categories do not include syntagmatic subcategories. Semantically, the first

and third categories that DCH makes for מִפְנֵי are redundant. They are both described with similar English glosses regarding movement away from a *face* or *presence*.

5.1.4 Recent work: Hardy (2014)

Hardy (2014:303-313) posits two basic semantic usages for לִפְנֵי: spatial and temporal. He argues for a three-stage grammaticalization process described the figure below.

Stage:	I	II	III
PREP + N	*'TO + 'face'	*'TO + 'face'	
PREP		IN FRONT OF	IN FRONT OF
PREP/ADVZ			BEFORE

Figure 29: Taken from Hardy (2014:314)

Hardy's three stages for לִפְנֵי represent three alleged periods in time: 1) a period in time when לִ combined with the BH *face* noun, 2) a period in time when, simultaneously, לִ combined with the BH *face* noun and the whole construction stood as a chunk symbolizing IN FRONT OF, 3) and a period in time when the chunk symbolized both IN FRONT OF and BEFORE but its original composite form of לִ + *face* had been lost.

The problem for any BH scholar who tries to describe any form of *פָנָה that is not a verb is that it does not exist in BH. As stated, the only nominal form of פָנָה that exists in BH is the plural פָנִים and its construct form. So, it may be problematic to postulate a combination of לִ with BH *face* without specifically identifying what *face* is. פָנִים refers to a creature's face ten times in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁹⁸ There is no evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls or other textual variants that offer an alternative orthography to פָנִים or an instance of a singular form. Note that in §5.1.1, the phoneme *-m* terminated many occurrences of פָנָה's comparative Semitic counterparts. Since a *-m* ending is so frequent in Semitic languages, and exclusive in BH, it is plausible to hypothesize that *face* never existed in a singular form in ancient northern Semitic, but rather might have always been expressed as a plurality.¹⁹⁹ From an embodied

198. Deut 5:4; Jer 2:27; 18:17; 32:33; Ezk 1:6; 2:4; 10:14, 21; 2 Chr 25:17, 21.

199. No matter which side of the frequency in grammaticalization debate one comes out on (see §2.6.1.2),

cognitive view, it is tempting to speculate that this is because of the symmetrical nature of human and animal faces. Further research into such possible typologies is warranted.

Hardy's third stage of grammaticalization witnesses the emergence of the temporal adverbial usage and sees the loss of the alleged first stage ($\text{ל} + \text{BH face noun}$). Hardy does not explain why this adverbial category of time is different from the prepositional category of space. Instances of **לפָנִי** modifying a verb are deemed prepositions in the first and second grammaticalization stages (as in the treatment of Jos 17:4 in Hardy 2014:307), but in the third stage when **לפָנִי** modifies a verb it is deemed an adverb (as in Jos 10:14 in Hardy 2014:310). The only distinction seems to be that the latter group is semantically temporal.

Hardy's (2014) analysis of the grammatical stages observable in the **לפָנִי** data is confirmed and built upon in §5.4.3; however, it does not account for all of **לפָנִי**'s usages. One may hypothesize that Hardy's two-part semantic description of **לפָנִי** (spatial and temporal) limited the possible grammatical stages that could be observed along the cline. If, albeit following a small amount of lexicographic data (as described in §5.1.3), one also assumes a causal semantic usage, then one might also more readily observe grammaticalization of **לפָנִי** into a conjunction, rather than ending the cline at preposition/adverb(ializer) (see Fig. 17).

Regarding **מִפָּנִי**, Hardy (2014:330-334) describes the same two usages—*away from* and cause—that all other scholars have described for the composite form. He postulates a two-stage grammaticalization process wherein the *away from* usage gives rise to the causal usage.

5.1.5 Literature review summary

This section addresses four issues with the reviewed literature that will be taken up throughout this chapter and a solution will be offered in the conclusion for each of them. Each problematic issue will be stated, then it will be shown how usage-based methods are

frequency is still related to grammaticalization. Thus, the frequency of *-m* terminations across ancient northern Semitic *face* nouns is evidence which should not be ignored.

needed to address these problems. The issues are 1) the unexplained relationship between the verb פָנַה and the noun and relational forms of פָנַה in BH literature, 2) the debates in BH grammars over whether מ/לפְנֵי is a word or not, 3) how to account for and organize the poly- and heterosemies symbolized by מ/לפְנֵי, and 4) the lack of a description of the more abstract grammatical usages of מ/לפְנֵי in Hardy (2014) which are described in the traditional BH lexica.

5.1.5.1 What about the verb?

The comparative Semitic data displays the body part noun-to-relational usages over time for the root /pn̥h/. Comparative Semitics also attests verbal usages of /pn̥h/ that may contribute to an understanding of the relationship between its' nominal, relational, and verbal usages in North Semitic. Yet despite Gesenius' lexicographic rule to treat the language historically (see §2.3.1), the lexica of the Gesenius tradition all list the verb פָנַה first and then the noun and then the noun with prepositions.

If one assumes grammaticalization theory, then one might find it plausible, based on the comparative Semitic analysis (see §5.1.1), that the verbal usages of /pn̥h/ developed after the noun and relational usages (like preposition, adverb, and conjunction) because verbal usages of the phoneme are only attested in the youngest layers of Babylonian languages while noun and relational usages are ubiquitous. This is not to say that such an evolutionary path for פָנַה is observable in BH, but rather that it is plausible that a BH writer/editor communicated meaningful concepts—from things (nouns) to spatial and temporal relationships (prepositions/adverbs) to grammatical relationships (conjunctions) to actions (verbs)—with shapes of a BH phoneme, inherited from neighboring languages, that had already become entrenched in a wide variety of linguistic contexts in Northwestern Semitic.²⁰⁰ If this case is plausible, then a lexicographer tasked with Gesenius' rules could, with good reason, group all usages of *פָנַה

200. Again, as stated in §5.1.1, the evidence for this is limited to latter Babylonian languages and can be viewed as speculative without more typological evidence. Still, there is some evidence to support this hypothesis.

under one heading starting with the noun and ending with the verb, rather than vice-versa. This might seem like a superficial change of order; however, with some explanation to the user, this could give a lexicon greater explanatory power than those that do not fully address this historical issue by situating a BH lexicon within the greater scholarly body of knowledge of comparative Semitics.

5.1.5.2 Are מִפְנֵי and לְפָנֵי actually words?

The Gesenius tradition categorized מִלְפָנֵי as a morpho-semantic type of composite preposition and thus not a semantically pure preposition that evolved from a noun, like אחר. Some grammars disputed whether they should be regarded as *combined* or *complex* or *compound* so that the "semantic force" (§5.1.2.1) of each morpheme could be properly accounted for. The neo-structuralist functional grammars note the composite morphology of מִפְנֵי and לְפָנֵי, and nevertheless regard them as a functional unit (i.e. WO's "frozen unit", see §5.1.2.2) that may be wholly taken as a semantic chunk.

Now, traditional structuralist tools of syntagmatic and paradigmatic analysis can now be used in conjunction with a usage-based tools like grammaticalization theory to account for the semantic-pragmatic contributions of morphemes in a composite formation, like מִלְפָנֵי. These words symbolize evolutionary paths across North Semitic of a variety of noun and relational usages of מִלְפָנֵי that were used by the writers and editors of the Hebrew Bible. In many of these usages, the prefixed מִ or לְ symbolizes a prototypical function that one expects from consulting a grammar or lexicon, and thus does not need to be detailed. These may be regarded as composite compounds, as the philological tradition insists. However, there are other, more abstract, usages symbolized by מִלְפָנֵי wherein the prefixes seem to have lost their semantic value and are only included by convention and not because of grammatical necessity. Rather than labeling the whole data set of מִלְפָנֵי as either kinds of composites or as functional units, usage-based approaches provide the opportunity to identify which utterances

are composites of two words and which are utterances where the two words have become a frozen union by building upon the semantic-pragmatic analysis of the Gesenius tradition.

5.1.5.3 If they give the same information, why are the lexica different?

The lexica—while consistent with the kinds of lexicographic descriptions that each offer—differ quite noticeably on how they group their descriptions of **לפנִי** and **מִפְנִי**. GHCL posits 3 basic categories (each with room for metaphors) for **לפנִי** while BDB posits 6 and HALOT posits 8. DCH does not offer semantic descriptions, rather noting that **לפנִי** functions as both preposition and adverb and then lists collocations of relevant prepositional and adverbial phrases. Certainly all the lexicographers surveyed have a clear understanding of what **לפנִי** and **מִפְנִי** mean in various passages of the Hebrew Bible. However, they do not clearly explain why their categories are made the way they are.²⁰¹ What is treated as its own unique category in HALOT had previously been handled as a metaphor within one of three basic categories in GHCL. Usages described by GHCL and HALOT, might be ignored by BDB altogether. O'Connor's (2002:200) comment about BDB's "haphazard" nature of organization can thus also be seen in other lexica by comparing them.

These three issues alone justify more work in applying usage-based methods to the scholarly consensus and even recent innovations regarding **לפנִי** and **מִפְנִי**.

5.2 Data collection and analysis²⁰²

The data for **מִפְנִי** and **לפנִי** is substantial. The preposition **ל** prefixed to a non-verbal form of **פָנָה** occurs 1,128 times in the BHS. Since the search terms only stipulate the preposition **ל** prefixed to any noun form of ***פָנָה** and do not exclude any other phenomenon, the results also

201. Though Clines' DCH is much more thorough in stating the goals for the dictionary, this is even true of DCH. It accomplishes its goal of describing syntagmatic collocations and paradigmatic partners for the words of ancient Hebrew, but does not clearly state why certain groups of words (be they nouns or verbs) are selected to show how they pair with **לפנִי** nor why certain groups are formed that have no semantic similarity at all (as shown in §5.1.3.2).

202. See §4.2 and §3.4 for details on the processes summarized here.

include 73 instances of **מלפני**, 22 instances of **לפנים**, and 2 instances of **מלפנים**. These exemplars may be subtracted from the 1,128 total results of the initial search, yielding 1,031 instances of **לפני**. These 1,128 instances are listed and categorized in canonical order in the data sets (available upon request).

The preposition **מן** prefixed to a non-verbal form of **פנה** occurs 307 times in the BHS. These occurrences include 1 instance of the full plural form **מפניים** and the other 306 occurrences are the construct form **מפני**. All of these instances are listed and categorized in canonical order in the data sets (available upon request).

Both **מן** and **מפני** occur in a wide variety of contexts. In this chapter, the specific morphologies listed above will be described by their semantic-pragmatic framings. The summaries of §5.2.1-§5.2.2 will describe the usages that these various morphologies may symbolize.²⁰³

5.2a Excursus * $\text{מן}/\text{לפנִי}$ + פנה^*

But first, a brief excursus on the significance of studying **מן/לפני** from a semantic perspective is warranted. The semantic-pragmatic subcategories for **מן/לפני**'s relational usages are established a bit differently than those of **אחר** or **זהה**. While this dissertation applies the toolbox methodology described in §3.4 throughout, the reality of the data is that a separate question must be asked at the outset of analysis of the usages of **מן/לפני** that is not necessarily asked at the outset of analyzing **אחר** or **זהה**. That question is *Are the semantic-pragmatic features of /ן/מן/לפני in various contexts attributable to **מן/לפני** as a chunk or to the prefixed prepositions **מן** and **ל**, respectively, along with the force of a verb in a given context?* The relevance of the question to lexicography lies in category-making. The stated task of this section is to describe the usages of **מן/לפני**, not the usages of **מן** and **ל**. Thus the lexicographic method must have

203. Complete reference lists are given in the semantic network in §5.3.

some way of ensuring that each posited poly- and heterosemy of מ/לפַנִי is not simply a typical usage of מ or ל that gets conflated with פַנִי whenever מ and ל appear as prefixes. These include traditional methods such as referring to past lexicographers, syntagmatic analysis, use in combination with other morphemes, and also the best-practices of usage-based methods like frame semantic analysis, identifying semantic overlap, and frequency of a configuration in a network. This is not to imply that each of these listed is a step in a criteria-based verification process. Rather, each of these is an analytical tool that can be used as evidence for the lexical semantic groupings made.

Still, grammaticalization theory has established some expectations as to how usages might have changed over time. Assuming grammaticalization theory (§2.6), one may expect that מ and ל prefixed to פַנִי will symbolize their most prototypical semantic-pragmatic frames: the space traversed toward a landmark, in this case a *face* of something. Most often this *face* refers to not the literal body-part, but rather a person's anterior personal space. Personal space in these cases most often refers to immediate presence within speaking or touching distance of another. Thus the notion of movement in a particular direction within a clause like בָא לְפַנִי is symbolized by the verbal form of בָא and the preposition ל. From this perspective, לפַנִי does not symbolize the space (and time) traversed toward personal space; ל does. The *personal space of* something in the clause is the end-target goal of the movement. However, grammaticalization theory predicts that frequent usage would give rise to לפַנִי used in more diverse contexts. As this contextual diversity increases, ל will become semantically bleached and the functions of the prefix or noun will become indistinguishable from the function of the whole. At this stage of fusion between two morphemes ל + פַנִי into one functional lexical unit (WO's "frozen unit", §5.1.2.2), the analytical tools listed above will be used as needed to help in the category-making process for semantic description.

5.2.1 לְפָנִי

Preposition לְ plus the construct plural form פָנִים occurs 1,031 times in the Hebrew Bible. Its usages are the most diverse of all the forms of *פָנה* discussed in this dissertation.

5.2.1a Anterior anatomy

infrequently (4 times)²⁰⁴ symbolizes anatomy, either a face or front of something (1 Kgs 6:20).

1 Kgs 6:20 The front of the sanctuary was twenty cubits long, twenty cubits wide, and twenty cubits high; he overlaid it with pure gold. He also overlaid the altar with cedar. (author's)

וּלְפָנֵי הַדֶּבֶר עֲשָׂרִים אַמֹת אָרֶךְ וְעֲשָׂרִים אַמֹת רֶחֶב וְעֲשָׂרִים אַמֹת קָוָמָתוֹ וַיַּצְבֹּהוּ זָהָב סָגָר וַיַּצְבֹּה מִזְבֵּחַ אֶרְזָה:

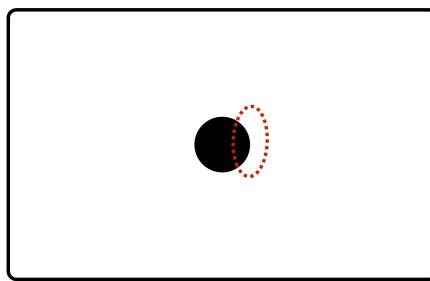


Figure 30: Face/front

One might expect that the ל on לְפָנִי in 1 Kgs 6:20 might be measuring from one point to another because measurements in BH are sometimes expressed in מ...ל (from-to) relationships as in 1 Kgs 7:31. However, that is not the case. There is no מ in 1 Kgs 6:20 (or v19) that relates to the ל in לְפָנִי at the beginning of v20, as in 1 Kgs 7:31

1 Kgs 7:31 And its opening from the inside to the top and upwards was a cubit. (author's)

וּפְיהִיו מִבֵּית לְפָתָת וּמִעַל בָּאָמֹת

5.2.1b Anterior locative

most frequently symbolizes anterior spatial relationships.²⁰⁵ These relationships can be motionless (2 Kgs 4:38), or with verbs of motion (2 Sam 18:9), and they are often metaphors for proximity to God or being in God's sight or presence (1 Sam 1:12).

2 Kgs 4:38 (The) prophets were sitting before him, (NRSV)

הַנְבִיאִים יְשֻׁבִים לְפָנָיו

2 Sam 18:9 Absalom happened to come into the presence of the servants of David (author's).

וַיָּקֹרֶא אַבְשָׁלוֹם לְפָנֵי עָבָדִי דָן

204. 1 Kgs 6:20; Ezk 40:15, 19b; Est 4:2. Also related is a form of לְפָנִים in 1 Kgs 6:29 which is addressed in §5.2.1.1.

205. *Anterior* is used here first in an anatomical sense referring to the front of a body, as the opposite of *posterior* (as used for רְאֵא in §4).

1 Sam 1:12 As she continued praying before the Lord, Eli observed her mouth. (NRSV) וְהִיא כִּי הַרְבָּתָה לְחַזְפֵּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיַּלְמֹד שָׁמֶר אֲתִפְחָה:

Anterior locative spatial relationships are symbolized by a TR (prophets in 2 Kgs 4:38, Absalom in 2 Sam 18:9, and she (Hannah) in 1 Sam 1:12) that is anterior to a LM (him (Elisha) in 2 Kgs 4:38, David's servants in 2 Sam 18:9, and the Lord in 1 Sam 1:12). These spatial relationships do not symbolize motion, but they can occur in contexts of motion (2 Sam 18:9).

In these cases, ל marks relationships in its prototypically unspecialized sense, which BHRG §39.11 describes as "x as far as y is concerned". Thus ל marks that the prophets sat in relation to Elisha in 2 Kgs 4:38. ל indicates that social contact occurred between Absalom and David's men in 2 Sam 18:9. ל localizes Hannah praying in her setting, at the Temple in Shiloh, as being in divine presence in 1 Sam 1:12.

A significant question asked of לפי in BH might not be *What meaning is attributable to ל and what is not?* but rather alternatively *Why is ב used at all in these cases along with ל?* In 2 Kgs 4:38, ב clearly construes the phrase in a way that could not be done without it. Of the verb ב's 1,087 occurrences, 234 of them occur with the preposition ב immediately following and only 45 occur with the preposition ל immediately following. Still less, only 10 of those 45 are ל. Consider the phrase ... ב in Genesis. This verb plus preposition occurs 32 times across 29 verses in Genesis.²⁰⁶ All but 4 of them refer to *dwelling in* or *occupying* a location (Gen 4:16) rather than *sitting* to talk with someone as in 2 Kgs 4:38.²⁰⁷

206. Gen 4:16; 13:7, 12, 18; 14:7, 12; 16:3; 19:1, 29, 30; 21:20, 21; 22:19; 23:10; 24:3, 37, 62; 26:6; 34:21, 30; 36:8; 37:1; 38:14; 45:10; 46:34; 47:6, 27; 49:24; 50:22.

207. These four are Gen 19:1; 23:10; 38:14; 49:24. Both Gen 19:1 and 38:14 refer to *sitting in the gate of a city*. Gen 49:24 is poetry and refers to a steady archer. This leaves only Gen 23:10 which is the closest to the 2 Kgs 4:38 as it refers to sitting among (בתוכם) others, but still not necessarily an anterior configuration. The verb ב followed by ל in Genesis occurs 4 times: Gen 21:16; 22:5; 34:22; 37:25. None of these are configurationally similar to 2 Kgs 4:38.

Gen 4:16 Then Cain went away from the presence of the Lord, and settled in the land of Nod, east of Eden.
 וַיֵּצֵא קַיִן מִלְפָנֵי יְהוָה וַיֵּשֶׁב בַּאֲרָצָן-נוֹד קָדְמַת-עָדִין: (NRSV)

In 2 Kgs 4:38, the personal space construal of פְּנֵי is significant, symbolizing close interpersonal contact, which the NET Bible translates as "were visiting". This usage of לְפָנֵי is employed in a way that the preposition בְ or לְ alone with יִשְׁבֶּה never are. This anterior proximity can be symbolized by Fig. 31.

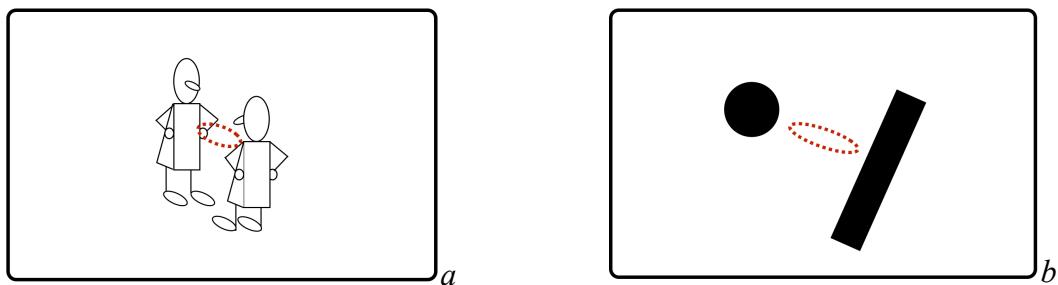


Figure 31: Anterior Locative

These anterior spatial relationships can also symbolize movement toward the *face* or *front* of something (2 Sam 18:9 above, or 2 Sam 20:8). While the movement is indicated by a verb of motion and the inseparable preposition לְ, the movement as a whole is construed with the *face* anthropomorphism. These usages can be represented with similar TR-LM graphs, but they also indicate motion along a path terminating in a location immediately anterior to the LM (Fig. 32).

2 Sam 20:8a When they were at the large stone that is in Gibeon,
 Amasa came to meet them. (NRSV)

הֵם עִם־חָאכִים תְּגַדְּלָה אֲשֶׁר בְּגַעַן וְעַמְשָׂא בְּאָלֶף
 לְפָנֵיכֶם

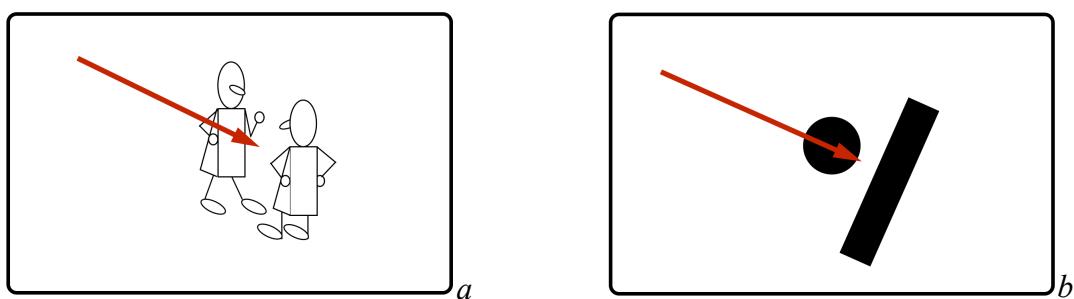


Figure 32: Anterior Locative (motion)

The motion symbolized in the frame is instantiated in the mind of a hearer by לְפָנֵי in 2 Sam 20:8a. However, the use of לְפָנֵי construes the location at which the movement

terminates as an egocentric metonym representing more than one person.

5.2.1c Preceding and ablative-anterior motion

לפנִי may also symbolize two other kinds of motion: preceding motion and ablative-anterior motion.²⁰⁸ Preceding motion is different from the kind of motion that verbs and **ל** used in the anterior locative frame symbolize. In preceding motion both the TR and LM are moving in the same direction but the TR is moving in front of the LM (Num 10:33).

Num 10:33 So they set out from the mount of the Lord three days' journey with the ark of the covenant of the Lord going before them three days' journey, to seek out a resting place for them, (NRSV)

וַיֵּצְא מֹשֶׁה וְתֹהֶה דָּרְךָ שָׁלְשָׁת יְמִים וְאַרְנוֹן
בְּרִית יְהָוָה נִסְעָה לְפָנָיהם דָּרְךָ שָׁלְשָׁת יְמִים לְתוֹר
לְקַם מִנְחָה:

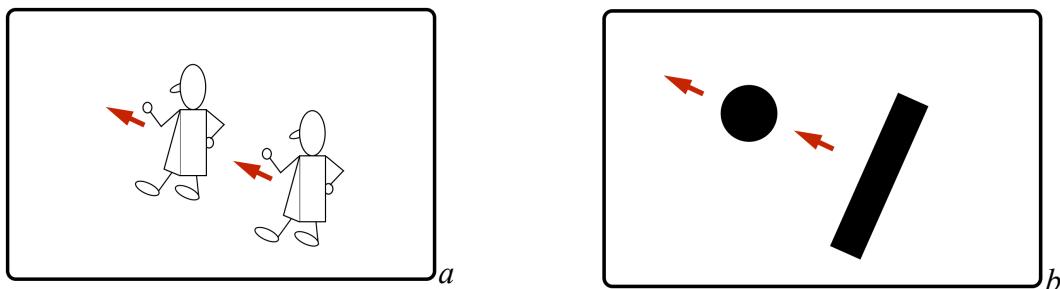


Figure 33: Preceding motion

Preceding motion is evidence of **לפנִי** becoming a functional chunk in BH as configuration is not explainable by the preposition **ל** + an anterior LM. This configuration is similar to the posterior motion frame that **אחר** sometimes symbolizes (§4.3) (such as Ruth 2:2). While this usage cannot be solely attributed to **לפנִי** but rather to the whole context, it nevertheless symbolizes an alternative frame of motion.

Ruth 2:2 And Ruth the Moabite said to Naomi, “Let me go to the field and glean among the ears of grain, behind someone in whose sight I may find favor.” She said to her, “Go, my daughter.”

וְתָאַמֵּר רָות הַמֹּאֲבוֹת אֶל־יָעָמִי אֶל־כְּהַנָּא הַשְׁדָה
וְאֶלְקָטָה בְּשָׂבְּתִים אַחֲר אֲמֹתָא־הַן בְּעִינָיו
וְתָאַמֵּר לָה לְכִי בְּקִי:

Such a similarity could be considered evidence for the point that Lyle (2012:8-10), following Riemer (2010:254), makes against the use of TR-LM frame semantic diagrams. Because such configurational images are not restricted to only describing one word, but rather can be used to describe a number of words (such as both **לפנִי** and **אחר** in this case), these linguists have chosen not to employ the graphic tool at all. However, another way to interpret this similarity

208. See §5.1.3.2 where BDB also notes this diversity of motion.

is to simply acknowledge contextual relativity. Depending on what a particular LM is in a given context, a TR entering its' close personal space (even near close personal space) will be construed in an egocentric appropriate way for that particular context.²⁰⁹

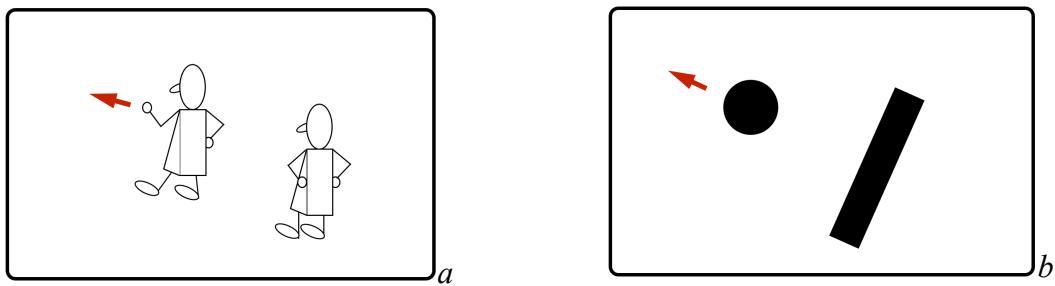
Ablative-anterior motion is not a semantic category of its own, yet it is a significant usage worthy of attention (generally described as the *away from* sense, §5.1.3). Whereas motion in anterior locative frames symbolizes a TR moving into the personal space of a LM and in preceding motion both the TR and LM are moving "forward", the ablative-anterior frame symbolizes a LM which is perceived to be motionless with a TR in ablative motion in relation to the LM's anterior (2 Sam 24:4). This usage is most frequent with an ablative בְּנֵן as a prefix (WO 1990:212). Only one other occurrence besides 2 Sam 24:4 is attested of לִפְנֵי symbolizing ablative-anterior motion (Num 22:33), but it has text-critical issues suggesting an emendation to a prefixed בְּנֵן. Despite this lone occurrence, 2 Sam 24:4 is evidence of לִפְנֵי being treated as a chunk because it is used in a wider spatial context (ablative in this case) to symbolize motion more often expressed with בְּנֵן.²¹⁰

2 Sam 24:4 So Joab and the commanders of the army went out from the presence of the king to take a census of the people of Israel (NRSV).

וַיָּצֹא יוֹאכִיל וְשָׁרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ לִפְנֵי אֶת-הָעָם אֲחִישָׁרָאֵל:

209. What is the embodied basis for this difference in construal? Clearly, the body part terms *face* and *back* indicate egocentric thought. Langacker (2008:82-83) also discusses the embodied perspective of sight as an analog for understanding construal in this way. Scanning—a linguistic analytical metaphor for human sight—is a method of cognitive construal. For example, a videographer could record a very tall tree that cannot fit in frame and so would have to choose where to begin recording: at the bottom and move the camera up to view the whole tree, or from the top moving down. This movement of the camera is scanning. One might argue that the אחר following frame and the לפני preceding motion frame are so similar because they are an embodied experience the same thing. The difference is in the angle of scanning (also called, viewing arrangement). אחר scans a scene from the back. לפני may scan the same scene from the front.

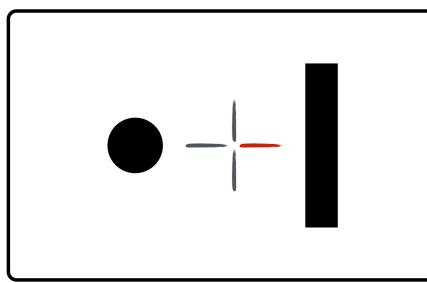
210. While the verb צָאָה in this case certainly symbolizes motion, יצא most often symbolizes preceding motion with לפני or ablative-anterior motion with an ablative בְּנֵן (in מִלְפָנֵי or מִבְּנֵן). This is the sole, uncontested occurrence of צָאָה לִפְנֵי symbolizing ablative-anterior motion in the Hebrew Bible. The difference between this ablative-anterior motion and an ablative without פְּנֵי is that the ablative-anterior frame is necessarily construed as a spatial egocentrism.

**Figure 34:** Ablative-anterior motion**5.2.1d Geographic relation**

In addition to its locative usages, **לפנִי** is also specifically used for geographic relations (Gen 23:17). Wenham (2006:124) notes that some instances of **לפנִי** are best explained as a cardinal direction (*east*) or at least spatial indicators of geographically fixed points (*next to*). This would not be the only case of an egocentric body part term being used as a direction. The root forms **אחר** and **תחת** are likewise used as *west* (Isa 9:12) and *south* (1 Kgs 4:12), respectively. It is plausible that **לפנִי** as *east* corresponds to **אחר** as *west*. Rather than being allocentric usages based on embodied experience with the sun, it is likely that since the *west* is most often conceived as the Mediterranean Sea (often symbolized with ☀) and thus thought to be *behind* **אחר** an ancient Hebrew, then **לפנִי**—conceiving *face* as the opposite of *behind/back*—would plausibly symbolize the *east*.

Gen 23:17 So the field of Ephron in Machpelah, which was to the east of Mamre, the field with the cave that was in it and all the trees that were in the field, throughout its whole area, passed... (NRSV)

וַיָּקֹם שְׁעִיר עֶפְרֹן אֲשֶׁר בַּמִּכְפֵּלָה אֲשֶׁר לְפִנִּי מִמְּגַדְּלָה וְמִמְּעָרָה אֲשֶׁר בָּבוֹן וְכָל-קְצִין אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׂמְךָ אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל-גְּבֻלוֹ סְבִיבָה:

**Figure 35:** Geographic location**5.2.1e Temporal relationships**

לפנִי also symbolizes temporal relationships. The previously reviewed literature notes such usages (§5.1.2-3); however, they do not note a diversity in temporal usages. Here, as conversely with **אחר** (see §4.1.3.5.1a, f), a usage difference between temporal deixis and

sequence can be acknowledged. Anterior deictic time refers to a temporally fixed LM in order to profile a TR that never "moves past" the LM (Ex 10:14). This is an occurrence profiled in terms of past/future relationships, fitting the description of temporal deixis (Evans 2013:81-113). The majority of these instances in BH describe the unique nature of a special LM that is unlike any TR temporally before or after it.

Ex 10:14 Before it (the swarm of locusts), there had not been locusts like them and after it there will not be

לֹבֶנְיוֹ לְאַ-תִּנְהֵה כִּن אָרְבָּה בְּמַהוּ וְאַחֲרָיו לֹא
יִהִי כִּנְ

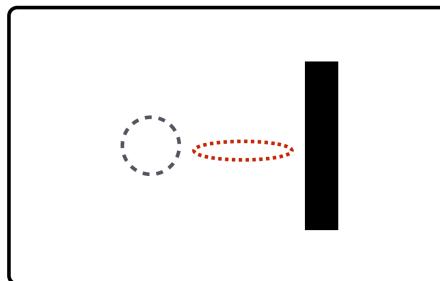


Figure 36: Anterior deictic time

BH also attests an anterior sequential time usage that refers to one event (TR) that is temporally anterior to the next event (LM) in sequence, which has yet to occur from the TR's perspective (1 Chr 22:5). A sequential temporal usage does not profile an occurrence in terms of past/future relationships, but rather symbolizes the earlier/latter relationship between constituents (Evans 2013:114-126).

1 Chr 22:5 So David made extensive preparations before his death.

וַיְהִי דָּנֵיד לְרַב לְפָנֵי מָותָה

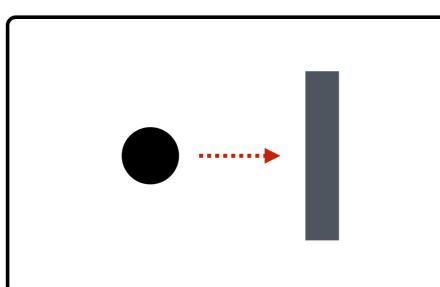


Figure 37: Sequential time

In this case, the TR—the whole clause לְרַב דָּנֵיד—*is construed as an event anterior to a grounding event (the LM and object of the preposition) מָותָה*. Or to simplify, sequential time describes one event anterior to another event while deictic time does not describe events in sequence at all. Sequence time is not a separate category from deictic time. Sequence may

be regarded as a variety of deictic time. The TR-LM diagrams of deictic and sequential time are not configurationally different, rather the viewing arrangement (or "scanning") of events by the speaker is different.

5.2.1f Service metaphor

לְפָנֵי in the Hebrew Bible is also used in frequently occurring metaphors. A common metaphor is the service metaphor which has been noted by previously reviewed lexicographers (§5.1.3). BDB ([1906]2006:817) noted that this metaphor symbolizes *waiting upon* or *attending to* someone with authority and that is most frequently occurs with the verb עַמְךָ (Dan 1:5) and HALOT (2000:Vol. 3, 941) labeled this usage *in front of someone with power*.

Dan 1:5 ...at the end of that time they could stand before the king/serve the king

וּמְקֹצֶם יִעֲמֹד לְפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ

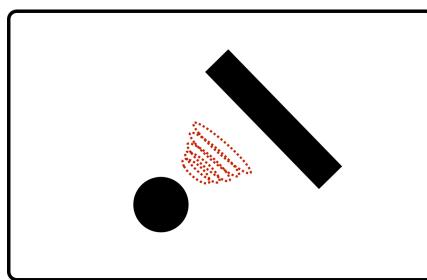


Figure 38: Service metaphor

This usage is also expressed in verbless clauses. This is evidence that the usage may be considered a semantic category and also that לְפָנֵי was treated as a chunk instead of as combined constituents.

1 Sam 16:16 Let our lord now command the servants who attend you to look for someone who is skillful in playing the lyre; and when the evil spirit from God is upon you, he will play it, and you will feel better.” (NRSV)

יאָמַר־נָא אֲדֹגֶנוּ שָׁבְדִיךְ לְפָנֵיךְ יַבְקַשׁ אִישׁ יְדֻעַ
מְנֻעַן בְּכָנֹור וְתַהַה בְּחִזּוֹת עַלְיךְ רַוִּיחַ־אֱלֹהִים רַעַת
וְגַעַן בְּרוּךְ לְךָ בָּ

5.2.1g Dominance cluster

BDB (ibid) and HALOT (ibid) also noted that לְפָנֵי occurs in authority/control metaphors (*at the disposal of* in HALOT). As BDB writes, these are instances with the verb נִנְפַּךְ wherein someone is defeated by an enemy. However, lexicographers do not note the grammatical nature nor diversity of such constructions (2 Chr 14:11).

2 Chr 14:11 So the Lord defeated the Cushites before Asa and before Judah, and the Cushites fled.

וַיָּנַפְתֵּח יְהוָה אֹתָהֶכְשָׁוִים לְפָנֵי אָסָא וּלְפָנֵי יְהוָה
וְגַם־סֶבֶב כְּפֹשִׁים:

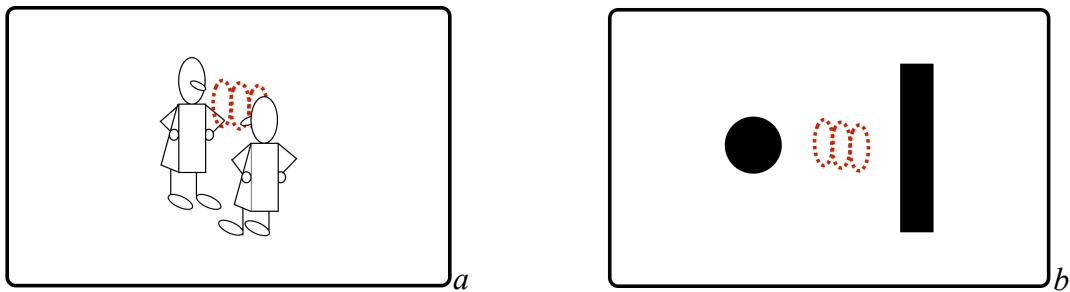


Figure 39: Dominance metaphor

In this frame (b), the Asa and Judah are the dominant superiors (LM) in a control relationship (rings) with the Cushites (TR). Yahweh, subject of the verse and agent of the defeat, is not pragmatically in view in this control relationship. This is relevant to one's understanding of נִנְפֵּת לְפָנֵי in this verse. Yahweh, according to the text, defeated the Cushites. Dillard (1987:118-119) identifies a holy war motif in this passage which describes a human battle scene in terms of divine leadership on one side, Asa's in this case. So, a reader rightly understands that an ANE god did not appear in this battle and defeat the Cushites in the presence of Asa and his men. Rather this is a way to construe a battle in a narrative as divinely orchestrated. The ablative motion is symbolized by the final נִנְפֵּת clause and פָנֵי symbolizes authority or power in some cases (Gen 43:3, 5; Ex 10:28). And within this battle context, the metaphor of *face-personal space as dominance* is appropriate given that the TR is construed as within the LM's space of authority.

In fact, of the verb נִנְפֵּת's 49 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, 39 of them occur with prepositions. 27 of those 39 are לְפָנֵי. There are no instances of a lone prefixed לְ with נִנְפֵּת, and the second most frequent preposition is בְּ, which occurs with the verb 5 times. לְפָנֵי is the most frequently occurring preposition with the verb נִנְפֵּת. This is plausibly explained by נִנְפֵּת's violent contexts in which a defeated enemy flees from the presence of the victor. However, לְפָנֵי does not function monolithically with all formations of נִנְפֵּת. When occurring with active verbs of dominance, such as the Qal form of נִנְפֵּת in 2 Chr 14:11, לְפָנֵי

symbolizes a relationship of dominance wherein a TR (the Cushites) is within a LM's (Asa and Judah's) personal space of control. The agent of defeat (Yahweh, the subject of the verb) is not framed in the prepositional phrase. However, approximately 30 times, **לפנִי** occurs with passive dominance verbs, נָגַף in the Nifal stem in particular, and in these cases marks an agent of the defeat (2 Sam 2:17).²¹¹

2 Sam 2:17 Abner and the men of Israel were beaten by the servants of David

וַיָּנַגֵּף אֲבֹנֶר וְאַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל לְפָנֵי עַבְדֵי דָּוִד:

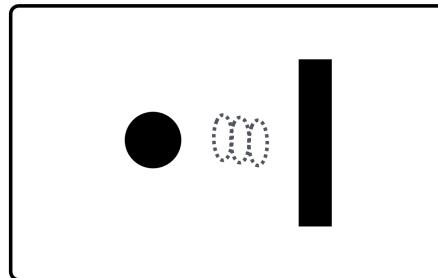


Figure 40: Dominance agent marker

לפנִי's authority metaphor is exploited in two ways with **לפנִי**: 1) symbolizing relationships of dominance in spatial proximity and 2) marking agents of authority/control. One may view this double-duty of the dominance metaphor as a evolutionary step to a more grammaticalized usage of **לפנִי** to mark agency.

5.2.1h Priority Metaphor

לפנִי is also used to describe social value or worth 3 times in the Hebrew Bible. GHCL (1954:680) (see §5.1.3.1.1) also noted this usage, but limited it to Job 34:19.

Gen 29:26 Laban said, “This is not done in our country— giving the younger before the firstborn (NRSV). **וַיֹּאמֶר לְבָנָה לֹא־יִצְשָׁחַ כִּי בַמִּקְומֵנוּ לְתַתְּ הַצְּעִירָה לְפָנֵי הַבְּכִירָה:**

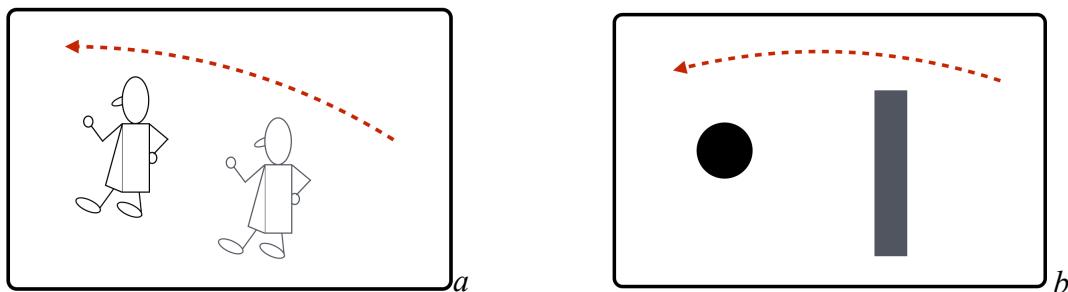


Figure 41: Priority metaphor

211. This is what some of the lexica and grammars have labeled as manner (§5.1.3). Agent seems to be a more specific label than manner given that the LM are persons.

In this usage, a TR precedes a LM, as in preceding motion, wherein preceding motion metaphorically symbolizes higher social value or worth. As discussed in §3.2, this *front-back* metaphor for greater value-lesser value stands out in cross-linguistic typologies because value metaphors are often expressed in *up-down* phrases.²¹²

5.2.1i Comparative

Finally, **לֹפֶנְיִ** is also rarely used (3 times) to symbolize comparative relationships (Job 4:19), as noted in previously reviewed literature (GHCL 1954:681). Clines (1989:113, 135) notes that an anterior temporal interpretation is possible here, but a comparative *like* is more plausible (see prior usage in Job 3:24).

Job 4:19 how much more those who live in houses of clay,
whose foundation is in the dust, who are crushed
like a moth. (NRSV)

אָף | שְׁכַנֵּי בָּקָרְתָּמָר אֲשֶׁר-בַּעֲפָר יִסְׂדָּם יְדָקָנָוּם
לְבִנְיָעָשָׂ:

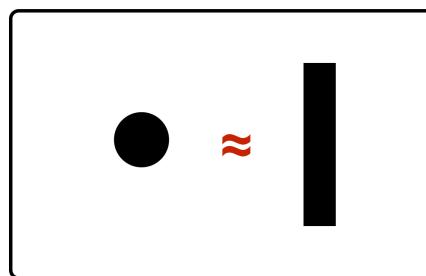


Figure 42: Comparative

לְפִנְיֵם

The form **לְפִנְיֵם** occurs 24 times in the Hebrew Bible which includes 2 instances of **מִלְפִנְיִם** (1 Kgs 6:29 and Isa 41:26). These usages are not exclusively adverbs (contrary to Hardy 2014:304), though modification of verbs certainly is the most frequent syntactic usage of the form in the corpus.

5.2.1.1a Nouns

This composite form is used twice with **בְּן** to symbolize a noun (1 Kgs 6:29 and Isa 41:26). The first nominal usage is spatial in nature, symbolizing an interior location (1 Kgs 6:29) (*a* frame). The second is temporal in nature, symbolizing a time noun (Isa 41:26) (*b*

212. As discussed throughout Levinson (2003) and Schultze-Berndt (2006:73).

frame).

- 1 Kgs 6:29** He carved about all the walls of the House carved figures of cherubs, palmettes, and open flowers, both on the inside and out.
- וְאַתָּה כָּל־קִירוֹת הַבַּיּוֹת מִסְבֵּן | כָּל־עַפְתּוֹחַ מִקְלָעוֹת
כְּרוּבִים וְפָמָתָה וְפֶטְווֹרִי צְבָאִים מִלְּפָנִים וְלִחְצָזָנוֹ:

- Isa 41:26** Who declared it from the beginning, so that we might know, and beforehand, so that we might say, “He is right”? There was no one who declared it, none who proclaimed, none who heard your words.

מִי־הָגִיד מִרְאֵשׁ וּנְדוּעָה וּמִלְּפָנִים וּנוֹאָמֵר צָדִיק אֲنָה
אַיִלְמָגֵיד אֲף אֵין מְשֻׂמֵּיעַ אֲךָ אַיִלְשָׁמֵעַ אַמְּרִיכָם:

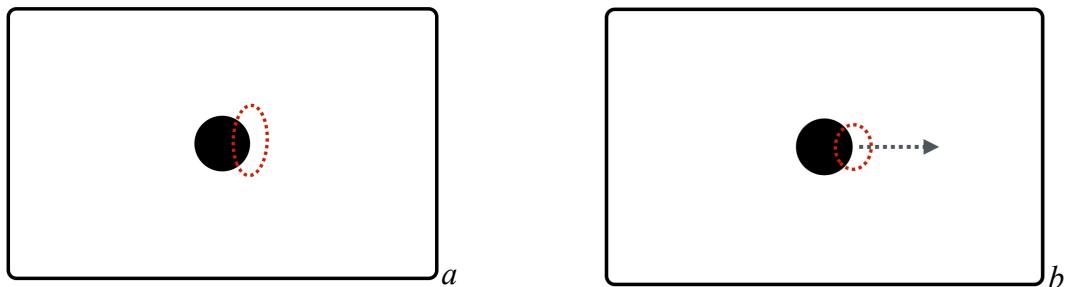


Figure 43: Anterior noun (a) and anterior time noun (b)

It is possible to interpret **מלפנים** in 1 Kgs 6:29 as a noun; however, this verse has textual-critical issues and so should not be used as a categorical exemplar (Mulder 1998:273).

Isa 41:26 is the only instance of a form of **לפני** symbolizing a time-related noun. Here **מלפנים** may be regarded as **מן** plus a nominal **לפנים** where **מן** marks an origin point in a temporal context.²¹³ The only difference between this instance of **לפנים** and other nominal instances (such as 1 Kgs 6:29 or the construct form in 6:20) is that it symbolizes a kind of time and not a kind of location (*inside*).

5.2.1b Deictic time

Previous interpreters described **לפנים** form as a temporal adverb, because it modifies verbs and does not take an object as a preposition does. An embodied semantic perspective may be added to this description noting that these adverbial usages are similar to the deictic temporal usages of **לפני** because **לפנים** also never describes a temporally anterior event in a sequence of events. Rather, deictic time symbolized by **לפנים** assumes a cognitively (and

213. See WO (1990:212-213). This temporal usage is a metaphor of the spatial usage symbolizing an origin point that the object of the preposition is in relation to. For a cognitive linguistic account of **מן** of origin, see Lemmer (2014:93-96).

discourse) active LM in order to profile a TR in a temporally anterior manner. While these usages do not take explicit objects, they are not nouns and do not refer to the noun concept of *beginning time* as in §5.2.1.1a. They are part of a relationship. The relationship is not explicitly lexicalized in the clause, but it is active in the discourse (Deut 2:10).

Deut 2:9-10 the Lord said to me: “Do not harass Moab or engage them in battle, for I will not give you any of its land as a possession, since I have given Ar as a possession to the descendants of Lot.”
 (The Emim—a large and numerous people, as tall as the Anakim—had formerly inhabited it. (NRSV).

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר אֶת־מֹאֲב וְאֶל־עֲמָן
 בְּם מִלְחָמָה כִּי לֹא־אַעֲנَן לְךָ מִאָרָצָן יְרֻשָּׁה כִּי
 לְבָנֵי־לֹט נָתָתִי אֶת־עַר יְרֻשָּׁה:
 הָאָמִים לְפָנָים יִשְׁבּוּ בָהּ עַם גָּדוֹל וּרְבָּם
 קָעָזִים:

Within narratives, narration can ground events relative to one another, the way a LM does with a TR. Just before the statement about the Emim in Deut 2:10, the narrative describes Yahweh saying that he had given Ar to the descendants of Lot (2:9). Then 2:10 parenthetically (in fact the NRSV uses parentheses) states that that the Emim lived there **לְפָנָים**. It is implied in the discourse that the Emim living there is temporally anterior to the giving away of the territory to the descendants of Lot, though not realized in the text through lexicalization or syntax.

5.2.1.2 **מלפני**

The composite form **מלפני** occurs 73 times in the BHS.²¹⁴ The BH literature (§5.1) is correct to regard the "away from" as most frequent.

5.2.1.2a Ablative-anterior motion

Of **מלפני**'s 73 occurrences, 53 of those symbolize ablative-anterior motion (Jonah 1:3) (Fig. 34). This morphology accounts for a far greater number of the ablative-anterior motion usages than **לפנִי** (and there are even more with **מפני**). It is uncontroversial that the ablative semantic element in this frame is accounted for by the prefixed **מ-**, while the anterior construal is symbolized by **פְנִי**. So why is the **ל** included at all, instead of simply having **מפני**, as occurs in many cases? This semantic overlap of multiple morphologies is further

214. Full lists are given in §5.3.1.

evidence that **לפָנִי** is rightly considered a lexical chunk on its own, not symbolizing the *face* or even *front* of something, but a more abstract *presence*. While the anterior motion was rightly regarded as **ל + פָנִי**, the ablative-anterior motion usage expresses WO's "frozen union" as a chunk with an ablative **מִן** prefixed to it: **מִן + לפָנִי**. The **ל** has been bleached.

Jonah 1:3 But Jonah set out to flee to Tarshish from the presence of the Lord. (NRSV)

וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹחָנָן לְבָנָה תְּרַשֵּׁשׁ מִלְפָנֵי יְהוָה

5.2.1.2b Causation

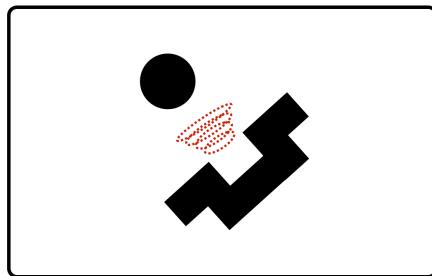
Much less frequent for **מלפָנִי** is the causal usage, which arguably occurs only once (1 Sam 8:18 and perhaps in 2 Chr 32:7b). Semantically these may be regarded as a part of the control cluster observed with **לפָנִי** (§5.2.1g) with a prefixed causal **מִן**. Lemmer (2014:102) uses TR-LM diagrams to illustrate that the causal usage of **מִן** is created by conceptual reanalysis of **מִן**'s *source* semantic protoscene.²¹⁵ Thus again, **לפָנִי** is treated as a chunk in its own right that may be combined with other morphemes (**מִן** in these cases) to mark the cause of egocentric control frames. In semantically overlapping examples, like this control cluster whose TR-LM configurations are similar, there is evidence for heterosemy evolving from metaphorical polysemy. The control metaphor has created the conceptual space for the move to a new kind of relational marker—from spatio-temporal to now logical—by symbolizing cause.²¹⁶

2 Chr 32:7 “Be strong and of good courage. Do not be afraid or dismayed because of the king of Assyria and all the horde that is with him; for there is one greater with us than with him. (author)

חִזְקָיו וְאַמְצָיו אֶל־תִּירְאֵו וְאֶל־תִּתְּחַזֵּוּ מִלְּפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ
אֲשֶׁר וּמִלְפָנֵי כָּל־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר־עָמֹד קָרְעָמָנוּ רַב
מְעַבְּדוֹ:

215. In the philological tradition, GKC (§119z) recognized that **מִן** as cause is related to the experience of source or origin, **מִן**'s more frequent spatial frame. The grammar aptly cites 1 Kgs 8:5 as an example of **מִן** symbolizing cause without being prefixed to another frequently used preposition (**מִרְבָּה** *from/because of the multitude*). Despite this clear example, later grammars like JM §113e limit their description of causal **מִן** to usage with infinitive verbs. A full study on **מִן** and a count of its semantic-pragmatic usages in the fixed corpus of the Hebrew Bible is needed to empirically verify **מִן**'s prototypical usages. Lemmer (2014) has begun this work by using Tyler-Evans' (2003) principled polysemy model to account for **מִן**'s polysemies in Judges. While this data will serve as a starting place for cognitive linguistic study of **מִן**, it should be noted that Evans (2010) has already abandoned principled polysemy as a method (as discussed in §2.6.3), thus researchers should use the method cautiously.

216. This usage has been noted by GHCL (1954:681), BDB ([1906]2006:818), and HALOT (2000: Vol. 3, 943) as discussed in §5.1.3.

**Figure 44:** Cause

The double usage of two בְּ prepositions with prefixed causal מִן's modifying the same verb in 2 Chr 32:7 is evidence that this rare usage of מַלְפֵנִי is employed as a full synonym of מִפְנִי in this utterance. However, as will be shown in the morphological summary (§5.2.3), this does not show that מַלְפֵנִי and מִפְנִי are synonyms in all cases. Rather, it is reasonable that the frequency and increasing usage of לְפֵנִי into a wider variety of contexts fixed it as lexical chunk, able to take on other prefixed prepositions and even co-occur alongside other forms of the same root with the same prefixed preposition as a synonym.²¹⁷

5.2.1.2c Anterior locative

לְפֵנִי also symbolizes presence 6 times in a way one might expect of מַלְפֵנִי (2 Chr 34:27).²¹⁸ In fact, in 2 Chr 34:27 מַלְפֵנִי is used in parallel to לְפֵנִי. This is more evidence that לְפֵנִי may properly be regarded as a lexical chunk in many instances since it combines with other morphemes. The only apparent analogous usage of מִן in this case is a kind of "nominalizer" on תְּהִתָּ and עַל in circumstances traditional labeled "adverbial accusative".²¹⁹

2 Chr 34:27 because your heart was penitent and you humbled yourself before God when you heard his words against this place and its inhabitants, and you have humbled yourself before me, and have torn your clothes and wept before me, I also have heard you, says the Lord (NRSV).

וַיֹּשֶׁן רֹדֵל־בְּרַךְ וַתַּקְנֻעַ מַלְפֵנִי אֶל־הָיִם בְּשָׁמָעָה
אַתְּ־בְּרַךְיוֹ עַל־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הַזֶּה וְעַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתַּקְנֻעַ לְפֵנִי
וַתַּקְנֻעַ אַתְּ־בְּגָנִיר וַתַּבְךְ לְפֵנִי וְנִמְּאַנְּי שְׁמַעֲתִי
נָאָס־בְּרוּהָ:

217. One may argue that מַלְפֵנִי should be emended to מִפְנִי; however, this notion has no manuscript support in any textual tradition, Hebrew or otherwise.

218. Ezk 40:19; Est 4:8; 7:6; 1 Chr 16:33; 2 Chr 33:23; 34:27a. All of these examples are from later books and it is possible that at this stage מִן is semantically empty when used with other prepositions.

219. See §6.2 for more in regards to מִתְהִתָּ.

5.2.1.2d Dominance object marker

מִלְפָנִי also functions as a kind-of object marker unique to verbs of fear (1 Sam 18:12), wherein the LM is perceived as dominant over the TR. The multitude of metaphors of authority/control suggests that dominance is rightly regarded as framing cluster for מִלְפָנִי from which more abstract grammatical usages may have emerged. In addition to marking of agent and cause, the marking of objects of fear may be added to those functions as well.

Often times מֵן is used in these contexts because מֵן has a unique relationship with verbs of fear. WO (1990:213) notes that cause and agent can be "difficult to distinguish" when מֵן is used with "verbs of fearing and the like". Van der Merwe (1992:183) gives some plausible explanations of the difference between יִרְאָה מִלְפָנִי and יִרְאָה מֵן + יִרְאָה". يִרְאָה מִלְפָנִי + מֵן refers to the fear of the subject of يִרְאָה for an obvious, but mostly *not immediate* threat, adversary, or enemy. يִרְאָה + מִלְפָנִי refers to the fear of the subject of يִרְאָה for a self-evident, but mostly *immediate* threat, adversary, or enemy."

1 Sam 18:12 Saul was afraid of David, because the Lord was with him but had departed from Saul. (NRSV)

וַיַּרְא שְׁאוֹל מֶלֶךְ־פָּנִים דָּנוֹר קִידְחָה יְהוָה עָלָיו וְקַעַם
שְׁאוֹל סָר:

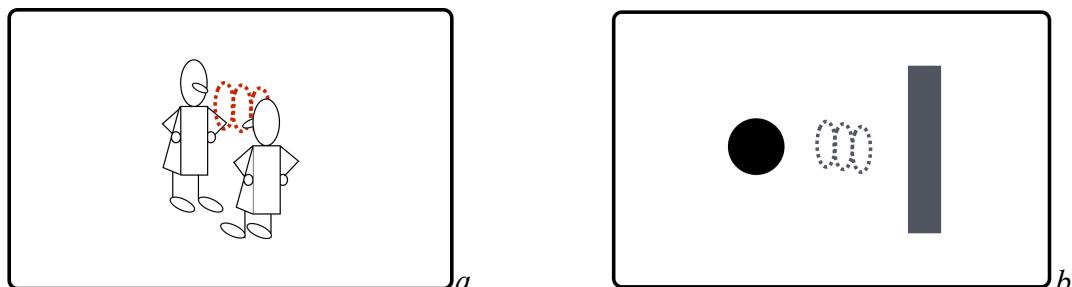


Figure 45: Fear object marker

The *a* frame is from the control cluster first discussed in §5.2.1g. However this control frame is utilized to mark an object of a verb of fear rather than to localize a fearful or defeated relationship. In this way, the control cluster is used in more abstract grammatical contexts (represented by grey rings in the *b* frame).

5.2.1.2e Anterior deictic time

Finally, only once in the Hebrew Bible (Qoh 1:10), מֶלֶךְ-פָּנִים is used temporally. This usage is synonymous with the anterior deictic time usages of לְפָנִים and לְפָנִים (Fig. 36). This instance

is more evidence that **לפנִי** had come to be treated as a chunk since it combines with **בַּן**. It is also evidence that **בַּן** had been semantically bleached at a time in BH because, as stated, this usage is a synonym of deictic time usages of **לפנִים** and **לפנִי**. One could replace **בַּן** in **מִלְפָנִים** in this context with either **לפנִים** or **לפנִי** without any change to the temporal meaning or egocentric construal. **בַּן** does not semantically contribute to the utterance and there are no text critical reasons to delete it. It is plausible that the late date of the writing of Qohelet witnessed such a time in BH where **בַּן** could be used without a semantic-pragmatic force.

Qoh 1:10 Is there a thing of which it is said, “See, this is new”? It has already been, in the ages before us. יש דבר שאין ראייה חדש והוא כבר היה
לעתמים אשר היה מ לפני נמי

5.2.2 **מִפְנִי**

The composite formation of preposition **בַּן** prefixed to the construct plural form **בַּנִּי** occurs 306 times in the Hebrew Bible.

5.2.2a Ablative-anterior motion

In the ablative-anterior frame, **מִפְנִי** may properly be understood as an ablative **בַּן** prefixed to the construct noun **בַּנִּי** indicating that the ablative motion is construed by anteriority (Num 20:6) (Fig. 34).

Num 20:6 Then Moses and Aaron went away from the **מִפְנֵי** **הַקֹּדֶשׁ אֲלֵפֶת אֶחָל מוֹעֵד** assembly to the entrance of the tent of meeting...

5.2.2b Causation

מִפְנִי is properly understood as prefixed **בַּן** followed by **בַּנִּי** (Gen 6:13) (Fig. 44). The instances of **מִפְנִי** symbolizing cause tend to occur in control contexts wherein the actions or attributes of a party cause a submission or negative effect to another party.

Gen 6:13 And God said to Noah, “I have determined to make an end of all flesh, for the earth is filled with violence because of them...”

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים לְנֹחַ קְזֻבָּל בְּשֶׂר בָּא לְפָנִי
כִּימְלָא אֶת הָאָרֶץ חַטָּאת מִפְנִימָם

5.2.2c Fear object marker

מִפְנִי also functions as a kind-of object marker unique to verbs of fear (Ex 9:30) (Fig. 45).

Ex 9:30 But as for you and your officials, I know that you do not yet fear the Lord God.” וְאַתֶּךְ וְעֲבָדֶיךְ יְדַעֵית כִּי מִלְּרָא אֶת מִפְנֵי יְהוָה
אַל תְּהִירֵם:

5.2.3d Comparative

Similar to מִפְנֵי also symbolizes a comparative relationship in one case (Job 17:12) (Fig. 42). Clines (DCH 1989:369) identifies this usage as comparative. While מִן is known for functioning as a comparative (JM §133e; §141g), it has been shown that לְפָנֵי does as well. Comparative may therefore be treated as a chunk since its constituent parts are not semantically discernible.

Job 17:12 They change night into day. The light is nearer than the darkness.

לַיְלָה קַיּוֹם יָשַׁמֶּא אֹזֶר קָרוֹב מִפְנֵי-חֹשֶׁךְ:

5.2.2.1 מִפְנִים

This form only occurs once in 2 Sam 10:9 and functions as a prefixed preposition plus the noun form פָנִים. This noun usage construes a kind of battle-field configuration of being with egocentrism with אַחֲר and אַחֲר פָנִים as spatial opposites.

2 Sam 10:9 Joab saw that the battle was set against him from the front and from the rear...

וַיַּרְא יוֹאָב כִּי-הִיא אֶלְיוֹן פָנָיו הַפְלִחָתָה מִפְנִים
וּמִאַחֲרָיו

5.2.3 Morphology summary

	ל + פִנִי	ל + פָנִים	ל + פָנִים	מִן + לְפָנֵי	מִן + לְפָנֵי	מִן + פִנִי	מִן + פָנִים
face/front (N)	X	X	X				X
ant. time (N)				X			
ant. loc.	X				X		
preceding mo.	X						
ablative. mo	X				X	X	
geo. dir.	X						
speech/thought	X						
priority	X						
ref. time	X	X		X			
sequential time	X						
control/use	X					X	
control agent	X					X	
fear obj.				X		X	
service	X						
cause				X		X	
comparative	X					X	

Figure 46: מִן/לְפָנֵי morphology summary

It is clear that ל + פִנִי displays the great semantic diversity of usages and מִן + פָנִים displays the

least. There are 6 usages exclusive to פְנֵי + לְ: preceding motion, geographic directions, speech/thought metaphors, priority, sequential time, and the service metaphor. There are also 2 usages that never symbolizes: marking an object of a fear verb and causation. Whether מִפְנֵי, מַלְפְנֵי or מִפְנֵי, it seems that a prefixed מִן is necessary for these usages.

In addition to a small handful of usages as a noun, לפנים is used to describe deictic time but never sequential time. A historical linguist might argue that the reduction in size (from לפנים to לפני) corresponds with the wider semantic usages.

It has been established that while many features of these various usages are attributable to prefixed prepositions, some forms (e.g. לפני) have come to be treated as a lexical chunk in more abstract usages (e.g. causal מַלְפְנֵי) and some usages (e.g. ablative-anterior motion) have come to be used in wider grammatical contexts (as in יצא לפני instead of a formation with מִן).

5.3 Semantic network

As with אחר in §4.3, this semantic network presents the semantic categories described in §5.2 for מִלְפְנֵי in a usage-based manner. The figure below is a semantic-pragmatic network for מִלְפְנֵי. Given the common origin of מִלְפְנֵי and the semantic network's task of giving a plausible historical explanation of how the polysemies developed, מִפְנֵי and מִלְפְנֵי are both treated in this network. From a practical point of view, there is no semantic-pragmatic function that מִפְנֵי may symbolize that some form of מִלְפְנֵי + פְנֵי does not. Though מִלְפְנֵי's usages are clearly more specialized than מִפְנֵי, there is semantic overlap in every (§5.2.3).

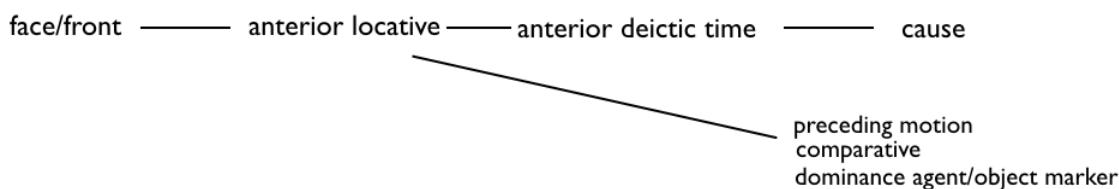
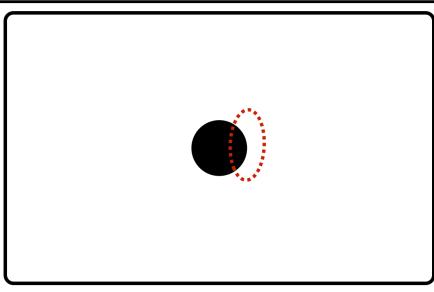


Figure 47: Semantic-pragmatic network of מִלְפְנֵי

5.3.1 Moving through the nodes

As done with **אחר** and will be done with **תחת**, each usage node is expanded upon with a frame semantic diagram, listing of morphologies with biblical references, and now—filling a lacuna of Rodriguez (2011)—a list of frequent co-occurring verbs (or frequent verbless collocations when appropriate) with notes about the relationship between ***פָנַה** and the respective verb.

5.3.1.1 Anterior anatomy

Anterior anatomy <i>face of, front of, beginning</i>	
	וְלֹפֶנִי הַדְּבֵיר עָשָׂרִים אַמֶּה אָרֶךְ The face of the inner sanctuary was twenty cubits long... (1 Kgs 6:20)
לְפָנֵי	1 Kgs 6:20; Ezk 40:15 (TC issue), 19b (TC issue); Esther 4:2
לְפָנִים	1 Kgs 6:29; Isa 41:26 (of time)

The first node in the network map is face/front. This usage is not configurational. Note that a TR is symbolized without a LM. These usages are things, not relationships. However, none of these usages are the faces or fronts of people or even animals and only one is realized with the full plural **פָנִים** in 1 Kgs 6:29 with **מלפנים**, but it refers to a front part of a location. Hardy's (2014:304) assertion can be refined to note that there are no lexicalized chunks of **ל + פָנִים** in the Hebrew Bible that actually symbolize the face body-part of a human or animal.

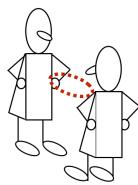
1 Kgs 6:29 He carved about all the walls of the House carved **וְאַתָּה כָּל־קְרוּזֹת הַבַּיִת מִסְכָּב | קָלָע פָתֹחִי מִקְלָעוֹת** figures of cherubs, palmettes, and open flowers, **כְּרוּבִים וְתִמְרָת וּפְטוּרִי צָאִים מִלְּפָנִים וּלְחִיצָן:** both on the inside and out.

In this case, **מן** marks a location of the action of the verb **קָלָע** at **לְפָנִים** *inside* in a similar way does in 1 Kgs 7:31 measuring one point in a measured distance (§5.2.1a). While syntactically this is traditionally understood as an adverb—with good reason since it modifies a verb—**לְפָנִים**—here nevertheless symbolizes a *thing*, a location.

5.3.1.2 Anterior Locative (\pm motion)

Anterior Locative (\pm motion)

in the presence of, before, in front of, to the front/presence of, the sight of

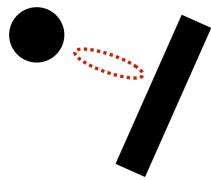


תִּנְבִּיאִים יָשְׁבִים לְפָנָיו

The prophets were sitting before him (2 Kgs 4:38)

וַיָּקֹרֶא אֶבְשָׁלָם לְפָנֵי עֲבָדֵי דָּוֹד

Absalom happened to come into the presence of the servants of David (2 Sam 18:9)



וַיְהִי מִשְׁרָתִים לְפָנֵי מִשְׁכָּן

They performed music before the tabernacle...
(1 Chr 6:17 [32])

מ/לפנִי (^prosfx) נְתָן, שִׁים	<p>Gen 3:8; 4:14, 16; 6:11, 13; 7:1; 10:9a, b; 13:9; ,16:6, 8; 17:1; 18:8, 22; 20:15; 23:12, 17; 24:12, 33, 40, 51; 27:7; 29:26; 34:10, 21; 35:1, 7; 36:6; 40:9; 41:43, 46; 43:9, 14, 15, 33; 44:14; 45:3; 47:2, 6, 7, 18; 48:15, 20; 50:18; Ex 2:15; 4:3, 21; 6:12, 30; 7:9, 10a, b; 8:16; 9:10, 11a, 13; 10:3; 11:10; 14:2 a, b, 9, 19b, 25; 16:9, 33, 34; 17:6; 18:12; 19:7; 21:1; 23:29, 30, 31; 25:30; 27:21; 28:12, 29, 30a, b, 35, 38; 29:10, 11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 42; 30:6, b, 8, 16, 36; 32:5; 33:19; 34:11, 24, 34; 40:5, 6, 23, 25, 26; Lev 1:3, 5, 11; 3:1; 3:7, 8, 12 ,13; 4:4, b, 6, 7, 14, 15, b, 17, 18, 24; 5:26; 6:7, 18; 7:30; 8:26, 27, 29; 9:2, 4, 5, 21; 10:1, 2b, 15, 17, 19; 12:7; 14:11, 12, 16, 18, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31; 15:14, 15, 30; 16:1, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 18, 30; 17:4; 18:23, 24; 19:14, 22, 32 (crs cause); 20:23; 23:11, 20, 28, 40; 24:3, 4, 6, 8; 26:7, 8, 10, 37; 27:8, 11; Num 3:4, b, 6, 7, 38, b; 5:16, 18, 25, 30; 6:16, 20; 7:3, b, 10; 8:9, 10, 11, 13, b, 21; 22, b; 9:6, b; 10:9, 10, 35; 11:20; 14:5, 37; 43, 15:15, 25, 28; 16:2, 7, 9, 16, 17; 17:3, 5, 19, 22, 25; 18:2, 19; 19:3; 20:3, 6; 22:33; 26:61; 27:2, b, c, 5, 19, b, 21, b, 22, b; 31:50, 54; 32:4, 20, 21, 22, b, 27, 29a, b; 32:32; 33:7, 8, 47, 52, 55; 36:1, b; Deut 1:8, 21, 38, 45; 2:22, 25, 31, 33; 4:8, 10, 38, 44; 6:19, 25; 7:1, 2, 20, 23; 8:20 9:2, 3b, 4, 5, 18, 25, 36; 10:8; 11:26, 32; 12:7, 12, 29, 30; 14:26; 15:20; 16:11; 18:7, 12; 19:17; 17; 22:6; 23:15; 24:4, 13; 25:2; 26:4, 5, 10, 13; 27:7; 28:7, 25; 29:9, 14; 30:1, 15, 19; 31:5; 33:27; Jos 1:5; 2:9, 10, 24; 3:10; 4:13; 6:26; 7:5, 6, 8, 12a, b, 13, 23; 8:14, 32; 9:24a, 10:10, 11, 12; 11:6b; 13:6; 17:4, b, c; 18:1, 6, 8, 10; 19:51, 20:6, 9; 22:29; 23:5, 9; 24:1, 8; 25:10; 31:1; Jdg 2:14, 21; 4:15, 23; 6:9, 11, 18; 9:21, 40; 11:3, 9, 11, 23, 24; 13:15; 16:25; 20:23, 26, b, 28, 35, 42; 21:2; 31:21 (TC issue); 1 Sam 1:12, 15, 16, 19; 2:28, 30, 35; 3:1; 5:3a,b, 4a, b; 6:20; 7:10; 9:24a, b; 10:19, 25; 11:15, b; 12:2a, b, 7; 13:9; 14:13; 15:33; 16:8, 10, 16, 21, 22; 17:24, 31, 57; 18:11; 19:7, 8, 10, 24; 20:1, b; 21:8, 11; 23:18, 26; 25:10; 26:19; 28:22, 25, b; 29:8; 31:1; 2 Sam 2:14; 3:13, 31, 34; 5:3, 20; 6:5, 14, 16, 17, 21, b; 7:9, 16, 18, 26, 29; 10:13, 14, 18; 11:13; 14:33; 15:14; 16:19a, b; 18:9, 14, 19:9, 14, 19; 20:8; 21:9; 23:11; 1 Kgs 1:2, 5, 23, 25, 28, b, 32; 2:4, 7, 26, 45; 3:6, 15, 16, 22, 24; 6:17, 21; 7:49; 8:5, 22, 23, 28 , 31, 46, 50, 59, 62, 64, b; 9:3, 4, 6; 10:8; 11:36; 12:2, 8, 30; 14:24; 17:1; 18:5; 19:11, b; 21:26, 29a, b; 22:10, 21; 2 Kgs 3:14, 24; 4:12, 38, 43, 44; 5:1, 2, 3, 15, 16; 6:1, 22; 8:9; 10:4; 11:2, 18; 16:3, 14; 17:8, 11, 20; 18:22; 19:14, 15, 26 (TC issue); 20:3; 21:2, 9; 22:10, 19; 23:3; 25:29; Isa 2:10, 19, 21; 9:2; 10:27; 16:4; 20:6; 21:15a, b, c, d; 23:18; 30:11; 31:8; 36:7, 37:14, 27 (TC issue); 38:3; 42:16; 53:2, 7; 57:16 (crs cause); 63:12; 65:6; 66:22, 23; Jer 1:13, 17b; 2:22; 4:1; 7:10; 9:12; 15:1, 9, 19; 18:17, 20; 19:7, 23b; 21:8; 24:1; 26:4; 30:20; 31:36b; 33:24; 34:15, 18; 35:5, 11a, b, 19; 36:7, 9, 22; 37:20; 38:26; 39:16; 40:4, 10; 41:15; 42:2, 9, 17; 44:10a, b; 45:1b; 48:44; 49:19, 37, b; 50:44; 52:12, 33; Ezk 2:10; 3:20; 4:1; 6:4, 5; 8:1, 11; 9:6; 14:1; 16:18, 19, 50; 20:1; 23:24, 30, 41; 28:9, 17; 30:24; 33:31; 36:17; 40:12, 19, 22, 26, 47; 41:22; 42:4, 11; 43:24; 44:3, 11, 12, 15; 46:3, 9; Hos 2:4; 6:2; 11:2; Joel 2:3b, 6, 10; Amos 5:19; Jonah 1:2; Nah 1:6; Hag 2:14; Zech 3:1, 3, 4, 8, 9; 4:7; 14:5, 20; Mal 3:16; Psa 3:1; 5:9; 18:17; 19:15; 22:28, 30; 23:5; 34:1; 41:13; 56:14; 57:1, 7; 60:6; 61:4, 8; 62:9; 68:2, 4, 5, 8; 69:23; 72:5, 9, 17; 76:8; 78:55; 79:11; 80:3, 10; 86:9; 88:3; 89:24; 95:6; 96:9, 13; 97:5a, b; 98:6, 9; 100:2; 102:1, 29; 106:23, 46; 114:7a, b; 116:9; 119:169, 170; 139:7; 141:2, 3, b; 143:2; 147:17; Job 8:16; 13:16, 20; 15:4; 21:8; 23:4; 33:5; 34:19; 35:14; 39:22; 41:2; Prov 4:3; 8:30, 14:12, 19; 16:25; 17:18; 18:16; 22:29a, b; 23:1; 25:5, 6, 7, 23, 26; 27:4; 30:30; Sng 8:12; Qoh 2:26, b; 5:1, 5; 7:26; 8:3; Lam 1:22; 2:3; Est 1:3, 11, 13, 16, 17, 19b; 2:9, 11, 17, 23; 3:7; 4:5, 6, 8; 5:14; 6:1, 13, b; 7:6, 9; 8:1, 3, b, 4, 5a, b; 9:2, 11, 25; Dan 1:5, 9, 13, 18, 19; 2:2; 8:3, 4, 7; 9:10, 18, 20; 10:12; 11:16; Ezra 7:28; 8:21, 29; 9:9, 15; 10:1; Neh 1:4, 6; 2:1, b (TC issue), 5, 6; 3:34; 6:19; 8:1, 2, 3, b; 9:8, 11, 15b, 24, 28, 32, 35; 1 Chr 5:25; 6:17; 10:1; 11:13; 12:1; 13:8, 10; 14:8; 15:24; 16:1, 4, 6, 27, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39; 17:8, 16, 21, 24, 25, 27; 19:7, 14, 15; 21:12, 30; 22:8, 18; 23:13, 31; 24:6, 31; 29:15, 22; 2 Chr 1:5, 6; 2:3, 5; 3:15; 4:20; 6:12, 14, 16b, 19, 22, 24b, 36; 7:4, 7, 17, 19; 8:12; 9:7; 10:2, 6, 8; 13:7, 8, 13, 15; 14:6, 11a, b, 12b; 13:16; 15:8; 18:9, 20; 20:5, 9, b, 12, 13, 18; 22:11; 23:17; 24:14; 25:8, 14; 26:19; 27:6, 28:3, 14; 29:11, 19, 23; 30:9; 31:20; 32:12; 33:2, 12, 23; 34:4, 18, 24, 27b, c, 31; 36:12</p>
מלפנִי	Est 4:8; 7:6; 1 Chr 16:33; 2 Chr 33:23; 34:27a

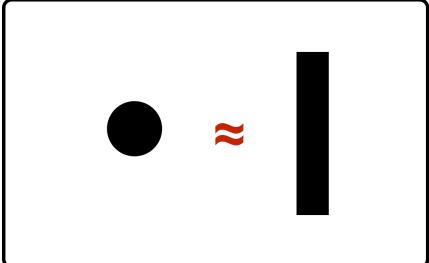
לפְנֵי יהוה	Gen 4:16; 10:9; 18:22; 27:7; Ex 6:12, 30; 16:9, 33; 27:21; 28:12, 29-30, 35, 38; 29:11, 23-26, 42; 30:8, 16; 34:34; 40:23, 25; Lev 1:3, 5, 11; 3:1, 7, 12; 4:4, 6-7, 15, 17-18, 24; 5:26; 6:7, 18; 7:30; 8:26-27, 29; 9:2, 4-5, 21, 24-10:2; 10:15, 17, 19; 12:7; 14:11-12, 16, 18, 23-24, 27, 29, 31; 15:14-15, 30; 16:1, 7, 10, 12-13, 18, 30; 19:22; 23:11, 20, 28, 40; 24:3-4, 6, 8; Num 3:4; 5:16, 18, 25, 30; 6:16, 20; 7:3; 8:10-11, 21; 10:9; 14:37; 15:15, 25, 28; 16:7, 16-17; 17:3, 5, 11, 22, 24; 18:19; 20:3, 9; 26:61; 27:5, 21; 31:50, 54; 32:20-22, 27, 29, 32; Deut 1:45; 4:10; 6:25; 9:18, 25; 10:8; 12:7, 12, 18; 14:23, 26; 15:20; 16:11; 18:7; 19:17; 24:4, 13; 26:5, 10, 13; 27:7; 29:9, 14; Jos 4:13; 6:8, 26; 7:23; 18:6, 8, 10; 19:51; Jdg 11:11; 20:23, 26; 1 Sam 1:12, 15, 19; 6:20; 7:6; 10:19, 25; 11:15; 12:7; 15:33; 21:7-8; 23:18; 26:19; 2 Sam 5:3; 6:5, 14, 16-17, 21; 7:18; 21:9; 1 Kgs 2:45; 8:59, 62, 64-65; 9:25; 19:11; 22:21; 2 Kgs 16:14; 19:14-15; 23:3; Isa 23:18; 37:14; Jer 36:7, 9; Ezk 41:22; 43:24; 44:3; 46:3, 9; Jonah 1:3, 10; Ps 95:6; 96:13; 97:5; 98:9; 102:1; 116:9; Dan 9:20; 1 Chr 9:20; 11:3; 16:33; 17:16; 22:18; 23:13, 31; 29:22; 2 Chr 1:6; 7:4; 14:12; 18:20; 19:2; 20:13, 18; 27:6; 31:20; 33:23; 34:31
Control	Gen 13:9; 20:15; 24:51; 34:10, 21; 45:3; 47:6, 18; Ex 9:11a; 10:3; Lev 19:32 (crs cause); 26:7, 8; Num 32:4, 29b; Deut 1:8, 21; 2:31, 33, 7:2, 23; 9:2; 3b, 36; 23:15; 28:7, 25; 31:5; Jos 1:5; 7:8, 12a, b, 13; 11:6b; 18:1; Jdg 2:14; 4:15, 23; 11:9; 20:35; 42; 1 Sam 3:1; 6:20; 7:10; 2 Sam 5:20; 19:14; 1 Kgs 1:5; 8:46; 21:29a, b; 2 Kgs 10:4; 19:26 (TC issue); 22:19; Isa 37:27 (TC issue); 45:1b; 57:16 (crs cause); 66:23; Jer 1:17b; 15:9; 18:17; 19:7; 23b; 40:4; 49:19; 50:44; Ezk 22:30; Nah 1:6; Psa 76:8; 106:23; 114:7a, b; 147:17; Job 41:2; Prov 4:3; 17:18; 27:4; Sng 8:12; Est 9:2; Dan 8:4, 7; 11:16; Ezra 9:15b; Neh 9:24, 35; 1 Chr 14:8; 2 Chr 6:36; 13:7, 8; 14:6, 11a, b; 20:12; 33:12; 34:27; 36:12
Service	Gen 17:1; 24:40; 41:46; 47:2, 7; 48:15 Ex 8:16; 9:10; Lev 27:8; Num 16:9; Deut 1:38; 10:8; 18:7; Jdg 20:28; 31:21 (TC issue); 1 Sam 2:30, 35; 12:2a, b; 16:16, 21, 22; 19:7; 29:8; 2 Sam 7:16, 26, 29; 16:19, b; 1 Kgs 1:2; 2:4, 26; 3:6; 8:22, 23, 25b, c; 9:4; 10:8; 11:36; 12:8; 17:1; 18:5; 2 Kgs 3:14; 4:12; 5:2, 16; 20:3; Isa 38:3; 66:22; Jer 7:10; 15:19; 30:20; 31:36b; 35:19; 40:10; 52:12; Ezk 44:11, 15; Psa 41:13; 56:14; 116:9; Prov 22:29a, b; Est 4:5; 7:9; Dan 1:5, 19; 2:2; 1 Chr 16:4; 2 Chr 6:12, 14, 16b; 7:17; 9:7; 10:6, 8; 20:5; 29:11
Speech/thought	Gen 7:1; 10:9a, b; 43:14; Ex 19:7; 21:1; 28:38; Deut 4:8, 44; 11:26, 32; 30:1; 1 Kgs 3:22; 9:3, 6; 2 Kgs 5:1; Jer 2:22; 33:24; 37:20; 38:26; 42:2, 9; Ezk 36:17; Psa 19:15; 106:46; Job 23:4; 33:5; 35:14; Prov 14:12; 16:25; Est 2:9, 17; 5:14; 8:5, b; 9:11; Dan 1:9; 9:10; Neh 2:5, 6; 9:8, 32; 2 Chr 7:19; 30:9
Geographic	Gen 23:17; Ex 14:2, b, 9; Num 33:7, 47; Jos 8:14 <i>east</i>
Priority	Gen 29:26; 48:20; Job 34:19 (crs Comparative)
Ablative motion	Num 22:33 (TC issue); 2 Sam 24:4; מִן ablative elsewhere (Gen 3:8; Hos 11:2; Jonah 1:3)

While there are no exclusive verbs that frequently pair with **בַּלְפָנֵי** to express these frames, **בַּנְנָן** and **שִׁמְמָה** are common motion verbs that symbolize anterior movement with **בַּלְפָנֵי**. The locative usage is the most frequent usage for the anterior preposition. **מִן** makes an expected ablative contribution (Gen 3:8), but is not noted as a unique morphology because **מִן** behaves as expected and also symbolizes an ablative once (2 Sam 24:4, see §5.2.1c).

The anterior locative category is used for metaphors, such as control (Gen 13:9), service (Gen 17:1), and geographic relation (Jos 8:14). While one could make TR-LM diagrams to describe these metaphors individually (as done with control, see §5.2.1g), they would

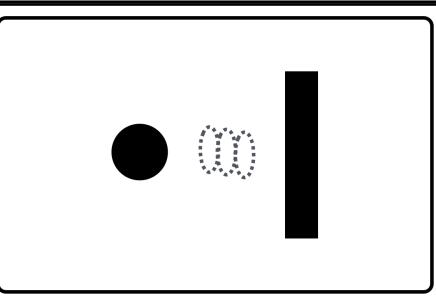
describe more than the lexical semantics of **לפָנִי** and so here are noted within the locative category as contextual information.

5.3.1.3 Comparative

Comparative <i>like, as</i>	
	אַל־תִּתְהִנֵּן אֶת־אִמְמָתֶךָ לְפָנִי בְּתַ-בְּלִיעַל Do not regard your servant as a worthless woman (1 Sam 1:16)
לְפָנִים 1 Sam 1:16; Job 3:24; 4:19; 34:19 (crs Priority metaphor)	
מִפָּנִים Job 17:12	

The comparative usage of **לפָנִי** is also treated as a subcategory of anterior locative. This usage is difficult to account for and has simply been noted in a number of lexica (see §5.1.2). It is clear that two participants are in view (a TR and LM) who are being compared to one another (see §5.2.1i). This is no trouble in Job 17:12 because comparative **מן** is an expected function. However, the instances of **לפָנִי** functioning as a comparative is not expected. It is plausible that this semantic frame is built from other anterior locative metaphors where two bodies (metonymically, *faces*) are in proximity in a context of value, like the priority metaphor (see §5.2.1h). This can be taken as more evidence of **לפָנִי** symbolizing more functions as a chunk.

5.3.1.4 Dominance agent/object marker

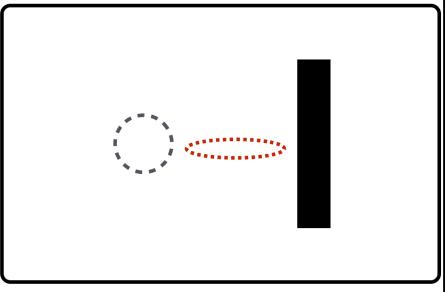
Dominance agent/object marker <i>in front of, by (no English gloss for object marker)</i>	
	וַיַּגַּד אֲבֹנֶר וְאֱנוֹשִׁי יְשָׂרָאֵל לְפָנֵי שָׁבָדִי דָּוֶד Abner and the men of Israel were beaten by the servants of David (2 Sam 2:17)

וְאַדְנִיהָ יָרָא מִפָּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה
 Adonijah feared Solomon (1 Kgs 1:50)

לְפָנֵי	Lev 26:17; Num 14:42; Deut 1:42; 28:7, 25; Josh 8:15; Jdg 8:28; 20:32, 39; 1 Sam 4:2, 3; 7:10; 2 Sam 2:17; 10:15, 19; 18:7; 1 Kgs 8:33; 2 Kgs 14:12; Isa 8:4; 17:13, b; 45:1a; Amos 9:4; Psa 35:5; 83:14; Job 21:18; Lam 1:5; 1 Chr 19:16a; 19; 2 Chr 6:24; 25:22
מִפָּנֶן	Gen 45:3; Ex 1:12; 9:30; 10:3; 23:21; Num 22:3, b; Deut 1:17; 2:12, 21, 5:5; 7:19, 21; 9:19; 20:3, 19; 28:60; 31:6; Josh 11:6a; Jdg 11:33; 1 Sam 7:7; 18:15, 29; 21:13; 25:10; 1 Kgs 1:50; 3:28; 2 Kgs 1:15; 19:6; 25:26; Isa 19:1; 37:6; Jer 1:8, 17a; 22:25; 39:17; 41:18b; 42:11, b; Ezk 2:6; 3:9; Hag 1:12; Psa 9:4; Job 19:29; 23:15; 30:10; Neh 4:3, 8; 1 Chr 21:30; 2 Chr 20:15; 32:7
מַלְפָנֵי	1 Sam 18:12 (TC issue - מִפָּנֶן); Qoh 3:14; 8:12, 13, 14; Est 7:6 (note: Late BH except 1 Sam 18:12 which is problematic textually)
Agent	passive verbs only, Nifal stem
Object	ירא (infrequently בַּעֲתָה חַתָּה, טַרְזָה, נָגָר), active verbs only

As discussed in §5.2.1g and 5.2.1.2d, the dominance metaphors of the anterior locative category are exploited to reconstruct one semantic frame for two grammatical applications: marking agents of passive verbs and direct objects of active verbs, both only in contexts of fear and dominance. These two grammatical applications are grouped together here because they are described by the same semantic frame. Further, the grammatical distinction between the two applications are not instantiated by the preposition, but rather by the voice of a verb.

5.3.1.5 Anterior time

Anterior deictic time before	
	לְפָנֵיו לֹא־הָיָה כֵּן אֲרָבָה כֹּמוֹהוּ וְאַחֲרָיו לֹא יָהִי־כֵּן Before it there had been no locusts like them and after it there will not be (Ex 10:14)
לְפָנֵי	Gen 13:10; 30:30; 36:31; Ex 10:14; Lev 18:27, 28, 30; Num 13:22; Deut 4:32; Jos 10:14; 2 Sam 3:32; 1 Kgs 3:12; 14:9; 15:3; 16:25, 30, 33; 2 Kgs 17:2; 18:5; 19:26 (disputed); 21:11; 23:25; Isa 18:5; 37:27 (disputed); 43:10; 48:7; Jer 28:8, b; 34:5; Amos 1:1; Zech 8:10; Job 8:12; 15:7; Prov 8:25; Qoh 1:10, 16; 2:7, 9; Neh 2:1b (TC issue); 5:15; 1 Chr 1:43; 17:13; 2 Chr 1:12
לְפָנִים	Deut 2:10, 12 20; Jos 11:10; 14:15; 15:15; Jdg 1:10, 11, 23; 3:2; 1 Sam 9:9a, b; Psa 102:26; Job 42:11; Ruth 4:7; Neh 13:5; 1 Chr 4:40; 9:20; 2 Chr 9:11
מַלְפָנֵי	Qoh 1:10 (note: this is Late BH)
Anterior sequential time	לְפָנֵי - Gen 27:7b, 10; 50:16; Deut 33:1; 1 Sam 9:15; 2 Sam 3:35; Ezk 33:22; Mal 3:23; Prov 17:14; 18:12, b; Neh 13:4; 1 Chr 22:5; 24:2; 2 Chr 33:19

Anterior deixis is the most frequent temporal usage of **לְפָנִי** in the Hebrew Bible. This temporal frame is constructed from the anterior locative frame.

Anterior sequential time is a subcategory of anterior deictic time. The TR-LM configuration is different because the perspective of the speaker has shifted from that of temporal deixis.²²⁰ However, one cannot make a temporal sequence utterance in BH without reference (e.g. deixis) to another event. In this way, deixis can serve as a parent category for sequence.

5.3.1.6 Cause

Cause <i>because</i>	
	כִּי־מֵלֵא הָאָרֶץ חַטֹּאת מִפְנִימָה I have determined to make an end of all flesh, for the earth is filled with violence because of them (Gen 6:13)
מִלְפָנִי	1 Sam 8:18; 2 Chr 32:7
מִפְנִי	Gen 6:13b; 7:7; 27:46; 31:35; 36:7; 41:31; 47:13; Ex 3:7; 8:20; 9:11b; 19:18; Lev 19:32 (crs Control); Num 32:17; Deut 28:20; Jos 2:11; 4:7, 23a, b; 5:1b; 6:1; 9:24b; 23:3; Jdg 2:18; 5:5a, b; 6:2, 6; 2 Sam 7:23 (disputed); 1 Kgs 5:17; 8:11; 2 Kgs 16:18; Isa 7:2, 16; 17:9; 19:16, 17, 20; 26:17; 30:17a (crs anterior loc.), b (crs anterior loc.); 51:13; 57:1; 64:1; Jer 4:4; 26a, b; 5:22; 7:12; 9:6; 13:17; 14:16; 15:17; 21:12; 23:9, b, 10; 25:16, 27, 37, 38, b; 26:3; 32:24; 37:11; 38:9; 41:9, 18a; 44:3, 22, b, 23; 46:16; 50:16; 51:64; Ezk 14:15; 16:63; 38:20; Hos 10:15; Amos 2:9; Micah 1:4; Nah 1:5; Hbk 2:20; Zeph 1:7; Psa 17:9; 38:4, b, 6; 44:17; 55:4; 68:3; b, 9, b; 102:11; Job 17:12 (disputed); 23:17, b; 30:11; 35:12; 37:19; Lam 5:9, 10; 2 Chr 5:14; 12:5
often with כִּי (Gen 6:13; Jos 2:11; Job 23:17; 2 Chr 5:14)	

Building from spatio-temporal metaphors, the causative usage is used in dominance frames wherein the causative force is threatening (1 Kgs 5:17; Psa 17:9). However, there are also some causal usages that are at least not as threatening as the majority of such usage (Psa 68:3) and some that are negative, but not necessarily threatening (Ezk 16:63).²²¹

220. These TR-LM diagrams are culturally bound to the creator's cultural assumptions on movement and time. Because of a particular cultural embodied experience, time is assumed to "move" from left-to-right like a Western timeline. Knowledge of this assumption clarifies shift in the way time "moves" in TR-LM diagrams.

221. While the presence of a prefixed **מִן** may explain the causal semantic force of this usage in general, it does not explain why **לְ** is preserved in (1 Sam 8:18; 2 Chr 32:7). This may be evidence for the semantic chunking of **לְפָנִי** and reason to treat **לְפָנִי** and **מִפְנִי** as two forms on one cline: the **פָנִי** cline. Verifying this would

5.4 Conclusions

This chapter has reviewed the relevant BH literature regarding מ/לפנִי, summarized the collection and analysis processes of the data organized by morphological groups, and lastly presented a lexical semantic account of מ/לפנִי with usage-based tools. Six configurationally distinct usages have been identified and presented in the semantic network (§5.3.1.1-6).

It has also been shown that one can plausibly reconstruct one grammaticalization cline from the data of both לפנִי and מפנִי as there are no usages which some form of do מַן + לפנִי or מפנִי or מפנִי and לפנִי as there are no usages which some form of do not both symbolize. If meanings have words (De Blois 2001:4-8), then it is possible to trace two words back through the same meanings, as has been done here with מ/לפנִי. However, at this stage, this may only be claimed of מ/לפנִי, not yet of prepositions with פנִי in general.

To further investigate how פנִי evolved into other semantic chunks, one would need to examine all the instances of that form (such as עלי-פנִי or בפנִי or פנִי or פנִה). However from the 1,000+ examples here of mostly relational forms of *פנִה*, some information is available. The (limited) comparative Semitic data (§5.1.1) supports the consensus (in philology and grammaticalization theory) that the relational forms of *פנִה* in BH and /pn̩m/ in Semitic at large originate from the egocentric *face* noun. The comparative Semitic data also shows that while nominal and relational usages are present at all stages of North Semitic, verbal usages are only present at later, younger stages of a language (like Neo-Babylonian). It is plausible that such changes also occurred in BH or that BH speakers used their language in a way that already allowed for such linguistic diversity—noun, relational, and verbal—from earlier sources of Semitic. Either way, the data suggests that the /pn̩h/ root evolved in a noun-relational-verbal cline.²²²

require a usage-based analysis on other expressions of prepositions with פנִי.

222. Though not historical linguistic literature, the usage-based *space grammar* of Jaminjung (Schultze-Berndt 2006:108) attests location nouns (front/back) that develop into verbs and then coverbs; however, they do not

originate from body-part terms. Also Ameka and Essegbe (2006:367-369) describe spatial language in Ewe, noting that all prepositions derive from verbs (and thus classified as verbids) while most postpositions in Ewe have evolved from body-part nouns. While not exemplifying an exact noun-relational-verbal cline, the changes in the spatial language of Jaminjung and Ewe show that the embodied experience between bodies (nouns), movement (verbs), and bodies in movement (relationships) is related. Thus, with the comparative Semitic data regarding /pn̩/ and the BH data, it is reasonable to posit such a cline.

6. תחתה

As previously stated (§2.6.1), Rodriguez (2011) applied cognitive linguistic methods to the lexical semantic description of תחתה. This chapter serves as a revision and update to that work.

The goal of this chapter is to give a plausible usage-based account of the lexical semantics of תחתה in BH. Using the toolbox method described in §3.4, this chapter will do three things to accomplish this goal: 1) review the relevant BH literature regarding תחתה in §6.1, 2) summarize the data collection and the analysis processes in §6.2, and 3) present a lexical semantic account of תחתה in BH in §6.3.

תחתה is the odd word of the three studied in this dissertation. אחר and לפני are clear body part terms, used in poly- and heterosemous ways in BH. It is argued here that תחתה is also a body part term used to construe relational utterances by its egocentric nature. In keeping with the anatomic language used thus far (*posterior* for אחר and *anterior* for לפני), the egocentric nature of תחתה can be thought of as *inferior*.²²³ But, as will be shown, not all scholars view תחתה this way. Some do no posit a body part origin for תחתה. Thus, in addition to providing an analysis of the form from an embodied cognitive perspective, part of the task of this chapter is to justify the study of תחתה within the domain of body part terms. As discussed in §3.2, one may ask why (in BH) frequently used body part terms such as אח"ר and פנ"ה are used as relationals for posterior and anterior space relations, but תחתה, which is infrequently or arguably never used as a body part term,²²⁴ and על, which is not a body part term, are used for inferior and superior space relations.

223. That would make על *superior* anatomically. However, as stated in the introduction, since there is no evidence that any form of על, עלי, עלה, or עלה was used as a body part term, it is not included in this dissertation.

224. There are, arguably, a few body part usages of תחתה in BH, one of which could be the Leviathan's body in Job 41:22. See §6.1.3.2.7.

6.1 Literature review

6.1.1 Comparative Semitics

In Arabic, the root phoneme /tħt/ functions as things (*/taħtun/ lower part*) and relationals (*/taħta/ under, below*) (Wright 1898:182). The relational usages can also describe social relations, such as that of woman under husband's authority */kānat taħta tulānin/ (she was under [the authority of]...)* (Lane 1863:298). Ge'ez attests verbal forms */teħta/ (to be humble)*, nominal forms */maħett/ (lower part, inferior part with prefix m)*, and relationals */taħta, maħetħta/ (under, below)* (Lambdin 1978:438-439). Sabaean Arabic also attests multiple relational usages of the phoneme /tħt/ glossed as *under, by the authority of, lower/lowest* (Biella 1982:533).

The Canaanite inscriptions at El Amarna attest a relational usage */ta-ah-ta-mu/ (under them)* (EA 252:26). Ugaritic forms of /tħt/ attest a body part usage (*lower parts*), prepositional usages (*under, subordinate to, among*) and an adjectival usage */ħty/ (lower)* (Del Olmo Lete and San Martin 2004:865-866). Ugaritic even likely attests a sense of substitution/succession for the phoneme.²²⁵ Phoenician/Punic attest a basic spatial sense *under* for the phoneme in addition to other usages glossed *place (in one's place)* and a specific geographic relational *south of* (Krahmalkov 2000:489-490). Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995:1209-11) note spatial attestations in Nabatean and Palmyrenean. The phoneme /tħt/ is infrequent in epigraphic Hebrew.²²⁶ In Yiddish, the word *tuchus* (often used in American English) used for *buttocks* is derived from נְתַחַת.²²⁷

225. "ħt is attested only in one prose document where we read three times: PN¹ ħt PN²... Does this mean *under*?... An alternative interpretation is to understand the first name as representing a person substituting for the one mentioned second" (Parker 1970:60).

226. Ophel 3 - /mħħt/ (*under*) (Gogel 1998:426).

227. For example, a 2010 article from *The Atlantic* magazine considered some words that the New York Times newspaper refuses to print. As non-technical terms common in American English, *tush* versus *tuchus* were considered in place of *buttocks*, but *tuchus* was ruled out as too inelegant (Goldberg 2010, available online <http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2010/06/words-that-the-new-york-times-will-not-print/57884/>).

From the survey conducted, it appears the /tħt/ phoneme is an artifact of ancient West Semitic with northwest and southwest varieties. Some languages, like Ge'ez, have many verbal usages, while others, such as Ugaritic, attest many relational usages. Many Semitic languages attest a submissive metaphorical usage indicating social inferiority. While not abundant, there is evidence of a body part origin.

6.1.2 Grammars

6.1.2.1 The Gesenius Tradition

As stated in §4.1.2 and §5.1.2, BH philologists recorded that nouns were the etymological source of prepositions and **תְּחִתָּה** is no exception. Also, as with the tsere-yod in אֶחָרִי, JM (§103n) identifies **תְּחִתָּה**'s construct plural form as a pseudo-plural that developed as an analog to **לְשָׁן**'s construct plural form in order to take a pronominal suffix. JM (*ibid*) glosses the form as *under* and GKC (§101a) notes that the original *under part* has come to be used as *under*.

6.1.2.2 Functional approaches

WO (1990:220-221) describe **תְּחִתָּה** as an original noun, glossed *what is below*, that has come to be used as a preposition. The authors footnote that **תְּחִתָּה** could have originally meant *place*. WO describe four semantic usages of the preposition by way of English gloss: 1) *under* (Gen 7:19), 2) *in place, on the spot* (1 Sam 14:9), 3) *in place of, instead of* (Ex 21:23), and 4) *under the control/authority of* (Gen 41:35).

תְּחִתָּה in Gen 7:19 symbolizes an inferior spatial relationship while in 1 Sam 14:9 it symbolizes an inferior place/spot relation, indicating the location of the action **נִפְעַל**. The inferior spatial relationship is made metaphor of in context with **בְּ** in Gen 41:35. WO describes **תְּחִתָּה** in Ex 21:23 as a substitution relation, though in this case, the life given is not simply in place of the first life, but as compensation for it (which other interpreters refer to as *exchange*, see §6.1.3.1.4.2a).

BHRG (§39.21) semantically describes **תְּחִתָּה** in two ways: as an indicator of spatial

positioning(s) and as an indicator of substitution. According to the authors, **תַּחַת** can indicate an inferior spatial position glossed *under* (Gen 7:19), a metaphorical inferior spatial position also glossed *under* (Gen 41:35), an inferior place position glossed *on the spot* (1 Sam 14:9), and substitution relationships (Ex 21:23).

6.1.3 Lexica

As in previous chapters, the BH lexica reviewed here include GHCL, BDB, HALOT, G18, and DCH. SDBH has not yet completed **תַּחַת**, so it is not considered here.

6.1.3.1 The Gesenius Tradition

Rodriguez (2011:13-23) reviewed much of the lexicographic material of the Gesenius tradition with the exception of G18 and DCH (though of course DCH does not use the methodology of the Gesenius tradition), as those lexica were not fully published during the writing of Rodriguez (2011). That review was done with the purpose of evaluating each lexicographic work within the philological tradition according to Gesenius' rules for lexicography (§2.3.1). In this review, obvious deviations from Gesenius' rules will be noted, but the purpose here is simply to describe the lexicographic entries for **תַּחַת** in each respective lexicon to understand the scholarly lexicographic consensus.

6.1.3.1.1 GHCL

GHCL (1954:862) describes **תַּחַת** as originally a substantive meaning *lower part, that which is below*. However, the lexicon also notes that **תַּחַת** may have derived from a verb based on Arabic evidence, "It may, however, be doubted whether **תַּחַת** final be primary and radical, or secondary, which latter opinion is supported by the Arab. *tah* to go down and dip (one's finger); whence **תַּחַת** may be derived, like **תְּמִימָה** from **תְּמִימָה**" (ibid). However, as noted in Rodriguez (2011:16), Gesenius-Mühlau-Volck (1886:896) (the tenth edition of the *Handwörterbuch*) explicitly reject the notion that **תַּחַת** is derived from a verb based on Arabic verbal evidence, and Gesenius-Buhl (1921:876) (the seventeenth edition of the *Handwörterbuch*) omits the information about the possible verbal origin altogether. GHCL uses the hypothesis of verbal

origin as a basis for the use of case language to describe certain usage of תְחִתָּה: the so-called adverbial accusative (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13). While labeling these usages as kinds of adverbs may tell of their syntactic function, it does not explain what תְחִתָּה means in these cases.

GHCL (*ibid*) then divides its description of תְחִתָּה in two parts. The first tracks the adverbial and prepositional usages that derive from the substantive *lower part*. The second part tracks adverbial, prepositional, and conjunctive usages that derive from a *place* noun usage (glossed in GHCL as *what is under any one, the place*).

6.1.3.1.1a lower part, adverb, preposition

The relational usages based on the inferior substantive include the so-called adverbial accusative (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13) and prepositional usages (Dan 9:12; Ex 24:4). However, these two prepositional usages are not semantically equivalent. In Dan 9:12, תְחִתָּה symbolizes the inferior locative relation between earth (where human activities are performed) and the heavens, the superior point of reference, or landmark, by which *the actions against Jerusalem which have never been done* are profiled. In Ex 24:4, תְחִתָּה symbolizes an approximate locative relationship because the altar which is built is not literally *under* a mountain, but at the base of the mountain.

These prepositional usages are also described when used with verbs of motion as *beneath, under any thing* (Jdg 3:30).²²⁸ In Jdg 3:30, a TR is subdued (תַּחַנֵּה) *under* a LM of control/authority (תַּחַת). With these contextual factors, תְחִתָּה symbolizes an inferior social relationship.

For the remainder of this first subcategory, GHCL describes usages of תְחִתָּה with other prepositions: מִתְחִתָּה (Ezk 47:1; Deut 7:4), מִתְחִתָּה לְ (Ex 30:4), לִמְתְחִתָּה (1 Kgs 7:32), and אֶל תְחִתָּה

228. GHCL further lists Gen 18:4; 2 Sam 22:37, 40, and 48. One may question the inclusion of Jdg 3:30 as to whether or not the nifal form of נִפְנֵה should properly be regarded as a verb of motion.

(Jer 3:6). In Ezk 47:1 and Deut 7:4, מִן functions as a marker of origin (Lemmer 2014:93-96) and an ablative path (WO §11.2.11b), respectively. In Ex 30:4 and 1 Kgs 7:32, the prefixed מֵ and לְ function together as fixed orientation expressions ("direction where a thing is located" WO 1990:212). 1 Kgs 7:32, the prefixed לְ may be understood as functioning as a locative marker, but the מֵ is a bleached element in the מִתְחַת chunk. In Jer 3:6, the preposition לְ may account for symbolizing a path of the participle form of הָלַךְ. In that case, מִתְחַת is governed by לְ and symbolizes the *place* where the motion terminates.

6.1.3.1.1b place, adverb, preposition, conjunction

GHCL (ibid) then describes the second subcategory which tracks adverbial, prepositional, and conjunctive usages that derive from a *place* noun usage of מִתְחַת, glossed as *what is under any one* (Zech 6:12; Ex 16:29). This *place* comes to be used as a relationship *in place of*, *instead of* and the lexicon notes that this is "used of those who succeed into the place of another" (Lev 16:32; Est 2:17). This basic *in place of* relationship then explains *exchange* contexts, according to GHCL (Gen 30:15; 1 Sam 2:20; 1 Kgs 21:2). GHCL notes that with the relative (pronoun) רַשָּׁא the chunk functions as a conjunction, glossed *instead of that* (Deut 28:62). Finally, GHCL records a few occurrences of מִתְחַת symbolizing causal relationships, both with רַשָּׁא (Deut 21:14) and with כי (Deut 4:37).

In Zech 6:12 מִתְחַת functions as a *place* noun, indicating either the place *from* (מִן of origin in Zech 6:12) which they should go or the place at which they should stay (Ex 16:29). In Lev 16:32 the *place* noun is used relationally, hence symbolizing substitution relationships, in the context of priestly succession in Lev 16:32. The substitution relationship is further specified as *exchange* to describe the function of מִתְחַת in Gen 30:15. In this case, something is not just given in the place of another, but another thing is given back in return. One may account for this two-way movement within the larger context of trade. Finally in Deut 21:14 מִתְחַת אשר and כי function as causal conjunctions. GHCL does not note that the causal semantic usage

functions conjunctively in addition to the substitution usage.

6.1.3.1.2 BDB

BDB ([1906]2006:1065-1066) organizes its נָמָן entry much in the same way as GHCL. נָמָן is a masculine noun glossed *the under part* which is then used as an adverbial accusative (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13, see §6.1.3.1.1 for both). This adverb comes to be used as a spatial preposition (2 Sam 22:37; Dan 9:12, see §6.1.3.1.1a) which develops inferior-based metaphors, such as *being subject to* or *under the authority of* (Num 5:19; Ezk 23:5). Except for Num 5:19 and Ezk 23:5, all of these verses are used in the same way as in GHCL (§6.1.3.1.1) and so will not be further described here. The context of husband-wife relationships instantiates the notion of dominance/submission because of the inferior spatial relationship symbolized by נָמָן which is now extended into a social domain. Note the similar usages in other Semitic languages (§6.1.1).

Next, similar to GHCL, BDB (*ibid*) then describes usages of נָמָן based on the *place* noun (Ex 16:29, see §6.1.3.1.4.2a) (as opposed to *the under part* noun). This *place* comes to be used to describe substitutionary relationships *in place of* (Gen 4:25) and succession relationships (Lev 16:25). BDB includes Job 34:26 in this *in place of/instead of* category, contra GHCL which regarded נָמָן in this instance as symbolizing causation. The lexicographers also note that this *instead of* sense is also used in exchange context, which it defines as "of things mutually interchanged" (Gen 30:15, see §6.1.3.1.1b). With the exceptions of Job 34:26, which is treated differently in BDB than in GHCL but still listed as an example in §6.1.3.1.1, and Gen 4:25, which was not listed as an example in §6.1.3.1.1, these verses are handled in the same manner that GHCL handled them and can be reference in §6.1.3.1.1. נָמָן in Gen 4:25 is a good example of substitution as distinct from the exchange nuance. This other child will take *place of* his brother, but the first child was not given away as in exchange contexts (see §6.1.3.1.1b)

BDB ([1906]2006:1066) then describes תחת as a conjunction in תחת אשר (Deut 28:62) and תחת כי (Deut 4:37). BDB handles these verses as GHCL does and so they can be referenced in §6.1.3.1.1b.

Finally, BDB (ibid) describes תחת's usages with other prepositions. The only difference between the manner which BDB does this and GHCL is that BDB orders the collocations alphabetically: מתחת ל, מתחת, אל-תחת, and למתחת. BDB's descriptions of these forms does not differ from those of GHCL and so they may be referenced in §6.1.3.1.1a.

6.1.3.1.3 HALOT

HALOT (2000:1721-1723) introduces תחת as a substantive which has come to be used as a preposition. Regarding comparative Semitics, the lexicographers note that the phoneme /tħt/ is "Semitic except for Akkadian)" and then list many comparative examples from ancient Semitic sources, which can be referenced in §6.1.1.

This substantive that HALOT posits as original is glossed *what is located underneath, below* (Ex 24:4, see §6.1.3.1.1a; Deut 4:11). This substantive comes to be used to describe the spatial relation glossed as *in his place* (2 Sam 2:23; Isa 25:10). Ex 24:4 and Deut 4:11 are both *foot of the mountain* examples of תחת. In 2 Sam 2:23 and Isa 25:10, תחת functions as a *place* noun which is construed as inferior in relation to one's body.

HALOT (ibid) then records usages of the substantive-turned-preposition, glossed *below, underneath*. A prototypical usage of this preposition, according to HALOT, is Qohelet's use of the word in his famous phrase תחת השם (Qoh 1:3). This is similar to the usage of תחת שמי in Dan 9:12 (see §6.1.3.1.1a).²²⁹ In this case, human activity is construed in terms of its universal inferior relationship to the sun.

229. Within this grouping, HALOT includes submission metaphors based on spatial inferiority (Num 5:19, see §6.1.3.1.1).

Next, HALOT (ibid) groups substitutionary usages of **זההַת** based on the *place* substantive (Gen 2:21). This subcategory also includes instances of exchange (Gen 30:15, see §6.1.3.1.1b; 44:4; Psa 38:21); however, the lexicographers note, "as recompense for, but this meaning can not be firmly separated from a *in place of*".

Lastly, HALOT (ibid) lists "**זההַת** with particles" as the final subcategory under the *in place of, instead of* sense. Like BDB, HALOT orders these formations alphabetically: **זההַת אל-זההַת**, **זההַת ל-זההַת מ-זההַת**, and all the formations constructed from **זההַת מ-זההַת** (see §6.1.3.1.1a-b). The main difference between HALOT's organization of **זההַת** with particles compared to BDB's is the inclusion of **זההַת כ-זההַת** and **זההַת א-זההַת** in the alphabetical list, rather than separating them out as conjunctions with their own subcategory.

6.1.3.1.4 G18

G18 (2013:1435) concludes from its presentation of the comparative Semitic data of the phoneme /ṭht/ that the etymology of **זההַת** can be traced to a noun it glosses as *das Untere (the bottom)*.²³⁰ This noun has come to be used as an adverb, preposition, and conjunction. G18 also lists some usages with other prepositions.

6.1.3.1.4.1 Adverb

Unlike previous editions of the *Handwörterbuch*, G18 does not use the case language *adverbial accusative* to describe some of the usages of **זההַת**.²³¹ Rather, G18 uses a gloss describing these adverbial usages as *drunten (down below)*. The lexicographers note that this usage is infrequently realized by **זההַת** alone (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13, see §6.1.3.1.1 for both) and more often occurs with the preposition **מ-** in parallel with **מגעֵל** (Ex 20:4).

230. This seems to settle the etymological discussion within the editions of the *Handwörterbuch* (see §6.1.3.1.1).

231. See Gesenius-Mühlau-Volck (1886:896) and Gesenius-Buhl (1921:876).

6.1.3.1.4.2 Preposition

G18 (ibid) records that **תַּחַת** functions as a polysemous preposition which can be summarized by two main functions: 1) instances of the place under someone or something (*auf der Stelle unter jemandem oder etwas*) (i.e. inferior place), and 2) instances of inferior spatial relation (*unter; unterhalb*).

6.1.3.1.4.2a Place relation

The instances of the place under someone or something are subcategorized into two groups: a) *on the spot, in place* (*auf der Stelle, am Platz*) (Ex 16:29) and b) *instead of* (*anstelle von*) (Gen 22:13; Psa 45:17) and *exchange* (*als Entgelt für*) (Gen 30:15, see §6.1.3.1.1b; Ex 21:26).

In Ex 16:29, **תַּחַת** symbolizes the location of motion which **שָׁא** occupies in this utterance. Each person should stay *in his spot/place*, which is construed as an inferior place via **תַּחַת**. While this is not a substantive usage because the *spot* or *place* is not the object of **יָשַׁב**, the substantival origin (**תַּחַת** as *inferior place* noun) of this relational usage is detectable. Each person stays *in his spot* (in parallel with **מִקְרָב**) for the appointed amount of time. Hardy (2014:204-205) uses such examples to demonstrate the grammaticalization change from **תַּחַת** as an *inferior place* noun to *in place of* as a preposition. However, beyond the initial comparative Semitic data, G18 does not categorize **תַּחַת** as a substantive, noun, nor any kind of thing. **תַּחַת** as *place* in G18 is strictly a spatial relation.

Gen 22:13 and Psa 45:17 demonstrate more instances of *place* as a relation usages of **תַּחַת**. In Gen 22:13, the animal is substitute for Isaac in the blood sacrifice ritual and in Psa 45:17 the sons of the king will be successors to their ancestors. This does not mean that **תַּחַת** has specialized cultic and royal usages. Rather, as a symbol of *place* relations, **תַּחַת** is useful in many diverse contexts where a *place* occupied by one is assumed by another. In this way, the function of a sacrificial animal is a *place* that can be assumed by another, as well as the office

of a king—that office is construed as a *place* to be inherited by successive generations.

G18 (*ibid*) notes a semantic distinction between the kind of *place* relations in Gen 22:13 and Psa 45:17 versus the kinds of place relations in Gen 30:15 and Ex 21:26. The former are grouped as *in place of* whereas the latter are grouped as *exchange*. In the former, a participant vacates a *place* and a new participant occupies it (as in the royal succession of Psa 45:17). In the latter group, the participants give (though not always consensually, as the slave's eye in Ex 21:26) something to each other in order to get what the other has. However, the notion of *giving a thing* in order to *get a thing* is contextually supplied in each case and not instantiated by **תַּחַת** alone. In Gen 30:15, the mandrakes from Leah's son are given in exchange for Rachel's status as primary wife (for that night only). This is a substitution for both women (mandrakes substitute for status for Rachel and status substitutes for mandrakes for Leah). However, that this mutual substitution as an exchange relies on more contextual factors beyond the preposition **תַּחַת**, namely the valency of **לְ** in this case (and the statement in v16 that Jacob had been "bought" (**רִכְשָׁה**)). The same can be said of **תַּחַת** in Ex 21:26. The freedom paid to the slave takes the *place* of his or her damaged eye. That this place-taking is compensation is only known in context as **תַּחַת** does not instantiate compensation on its own. In these two cases, there is a clear distinction between taking one's place and exchanging places; however, these distinctions are contextual. G18 does well to note these distinctions but not create a new category for them (unlike DCH and Rodriguez 2011, see §6.1.3.2 and §6.1.4 respectively).

6.1.3.1.4.2b Inferior spatial relation

The instances of inferior spatial relation usages—glossed *unter, unterhalb (under, beneath)*—do not symbolize a participant's relation to a *place/spot*, but rather symbolize a spatial relationship with another participant which is construed as inferior in an anatomical sense

(Sng 2:6).²³²

The inferior spatial relationship is then used in more diverse contexts which map the spatial relationship onto a social relationship. In these cases a participant has an inferior social relationship with another. In different contexts, some of these relationships instantiate care/protection (Ruth 2:12) while others symbolize submission (Gen 16:9; Ex 21:20). In these cases, the notion of social inferiority is not symbolized by **זהה** alone but is also instantiated by nouns like **כָּנֶף** in Ruth 2:12 and **בַּיִת** in Ex 21:20, Gen 16:9, and Jdg 3:30. Without examples where only **זהה** can be attributed with representing a socially inferior relationship (without the help of other words), it is prudent, as G18 has done, to refrain from making another semantic subcategory for it.

6.1.3.1.4.3 Conjunction

G18 (*ibid*) records that **זהה** functions as a conjunction in the collocations **זהה אשר** (Num 25:13; Deut 21:14; 28:62; Ezk 36:34) and **זהה כי** (Prov 1:29). The examples demonstrate that **זהה** in these collocations can be used as a conjunction to join clauses with finite verbs. However, that does not address what these forms symbolize in each context. **זהה אשר** symbolizes a substitution relation in Deut 28:62 and Ezk 36:34. The number of the people will be few, in Deut 28:62, *instead of/in place of* being as numerous as the stars.²³³ Likewise, the desolate land will be tilled *instead of/in place of* continuing to be an eyesore in Ezk 36:34. The relevant collocations in Num 25:13, Deut 21:14, and Prov 1:29, both **זהה אשר** and **זהה כי**, symbolize causal relations between events. In these cases **זהה אשר** and **זהה כי** explain the

232. One may question the consistency with which G18 applies its method. This is not just an example of **זהה**, but of **ל זהה**. One could argue that this example properly belongs in the "זהה with prepositions" category in G18.

233. Contextually, this may prompt for a concessive-temporal force, as is shown in most English translations (NRSV *although once*, NET *though at one time*, JPS *after having been*). However, this does not necessarily indicate that one should add a concessive category for **זהה** or **זהה אשר** for lexical semantic description. Rather, the *place* relation usage is expressed in a conjunction which joins finite verbal clauses. From the perspective of the speaker/writer, these clauses are about Israel's past and future. Thus, the concessive-temporal nuance is contextual and not instantiated by **זהה אשר** alone. In Spanish, a simple *place* relation translation is adequate: *Y quedaréis en poca gente, en lugar de (in place of) haber sido como las estrellas del cielo en multitud; por cuanto no obedeciste á la voz de Jehová tu Dios* (Reina-Valera 1909).

reason for events joined together.

6.1.3.1.4.4 With prepositions

G18 (2013:1435-1436) describes the usages of **תחת** with other prepositions: **מתחת**, **מתחתה**, **למתחתה**, **על-תחתה**, **ל**, **עד-תחתה**, and **אל-****תחתה**. In some cases, the semantic contribution of the additional preposition(s) is discernible and prototypical, while in other cases the additional preposition seems to offer nothing semantically discernible and has been absorbed into the whole construction.²³⁴

G18 (ibid) records some usage of **מתחתה** in which **מן** functions as a preposition of origin and **תחתה** as a *place* noun symbolizes that origin (Ex 10:23), while in other cases, the preposition **מן** is semantically empty (Ezk 1:8). G18 does not distinguish these instances more than glossing them, because this category, unlike others, is morphological.

The lexicographers also records usages of **למתחתה**. In Gen 1:7 and Ex 30:4 (see §6.1.3.1.1b), the **מן** of **מתחתה** **מן** is a fixed expression with the preposition **ל** to generically mark a location (WO 1990:212). The constructions in Gen 35:8 and 1 Kgs 4:12 are similar; however, they are used to identify geographic locations (*geographische Lage* in G18). It is not implausible to interpret **מתחתה** in 1 Kgs 4:12 as *south of* because the location of Zarethan in relation to Beth-shean and Jezreel is known—Zarethan is *south of* them. (Thompson 1992:1041-1043). As demonstrated with **אחר** (§4.2.1c) and **לפני** (§5.2.1d), this would not be the first egocentrism to be used as a geographic relation.

G18 (ibid) also records the sole usage of **עד-תחתה** (1 Sam 7:11). This usage is also a geographic location. In this case, **עד** functions in a prototypical allative way (WO 11.2.12a).

Lastly for usages with **מן**, G18 (ibid) records the sole usage of **למתחתה** **ל** (1 Kgs 7:32, see

234. Most often, this happens with preposition **ן** when compounded with other prepositions, as was observed with **לפני** (for example, see §5.2.1.2c).

§6.1.3.1.1a). This collocation of prepositions is similar to that without the initial ל in 1 Kgs 7:30. In this case, the supports for the wheels are spatially inferior to (**מְתַחַת**) the basin. The packing on of (what seem to be extra) locative prepositions can be accounted for within the ל...ן expression of spatial orientation. These "extra" prepositions do not present the spatial configuration in a less ambiguous fashion, but rather make it clear that the whole construction is marking spatial relations.

Finally, for תחת with prepositions, the lexicographers (ibid) treat אל-תחת which they gloss *unter etwas (under something)* (1 Kgs 8:6; Jer 3:6; Zech 3:10; Lev 14:42). In 1 Kgs 8:6 and Lev 14:42, it is plausible that תחת functions as an *inferior place* noun within a prepositional phrase headed by ל. In both of these cases there is a terminating location of the movement, a goal which the process reaches. Moreover, אל-תחת in 1 Kgs 8:6 occurs fourth in a series of parallel ל + noun prepositional phrases. However, it is also possible (as with אחר, see §4.1.3.2) that אל-תחת in these verses is a double preposition construction. While that might stand to reason in Lev 14:42, it seems unlikely in 1 Kgs 8:6 due to the three other ל + noun prepositional phrases. In fact, this location is also in parallel with **מקום**.

Jer 3:6 and Zech 3:10 may also plausibly be viewed as nouns. Since these are both references to trees and one cannot be literally "under" a tree without being buried, it is likely that this is an approximation of inferior space. Smith (1984:202) notes regarding Zech 3:10 that sitting under one's vine and fig tree and enjoying the company of invited guests was a symbol of peace and prosperity. This cultural practice refers to being under the shade of a vine or limbs of a tree (and that one owns the vine and tree is a symbol of prosperity and that one has invited guests to enjoy the shade with is a symbol of peace). Thus the space to (ל) which the participants in this scene go is the spatially inferior spaces of the vine and tree.

6.1.3.2 DCH

DCH (2011:Vol 8, 621-627) categorizes its lexicographic entry for **תְּהִלָּה** into six groups: 1) *under* group, 2) *in place of* group, 3) in compounds, 4) adverb, 5) conjunctions, and 6) **תְּהִלָּה** מִנְמָר.

6.1.3.2.1 Under group

The *under* groups is a cluster of semantically related *under* usages of **תְּהִלָּה**. This group begins with spatial usages glossed *under; beneath, below* (Ex 17:12), then is used in contexts of authority (Num 5:19; Ezk 23:5, see §6.1.3.1.2 for both), care (Lev 22:27), burden (Prov 30:21-23), and suffering (Hab 3:7).

Ex 17:12 is a physical spatial usage of the preposition, symbolizing the inferior spatial relationship of the rock with Moses. Num 5:19 and Ezk 23:5 are examples of **תְּהִלָּה** functioning as a symbol of inferior social relations as a metaphor of inferior spatial relations. Unlike examples in G18 (§6.1.3.1.4.2b) which noted the use of **בְּ** and other nouns which can symbolize *power* and *control*, in these two examples the context of husband-wife relationship instantiates for a social relational usage and **תְּהִלָּה** symbolizes the inferior relationship of the wife to the husband. Likewise, the contexts of Lev 22:27, Prov 30:21-23, and Hab 3:7 all prompt for the various nuances—care, burden, suffering—by which DCH subcategorizes the **תְּהִלָּה** entry for its syntagmatic analysis.

6.1.3.2.2 In place of group

The *in place of* group is a cluster of related usages based on the notion of **תְּהִלָּה** as *inferior place*. This sense is used when something is given the place/location of another thing (Gen 2:21; Job 16:4), something is in its own place/location (1 Sam 14:9, see §6.1.2.2; 2 Sam 7:10), something is substitute for another thing (Gen 4:25; 2 Sam 18:33), something in succession with another (Deut 2:23; 10:6), something in exchange/as payment for another (1 Kgs 20:42), something on behalf of oneself (2 Sam 3:12).

In Gen 2:21 and Job 16:4 תְּהִתָּ symbolizes a real place relation: the path instantiated by the verb סַנַּר on the man's body in Gen 2:21, and the speaker's perspective as a place to be (rhetorically) occupied by others in Job 16:4.

In 1 Sam 14:9 and 2 Sam 7:10, תְּהִתָּ also symbolizes a real place relation; however, not to the place of another to be occupied, but one's own inferior personal space. This is most literally understood in places such as 1 Sam 14:9 where it describes the "path" of the verb עַמֵּד (which is not actually a path, but a non-path since this verb+תְּהִתָּ in this case means to not move from the space one occupies). 2 Sam 7:10 is a metonym. Here, נְשָׁכֵן+תְּהִתָּ is here applied to a community of people, localizing where they will dwell, *in their (own) place*. In this way, it is an example of metonymy.

In Gen 4:25 and 2 Sam 18:33, תְּהִתָּ symbolizes a substitution relationship. It is not clear in DCH how this subcategory differs from the first subcategory of this group, the *in place of* sense. These examples (Job 16:4, Gen 4:25, and 2 Sam 18:33) symbolize a real or irreal participant coming into the space/location of another participant who subsequently is no longer in view (because the substitute has now taken the place). In Deut 2:23 and 10:6, תְּהִתָּ also symbolizes a substitution; however, these are in the contexts of dispossession and official successions which תְּהִתָּ alone does not instantiate. 1 Kgs 20:42 is an instance of תְּהִתָּ symbolizing a substitution relationship within the context of chosen violence (**אִישׁ-דָּרְמֵי**) connotes an exchange relationship between the initial target of the violence and the one who will take his place.

The use of תְּהִתָּ in 2 Sam 3:12 is difficult. One must decide who the referent of the 3ms pronominal suffix is. If it is Abner, then תְּהִתָּ symbolizes a *place* relation of Abner to the messengers he sent—they go *in his place*. While this is a valid interpretation, DCH is not clear on how this is different from the first *in place of* subcategory. The only difference is

contextual. Since they are messengers and Abner does not go himself, they can be considered to go *on his behalf*.²³⁵ However, if the referent of the pronominal suffix is the most recent (in the sentence) singular, male noun, then it refers to David. In that case, **תְּהִתָּ** symbolizes the *place* relation of the messengers in relation to David. They are sent *to his place/spot/location*. While one can rightly interpret the BH text in either way, the textual evidence for this verse can contribute to how one will understand the usage of **תְּהִתָּ**. Rahlf's LXX renders **תְּהִתָּ** as the adverbial clause *οὐδὲ ἦν where he was*. The BHS apparatus also points to the Lucianic recension of the LXX which include the phrase *εἰς Χερσόνησον (to Hebron)*. Abegg et al (2014), who have grammatically tagged the biblical corpus of the DSS for electronic use, affirm this *Vorlage* with their reconstruction of 4Q51. If one takes this location information as original, then it is more likely that the referent of the 3ms pronominal suffix on **תְּהִתָּ** refers to David and **תְּהִתָּ** symbolizes a *place* relation that describes the path and termination point of the messengers sent by Abner.

6.1.3.2.3 In compounds

The third category by which DCH (ibid) organizes **תְּהִתָּ** is instances of the preposition in compound with other forms. These include **לְתְּהִתָּ**, multiple formations of **מִתְּהִתָּ** with and without other morphemes, **תְּהִתָּ-אֶל-**, and **לְתְּהִתָּ** (see §6.1.3.1.4.4).

DCH (ibid) records all the forms of **מִתְּהִתָּ** that occur in the Hebrew Bible: **לְמִתְּהִתָּ**, **מִתְּהִתָּ-לְ**, and **מִתְּהִתָּ-עַד-**. **מִתְּהִתָּ-עַד-** is divided into three subcategories of English glosses: 1) (*from*) *under*, (*from*) *beneath* (Prov 22:27), 2) *from under (the authority of)*, *from (being subject to)* (Hos 4:12), and 3) *from the place of, from (one's own) place* (Ex 10:23, see §6.1.3.1.4.4; Zec 6:12).

The preposition **מִן** in Prov 22:27 is ablative (WO 1990:212), and DCH describes **תְּהִתָּ** as an inferior relational marker. In Hos 4:12, an ablative **מִן** is prefixed to a *control/authority* usage

235. The KJV and many subsequent English versions interpret this way.

of **הַחָתָה**, according to DCH, symbolizes moving away from God's authority.²³⁶ One could argue, however, that this example is no different than the first subcategory of **מִתְחַת**, which includes Ex 18:10. The notion of authority in Ex 18:10 is symbolized by **יְהֹוָה**, and in Hos 4:12 the notion of authority is implicit in rejecting (**יְהֹוָה**) God (**אֱלֹהִים**). Since Hos 4:2 is DCH's only example of this subcategory and it is not contextually independent (in that **מִתְחַת** alone cannot account for the concept of authority), perhaps it should be considered with the first subcategory for **מִתְחַת**. In Ex 10:23, **הַחָתָה** functions as a *place* noun with a prefixed ablative **עַن**, and similarly in Zec 6:12, **הַחָתָה** also functions as a *place* noun; however, the prefixed **עַנ** marks the origin point for the motion **צָמֵת**. This demonstrates that the semantic overlap in morphological lists is typical and to be expected.

DCH also describes the compound **לְמִתְחַת** with two semantic divisions: *under, beneath* (Gen 1:7) and *below* (Gen 35:8; 1 Kgs 4:12) (see §6.1.3.1.4.4).

DCH then glosses the sole usage of **לְמִתְחַת** as *under, beneath* (1 Kgs 7:32, see §6.1.3.1.4.4 in relation to 1 Kgs 7:30).

DCH (ibid) also records the sole usage of **עַד-מִתְחַת** (1 Sam 7:11, see §6.1.3.1.4.4).

DCH (ibid) records the instances of **אֶל-מִתְחַת**, which are divided into two subcategories made by English gloss: *under* (Jer 3:6) and *in place of, in replacement of* (Lev 14:42). DCH also records the sole usage of **לְאֶל-מִתְחַת** (Ezk 10:2). Though DCH divides the usages of **אֶל-מִתְחַת** into two semantic groups, one could argue, as in §6.1.3.1.4.4, that they all can be understood by

236. This usage shows the egocentric origin of **הַחָתָה**. This usage is not only similar to other ablative movements from authorities using **מִתְחַת** (like the Egyptians in Ex 6:7, וְיֹרְשָׁם כִּי אָנִי יְהֹוָה וְיֹרְשָׁם כִּי אָנִי יְהֹוָה I will take you as my people, and I will be your God. You shall know that I am the Lord your God, who has freed you from the burdens of the Egyptians. NRSV), it is also similar to other embodied metaphors for infidelity to Yahweh, namely with this same verb, **זָנוֹה**, and, for example in Hos 1:2 (וְיֹאמֶר יְהֹוָה אֱלֹהִים נָזְנִים וְלֹא תְּזַנֵּה לְקַח-זָנוֹת אֲשֶׁר נָזְנִים בְּהַשְׁעָה פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּהַשְׁעָה בְּפִי נָזְנָה קָרְבָּן מְאֻחָד יְהֹוָה When the Lord first spoke through Hosea, the Lord said to Hosea, “Go, take for yourself a wife of whoredom and have children of whoredom, for the land commits great whoredom by forsaking the Lord.” NRSV). For more, see Stuart (1988:81).

the same basic usage invoked in different contexts. It is plausible to consider all the above examples of **אל-תחת** as instances of preposition **אל** plus the *place* noun **תחת** or as double preposition constructions.

6.1.3.2.4 Adverb

DCH (ibid) notes two morphologies for adverbial uses of **תחת**: the simple form **תחת** (Gen 49:25, see §6.1.3.1.4.1) and with **מ-** as prefix in **מתחת** (Deut 4:39). Both of these morphologies are glossed as *beneath, below*. As described in review of the grammatical material (§6.1.2.1), these usages are traditionally called adverbial accusatives. DCH has done away with the case language and simply refers to these as adverbs. These verses are more fully addressed in §6.1.4.11.

6.1.3.2.5 Conjunction

DCH (ibid) describes the conjunctive usages of **תחת** in three categories: **תחת אשר**, **תחת כי**, and **תחת כי-טוּב**. The simple morphology **תחת** is glossed *because* (Psa 38:21b). HALOT, however, labeled the occurrence in this verse as *exchange* (see §6.1.3.1.3), and made no comment regarding syntax. In Psa 38:21a, **ומשלמי רעה** is joined with **טובה** with **תחת**.²³⁷ The *repaying with evil* is a substitute for/takes the place of *the good*. In the *b* line, **ישׁטנוּי** is a substitute for/takes the place of **רָדְפִי-טוּב**, thus connecting clauses.

The formation **תחת אשר** is described by two glosses which differentiate between two usages: *because, since* (Jer 29:19; 2 Chr 21:12) and *whereas, although* (Deut 28:62, see §6.1.3.1.4.3). First in Jer 29:19, **תחת אשר** causally joins the events of v18 to v19, explaining why the events of v18 are so. Next in 2 Chr 21:12, **תחת אשר** is fronted, functioning as a causal conjunction which joins the clause it opens with the clause that logically follows. In this case, that is the **הנה** clause of 2 Chr 21:14. One may hypothesize then that **תחת אשר** is fronted so it may clearly

237. The verb here is a non-finite participle; however, given the poetic context and its parallelism with the yiqtol verb **ישׁטנוּי**, it is reasonable to interpret it as symbolizing an action. See BHRG §20.3 on continuous and imminent action usages of the participle.

function as the causal opener for many reasons that are given in 2 Chr 21:12-13 as justification for the affliction that is assured in v14.

The last conjunctive collocation, **תחת כי**, is glossed as *because* in DCH (ibid) (Deut 4:37; Prov 1:29). In these two examples, **תחת כי** is fronted and joins the clause it introduces with a following clause that logically completes the causal chain by stating the effect. In Deut 4:37, that **אהב אֶת־אֲבָתֶיךָ** *he loved your ancestors* is the cause for **ויזאך** *so he brought you out*. In Prov 1:29, the effect of the fronted causal statement is not given until v31. Like **תחת אשר** in 2 Chr 21:12 above, **תחת כי** here provides a causal opening for many reasons given in vss 29-30 which are stated to justify the response in v31.

6.1.3.2.6 תחת מה

DCH (ibid) treats **תחת מה** as an interrogative, glossing it *on account of what?, why?* (Jer 5:19). **תחת מה** in Jer 5:19, the sole occurrence of this collocation in BH, functions as an interrogative by exploiting the *in place of* usage, asking what action on their part is causing God to substitute another into their *place* of experience. This interrogative usage can be taken as evidence that the causal usage of **תחת** is an extension of the *inferior place* noun (as opposed to the body-part noun).

6.1.3.2.7 Other תחת entries

Finally, DCH (ibid) treats other usages of **תחת** which do not fit into the above categories in separate lexical entries. These include place and person names (Num 33:26-27; 1 Chr 6:9) and also noun usages which DCH did not account for in the larger descriptive framework for **תחת** (Job 34:26, see §6.1.3.1.2; Ex 10:23, cross-listed in DCH's "In compounds" category, see §6.1.3.2.3; Job 41:22).

DCH (2011:Vol. 8, 627) suggests that **תחת** in Job 34:26 can be understood as a substantive in construct with **רַשְׁעִים**, meaning *the lowest of the wicked* or also as a *place* relation, meaning *in place of their wickedness he strikes them*. In his commentary, Clines (2006:755) writes at

length on the history of interpretation of this verse, specifically this instance of **תְּהִנָּה**. He concludes (*ibid*), "The best solution is to take **תְּהִנָּה** as 'because of, for'..., as in 2 Sam 19:22 and Jer 5:19 (a sense not acknowledged by the lexica, though HALOT, 4:1723a §3a, allows 'as recompense for'), with the following noun revocalized to **רַעֲשָׂם** 'their wickedness'." However, Clines does not cite this verse in his causal sections of **תְּהִנָּה** in DCH. He does make room, in DCH (2011:Vol. 8, 627) that this usage can also be understood as *in the manner of, as though in place of or among* (positions he refuted in his commentary, Clines 2006:755). To be sure, this is a difficult verse for interpretation, the use of **תְּהִנָּה** in particular, and Clines' causal explanation (from his commentary) is plausible. However, this is not in spite of the *in place of* usage, but rather because of it. Just like Jer 5:19, which Clines cites as a similar usage, this is an examples of the *in place of* substitute/exchange relation coming to be used as cause. In the place of their wickedness, he strikes. The place once occupied by their wickedness is now occupied with striking; a substitution has occurred. Contextually, this is an explanation or a statement of cause. Thus, he strikes where they are because of their wickedness, which is located where they are. This is all done in a **מָקוֹם** where all can see. This place (**מָקוֹם**) is the same place of their wickedness (**תְּהִנָּה**).

DCH (*ibid*) identifies two nominal instance of **תְּהִנָּה** which it renders as *bed* because the LXX render **תְּהִנָּה** in these passages as **κοιτη** and **στρωμανη**, respectively. DCH has not in other instances based a reading of **תְּהִנָּה** on a translation of that text nor does DCH note other possible interpretations (which is the dictionary's practice in other cases). **תְּהִנָּה** in Ex 10:23 is similar to the usage in Ex 16:29 (discussed §6.1.3.1.4.2a), which is a *place* noun (i.e. *one's own place* or *where they were* as NRSV translates above). **תְּהִנָּה** in Job 41:22 can reasonably be understood as a noun because the context is a description of Leviathan's body. Clines (2011:1199, *italics added*) acknowledges this in his commentary on Job, noting the "...depiction of of the marks it leaves as it moves across the mud... Imagining its *nether parts*

as a threshing sledge fitted with sharp potsherds, the poet envisages how it will leave a deep imprint as it walks away from lying in a comfortable spot in the mud". This usage is one of the few remnants of the body-part origin of **תחת** in BH.²³⁸

6.1.4 Recent works: Rodriguez (2011)

Rodriguez (2011:61-71)²³⁹ posits nine semantic usages for **תחת** in BH: 1) substantive *under part*, 2) substantive *place/spot*, 3) an inferior locative category called "Vertical Spatial under", 4) an approximation of inferior space called "Approximately Under *foot of*", 5) substitution relationships *in place of/instead of*, 6) exchange relationship *in exchange for*, 7) control/authority relationships *under the control of*, 8) causal relationships *because*, and 9) "implied perspective *x below*".

6.1.4.1 Semantic network

While giving them new names in some cases, Rodriguez (*ibid*) has more-or-less described the same usages of **תחת** as already described by previous scholars (see Fig. 4). Some clear distinctions are the two nominal usages which are posited: *underpart* and *spot*, in attempts to distinguish the body part term from a general *inferior space* noun. As discussed above (§6.1.3), not all lexica recognize **תחת**'s body part origin. Secondly, most lexica treat phrases such as **השמים ממעל והארץ מתחת** *heavens above and earth below* as instances of an adverbial accusative, whereas Rodriguez posits an embodied category called *implied perspective*.

Rodriguez (2011:62, Fig. 4) orders the nine alleged usages in a plausible chronological order attempting to follow Gesenius' lexicographic rules about treating the language historically and ordering the senses as they developed. Rodriguez (2011) vaguely cites grammaticalization theory in the general process of semantic change which underpins his semantic network for **תחת** in that the change is from concrete to abstract usages. However

238. See also 2 Sam 22:37 (§6.1.3.1.1).

239. The methodology of Rodriguez (2011) is discussed in §2.6.1.

Rodriguez (2011) does not reference cross-linguistic typologies to support the semantic categories he identifies beyond those usages referenced in his comparative Semitics evaluation of the phoneme /t̪t/ (Rodriguez 2011:6-8).

Heine and Kuteva (2002:60-63) demonstrate how *buttocks* in various languages "on account of their relative location, are used as structural templates to express deictic location". In these cases, the body part noun comes to be used as an inferior space approximation (*bottom region*), then an adverb (*under, below*), and then a more grammaticalized inferior locative, such as a postposition in the Bambara language. Heine and Kuteva also give evidence from a few languages of an inferior *bottom* noun (which in the Susu language can be used to refer to the lower part of a body) which comes to be used as an adverb and adposition symbolizing spatial inferiority. The authors (ibid) write, "This grammaticalization is suggestive of a more general process whereby relational nouns (including nouns for body parts) give rise to relational (typically spatial or temporal) grammatical markers". These grammaticalization clines include an inferior body part coming to be used as personal inferior space (*bottom side*) and then as a symbol of inferior spatial relations (*under*) (ibid). It also includes such personal space *place* nouns used to symbolize substitutionary relations and causal relations (Heine and Kuteva 2002:239-240). However, whereas there is lots of typological evidence for a body part noun like **תְּהִלָּה** to be used as 1) an inferior personal space noun, 2) a symbol of inferior spatial relations, 3) a symbol of substitutionary relations, and 4) a symbol of causal relations, there is not overwhelming typological evidence that an inferior body part noun (*bottom*) solely (that is to say, without other contextual factors) functions to symbolize control/authority relations, exchange relations, nor so-called "implied perspectives". This is not to say that such usages of **תְּהִלָּה** are therefore not possible in BH, rather that Rodriguez's (2011) application of grammaticalization theory is not robust or consistent and so may be questioned. If a lexical semanticist uses grammaticalization theory as a guide and nevertheless posits semantic categories without cross-linguistic typologies to support such

categories, then some other justification should be offered, which Rodriguez (2011) does not for these categories.

The remainder of this section reviews each node in Rodriguez' (2011:62) semantic network for **תְּהִתָּה** in order to determine which categories may be preserved and which need reconsideration.

6.1.4.2 Substantive

Substantive <i>lower part/thing, underpart of</i>	
	בְּקַפְיוֹתֵרֶבֶת Job 41.22 Its underparts are jagged shards.
	מִקְנִים שְׁנִים וּשְׁלִישִׁים בְּעֵלָה Gen 6.16 make bottom, second, and third (decks)
תְּהִתָּה - Gen 6.16; Jos 15.19; Jdg 1.15; Isa 44.23; Ps 63.10; 88.7; 139.15; Job 41.16; Lam 3.55; Neh 4.7	
תְּהִתָּה - Jos 16.3; 18.13; 1Kgs 6.6; 9.17; Isa 22.9; Ezk 40.18, 19; 41.7; 42.5, 6, 9; 43.14; 1Chr 7.24; 2Chr 8.5	
תְּהִתָּה + noun/pro sfx - Job 28.5; 41.22;	
תְּהִתָּה-לְאַלְאָה - 1Kgs 8.6 (crs Approx. Under); Jer 38.11; Ezk 10.2; 2Chr 5.7 (crs Approx. Under)	

Figure 48: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:64)

This substantive node describes more than **תְּהִתָּה**, also including the adjectives **תְּהִתָּהִי** and **תְּהִתָּהִן**.

Note that these are not proper TR-LM diagrams as no relationship is depicted, rather these are reductionistic images used to describe kinds of noun usages.

The second frame diagram of Fig. 48 symbolizes more than the lexical semantics of **תְּהִתָּה**, but rather symbolizes the context of Gen 6:16. Further, one can question Rodriguez organization of morphosyntax, specifically when including prepositions with **תְּהִתָּה**. If **לְאַלְאָה** makes its own typical semantic contribution to the utterance, then there is no reason to include it in a lexical semantic analysis of **תְּהִתָּה**. One may assume that Rodriguez seeks to be thorough in listing all

formations, perhaps imitating DCH. However, listing all morphosyntax patterns in which a form occurs and describing the lexical semantics of that particular form are two different tasks.

6.1.4.3 Place

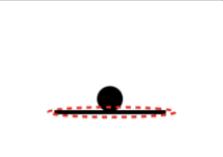
Place spot, place	
	אֶבְנִים הַקִּים יָחֹשֵׁעַ בָּרוּךְ תִּזְרֹעַן מִתְּחַמֵּס רַגְלֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים Jos 4:9 Joshua set stones in the middle of the Jordan at the place where the priests' feet were stationed.
תְּחַמֵּס + noun/pro sfx - Ex 16.29; Lev 13.23, 28; 14.42 (crs Substitution); Jos 4.9; 5.8; 6.5, 20; Jdg 7.21; 2Sam 2.23 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); 7.10; Isa 25.10; 46.7; Jer 38.9 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); Amos 2.13; Zech 12.6; Job 30.14 (crs Vertical Spatial and Control); 40.12; 1Chr 17.9; מִתְּחַמֵּס - Ex 10.23; Jdg 3.16 (crs Vertical Spatial); 1Sam 7.11; Zech 6.12; 14.10;	

Figure 49: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:65)

Fortunately, Rodriguez (2011) does not collapse all *thing* usages of *זהה* into one category. The *Place* category represents the *place, spot* noun usage which symbolizes personal inferior space. Jos 4:9 is a prototypical usage in this regard as it symbolizes the location upon which a person(s) stands.

6.1.4.4 Substitution

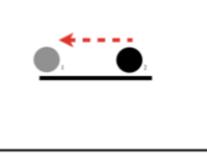
Substitution in place of, instead of	
	וַיֵּשֶׁב שֶׁלְמָה עַל־כִּסֵּא יְהוָה לְמִלְחָדָה קַרְבָּן אָבִיו 1Chr 29.23 Then Solomon sat on the throne of Yahweh as king in place of David his father.
תְּחַמֵּס + noun/pro sfx - Gen 2.21; 4.25; 22.13; 36.33-39 (1-7); 44.33; Ex 29.30; Lev 6.15; 16.32; Num 3.12, 41 (1-2), 45 (1-2); 8.16, 18; 32.14; Deut 2.12, 21-23, 10.6; Jos 5.7; Jdg 15.2; 2Sam 10.1; 16.8; 17.25; 19.1, 14; 1Kgs 1.30, 35; 2.35 (1-2); 3.7; 5.15; 19; 8.20; 11.43; 14.20, 27, 31; 15.8, 24, 28; 16.6, 10, 28; 19.16; 20.24; 22.40, 51; 2Kgs 1.17; 3.27; 8.15, 24; 10.35; 12.22; 13.9, 24; 14.16, 21, 29; 15.7, 10, 14, 22, 25, 30, 38; 16.20; 17.24; 19.37; 20.21; 21.18, 24, 26; 23.30, 34; 24.6, 17; Isa 3.24 (1-5); 10.16; 37.38; 55.13 (1-2); 60.15, 17 (1-4); 61.3 (1-3); Jer 22.11; 28.13; 29.26; 37.1; Ezk 4.15; 16.32; Ps 45.17; Job 31.40 (1-2); 34.24; 36.20; Prov 11.8; 21.18; Qoh 4.15 (2); Est 2.4, 17; Dan 8.8, 22; 1Chr 1.44-50 (1-7); 4.41; 5.22; 19.1; 29.23, 28; 2Chr 1.8; 6.10; 9.31; 12.10, 16; 13.23; 17.1; 21.1; 22.1; 24.27; 26.1, 23; 27.9; 28.27; 32.33; 33.20, 25; 36.1, 8 מִתְּחַמֵּס - Gen 30.2; 50.19 אֶל-תְּחַמֵּס - Lev 14.42 (crs Place) מִתְּחַמֵּס אֲשֶׁר - Ezk 36.34 (crs Causation)	

Figure 50: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:66)

This is the first true TR-LM diagram in Rodriguez' model and it is nonstandard in that it posits two participants as TRs. While nonstandard for TR-LM diagrams for prepositions such as *over* in Tyler-Evans (2003), such a multi-participant TR configuration over a LM is

necessary to symbolize one participant "leaving" its place while the next participant assumes it. This substitute is the TR in view. However, the LM is not the prior participant himself who is "leaving" the scene, rather it is that participant's *place* (the office of king in 1 Chr 29:23, above), which can be assumed by another.

6.1.4.5 Exchange

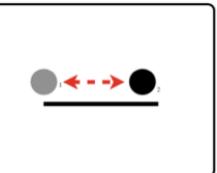
Exchange <i>in exchange/compensation for; in place of</i>	
	יִשְׁכַּב עָפָק הַלֵּילָה תֶּחֱתָּם דִּירָא בָּנָךְ. Gen 30.15 He may sleep with you tonight in exchange for your son's mandrakes.
<small>תָּמָם + noun/pro sfx - Gen 30.15; 44.4; Ex 21.23-27 (1-5), 36, 37; Lev 24.18; Jos 2.14; 1Sam 2.20; 24.20; 25.21; 2Sam 16.12; 1Kgs 20.39, 42 (1-2); 21.2, 6; 2Kgs 10.24; Isa 43.3-4 (1-2); Jer 18.20; Zeph 2.10; Ps 35.12; 38.21 (1); 109.4, 5 (1-2); Job 16.4; 28.15; Prov 17.13</small>	

Figure 51: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:67)

The exchange frame contains the same components in relation to each other (i.e. two TRs where one functions as substitute in the "space" of the first); however, in this case the constituent TRs are given in place of each other. However as HALOT notes though (see §6.1.3.1.3), this can be accounted for by other contextual factors and a new semantic category of exchange should be avoided.

6.1.4.6 Locative

Vertical Spatial <i>under, beneath</i>	
	Ex 17.12 וַיִּקְרֹב אָנוֹ וַיְשִׁיבוּ תְּחִזְקֵי They took a stone and put it under him.
	Qoh 1.3 מַה־יִגְרֹן לְאָדָם בְּכָל־עֲמָלוֹ שִׁיעַל תְּחִזְקֵי What benefit is there for man in all his effort at which he labors under the sun?
	1Kgs 4.12 אֶתְרָנָה פֶּמֶת לִיּוֹרֶשֶׁל to Zarethan south of Jezreel
תְּחִזְקֵי + noun/pro sfx¹ - Gen 7.19; 21.15; 24.2, 9; 47.29; Ex 17.12; 23.5 (crs Causation); 24.10; 25.35 (1-3); 26.19 (1-3); 21 (1-2); 25 (1-2); 33; 27.5; 36.24 (1-3); 26 (1-2); 30; 37.21 (1-3); 38.4; Lev 15.10; 27.32; Num 6.18; 16.31; 22.27; Deut 2.25; 4.19, 49; Jos 7.21; 22; 11.3, 12.3; Jdg 1.7; 2Sam 2.23 (crs Place and Control); 18.9 (1-2); 22.10; 22.37, 39-40&48 (crs Control); 1Kgs 5.5 (1-2); 7.44; 2Kgs 9.13; 16.17; Isa 10.4 (1-2 crs); 14.11; 57.5 (2); Jer 38.9 (crs Place and Control); 12 (1); 52.20; Ezk 1.23; 10.8, 20, 21; 17.6, 23; 20.37; 24.5; 31.6; Joel 1.17; Obd 7; Jonah 4.5; Micah 1.4; 4.4 (1-2); Hbk 3.16; Mal 3.21 (crs Control); Ps 10.7; 18.10, 37, 39-40 (crs Control); 45.6 (crs Control); 66.17; 91.4; 140.4; Job 20.12; 26.8 (crs Causation); 28.24; 30.7, 14 (crs Place and Control); 36.16; 37.3; 41.3; Ruth 2.12; Song 2.6; 4.11; 8.3; Qoh 1.3, 9, 13, 14; 2.3, 11, 17-20, 22; 3.1, 16; 4.1, 3, 7, 15 (1); 5.12, 17; 6.1, 12; 7.6; 8.9, 15 (1-2), 17; 9.3, 6, 9 (1-2), 11, 13; 10.5; Lam 3.34 (crs Control); Dan 9.12; Neh 2.14; 1Chr 17.1; 29.24; 2Chr 4.3, 15 תְּחִזְקֵי - Gen 1.7 & 9; 6.17; 35.8 (1); Ex 17.14; 20.4 (2); 30.4; 37.27; Deut 4.18; 5.8 (2); 7.24; 9.14; 25.19; 33.27; Jdg 3.16; 7.8; 1Kgs 4.12; 7.24 & 29-30; 2Kgs 14.27; Jer 38.12 (2); Ezk 1.8; 46.23; 47.1 (1-2); Job 26.5; Prov 22.27; Lam 3.66;	

Figure 52: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:67-68)

Next, Rodriguez (2011:67-68) describes the typical locative function that is most often associated with the preposition *תְּחִזְקֵי* in introductory grammars and vocabularies (Rodriguez 2011:2). As recorded in G18 (see §6.1.3.1.4.4), *תְּחִזְקֵי* in 1 Kgs 4:12 is here described as symbolizing a geographic direction *south*. Thompson (1992:1041-1043) notes that Zarethan is south of Jezreel and Beth-shean in the Jordan Valley, giving support to G18 and Rodriguez' geographical groupings.

Rodriguez (ibid) also provides two separate diagrams and marking patterns (\pm) to distinguish between instances wherein there is contact between TR and LM and instances where there is not. However contact between the TR and LM is not symbolized by *תְּחִזְקֵי* but construed

through other contextual factors. For example, in the larger context of Ex 17, the reader learns that Moses is growing tired and is given help to keep his arms raised. Part of this help is the impromptu use of a stone as a seat for Moses to sit on in v12. This stone is placed *under him*. The context of moving from a standing position to a sitting position instantiates the contact between the TR and the LM. From this perspective, the ± distinction is unnecessary in accounting for the semantics of **תַּחַת**.

6.1.4.7 Inferior space

Approximately Under <i>at the foot of, under (the shade of)</i>	
	וְתַקְרֹבָנִי וְפָעֵלְדוּן תַּחַת קֶרֶר Deut 4.11 You approached and stood at the foot of the mountain.
תַּחַת + noun/pro sfx - Gen 18.4, 8; 35.4, 8 (2); Ex 24.4; 32.19; Deut 4.11; 12.2; Jos 11.17; 13.5; 24.26; Jdg 4.5; 6.11, 19; 1Sam 14.2; 22.6; 31.13; 1Kgs 13.14; 14.23; 19.4-5; 2Kgs 16.4; 17.10; Isa 57.5 (1); Jer 2.20; 3.6, 13; Ezk 6.13 (1-2); Hos 4.13; Job 40.21; Sng 8.5; 1Chr 10.12; 2Chr 28.4	
תַּחַת - Ex 19.17;	
אֶל-תַּחַת - 1Kgs 8.6 (crs Substantive); 2Chr 5.7 (crs Substantive);	

Figure 53: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:69)

Having now viewed similar "approximate" spatial usages of other egocentric nouns-turned-prepositions (with **אחר** and **לפני**, see §4.3.1.2 and §5.3.1.1 respectively), one can argue with more embodied evidence that such nouns can also function as the space approximate to the body part. This can be thought of as personal space since the egocentrism starts with the human body, but as demonstrated with **תַּחַת**, this personal approximate space can also be of mountains (Deut 4:11, see §6.1.3.1.3).

6.1.4.8 Control metaphor

Control under (the hand/control/authority of)	
	Gen 16.9 and submit yourself under her hand
<small>תְּחִזֵּק + noun/pro sfx - Gen 16.9; 41.35; Ex 21.20; Lev 22.27; Num 5.19, 20, 29; Jdg 3.30; 1Sam 21.4, 9; 2Sam 2.23 (crs Place & Vertical Spatial); 3.12; 22.39-40&48; 1Kgs 5.17; Isa 3.6; 24.5 (crs Cause); Jer 38.9 (crs Place and Vertical Spatial); Hbk 3.7; Mal 3.21 (crs Vertical Spatial); Ps 8.7; 18.39-40 (crs Vertical Spatial); 48; 45.6 (crs Vertical Spatial); 47.4 (1-2); 106.42; 144.2; Job 9.13; 30.14 (crs Place and Vertical Spatial); Lam 3.34 (crs Vertical Spatial);</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - Ex 6.6, 7; 18.10; 2Kgs 8.20, 22; 13.5; 17.7; Hos 4.12; 2Chr 21.8, 10 (1-2)</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - 1Sam 21.5</small>	

Figure 54: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:69-70)

Rodriguez (2011:69-70) then moves to a metaphor of the inferior locative, the control usage.

Most usages of **תְּחִזֵּק** are employed to symbolize an inferior power relation (Gen 16:9, above). However, there are also cases of **תְּחִזֵּק** without **תְּ** that also connote submission (Lev 22:27; Num 5:19). Although, as discussed in §6.1.3.2.1, the parent-young and husband-wife relationships may instantiate such a metaphorical usage of **תְּחִזֵּק** in those contexts.

6.1.4.9 Cause

Causation under, because	
	Ex 23.5 your enemy's donkey fallen under/because of its load
<small>תְּחִזֵּק + noun/pro sfx - Ex 23.5 (crs Vertical Spatial); Isa 24.5 (crs Control); 61.7; Ps 38.21 (2); Job 26.8 (crs Vertical Spatial); Job 34.26; Prov 30.21-23;</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - Num 25.13; Deut 21.14; 22.29; 28.62; 1Sam 26.21; 2Kgs 22.17; Isa 53.12; Jer 29.19; 50.7; Ezk 36.34; 2Chr 21.12; 34.25</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - Deut 4.37; Prov 1.29;</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - 2Sam 19.22;</small>	
<small>תְּחִזֵּק - Jer 5.19;</small>	

Figure 55: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:70)

Rodriguez (2011:70) describes causal usages of **תְּחִזֵּק**. In these cases, the TR-LM diagram can be questioned as to how constituents are symbolized. In the above diagram, the TR functions as the cause of a change in the LM (hence, the straight line now is depressed in the center).

However, in Ex 23:5, cited above, מִשְׁאָה (*its load*)—the causal constituent—is the LM. Thus to correct this diagram, the LM (as the causal agent) should be depicted as causing a change in the TR (as done in the control/submission metaphor above, §6.1.4.8).

6.1.4.10 Implied ego

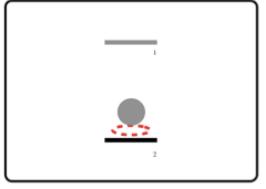
Implied Perspective <i>x below (the speaker)</i>	
	Gen 49.25 וַיֹּאמֶר בָּרוּךְ בָּרוּת שָׁמַיִם מֵעַל בָּרוּת תְּהוָם רַבְצָה תְּחִתָּה ברות שמים ו תהום He blesses you with blessings of the heavens above, blessings of the deep which lies below, blessings of the breasts and womb.
תְּחִתָּה - Gen 49.25; Deut 33.13	
תְּהוָם - Deut 32.22; Ezk 26.20; 31.14, 16, 18; 32.18, 24; Ps 86.13	
תְּמִימָה - Ex 20.4 (1); Deut 4.39; 5.8 (1); Jos 2.11; 1Kgs 8.23; Isa 14.9; 51.6; Amos 2.9; Job 18.16	

Figure 56: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:71)

Rodriguez (2011:71) posits a so-called "implied perspective" category as a way to—with an embodied cognitive framework—recast those examples of תְּחִתָּה in BH traditionally labeled as adverbial accusatives (§6.1.3.1). Since תְּחִתָּה is an egocentrism, it is reasonable to investigate its usages in relation to the body. As a modifier of the participle רַבְצָה in Gen 49:25 and Deut 33:13 (see §6.1.3.1.4.1 for both), תְּחִתָּה here certainly functions adverbially. However, one may still ask *Below or beneath what?* If the תהום lies down *below*, does this mean that the תהום is considered the superlative inferior location, in opposition to שמיים, in these verses, even lower than the *pillars of the earth* (Job 9:6)? As an egocentrism, it is plausible that the body part term has come to be so ubiquitous in ancient Hebrew as an inferior spatial symbol that reference to the body became unnecessary. Hence, the תהום is *beneath* one's body. Since human spatial experience with the heavens and underworld (literally meaning the skies and underneath the surface) is universal without the use of technology (meaning all humans share in the inability to move in these spatial domains which are accessible to animals with different types of bodies, like birds and fish), then one can reasonably interpret תְּחִתָּה in these so-called adverbial accusative contexts as egocentric expressions where the semantic salience

of the ego has lessened.

Rodriguez's TR-LM frame for this usage may be criticized. It is not the case that heavens and earth are the LMs in the merismus with an egocentric relationship to a TR. Rather, the implicit LM in the merismus is the ego. As the LM, the ego measures its spatial relationship to the respective TRs, heavens and earth, in terms of itself. This frame is updated in §6.2.1.3b.

6.1.5 Recent works: Hardy (2014)

Hardy (2014:193-211) describes the preposition **תְּהִתָּה** from a grammaticalization theoretical view. He begins with a comparative Semitic analysis of the phoneme /tħt/ (which is commensurate with the comparative Semitic analysis in §6.1.1) and also uses comparative Semitics to give a plausible explanation for the existence of two sets of some pronominal suffix forms which attach to **תְּהִתָּה** in BH.²⁴⁰

Based on his analysis of the BH data, Hardy posits five usages of **תְּהִתָּה**: a noun *place*, an adverb *below*, a preposition *under*, a preposition *instead*, and a preposition *cause*. These usages are explained historically in terms of their grammaticalization cline, from *place* to *cause*. Though acknowledged in his comparative Semitic analysis of the cognate forms, Hardy (*ibid*) does not recognize an anatomical usages of the noun in BH (only **תְּהִתָּה** as a *place* noun) and so excludes the body part origin from the cline he uses to describe the evolution of **תְּהִתָּה**. Also, Hardy (2014:196, 206) names "subjugative" relations (i.e. the control metaphor) as semantic function of **תְּהִתָּה** but notes that it is difficult to determine if this is a distinguishable sense from *under* or a metaphor used within the *under* category.

240. Hardy (2014:194-196) notes variant pronominal suffix formations for the 1cs, 3ms, 3mp, and 3fs suffixes. He argues from Ugaritic evidence (in Pardee 2003-2004:386) that the non-standard formations are plausibly evidence of a preservation of "frozen" Ugaritic particles used rarely in BH (Hardy 2014:196 calculates 12% of all occurrences of pronominal suffices with **תְּהִתָּה**). This explanation for the existence of these suffices is accepted and assumed in this dissertation.

Stage:	I	II	III
Noun	'place'	'place'	'place'
PREP		UNDER	UNDER
PREP		INSTEAD	INSTEAD
PREP			CAUSE

Figure 57: Taken from Hardy (2014:211)

6.1.5.1 Noun 'place'

Hardy (2014:197) records הַנָּסֶן's usage as a *place* noun, like many BH scholars (see §6.1.3), as the substantive origin of the word. Lev 14:42 might be a clear example of this usage because the preposition נְאָם can be attributed with symbolizing the trajectory of the verb וְהִבְיאֵי and הַחֲתָה identifies the termination point, a specific *inferior place*. Or it could be a double preposition construction (§6.1.3.2.3).

6.1.5.2 Adverb 'below'

Avoiding the case language of adverbial accusative, Hardy (2014:198) identifies the traditional adverbial accusatives simply as adverbs. While this describes the syntactic function of הַנָּסֶן in these two cases (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13, see §6.1.4.10 for both), it does not describe what הַנָּסֶן symbolizes in these cases. It does not symbolize a thing as a noun, nor does it symbolize a relationship as a preposition. As an adverb, it modifies the participle רָבָצָה, but an action performed *below* implies that that action is below something.

6.1.5.3 Preposition 'under'

Hardy (2014:199) describes the preposition *under* usage as the "locative relation designating that the trajector is located spatially subordinate to the landmark" (Jos 24:26).²⁴¹ He (ibid) then notes that this prepositional usage "may be further differentiated from the spatial noun where it is conjoined with a following noun phrase specifying a location" as in the noun

241. In keeping with anatomical language, *inferior* is preferable to *subordinate*. Otherwise, this is a suitable definition.

phrase מִצְבָּה רַנְלִי הַכֹּהֲנִים in Jos 4:9 (see §6.1.4.3). But this "spatial noun" to which he refers is not the *place* noun of his first usage category (§6.1.5.1) because he does not include Jos 4:9 in his list of *place* noun usages (Hardy 2014:197). Rather, this is some other so-called spatial noun which does not get a categorical description.²⁴² Hardy (2014:200, italics added) also notes a locative usage of תְּחִתָּה that symbolizes a path "*down a declivity or at the base of*" (Jos 11:3). The semantic distinction between this usage and a typical *under* preposition is noted but a new "decline" category for the usage is not created.

6.1.5.4 Preposition 'instead'

Hardy (2014:201) records a prepositional category for תְּחִתָּה which "may express the substitutive relation similar to English *instead* or French *au lieu de*" (Ex 21:23-24, see §6.1.2.2). He notes that this usage occurs in contexts of formal succession, family progeny, and ritual sacrifice. He also notes that some occurrences of תְּחִתָּה might more properly be understood as exchange rather than substitution (Hardy 2014:208). However, he limits תְּחִתָּה as exchange to only Gen 30:15 and 1 Kgs 21:2 (see §6.1.3.1.1b for both).²⁴³

6.1.5.5 Preposition cause

Hardy (2014:202-203) notes prepositional usages of תְּחִתָּה symbolizing causation (2 Sam 19:22).²⁴⁴

6.1.6 Literature review summary

The literature reviewed above demonstrates that תְּחִתָּה is rightly considered an original body part noun, and thus relevant to studies on egocentric spatial relations. Egocentric origin is evidenced in comparative Semitic attestations (§6.1.1) and assumed by most grammarians of the Gesenius tradition (§6.1.2). Semantically, scholars describe תְּחִתָּה as a symbol for a inferior

242. G18 (2013:1435) on the other hand categorizes תְּחִתָּה in Jos 4:9 as a *place* noun alongside other *place* noun usages like Ex 16:29, which Hardy (2014:197) does include in his *place* noun category.

243. It may also be noted that Hardy does not include Gen 30:15 in his list of *instead* usages (nor any usage). He notes (Hardy 2014:208) that it likely symbolizes exchange, but does not include it in his list of *instead* usages. It is possible this is a simple error in recording.

244. As noted in §6.1.3.2.7, Clines (2006:755) writes that תְּחִתָּה in 2 Sam 19:22 is causal.

noun, an inferior locative relationship, a relationship of substitution, and causation (§6.1.3). The inferior locative relationship is the foundation for some metaphors, namely for relationships of submission, while the substitution sense provides the base for a sense extension from relationships of substitution to relationships of exchange. Unlike **אחר** and **בְּ**, **תחת**, **לפנִי** never symbolizes temporal relationships. Finally, recent works demonstrate that all the polysemies of **תחת** are explained by tailoring usage-based approaches to be used as organization, descriptive, and finally explanatory tools applied to the **תחת** data of the Hebrew Bible (§6.1.4-5).

6.2 Data collection and analysis

This section will summarize the collection and analysis processes for the BH data under examination. Each instance of **אחר** is listed canonically in the data sets (available upon request), tagged by functional categories N, R, or V, and notated when relevant. As in chapters 4 and 5, examples have been grouped morphologically so that semantic overlap may be identified, following the toolbox methodology (see §3.4) These morphological groupings are summarized here.

תחת occurs 510 times in the BHS. 435 of these occurrences are of the form by itself (with or without a pronominal suffix). Another 40 of these 510 occurrences are with the prefixed preposition **בְּ** in the formation **מִתְחַת**. The formation **לְ** **מִתְחַת** accounts for 14 of these 510 total occurrences. **תחת אשר** accounts for 13 of the total occurrences. **אֶל-תחת** accounts for 10 of total occurrences. **לְ תחת** accounts for 2 total occurrences. Finally **עַד-מִתְחַת** and **לְמִתְחַת** each account for 1 occurrence.

6.2.1 **תחת**

As stated above, this formation is used without a prefix or another particle 435 times in the Hebrew Bible. **תחת** is used by itself in a number of semantically distinct ways including inferior anatomy, *place* noun, inferior locative, substitution, and causal relations.

Contextually, the locative relational and substitution relational usages are employed for metaphorical and other senses.

6.2.1.1 Inferior anatomy

תַּחַת is plausibly used once as inferior anatomy in Job 41:22 (see §6.1.3.2.7) (Fig. 58). Clines (2011:1199) calls this verse the Leviathan's "nether parts".

Job 41:22 Its underparts are like sharp potsherds; it spreads itself like a threshing sledge on the mire. (NRSV)

סְחִיפָיו סְהֻדֹּרִי תַּרְשׁ וְרֶפֶר חֲרוֹז עַלְיֵ-טַּבֵּט

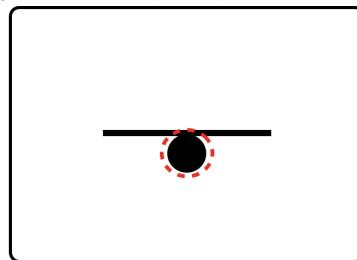


Figure 58: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:64)-Inferior anatomic region

6.2.1.2 Inferior space

תַּחַת can be used to symbolize an *inferior space* noun (Jos 4:9, see §6.1.5.3) (Fig. 59).²⁴⁵

Jos 4:9 (Joshua set up twelve stones in the middle of the Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests bearing the ark of the covenant had stood; and they are there to this day.) (NRSV)

וּשְׁתִים עֲשָׂרָה אֶבֶנִים בְּקִים וְהוֹשֵׁעַ קָטוֹן כִּינְרוֹן
תַּחַת מֵצֶב רְגָלֵי הַפְּנִים נְשָׁאֵי אַרְוֹן הַבְּרִית וְיָהִוָּה
שָׁם עַד חֵיּוֹם הַזֹּה

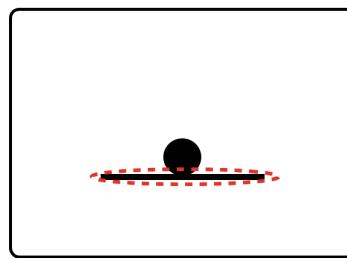


Figure 59: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:65)-Inferior space

6.2.1.3 Inferior locative

As תַּחַת is used to symbolize two kinds of things—*inferior anatomy* and *inferior spaces*—it is also used to symbolize two basic kinds of locative relations which can be plausibly conceived as metaphorical extensions of each respective usage of תַּחַת as a thing. תַּחַת as *inferior anatomy* can serve as a template to describe *inferior* locative usages of the form (Ex 17:12). This *inferior* locative usage can be employed in more distant physical relations where no

245. In that section, Hardy (2014) describes the form in Jos 4:9 as a preposition whereas Rodriguez (2011) and G18 (2013) classify this instance as a *place* noun.

contact is made between the TR and LM, such as between human activity and the heavens (Deut 2:25) or human activity and the sun (Qoh 1:3) (Fig. 60).

- Ex 17:12** But Moses' hands grew weary; so they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat on it. Aaron and Hur held up his hands, one on one side, and the other on the other side; so his hands were steady until the sun set. (NRSV)
- וַיָּדֵי מֹשֶׁה כְּבָרִים וַיִּקְחֵה אֲבָנָה וַיְשִׁימֵה תַּחַת יְדוֹ וַיֵּשֶׁב
עַלְּהָה וְאֶחָרָן וְחוּר פָּמָci בְּרָדְיוֹ מִזְהָא אֶחָד וּמִזְהָא
אֶחָד וְנִזְהָר יְדֵיו אָמְנוֹתָה עַד־בָּא הַשְּׁמֶשׁ
מִפְנִינָּךְ

- Deut 2:25** This day I will begin to put the dread and fear of you upon the peoples everywhere under heaven; when they hear report of you, they will tremble and be in anguish because of you." (NRSV)
- הַיּוֹם תִּזְהַר אֶחָל פָּתָח וַיַּרְאֶת שָׁלְפִנִּי הָעָם
תַּחַת כָּל־הַשָּׁמְמִים אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁמְעוּן שְׁמַעַךְ וְרָגֹז וְחַלּוֹ
מִפְנִינָּךְ

- Qoh 1:3** What do people gain from all the toil at which they toil under the sun? (NRSV)
- מִה־יִזְהַרְזֵן לְאָרֶם בְּכָל־עַמְלֵיו שְׁיַעַמֵּל תַּחַת הַשְּׁמֶשׁ

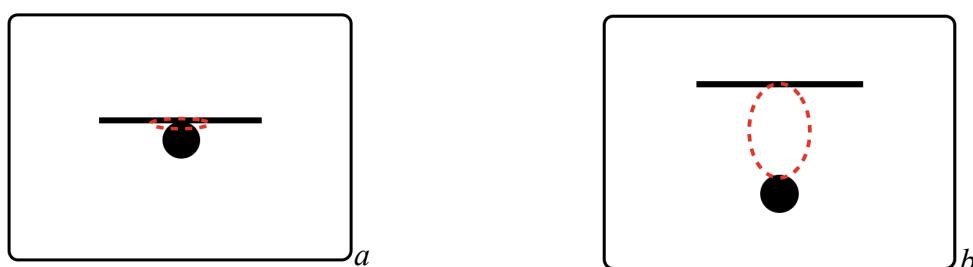


Figure 60: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:67-68)-Inferior locative

The inferior locative frame is used as a foundation for a few metaphors. As other egocentric nouns-turned-prepositions, **תְּחִתָּה** also symbolizes approximate spatial relations, submission/dominance metaphors, and a geographic relation all built from its basic locative frame.

6.2.1.3a Approximate inferior spatial relation

As observed with **אחר** and ***פָנָה*** (see §4.3.1.2 and §5.3.1.1 respectively), **תְּחִתָּה** can be used to symbolize approximate space relative to a body. In the case of **תְּחִתָּה**, this body can be a mountain (Ex 19:17; Deut 4:11). It is interesting that **רגל** is never used for inferior space of a mountain (or *foot of a mountain* as the English egocentrism goes).

- Ex 19:17** Moses brought the people out of the camp to meet God. They took their stand at the foot of the mountain.
- וַיֹּצְאָה מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הָעָם לְקֻרָאת הָאֱלֹהִים מִן־הַמִּחְנָה
וַיַּעֲמֹד בְּתַחַת הַהָר

- Deut 4:11** you approached and stood at the foot of the mountain while the mountain was blazing up to the very heavens, shrouded in dark clouds. (NRSV)
- וְתַקְרַבְתָּ וְפַעֲמַדְתָּ תַּחַת הַהָר וְהַהָר בָּאָשׁ
עַד־לֶב הַשָּׁמְמִים הַשָּׁק עָנוֹ וְנַעֲרָפֶל

This usage is not posited here as a distinct sense, as was done in Rodriguez (2011:69), but rather an extension of meaning which exploits the inferior locative relation frame. Still, a frame can be helpful for illustrative purposes.

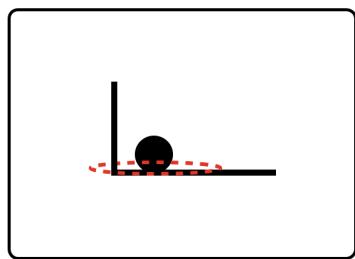


Figure 61: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:69)-Approximate inferior spatial relation metaphor

6.2.1.3b Egocentric vertical merismus

הַחַת also functions within a merismus of מָעֵל and מִתְהַחַת. Most often the vertical points of this merismus are שָׁמֵיָם and אֶרֶץ (Gen 49:25; Deut 33:13).

Gen 49:25 by the God of your father, who will help you, by the Almighty who will bless you with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lies beneath, blessings of the breasts and of the womb. (NRSV)

מְאֹל אֲבִיךָ וַיְשִׁיגֶךָ וְאַתָּ שְׂדֵי וַיְבָרֶכֶךָ בָּרֶכֶת שָׁמֵיָם
מָעֵל בָּרֶכֶת תְּהוֹם רַבָּצָת תְּחִתָּ בָּרֶכֶת שָׁדִים וְרַחֲם

Deut 33:13 And of Joseph he said: Blessed by the Lord be his land, with the choice gifts of heaven above, and of the deep that lies beneath; (NRSV) וְלִזְכָּר אָמַר מִבְּרָכָת יְהֹהָ אֶרֶץ מִפְּנֵד שָׁמֵיָם מִטְּלָל
וּמִתְהַחַת רַבָּצָת תְּחִתָּ

As with the approximate locative usage, this usage is instantiated by contextual factors and cannot be accounted for by the **תְּחִתָּ** alone. Nevertheless, its unique configuration qualify it as a potential subcategory of inferior locative.

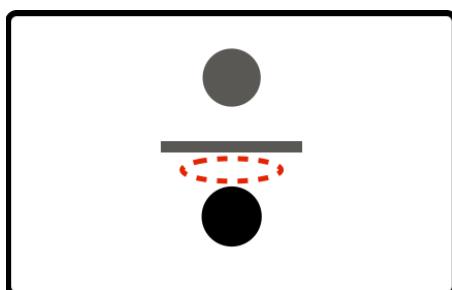


Figure 62: Egocentric vertical merismus

6.2.1.3c Inferior control relation metaphor

הַחַת is also used in a control metaphor construed where social inferiority can be construed in terms of spatial inferiority (Gen 16:9, see §6.1.4.8). However, not all instances are of social relationships. Some are of objects (1 Sam 21:4)

Gen 16:9 The angel of the Lord said to her, “Return to your mistress, and submit to her.” (NRSV)

וַיֹּאמֶר לְהָ מֶלֶךְ יְהוָה שׁוּבֵי אֶל־זָבְרָתֶךָ וְהַחַנְתֵּן
תְּחִתָּ יְדֵיכֶת

- 1 Sam 21:4** Now then, what have you at hand? Give me five loaves of bread, or whatever is here.” (NRSV) וְעַתָּה מִה-י-וֹשֵׁב פֶּתַח-יְרָךְ חֲמַשָּׁה-לְקָם תָּנָה בַּיָּדִי אֹז
תְּנַמְּצֵא

Again, this metaphor is contextually prompted and so while a diagram may be helpful, this usage falls within the inferior locative which can be understood as symbolizing control in context with items like יְמִין.

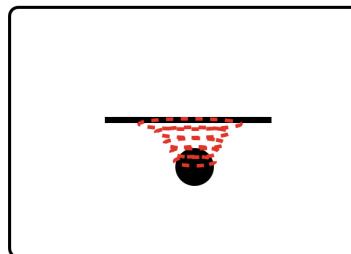


Figure 63: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:69)-Inferior control relation metaphor

6.2.1.4 Substitution

The second basic locative usage of *תָּחָת* is as a symbol of substitution relations, which is a metaphorical extension of the *place* noun usage (as discussed in §6.2.1.3). In this substitution usage, the *place* is a static LM which is occupied by one TR and taken over by a second TR. In the Hebrew Bible, these occur in contexts such as ritual sacrifice (Gen 22:13), land dispossession (Deut 2:12), and formal succession (Lev 6:15; 1 Chr 29:23).

- Gen 22:13** And Abraham looked up and saw a ram, caught in a thicket by its horns. Abraham went and took the ram and offered it up as a burnt offering instead of his son. (NRSV) וַיָּשָׂא אֶבְרָהָם אֶת-עֵינָיו וַיַּרְא וְהַנָּה-אִיל אֶחָד נָאָה
בְּסֶבֶד בְּקָרְנוֹיו וַיַּלְךְ אֶבְרָהָם וַיִּקְחֵח אֶת-הָאִיל
וַיַּעֲלֵהוּ לְעַלְלה פְּתַח בָּנוֹ

- Deut 2:12** Moreover, the Horim had formerly inhabited Seir, but the descendants of Esau dispossessed them, destroying them and settling in their place, as Israel has done in the land that the Lord gave them as a possession. (NRSV)

וּבְשָׁעֵיר יָשַׂבו הָרִים לְבָנִים וּבָנִי עָשָׂו וַיַּרְשׁוּ
וּנְשִׁירּוּם מִפְנֵיכֶם וּשְׂבֻבוּ תְּחִתָּם כִּאֵשׁ שָׁה
וּשְׁرָאֵל לְאָרֶן בְּרִשְׁתָוֹ אֲשֶׁר-נָתַן יְהוָה לְהֶם

- Lev 6:15** And the priest, anointed from among Aaron's descendants as his successor, shall prepare it; it is the LORD's—a perpetual due—to be turned entirely into smoke. (author's)

וְהַפְּנֵן הַפְּשִׁיחַ תְּחִטָּיו מִבְנֵיו יַעֲשֵׂה אֶתְתָּחַת-עַזְלָם
לִיהוָה כָּלִיל פְּקַדֵּר

- 1 Chr 29:23** Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord, succeeding his father David as king; he prospered, and all Israel obeyed him. (NRSV)

וַיָּשֵׂב שֶׁלֹּמֶה עַל-כִּסֵּא יְהוָה לְמִלְךְ פֶּתַח-דָּוִיד אָבִי
וְנִצְחָה וַיְשִׁמְעוּ אֶלָּיו כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל

One might theorize that the original notion of inferiority (i.e. the inferior location relative to a body) is now conceptually blended with the first of the two TRs—the TR who is leaving the *place*. In this way, the first TR becomes unanimous with the LM in their having occupied it.

This motivates the contextual naming of the LM in terms of the first TR which the second TR will come to occupy.

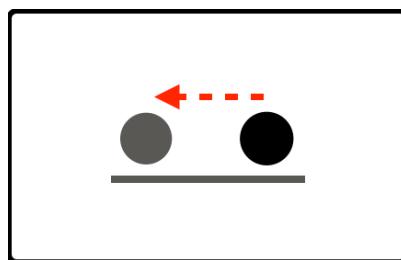


Figure 64: Substitution

6.2.1.4a Exchange

Lexicographers have noted that **חַחָה** may symbolize an exchange relationship, but most have not built a semantic category based on it (§6.1.3). Rodriguez (2011:67) described 32 instances of this usage in the Hebrew Bible (§6.1.4.5). This is a problematic inflation of a category because it includes examples such as 1 Sam 2:20, which are more similar to other contexts of a posterior (or in this case, an inferior) child in place of anterior (dead) child like Gen 4:25 (discussed in §4.1.3.1.2 and §6.1.3.2), when Seth (posterior/inferior) is born in place of Abel (anterior), which Rodriguez (2011:66) treats as substitution. It is reasonable to posit that the substitution relational frame can be used in contexts of commerce/transaction (Gen 30:15, see §6.1.3.1.1b; 1 Kgs 21:2) and legal/moral recompense (Ex 21:23-24; Psa 35:12) to symbolize exchange relations. However, as with previous lexicographers, that does not mean one should create a novel category for it.

- | | | |
|-------------------|---|--|
| 1 Sam 2:20 | <p>Then Eli would bless Elkanah and his wife, and say, “May the Lord repay you with children by this woman for the gift that she made to the Lord”; and then they would return to their home. (NRSV)</p> | <p>וּבָרְךָ יְהֹוָה אֶת־אֶלְקָנָה וְאֶת־אֲשֶׁר־זָמַן יְהֹוָה
לְכָךְ וְרֹעֵם מִן־הָאָשָׁה הַזֹּאת פְּתַח הַשְּׁאָלָה אֲשֶׁר שָׁאל
לִיהְיוֹה וְהַלְכוּ לְמִקְמָתוֹ</p> |
| Gen 4:25 | <p>Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son and named him Seth, for she said, “God has appointed for me another child instead of Abel, because Cain killed him.”</p> | <p>וְנִדְعֵ אָדָם עוֹד אֶת־אֱשֶׁר־זָמַן וְפָلֵד בֵּן וְתָקַרְאָ
אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שֶׁת כִּי שָׁת־לִי אֶלְהִים זָרָע אֶחָר פְּתַח
חֶבֶל כִּי תָּרַנוּ קַיִן</p> |
| Gen 30:15 | <p>But she said to her, “Is it a small matter that you have taken away my husband? Would you take away my son’s mandrakes also?” Rachel said, “Then he may lie with you tonight for your son’s mandrakes.” (NRSV)</p> | <p>וְתֹאמֶר לְהָם מִשְׁעַט קְחַחַק אֶת־אִישׁ וְלִקְחַת נָם
אֶת־דִּיקָאִי בָּנִי וְתֹאמֶר רְחֵל לְכָن יִשְׂכַּב עַפְקָד
סְלִילָה פְּתַח דִּוְרָאִי בָּנֶךָ</p> |

- 1 Kgs 21:2** And Ahab said to Naboth, “Give me your vineyard, so that I may have it for a vegetable garden, because it is near my house; I will give you a better vineyard for it; or, if it seems good to you, I will give you its value in money.” (NRSV)
- וַיֹּאמֶר אֲחָב אֶל־נָבֹת לֵאמֹר תְּנֻבֹת אֶת־כְּרָמֶךָ וְנִירְאֶל יְהוָה כִּי הוּא קָרוֹב אֲלֵיכִי וְאַתָּנָה לְכָפְרוּ בְּרָם טֹוב מִפְנֵי אֶם טֹוב בְּעִינֵיכֶם אַתָּנָה־לְךָ כֹּסֶף מִכְּחֵיר זֶה

- Ex 21:23-24** If any harm follows, then you shall give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, (NRSV)

וְאַמְדָּסְן רְנֵה וְתִקְהָה נִפְשׁ פְּחַת נִפְשׁ עַזְן פְּחַת עַזְן שָׁן פְּחַת שָׁן יְדָן פְּחַת יְדָן רְגַל פְּחַת רְגַל

- Psa 35:12** They repay me evil for good; my soul is forlorn. (NRSV)

יְשַׁלְמָנוּ רְעָה פְּחַת טֹבָה שָׁכֹל לְנִפְשׁ

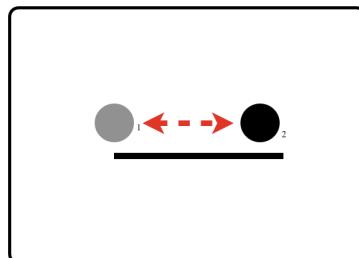


Figure 65: Taken from Rodriguez (2011:67)-Exchange metaphor

6.2.1.5 Cause

Though previous lexicographers mostly attributed causal to תְּחַת אֲשֶׁר (see §6.1.3), the semantic phenomenon does pair with the independent form (Prov 30:21-23).

- Prov 30:21-23** Under three things the earth trembles; under four it cannot bear up:
a slave when he becomes king, and a fool when glutted with food;
an unloved woman when she gets a husband, and a maid when she succeeds her mistress. (NRSV)

תְּחַת שֶׁלּוּשׁ רְנֵה אָרֶץ וְתְּחַת אַרְבָּע לְאַתְּכִיל
שָׁאָה
תְּחַת־עֲבָד כִּי יָמֹלֵךְ וְנָבֵל כִּי יְשַׁבַּע־לְחַם
תְּחַת שְׁנוֹאָה כִּי תְּבָעֵל וְשְׁפֵחָה כִּי־תְּזִוֵּר שְׁגַּבְרָתָה

In this case, תְּחַת serves as both the symbol of inferior spatial relation and causation between TR (earth) and LM (the four things).

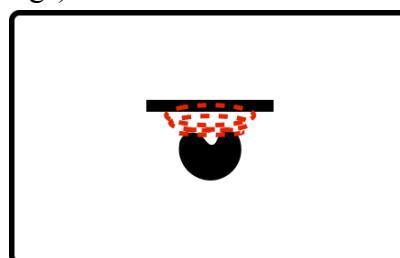


Figure 66: Cause

6.2.2 תְּחַת לְ

This formation occurs 2 times in the Hebrew Bible (Sng 2:6, see §6.1.3.1.4.2b; 2 Chr 4:3).

- Sng 2:6** O that his left hand were under my head, and that his right hand embraced me! (NRSV)

שָׁמָאַלְוּ תְּחַת לְרָאשִׁי וּמִמִּנוּ תְּחַבְּקָנִי

2 Chr 4:3 Figures resembling oxen were beneath the rim around the entire circumference, ten to a cubit; they completely encircled it in two rows cast with the Sea. (Dillard 1987:32)

וְרֹמֶת בְּקָרִים שַׁחַת לוּ סְבִיב סְבִיב סְבִיב אָתוּ
עַשֵּׂר בְּאַפָּה מִקְיָפִים אֲתָהָנִם סְבִיב שְׁנַיִם טוֹרִים
הַבָּקָר יָצַקְתּוּ בְמַצְקָתוֹ

In both of these cases, the ל marks the LM (in what appears to be a redundant manner) to which a corresponding inferior TR functions contextually as support. In Sng 2:6, the romantic scene is a male lover's hands strategically located on his female lover's body to facilitate fondling her body; specifically his left hand under her head as he holds her. In 2 Chr 4:3, ל marks the LM (the basin, established in v2)²⁴⁶ which is supported by the structure decorated with images of bulls (דָמוֹת בְּקָרִים). The inferior locative diagram from §6.2.1.3 suffices to describe this usage of תחת as context instantiates for the notion of support, nevertheless, a diagram for this usage can be useful for descriptive purposes.

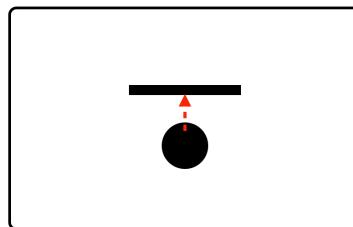


Figure 67: Inferior support metaphor

מתחת

This formation occurs 40 times in the Hebrew Bible.²⁴⁷ In some of these instances, the preposition מ functions in a prototypical manner, such as marking ablative motion (Ex 10:23) or a point of origin (Zech 6:12, see 6.1.3.1.1b). In other instances, the מ seems to be spatially generic and cannot be distinguished from the whole chunk (Gen 1:9; Jdg 3:16). This absorption of מ into a whole chunk has also been observed with אחר and פנה אחר (see §4.2.1.2d and §5.2.3d respectively).

Ex 10:23 People could not see one another, and for three days they could not move from where they were; but all the Israelites had light where they lived. (NRSV)

לֹא־רָאוּ אִישׁ אֶת־אֶחָיו וּלֹא־קָמוּ אִישׁ מִפְּנֵי
שֶׁלְשָׁת יָמִים וְלֹכֶל־בָּנִי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִיה אָור בְּמִזְבֵּחַ

246. וַיַּעֲשֵׂה אֲתָהָנִם מִזְבֵּחַ עַשֵּׂר בְּאַפָּה מִשְׁפָחוֹ עַנְוֵל סְבִיב וְחַמֵּשׁ בְּאַפָּה קוֹמָה וּקוּ שְׁלַשִּׁים בְּאַפָּה וְסֶבֶב אָתוּ סְבִיב. *Then he made the molten sea; it was round, ten cubits from rim to rim, and five cubits high. A line of thirty cubits would encircle it completely.* 2 Chr 4:2 (NRSV)

247. Gen 1:9; 6:17; Ex 6:6, 7; 10:23; 17:14; 18:10; 20:4; Deut 4:39; 5:8; 7:24; 9:14; 25:19; 29:19; 33:27; Jos 2:11; Jdg 7:8; 1 Kgs 8:23; 2 Kgs 8:20, 22; 13:5; 14:27; 17:7; Isa 14:9; Ezk 1:8; 42:9a, b; 46:23; 47:1a, b; Hos 4:12; Amos 2:9; Zech 6:12; Job 18:16; 26:5; Prov 22:27; Lam 3:66; 2 Chr 21:8, 10a, b.

Zech 6:12 say to him: Thus says the Lord of hosts: Here is a man whose name is Branch: for he shall branch out in his place, and he shall build the temple of the Lord. (NRSV) וְאָמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיכֶם לֹא מִרְבֵּל כִּי אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאֹת לְאָמַר
הַנָּהָר אִישׁ צָמָח שְׁמוֹ וּמוֹעֵדוֹ יִצְמָח וּבָנָה אֶת־הַכִּים
וְהַנָּהָר

Gen 1:9 And God said, “Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one place, and let the dry land appear.” And it was so. (NRSV) וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְקֻבוּ חַפּוּם מִתְחַת הַשָּׁמַיִם אֶל־מָקוֹם
אֲחֵר וְתַרְאָה תִּקְשֶׁה וְנִיחַרְכָּן

Jdg 3:16 Ehud made for himself a sword with two edges, a cubit in length; and he fastened it on his right thigh under his clothes. (NRSV) וַיַּעֲשֵׂה לוֹ אֲחוֹד תְּרֵבָב וְלֹה שְׁנִי פִּוּזָה נָשָׁד אַרְכָּה
וַיִּחְנַר אֲוֹתָה מִתְחַת לִמְדַיו עַל יָמָך יָמִינוֹ

In Ex 10:23 and Zech 6:12, **תהה** functions as a place noun (with prefixed **מִן**) whereas in Gen 1:9 and Jdg 3:16 the composite form **מִתְחַת** symbolizes a locative relation which is egocentrically construed as inferior.

מִתְחַת also functions within the egocentric vertical merismus of **מִמְעָל** and **מִתְחַת** as introduced in §6.2.1.3b (Ex 20:4; Isa 51:6; Amos 2:9; Job 18:16). This usage occurs 9 times with.²⁴⁸

Isa 14:9 is the sole occurrence that is not phrasally realized as a merismus.

Ex 20:4 You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. (NRSV) לֹא תַעֲשֵׂה לְלֹكֶד פֶּסֶל וְכָל־תְּמִינָה אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁמִים
מִמְעָל וְאֲשֶׁר בָּאָרֶץ מִתְחַת וְאֲשֶׁר בְּפִים מִתְחַת
לְאָרֶץ

Isa 14:9 Sheol beneath is stirred up to meet you when you come; it rouses the shades to greet you, all who were leaders of the earth; it raises from their thrones all who were kings of the nations. (NRSV) שָׁאֹול מִתְחַת רֹגֶה לְךָ לְקָרְאת בּוֹאֵך עֹזֶר לְךָ
רֶפֶאים כָּל־עַתוּדוֹי אָרֶץ נְקִים מִכְסָאוֹתָם כָּל מֶלֶךְ
נוּם

Isa 51:6 Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and look at the earth beneath; for the heavens will vanish like smoke, the earth will wear out like a garment, and those who live on it will die like gnats; but my salvation will be forever, and my deliverance will never be ended. (NRSV) שָׁאֹו לְשָׁמִים עַיְנִיכֶם וְהַבִּיטוּ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ מִתְחַת
כִּירְשִׁים כַּעֲשָׂו נְמָלָחוּ וְהָאָרֶץ כַּפְנֵר הַבָּלה וַיְשַׁבֵּב
כִּמְרוֹךְ יָמֹתוֹן וַיְשִׁיעַתְּ לְעוֹלָם תְּהִיה וְאַזְכָּרְתִּי לֹא
תִּתְהַ

Amos 2:9 Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them, whose height was like the height of cedars, and who was as strong as oaks; I destroyed his fruit above, and his roots beneath. (NRSV) וְאַנְכִּי הַשְׁמַדְתִּי אֶת־הָאָמֹרִי מִפְנִימָה אֲשֶׁר כָּנְבָה
אֲרוֹזָם גַּבְהָוּ וְחַטְּן הָוּא כָּאַלְגָּוִים וְאַשְׁמִיד פָּרוֹז
מִמְעָל וְשָׁרְשָׁיו מִתְחַת

Job 18:16 Their roots dry up beneath, and their branches wither above. (NRSV) מִתְחַת שָׁרְשָׁיו יָבֹשׁוּ וּמִמְעָל וּמִלְּקָצְרוּ

In these cases, there is a **מִתְחַת...מִמְעָל**... merismus which normally posits *heavens* and *earth* as

248. Ex 20:4a; Deut 4:39; 5:8a ; Jos 2:11; 1 Kgs 8:23; Isa 14:9; 51:6; Amos 2:9; Job 18:16. There are also usages with **תְּהִיה** which will only be referenced here to indicate that this usage attests a unique lexicalized form (Deut 32:22; Ezk 26:20; 31:14, 16, 18; 32:18, 24; Psa 86:13).

its vertical extremes. But in Amos 2:9 the extreme points are fruit and root of a tree, and in Job 18:16 the points are, close but not exactly the same as Amos, tree branches and tree roots. However, in Isa 14:9 there is no merismus at all, and in Isa 51:6, the merismus, which still includes מתחת (instead of שמיים) is constructed without ממעל (instead of שמיים) is invoked by *lifting one's eyes to it* (שאו לשמיים עיניכם). While this seemingly leaves Isa 14:9 as an unaccounted for exemplar, it in particular can potentially explain more than the usage of מתחת in Isa 14:9. HALOT's (2000:1368-1370) description of שאל organizes the scholarly consensus on the lexeme often confused with Dante's sense of *hell*. It is the *wasteland, underworld* and is described with the non-prepositional lexeme תהה in places such as Deut 32:22 and Psa 86:13. It is reasonable that שאל be described as other inferior locations are described (like הארץ in the above examples)²⁴⁹ because the established domain of שאל in BH is an inferior location. In this way, מתחת can be understood as a fuzzy example of overlap with תהה in a manner that could explain the development of תהה.

The operative phrase in these usages—as introduced in §6.2.1.3b by a frame diagram that can apply to these usages as well—is מתחת הארץ ... ממעל השמיים *heaven above... earth below*, traditionally labeled as an "adverbial accusative" (see §6.1.3.1). Heine and Kuteva (2002:121-122; 279-280) give many examples of languages that use *earth* and *sky* as corresponding *up/down* markers. This is evidence that humans conceptualize the sky as spatially *above* their bodies and the earth as spatially *below* their bodies.²⁵⁰ While this

249. Also note the parallel usage with בחרדי את־זורי אַתָּה שָׁאֵלָה בְּאָרֶץ (ארץ תההית נוים בחרדי את־זורי בדור וינחמי באָרֶץ). ארץ תההית נוים בחרדי את־זורי אַתָּה שָׁאֵלָה בְּאָרֶץ (פרקית קלענער ערדן מאָהער וטוב־לבנון קלענער קיטט).
250. This might seem basic to the point of being boring for some; however, in the move away from structuralism in the humanities (namely in anthropology), the notion of anthropological universals is still seen as taboo by those committed to endless alterity, only able to describe human experience(s) in terms of *foreignness* and *other*. Alterity is a useful tool for anthropologists and ethnologists, but similarity can also be measured with the tools of anthropology and ethnology in addition to alterity. The experience of space-time and specifically the relation to celestial bodies can be an starting ground for establishing more phenomenological typologies in addition to those regarding universal ritual sacrifice (Girard 1977), which has started a wave of multidisciplinary scholarship since Girard under the heading *mimetic theory* (Garrels 2011; Palaver 2013).

egocentric experience of spatial relation with celestial bodies may not be universal (for example, not with allocentric languages; see §3.3.1), the evidence suggests it is ubiquitous in egocentric languages, and so also with BH.

מתחת ל

This formation occurs 14 times in the Hebrew Bible.²⁵¹ All of the usages of this formation are spatially locative: some geographically *south* (Gen 35:8; 1 Kgs 4:12), some locative on a body (Jdg 3:16), and others of objects (Ex 37:27; 1 Kgs 7:24). In all of these cases, the מִן and לְ function as fixed expressions for simple spatial orientation (§6.1.3.1.4.4).

- Gen 35:8** And Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and she was buried under an oak tree located south of Bethel. So it was called Allon-bacuth. (author's)

וְשָׁמֶן דָּבְרָה מִינְקַת רֶבֶקָה וְתַקְבֵּר מִתְחַת
לְבִיתֵּי־אָלָל פְּתַחְתָּה הַאֲלֹוֹן וַיְקַרֵּא שְׁמוֹ אַלְוֹן בְּכוֹתָה

- 1 Kgs 4:12** Baana son of Ahilud, in Taanach, Megiddo, and all Beth-shean, which is beside Zarethan south of Jezreel, and from Beth-shean to Abel-meholah, as far as the other side of Jokmeam; (author's)

בְּעָנָה בֶּן־אֲחִילָד פְּעָנָךְ וּמִנְהָוּ וְכָל־בֵּית שָׁאן אֲשֶׁר
אֲלָל אַרְתָּה מִפְתַּח לְיּוּדָעָה מִבֵּית שָׁאן עַד אַבְלָל
מַחְזָלָה עַד מַעֲבָר לִיְקָמָעָם

- Jdg 3:16** Ehud made for himself a sword with two edges, a cubit in length; and he fastened it on his right thigh under his clothes. (NRSV)

וַיַּעֲשֵׂה לוֹ אֲהֹוד חֶרֶב וְלֵיהֶן שְׁנִי פִּוּת גָּמָד אַרְכָּה
נוֹחָגָר אַוְתָּה מִפְתַּח לְמִקְדֵּיו עַל יָמֶיךָ יָמִינוֹ

- Ex 37:27** and made two golden rings for it under its molding, on two opposite sides of it, to hold the poles with which to carry it. (NRSV)

וְשָׁחוֹר טְבֻעָה זָהָב עַשְׁה־לָלוּ מִפְתַּח לְזָרוּ עַל שְׁחָזָה
אַלְעָטָיו עַל שְׁנִי אַדְיוֹ לְבָטִים לְבָדִים לְשָׁאת אֲתָה
בְּהָמָם

- 1 Kgs 7:24** Under its brim were panels all around it, each of ten cubits, surrounding the sea; there were two rows of panels, cast when it was cast. (NRSV)

וּפְקָעִים מִפְתַּח לְשָׁפָחוֹ סְבִיב סְבִיב אַחֲרָיו עַשְׁר
בְּאַפָּה מִקְפִּים אַתְּהָן סְבִיב שְׁנִי טוֹרִים הַפְּקָעִים
וְצָקִים בִּיאָצְקָתוֹ

למתחת ל

This formation occurs 1 time in the Hebrew Bible (1 Kgs 7:32, see §6.1.3.1.4.4).

- 1 Kgs 7:32** The four wheels were underneath the borders; the axles of the wheels were in the stands; and the height of a wheel was a cubit and a half. (NRSV)

וְאַרְבָּעָת הַאוֹפְנִים לְמִפְתַּח לְמִסְגָּרוֹת וַיְדוֹת
הַאוֹפְנִים בְּקָנוּנָה וְקוּמָת הַאוֹפֵן הַאָחֵד אַפָּה וְחַצִּי
הַאָפָה

עד-מתחת ל

This formation occurs 1 time in the Hebrew Bible (1 Sam 7:11, see §6.1.3.1.4.4). The מִן is spatially generic as with other מתחת ל usages (§6.2.3).

251. Gen 1:7; 35:8; Ex 20:4; 30:4; 37:27; Deut 4:18; 5:8; Jdg 3:16; 1 Sam 7:11; 1 Kgs 4:12; 7:24, 29, 30; Jer 38:12.

- 1 Sam 7:11** And the men of Israel went out of Mizpah and pursued the Philistines, and struck them down as far as beyond Beth-car. (NRSV)

ונצאו אָנָשִׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן־הַמִּצְבָּה וַיַּךְפָּי
אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיִּכְלֹת לְבָתָר כָּר

6.2.7 אל-תחתת

This formation occurs 10 times in the Hebrew Bible.²⁵² All of these examples of **הַתָּחָת** are likely inferior space nouns with preposition **אל** (Lev 14:42), but may also be interpreted as double prepositions.²⁵³ Some of these inferior place nouns with **אל** are used in the context of shade (and being under that shade) as a symbol peace and prosperity (Jdg 6:19; Jer 3:6; Zech 3:10) as discussed in §6.1.3.1.4.4 in regards to Zech 3:10.

- Lev 14:42** They shall take other stones and put them in the place of those stones, and take other plaster and plaster the house. (NRSV)

ולְקַחוּ אָבָנִים אַחֲרֹות וְהַבִּיאוּ אֶל־תָּחָת הַאֲבָנִים
וְעַפְרָא אֶחָר יְקֻחַ וְטַח אֶת־הַבִּבִּית

- Jdg 6:19** So Gideon went into his house and prepared a kid, and unleavened cakes from an ephah of flour; the meat he put in a basket, and the broth he put in a pot, and brought them to him under the oak and presented them. (NRSV)

וְגַדְעוֹן בָּא וַיַּעֲשֶׂה גְּדִידָעִים וְאִיפְתְּקִמָּה מִצּוֹת
הַבָּשָׂר שֶׁם בְּפֶל וְהַמְּרָק שֶׁם בְּפָרוֹר וַיַּצֵּא אֶלָּיו
אֶל־תָּחָת הַאֲלָה וַיַּנְשֵׁס

- Jer 3:6** The Lord said to me in the days of King Josiah: Have you seen what she did, that faithless one, Israel, how she went up on every high hill and under every green tree, and played the whore there? (NRSV)

וַיֹּאמֶר וְהִנֵּה אֵלִי בַּיּוֹם יָאַשְׁיהֽוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ חֲרָאֵית אֲשֶׁר
עָשָׂה מִשְׁבָּחָה יִשְׂרָאֵל הַלְּכָה קַרְאָה עַל־כָּל־הָר גָּבָהּ
וְאֶל־תָּחָת כָּל־עַזְן רְעָנוֹת וְתוּנוֹת־שָׁם

- Zech 3:10** On that day, says the Lord of hosts, you shall invite each other to come under your vine and fig tree.” (NRSV)

בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נָאָם וְהִנֵּה אָבֹות תְּקָרָאוּ אִישׁ לְרִיעָהוּ
אֶל־תָּחָת גָּפָן וְאֶל־תָּחָת פָּאָנה

תָּחָת כִּי and תָּחָת אֲשֶׁר

תָּחָת אֲשֶׁר occurs 13 times in the Hebrew Bible.²⁵⁴ Rodriguez (2011:58) notes that these are all causal (Num 25:13) except for Deut 28:62 and Ezk 36:34 (glossed as *instead of* as discussed in §6.1.3.1.4.3).

- Num 25:13** It shall be for him and for his descendants after him a covenant of perpetual priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made atonement for the Israelites.” (NRSV)

וְהַיְהָ לוּ וְלֹרְעָנוּ אַחֲרֵיו בְּרִית כְּהַנָּת עוֹלָם תְּחָת
אֲשֶׁר קָנָא לְאֱלֹהִים וְכָפֵר עַל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

252. Lev 14:42; Jdg 6:19; 1 Sam 21:5; 1 Kgs 8:6; Jer 3:6; 38:11; Ezk 10:2; Zech 3:10; 2 Chr 5:7.

253. This is especially the case for 1 Sam 21:5, which prompts for a control relational frame due to the use of **יד** with **וַיַּעֲשֵׂן הַלְּבָנָן אֶת־דָּרוּר וַיֹּאמֶר אֶזְרָלָהּ הֵל אֶל־תָּחָת בָּרוּךְ יְהִי אֶת־אֱמָלָהּ בְּרוּךְ יְהִי אֶת־נְשָׁמָרוּ הַנְּגִינְתִּים אֵיךְ בָּאֵשָׁה. The priest answered David, “I have no ordinary bread at hand, only holy bread—provided that the young men have kept themselves from women” (NRSV).**

254. Num 25:13; Deut 21:14; 22:29; 28:47, 62; 1 Sam 26:21; 2 Kgs 22:17; Isa 53:12; Jer 29:19; 50:7; Ezk 36:34; 2 Chr 21:12; 34:25.

- Deut 28:62** Although once you were as numerous as the stars in heaven, you shall be left few in number, because you did not obey the Lord your God. (NRSV) **ונִשְׁאָרֶתֶם בַּמְתִי מַעַט תִּהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר חִוִּיתֶם בְּכֹכֶבֶי
הַשְׁמִים לְרַב כִּילָא שְׁמַעַת בְּקוֹל יְהֹוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ**
- Ezk 36:34** The land that was desolate shall be tilled, instead of being the desolation that it was in the sight of all who passed by. (NRSV) **וְהָאָרֶץ הַנִּשְׁמַמָּה פָּעַבְדָּה פְּתַחְתָּה אֲשֶׁר חִוִּיתָה שְׁמַמָּה
לְעֵינֵי כָּל-עוֹבֵר**

תְּהִתָּ כִּי occurs twice (Deut 4:37; Prov 1:29, see §6.1.3.2.5 for both) and functions as a causal conjunction.

Deut 4:37 And because he loved your ancestors, he chose their descendants after them. He brought you out of Egypt with his own presence, by his great power, (NRSV)

תְּהִתָּ כִּי אָהָב אֶת-אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וַיְבִחר בְּךָ עַצְרָיו
וַיּוֹצִאךְ בְּפָנָיו בְּלֹחֵן חֲנִידָל מִמְּצָרִים

Prov 1:29 Because they hated knowledge and did not choose the fear of the Lord, (NRSV)

תְּהִתָּ כִּי-שָׂנָאו דִּעָה וַיַּרְאָתָה יְהֹוה לֹא בְּחָרוּ

6.2.9 Morphology summary

	תְּהִתָּ	תְּהִתָּ לְ	תְּהִתָּ תְּהִתָּ	מִן+תְּהִתָּ	לְ	מִתְהִתָּ לְ	לְמִתְהִתָּ לְ	עַד-מִתְהִתָּ	לְמִתְהִתָּתְהִתָּ	אַל-תְּהִתָּתְהִתָּ	תְּהִתָּ אֲשֶׁר	תְּהִתָּ כִּי	תְּהִתָּ כִּי	
inferior anatomy	X													
inferior place	X			X						X				
inferior locative	X	X	X	X	X	X	X							
substitution	X										X			
merismus	X			X										
cause	X										X	X		

Unlike those of **מִלְפָנִי** (see §5.2.3), the formations of **תְּהִתָּ** are not diverse in the usages they attest. Simple **תְּהִתָּ** attests all usages while most other formations attest only one or maybe two other usages. Only **מִתְהִתָּתְהִתָּ** attests three usages; however, this can be attributed to **תְּהִתָּתְהִתָּ** because the **מִן** makes no discernible semantic contribution in these cases.

6.3 Semantic network

The revised semantic network for **תְּהִתָּ** makes a significant change from that of Rodriguez (2011) in the simplification of categories. What were formerly independent categorical usages are now treated within parent categories as meaning extensions for a particular context. For example, *exchange* is no longer a node in the network, but rather is treated within *substitution* as an extension of meaning. The remainder of this chapter will present

each node in the network beginning with *inferior anatomy*.

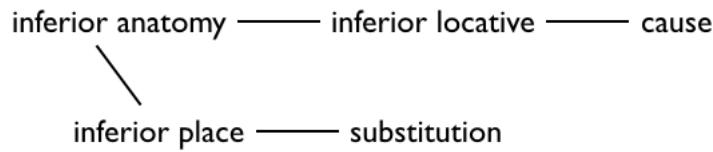


Figure 68: תחת Revised semantic network

6.3.1 Inferior anatomy

Inferior anatomy underpart	
	<p style="text-align: right;">פָּהַטְיוֹ חֲדִידִי חֶרֶשׁ וְרָפֶד חָרוֹזׁ עַלְיָ-טִיטָּה</p> <p>In its neck abides strength, and terror dances before it. (Job 41:22)</p>
תחת	Job 28:5; 41:22

The first *thing* node is the original anatomical usage which exists in BH only in Job 41:22 and also likely in 28:5. Job 41:22 has been discussed previously in regards to תחת symbolizing Leviathan's underside (§6.1.3.2.7). In Job 28:5, תחת could similarly function as the inferior anatomical region of the earth's "body".

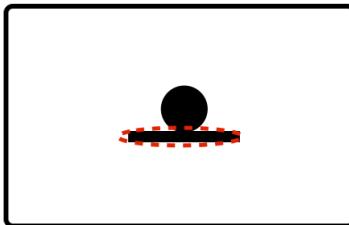
Job 28:5 As for the earth, out of it comes bread; but its underpart is turned up as by fire. (author's)

אָרֶץ מִפְנָה יֵצֵא לְחַם וְתַחְתִּיהָ נִהְפַּךְ כְּמוֹ אָשׁ

This is a difficult verse for interpreters, nevertheless, this usage seems most analogous to that of Job 41:22 (compared to the other 508 usages in BH). Pope (1965:201) describes this mining scene (started in vs 1) as an ancient geological understanding of rock formations below the earth's surface came to be, and thus in this verse, the contrast is between what happens on the earth's surface (food comes) and what happens below the earth's surface (overturned as by fire). Gordis (1978:306) reads תחתיה to be the subject of the נִהְפַּךְ (*its underparts are overturned*). However, Clines (2006:898) objects to this stating that this would create a gender disagreement between noun and verb. Presumably this objection refers to the masculine passive verb נִהְפַּךְ and the feminine noun אָרֶץ (because תחת and נִהְפַּךְ are both masculine). However, the noun in question here is the construct noun תחת, not the absolute noun (a 3fs

pronominal suffix which stands for אֶרְצָה), and BDB ([1906]2006:1065) identifies תחת as a masculine noun. While this masculine noun is in construct with its feminine absolute noun, this construct relationship effects the determinedness of the whole construct chain, not the whole chain's gender (BHRG §25.3.1ii). Thus, there is no gender disagreement between verb and noun and interpreters may grammatically interpret *הזההיה* *the earth's underpart* as the subject of בָּטָן.²⁵⁵ Despite Clines' grammatical explanation, he interprets this usage in context as the part of the earth which is below the surface, "While on the surface of the earth the well-known observable rhythms of the seasons ensure the steady production of crops, *underneath* all is secretly in turmoil if there are miners at work (2006:912)." This is indeed a part of the earth's anatomy—its *underpart*.

6.3.2 Inferior space

Inferior space place, spot	
	וְלֹקַחُ אֶבֶן מֵאֶחָרֶת וְהִבְיאֹ אֶל־פְּנֵי הָאָבָנים They shall take other stones and put them in the place of those stones (Lev 14:42)
תחת	Ex 10:23; 16:29; Lev 13:23, 28; 14:42 (crs Inferior locative); Jos 4:9; 5:8; 6:5, 20; Jdg 6:19 (crs Inferior locative); 7:21; 2 Sam 2:23a, b; 1 Kgs 8:6 (crs Inferior locative); 7:10; Isa 25:10; 46:7; Jer 3:6 (crs Inferior locative); 38:9, 11 (crs Inferior locative); Ezk 10:2 (crs Inferior locative); Amos 2:13; Zech 3:10 (crs Inferior locative); 6:12; 12:6; 14:10; Job 40:12; 1 Chr 17:9; 2 Chr 5:7 (crs Inferior locative)
תחת + אל	Lev 14:42; Jdg 6:19; Jer 38:11; Zech

This is a secondary *thing* usage which describes an inferior location. This inferior location is construed egocentrically in that an inferior anatomical term is used. This inferior location is used in ways which highlight this spatial inferiority (2 Sam 2:23) and those which are used as a simple *place* (Lev 14:42 above).²⁵⁶

255. Clines (*ibid*) defaults to the adverbial accusative category to explain this usage "Most understand *הזההיה* as an adv(erb), or an adv(erbial) acc(usative) (with a passive verb, as GKC §121a, b) 'underneath' (RSV, NAB), 'underground' (NJB), 'below' (JPS)".

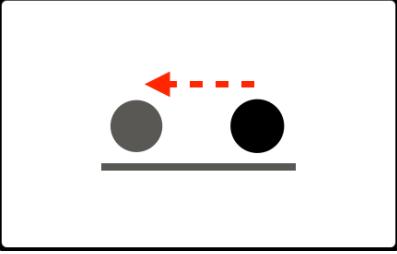
256. While one might (mis)interpret the NRSV translation as a use of the substitution sense, that is not the case

2 Sam 2:23 But he refused to turn away. So Abner struck him in the stomach with the butt of his spear, so that the spear came out at his back. He fell there, and died where he lay. And all those who came to the place where Asahel had fallen and died, stood still. (NRSV)

וְנִכְאַן לֹסֶר וַיַּפְחֹד אֲבָנֵר בַּאֲחֶרְיוֹ הַחַנִּית אֶל-הַחֲמֹשׁ
וְתִצְאָה הַחַנִּית מַאֲחֶרְיוֹ וַיַּפְלִשֵּׁם וַיָּמָת פָּתָחוֹ
[עֲמָקִים] וַיַּהַי כַּל-הַבָּא אֶל-הַמִּקְומָם אֲשֶׁר-נִפְלֵשׁ
עַשְׂהָאָל וַיָּמָת וַיַּעֲמֹד

In this case, the **חתה** is used in parallel with **מקום**, confirming this *place* noun usage. However, Abner dying in his *place* was contextually inferior in spatial and social relation with Abner, hence the appropriateness of **חתה**.

6.3.3 Substitution

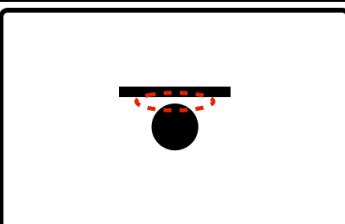
Substitution <i>in place of, instead of</i>	
	וַיִּשְׁבַּ שֶׁלֶמֶת עַל-כִּסְאָ יְהוָה לְמִלְךָ פָּנָתְּרוּיד אָבִיו Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord, succeeding his father David as king (1 Chr 29:23)
חתה	Gen 2:21; 4:25; 22:13; 30:2, 15; 36:33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39; 44:4, 33; 50:19; Ex 21:23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 36, 37; 29:30; Lev 6:15; 14:42 (crs Inferior locative); 16:32; 24:18; Num 3:12, 41a, b, 45a, b; 8:16, 18; 32:14; Deut 2:12, 21, 22, 23, 10:6; Jos 2:14; 5:7; Jdg 6:19 (crs Inferior locative); 15:2; 1 Sam 2:20; 24:20; 25:21; 2 Sam 10:1; 16:8, 12; 17:25; 19:1, 14; 1 Kgs 1:30, 35; 2:35a, b; 3:7; 5:15; 19; 8:6 (crs Inferior locative), 20; 11:43; 14:20, 27, 31; 15:8, 24, 28; 16:6, 10, 28; 19:16; 20:24, 39, 42a, b; 21:2, 6; 22:40, 51; 2 Kgs 1:17; 3:27; 8:15, 24; 10:24, 35; 12:22; 13:9, 24; 14:16, 21, 29; 15:7, 10, 14, 22, 25, 30, 38; 16:20; 17:24; 19:37; 20:21; 21:18, 24, 26; 23:30, 34; 24:6, 17; Isa 3:24a, b, c, d, e; 10:4a, 16; 37:38; 43:3, 4a, b; 55:13a, b, [c]; 60:15, 17a, b, c, d; 61:3a, b, c, 7; Jer 3:6 (crs Inferior locative); 18:20; 22:11; 28:13; 29:26; 37:1; 38:11 (crs Inferior locative); Ezk 4:15; 10:2 (crs Inferior locative); 16:32; Zeph 2:10; Psa 35:12; 38:21a, b; 45:17; 109:4, 5a, b; Job 16:4; 28:15; 31:40a, b; 34:24; 36:20; Prov 11:8; 17:13; 21:18; Qoh 4:15a, b; Est 2:4, 17; Dan 8:8, 22; 1 Chr 1:44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50; 4:41; 5:22; 19:1; 29:23, 28; 2 Chr 1:8; 6:10; 9:31; 12:10, 16; 13:23; 17:1; 21:1; 22:1; 24:27; 26:1, 23; 27:9; 28:27; 32:33; 33:20, 25; 36:1, 8
חתה אש	Deut 28:62; Ezk 36:34
exchange	Gen 30:15; 44:4; Ex 21:23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 36, 37; Lev 24:18; Jos 2:14; 1 Sam 2:20; 24:20; 25:21; 2 Sam 16:12; 1 Kgs 20:39, 42a, b; 21:2, 6; 2 Kgs 10:24; Isa 43:3, 4; Jer 18:20; Zeph 2:10; Ps 35:12; 38:21a, b; 109:4, 5a, b; Job 16:4; 28:15; Prov 17:13

While the inferior anatomical usage is the prototypical frame for **חתה** and is used for the majority of meaning extensions, the inferior space noun usage provides platform from which one of the most frequent relational usages is built: substitution. As noted in Rodriguez (2011),

in BH. The relational constituent in Lev 14:42 is the preposition **ל**. It symbolizes the relationship between the TR (**אבניים** *other stones*) and the LM (**חתה האבניים** *the place of the stones*).

one should not conflate a large data set of this category with greater salience in Hebrew in general. Rather, this indicates that substitution frames, often in royal succession contexts, are frequent in the Bible. Again, as discussed in §6.2.1.4a, the usage of exchange is considered a subcategory of substitution rather than its own semantic category because the factors which create the context of exchange are not attributable to **תחת** only.

6.3.4 Inferior locative

Inferior locative <i>under; beneath</i>	
	וַיִּקְרֹב אָבִן וַיְשִׁמֶּנוּ תְּחִזְקֵיו וַיֵּשֶׁב עֲלֵיכָה So they took a stone and put it under him, and he sat on it. (Ex 17:12)
תחת	Gen 1:7; 6:17; 7:19; 16:9; 18:4, 8; 21:15; 24:2, 9; 41:35; 47:29; 49:25; 35:4, 8b; Ex 6:6, 7; 17:12, 14; 18:10; 20:4a, b; 21:20; 23:5; 24:4, 10; 25:35a, b, c; 26:19a, b, c, 21a, b, 25a, b, 33; 27:5; 30:4; 32:19; 35:8a; 36:24a, b, c, 26a, b, 30; 37:21a, b, c, 27; 38:4; Lev 15:10; 22:27; 27:32; Num 5:19, 20, 29; 6:18; 16:31; 22:27; Deut 2:25; 4:11, 18, 19, 39, 49; 5:8a, b; 7:24; 9:14; 12:2; 25:19; 33:13; Jos 2:11; 7:21, 22; 11:3, 17; 12:3; 13:5; 24:26; Jdg 1:7; 4:5; 3:16, 30; 6:11, 19; 7:8; 1 Sam 7:11; 14:2; 21:4, 5 (crs inferior place), 9; 22:6; 31:13; 2 Sam 3:12; 18:9a, b; 22:10; 22:37, 39, 40, 48; 1 Kgs 4:12; 5:5a, b; 7:24, 29, 30, 44; 8:23; 13:14; 14:23; 19:4, 5; 2 Kgs 8:20, 22; 9:13; 13:5; 14:27; 16:4, 17; 17:7, 10; Isa 3:6; 10:4b; 14:9, 11; 51:6; 57:5a, b; Jer 2:20; 3:6, 13; 38:12a, b; 52:20; Ezk 1:23; 6:13a, b; 10:8, 20, 21; 17:6, 23; 20:37; 24:5; 31:6; 47:1a, b; Hos 4:12, 13; Joel 1:17; Amos 2:9; Obd 7; Jonah 4:5; Micah 1:4; 4:4a, b; Hbk 3:16; Zech 3:10 (crs Inferior locative); Mal 3:21; Psa 10:7; 18:10, 37, 39, 40; 45:6; 66:17; 91:4; 140:4; Job 18:16; 20:12; 26:8; 28:24; 30:7, 14; 36:16; 37:3; 40:21; 41:3; Prov 22:27; Ruth 2:12; Sng 2:6; 4:11; 8:3, 5; Qoh 1:3, 9, 13, 14; 2:3, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22; 3:1, 16; 4:1, 3, 7, 15a; 5:12, 17; 6:1, 12; 7:6; 8:9, 15a, b, 17; 9:3, 6, 9a, b, 11, 13; 10:5; Lam 3:34, 66; Dan 9:12; Neh 2:14; 1 Chr 10:12; 17:1; 29:24; 2 Chr 4:3, 5:7 (crs Inferior locative) 15; 21:8, 10a, b; 28:4
 מתחת	Gen 1:9; Deut 33:27 (TC issue); Ezk 1:8; 46:23; Job 26:5;
ל מתחת	1 Kgs 7:32
 מה תחת שמך	Most of the usages of מן+תחת are of removing someone from under heaven-Gen 6:17; Ex 17:14; Lam 3:66, etc.
Submission metaphor	Gen 16:9; 41:35; Ex 6:6, 7; 18:10; 21:20; Lev 22:27; Num 5:19, 20, 29; Jdg 3:30; 1 Sam 21:4, 9; 2 Sam 3:12; 22:39, 40, 48 (crs approx. inferior); 1 Kgs 5:17; 2 Kgs 8:20, 22; 13:5; 17:7; Isa 3:6; Hos 4:12 ; Hbk 3:7; Mal 3:21 Psa 8:7; 18:48; 47:4a, b; 106:42; 144:2; Job 9:13; 1 Chr 29:24; 2 Chr 21:8, 10a, b
Approx. inferior spatial relation	Gen 18:4, 8; 21:15; 35:4, 8b; Ex 24:4; 32:19; Deut 4:11; 12:2; Jos 11:17; 13:5; 24:26; Jdg 4:5; 6:11, 19; 1 Sam 14:2; 22:6; 31:13; 2 Sam 22:39, 40, 48 (crs submission); 1 Kgs 13:14; 14:23; 19:4, 5; 2 Kgs 9:13; 16:4, 17:10; Isa 10:4b; 57:5a; Jer 2:20; 3:6, 13; Ezk 6:13a, b; Hos 4:13; Psa 18:39, 40; 45:6; Job 30:7; 40:21; Sng 8:5; 1 Chr 10:12; 2 Chr 28:4
Ego merismus	Gen 49:25; Ex 20:4a; Deut 4:39; 5:8a; 33:13; Jos 2:11; 1 Kgs 8:23; Isa 14:9; 51:6; Amos 2:9; Job 18:16

Geographic relation Gen 35:8a; Deut 4:49; Jos 11:3; 12:3; Jdg 7:8; 1 Sam 7:11; 1 Kgs 4:12

east

safety/prosperity *under the vine and fig* - 1 Kgs 5:5; Mic 4:4a, b (can be described with approx. inferior frame) metaphor

The inferior locative is one basic spatial usage from which many contextual varieties and metaphors can be made. These are noted because meaning is encyclopedic and a lexicon can be useful in noting relevant contextual metaphors. This does not, however, indicate that *תחת* means *control* nor *support*.²⁵⁷ Rather, this spatial configuration can be used in instances where the TR is inferior to the LM.

As with *נָמָא* (see §4.3.1.2), *תחת* can be used to symbolize an approximate spatial relationship rather than a literally inferior (or literally posterior in the case of *אַחֲר*) spatial relationship between LM an TR. This is called *approximate inferior spatial relation* in the lexicographic model above. *תחת* in Isa 10:4b does not refer to a literal inferior spatial relationship between the subject and many dead bodies. Rather, this is an (irreal) approximate inferior spatial relationship between the subject and dead bodies on the ground, which the NRSV and NET Bible translations render *among*. Similarly, *תחת* in Ex 24:4 and Gen 21:15 does not symbolize a literal inferior spatial relationship between Moses' altar and the mountain or the boy and a bush (as if the altar and the boy were underground). Rather, in both cases, the inferior locative frame can be thought of as contextually adapted.²⁵⁸

Isa 10:4 so as not to crouch among the prisoners or fall among the slain? For all this his anger has not turned away; his hand is stretched out still. (NRSV)

בְּלֹא כִּרְעַ פֶּתַח אָסֵר וְתַחַת קָרוֹנִים יִפְלֹא
בְּכָל־זָאת לֹא־שָׁב אֶפְוּ וְעַד יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה ס

Ex 24:4 He rose early in the morning, and built an altar at the foot of the mountain. (NRSV)

וַיַּשְׁבַּם בְּלֹא כִּרְעַ וַיַּבְنֵן מִזְבֵּחַ פֶּתַח הַקָּרְבָּן

257. *תחת* as a symbol, most often with *נָמָא*, of inferior social relations has been discussed (§6.2.1.3c) and will not be further addressed here. *Support* as a contextual metaphor in which *תחת* participates has been discussed in §6.2.4.

258. This is following Bybee's principle of not over-creating usage categories (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:46).

Gen 21:15 When the water in the skin was gone, she cast the child under one of the bushes. (NRSV)

וַיָּכֹלְיָהּ הַמִּים מִן־הַחֶמֶת וַיַּשְׁלַךְ אֶת־בָּנָּוֹת פֶּתַח אֶחָד בְּשֵׁבֶט

בְּשֵׁבֶט

There are a few usages of the **תְּחִתָּה** that one might expect of **אַחֲר**. In Obd 7, an *ambush* or *trap* (as the NRSV renders) is said to be set **תְּחִתָּה** someone. More often, ambushes are set from **אַחֲר** (see Jos 8:14 in §4.1.3.5.2g and 2 Chr 13:13 in §4.1.3.6.2).

Obd 7 All your allies have deceived you, they have driven you to the border; your confederates have prevailed against you; those who ate your bread have set a trap for you—there is no understanding of it. (NRSV)

עַד־הַגּוֹבָל שְׁלֹחוֹת כָּל אָנָשִׁי בְּרִיתְךָ הַשִּׁיאוֹק יְכֹלְיָהּ
לְכָל אָנָשִׁי שְׁלֹמָךְ לְחַמֵּךְ יִשְׁמַוְתָּם בְּזֹור פְּחַפְּיךָ אֵין
תְּבוּנָה בָּוּ

תְּחִתָּה is also used twice to symbolize *allegiance/devotion* frames (as inferior) that are more common of **אַחֲר** (as posterior) (§4.3.1.5). These may be understood as submission.

1 Chr 29:24 All the leaders and the mighty warriors, and also all the sons of King David, pledged their allegiance to King Solomon. (NRSV)

וְכָל־הַשְׂרִירִים וְהַגְּבָרִים וּם כָּל־בְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִיד נָתָנוּ
יְדֵ פֶתַח שְׁלָמָה הַמֶּלֶךְ

Hos 4:12 My people consult a piece of wood, and their divining rod gives them oracles. For a spirit of whoredom has led them astray, and they have played the whore, forsaking their God. (NRSV)

עַמִּי בָעָצָו וַיְשַׁאַל וַיְמַלְאֵו נִגְדֵל לוּ כִּי רִיחַ זָנִים
תְּחִתָּה וַיְנַזֵּן מִתְחַת אֱלֹהִים

6.3.5 Causation

Causation <i>under, because</i>	
	<p>כִּי־תִרְאָה חָמֹר שְׁנָאֶךָ רַבֵּן פֶתַח מְשָׁאוֹ וְחַדְלָתָ מְעֻזָּב לוּ עֹזֶב תְּעֻזָּב עַמוּ</p> <p>When you see the donkey of one who hates you lying under its burden and you would hold back from setting it free, you must help to set it free. (Ex 23:5)</p> <p>וְהָאָרֶץ חִנְפָּה פֶתַח יִשְׁבִּית The earth lies polluted under its inhabitants (Isa 24:5)</p>
תְּחִתָּה	Ex 23:5 (crs inferior locative); 2 Sam 19:22; Isa 24:5; Job 34:26; Prov 30:21, 22, 23
תְּחִתָּה אֲשֶׁר	Num 25:13; Deut 21:14; 22:29; 28:47; 1 Sam 26:21; 2 Kgs 22:17; Isa 53:12; Jer 29:19; 50:7; 2 Chr 21:12; 34:25.
תְּחִתָּה כִּי	Deut 4:37; Prov 1:29
תְּחִתָּה מִה	Jer 5:19

תְּחִתָּה as a causal marker has been discussed in §6.1.3.2.7 and §6.2.8. In these cases, symbolizes a causal relationship which is an (often fuzzy) extension of meaning of an inferior

spatial relationship among TRs and LMs that do not have a real inferior relationship (Isa 24:5 above; Job 34:26). This is contrasted with spatial usages whose contexts adapts the locative usage for causation (Ex 23:5).

Ex 23:5 When you see the donkey of one who hates you lying under its burden and you would hold back from setting it free, you must help to set it free. (NRSV)

כִּי־קָרְאָה חַמֹּר שֶׁנָּאֵךְ רַבֵּן פֶּחֶת מִשְׁאָזׁ וְחַדְלָקָתְּ
מְעֻזָּב לֹא עֹזֶב פְּעֻזָּב עַמּוֹ

Job 34:26 He strikes them because of their wickedness while others look on, (author's)

תְּהִתְ-רַשְׁעִים סְפָקָם בָּמָקוֹם רָאִים

6.3.6 Summary

In total, **הַחַת** in BH attests five major semantic categories: inferior anatomy (justifying **הַחַת**'s place in this dissertation), inferior place, inferior locative, substitution, and cause. The original body part noun serves as the prototype for all other usages. Interestingly, unlike relational usages of other egocentric words, **הַחַת** never functions as a symbol for temporal relations.

As noted in §6.1.4.1, there is typological evidence for a grammaticalization cline that begins in a body part word and ends in a relational marker. There is also typological evidence of *place* nouns coming to be used as substitution relations. In this way, Fig. 68 is a defensible reconstruction of how **הַחַת**'s polysemies could have developed.

7. Conclusion

This dissertation has addressed the problem of polysemic meaning of three BH prepositions. Addressing this problem has not only identified the poly- and heterosemies of these words, but has also shown how usage-based methods can be applied to all BH relational words. This one method will not solve all semantic problems for Hebraists. This is a toolbox of methods, drawn from biblical studies and from different linguistic schools, that require interdisciplinary skill to use the tools appropriately. Not all problems require TR-LM frame diagrams, and neither are all problems related to issues of manuscript evidence. But when the problem *What does this mean?* arises regarding a BH preposition, this dissertation has contributed to the lexical semantic description of BH prepositions and given verifiable and repeatable methods by which another researcher could retest the semantic categories established for these three prepositions. This concluding chapter will summarize the role of these methods within the larger toolbox methodology (§7.1), summarize the poly- and heterosemic categories established for each preposition (§7.2), and offer further conclusions about egocentric space, the evolution of body part verbs, and the utility of the Gesenius tradition in usage based linguistic approaches (§7.3).

7.1 Methods summary

There are a few methods used in this dissertation. Primarily, frame semantics and grammaticalization theory were used. These are not the only tools in the methodological toolbox, but for the problem of polysemic meaning of these three BH prepositions, they were consistently used for analysis and description.

While frame semantics is larger than the TR-LM diagrammatical method, TR-LM configurations are useful explanatory tools on their own. Since the 1980's TR-LM

configurations have been created to supplement the meanings symbolized by relational utterances. They have been useful in explaining the polysemies of *over* to English speakers and so their utility in explaining polysemies of BH prepositions to English speakers cannot be overstated. Traditional BH studies leaves semantic description at the level of a gloss or definition. TR-LM diagrams supplement these and explain polysemies visually, which is why they are well suited to relational words like prepositions. Further, they are not simply used to describe each utterance, but rather serve as a tool for making categories. Similar configurations are grouped together categorically. In this way, TR-LM configurations are not only a tool for describing relational utterances, but also for analyzing them.

Secondly, grammaticalization theory played a vital role as a methodology throughout this dissertation. Grammaticalization serves similarly as a tool for description and categorization, but not in the same way as cognitive semantic methods. Grammaticalization theory aims to describe the whole "life" of a word by describing its evolution. For words such as מ/לפנִי, אחרָ, and תְהִתָּ, grammaticalization theory indicates that, as Hebraists had long known, prepositions evolved from nouns. In addition to this common knowledge, there has also been evidence shown in this dissertation that can be used to describe the evolution of verbal usages of these root forms as well (see §7.3.2). As an analytical tool, grammaticalization theory has served as a system of check-and-balances in this dissertation. Not just any TR-LM configurational difference between two utterances was sufficient to create a new semantic category, only those that are also typologically attested. In this way, one researcher's intuition about BH is not enough to start making semantic categories to describe all usages. Possible categories had to be verified typologically across languages.²⁵⁹

259. This is the closest this dissertation has come to a methodological rule that must be followed. Even still, it is not a hard-and-fast rule because the BH data is not stable. Sometimes, textual criticism solves the problem and linguistic methods are irrelevant.

7.2 Embodied meanings

7.2.1 אחר נא

The root **רַחֲאָן** in BH is used to symbolize seven semantic categories: posterior anatomy, posterior space, alternative posterior, static posterior verb, posterior locative, posterior time, and causation. However, two of these, alternative posterior (which accounts for the adjective **אַחֲרָן**) and static posterior verb (the finite verb form **רַחֲאָן**), are not of immediate relevance to the usages of relational utterances. The exception to this for the adjective **רַחֲאָן** found in Neh 5:15 (§2.6.2.2 and §4.1.3.5.1d), where an understanding of the preposition **רַחֲאָן** is likely informed by the *another/additional* sense of the adjective **אַחֲרָן**. Also, while the finite verb form of **רַחֲאָן** is not the subject of investigation in this dissertation, the morphologies of all the words in question have been. It has been shown that the verbal morphologies of **רַחֲאָן** contribute to a full understanding of usages where **אַחֲרָן** symbolizes a thing because the verbal form is a substantive participle on more than one occasion (§4.3.1.4). The review of comparative Semitic languages has also shown that the root phoneme was not used verbally until latter stages of other ANE languages (§4.1.1). Thus, it is plausible that the verbal usages of **רַחֲאָן** evolved after the nominal and relational usages were conventional in BH. This would expand upon common knowledge in BH that many prepositions evolved from nouns—egocentric nouns in this case—to also include a plausible explanation for the development of the verbal usages of the same egocentric roots.

The metaphors and figurative usages based on the locative sense of **רַחֲאָן** have been well attested. Less attested are the different temporal usages, although they are noted by HALOT and DCH (see §4.1.3.3 and §4.1.3.5.1a, f). It has been demonstrated that temporal utterances with **רַחֲאָן** are not semantically monolithic, but instead the **רַחֲאָן** data shows nuanced usages that correspond with Evans' (2013) distinction between temporal deixis and sequence. It has also been shown that any TR-LM configurational differences between these usages can be ac-

counted for by the perspective of the speaker/narrator, and so sequential time has been treated as a subcategory of deictic time. Or to put simply, while there is a noteworthy usage difference between posterior temporal deixis and posterior temporal sequence, they both still construe a posterior semantic profile (the former of past/future relations and the latter of earlier/latter relations).

7.2.2 מ/לפנִי

מ/לפנִי symbolizes six semantic categories in BH: anterior anatomy, anterior locative, comparative, dominance agent/object marker, anterior time, and causation. Like **אחר**, the temporal usages of **מ/לפנִי** can also be described by Evans' (2013) framework of temporal deixis and sequence with sequence as a subcategory of deixis.

מ/לפנִי can be thought of as different words because of their frequency, but their development and polysemies are explainable by one cline (§5.3). While there are two usages that are much more frequently realized with **מפני**, dominance agent/object marker and causation, they are also expressed with **מן + לפני**. So there are no usages that are exclusive to either form and much of **מפני**'s characteristics can be accounted solely by the preposition **מן**. So while there are reasons to treat the two words as separate (namely for students' use of lexicographic resources), the explanations for their polysemies are the same explanation. More research into other prepositions with **פני** is warranted to see if this is always the case.

Unlike **אחר** and **הה**, **מ/לפנִי** has a special relationship with verbs of dominance and fear; it can mark their agents or objects. For example, with a passive form of **ננַפֵּךְ** the relational form **מ/לפנִי** marks the agent of the verb, and with an active form of **רָא** the relational form marks its object. While **אחר** and **הה** can be used to create metaphors of dominance and authority, they are not used as object or agent markers with verbs of dominance.

7.2.3 תחת

תחת symbolizes five semantic categories in BH: inferior anatomy, inferior space, substitution, inferior locative, and causation. As with the other relational words in question, the evolution of תחת begins with anatomy and ends with causation.

Unlike אחר and מ/לפנִי, תחת is never used to symbolize temporal relationships in BH. Thus from an embodied semantic perspective (including Mena's 2012 conclusions on על), one can hypothesize that temporal relationships were perceived in BH as lateral and never vertical, since תחת and על are never used temporally. BH can be added to the typologies of languages that express temporal relationships as metaphors of lateral space.²⁶⁰

The semantic analysis has shown some traits common to all three prepositions. The semantic network of each form posits that form's body part origin as its prototypical usage, detectable in all other usages to varying degrees. Each form has come to be used in more abstract relational usages including conjunctive grammatical applications. Also, each form can make some kind of expression in the domain of dominance/submission, usually in violent contexts. And as shown with forms of פנִי, a meaning extension into such domains provides the platform for a grammatical development: the marking of agents and object of verbs of dominance and fear (§5.3.1.4).

7.3 Conclusions

7.3.1 Inter-lexical relationships

Riemer's criticism of TR-LM diagrams that Lyle (2012) applied to Rodriguez (2011) is a productive insight that can be built upon theoretically (discussed in §2.6.3 and §6.1.4.2). This insight is not, as originally intended, a reason to abandon TR-LM diagrams, but rather is evidence that a real-life domain of experience is being described when a frame semantic

260. See Haspelmath (1997:56-60) for more on the grammaticalization of temporal utterances in many languages.

diagram is applicable to multiple utterances. Embodied experience is diverse and so it can be expected to be talked about in diverse ways. Consider in **לפנִי** and **אחרִי** in 2 Sam 17:9 and Gen 32:4 respectively. Both of them can be represented by the diagrams below for **לפנִי**.

2 Sam 17:9 the troops who follow Absalom (author's)

בְּעַם אֲשֶׁר אָחָרִי אַבְשָׁלָם

Gen 32:4 Jacob sent messengers before him to his brother Esau in the land of Seir, the country of Edom, (NRSV)

וַיֵּשֶׁלֶח יַעֲקֹב מֶלֶאכִים לִפְנֵי אֶל-עָשָׂו אָחִיו אֶרְאָה
שָׁעֵיר שְׂדָה אֲדוֹם

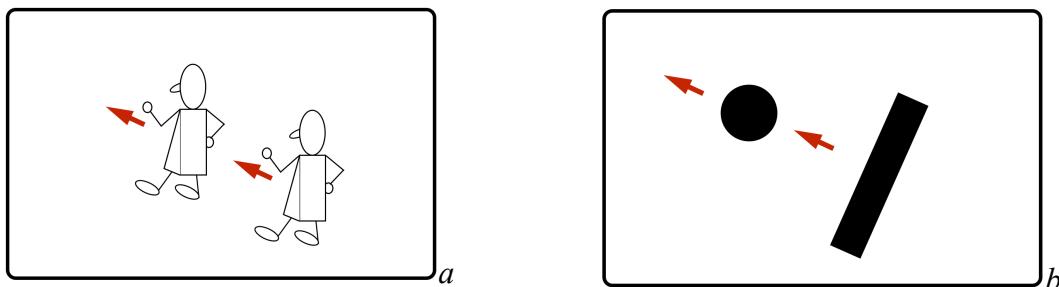


Figure 69: *follow and in front of*

There also seems to be a usage-based relationship observable between **לפנִי** and **אחרִי** in regards to time. **החת** is never used temporally while **לפנִי** and **אחרִי** are often used so. In fact, both **אחרִי** and **לפנִי** are used to describe two kinds of temporal relationships: deictic and sequential (§4.3.1.8-9 and §5.3.1.10-11). In this way, egocentric time in BH is lateral and not vertical. This corresponds to the lack of typological information about *up* words used for time (Heine and Kuteva 2002:60-61). These two items can be considered in support of JM's assertion (discussed in §5.1.2.1) that the pseudo-plural **אחרִי** was created due to influence from its lateral spatial counterpart.

7.3.2 The evolution of body part verbs

According to Gesenius, all words that function as prepositions were originally substantives (GKC §101a; §2.3.1). Joüon-Muraoka (§103a) slightly modified this explanation making accommodations for the inseparable prepositions **בְּ**, **כְּ**, and **לְ**, exempting them from this historical explanation. Besides these, this explanation has continued over the generations. In this way, the Gesenius tradition of philological lexica and grammars has been vindicated by this historical linguistic explanation. Today, grammaticalization theory also proves this explana-

tion correct with some modifications. There are indeed a plethora of the world's languages (not to mention cognate usages in ancient Semitic) that use anatomical body part terms to construe spatial, temporal, and logical relationships (discussed §4.1.4, §5.1.4, §6.1.4.1).

However, the research into the grammaticalization of relational words (such as prepositions and conjunctions) has shown that a noun or body-part origin is not universal. There are some languages, such as Mandarin, that symbolize relationships through coverbs, which are functionally relational items that have evolved from verbal origins (Li-Thompson 1981:360). In these languages, the relational words are more closely associated with verbs than with nouns.

If none of the BH prepositions evolved from verbs, where did the verbal usages of egocentric root words (like אחר *פָנָה and פָנָה*) come from? For example, *פָנָה* is used within the same text as an anatomical thing and a relational symbol (Lev 26:17). However, פָנָה also function as a finite verb (Gen 18:22). In fact, in Gen 18:22, the root form is used as as verb and in a preposition.

Lev 26:17 I will set my face against you, and you shall be struck down by your enemies; your foes shall rule over you, and you shall flee though no one pursues you. (NRSV)

וְנִתְחַי פָנֵי בְכֶם וּמִנְפְּתַח לְפָנֵי אַיִבְיכֶם וּרְדוּ בְכֶם
שְׁאַיִבְיכֶם וּמִסְתַּחֲמָם וְאַיְזַרְדֵף אֶתְכֶם

Gen 18:22 So the men turned from there, and went toward Sodom, while Abraham remained standing before the Lord. (NRSV)

וַיַּפְנוּ מִשֶּׁם הָאָנָשִׁים וַיַּלְכְּלוּ סְדָמָה וְאַבְרָהָם עֹזֶרֶנוּ
עַמְדָה לְבָנֵי יִהּוָה

It has been plausibly shown that the semantic changes that can differentiate between word classes (such as from noun to adverb to preposition to conjunction to finite verb) are likely larger ancient Semitic phenomenon rather than something that "happened" to BH forms. It is possible that BH inherited these polysemies from an earlier stage of Semitic. This hypothesis could raise a contentious issue about grammaticalization theory itself that scholars have differing views on: Did grammaticalization happen? Was there actually a process that occurred that caused meanings to change? Or is semantic change simply an observation we can make

about the records of past utterances and how over time we observe meaningful shifts?²⁶¹ No matter which answer a historical linguist takes on these points, the issue raised here is textual. Nominal and prepositional usages occur side-by-side in the same texts, and we see prepositional and verbal usages side-by-side in the same texts (Lev 26:17 and Gen 18:22 above). So it is plausible that the writers of literary BH operated in strata of ancient Hebrew in which the semantic (and thus word class) shifts had already happened, because these differing functions coexist in the same texts.

7.3.3 The Gesenius tradition and usage-based methods

If Geeraerts' (2010:277) conclusion—that cognitive linguistics builds on the philological tradition—is to be more widely adopted in BH, then that adoption can go both ways, not only in the methods of the usage-based linguists who refer to the old philological texts to avoid rediscovering the wheel, but also in the methods of the philologists who are slow to change in that area. While the content of Gesenius' lexica have been updated over the generations with refined categorization strategies and new knowledge about Semitic languages unknown to Gesenius, the lexical semantic methods he outlined have not changed since his first lexicon, and they are still instructive for lexical semantic research. G18 has regrouped those rules so that they are five instead of seven, but they are the same rules. Grammaticalization theory gives semanticists verifiable ways to justify the categories they make and cognitive semantics gives many tools to describe meaning in the realistic, encyclopedic way it is used. Rather than rejecting many of the strategies of the philological era as DCH and SDBH have done, the original aims of these strategies can be updated with scientific methods subject to interdisciplinary knowledge. This is risky business for the Gesenius tradition because the tradition has not endured this long by changing. But this tradition is well suited to discuss the linguistic questions of the (post)modern era because it has fathered these questions. If the guiding questions of philology—the search for meaning and the search for plausible historical

261. See §2.6.2 for more on these issues in regards to Hardy's (2014) application of grammaticalization theory.

reconstructions—can be maintained rather than insistence on old or current methods, then those in the Gesenius tradition will be free to work with the tools of their own time, which can be expected to emerge and evolve.

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