A Cognitive Semantic Assessment of עִם and אֵת's Semantic Potential

by

Kristopher Aaron Lyle

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Supervisor: Prof. C.H.J. van der Merwe

Department of Ancient Studies

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Declaration

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Abstract

This thesis provides a critical assessment of the semantic potential of two Biblical Hebrew lexemes: עִם and אֵת. Previous lexical inquiries of the target lexemes provide the impetus for the current research; this is because the linguistic frameworks assumed by these studies are outmatched in the amount of explanatory power accompanying more recent theoretical developments, primarily evidenced within Cognitive linguistics (and semantics). As its methodological framework, the current study then appropriates these new advances and demonstrates a semantic potential of the target lexemes that can be determined through criteria offered by Tyler and Evans (2003). This criteria specifically aids in the task of semantic demarcation as well as identifying the primary sense, from which the remaining network of senses are derived. Furthermore, not only is an attempt made at representing the *range* of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, but a proposal for the *development* of these senses is offered as well. This is done primarily through an implementation of the theory of grammaticalization, as posited by Heine *et al.* (1991). The identified semantic networks are then analyzed from two different perspectives of lexical inquiry: 1) as a monosemy-polysemy cline, and 2) from both a semasiological and onomasiological point of departure (the latter method of onomasiology represents a unique contribution to the assessment of עִם and אֵת since most Biblical Hebrew lexical inquiries are limited to being a semasiological endeavor).

The investigation uses the Pentateuch as its data-set and reveals a representation of (at least) eleven distinct senses in עִם's semantic network as well as אֵת's. Even though each lexeme's semantic potential is comprised of primarily the same senses, these eleven distinct senses are not completely synonymous and represent different meanings. Significantly, it is determined that 1) both target lexemes share the same primary sense (i.e., proto-scene), 2) both indicate the same core senses and consequently, 3) the target lexemes may rightly be considered as near synonyms.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis bied 'n kritiese evaluering van die semantiese potensiaal van twee Bybelse Hebreeus lekseme: עִם en אֵת. Gebreke in bestaande navorsing ten opsigte van hierdie twee lekseme het die impuls verskaf vir hierdie projek. Onlangse ontwikkelinge in teoretiese taalkunde, in besonder kognitiewe taalkunde (en semantiek), het aangetoon dat die modelle in terme waarvan die bestaande beskrywing van die lekseme gedoen is, agterhaal is. Hierdie studie gebruik die perspektiewe wat kognitiewe semantiek bied om die semantiese potensiaal van hierdie twee Bybels-Hebreeuse lekseme te beskryf. Kriteria wat deur Tyler en Evans (2003) geformuleer is in hulle beskrywing van ‘n aantal Engelse voorsetsels, word as metodologiese vertrekpunt gebruik. Hierdie kriteria is veral nuttig in die semantiese afbakening, asook die identifisering van die primêre betekenis van die lekseme. Lg. bied die basis in terme waarvan die res van netwerk van betekenisonderskeidings beskryf word. In die studie word nie net die gepoog om die verskillende betekenisse van die lekseme te beskryf nie, maar daar word ook gepoog om aan te dui hoe die verskillende onderskeidings ontwikkel het. Dit word primêr gedoen in terme van die grammatikaliseringsteorie van Heine *et al* (1991). Die semantiese netwerke wat geïdentifiseer is, word vanuit twee verskillende perspektiewe van leksikale ondersoek gedoen: 1) die mono-polisemiese klien (“cline”) en 2) ‘n semasiologiese en onomasiologiese vertrekpunt. Laasgenoemde benadering tot onomasiologie verteenwoordig ‘n unieke bydrae tot die beskrywing van עִם en אֵת aangesien die meeste bestaande Bybels-Hebreeuse beskrywings van die lekseme semasiologies van aard is.

Hierdie ondersoek is beperk tot die gebruik van עִם en אֵת in die Pentateug. Ten minste 11 verskillende betekenisseonderskeidings word vir beide lekseme geïdentifiseer. Alhoewel beide lekseme se semantiese potensiaal in baie opsigte dieselfde is, is dit nie presies identies nie. Wat wel merkwaardig is, is 1) dat beide lekseme dieselfde basiese betekenis (dit is die sg. “proto-scene”) het, 2) dat beide dieselfde kernbetekenisonderskeidings het en dat gevolglik 3) hulle as naby-sinonieme bestempel kan word.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated
to those seeking to know Him more fully,
through meditating day and night,
on His inspired message in their original tongues

&

To Papa & Bonzai –
both of whom are sorely missed.

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It is difficult to pay tribute to all those who have made this endeavor not only possible, but enjoyable. In particular, I wish to thank those who crafted Stellenbosch into a home while we roamed those streets for almost two years. We will never forget those like the Mills who showed us the beauty of the Western Cape and invited us into more than just their homes.

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I am grateful to my bride who traveled with me across the ocean, to re-locate in a new neighborhood, to make new friends, to see new places and to try new things. I am grateful to *this* girl who made an ugly flat a warm home and a comfortable office – several different times, in both manner and location. Her food and shoulder rubs have renewed a tired mind, many a times. Her support has been invaluable.

I am of course also grateful to my family, for loving us both in many ways as we've been gone and for always supporting what I'm doing. A retrospective "thank you" is also well deserved to my Dad who urged us to move and start this program when we did: if we had stuck with *our* plans, I would have missed this opportunity to study since Christo (wisely) decided to pause from accepting students.

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limitations" – as he has led me without scholarly-arrogance, even submitting himself to my own postulations or queries. Though never a stranger to a full schedule, he has given undivided and devoted attention when requested. He has shared his home, his food, his garden, pool and best of all, his culinary skills and wine! It is without hesitation that I declare, Christo has made this program the "lekker" experience it has been for me.

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Signs & Abbreviations

BDB	Brown, Driver and Briggs
BH	Biblical Hebrew
HB	Hebrew Bible
KB	Koehler and Baumgartner
LM	Landmark
TR	Trajector
WO	Waltke and O'Connor
* after verse reference	Indicates עִמָּדִי is used rather than עִם
(+) after verse reference	Indicates אֵת is followed by פְּנֵי

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Problem

Any reader of Biblical Hebrew (BH) will understand the frustrating difficulties that accompany first learning how to use a lexicon. At this stage of familiarity with interpreting an ancient language, the assumed primary concern – be it legitimate or not – is how to accurately reflect the meaning of the BH text into one's own native language, viz., translation. Naturally, the reader resorts to trying to determine the best translation of the particular text under scrutiny. A lexicon is chosen and this (adolescent) intuition to focus on the semantic value is reified when the opened pages offer a taxonomy of bolded glosses, each with its plethora of verses assigned to various semantic values. Now, the only task remaining for the BH reader is to determine which bolded translation should be selected.

Unfortunately, the structure of many BH tools (e.g., grammars and lexica) has been organized in such a way that encourages this misguided hermeneutical approach. Little to no explanation is offered regarding what exactly is represented in a lexeme's entry: everything from the structural layout to the semantic potential[1] of the lexeme itself is unmotivated – leaving a seemingly arbitrary lists of translation values to pick from and then to apply to a particular text. Consider a condensed representation of an entry on עִם found in Koehler and Baumgartner (2000: 839; original bolding):[2]

1) **in company with, together with**
   a) with all words: expresses communal action or action in company
   b) formula to express the divine presence
      i) as a promise and pledge
      ii) in the mouth of people as a promise, pledge, wish or question
      iii) … עִם (הָיָה) יהוה in retrospect
   c) עִם as a statement of communality
   d) adversative
2) a) **together with, as good as**
   b) **together with, even as**
   c) **in comparison with**

1. "Semantic potential" is intended to represent the possible meanings – be they distinct senses or effects of contextual modulation – that may be expressed through a given lexeme. This notion is quite different than a lexeme's 'semantic value', which is the specific gloss a lexeme's semantic potential may be represented by (e.g., the Instrument sense can be represented by the semantic value *with* as in *she hit the nail **with** the hammer*).

2. Chapter 3 is dedicated to reviewing several key lexicographical treatments of the target lexemes in more detail.

3) **simultaneously with**
4) with מִן; מֵעִם: a) **from having a connection with**
b) comparative

Such an approach places unwarranted reliance on a lexeme's potential semantic values (rather than the distinct senses behind these glosses) and does not do justice to the actual development and variety of meanings conveyed through such a lexeme. Furthermore, a motivation for the semantic demarcations provided as well as how to determine which sense is in play in a given text is left unstated.

1.2 The Purpose of the Study

This absence of a semantic methodology and a reliance on reader-intuition is a major shortcoming that must be reckoned with if students of BH are really going to be aided by such BH resources and learn to appreciate what exactly they intend to interpret – namely, the semantic composition of a given form. Recent advances in modern linguistics, particularly Cognitive linguistics, provide such a corrective and explanatory theory that would greatly aid the BH reader who would seek to understand the semantic potential of a given lexeme in a more comprehensive manner.

The remaining study will seek to demonstrate the explanatory power that modern linguistic advances might bring to BH lexical inquiry. This will be done through applying key notions and concepts of Cognitive linguistics towards a better understanding of the semantic potential of two BH prepositions: עִם and אֵת. Along with assessing each individual lexeme's gamut of senses, a comparative analysis will also be offered yielding considerable insight as to how these two lexeme's are related on a semantic level.

1.3 Outline of the Study

This investigation is organized into six chapters, including the present one which is to clarify the problem, reveal a proposed solution and to introduce the reader for what is to come. The remaining chapters may be summarized as follows:

Chapter 2 situates and describes the theoretical framework employed throughout this research (i.e., Cognitive linguistics/semantics) – including a presentation of several weaknesses of this

approach. Then, the influence of Cognitive linguistics among BH studies will be taken note of, followed by a literature review of three linguistic studies involving research aimed at elucidating the English preposition *with* and its associated senses.

Chapter 3 provides a literature review of three prominent BH tools which every student of this language is almost certain to encounter (i.e., Koehler and Baumgartner [2000], Brown, Driver and Briggs [1962], and Waltke and O'Connor [1991]). An assessment of these BH resources provides a well-rounded sample for the current state of affairs concerning the lexical representation and semantic analysis of BH spatial lexemes.

Chapter 4 reveals the methodology to be implemented in the current research, providing solutions to the weaknesses of Cognitive linguistics, mentioned earlier in chapter 2. The solutions primarily consist of two different sets of criteria: 1) for establishing what constitutes a distinct sense and 2) for determining the primary sense of a semantic network. The theory of grammaticalization will also be employed as an explanatory tool to assess the potential derivation of the senses comprising the target lexemes' networks.

Chapter 5 demonstrates the methodology of the previous chapter in application through an analysis of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential with the data sample restricted to their occurrences in the Pentateuch. This sample provides sufficient room for the target lexemes to be used within a single genre (i.e., narrative), which happens to afford more natural/typical uses to surface (since it is the most similar to what would have been colloquial speech, as opposed to another genre like poetry). Though the statistics of עִם and אֵת will be discussed more fully below (5.1), it is enough to note for now that עִם occurs a total of 243x in the Pentateuch (659x in the entire HB),[3] while אֵת appears 284x (792x in the entire HB).

Chapter 6 summarizes the observed data and conclusions reached, positing further areas of future research which might lead to a deeper understanding of the target lexemes' semantic potential and other related issues.

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3. With עִמָּדִי included in the count, the total comes to 685x in the entire HB, while the occurrences of both עִם and עִמָּדִי in the Pentateuch is 262x.

The structure of this organization will provide the reader with the most natural progression of knowledge one would need if attempting to assess the semantic potential of two BH lexemes. Initially, laying the linguistic foundation upon which the current study will be conducted allows an early appropriation of the notions and terminology which will be employed throughout the remaining research. Comparing then, how BH lexical studies measure up to a reflection of recent linguistic advances will demonstrate the need for an updated analysis. Chapter 4 naturally follows this critical assessment of previous BH lexical studies and provides a solution for how the current study will build upon those recently reviewed with the linguistic advancements discussed in Chapter 2, without being characterized by the same weaknesses. Having laid a sufficient foundation for the proposed study, Chapter 5 will apply the methodology of the previous chapter towards an assessment of the target lexemes' semantic potential. A concluding chapter will then summarize the previous observations, providing a brief overview of the entire study as well as making note of areas for future study.

Chapter 2: Cognitive Linguistics & Semantics Overview

2.1 Situating and Describing the Cognitive enterprise

Ever since the early 19th century when lexical semantics was legitimated as its own method of study, multiple programs and theories have developed, each championing their own supposed area of improvement. Chronologically, they may be organized in the following manner: historical-philological semantics (circa 1830-1930), structuralist semantics (circa 1930-1960), generativist semantics (beginning in the 60's), neostructuralist semantics (beginning in the 70's) and finally, Cognitive semantics[4] (beginning in the early 80's) (Geeraerts 2010: 1, 47, 101, 129, 276). Since each approach has been a response to a preceding one, naturally, each shares similarities and differences in which the "updated" theory assumes it holds the upper-hand in a particular arena of interest.

In the big picture, Geeraerts (ibid.: 277) has observed a cyclical pattern in which the Cognitive enterprise seems to share many of the tenets which the historical-philological approach first articulated. For instance, both approaches find meaning to be deeply connected to the mind and assume an 'encyclopedic' orientation of meaning from the beginning rather than one anchored in the vacuum of autonomy.[5] Furthermore, both are interested in the condition and causes of the polysemous and flexible nature of meaning (ibid.).

In response to the latter three approaches, Cognitive semantics resists the trend towards autonomous distinctions (exhibited in modular faculties) and instead, proceeds forward with a maximalist orientation geared towards integrating what other frameworks have separated, e.g., semantics and pragmatics, or semantics and syntax (Geeraerts 2010: 275-277; Evans and

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4. Due to the fact that "[…] most linguists, nowadays, would at least pay lip-service to the idea that language knowledge resides in the mind, and that what linguists are trying to do, as linguists, is to describe what it is in the mind that enables people to create and understand linguistics expressions" (Taylor 2002: 5), a capital "c" will be used to differentiate between those linguistic enterprises which merely incorporate some cognitive appeal and that of the Cognitive linguistics enterprise itself – such a distinction is promoted by Taylor (ibid.).

5. More recently, however, a dictionary-encyclopedic view of meaning has been called into question; instead, a continuum of these two types of meaning are thought to be enacted (Riemer 2010: 103-105). (This tendency to resolve tensions by way of positing a continuum or cline between two polarized points seems to be the mark of a new explanatory trend in the Cognitive enterprise; more examples of this will be demonstrated below).

Green 2006: 28). Langacker (2006: 29) expresses the absurdity of such a divorce with the following assertion: "it is ultimately as pointless to analyze grammatical units without reference to their semantic value as to write a dictionary which omits the meanings of its lexical items". Thus, Geeraerts (2010: 277) is able to say that "[…] the tension between a maximalist approach and a more restrained point of view [is…] the main theoretical divide in the progression of lexical semantics": with the Cognitive and historical-philological schools on the maximalist side, and the structuralist, neostructuralist and generative enterprises on the minimalist.

In the affirmative, and in place of such formal approaches which hold to a 'rationalist' and 'objectivist' paradigm (as modeled in Chomskian linguistics), Cognitive linguists subscribe to 'experiential realism'. Again, rather than upholding the dichotomy between mind and body, 'experientialism' understands linguistic meaning (and truth in general) as being deeply rooted in, and reflective of, the way in which language users inhabit and "experience" the world around them. This interaction between the 'embodied' mind – that which filters one's embodied experience of the physical world – is represented at the cognitive level through 'image schemas', which are reflective of one's 'pre-conceptual experience' (Evans and Green 2006: 27-28, 44-48).[6] Thus, rather than separating mind and body, Cognitive linguists integrate the two, in which case, the body's experience shapes the mind's perception and is ultimately stored in what Lakoff calls 'idealized cognitive models', or for Fillmore, 'frames' (Saeed 2004: 37-38).[7] These encyclopedic, folk-based, mental libraries constitute the cognitive structure of the language user. Here too, Cognitive linguists depart from the general trend in which these mental structures are thought to work.

A dominant underlying viewpoint (often taken for granted and assumed *a priori*) that is maintained throughout formal rationalistic programs is a mode of categorization that is

6. For a more comprehensive exposition of the Cognitive notion of 'embodiment', see Rohrer (2007: 25-47). Concerning 'image schemas', Evans (2010: 42-43) is very helpful with regards to their pre-conceptual origins and notes that "they are the foundations of the conceptual system". Also, for a clear layout of the "myths" of 'objectivism' and 'subjectivism', as well as the third worldview, 'experientialism', see Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 186-192).

7. Cf. Cienki (2007) who provides a lucid description on these notions and their interrelatedness.

reflective of Aristotle's classical framework of 'necessary-and-sufficient conditions'. Taylor (2003: 21) describes this approach as encompassing the following assumptions: 1) categories are defined in terms of a conjunction of necessary and sufficient features, 2) features are binary, 3) categories have clear boundaries and 4) all members of a category have equal status. Cognitive semantics counter classical categorization with an alternative model based on prototype theory: this allows for graded degrees of category membership via good, bad and better exemplars, as well as an acknowledgement of the 'fuzzy' boundaries which may exist between them (Brugman and Lakoff 2006: 109; Evans and Green 2006: 29 and 43; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007: 144-146). Such a semantic network is what Lakoff (1987: 84) calls a 'radial structure' (though Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk [2007: 153-154] favors Langacker's 'schematic network model' as it allows for varying levels of abstraction – an assessment with which Taylor [2003: 164] agrees). Regardless of preference, such models are characteristic for charting the semantic potential and extensions based on the degrees of prototypicality of a polysemous lexical unit.[8]

From here, image-schemas depict the semantic extensions which arise due to metaphorical or metonymic applications (Riemer 2010: 257-258; Taylor 2003: 124-143).[9] Such a view of

8. While employing such a model for the present study is desired, it is preferable to lay aside this model and utilize another (to be discussed below). This judgment is made for reasons discussed now. A radial network model – viz., one type of representation of a lexeme's range of senses – is organized in such a way that places distinct senses around a central semantic representative (i.e., the prototype). This prototype is chosen not by predominance in the network (i.e., frequency) but by nature of it being the best example of the target lexeme's senses. While this mode of organization is suitable for a modern language, it becomes both speculative and suspect when applied to an ancient language. The reason for this is that the radial network model places significant determinative weight on the researcher's working intuition of the target language to situate these distinct senses in a manner reflective of their perceived degree of prototypicality. To be able to accurately measure and coordinate the conventionalization of a specific sense is not a task to be attempted when the only data one possesses is the sample of an (ancient) language represented in the corpus of an old text. In short, it could be said that a proper implementation of the radial network model presupposes a working synchronic knowledge of the language under observation. Even Tyler and Evans' (2003) adaptation of Lakoff's (1987) radial network – which takes into account semantic derivation – is still deeply reliant upon the linguistic competence of the target language, as Evans and Green (2006: 348, emphasis added) note, concerning their version: "Distance from the prototype reflects *intuitions* about degree centrality". With this said, it would seem safer to appropriate an alternative semantic network model which does not rely as heavily upon the researcher's fluency of the target language if this language be ancient, like BH. Instead, the theory of grammaticalization will be incorporated into the present research which facilitates a better understanding of a lexeme's semantic network diachronically – be it ancient or modern (see 4.4.1). It seems that those who would employ a radial network in conjunction with a target sense from an ancient language do so under the fallacious assumption that a direct correlation lies between frequency and prototypicality – for statistics are the only source of data one may use when confined to a closed corpus.

9. Evans (2010: 216-217) makes a good argument that metaphorical/metonymic extensions cannot be the

meaning-development implies that these semantic links are not arbitrary evolutions (as formal-classical approaches suppose), rather, they represent motivated and traceable semantic extensions (Brugman and Lakoff 2006: 110; Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007: 148). Through an awareness of these 'family resemblance' relations (Evans and Green 2006: 29), Cognitive semantics is well endowed to tackle the difficult issues which accompany any exposition of a lexical unit's meaning potential. Such an integrated departure point, as well as an awareness of the semantic flexibility of linguistic meaning entails that Cognitive semantics is not as rigid or reductionistic as its structural and generative predecessors, and thus the most advantageous theoretical model to work with at the present time.

2.2 Weaknesses of Cognitive Semantics – and Responses

However, despite having more explanatory breadth and depth, Riemer (2010: 254) – a Cognitive advocate himself – is quick to note several potential shortcomings:

1) "the ambiguity of diagrammatic representations" in that schematic representations enable over-interpretation (e.g., the image-schematic diagram for *over* could easily also represent the verb *hover*)
2) "the difficulty of determining the core meaning of a semantic network"
3) "the indeterminate and speculative nature of the analyses"

In spite of these undeniable weaknesses, the Cognitive enterprise moves forward with honest assessments and realistic solutions. In response to these issues, it may be noted that for the present study, the first problem will not detract from the current analysis since it does not use schematic diagrams to depict either עִם or אֵת's semantic potential.[10] This decision is made in contrast to a long line of lexical semantic tradition that does in fact implement a representation of image schemas or particular meanings via diagrammatic representations.

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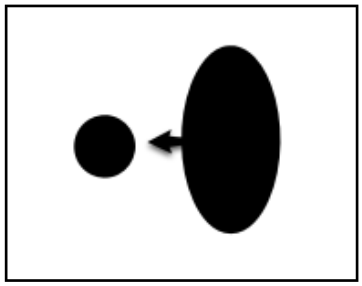
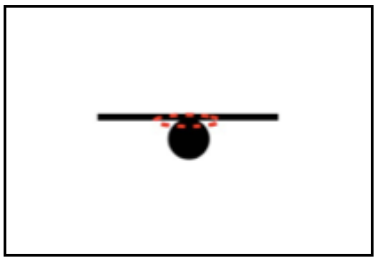
full story for sense-extensions (though it likely plays a part) and posits a new theory of lexical semantics (i.e., *Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models*) in which he takes account of spatial and non-spatial parameters, as well as the functional consequences of a given sense's proto-scene in order that a fuller account might be given of what is involved in the process of semantic extension.

10. See Appendix III, where two diagrammatic representations are proposed nonetheless, with their effectiveness further commented on.

Lakoff (1987) and Johnson's (1987) cornerstone works – which arguably "jumpstarted" the Cognitive enterprise – both rely heavily on such diagrammatic representations. Furthermore, the primary source for the current research's methodological criteria is appropriated from a work (i.e., Tyler and Evans 2003) that similarly utilizes such representations in their descriptions of a lexeme's potential senses. Consider one of the many diagrams riddled throughout their work:



This particular depiction is intended to represent the primary sense of *in front of* (ibid.: 159). To be clear, however, it should be noted that the present research does not assume the entire methodological approach of Tyler and Evans (2003) as being faultless (for example, with this case in point). Rather, this study borrows two sets of criteria for addressing the other two weaknesses Riemer (2010) points out (which will be discussed more fully, below). The decision to forgo an implementation of this mode of depiction is in contrast to a related M.A. thesis by Rodriguez (2011). In his study on the BH particle תַּחַת, extensive explanatory-dependence is laid on posited diagrammatic representations of תַּחַת's polysemous senses – which as noted above, may lead to issues of ambiguity.[11] For instance, Riemer's concern may be demonstrated with one of the initial diagrams encountered in Rodriguez's (ibid.: 42) thesis.



11. It should be noted that Rodriguez (2011) is not unbalanced in his repertoire of explanatory tools for describing the polysemous senses of תַּחַת: he also employs prototype theory and a panchronic description of semantic evolution; yet at the same time, it remains evident that diagrammatic representations are implemented throughout (i.e., chapters 4 and 5) his thesis as explanatory aids, to such an extent that warrants caution, in the current researcher's opinion.

Rodriguez (ibid.) indicates this diagram signifies a "Vertical Spatial Frame 1" and uses Ex 25.35 as an example in which the morphologically independent תַּחַת is used to indicate a vertical spatial TR-LM configuration.[12] The TR (black dot) is said to be *under*, but in contact (illustrated by the red-dashed circle) with the LM (horizontal line). What Riemer would almost undoubtedly point out is that this diagram could also aptly represent any of the following scenarios: *The fan was fastened **to** the ceiling*, *The boy hit his head **on** the rafter*, *The spider was **on** the ceiling*, *His legs became hot from being pressed up **against** his laptop*, *The firefighter was penned down **by** broken boards*, or *The balloons rested **against** the top of the car*.[13] The simple fact that these spatial scenes can all be represented by the same diagram validates Riemer's concern and demonstrates that while diagrammatic representations can be helpful (by providing conceptual representation independent from language itself), their limitations should be borne in mind (Evans and Green 2006: 180).[14] The responsibility to resolve such ambiguity is then left to the semanticist/schematic-artist to lucidly indicate which sense is represented – a tricky task since these diagrams are intended to abstractly reflect one's cognitive processing structures. Thus, the linguist-artist is stuck in a catch-22 situation: to be too clear is to betray the simplicity of the mental picture, yet too vague is to invite cases of ambiguity. It is perhaps more prudent then, to *not* rely too heavily on such diagrammatic representations.

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12. Ex. 25:35: וְכַפְתֹּר **תַּחַת** שְׁנֵי הַקָּנִים (and a bud [TR] shall be *under* the first two branches of the candlestick [LM]).

13. It should be clear that the previous examples are not to be understood as a clash of semantic values with Rodriguez's (2011) English gloss of *under* for תַּחַת; rather, they are to be seen as particles representing completely different TR-LM configurations than the one Rodriguez (2011) suggests תַּחַת is indicating in Ex. 25.35 via this "Vertical Spatial Frame 1".

14. To be fair, Rodriguez (personal communication) is well aware of the fact that diagrammatic representations have the tendency to depict not one, but multiple spatial scenarios – this, being due to the nature of the embodiment of meaning – and likewise, does not perceive this to be an issue. For his purposes, what he calls, 'frame semantic diagrams' remain a viable tool that equips his research "to go beyond standard glosses" (ibid.: 5). As previously mentioned in the main text, while "[...] the advantage of a diagram is that it can represent a concept independently of language" (Evans and Green 2006: 180), it remains the judgment of this thesis (inline with Riemer's concern) that an explanatory tool which enables ambiguity – though this be the nature of that which is represented (i.e., schemas) – is, in the end, less helpful in issuing more clarity or resolution to a lexeme's semantic potential than an account which does not provide diagrammatic representations, at all. This is not to discount any benefit of using diagrammatic representations, but to question and caution the effectiveness and implementation of such modes of depiction for every posited meaning of a given lexeme, as is typical of Cognitive lexical semanticists.

As for the second query, that of choosing a central meaning for the semantic network, Tyler and Evans (2003: 45-50) provide five methodological criterion[15] for determining what they call a spatial lexeme's 'primary sense': 1) earliest attested meaning, 2) predominance in the semantic network, 3) use in composite forms, 4) relations to other spatial particles and 5) grammatical predictions. This replicable and rigorous criteria will provide the current investigation with a sufficient methodology for determining the primary senses of the target lexemes – a solid response to Riemer's (2010: 254) second concern (see section 4.3 for more explanation).[16]

Yet, this does not seem to be the main concern that lexical semanticists have with a Cognitive orientation, though this be one that Riemer (2010) notes. The primary and present difficulty is aptly posed by Taylor (2003: 147): "Where, and on what grounds, do we draw the line between polysemy and contextual modulation?" More and more Cognitive semanticists are becoming aware of such a difficulty. The fact that in Taylor's (ibid.) third edition of *Linguistic Categorization* he included an entire new chapter (Ch. 8) titled "Polysemy, or: How many meanings does a word *really* have?" exhibits the recent and growing awareness of such a dilemma. Along with Taylor, other linguists – with a Cognitive slant and not – testify to the predicament of knowing how to determine when a particular meaning may be considered a distinct sense or is just another instance of "contextual colouring", as Saeed (2004: 62) puts it. Geeraerts (2010: 199) proposes what seems to be the now common consensus that "the contextual flexibility of meaning […] blurs and dynamizes the very distinction between polysemy and vagueness". Continuing this thought, Riemer (2010: 168) re-posits a recent solution that linguistic meaning is reflective of a semantic cline in which a lexeme "will appear monosemous or polysemous as a result of the level of abstraction or resolution at which its meanings are assessed". In question format it may then be asked, *Is this a "close-up" observation (consequently) with contextual play in mind, or an extended/abstract orientation with an image schema in view?* Whatever the case may be (for the polysemy-monosemy line is sure to fluctuate), it is clear that "neither of these perspectives may be

15. They credit Langacker (1987) for points 3) and 5).

16. In my own application of this set of criteria, obvious restraints will be taken into consideration provided the fact that the source language containing the target lexemes is an ancient one, represented in a closed corpus.

regarded as inherently more correct than the other. To consider only the particular to the neglect of the schematic – and vice versa – impoverishes our understanding of word meaning" (Taylor 2003: 167). Thus, concerning the present study, attention will be given to multiple levels at which the target spatial lexemes are considered. This will ensure a full and balanced assessment of the semantic potential of the target lexemes – be it of a polysemous or more schematic nature.

When "zoomed in" and analyzing the more polysemous side of a spatial lexeme, gauging sense-distinction will undoubtedly become a crucial task (Taylor 2003: 147). Accordingly, as a preventative measure from committing the 'polysemy fallacy' (Tyler and Evans 2003: 39),[17] the author will rely on two criteria provided by Tyler and Evans (ibid.: 42-43) aimed at helping one determine which senses of a spatial lexeme are actually distinct from those whose distinction is exaggerated due to a neglect of contextual influence: 1) "[…] it must contain additional meaning not apparent in any other senses associated with a particular form […]" and 2) "[…] there must be instances of the sense that are context independent […]" (see section 4.2 for a more in-depth explanation).

With these criteria in mind – that of determining the primary sense and what constitutes a distinct sense – it is possible to suggest that Riemer's (2010: 254) third concern of "the indeterminate and speculative nature of the analysis" is – if not completely dealt with – satisfactorily addressed. However, even after deciding what the primary sense and other distinct senses are, observation is not enough – understanding is the key. "We will show that the common practice of giving a list of meanings of ambiguous items is neither the only way, nor, for polysemous words, the most efficient way, of storing such semantic information" (Brugman and Lakoff 2006: 109). And up unto this point, עִם and אֵת have not been assessed in a manner reflective of recent advances made by Cognitive semantics. The present work will seek to bridge this gap, offering an updated analysis.

17. According to Tyler and Evans (2003: 39) "[t]o commit the polysemy fallacy is to exaggerate the number of distinct senses associated with a particular form vis-a-vis the mental representation of a native speaker".

2.3 The Appropriation of the Cognitive Paradigm into Biblical Studies

While the target lexemes of this thesis have not been analyzed through the lens of Cognitive semantics, others have employed this paradigm in their assessment of various aspects of BH, in general. For instance, Yoo (2011) explicates purpose and result connectives with a Cognitive orientation. As previously mentioned, a study similar to the present has been conducted by Rodriguez (2011) in which he evaluates תַּחַת using several key concepts rooted in Cognitive semantics. It may as well be noted that the previous works were directed under Professor C.H.J. van der Merwe, who in joint effort with other BH scholars (Miller, Naudé, Kroeze, etc.) has substantially opened the doors for a legitimated integration of Cognitive linguistics with BH studies.[18] Besides van der Merwe, van Wolde (2009) has also recently published a more comprehensive application of the Cognitive enterprise towards biblical studies in general, in what she aptly titles, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text meet Culture, Cognition and Context*.

2.4 Linguistic Assessments of Things-Semantic, Related to עִם and אֵת

Outside of Bible based works, the English preposition *with* – the most typical translation equivalent for the prepositions עִם and אֵת – has received a modest amount of attention beginning in the early 70's (e.g., Nilsen 1973). To be clear, the focus on *with* has primarily been an indirect concern, stemming from an interest in the various senses (e.g. Instrumental) often associated with the English gloss rather than a direct semasiological fascination.[19] Only recently has a study surfaced which begins exclusively with the English preposition *with* (i.e., Kidd & Faulkner 2008; to be discussed in detail below). The general trend has then been more of an onomasiological venture: one starting with concepts and spatial relations that are then traced back to the form *with*. The present study of עִם and אֵת will primarily be a semasiological effort (viz., a lexical inquiry which begins with a linguistic form and pursues and understanding of the meanings it represents); though, by the very nature of (comparatively) observing two spatial lexemes, an onomasiological perspective will also be incorporated (viz., a lexical inquiry which begins with a particular meaning and then

18. To name just a few contributions: Van der Merwe (2004; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2007a).

19. Throughout the current research, (distinct) senses will be designated by the capitalization of the sense's label, e.g., Manner or Cause.

identifies the various linguistic forms associated with the target meaning).[20] The attempt to oscillate between the two departure points will ensure a well-rounded study of עִם and אֵת's semantic network, as Riemer (2010: 50) asserts is a requirement for any lexical study. However, before beginning the current assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, it will be helpful to review some of these linguistic works, mentioned above, that have focused on the English preposition *with* and its associated uses.

2.4.1 Schlesinger (1979)

Schlesinger (1979) begins his analysis with an awareness of the multi-functional senses (or in his words "cases") that *with*-phrases in English may command. However, rather than positing the typical explanation up unto this point in lexical semantics (viz., that case functions are instantiations of distinct Aristotelian categories of sense relations), Schlesinger advocates that such functions are actually "poles on a conceptual continuum" (ibid.: 316). The main senses he examines are the Instrumental and Comitative, though in the end, he touches on Manner, Time and Material, among several others. Challenging his own proposed cline-hypothesis, he conducts a continuum-test in which he asks English language users to rate the degree of Comitative or Instrumental they perceive to be present among a variety sentences containing *with*-phrases. Performing two follow-up experiments to address several queries raised concerning the first experiment's results, Schlesinger (ibid.: 321) concludes that language users do in fact interpret *with*'s senses as semantic phenomena existing along, at least, a one-dimensional continuum of meaning, e.g., Comitative-Time. In a footnote, Schlesinger (ibid.: 313) clearly states, "there is no universal boundary line between instrumental and comitative; rather, each individual decides on some division somewhere on the continuum existing in his cognitive structure". Schlesinger, thus presents a concept of graded sense relations which contains no fixed semantic demarcations, but is rather ever being plotted and identified by the language user among the domain of a lexeme's semantic potential.

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20. Cf., Riemer's (2010: 49-50) lucid comments on these foundational (and initially confusing) terms; Geeraerts (2010: 23), Taylor (2003: 84-85) and van Wolde (2009: 52) are also helpful. Much more will be said on how these two perspectives impact the present investigation's findings, below (5.4.1).

Building upon this theory, he deduces that a one-dimensional explanation of the meaning conveyed through *with*-phrases is overly-simplistic, in certain instances (though it is always at least one-dimensional; e.g., Comitative-Manner). Indeed, he goes on to illustrate that for some instances of *with* it is more accurate to describe the continuum as consisting of two (or more) case-continuums (remember, he uses 'case' as synonymous with 'sense'). For example, Schlesinger (ibid.: 321) cites the following example as an implicature involving a two-dimensional continuum of Comitative-Instrument-Ingredient: *He cooked the meat with wine*. In Schlesinger's mind, the first instance of joining *meat* with *wine* is enabled through a comitative relationship, which then extends to an instrumental – in which it could be said *he used wine to cook the meat* – and finally, from this Comitative-Instrument continuum, the ingredient notion is 'assimilated' (ibid.: 318). Besides these multidimensional continua, he offers other examples of sense-blending such as Manner with Time or Place. Concerning the Manner-Time relation, the example *He is walking slowly* illustrates its development from the Comitative-Manner continuum. In its most rudimentary level, this sentence may be expressed by *he is walking with slowness*, referencing the Comitative-Manner relation. From here, the Manner-Time continuum is manifested in *he is walking slowly*. With this, Schlesinger concludes he has demonstrated the 'semantic-blending' (ibid.: 321 who cites Quirk *et al.* 1972) of multiple relational structures, rather than the "discrete categories" view.

For the present study, it is interesting to note that this early work – clearly at odds with the classical paradigm of categorization – explicitly acknowledges that the continuum view is also in disagreement with Rosch's (1975a, 1975b, 1976a, 1976b, 1978) prototype theory. Though recognizing this alternative proposal, Schlesinger (1979: 310, 322) claims that his experiments and cross-linguistic analysis prove that relational categories (i.e., senses) do indeed exist among a one-dimensional cognitive continuum (or more), rather than a network of distinct categories – even if these boundaries be 'fuzzy'. It may as well be noted that Schlesinger's demarcation gesture will not detract from the present investigation's implementation of Rosch's fundamental concepts, for though case functions may exist along a continuum (and there is good reason to believe that they do), it is the current researcher's opinion that as far as functional utility is concerned, Rosch's concept of 'fuzzy' boundaries is equally qualified to explain the graded degrees of category membership, as is, Schlesinger's continuum schema. In other words, the present study is, simply put, concerned with what

works: not necessarily which theoretical framework holds the upper hand in these nuanced matters. Both explanations demonstrate considerable insights and together, pummel the classical "black and white" mode of categorization which has permeated previous BH lexicography. For the moment, we are content to be concerned with distinctive-*ness* (like Rosch and Schlesinger), but are not yet comfortable with laying aside distinction, as a whole – as Schlesinger is.

On the other hand, Schlesinger's one/multi-dimensional perception is heartily accepted and seen as a precursor for some of the ideas advanced by Heine *et al.* (1991) in their version of the theory of grammaticalization (4.4.1). To suppose that the specific use of a sense exists with no semantic-predecessor is to drastically downplay an appreciation of a lexeme's semantic development; and often, as Schlesinger notes, a lexeme's range of meaning may be traced across three or more distinct senses. Thus, Schlesinger's multi-dimensional interpretation will go hand in hand with Heine *et al.*'s (1991) theory of grammaticalization which diachronically traces various senses through their abstraction from the original concrete uses. These theories will help elucidate עִם and אֵת's semantic potential by allowing their semantic-spectrum to come into full focus. Previous BH explanations of the target lexemes (see chapter 3) – though they have listed possible ranges of meaning – have failed to adequately account for *how* these senses are related. This is one shortcoming the present investigation seeks to address.

2.4.2 Stolz (2001)

Through a cross-linguistic analysis of 65 European languages, Stolz (2001) explicates the relationship between the Comitative, Instrumental, Locative and (predicative) Possession senses. In particular, he seeks to answer how these senses (or in his words "functions") are related, how they can be represented by a single lexeme, and how these combinatory senses are limited in their semantic-blending (ibid.: 323). More specifically, the bulk of his analysis is restricted to instances where the companion event schema (X is *with* Y) indicates predicative possession in which the relator may be rendered in English by *with* (ibid.: 328).[21]

21. Interestingly, Stolz (2001: 326) points out that though combinatory relators such as *with* – which link, for example, the Comitative and Instrumental – are common linguistic phenomena in Indo-European languages, they are actually rare linguistic usages. This reality is stated contrary to and in critique of Lakoff and Johnson's

While the data of Stolz (ibid.) is primarily limited to European languages, in the beginning he pulls from a world-wide sample of 323 languages, and notes several helpful comments and questions concerning the relationship between his four target senses. From this data, Stolz (ibid.: 339) affirms the most common combination of senses is Comitative-Instrumental, while the second is Instrumental-Locative (20%). The real surprise is that the Comitative-Locative combination is barely over 2%. Thus, a distinctive preference is revealed with whom a locative might choose as a semantic partner. As for the present thesis, these general trends may be tested against the current research, e.g., *Does the Locative sense of עִם (or אֵת) demonstrate a closer affinity to a Comitative or Instrumental sense?* Building upon these statistics, Stolz (ibid.) references Heine's (1997: 175) deduction – that, globally, predicative possession is most often represented by the LOCATION schema (X is with Y) – and notes that "the locative serves as the bridge between possession and the instrumental. Similarly, the instrumental serves as the bridge between comitative and locative". Again, these conclusions will be tested with the current analysis of עִם and אֵת, e.g., *Can a similar functional-organization be observed for עִם's semantic potential?* But not only may Stolz's statement be tested, but Heine's conclusion will also be evaluated with עִם and אֵת, viz., *Is it the Locative sense which is used to indicate predicative possession, or another?*

As for his European sample, several general claims are put forth that BH may be held up to. For instance, in recognizing the two major ways of expressing possession (i.e., attributive and predicative)[22], Stolz (2001: 327) affirms the bounteous evidence which reveals that each type of possession maintains a predisposed preference as to what sense it will be paired with, be it Comitative or Instrumental. More specifically through his own research, Stolz (ibid.) illustrates that in European languages it is not uncommon for a lexeme to express all three of the following types of relationships: comitative, instrumental and attributive possession (e.g. English *with*, German *mit*, Greek *me*). While on the other hand, it is much less frequent for

(1980) assessment that Comitatives and Instrumentals are typically expressed by a single lexical unit. Rather, Stolz (326) states, "The vast majority of the word's languages keep comitatives and instrumentals formally distinct". This of course means that the target lexemes are "rare birds", as he calls them, for they can indicate both co-location/activity and Instrument (e.g., Judg 8.7 with אֵת for the Instrument sense).

22. Attributive possession: *He put **his money** in the bank*; Predicative possession: *He put all the money **he had** in the bank*.

predicative possession to be indicated by such multi-functioning lexemes. Such results will be interesting to compare with the BH lexemes under examination, namely, *Does* עִם *prefer a specific type of possession?*[23]

Stolz (ibid.: 345) concludes that the general assumption of comitatives/instrumentals and locatives/possession intermixing freely is contrary to actual praxis. Instead, he infers that the Comitative is favored by Possession, while Instrument is preferred by Location, viz., if a sense of Possession is to be indicated by a specific construction, it will more likely be activated from a COMPANION schema (i.e., X is with Y), while an Instrument sense will find its semantic predecessor to most often be from a LOCATION schema. As for cases where a divergence from the general preference is exemplified, Stolz posits that a 'bridging function' is actuated where the favored sense behaves as a mediator between the two foreign sense-congruencies, e.g., comitative–*instrumental (bridge)*–locative (ibid.: 322). In light of these conclusions, this investigation will be more keen to recognize any such combinatory preferences among עִם or אֵת's various senses; and if any be identified, it will quickly be noted as to whether or not there is indeed some bridging function at work. This awareness has the potential to reveal helpful insights into the differences between עִם and אֵת, e.g., *Does one lexeme prefer a particular sense-combination to another?* If these answers can be provided, our current understanding of the distinctiveness between עִם and אֵת would be greatly enhanced.

2.4.3 Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008)

In this thorough longitudinal study (spanning 2+ years), Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008) observe, analyze and seek to understand two year old Brian's acquisition of *with*'s multiple senses. Beginning with the "multiple meanings"[24] and "monosemy approach" offered by McKercher (2001), they demonstrate how these explanations of semantic acquisition do not

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23. While it would be even more elucidating to conduct an onomasiological survey with other BH particles (e.g., לְ or בְּ), this lies outside the scope of the current investigation which is to give a solid explication of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential.

24. It should be noted that the multiple meanings approach is not the same as a polysemy approach. The former, tied to homonymy, suggests that distinct senses are stored separately in the mental lexicon (e.g., $with_{ACC}$, $with_{INS}$, $with_{MAN}$) and are ultimately (even retrospectively), connected together in a network of senses. Polysemy, on the other hand, *begins* with a semantic network and understands all senses as related, from the start.

hold up with their testing results. Rather, they demonstrate the operating power of a third approach – one not limited to a single facet of explanation, but one which draws on multiple "tools that enable the child to navigate over semantic space" (Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner 2008: 52).

Provided that "children prefer to apply only one meaning to a lexical item […] [t]he acquisition of prepositions presents a particularly difficult version of the mapping problem for the child language learner" (ibid.: 35), mainly, since multiple meanings typically abound with these phonologically simple, function words. What they discovered with Brian was that his acquisition of *with* was closely tied to the input frequency of his mother (ibid.: 40). For this reason, the main senses Brian initially became accustomed to were Accompaniment, Attribute and Instrument.[25] From here, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner identified several "prototypical" constructions in which these senses emerged, also making note of several verb semantic patterns which typified Brian's use of *with* for these three senses. For instance, with cases of Instrument and Accompaniment, "the senses could reliably be distinguished on the durative/punctual aspectual distinction" (ibid.: 43), i.e., the instrumental + punctual, and accompaniment + durative; all the while, both senses maintained a high frequency of use with action verbs. In fact, the Instrument sense was most often paired with an action verb (e.g., *She* ***hit***$_{ACTION}$ *the nail* ***with***$_{INSTUMENT}$ *a hammer*), while an asymmetrical counterpart – the light verb – appeared most often with the Attribute sense (e.g., *He* ***has***$_{LIGHT}$ *a nose* ***with***$_{ATTRIBUTE}$ *red* [red nose]). These findings, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (ibid.: 43) suggest, demonstrate the way in which verb semantics play a part in restricting and priming particular senses.

Beyond the verb-valency tool, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner discovered two prototypical constructions which commonly housed these three prominent senses. For the Attribute and Instrument sense, the NP-V-NP-*with*-NP construction was the typical syntactic frame, while Accompaniment was most often represented through the NP-V-*with*-NP construction (ibid.:

25. The author does not always share agreement with the distinct senses posited by those in review. For instance, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008) speak of the Accompaniment sense, but later on in the study it will be demonstrated that this semantic demarcation is likely more an effect of contextual modulation than an instance of a conventionalized sense. Nonetheless, the labels used by those in review will be respected and kept the same.

42). They conclude that such extra linguistic cues – provided through his input source (i.e., his mother) and evidenced in his own (re)constructions – were definite influences in making the multiple meanings of *with* more manageable to appropriate (ibid.: 43).

Along these lines, this research's observations of עִם and אֵת will be guided by these larger principles of recognizing influential (and determinant) linguistic or contextual cues. Like Brian, the BH student too may be aided by an awareness of such prototypical constructions or verbal semantic tendencies. In fact, the BH student is almost certain to find semantic "acquisition" harder than a child since the student has no access to the ancient language in praxis. Nonetheless, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner's principles may be extended in application to both parties as helpful techniques for enhancing one's knowledge of sense distinction.

It is significant to note that from their data, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (ibid.: 45) decide against the multiple meanings and monosemy approach, offered by McKercher (2001), and conclude that Brian actually acquired *with*'s various senses without assuming a distinction between them, at all. Rather, they argue, he "use[d] *with* to denote SPATIAL PROXIMITY" (Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner 2008: 45). The reason this can be so, they suggest, is that his initial uses of *with* were grounded in senses which carried inherent spatial meanings, e.g., Accompaniment or Attribute (ibid.). Thus, basing Brian's originating uses of *with* as descriptions of concrete spatial realities, he did not employ a more "*abstracted* sense based on the extraction of core features" (ibid.: 45) – as the monosemy approach suggests; instead, Brian "initially extracted *a* core feature of *with* and continued to use it in this manner for some time before extending the preposition's meaning" (ibid.: 51; original italics). Further support for this deduction is provided by the fact that when Brian overgeneralized *with*'s semantic potential, he did so primarily with a spatial sense, e.g., he used *with* as a substitute for the locative *in* (ibid.: 50).[26] Moreover, these initial errors were all based in concrete spatial situations as opposed to abstract, more developed semantic extensions. For these reasons, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner are deterred from siding with either of the previous approaches

26. For example, consider three examples taken from Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (ibid.: 49): *I'm just saving them with my bus tin* (means *in my bus tin*); *That man with the spaceship* (means *in/from the spaceship*); *I'm going with my Wellington boots* (means *in my Wellington boots*).

and decide that a prototype is most likely the supposed root of all Brian's uses of *with*. Adopting Tyler and Evans' (2003: 50) notion of a 'proto-scene' (discussed above and developed more fully below), they suggest that the "core feature" of Brian's proto-scene for *with* was one of spatial proximity, or co-location (Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner 2008: 52). Originating from this most fundamental aspect, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner argue that prototypical constructions, verbal semantic pairing tendencies, along with practice at deciphering the varying nuances between recurring usage patterns are "the tools that enable the child to navigate over semantic space" (ibid.).

Naturally, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner realize where this explanation leads them: towards polysemy. If Brian learned *with*'s senses through identifying different degrees of usage patterns then there will doubtless be shades of resemblance in which sense distinction will ultimately be maintained through different contexts. In other words, senses are deciphered and discovered through an awareness of the shifting linguistic backdrop, i.e., context. Claiming polysemy to be a more economical and maximizing design *feature* (rather than fault) of a language system, they explain that "although the meaning of a polysemous word may be ambiguous in isolation, it is rarely ambiguous in context" (ibid.: 53). Continuing, they expound that contextual information is so tied to a lexeme's specific activated sense that a proper polysemous account cannot be rendered unless contextual factors are recognized and dealt with appropriately (ibid.: 54). In short, meaning cannot be explained in a contextual-vacuum – context must be accounted for. These thoughts echo Tyler and Evans' (2003: 8) value in determining a lexeme's sense-independence or dependence. However, going a step farther than Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008), they expand a linguist's awareness beyond contextual effects to other non-linguistic influences, affirming that a neglect of these elements "[…] has led previous scholars to fail to distinguish appropriately between information coded by the lexical item and information recruited from context, background knowledge and cognitive processing" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 8). This type of lexical analysis, Tyler and Evans (ibid.) explain, inevitably leads to an overemphasis on a lone lexeme's semantic force, and forfeits a proper distribution of attention towards other influential factors affecting semantic actualization.

As for Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner, in the end, they approve of a dynamic construal of lexical representation in which *with*'s varying senses are learned from a recognition of a single proto-scene characterized by a SPATIAL PROXIMITY schema. From here, they note that Brian would eventually recognize other meanings from this originating spatial prototype through various semantic aids such as prototypical constructions, verb semantics and usage patterns (53).

For the present thesis, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner's awareness that three major senses of *with* are grounded in the CO-LOCATION schema will prove to be a notion that might be tested with the current investigation's findings. Namely, *Which senses and how many can be traced back to a spatial proximity sense?* Furthermore, *Can a spatial proximity proto-scene be identified with* עִם *and* אֵת*, as well?* Questions like these will greatly enhance the current analysis of the target lexemes, and much of Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner's construction and verb semantics observations will be remarked upon and implemented in the following research.

2.5 Summary of the Cognitive Enterprise & Literature Review

In light of the previous review of both advancements in Cognitive linguistics in general and semantics in particular, as well as the ideas put forward concerning the different senses often associated with the English preposition *with*, it should be apparent that the present thesis will not be conducted in a vacuum of thoughts. Rather, a Cognitive framework will ground the analysis and be the lens through which the semantic potential of עִם and אֵת are realized (see chapter 4). However, since an analysis of this nature has yet to be conducted with the target lexemes (illustrated in the next chapter), previous English investigations on the semantic value and senses most often associated with עִם and אֵת will be supplementary aids for the current research.

In short, Schlesinger (1979) seems to be one of the forerunners who advances the notion of a semantic continuum, in which case particular senses are not divorced from each other but are understood as being derived *from* one another – this resulting in blurred semantic boundary lines. Furthermore, he advances the notion that particular instantiations of a specific sense (e.g., Comitative, Instrumental or Manner) are often comprised of other senses in graded

degrees; and more often than not, that such usages exhibit three or more active senses (to some extent or another), impregnating the semantic force of that specific usage in its particular context. This, Schlesinger posits, is in due effect and a reflection of the evolution of a lexeme's semantic development. Such an understanding of the potential senses a lexeme may represent emancipates semantic investigations from neutering the lexeme's semantic potential as well as inhibits the tendency to stuff it nicely into an organized system. On the contrary, Schlesinger's approach allows and encourages an appreciation of the diversity of a lexeme's semantic composition and will enable the present investigation of עִם and אֵת to do what previous interpretations have failed to do: namely, to let senses be fuzzy where they are fuzzy and to recognize the full semantic-spectrum at play in a given sense.

Stolz's (2001) research brings a whole new element to the current study, mainly, a global awareness of language trends, specifically with respect to the relationship between these four senses: Comitative, Instrument, Locative and the two different ways of expressing Possession (i.e., attributive and predicative). To a large extent, Stolz (ibid.) refines the multi-dimensional interplay between the various senses which Schlesinger (1979) makes note of: rather than leaving this "field of senses" as a neutral phenomenon of semantic interaction, Stolz (2001) introduces the idea of preference driven sense-pairings. In keeping with the "field of flowers" metaphor, in other words, he demonstrates that there are "cross-pollination" preferences – it is not as haphazard as linguists once assumed. Concerning his four target senses, he notes that the Possession sense prefers to be expressed by the Comitative and that the Locative favors the Instrument sense. Shedding light on the tendencies behind semantic-pairings, Stolz (ibid.) then brings a whole new concern to the current analysis of עִם and אֵת: it is no longer enough to recognize the multiple meanings at play in a given sense, it is now necessary to engage and decipher the possible preferences that each sense displays towards another.

Unique to Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner's (2008) research is their methodological starting point. Unlike the two previous investigations, which were concerned with the typical senses associated with the English preposition *with*, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner begin their analysis with a semasiological point of departure. Thus, (initially) ignoring the potential concepts of *with*, they follow a child's (Brian) acquisition of *with*'s multiple meanings in a longitudinal study. Through their research they discover that Brian's initial uses of *with* were

all grounded in a spatial proximity proto-scene – rather than being manifestations of distinct, abstract developments of *with*'s semantic potential (as the multiple meanings and monosemy approaches projected). Furthermore, they recognized particular prototypical constructions in which the prominent senses (i.e., Accompaniment, Attribute and Instrument) were operative. In addition, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner identified several verb semantic trends that acted as supplemental tools for priming or restricting *with*'s various uses. These two tools – the semantic and grammatical collocational tendencies – may be jointly referred as a particular sense's 'lexical profile' (Evans 2010: 218). In the end, Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008) conclude that their research advocates a polysemic paradigm in which additional linguistic queues (besides the lexeme itself) afford a language user ample resources to decipher and develop one's understanding of *with* through his interaction with varying usage patterns. Likewise, the present thesis will adopt such aids – for instance, prototypical constructions – to use as tools to navigate the semantic space of עִם and אֵת. Also, the current investigation will see if there are any similarities between the spatial proximity proto-scene of *with* and those proto-scenes of the target BH lexemes.

Having reviewed three notable investigations pertaining to the English preposition *with*, the investigation will now turn to a review of the current state of assessment concerning עִם and אֵת with regards to BH scholarship.

Chapter 3: Biblical Hebrew Literature Review

3.1 Rationale for a Biblical Hebrew Literature Review

While עִם and אֵת have been treated a number of times (sometimes together), and in multiple lexicons and grammars, it has yet to be dealt with in a manner reflective of recent advances made in modern linguistics, particularly within the framework of the Cognitive enterprise. Thus, a new analysis of these lexemes is not only warranted but necessary – not to duplicate previous studies, but to enhance old thoughts with new methodological approaches. A major weakness in many BH lexicons and grammars is the lack of semantic structure offered to explicate a particle's semantic potential. This is due to the fact that the default taxonomy layout is insufficient for accurately and fully representing the network of a lexeme's semantic potential in a manner that is characterized by explanatory power. A taxonomy does to a semantic network what a painter does to a landscape: it flattens a three-dimensional world into a two-dimensional plane. While pretty, and in some ways helpful, it reduces a lexeme's meaning potential to a list – this betrays the real dynamism and development residing within any lexical unit.

Often, a taxonomic explanation does little to recognize the way different senses are interrelated and have evolved historically. Below, this will be illustrated through a review of some of the major BH lexica as well as one prominent BH grammar. For the moment, it suffices to say that though such major BH expositions have sought to account for the gamut of senses a lexical unit may represent, they often, nonetheless, suggest that the relationships between these senses are random and void of any interconnectedness by ignoring an appraisal of the network which holds the semantic potential together. Such an assessment is, simply put, inaccurate and does not due justice to a lexeme's semantic composition. Furthermore, it may be harmful to the BH learner who is only provided with a multiple-choice type formula for determining which sense has encountered in the text before him. The inadequacy of such an approach lies in its failure to account for a lexeme's semantic structure by ignoring the motivations which lie behind its diachronic development and synchronic construals. In short, it may be said that representation by taxonomy forfeits a three-dimensional understanding.

Having pinpointed the major concern, a review of three widely used BH tools will now be provided in which the previous concerns will be refined and reified. While some lexicographers did not have access to recent semantic-based theories (e.g., Brown-Driver-Briggs [1962]), others, such as Clines (2001), maintain a representation of a lexeme's semantic potential in a manner reflective of an inferior mode of linguistic thought, despite the availability of alternative and superior approaches. Below, the review will be limited to more standard tools: Koehler and Baumgartner (2000), Brown, Driver and Briggs (1962) and Waltke and O'Connor (1990).[27]

3.2 Koehler & Baumgartner (2000)

Koehler and Baumgartner (2000), henceforth KB for short, is a monumental work, extending in its earliest beginnings to 1953. Pooling from multiple scholars – originating from Ludwig Koehler (for BH), and then Walter Baumgartner (for Biblical Aramaic; BArm) – this lexicon is one to be approached with respect.[28] Yet, at the same time, one must not shy away from critique where it is due. Nonetheless, in the following appraisal, it will be remembered that Koehler himself has said, "It would have been a pleasure to be its [i.e., the Lexicon] critic rather than its author" (KB 2000: lxxii).

The standard lexical entry may largely be summed up as following the proceeding layout: 1) etymology, 2) forms, 3) meaning and 4) bibliography (ibid.: cii). It is the third component which is the concern of the present thesis. Hartmann (ibid.) describes this section as being

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27. The primary reason these BH tools were chosen over others is that these seem to be representative of the standard aids offered to BH students. They would then also be the most familiar and appropriate to review provided that many BH students are affected by the methodology and presentation of these works (for good or for worse). Therefore, this sample of BH tools is a suitable selection to begin a critical analysis of the target lexemes. While other BH resources may be considered "standard" (e.g., Gesenius and Kautzsch 1910), the selected sample illustrates the variety of inadequacies found in other BH tools (e.g., Preuss 1974). Furthermore, this selection constitutes works which have spanned multiple decades, and thus exposure to multiple layers of linguistic theoretical change – whether it was taken notice of, or not.

28. "When Koehler had died a new edition of KBL was suggested and it was natural to entrust the work to the care of Baumgartner. It is perhaps worth remembering that before he began his revision he devoted the next year to prepare himself for the task. He systematically read again the whole of the Old Testament and prepared critical notes and translations. Only then did he begin work on the dictionary itself. Methodology counted most" (Hartmann 2000: ciii).

structured by "Biblical references [being] collected according to the range of meaning for each entry". But the questions unanswered are *How was this "range" of a word's meaning determined* and then, *How is it illustrated?* Without these answers, the question becomes *How is a BH student supposed to decipher which sense is being represented in any given text?* Before venturing into the hypothetical, it is necessary to turn to the actual entries of עִם (as well as it's BArm section) and אֵת.

3.2.1 BH עִם

The groundwork for much of עִם's entry in the BH section was provided by Koehler. Of the four components of a lexical entry (mentioned above), the "meaning" section is divided into four major parts – all of them, seemingly driven by a bolded gloss. Here is a skeletal view of the entry (2000: 839; original bolding and indention):

1) **in company with, together with**
   a) with all words: expresses communal action or action in company
   b) formula to express the divine presence
      i) as a promise and pledge
      ii) in the mouth of people as a promise, pledge, wish or question
      iii) … עִם (הָיָה) יהוה in retrospect
   c) עִם as a statement of communality
   d) adversative
2) a) **together with, as good as**
   b) **together with, even as**
   c) **in comparison with**
3) **simultaneously with**
4) with מִן; מֵעִם: a) **from having a connection with**
   b) comparative

From the outset, it is immediately apparent that this entry seems to be gloss-driven. In other words, it is the possible semantic value that עִם might carry which is the demarcating feature for Koehler's "range of meaning" layout. Simply observing sections 1-4 makes this clear, for each begins with a bolded gloss. More specifically, section 1 is broken down into various contexts in which the leading gloss may be said to apply. Section 2 takes this same route, only here, more bolded glosses are provided (in which case, some overlap). After new sections are introduced by such glosses, suitable contexts are given where they may be applied (as is the case in section 1). The main difference with section 2 is that there seems to be no dominant semantic value (much less a distinct sense) governing the larger sectional demarcations. This leads one to wonder why each bolded gloss does not have its own larger

section headed by a numeral (e.g., 1 or 3) as opposed to a letter (e.g., b or e). Section 3 then follows section 1's layout more strictly: only providing a single gloss, along with contexts in which it might be applied.[29] Finally, section 4 concludes Koehler's review of עִם's "range of meaning", and is likewise headed by a bolded gloss in which the shift of such a semantic value is explained as being rooted in the addition of the מִן prefix; contexts are then provided.

While the only consistent structure of this layout seems to be the pattern "bolded gloss + context", the relationship between sections 1-4 remains obscure and (apparently) left for the reader to discern. For example, both sections 1 and 2 contain the gloss *together with*: once in the first section, twice in the second. In section 2, this phrase is followed by *as good as* (a gloss that does not fit any of the six examples following this proposed reading).[30] As noted above, while each larger division is determined by a bolded gloss, the contents within each section seem to be arranged differently from point to point. For instance, section 1 is composed of four further subdivisions (i.e., *a*-*d*), all of which are driven by contextual matters (e.g., section *a* pertains to contexts of communal activity while *b* deals with a formula containing עִם). This is opposed to the structure of the following section which is guided by glosses throughout – not contexts. Thus, while it is impossible to say the entire entry is gloss-driven, what constitutes a particular section remains undetermined.

The regretful aspect of this layout is that the semantic network (much less framework) must be inferred. Because Koehler does not offer the reader any motivations for the various divisions which constitute each entry, the reader is left with only numbers, letters and bolded words. However, a mere taxonomy of glosses will not suffice.

3.2.2 BH אֵת

As for Koehler's treatment of the preposition אֵת, one should not be surprised to find the same structural problems associated with עִם. Here too, the "range of meaning" is divided into four main sections, each headed by a bolded gloss, with the last section reserved for comments on

29. What is questionable about this section is not the fact that only four examples are provided (for there is no correlation between frequency and distinction), but that two of the examples are highly debatable and one is based on a conjectural reading – leaving one substantial example.

30. Job 3.14 is possible, but this is more of an exegetical leap than a linguistic deduction.

the compound מֵאֵת. Even more apparent here than in the previous entry, is Koehler's high regard for semantic values (i.e., glosses). In אֵת's entry, each numeral division – governed by a bolded gloss – can more easily be assigned a specific sense, while this was not so with עִם. Below, is a chart based on Koehler's treatment of אֵת with his bolded glosses in their numerical order and the author's understanding of their corresponding senses.

Semantic Value	Distinct Sense
together with	Comitative
with the help of	Instrument
by the side of, besides	Location
out of, from	Ablative

The problem with such an approach is that semantic values are always in flux and can represent a number of different senses. Thus to indicate different senses – if this is indeed what Koehler intends – purely by way of offering translational values, is to be highly reductionistic towards a lexeme's semantic potential, and is to threaten – or more likely, forfeit – a reader's ability to understand and appreciate the semantic network of a given lexeme. That glosses are esteemed higher than sense distinction is further illustrated by Koehler's choice to include the Instrument sense (which he clearly identifies) as part of the content of a larger gloss-governed section. Consider the following excerpt from this entry (italics added):

> 2. **with the help of** 1C 218 (→ Rudolph) אֶת־מִי with whose help? Jb 264 (alt. with Sept. τίνι), אֶת־זֶה Gn 41 (Sept. διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, Vulg. *per*; alt. with I; → Comm., Sandmel HUCA 32:19ff); *to indicate instrument* אֶת־קוֹצִי with thorns Ju 8.7 (as בְּ 15)

"To indicate instrument" is provided at the very end of the section as a possible way of understanding אֵת's function when it carries the semantic value of *with the help of*. This is, simply put, backwards-thinking. Semantic values do not shape lexical concepts (i.e., senses); rather, the latter determines the former. It is also very confusing if a reader supposes that by the numerical divisions he is looking at four separate and distinct senses of the target lexeme. Upon further scrutiny, what he will realize is that the divisions are primarily dependent upon different glosses and not senses, at all. Thus, it would seem that the previous linking of

Koehler's glosses with potential senses is not something he would endorse, for in his view, it is the semantic value which has precedence over the sense – and not the other way around. This is an unfortunate manner to orchestrate a lexicon. By doing this, one forces the user to make decisions based on random translation values, rather than linguistically rooted decisions (which may still be based in semantics, as the present work demonstrates, but not at the expense of linguistic inquiry and grounding). Koehler's approach seems to place all of the load on English glosses, which, as previously discussed, is an insufficient method for elucidating a lexeme's semantic potential and network. In summary then, this framework burdens bolded glosses with an undue amount of explanatory dependence, which in turn, neglects a clear explanation of the existence and interrelatedness of the various senses. Furthermore, this invariably opens the doors for intuition to lead the way in both the semantic architecture of the entry and its application via reader-interpretation.

3.2.3 BArm עִם

At this point, it is helpful to return to עִם, only this time, from the viewpoint put forward in Baumgartner's treatment of the BArm form. Though he uses the same overarching layout as Koehler (i.e., etymology, forms, meaning and bibliography), Baumgartner's framework for representing the "meaning" section is vastly different – and in a positive way. Instead of heading the major senses of עִם with English glosses, he determines the parameters of עִם's semantic network with two distinct realms of experience: space and time. Such a rootedness in one's experience of the physical world is reflective of the Cognitive notion of 'embodiment' (see 2.1). With these divisions, he lays a clear foundation for determining which experiential domain is active when this BArm lexeme is encountered in the text. Moreover, Baumgartner does not succumb to the temptation of organizing עִם's uses according to semantic values (unlike his partner), and instead, relies on context to illustrate עִם's specific nuances. This is particularly demonstrated in the "temporal significance" section. When he *does* offer semantic values they are always associated with a specific verse or verb. Thus, there are not the general pervasive glosses that Koehler was accustomed to implement. Rather, Baumgartner primarily uses unbolded semantic values for specific situations (only two bolded glosses in the entire entry); but more importantly, he does not impose (or even offer) these glosses onto foreign contexts where they would not work, though they be under the same schematic rubric.

For instance, in Daniel 7.2, it possible to translate עִם as *in* (as Baumgartner suggests); however, when it occurs earlier in Daniel 3.33 with the construction וְשָׁלְטָנֵהּ עִם־דָּר וְדָר *and his dominion is* עִם *generation and generation*, it most certainly cannot be rendered *in*, though it likely still carries a temporal sense (perhaps, *through*). This practice of lexical representation demonstrates Baumgartner's ability to resist the temptation of indulging an entry with semantic values (something many lexicographers fall into) and to realize that the main objective in presenting עִם's range of meaning is not fulfilled by accurately portraying its semantic value. Instead, Baumgartner seems to rely on broad schematic divisions to represent עִם's semantic potential.

The downside to this method is that his representations of עִם's various uses err on the side of being too vague, so much so that distinct senses are lost at the level of the schematic (a topic to be discussed in 4.4.2.1). For example, within the spatial domain (section 1), he offers *with, for* or *towards* as potential lexical representations of this experience; yet these clearly suggest different spatial relations (or scenes), and arguably even non-spatial features – though they be lumped together under a purely spatial category. Recalling that meaning can be observed at varying levels of abstraction, this type of analysis tends to be anchored in a more distant and schematic viewpoint. A necessary shortcoming of such a sweeping perspective is the neglect of the particulars, of the more polysemous nature of a lexeme – as Baumgartner's analysis (regretfully) illustrates. Furthermore, another unavoidable inadequacy of such a limited view is that a motivation for the various senses which are hinted at through these translation values are completely neglected. In other words, through his distant concern of the schematic, not only distinction, but motivations for distinction itself, become gray and forgotten.

3.2.4 Summary Remarks

In the big picture, it is somewhat ironic that Koehler's weakness is Baumgartner's strength (and vice versa). That is, Koehler's preoccupation with pinpointing semantic values was done so at the expense of neglecting the more schematic demarcations; while on the other hand, Baumgartner's lack of polysemous distinctions and motivations left him with a more distant, abstracted understanding of עִם's semantic potential, rooted in an one's spatio-temporal experience. This thesis will seek to illustrate that the presence of one approach need not lead to a neglect of the other; rather, a complementary blending of both perspectives enhances

one's understanding of a lexeme's "range of meaning" – paying tribute to the full network in play. Overall, it is important to appreciate Baumgartner's assessment being based in the language user's experience of his world rather than artificial glosses, as well as Koehler's contribution towards identifying several nuanced uses of עִם. But the common critique which remains for all of KB's contributors is the absence of a clear semantic network which motivates the divisions and relations found among "the range of meanings" posited for עִם and אֵת. Without this, one is left, more or less, with a taxonomy governed by intuition – initially, by the lexicographer and consequently, by the reader who must interpret and apply the entry.

3.3 Brown, Driver & Briggs (1962)

Brown, Driver and Briggs (BDB) was first published in 1907, but the current appraisal is based on the 1962 version. It was originally based on a later edition of Gesenius' lexicon and reflects much of its linguistic methodology.[31] For the present study, attention will be given to BDB rather than its lexicographic predecessor.

3.3.1 On the Surface

Rather than being gloss-driven like Koehler's approach, or distinction-deficient as Baumgartner's, BDB divides its representation of עִם's uses in primarily two ways: 1) the context in which the lexeme is used, and 2) the various meanings it may be used to express. While initially this may seem as an advancement from KB's varying approaches, the manner in which this framework is fleshed out actually brings substantial complications. The BH reader would have been greatly aided if there had been more consistency and transparency concerning those aspects of עִם which the numerical and alphabetical divisions were intended to indicate, be they contexts, glosses or different senses altogether; but this is not the case. Consider the following condensed excerpt from BDB's (1962: 767-769) entry on עִם (original font changes):

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31. The respectable Wilhelm Gesenius is commonly thought of as being "the father of modern [Biblical] Hebrew lexicography" (Miller 1927:11). Seeking always to obtain the meaning of a word from the HB only, he secondly resorted to traditional knowledge of Hebrew lexicography and finally, to other cognate languages (ibid.: 22). Constructing rigorous methods for using the latter two sources, he was often saved from haphazardly using Semitic languages and naively accepting old knowledge for tradition's sake. See Miller (1927:24-27) for a layout of his methods.

1. Of fellowship and companionship
- **a.** Of *aid*; esp. of God. *With the help of*.
- **b.** Of actions done jointly *with* another, as יִרַשׁ עִם inherit *with*, עִם (חָלַק) חָלַק to share *with*.
- **c.** If the common action be of the nature of a contest or combat, עִם is *with* in the sense of *against*: so often with נִלְחַם *to fight*, נִשְׁפַּט *to dispute*

[…]
- **g.** Of *time*, = *as long as* יִירָאוּךָ עִם שֶׁמֶשׁ *as long as* the sun *endureth*.

2. Of a locality, *close to*, *beside*. By a *person*; of one living *near* another.

3. Of persons, עִם is spec.
- **a.** *in* the house or *family* or *service of*.

[…]
- **e.** *With* = *friendly with* (syn. אֶל *towards)*.

4. Idiom. of a *thought* or *purpose* present *with* one:
- **a.** פֶּן יִהְיֶה דָבָר עִם לְבָבְךָ בְּלִיַּעַל a wicked thought *with* thy heart
- **b.** עִם alone, = in one's *consciousness*, whether of knowledge or memory or purpose (cf. אֵת **3 b**)

5. Metaph. *together with* = *in spite of*, *notwithstanding*. מֵעִם *from with* or *beside*: hence
- **a.** after verbs of departing, taking, removing, etc.

[…]
- **d.** Expressing *origination* or *authorship*: established *from*, on the part of God (cf. נָתַן **2 d** *end)*.

Throughout the entry, both types of demarcators – numerical and alphabetical – indicate either new contexts in which עִם is used (e.g., 3 and 1b) or different meanings it may be used to express (e.g., 3e and 5). Furthermore, italics signal both contexts (and/or senses?) and glosses (e.g., 1a and 1g). Though these critiques be primarily related to surface-level complications, it should be noted that a lack of aesthetic clearness and consistency can be a sure sign of an equally unclear and inconsistent foundation. In other words, the jarring inconsistencies found in BDB's presentation of עִם's various uses is perhaps a reflection of an inadequate understanding of עִם's semantic potential – which is likely rooted in an inadequate methodology that would facilitate a successful, semantic assessment. Thus, in short, to be flawed on top, is to be flawed down below.

3.3.2 Down below

As expected, cases of more *foundational* inconsistencies are not found wanting: examples include categorical disagreement and over-extensions. Several brief remarks will illustrate this point. Concerning the latter (i.e., over-extensions), clear problems are evidenced in the condensed excerpt. For instance, in what way does עִם, when used in a context "of *time*" (1g), coincide with the overarching category "of fellowship and companionship"?[32] As for the

32. This may be possible if BDB understands "companionship" as being neutral of sentiment, but the conjunction "and" suggests that it is not. Perhaps if they would have labeled it "of fellowship *or* companionship"

former (i.e., categorical disagreement), in contexts of combat, BDB notes that the joint activity of engaging in a fight *with* another person (X performs action Z עִם Y) may be rendered X *against* Y; all the while, this sense is included under the larger controlling heading "of fellowship and companionship". Yet how can this be, if it is understood that "fellowship and companionship" connote positive sentiment and relations of harmony, while "against" does the opposite? If one organizes a lexeme's use according to cases where there are contexts of positive sentiment (which is what BDB has done), then should not contexts of negative sentiment (e.g., of fighting or arguing) have their own corresponding heading, for instance, "of discord and isolation"?

3.3.3 Summary Remarks

When issues of foundation, such as those previously mentioned, are paired with surface structure irregularities it causes lexicon-use to be a frustrating task. Moreover, if the numbers and letters cannot be relied upon to indicate a consistent feature of עִם (which are the only sorts of entry-guides one is provided with), then the BH reader must decipher the correct option for עִם's list of potential uses on his own.[33] The catalyst perpetuating this cycle of self-dependence (i.e., interpretative-independence) is both interesting and regretful to note: a lexicographer relying on intuition, forces (albeit unknowingly) his reader to depend on intuition. Surely this echoes Riemer's (2010: 254) complaint of the "the indeterminate and speculative nature of the analyses"; yet equally certain is the extension of this weakness into other realms of lexical analysis, beyond the walls of Cognitive semantics, where Riemer originally spotted it.

3.4 Waltke & O'Connor (1991)

3.4.1 Methodological Placement

Waltke and O'Connor (WO) do well in situating the various methodological approaches which have led up to their chapter on prepositions (chapter 11). In it, multiple and nuanced

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one could include this temporal use under this heading, for it would have at least the potential to express the neutral notion of God's fear persisting with the sun's longevity. However, as it stands, this neutral relation should not be included in this section (and may in fact should have a section of its own).

33. The weaknesses of עִם are shared in BDB's entry on אֵת; thus, comments on this lexeme would prove to be superfluous.

views are consolidated into three main perspectives: nominal (11.1.1), particle (11.1.2) and semantic (11.1.3), siding with the latter. The first two approaches are interested in explaining prepositions from an orientation in line with the particular vantage point their name suggests. For the nominal perspective, this means prepositions are understood as ultimately deriving from nouns, and thus are thought to behave syntactically like them, as well.[34] WO, however, quickly note the manner in which this position is lacking; namely, that not all prepositions can be traced back to a substantival root, as well as the fact that prepositions function in a unique manner not echoed by nouns in so far as they indicate different types of relationships, e.g., instrumental, locative, etc. (11.1.1).

The particle perspective seems to pick up where the nominal falls short. The fact that not all prepositions evolved from a nominal base is not a stumbling block for this vantage point since other particles share this same feature (or lack of). Instead, the particle approach sees this non-dependence on the root system and the various ways in which these so-called "particle-prepositions" appear in the text[35] as evidence that this word-class truly belongs with the larger group – that of particles. Furthermore, while the nominal perspective could not explain the multifaceted functions of these relational lexemes, the particle approach considers a preposition as a member of a larger family of word-classes and likewise, as able to share in these "brother-sister" syntactic roles (11.1.2a). For example, מִן, primarily a spatial preposition, can indicate an adverbial comparative sense of *more than*. This position, then, provides a more satisfactory approach than the nominal position could afford. Though, here too, WO state the emphasis on the morphological components of prepositions is equally as insufficient as a focus on the "case" functions of nominally rooted prepositions.[36] Instead, WO prescribe to a view which gives considerable weight to the semantics of these spatial lexemes.

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34. For instance, prepositions are seen as governing genitival nouns and functioning as adverbial accusatives (11.1.1). Other aspects of this approach can be seen in the theory of grammaticalization, and will be helpful in explaining עִם's prototypical sense down below (5.2.1).

35. Prepositions may occur as composite particles, comprised of other prepositions or prefixes and existing in multiple (variant) forms (11.1.2b-d).

36. The validity of judging the semantic-pragmatic function of nouns based on a Latin-case system is questionable from the beginning, but even more so provided the fact BH was by and large void of any grammaticalization of this type (though there are traces of cases remaining in several forms).

3.4.2 An Appraisal of their Methodology

The real focus, WO suggest, is to answer the question "What is the meaning of the relation between the noun that the preposition governs and the clause in which the prepositional phrase occurs?" (11.1.3a). This is essentially what Cognitive linguistics has become fascinated with, and is reducible to their interest in understanding the relationship between a trajector (TR) and a landmark (LM).[37] Thus, critiquing the failure of overdoing the former at the expense of the latter (viz., offering a nominally-informed focus on the TR-LM interaction), WO reinstate the importance of giving heed to the verbal patterns which may occur with some prepositions; however, they assign this task to the lexicographer. Instead, WO affirm "it remains the work of a grammar to provide a framework within which a dictionary can properly be used" (ibid.) – claiming their chapter covering prepositions meets this task (11.1.3b). Below, it will be made evident that – as far as (at least) עִם and אֵת are concerned – this is not the case.

Remarkably, much of the ideology exhibited in WO, and even their terminology, is reflective of a Cognitive based semantic approach. Consider the following statements in WO which are then paralleled by corresponding remarks found in Tyler and Evans (2003).[38]

WO (1991)	**Tyler and Evans (2003)**
"Even an examination of the interrelations of only the spatial uses of Hebrew prepositions reveals the complexity of the *system*, *the gaps and overlaps* in the lexicon, *and the various ways the relational terms are mapped* onto the world (11.2b) […] The prepositions have *distinctive* meanings; although their *semantic fields overlap*, *no two exhibit complete interchangeability*" (11.2d).	"There are a number of reasons for choosing spatial particles […] Our investigation leads us to the conclusion that the various meanings associated with spatial particles are related in *systematic and highly motivated ways*. In other words, we advance a polysemy approach to word meaning (our polysemy commitment), arguing that the *multiple, distinct meanings associated with the same lexical form are often related*. We suggest that the *distinct but related* senses associated with a single spatial particle constitute a *semantic network* organized with respect to a primary sense" (2-3).

37. These notions will be discussed in greater detail below. For now, it suffices to say that the LM is an entity which profiles a TR, viz., a TR is made known by its relationship to a LM (e.g., *The ball [TR] rolled near the tree [LM]*).

38. All italics below are additions to the original manuscripts in order to pinpoint the specific similarities between the two texts.

"The spatial sense or reference of a given preposition is *not an absolute value*, however; it is always governed *by the verb* (or predicate) of the clause and, more broadly, *by the perspective* from which an action is viewed" (11.2c).	"Language vastly *underdetermines* the rich interpretations normally assigned to even simple, de-contextualized sentences; sentential interpretation results from the integration and elaboration of these *minimal linguistic cues* [i.e., lexemes and their syntactic arrangements] at the conceptual level" (8). "[…] distinct senses associated with a form […] are *not 'fully specified'* […] Rather, they are sufficiently abstract representations, such that when integrated at the conceptual level with *contextual cues*, a range of on-line interpretations can be derived" (55).
"*Most prepositions have a spatial sense, which it is convenient to take as basic.* From this notion other senses, referring to temporal and logical relations, *can be seen as having developed*. The role of the spatial sense should be qualified: *usage*, not etymology, decides meaning" (11.2d).	"If the embodiment of experience indeed gives rise to meaning, which is to say, conceptual structure, then *the concepts expressed by language should largely derive from our perception of spatio-physical experience*. That is, the argument we are making predicts that *spatio-physical experience provides much of the fundamental semantic (or conceptual) structure from which other concepts are constructed*" (24).
"Ideally, the meanings of prepositions should be classified *according to their idiomatic combinations* with specific verbs *in order to safeguard against unwarranted extensions of a preposition's meaning*" (11.2e).	"*To commit the polysemy fallacy is to exaggerate the number of distinct senses* associated with a particular form vis-a-vis the mental representation of a native speaker. *That is, it constitutes fallacious reasoning in assuming that because a highly granular account may be plausible such an account is warranted* [...] One reason why the number of distinct senses has been exaggerated is that too much importance has been ascribed to the lexical representation, and *not enough to the context* in which specific interpretations arise" (39-40).

These parallels are startling. It is undeniable that WO were *not* far off the mark – especially in comparison with other grammars and lexicons, like KB (2000). However, at the same time, it remains certain that one cannot concede with WO's intentions that they have indeed set forth a coherent semantic framework, as intended. In 11.1.3a, they state that "it remains the work of a grammar to provide a framework within which a dictionary can properly be used"; yet, several paragraphs later, the reader discovers what was meant by the word *framework*: "for the purposes of this grammar we give a basic overview of most of the simple prepositions and their meanings" (11.2e). In other words, by framework was meant taxonomy; but this in no way suffices as a framework for the semantic networking of prepositions. As quarried before, how can a BH reader be expected to correctly determine which semantic relation to pick from when only offered a list to choose from – a list without motivated explanations for the divisions of senses being observed? Furthermore, the way in

which these polysemic senses are related is not explained, they are simply compiled in a list-format. Whether their semantic development is arbitrary or motivated is simply not addressed (though it is clear WO believe in such a growth, cf. 11.2d above). In short, an explanatory motivation for distinction and development is lacking. This is very unhelpful when faced with usages like that of example (1):

(1) **Deut 8.5**

וְיָדַעְתָּ **עִם**־לְבָבֶךָ כִּי כַאֲשֶׁר יְיַסֵּר אִישׁ אֶת־בְּנוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מְיַסְּרֶךָּ	Know **in/with/through** your heart that as a parent disciplines a child so YHWH your God disciplines you.

Is this an instance where עִם is being used instrumentally (or manner or means, for that matter) or is it marking "the locus of psychological interest", as WO (11.2.14b) suggest? Ironically, though it may in fact hold the correct interpretation, a taxonomic-framework cannot answer these types of questions satisfactorily – which is exactly what a coherent semantic framework should be able to do.[39]

WO is also overly-simplistic in stating that the supreme concern in laying out a semantic network is to do so "above all in connection with certain verbs" (11.1.3a). Such an emphasis on the importance of verb-preposition patterns seems to eclipse the necessity of appreciating other non-linguistic factors, which Tyler and Evans (2003) actually argue constitute the majority of any meaning a sentence may carry. In other words, WO overemphasize the role these "minimal linguistic cues" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 8) play in yielding sentential meaning. Nonetheless, the bulk of the thoughts contained in WO (compared above) seem to be congruent with Tyler and Evans' (2003) – the only problem is they seem to have been left "on the drawing board". Some of this is to be expected, for they do in fact allocate the responsibility of identifying a preposition's lexical profile to the work of a lexicographer, yet regardless of this distribution of duty, one would still expect WO to elaborate on other notions relating to the motivated development of a lexeme's semantic network – notions WO themselves expressed throughout the explication of their own semantic methodology.

39. Metaphorically put, a lexicon should not be simply an answer key but a study guide, as well – leading the reader to a more accurate interpretation.

3.4.3 Considering עִם

In the case of עִם, the assessment WO offer is inline for critique from Tyler and Evans (2003). They state this preposition's "most common sense involves accompaniment […] or addition" (11.2.14b). The language, here, is reflective of Cognitive linguistic's prototype-talk, and indeed, one of the five criteria provided by Tyler and Evans (2003: 47) for determining a spatial lexeme's primary sense is "predominance in the semantic network"; but they also question the helpfulness of considering *only* prototypicality "when thinking about lexical categorization […], particularly for non-objects, such as relations and processes" (ibid.: 46) – which עִם (and אֵת) have the capacity to express. However, WO cannot be faulted with an over-reliance on prototypicality for they stop short at frequency (evidenced by the phrase *most common*), and are thus liable for a sub-critique which underlies the minds of Tyler and Evans (2003): that is, that frequency could ever be an adequate means of accounting for a lexeme's primary sense. At the same time, it is difficult to critique WO with primary-sense criteria from Tyler and Evans (2003) for they do not explicitly claim to be concerned with discovering the latter; yet this statement is complicated when their treatment of אֵת is brought into the picture, for here, they employ a term which indicates the intent to identify a primary sense, i.e., "The basic sense is comitative […]" (11.2.4a). These two juxtaposing terms – *common* and *basic* – illustrate that WO are employing two separates accounts from varying perspectives of עִם and אֵת's meaning (be this realized or not): the former being grounded in prevalence, the latter in primacy, viz., the difference between quantity and quality. It remains uncertain, however, why such an (oscillating) approach would be chosen.

One explanation, likely espoused by Tyler and Evans (2003: 45), would be that "[t]hese decisions were primarily asserted rather than being argued for and were posited largely due to the notion of prototypicality". In other words, the "framework" of WO (viz., its basic overview of a preposition's meaning) is, by and large, lacking of any semantic criteria for producing a methodologically constrained appraisal of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential. This inevitably leads to a reliance on personal intuition that is centered around (even unknowingly) the *notion* of prototypicality. Thus, in spite of WO's acute awareness of a spatial lexeme's meaning development and semantic structure, this knowledge is not manifested in application when, at least, עִם and אֵת are discussed.

3.5 Rationale in Retrospect

Having reviewed the lexicographical tradition of Gesenius, appropriated by BDB, as well as the legacy initiated by Koehler and subsumed by Baumgartner *et al.*, and finally the grammatical and syntactical propositions offered by WO, this research is more attuned to a BH reader's indebtedness to these foundational works. Admittedly, it is likely that within this review are areas of critique in which the authors have been misunderstood; nonetheless, it is hoped that the current assessment has avoided this as much as possible. However, some observations remain certain. An undeniable shortcoming shared by all three BH tools is the absence of any 1) clear and 2) motivated semantic network representing עִם or אֵת's semantic potential – though this be an explicit or implicit goal of each investigation. They have not been *clear* in the sense that numerical and alphabetical divisions do not transparently delineate distinct senses or sense-extensions. Similarly, they have not been *motivated* in the sense that the logic behind the semantic architecture of each entry (e.g., taxonomy) is not lucidly justified. This taxonomic presentation has been found to be lacking explanatory power as it is characterized by an insufficient array of explanations ranging from deep dependence on semantic values (in the form of bolded glosses) to schematic demarcations rooted in one's spatio-temporal experience where the former is forgotten;[40] or from a description of a lexeme's semantic evolution in general, accompanied by no application of how this actually looks in connection with a particular form; or from a lexeme's range of meaning being discussed primarily by contexts and its lexical profiles, to strictly its semantic value; or finally, an explanation guided by frequency of uses compared to one geared towards identifying its fundamental sense.

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40. Having said this, it should be noted that, methodologically, it would be better to err on the side of an experiential-basis (like Baumgartner) than a gloss-driven account (like Koehler). In fact, there seems to be an overemphasis and -eagerness, shared by many lexicons, to regard a lexeme's semantic value higher than the lexical concept behind the value, to the extent that an entry becomes gloss-driven. But clearly, it is not the value which is the determinant factor of a lexeme's range of meaning: semantic values change all the time due to context and other non-linguistic factors. The real substance of a spatial lexeme's sense is rooted in its spatio-physical grounding: if this situation is altered, then so is its sense (but not necessarily the semantic value). With this said, it is better (and more natural) to start with a description and framework based on the cause (i.e., the spatial scene) rather than the effect (i.e., the semantic value). While it may prove to be easier to delineate a lexeme's range of meaning by the various values themselves, it is backwards thinking to assume that such an approach is credible. Instead, one must start with the proto-scene, and work his way into the various spatial scenes that enable and activate other nuances and senses of the spatial lexeme. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

What remains absent from all such approaches is a methodologically constrained application of a specific set of criteria which seeks to determine whether a distinct sense or sense-extension is being used at all, and furthermore, how these senses are related and thus, from which sense all may be derived. In the end, when dealing with approaches such as these, the BH reader is left with a semantic hodgepodge comprised of an uninterpretable (or at best subjective) taxonomy of meanings in which the target lexeme is used. It is uninterpretable for the various reasons provided above (e.g., numeral and alphabetical functions are blurred), and subjective because no semantic criteria guides the analysis. Consequently, what results from this methodological and criterial vacuum is a reliance on intuition to fill the void – initially by the author, and secondarily by the reader who comes to interpret. Besides being a poor regulator for determining a lexeme's semantic potential, intuition neglects the importance and import of a clear methodology. For this reason, the next chapter will discuss the methodology and criteria which will be appropriated into the current investigation of עִם and אֵת with the hope that intuition may fall by the wayside, that the findings may be as objectively deduced and discernible as possible, for the sake of the future BH learner.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Requirements for a Replicable & Rigorous Assessment of Semantic Potential

When attempting to decipher the semantic potential of a spatial lexeme it becomes important to first determine the governing parameters which will regulate the semantician's observations, safeguarding them from a more intuitive approach and ensuring a more objective appraisal.[41] Some of these parameters – to be discussed below and employed later – include criteria for determining sense-distinction and what constitutes a lexeme's primary sense. Furthermore, it becomes necessary to adopt other methodological approaches in order to aptly explain the diachronic relations betweens primary senses and other sense-extensions which are derived from these more fundamental semantic building blocks.[42] One framework to be appropriated for such a purpose is the theory of grammaticalization.[43] Finally, when the sketch of a lexeme's semantic network has been offered – through determining distinct senses, primary senses and the relationships between these sense-extensions – it becomes helpful to view this skeletal structure from varying heights and depths that more flesh might be appropriated to this semantic body of meaning. This can take place through an oscillating perspective of abstraction and resolution, or through an interchange of semasiological and onomasiological points of departure. Below, the previously mentioned criteria, goals and varying vantage points will be expounded upon – this is done so in the hopes of aiding the present investigation's intent to ascertain עִם and אֵת's semantic potential in a replicable and rigorous fashion.

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41. Narrog (2010: 237) refers to this intuitive approach as "internal reconstruction".

42. Recall that a synchronic analysis has been rejected given the nature of assessing an ancient language like BH, viz., to posit a radial network for עִם and אֵת requires a working knowledge (i.e., linguistic competency) of BH, which is theoretically impossible when dealing with an ancient language. It must also be remembered that frequency should not be confused with prototypicality: for to base one's radial extensions on mere frequency is to suppose that there is a direct correlation between the prevalence of a given sense in a closed corpus and the prototypical nature of this sense in actual praxis of the target language.

43. Specifically, the approach of grammaticalization as posited by Heine *et al.* (1991), that of 'metaphorical extension', as opposed to the 'invited inferencing theory' or the 'subjectification approach' (cf. Evans and Green 2006: 713-718).

4.2 Determining Distinct Senses

In light of the previous review of three major BH assessments of the target lexemes, it has been made apparent that while an attempt to lay out a lexeme's "range of meanings" has been undertaken, this has not been done so in a consistent, replicable or rigorous manner. Instead, intuition has been a deciding factor of sense-assessment, which in turn, has painted a flat portrait of עִם and אֵת's semantic range, as opposed to an accurate reflection of its three-dimensional potential. Thankfully, Tyler and Evans (2003) are able to assist the BH lexicographer in this shortcoming through the provision of a specific set of criteria allowing them to affirm, "we provide a means of determining the range of senses a particular spatial particle may have and a principled way of identifying which of these senses should be deemed to be the primary sense" (ibid.: 61-62).

Briefly mentioned above, the two criterion Tyler and Evans (ibid.: 42-43) posit for determining what exactly constitutes a distinct sense – opposed to other senses which are better understood as affects of contextual modulation – will be discussed more fully at this juncture.

Criterion 1	"[…] it must contain additional meaning not apparent in any other senses associated with a particular form […]" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 42-43)

By "additional meaning" is meant either non-spatial meaning and/or an alternative TR-LM configuration compared to that which is found in the proto-scene. For the former aspect of mutation (i.e., non-spatial), consider the two distinct senses of the English preposition *in* provided in the following examples, below:

(2) The kite flew high *in* the sky.

(3) The boy was *in* love with his new girlfriend.

In (2), *in* is used in a spatial sense, whereas in (3), *in* is being used in a non-spatial sense and may be called a 'state' lexical concept.[44]

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44. Cf. Evans (2010) for more details on how different senses of *in*, *at* and *on* evolve from spatial to non-

As for the second type of additional meaning, a short explanation of what exactly constitutes a 'spatial scene' will be provided so that one may understand what is meant by an "alternative TR-LM configuration". In all spatial scenes, be they considered primary or simply an offshoot of the former, there are two main components: first, there are the configurational elements, and second, the interactive relationship between those components (Tyler and Evans 2003: 50-52). The configurational aspect may largely be summed up as consisting of a trajector (TR) and a landmark (LM): the former being the "focal element which follows the trajectory" (ibid.: 12) indicated by the spatial lexeme, while the latter is "the entity which serves as a reference point" (Taylor 2003: 113) for the referred, i.e., the TR. For instance, in the sentence *the boy slid across the ice* the TR is *the boy* and the LM is *the ice*; but this is only half the story. The second component of a spatial scene deals with the conceptualized relation between the TR and the LM, which in the previous example is coded by the spatial particle *across*. It is helpful to note that there are two main types of TR-LM relationships: 1) static, in which the TR's place is specified by the relator (i.e., preposition) in reference to a LM and 2) dynamic, potentially involving a beginning 'source', end 'goal' or overall 'path' from/to/along which a TR moves.[45]

There is one other aspect of a TR-LM configuration that deserves mentioning – that is, the 'functional' consequences or relations which are intermingled with these core components of any given sense. In the past, lexical analyses of prepositions have overlooked the semantic functions of prepositions and swept them away into one homogenous group in which they were understood as solely being indicators of "simple spatial relations" (Cienki 1989: 13-16; Evans 2010: 218). Thus, for example, in the sentence *the books are on the table* the preposition *on* was described as coding only a spatial scene. The functional consequence of this scenario was ignored, namely that the table (LM) is holding the books (TR) up off the ground, representing the functional relation of 'support'. In other cases, for instance, where a

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spatial lexical concepts, such as 'states'.

45. Several other facets of a TR-LM relationship to be aware of which might change, include: dimensions, specific spatial proximity, types of orientation (e.g., rank or spatial), as well as the 'functional' consequences of such usage construals, e.g., accompany (Taylor 2003: 113). The application of such aspects will be made more apparent in the following data chapter.

dog is located *in* a dog crate, only the spatial scene of the TR (dog) and LM (dog crate) would be accounted for – not the functional consequence of 'containment' indicated through *in*.[46] To overlook such matters is to model a reductionistic understanding of the semantic and functional import which prepositions are capable of conveying. This investigation will incorporate these functional aspects of a TR-LM configuration into the current assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential. While previous research – that has also been sensitive to the functional aspect of prepositions – has primarily explicated lexemes which express relations between animate and inanimate entities (or both inanimate), it is significant that the present research will be discussing the functional relations between, not only primarily animate entities, but paired humans. This will reveal a whole new dynamic to the functional properties that prepositions code as *interpersonal* relations are taken into consideration, rather than a simple accounting of "muted" inanimate entities. It will be important to keep in mind that though this functional aspect is a component of any TR-LM configuration, this is one variable that may change and not necessarily indicate an altered configurational scene; and thus not a factor to be taken of as determinative for recognizing a particular use as distinct. In other words, multiple functions may be represented by a single sense. Having thoroughly analyzed what is involved with the first criterion, the second will now be discussed more fully.

Criterion 2	"[…] there must be instances of the sense that are context independent, that is, in which the distinct sense could not be inferred from another sense and the context in which it occurs" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 43)

46. Throughout this study, functional consequences (or relations) will be indicated by single quotes around the word which best sums up the function in play, e.g., 'accompany'. Concerning an awareness of this functional import, Cienki (1989: 47-48) and Evans (2010: 218) attribute Herskovits (1986) as being one of the forerunners who gave due recognition to this often overlooked aspect of the types of configurational consequences that are communicated through prepositions. Others may now touch on this new appreciation of a preposition's functional potential (e.g., Taylor 2003: 113), but perhaps none go so far in their analysis as Evans does with his updated theory of Principled Polysemy (which he and Tyler first developed), titled, the theory of *Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models* (LCCM theory for short). This new theoretical framework seeks to rectify some of the weaknesses of his co-constructed model of Principled Polysemy through a clarification of notions such as 'lexical concepts' and a broadening of theoretical scope as he takes into account the functional properties of prepositions. Within LCCM theory, Evans' sensitivity to what these functional relations actually entail lies beyond the present author's understanding, though a basic knowledge is held loosely in hand (cf. Evans 2006, 2009, 2010 for more insight into the LCCM theory).

In other words, for a sense to count as distinct there must instances of this usage in which the correct interpretation of its use in a given proposition remains uncertain – even with the aid of context – unless one is aware of the felicitous sense at play. For example, in the statement *snakes are **among** the animals most feared by humans* it would be incorrect to interpret this with *among*'s primary sense of Surrounded by. If this was true, the statement would mean *snakes are **surrounded by** the animals most feared by humans* – implying it is the *other* animals which are to be feared. This of course is a drastic deviation from the intended interpretation, which is in fact: s*nakes are **members of** the animals most feared by humans*. Such an understanding is afforded by *among*'s Membership sense – something context could never provide, and hence the distinction of this sense.

At this point and in connection with this criterion, it should be remembered that that one of the limitations in having an ancient language as one's data source is that the ability to hypothetically reconstruct sample sentences in order to test different senses according to this criterion is impossible – much less to have the desired capacity of linguistic competency to weigh such sentences, even if they are in fact provided. Instead, one must rely on the given data – or in this case, the closed corpus of the HB – to provide the proper counter examples to determine whether a specific sense is endowed with contextual independence. Needless to say, in the current research, such limitations will not debunk the potential aid this criterion might offer but will rather be the stimulus for a cautious appropriation of this second criterion of sense-distinction.

The importance of determining sense-distinction is (at least) twofold. Initially, establishing distinction among a lexeme's gamut of senses provides semantic boundaries which ensure a clear representation of the diversity of meanings found within a lexeme's semantic network. In other words, if one was to abandon sense-distinction and assume a graded degree of sense-membership (e.g., the blurred distinction between a Comitative and Instrumental), there would be no clear-cut categories but only a progressive taxonomy of obscured senses. Though this may in fact be the case, as Schlesinger (1979) argues (2.4.1), for all functional purposes, this proves to be a rather cumbersome methodology to implement when attempting to explicate a lexeme's semantic potential, for instance in a lexicon. This is certainly the case when dealing with the closed corpus of an ancient language, where the ability to come up

with sample sentences with a linguistic competence of the target language is, as stated above, impossible. Having said this, the present investigation will not be able to judge the degrees of a lexeme's semantic development from one sense to another in the manner Schlesinger (ibid.) was able to do with English *with*-phrases – though this is likely all language's evolutionary track. Instead, boundaries will be posited, opposed to no boundaries at all. However, it must be borne in mind that according to the Cognitive disposition of prototype theory, the 'family resemblance' relationships between senses will more often than not be slightly blurred, or 'fuzzy' in Cognitive terminology. This is contrary to the classical model of categorization but more congruent with Schlesinger's (1979) continuum-hypothesis (though not fully-fledged, for while it casts aside stringent stipulations of sense membership, it embraces the versatile nature of meaning-construction through the allowance of fuzzy borders).[47] Metaphorically, it may be said that עִם and אֵת's semantic potential may be likened unto a painting which resembles the technique of watercolor where the lines of color are not sharply defined and rather reveal a depth of hues, opposed to an oil painting which is more likely to be characterized by definite lines and consistent shades of color. All this to say, the clarification of distinct senses enhances one's appreciation of a lexeme's semantic potential by allowing at least *some* definition to surface in the semantic portrait.

The second importance of determining sense-distinctions is to provide a safeguard against committing the 'polysemy fallacy'; that is, to exaggerate the semantic import a given lexeme may bring to an utterance, when it fact, it is argued by multiple linguists that language vastly *under-specifies* meaning.[48] However, without sense demarcations there is basically an open invitation to over-attribute meaning to a minimal linguistic prompt. Many times when the polysemy fallacy is enacted, it concerns cases where a distinct sense is actually in use, only it is being employed in a new context which "gives it a little spice", so to speak. More formally,

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47. Heine *et al.* (1991: 105) seek to resolve this tension between Schlesinger (1979) – who proposes graded degrees – and others like Lakoff and Johnson (1980) – who rather see bounded categories – by proposing that these two approaches "[…] are in no way mutually exclusive or contradictory; [as Schlesinger (1979: 310) suggests] rather they complement each other in a predictable way". For example, Heine *et al*. (1991: 105) note that in the development of an Instrumental from a Comitative there are both boundaries and degrees: "on the level of macrostructure we are dealing with a discrete step from one conceptual domain to another, while on the level of microstructure we are faced with a continuum of gradual conceptual extension". Thus, to Heine *et al*. (1991), it is simply a matter of perspective.

48. Cf. Tyler and Evans (2001: 739), Tyler and Evans (2003: 8) and Saeed (2003: 44).

it is "[…] when a usage is simply a contextually derived interpretation constructed online" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 8). Continuing then with the painting metaphor above (with a slight alteration), the second value in determining distinct senses may be understood as cropping an image to its desired size and thus providing a semantic frame for delimiting an image to its most salient elements, consequently, removing extra, non-essential features – or in this case, non-existent senses.

With this said, it is now clear why possessing a specific set of criteria geared towards enabling sense distinction is so important when gauging a lexeme's semantic potential, for without it, one's portrait is grayed at the expense of distinction while unnecessary fluff crowds out the real scene.

4.3 Determining the Primary Sense

While employing criteria for sense-distinction is essential, it may as well be noted that it is not enough if a more accurate, in depth assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential is to be rendered. What is needed is the integration of the notion of primacy – for it goes without saying that a lexeme's semantic potential may be traced back to a semantic "seed", a first cause, the catalyst of its now dynamic usage construal. Without the knowledge or representation of this primary sense, it is as if the semantic portrait (discussed above) is only two dimensional – a static representation of the target lexemes' potential senses. But when distinction is coupled with primacy, then one may acquire both semantic depth and development. These are the beginnings of a three-dimensional portrait. The difficulty however, lies in identifying this primary sense.

The present investigation's response to Riemer's (2010: 254) second shortcoming with Cognitive semantics – that is, the difficult nature of pinpointing the central sense in a semantic network – is given in five criteria provided by Tyler and Evans (2003: 45-50), and is explained more fully below.

Criterion 1 | *Earliest attested meaning*: "Given the very stable nature of the conceptualization of spatial relations within a language, one likely candidate for the primary sense is the historically earliest sense" (ibid.: 47). Tyler and Evans (ibid.: 164) clarify what is meant here, remarking this criterion suggests that the proto-scene is "[…] the synchronic sense most closely related to the historically earliest".

Criterion 2 | *Predominance in the semantic network*: They "interpret predominance to mean the unique spatial configuration that is involved in the majority of the distinct senses found in the network" (ibid.: 48). By "unique spatial configuration" is meant the specific type of TR-LM relationship at work in a spatial scene.[49] Thus, Tyler and Evans (2003) posit that the most widely used TR-LM configuration in a semantic network will likely be indicative that the primary sense too, utilizes this specific configuration.

Criterion 3 | *Use in composite forms*: While some spatial particles can be joined to other lexemes (e.g., מִן + עִם = מֵעִם) or are commonly paired with particular verbs (e.g., possibly הָלַךְ עִם), only select senses of the lexeme are employed in such constructions. Provided this, they "suggest that participation in composite forms cannot directly determine which sense is primary, but failure to participate can be taken as suggestive that that particular sense is probably not primary in the network" (ibid.).

Criterion 4 | *Relations to other spatial particles*: Given that spatial relations with and within the world can be described by various words, some of these form groups which are used to describe particular spatial dimensions, like proximity (e.g. *near*, *beside*, *by*, *with*) or containment (e.g. *in*, *into*); such groups of words then naturally describe the opposite of what another camp of lexemes may be used to relate, such as *out* for containment. The spatial sense encoded by *in* is then somewhat contingent upon its counterpart *out*. "The particular sense used in the formation of such a contrast set would thus seem to be a likely candidate as a primary sense" (ibid.: 49).[50]

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49. For example, in the sentence *Abraham* (TR) *was with Judas* (LM) *yesterday* is indicative of a spatial scene in which the preposition *with* signifies a TR that is located in (general) proximity to a LM.

50. This point further validates an earlier critique of the misplaced import lexicons give to semantic values, for what criterion 4 stresses is the fact that different semantic values can all represent the same sense, but it is this contrast of senses that is to be taken as an indicator of primacy, *not* the semantic values of particular senses. Furthermore, it should be noted that this criterion aptly illustrates how an onomasiological approach can be employed with promising results.

Criterion 5	*Grammatical predictions*: Provided the fact that distinct senses originally evolved from an earlier sense, one should be able to trace back a lexeme's semantic potential to an original source from which the majority of senses sprouted – a "semantic seed", so to speak (ibid.). For instance, sense-C should be traced to sense-B and finally, sense-A. Even if a direct line of derivation is not discovered from C to A, the identification of deviant routes such as B-c or A-b should ultimately lead one back to the "main trail" on which the originating sense may be found.

In an attempt to further elucidate the originality of a primary sense from other distinct senses extending from it, Tyler and Evans (ibid.: 52) use the term 'proto-scene'. In their words, they (ibid.) suggest "[…] the term proto captures the idealized aspect of the conceptual/mental relation, while the use of the term scene emphasizes spatio-physical and hence perceptual (e.g., visual) awareness of a spatial scene". Thus, there is no real difference between the terms 'primary sense' and 'proto-scene', only that the latter is more felicitous in extracting the unique features of the former in light of the nature of distinct senses in general. With these criteria and terminology, it is hoped that the shallowness accompanying previous lexical assessments may be subsumed by a more developmental and depth-oriented approach.

4.4 Explaining Sense-extensions

Once a primary sense has been identified, it then becomes possible to trace the semantic development of a lexeme's resultant network. Any sense besides the primary sense is now considered a derivation from this proto-scene – what Tyler and Evans (2003) call a 'sense-extension'. More apparent now than before is the validity of the previous critique towards many BH treatments of עִם and אֵת in that an arbitrary list of translation values does not do justice to the semantic composition a lone lexeme may represent. Instead, it becomes necessary to reflect (as much as possible) the derivation of these new senses – be they distinct or not – from the primary sense if one is to fully engage with the existence and implications brought about by a proto-scene. To neglect a three-dimensional description is to ignore and consequently flatten a lexeme's semantic development.

Below, sense-extensions will be discussed in two parts. First, a set of parameters will be provided which will seek to lay some guidelines for determining the derivational relationship

between a lexeme's multiple senses. In other words, the means by which an attempt to (chronologically) date a specific sense in relation to its surrounding senses will be offered. Second, the semantic network which these sense-extensions and proto-scene produce will be discussed from varying vantage points, illustrating the dynamic nature of sense-distinction and -extension.

4.4.1 Charting Semantic Growth

In addition to Tyler and Evans' (2003) criteria for determining primary senses, Heine *et al.* (1991: 156) offer several parameters of their own "[…] for establishing [the] relative degrees of conceptual/semantic grammaticalization within the domain of case marking". That is to say, an attempt is made to gauge a particular sense's level of grammaticalization along a grammaticalized continuum of senses, ranging from the concrete (e.g., Ablative) to the more abstract (e.g., Manner).[51] These "discovery procedures", as they call them, are not to be taken as definitive criteria like that of Tyler and Evans (2003), but are rather intended to be regarded collectively as a set of parameters which serve as "guidelines for determining the relative degree of grammaticalization in a given instance" (Heine *et al.* 1991: 159). They are summarized below.[52]

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51. It should be noted from the beginning that, often, terminology relating to *cases* can be quite ambiguous, for when one speaks of a "case function", as Heine *et al.* (1991) do, at least three levels of functionality could be referenced: semantic, morphological and grammatical. For example, a case marker may indicate "a recipient on the level of semantic function, a dative on the level of morphological case, and an indirect object on the level of grammatical relations" (Narrog 2010: 237). Narrog (ibid.), who clarifies these blurry and often neglected or forgotten lines, then goes on to affirm that "[i]t has been common for research in the area of case functions not to make strict distinctions between different levels of description". This is certainly true for Heine *et al.* (1991). Employing the parameters soon to be outlined above, Heine *et al.* (ibid.: 159) posit a chart, representing an array of "case functions […] arranged along [… a] chain of increasing grammaticalization". In this chain exist both *morphological* cases (e.g., allative, comitative, dative) and possible *semantic* functions of cases (e.g., purpose, cause, condition and manner). With this in mind, it should be noted that when the words "sense" and "case function" (among others such as "grammatical category") are used above, they are used in the protean nature of Heine *et al.* (ibid.), among many others, as Narrog (2010) illustrates. Certainly, more technical and restrictive terminology should be employed in future research, yet it lies beyond the scope of the current investigation to offer a way forward, in these regards (cf. Evan's [2006; 2009; 2010] LCCM theory which, no doubt, brings clarity and precision to these concepts).

52. The following parameters (examples included) are provided in Heine *et al.* (1991: 156-158) and expounded upon through page 161. The final parameter does not apply to the present investigation so it will not be mentioned.

A given category/case function/sense is more grammaticalized than another:

1) *if it is historically dependent upon another* (e.g., the Cause function of *since* comes first from its Time function)
2) *if it lacks a spatial aspect, while the other possesses one* (i.e., Space is the least grammaticalized)[53]
3) *if it implies participation with an inanimate entity, while the other implies a human participant* (e.g., Purpose is more grammaticalized than Benefactive)
4) *the fewer the physical dimensions it is able to represent* (e.g., Time is more grammaticalized than Space, as also Manner is to Time)
5) *if it indicates some sort of logical relationship, while the other references some temporal relation* (e.g., Cause is more grammaticalized than Time)
6) *if it is more inclusive of other categories/case functions/senses* (e.g., the Manner interrogative *how* can imply Manner or Instrument, while the Instrument interrogative *what* is less inclusive)

With these parameters, the current investigation of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential will be better equipped to organize the various distinct senses in a way that reflects their semantic growth (i.e., extension).[54] As another potential guideline for the current research, Heine *et al.* (ibid.: 159) use the previously outlined criteria and posit a "chain of increasing grammaticalization", of which a replicated version is provided below (with the exception of the addition of the top row of "stages").

Stage I		**Stage II.a**		**Stage II.b**		**Stage III.a**		**Stage III.b**		**Stage III.c**
Ablative Allative Locative Path	>	Agent Comitative Benefactive	>	Purpose Instrument Dative Possessive	>	Time	>	Condition Cause	>	Manner

53. This premise is rooted in a specific methodological starting point called 'localism' which posits that "[…] spatial expressions are linguistically more basic than other kinds of expressions and therefore serve as structural templates for the latter" (Heine *et al.* 1991: 113).

54. In particular, enabling a better application of criterion 5 from Tyler and Evans' (2003) primary sense criteria.

Moreover, beyond the previous illustration, Heine *et al*. (ibid.: 160) take a step even further back and observe a general trend they have perceived in this chain of grammaticalization, namely, that each stage pertains to particular cognitive domains: Stage I deals with spatial relations, Stage II with anthropocentric relations, and Stage III with inanimate relations. This of course is reflective of grammaticalization's characterizing trend towards the abstract from the concrete. These big picture schemas will prove to be a particularly refreshing vantage point of retreat when the potential to become bogged down by a lexeme's plethoric polysemous potential proves too much, clouding out a distant, distinct and ordered assessment. It follows that a complementary implementation of these parameters and general trends, along with the primary sense criteria, ensure the capacity for yielding a comprehensive and coordinated analysis of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential.

4.4.2 Variation from varying Vantage Points

4.4.2.1 Effects of a Polysemy-Monosemy Continuum

Above (2.2), it was mentioned that there is a Cognitive consensus that "the polysemy/ monosemy contrast [is] a false dichotomy" (Riemer 2010: 167).[55] At this juncture, the ramifications of such a position, as well as how they will (and will not) affect the present investigation, will be explored.

As helpful as it is to construct a semantic network, it should also be noted that its composite whole is subject to variation. In other words, that which a semantic network portrays is open to change. The catalyst behind this refashioning is attributable to the level of abstraction at which a network is viewed. In short, the more "zoomed in" the assessment is, the more distinct and polysemous; likewise, the further out and more distant, the more abstract and unified the network of senses will become. Thus, a monosemy-polysemy continuum emerges in which the appearance, or particularity, of a semantic network is modulated by the level of abstraction or resolution in which the target senses are observed (Taylor 2003: 167; Riemer

55. See Taylor (2003), and then Riemer (2010) who attributes Geeraerts (1993) as being the forerunner for such a dismissal; of course Geeraerts (2010: 199) continues his original position affirming that "[…] the contextual flexibility of meaning […] does not just involve a context-driven choice between existing meanings, or the on-the-spot creation of new ones, but it blurs and dynamizes the very distinction between polysemy and vagueness [i.e., monosemy]".

2010: 167-168). This semantic phenomenon of variation may be likened unto an image-mosaic: a picture comprised of hundreds (if not thousands) of smaller, distinct photographs which are aptly situated into a grid, that from a distance, blurs distinction and reveals a single composite picture; on the other hand, as the viewing distance decreases, the distinct photographs become increasingly more apparent. Consider the following image-mosaics:

If this be the case, then Taylor (2003: 167) remarks that one should expect polysemy test-results to vary according to the "function of the level" at which a sense is observed – and this is indeed the case. Consider the word *bank*: a textbook example for the notion of 'homonymy' (i.e., two words with the same phonological form but different, unrelated meanings). By definition, the word *bank* can express the bank of a river or a financial institution, and likewise, the two meanings could not be swapped in a sentence like *Louis lost his check near the bank yesterday, and so did Fran*. Yet, as affirmed above, words such as *bank* only remain homonymous at particular levels of abstraction. Consider the following example (4) from Taylor (ibid.) in which both meanings are assessed from such an abstracted distance that unifying elements surface and turn the homonymous relationship polysemous:[56]

(4) Financial banks, resemble those you find by rivers; they control, respectively, the flow of money and of water.

For the purposes of the present investigation, it should be made clear that despite the versatile nature of a semantic network, the aforementioned criteria for determining distinct senses – in

56. See Riemer (2010: 167-168) who develops another example – first introduced by Tuggy (1993) and then expanded by Taylor (2003) – involving the semantics of the verb *paint*.

effect, establishing sure cases of polysemy – are not sloughed away as useless in light of such potential shifting. The aim of the current research is to identify the potential uses of עִם and אֵת and from here, map out a semantic network which aptly reflects the diachronic development of the semantic potential of the target lexemes. It is not, on the other hand, to provide a representation of a dynamic network which oscillates between various levels of polysemy and monosemy, for (even if that was possible) this would be of little use to a student seeking to understand עִם or אֵת in a given passage when a static representation based on fixed semantic criteria is more than adequate. Furthermore, the goal of the present investigation is not even to gain a complete understanding of the BH language in regard to the target lexemes (as such explorations of modern words like *bank* tend to be). Rather, it is more an attempt at gaining a "working knowledge" of the uses of עִם and אֵת as they are found within the closed corpus of the Pentateuch. The BH scholar must remain modest in their goals of understanding the biblical language, for it is an ancient language and certain consequences naturally follow when such a language is the object of one's study. The delimited nature of this study is not something shared by linguists who work with modern languages – nor should it be, for they have the ability to reconstruct and test their theories against their own linguistic competency. So, while this understanding of a polysemy-monosemy continuum may be problematic for those like Tyler and Evans (2003) who seek to provide real-world cases of polysemy,[57] this is not the case for the current research. Instead, this continuum is an explanatory tool to be used at times when there is need to simplify sense-distinction by panning out to a more schematic vantage point.

4.4.2.2 Effects of a Semasiological-Onomasiological Shift

Apart from this more potentially dramatic and erratic display of semantic shifting, a more stable and controlled perspective adjustment is that which is offered by an onomasiological or semasiological outlook. To recap on these fundamentally different modes of lexical inquiry it should be remembered that both are concerned, simply put, with meanings and words – the only difference being in their starting points and end goals. A semasiological venture begins

57. Indeed, among those on the forefront of lexical semantics, it seems that multiple semanticists – e.g., Saeed (2004), Geeraerts (2010) and Riemer (2010) – have conceded that no absolute criteria will ever be posited which will be able to establish fixed polysemic senses, particularly because of the dynamism which is activated in the midst of the monosemy-polysemy cline.

its semantic investigation with a specific form and then explores the various meanings and concepts this lexeme may be used to indicate. An onomasiological inquiry, on the other hand, starts with a concept and then pinpoints whatever lexemes may be used to express such a meaning.[58] For the present investigation, it is noteworthy to mention that both types of semantic inquiry will be attempted: semasiology, through the analysis of single lexemes, and onomasiology, through a comparison of the overlapping senses that the target lexemes are associated with. Naturally, it is easy to see how the former approach will stress the differences between the target lexemes, and the latter will shed light on the similarities (Riemer 2010: 50). The application of these two methods of inquiry is a significant advantage over typical BH prepositional studies – which (understandably) tend to favor semasiology – and will ensure a reputable quality of semantic depth to the current assessment.

Concerning, then, the various modes of viewing sense-extensions, it is apparent that there is a sort of dynamism in semantic growth and existence rather than a static situatedness. This means that the current analysis needs to resemble this ability and tendency to change, staying agile, so to speak, in the linguistic assessment of the target lexemes. As previously discussed, this can be done through intentionally varying the level of abstraction or resolution at which a given sense is observed, or by taking note of what shared concepts are mutually represented by the same lexemes and then switching back to the specific forms to see what different nuances may be involved. As such, it is evident how these two methods of semantic observation may be comparable to another (that is, the two different approaches of lexical inquiry and the polysemy-monosemy continuum). In short, a semasiological perspective is similar to a more "zoomed in", resolute focus of a distinct sense in that both approaches result in a concentrated focus on individual senses; on the other hand, an onomasiological perspective is similar to a more "zoomed out", abstract focus of a network's senses in that they are both more concerned with identifying the major, overarching senses. With such a means of semantic viewing, an observer is sure to catch the dynamism and depth the target lexemes may demonstrate in their respective semantic networks.

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58. Riemer (2010: 50) has identified the former approach with the type found in a dictionary, while the latter may be said to be employed in a thesaurus. For more help on these alternative approaches, cf. Taylor (2003: 84-85), van Wolde (2009: 52) and Geeraerts (2010: 23).

4.5 Criteria, goals and vantage points in a nutshell

Having set out to explore the proper means of constructing a semantic network, it has been shown that the replicable and rigorous criteria offered by Tyler and Evans (2003) will prove most helpful in determining what exactly constitutes a distinct sense, and then from here, precisely how one may pinpoint a lexeme's primary sense. This already, is an aspect of lexical inquiry that has been missing in previous investigations of (at least the target) spatial lexemes, but is something of which Tyler and Evans (ibid.: 61-62) can say "we provide a means of determining the range of senses a particular spatial particle may have and a principled way of identifying which of these senses should be deemed to be the primary sense".

Having then provided the current study with the proper criteria to accomplish part of its task, it then becomes an attainable goal to learn more about the interconnectedness of these sense-extensions (stemming from the proto-scene), namely, by determining their semantic-interdependencies. It was then discussed how various trends of grammaticalization as well as several parameters provided by Heine *et al.* (1991) might aid the researcher in this endeavor. Finally, once a motivated semantic network has been constructed, it was noted how altering one's vantage point of the network can afford a viewing of advantageous angles which would otherwise have remained unnoticed. Such modes of perspective shifts may be appropriated through a semasiological and onomasiological interchange, or through assessing the semantic network at varying levels of abstraction and resolution – both models having the tendency to highlight differences and distinction, or reveal similarities and wholeness. Likewise, both methods of semantic observation possess the refreshing potential to de-bog the observer from the more polysemous side of a lexeme's semantic potential.[59]

With these criteria, goals and varying vantage points in mind, it seems that the investigation underway is more than ready to seek an attempt at ascertaining a replicable and rigorous assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential.

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59. In this way, these varying modes of viewing have a similar simplifying effect to the general trends of grammaticalization, posited by Heine *et al.* (1991).

Chapter 5: Data Assessment

5.1 Data-set & Statistical Overview

The linguistic sample from which the present investigation has evaluated עִם and אֵת's semantic potential is the Pentateuch (Gen-Deut). This sample provides numerous occurrences of the target lexemes and their various compounded forms. Furthermore, it gives עִם and אֵת a chance to display their more natural or typical uses as the Pentateuch is primarily comprised of language reflective of the narrative genre. This suggests that the findings of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential will be more reflective of their usual uses, opposed to those which might be found in the highly stretched and exploited genre of poetry. However, before diving into the deep waters of sense-assessment, it will be helpful to step back and observe a statistical review of the occurrences of עִם and אֵת throughout Pentateuch.

עִם occurs a total of 243x in the first five books of the Hebrew Bible (HB): Gen (83x), Ex (49x), Lev (26x), Num (20x) and Deut (65x).[60] אֵת echoes this dispersion and is found a total of 284x: Gen (135x), Ex (44x), Lev (26x), Num (53x) and Deut (26x). Likewise, they are both found affixed with the same form (מִן) and occur in very similar constructions (e.g., X performed action Z עִם/אֵת Y) – but more will be discussed on this below. Though the target lexemes are both prefixed with the same particle, the compound preposition מֵאֵת (58x) occurs more than double the amount of times מֵעִם (29x) is found.[61] Such statistical discontinuity

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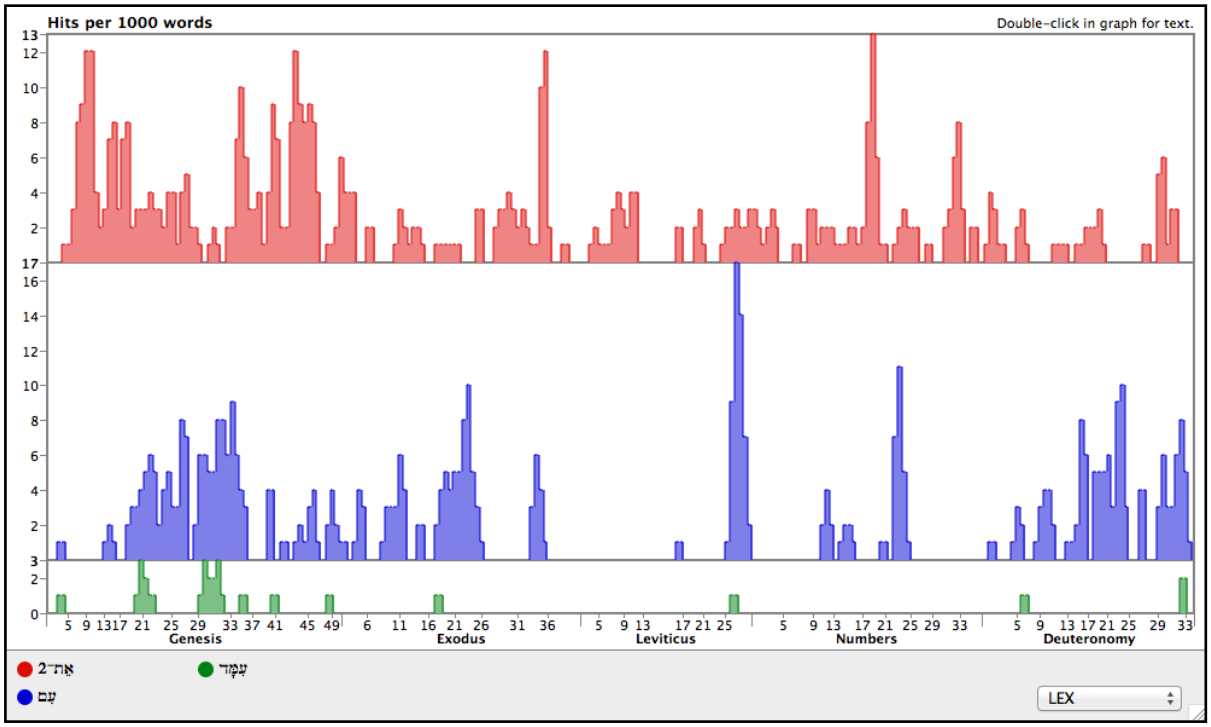
60. At this point it should be noted that for the present investigation it has seemed fit to include any instances of עִמָּדִי with עִם. This is done so for the following reasons: 1) the actual occurrences of עִמָּדִי are scarce, only numbering 19x in the Pentateuch, 2) after assessing עִם and עִמָּדִי in the target sample, it was revealed that both represent the same senses, only עִמָּדִי is reserved for those instances where a 1cs suffix is necessary (except for two cases where the עִם שָׁכַב idiom is employed, and Ex 33.12), and 3) it is likely that עִמָּדִי is the grammaticalized form of an older construction, עִם + יָדִי (*next to my side*), thus being rooted in עִם from the beginning (JM 103i); this last point is strengthened by both the statistics and semantics of the current research. Having said this, עִמָּדִי is still distinguished from עִם in the present investigation through the assignment of an asterisk (*) after any verse where it is to be found, e.g., Ex 17.2b*. Furthermore, the previously recorded statistics of עִם in the Pentateuch does not include עִמָּדִי. With עִמָּדִי accounted for, the occurrences would be a grand total of 262x in the Pentateuch; **Gen** (97x), **Ex** (50x), **Lev** (27x), **Num** (20x) and **Deut** (68x).

61. מֵעִם: **Gen** 13.14; 24.27; 26.16; 31.31; 41.32; 44.29(+), 32; 48.12; **Ex** 8.8, 25, 26; 9.33; 10.6, 18; 11.8; 21.14; 22.11, 13; **Lev** 25.41; **Deut** 10.12; 15.12, 13, 16, 18; 18.16, 19; 23.16, 22; 29.17.

מֵאֵת: **Gen** 8.8; 17.27; 19.24; 23.20; 25.10; 26.27, 31; 27.30(+); 38.1; 42.24; 43.34(+); 44.28; 47.22; 49.30, 32; 50.13; **Ex** 5.20; 10.11(+); 11.2 (2x); 25.2, 3; 27.21; 29.28 (2x); 30.16; 35.5; **Lev** 7.34 (2x), 36; 10.4(+); 16.5; 24.8; 25.15, 36, 44; 27.24; **Num** 3.9; 7.5, 84; 8.11; 11.31; 16.35; 17.17 (2x); 18.26 (2x), 28; 31.2, 3, 28, 51, 52 (2x); 35.8 (2x); **Deut** 18.3 (2x).

increases as the lexemes continue to compound. These same compounded forms – מֵעִם and מֵאֵת – also appear in conjunction with another lexeme: פְּנֵי. However, the occurrences of this tri-compounded construction are few and far between.[62] אֵת also occurs without the מִן prefix 11x[63], yet holds onto the following פְּנֵי; this is something עִם never does (the reasons for this will be discussed in detail below). Statistically speaking, then, the preposition אֵת would seem to boast of a more developed range of meaning, given its flexibility in the multiple constructions it is associated with. However, this initial judgment will be (critically) evaluated, below (5.3.1.9). For the moment, it is noteworthy to mention that despite עִם and אֵת's disparity when it comes to the *types* of compounds each lexeme co-occurs with, there is a surprising and significant correlation between the demographics of the target prepositions. The following chart displays עִם (blue), עִמָּדִי (green) and אֵת's (red) occurrences throughout the Pentateuch.[64]



62. עִם: **Gen** 4.29. אֵת: **Gen** 27.30; 43.34; **Ex** 10.11; **Lev** 10.4.

63. **Gen** 19.13, 27; 33.18; **Ex** 32.11; 34.23, 24; **Lev** 4.6, 17; **Deut** 16.16 (2x); 31.11.

64. Screenshot from Accordance Bible Software; taken 9/10/11.

In short, it seems that when one target lexeme was used, the other was not.[65] It is interesting, to say the least, that neither of them are ever used together at their peaks. When one dwindles, the other slowly rises in its place. This complementary implementation suggests only one thing: in a closed class of lexemes (particles) and in an ancient language already consisting of a scarce amount of prepositions, עִם and אֵת seem to be redundantly synonymous with one another. This may be surprising provided that many interpreters in the past have sought to distinguish between the two. Yet it seems that this is more a work of isogesis than exegesis. One lexical study worth mentioning that was not reviewed above is that of Preuss (1974), who decides that עִם and אֵת are near synonyms and thus treats them together in a single entry.[66] It is in this joint manner that the following evaluation will be laid out.

5.2 The Seed: A Look at the Proto-Scene

In the following exploration of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, a metaphor will be employed to help elucidate the findings and keep things "grounded", rather than allow linguistic jargon to elevate central concepts to the clouds. The metaphor in play will be the following: A SEMANTIC NETWORK IS A TREE (e.g., distinct senses are branches). With this said, the following analysis will begin with identifying the semantic seed (i.e., the primary sense or proto-scene) of עִם and אֵת through an implementation of Tyler and Evans' (2003) primary sense criteria.[67]

5.2.1 Criterion 1: Earliest Attested Meaning

The first criterion suggests that the proto-scene will likely be the synchronic sense most closely related to the historically earliest use. This necessarily raises the task of identifying this earliest sense, however, this becomes troublesome when one's data is representative of

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65. Yet, it is not surprising that עִמָּדִי never occurs apart from עִם. Such statistics are further support for the original explanation of עִמָּדִי's potential derivation and decision to treat עִם and עִמָּדִי alike.

66. The reason for not reviewing this piece of work is because it represents a lexical endeavor that is quite different than the study underway: the exposition by Preuss (1974) is part of a larger dictionary which is oriented towards elucidating the theological ramifications of a given lexeme's semantic potential, rather than a "neutral" linguistic assessment, like the current research.

67. The suggested criteria is not to be taken as necessary-and-sufficient-conditions for determining a sense-primacy; rather, in the guise of the Cognitive enterprise, it is to be taken as representative of what constitutes a prototypical primary sense. That is, a majority of criterion fulfillment would be suggestive that a particular sense is primary; however, complete compliance is not required – though it is acceptable (and even aspired). In Tyler and Evans' (2003: 47) words, it is the "converging evidence" which will be taken as determinant.

the closed corpus of an ancient language, i.e., one no longer spoken or in use. Chronological dating is a speculative enterprise when applied to the HB, for this corpus is representative of various pieces of literature and oral traditions which span centuries, and has furthermore seen the hand of many redactors. Nonetheless, such a situation need not warrant despair, but only caution and a sensitive awareness of the history which lies behind the composite document under scrutiny.

At the same time, while the ability to date the earliest sense remains dubious, it is likely that in exploring עִם and אֵת's nominal origins similar traces between their semantic heritage and earliest uses may be revealed. Credence to this hypothesis is warranted when it is remembered that spatial particles represent a unique word class (opposed to nouns or verbs), for the elements they encode (i.e., spatial relations) "[…] may not have changed over the last many thousand years (i.e., the way humans perceive space may not have changed)" (Tyler and Evans 2003: 47).[68] This entails that the chances for there to be more congruency between nominal origins and derived spatial particles are significantly heightened when compared to the potential semantic correspondences between nouns and other open class lexemes. Furthermore, the fact that spatial particles are a closed class is indicative that spatial descriptions are largely left unaltered through time. The postulation that it is possible to find a semantic correspondence between the target lexeme's prepositional form and its substantival origins is also made assuming that the theory of grammaticalization is correct – namely, that all words exist in a cyclical and unidirectional track, beginning with a characterization of concreteness and belonging to an open class, then morphing into the abstract and shifting towards closed class membership, viz., consider the following posited evolutionary track: noun > preposition > head of genitive > conjunction > function marker > noun > preposition > etc. (Evans and Green 2006: 708).

In *A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English*, Klein (1987) identifies a wide range of similar semitic roots all possessing similar

68. This parenthetical remark by Tyler and Evans (2003) goes back to the notion of 'the embodiment of meaning' (2.1); that is, the manner in which humans construct representations of specific spatial relations is done in a way that is both contingent upon and reflective of the manner in which they experience the physical world (ibid.: 34).

notions of "together-ness" – though whether this be of spatial or relational proximity, or participation in some joint activity remains uncertain. As for the preposition עִם, Klein (ibid.: 474-475) suggests its current form in the HB is a derivation of the verbal root עמם, which he glosses *to join* or *connect* (related to the Arabic *'amma*, glossed as *he joined*, *connected*, *included*). He proposes three prominent senses: 1) together with, with,[69] 2) close to, beside (spatial), 3) as long as, while (temporal). Furthermore, Klein identifies several semitic cousins which describe similar situations (e.g., Aram/BAram עִם, Syr ܥܰܡ, Ugar *'m* and Arab *ma'a*). As for עִם's nominal predecessors, Klein proposes that the same root from which עִם came is the source of both nominal forms עַם and עַם's (viz., two homonyms) current structure. He assigns one with the gloss of *people*, surmising it originally meant *those united* or *those related*, and the other with the gloss *kinsman* or *relative*, suggesting it denotes *relatedness* between peoples.[70] Klein is not alone in this deduction: Preuss (1974: 449) and Van Groningen (1980: 675-676) posit the same derivations for עִם's nominal origins. Thus, from the beginning, a common semantic denominator is present among עִם/עַם/עמם expressing various types of together-ness, primarily between peoples. For this reason, it is not far fetched to hypothesize that among עִם's primary sense is a notion of together-ness between peoples.

As for אֵת, Klein (ibid.: 60) recognizes the obscure origins of this lexeme, but nonetheless posits a semitic counterpart (i.e., Akk *itti*) and suggests that the preposition אֵת – like *itti* – is perhaps a derivation of the nominal יָד (*hand*), with the original meaning of *at one's hand*; this too is in accordance with Preuss' (1974: 449) earlier deduction. Thus, it seems that אֵת as well is reflective of an aspect of together-ness, though possibly more restricted to spatial proximity in it's original sense.

5.2.2 Criterion 2: Predominance in the Semantic Network

Though a semantic network for the target lexemes has not yet been revealed, in order to test this criterion we will need to give a short preview of what is to come.[71] The present

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69. Whether he considers this to be conveying spatial or relational proximity, or an actional sense is not specified (viz., together with in *space*, *(close) relationship* or *dual activity*).

70. Though this is questionable, that is the only difference being a collective and singular reference (cf. O'Connel 1996: 430).

71. This particular criterion as well as the first criterion of determining sense distinction (i.e., it must contain

investigation is convinced of no less than eleven distinct senses (represented by an initial capital letter).[72] עִם may be used to communicate the following senses: Shared Presence, Addition, Recipient, Shared Activity, Possession, In the Company of, as well as the idioms of Sexual Relations, Death and Support. With considerable overlap, אֵת is used to indicate these: Shared Presence, Addition, Shared Activity, Possession, In the Company of, with the addition of In front of and the idiom of Devotion. Furthermore, the two distinct senses of Source and Separation are both represented by the target lexemes when prefixed with the preposition מִן. Of these distinct senses, the common configurational "root" manifesting in each sense is that of a trajector (TR) being located in some form of spatial proximity with a landmark (LM). In a very clear way, this configuration is present in the following senses: In front of, Shared Presence and In the Company of (as well as Separation). In a less clear but still present manner, the Possession sense is rooted in this specific configuration (for if *X is with Y*, Y is understood as possessing X). Finally, in a more obscure manner, though surely present through implication, the TR-LM relationship makes itself known in the following senses: Addition (viz., for an entity to be coupled with another, spatial proximity is typically involved), Shared Activity and Recipient (viz., any shared or received activity necessitates some degree of spatial proximity with the participants/actor-receiver) – as well as the various idioms conveyed, for each stems from Shared Activity.[73] More will be said about these senses later, but for now, it suffices to say that the primary sense of עִם and אֵת is likely one that contains the predominant configuration of shared spatial proximity, in its most basic form.

5.2.3 Criterion 3: Use in Composite Forms

The third criterion of Tyler and Evans (2003) follows the line of reasoning that any sense *not* associated with a composite form – be it a compounded or one pertaining to verbal valency –

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an alternative TR-LM configuration than the one present in the proto-scene) are frustrating to work with, for each assumes the other has been provided. These circular assumptions were unavoidable however in employing these two criteria: it was necessary to dabble in determining possible senses before a proto-scene could be postulated, and likewise (according to Tyler and Evans' [2003] criteria), one cannot test the primary sense without having a working network to test it against.

72. There are no less than thirteen distinct senses if Source and Separation are included in the network, which are indicated through the additional prefixed מִן onto the target lexemes.

73. More will be said on this later, especially concerning how this connection (i.e., activity and presence) is directly contingent upon the technology of the target era (5.3.2).

is likely a poor candidate for sense-primacy. However, the reversal of this judgment (viz., that any sense represented by a composite lexical unit is probably primary), they clarify, is not an argument to be esteemed as holding much weight.

Concerning the compounded forms of both עִם and אֵת there is one construction that dominates in frequency: the prefixed מִן. With both lexemes, this composite unit regularly expresses two distinct senses: Source and Separation. Inherent in these senses are elements of spatial proximity, though Source errs on the side of abstraction. Nonetheless, spatial proximity – and specifically, the degree and configuration of it which is specified in Shared Presence – is contrasted in the Separation sense, and hinted at through Source. Yet, though Shared Presence manifests itself in this compound preposition, this is not what the third criterion questions. Those senses which are *not* mentioned include Addition, Recipient, Possession and most notably, Shared Activity (and consequently the idioms which follow). According to Tyler and Evans (2003) then, these are not likely to be counted as primary among either lexemes' semantic network.

A subset of the מֵעִם/מֵאֵת compound is the additional collocation of פְּנֵי after the linked prepositions. This construction is used to express both Source (5) and Separation (6), so, similarly, the same deduction applies for this composite lexical unit, as well.[74]

(5) **Gen 43.34**

וַיִּשָּׂא מַשְׂאֹת **מֵאֵת פָּנָיו** אֲלֵהֶם וַתֵּרֶב מַשְׂאַת בִּנְיָמִן מִמַּשְׂאֹת כֻּלָּם חָמֵשׁ יָדוֹת וַיִּשְׁתּוּ וַיִּשְׁכְּרוּ עִמּוֹ

Portions were served them **from** his table; but Benjamin's portion was five times as much as theirs. So they drank and were merry with him.

(6) **Ex 10.11**

לֹא כֵן לְכוּ־נָא הַגְּבָרִים וְעִבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כִּי אֹתָהּ אַתֶּם מְבַקְשִׁים וַיְגָרֶשׁ אֹתָם **מֵאֵת פְּנֵי** פַּרְעֹה

"No, never! Your men may go and worship YHWH, for that is what you are asking." And they were driven out **from before** Pharaoh.

74. מֵעִם occurs only once like this, conveying the Separation sense (cf. Gen 44.29).

The refinement of primary sense-candidacy happens, however, when considering the cases in which אֵת appears *without* the מִן prefix but still followed by פְּנֵי (7). In these cases, a specific and strictly spatial type of orientation is described (viz., a TR is positioned in front of an oriented LM).

(7) **Gen 33.18**

וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֵם עִיר שְׁכֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן בְּבֹאוֹ מִפַּדַּן אֲרָם וַיִּחַן **אֶת־פְּנֵי** הָעִיר

Now Jacob came safely to the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, when he came from Paddan-aram and camped **in front of** the city.

This consequently delimits the remaining variety of senses as viable candidates – according to this criterion.[75] עִם, however, never occurs in this collocational pattern in which the מִן prefix is lacking. Furthermore, עִם only occurs once with the fully fledged construction, i.e., מֵעִם + פְּנֵי (Gen 44.29); and in this instance, it is parallel with מֵאֵת in the prior verse which expresses Separation. With this said, *it would seem* that אֵת is more equipped to convey specific types of spatial proximity while עִם is less flexible in such spatial regards (but this line of reasoning will be addressed later in the chapter).

As for verbal valency, questions arise before this criterion may be answered to. How many times must a verb appear with the target lexeme for it to count as a salient construction? How much weight is to be assigned to idiomatic sayings and formulas? However, rather than formulate more criteria for answering such questions, we will simply observe some of the major verb-preposition pairings that show statistical prevalence among the occurrences of the target lexemes within the Pentateuch. Among the Shared Activity sense, the dominate verb-particle forms consist of the following: 1) piel דָּבַר + עִם, 2) הָלָךְ (or other verbs of movement) + עִם, and 3) כָּרַת + עִם. (The same statistical pairings stand for אֵת, as well). Along the same lines of involving some actional sense is the Recipient sense in which the dominant pairings of עָשָׂה + עִם and יָטַב + עִם are found. Furthermore, the idiomatic senses of Sexual Relations

75. At this point, something to be remembered is that Tyler and Evans (2003: 47) intend for these criteria to be taken as "converging evidence" – not for one criterion to stand on its own.

and Death are both articulated with the verb-particle pairing of שָׁכַב עִם. The Devotion idiom is also represented by the actional verb הָלַךְ. Bridging Shared Activity and Shared Presence is the Support sense which occurs in both contexts of use; when paired with a verb, הָלַךְ is usually the obvious choice, while when simple proximity is involved, only the copulative is required (lexicalized or not, for BH can imply הָיָה).

Having said this, it would seem that both spatial and actional senses are key players in עִם and אֵת's compounding with מִן; however, when it comes to verbal valency, an actional sense dominates the semantic network. In light of this criterion then, it seems logical to discount Addition, In the Company of and Possession as being contenders for sense-primacy.

5.2.4 Criterion 4: Relations to Other Spatial Particles

The target lexemes are usually described as relating some sort of spatial proximity, possibly even lateral proximity. If this is true, it is important to understand how these lexemes relate to other particles which are reserved for describing this same area (or type) of spatial designation. In the HB, the following particles are statistically speaking the major lexemes chosen to describe the spatial dimension of (lateral) proximity: אַל, אֶל, בְּ (*by*) and עַל, אֵצֶל, עַל־יָדוֹ, (*beside* or *next to*).[76] Apart from these particles, spatial proximity may also be indicated by the verbs נָגַשׁ or קָרַב (*to draw near*). Such lexical units are much more common in fulfilling the role of describing specific types and degrees of (lateral) spatial proximity than עִם or אֵת, and are also more prone to include inanimate entities in their spatial scenes, i.e. TR-LM configurations. On the other hand, the target lexemes find their roles worked out – predominantly and most naturally – within the contrast set of together-ness and apart-ness, and usually pair two (or more) animate entities (cf. the introductory examples of Shared Presence, Shared Activity and In the Company of, below).[77] Together-ness is slightly different than proximity in that the former is more general (8) – committed to simply expressing the shared space of two entities – while proximity tends to be more specific (9).

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76. E.g., **Gen** 14.6; **Ex** 39.19 (עַל); **Gen** 14.13 (בְּ); **Gen** 24.11 (אֶל); **Gen** 39.10 (אֵצֶל); **2 Ch** 17.15 (עַל־יָדוֹ).

77. Another possible way to think of this is the presence or absence of an entity; yet presence need not code shared presence while together-ness always will.

(8) **Gen 9.12**

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

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

(9) **Ex 34.23(+)**

שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ
אֶת־פְּנֵי הָאָדֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

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

One may almost say that with proximity, shared space between two entities is a given – it remains only to sketch how this space is shared; while with together-ness, shared space is not assumed but is that which is provided. In this sense, together-ness may be understood as indicating more of a general sense of nearness in space, while proximity begins with the general and goes from there, specifying the relations between the target entities. In more formal terms, this subtle contrast may be understood in light of the nature of the related entities: together-ness is characterized by relating two (or more) un-oriented entities, while proximity may coordinate both un-oriented *and* oriented entities. This orientation distinction is exemplified in the previous examples, viz., אֵת relating two un-oriented entities (8), while אֶת־פְּנֵי relates two entities with one exhibiting orientation (9).

The opposite of this notion of together-ness could be apart-ness or alone-ness, depending on what aspect is profiled – be it proximity (the former) or presence (the latter). Though such a distinction is quite subtle (and certainly overlaps more than it maintains distinction in the positive affirmation of together-ness), לְבַד or גַּף (*alone*) may be used to express this lack of presence (e.g., Ex 21.3),[78] while a breach of proximity can be profiled by מֵעִם or מֵאֵת (*from*). The overall tendency to indicate more of a general sense of spatial proximity – be it of lateral orientation or simple shared space – is indicative that the primary senses of the target lexemes are likely more inclined to describe a spatial scene in a general manner, opposed to a more specific one (though this *can* be done, as seen above, it just requires the presence of additional lexemes via affixation or compounding, e.g., פְּנֵי).

78. It is important to note that לְבַד can also be used with a non-spatial meaning of Recipient/Patient or Shared Activity (cf. Deut 29.13).

5.2.5 Criterion 5: Grammatical Predictions

The final criterion follows the natural line of reasoning that with any progressive or evolutionary track – semantic or not – one should be able to trace the development backwards to its originating condition. In this case, the semantic seed of the network. However, in order to do this, one must be able to recognize clear stages of development (i.e., distinct senses) that may be observed if one intends to have a clear trail to follow. Section (5.3.1) is dedicated to this task by 1) elucidating how the distinct senses (mentioned above) were arrived at, and 2) by explaining how these sense-extensions came to be. For the moment then, the ensuing conclusion will be previewed here, and then expounded upon below (5.3.2), answering many of the questions that the fifth criterion raises. With the explanation of sense-derivation delayed then, the present investigation has concluded that the seed of עִם and אֵת's senses may easily be traced back to a distinct sense that both lexemes regularly convey: that of Shared Presence, which describes an animate TR located in general proximity to an animate LM.

5.2.6 Conclusion of Criteria Assessment

In light of the previous answers to the criteria under examination, let us posit a primary sense for עִם and אֵת. For עִם, it seems that the notion of together-ness (likely present in its earliest uses), specifically in a sense describing the general spatial proximity between an animate TR and an animate LM (the predominant network configuration), is the semantic seed from which all other senses have sprouted. For אֵת, this deduction remains the same, with the slight modification that the proto-scene is perhaps more comfortable describing the spatial proximity between a TR-LM configuration involving non-animate entities (this is only a potential feature to be borne in mind). The major fact remains that both primary senses of the target lexemes consist of describing the (general) spatial proximity of a TR and a LM.

The major contender for the title of sense-primacy is Shared Activity. Because this sense and its fuzzy connection to Shared Presence will be expounded upon later (5.3.2), it suffices to reiterate that Shared Activity strongly implies (and even necessitates) the co-location of its participants, largely due to the technological state of the time. For this reason, Shared Presence remains the most viable candidate for representing both עִם and אֵת's proto-scene.

5.3 The Branches: Sizing up Sense-Extensions

With the primary sense established, it is possible to move on and explore in more detail the "branching out" of this proto-scene. In this section, two components of the sense-extensions will be evaluated and explained. First, implementing Tyler and Evans' (2003) criteria for determining sense-distinction equips this investigation with the means of distinguishing between the branches and the twigs, or more precisely, from distinct senses and the numerous sub-senses which accrue due to the activation of various functional consequences arising from contextual modulation. While these distinct senses will be laid out in a manner that closely reflects their derivation, a discussion explaining the motivations for such a semantic plotting will be saved for the next major section (5.3.2). This delay is enacted so that the ensuing section (5.3.1) can maintain a steady flow of elucidation, in hopes of countering the potential to become bogged down on a single sense.

5.3.1 Identifying Branches from Twigs: Sense-Distinction

Before beginning this analysis of identifying what exactly constitutes the semantic networks of the target lexemes, it is important to distinguish between two different types of distinct senses: *core* and *peripheral*. "Core" senses may be distinguished from other peripheral senses in that the former are not contingent upon external additional constructions (e.g., מֵעִם with Separation) or idiomatic entrenchment (e.g., Support or Death), as are the latter, but rather occur on their own (i.e., independent lexemes), exhibiting a considerable amount of contextual flexibility (i.e., variety in functional relations) throughout a wide range of data (viz., they are found throughout the Pentateuch and not restricted to a particular corpus). These distinguishing marks will become more apparent through the accompanying illustrations provided in the following analysis. For the moment, it is enough to remember that though a branch may be distinct from a twig, there are certainly some (core) branches which stand apart from the rest (i.e., peripheral branches).

5.3.1.1 Shared Presence

(10) **Gen 42.32**

שְׁנֵים־עָשָׂר אֲנַחְנוּ אַחִים בְּנֵי אָבִינוּ הָאֶחָד אֵינֶנּוּ וְהַקָּטֹן הַיּוֹם **אֶת**־אָבִינוּ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן	We are twelve brothers, sons of our father; one is no more, and the youngest is now **with** our father in the land of Canaan.

Since the proto-scene (i.e., Shared Presence) has already been discussed in detail, it is enough to discuss a sample of the diverse functional consequences of a TR being located in general spatial proximity to a LM. One particular configurational consequence of Shared Presence showing dominance among the others occurs when both a TR and LM are situated in such a way that they are understood as being in 'company' (11-12) with another.[79]

(11) **Gen 3.6**

וַתֵּרֶא הָאִשָּׁה כִּי טוֹב הָעֵץ לְמַאֲכָל וְכִי תַאֲוָה־הוּא לָעֵינַיִם וְנֶחְמָד הָעֵץ לְהַשְׂכִּיל וַתִּקַּח מִפִּרְיוֹ וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּתֵּן גַּם־לְאִישָׁהּ **עִמָּהּ** וַיֹּאכַל

When the woman saw that the tree was good to eat, and pleasant to the eyes and desirable for making one wise, she took its fruit and ate – and she also gave some to her husband who was [in company] **with** her, and he ate.

(12)[80] **Gen 33.15**

וַיֹּאמֶר עֵשָׂו אַצִּיגָה־נָּא **עִמְּךָ** מִן־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר **אִתִּי** וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָּה זֶּה אֶמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֵי אֲדֹנִי

Esau said, "Then let me leave [in company] **with** you some of the men who are [in company] **with** me." And he [Jacob] replied, "But why do this? Let me find favor in the eyes of my Lord."

A less prevalent function is that of 'service' (13). This functional consequence explains why a TR is placed in spatial proximity with a LM. For example, when Jacob says to Laban *these twenty years I have been with (עִם) you [...]* he is not merely referencing their shared proximity due to his residency with his father-in-law (though 'residency' is a function of its own), but to the service which has rendered during this time with Laban.

79. *Companionship* would be too strong, for it connotes intimate relational proximity; something this function is not bound to entail, e.g., Ex 22.13 where simple presence is indicated between a man and his animal.

80. Note the parallel uses of עִם and אֵת. There is no need to read into this verse some mysterious distinction between the meanings of עִם and אֵת. This is simply an excellent corrective verse illustrating the synonymous nature of these two lexemes.

(13) **Gen 31.38**

זֶה עֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה אָנֹכִי **עִמָּךְ** רְחֵלֶיךָ
וְעִזֶּיךָ לֹא שִׁכֵּלוּ וְאֵילֵי צֹאנְךָ לֹא אָכָלְתִּי

"These twenty years I have been **with** you [in your service], your ewes and female-goats never miscarried, nor did I feast on the rams of your flock."

A prototypical feature of Shared Presence is that both TR(s) and LM(s) are human(s). This does not mean of course that other animate entities (e.g., animals [Gen 34.5]) or even inanimate (e.g., places [Gen 25.11]) cannot be related with this sense. In fact, one would assume that אֵת would be more inclined to take the inanimate entity, but this is not the case: עִם is, in fact, the only one which ever does this (Gen 25.11; 35.4; Deut 32.34).[81] This is significant, provided the scholarly tradition of thought that "[t]he prep. ʾēt primarily indicates location (Judg 4:11); it acquires secondarily the meaning of companionship (Gen 7:7)" (Vetter 1997: 920).

5.3.1.2 In the Company of

(14) **Ex 22.24**

אִם־כֶּסֶף תַּלְוֶה אֶת־עַמִּי אֶת־ הֶעָנִי
עִמָּךְ

If you lend money to my people, to the poor **among** you […]

With the In the Company of sense, distinction is not determined through the addition of non-spatial meaning, but rather in the manner of an altered TR-LM configuration from that which is found in the proto-scene. Recalling that the primary sense describes a TR in (general) spatial proximity to a LM, the In the Company of sense does this as well, however, it does so in a manner that places the TR in the company of a LM. There is a difference, though subtle, between being "in company *with*" someone, and being "in the company *of*" someone: the former implies equal standing, compatibility; the latter designates difference, distinction. In

81. Traditionally, these verses may be categorized as though they were of another sense – primarily because in English one cannot say *Isaac lived with New York*, but must say *He lived near/by New York*. What is forgotten (or not realized) is that differing semantic values do not necessitate or even reflect different distinct senses. It does not matter that in English one cannot use the same preposition to relate the same kind of spatial proximity between different kinds of LMs; the BH language could, and this is what must be analyzed – not English's portrayal of ancient Semitic thought. At the same time, it should be remembered that this is a very rare TR-LM pairing.

this sense, then, the LM is understood as enveloping the TR. Naturally, this may be done so quantitatively (i.e., the LM may be numerically larger than the TR) or qualitatively (i.e., the LM may be superior in some manner to the TR). Within the Pentateuch, we find both cases: see (15) for the former, and (16) for the latter.[82]

(15) **Gen 23.4**

גֵּר־וְתוֹשָׁב אָנֹכִי **עִמָּכֶם**	I am a stranger and a sojourner **among** you.

(16)[83] **Lev 25.23***

לִי הָאָרֶץ כִּי־גֵרִים וְתוֹשָׁבִים אַתֶּם **עִמָּדִי**	The land is Mine, for you are aliens and sojourners **among** me.

One of the functional consequences of this sense's configuration may be that of '(residential) immersion' (like the initial example) in which the poor (TR) are said to be living in the midst of those who are not poor (i.e., the money lenders). Another function may be '(residential) subsumption': this is where the TR is not only enveloped by another entity, but merges in identity with it, viz., it is subsumed by the LM (17).

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82. The semantic value posited for such a function is *among*. Due to the limited nature of spatial particles, one is limited in how these various functions may be most appropriately represented in a translated text. Admittedly, much of the recognition of these functional consequences is to be detected by the discerning reader. As for the native user of the target language, these subtle differences would be picked up (most likely) subconsciously – as is the case with one's own language (e.g., a native English speaker is probably unaware of the 'support' function involved in the statement *the bulb is **in** the socket*, yet quite easily understands that a bulb is secure in its place if it is indeed *in* a light socket). However, it remains the difficult work of the semanticist to provide, where possible, the proper hints at better understanding the target sense and functions via semantic values – be this through extra-lexicalization (e.g., *[in company] with* for the 'company' function of Shared Presence) or a more refined choice of particle representation (e.g., *in addition to* rather than simply *with* where the Addition sense is active).

83. This qualitative distinction, represented in Lev 25.23*, is certainly one of the more unusual configurations associated with this sense; normally, the LM is quantitatively larger than the TR. However, such a usage may represent an instance of an online construction formulated for the purpose of local understanding. This would then be the closest one may come to identifying a synchronic relation in the midst of the target network. Furthermore, such a construal may represent the very implicature which gives rise to a Comparison sense (if עִם or אֵת actually have one) in which a TR is understood in light of/in reference to a LM. If this is the case, the sense of עִמָּדִי in Lev 25.23* may represent a fuzzy use – spanning between the In the Company of and Comparison sense.

(17) **Gen 34.16**

וְנָתַנּוּ אֶת־בְּנֹתֵינוּ לָכֶם וְאֶת ־בְּנֹתֵיכֶם נִקַּח־לָנוּ וְיָשַׁבְנוּ **אִתְּכֶם** וְהָיִינוּ לְעַם אֶחָד

Then we will give our daughters to you, and we will take your daughters for ourselves, and we will live **among** you and become one people.

Another noteworthy function involves a context other than residency – that of (territorial) inheritance – and describes a TR in the company of a LM, in which case, the functional consequence of 'common lot' is conveyed. Deut 10.9 (18) profiles such a usage and describes the Levite's portion (TR) as not being in the company of (or a part of) Israel's portion (LM).

(18) **Deut 10.9**

עַל־כֵּן לֹא־הָיָה לְלֵוִי חֵלֶק וְנַחֲלָה **עִם־**אֶחָיו יְהוָה הוּא נַחֲלָתוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לוֹ

Therefore, Levi has no allotment or inheritance **among** his kindred; YHWH is his inheritance, as YHWH your God promised him.

Typical patterns of valency include verbs dealing with the activity of temporary residency (e.g., גוּר). Such tendencies may help the BH reader interpret this specific sense of the target lexemes with more ease.

5.3.1.3 In Front of

(19) **Ex 34.23(+)**

שָׁלֹשׁ פְּעָמִים בַּשָּׁנָה יֵרָאֶה כָּל־זְכוּרְךָ **אֶת־פְּנֵי** הָאָדֹן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Three times in the year all your males shall appear **before** YHWH God, the God of Israel.

The current sense under discussion is the only (core) distinct sense which עִם does not share with אֵת.[84] It also only occurs followed by פְּנֵי, making sense-identification easier. The In front of sense breaks away from the proto-scene norm in that it describes a TR positioned in front of an *oriented* LM. While this sense does not represent any additional non-spatial meaning, it

84. Recall the distinction made in section (5.3.1) between core and peripheral senses.

does specify an altered TR-LM configuration, namely through the oriented LM which carries certain functional consequences that may be categorized as sub-functions under the major consequence of 'accessibility'. The orientation attributed to the LM can be explained by an actual or perceived font/back asymmetry. For instance, in the example above, God (LM) is personified as having a front side: the functional consequence of appearing *before* him is that frontside orientation affords perceptual accessibility (i.e., 'presentation') – opposed to appearing behind him (cf. Tyler and Evans 2003: 158). This sense may also appear with inanimate TRs and LMs (but usually, at least one entity is human). In Gen 33.18(+) (20), Jacob is recorded as having camped out *in front of* (אֶת־פְּנֵי) the city of Shechem. In what sense, one may ask, does a city have a frontside? Again, the accessibility function resolves this tension. In short, there is a point of entry/exit which normally facilitates movement (ibid.: 160). In this sense, an inanimate entity may be said to have a front or backside (21). The functional consequence evoked in these examples may be called 'referential accessibility'.

(20)[85] **Gen 33.18(+)**

וַיָּבֹא יַעֲקֹב שָׁלֵם עִיר שְׁכֶם אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן בְּבֹאוֹ מִפַּדַּן אֲרָם וַיִּחַן **אֶת־פְּנֵי** הָעִיר

Jacob came safely to the city of Shechem, which is in the land of Canaan, on his way from Paddan-aram; and he camped **in front of** the city.

(21) **Lev 4.17(+)**

וְטָבַל הַכֹּהֵן אֶצְבָּעוֹ מִן־הַדָּם וְהִזָּה שֶׁבַע פְּעָמִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה **אֵת פְּנֵי** הַפָּרֹכֶת

And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood and sprinkle it seven times before YHWH, **in front of** the curtain of the sanctuary.

5.3.1.4 Shared Activity

(22) **Ex 23.5**

כִּי־תִרְאֶה חֲמוֹר שֹׂנַאֲךָ רֹבֵץ תַּחַת מַשָּׂאוֹ וְחָדַלְתָּ מֵעֲזֹב לוֹ עָזֹב תַּעֲזֹב **עִמּוֹ**

When you see your enemy's donkey lying under its burden and would refrain from raising it, you must nevertheless raise it **with** him.

85. With this function of 'referential accessibility', the gloss *in front of* is really the only English semantic value which is colloquial, viz., *He camped **before** the city* sounds archaic.

The example above is a great illustration for demonstrating the distinction between this sense and the proto-scene (i.e., Shared Presence). In Ex 23.5, the one receiving instruction (TR) is told that he is to join in the activity of raising up a fallen donkey *together with* (עִם) his enemy (LM). This is not a spatial scene, but an actional one where two people engage in a common activity together. This addition of non-spatial meaning and the fact that such a use is uninterpretable without a knowledge of the existence of this actional sense[86] is sufficient grounds for categorizing this use as distinct. Admittedly, not every case is this clear cut – yet this is to be expected, recalling the Cognitive notions of prototypes, fuzzy borders and family resemblances, as well as Schlesinger's (1979) continuum hypothesis. Nonetheless, it is still beneficial to review the reasons which the Shared Activity sense is particularly blurred with Shared Presence.

First and foremost, what is considered to be *pure activity* exists along a continuum with existential activity on one end and "pure" activity on the other. Informally, this polarization may be understood as representing the difference between *being* and *doing*. The fact of the matter is that people do not normally think of existence as something that can be *done*, much less, that one can *do* with another person: it is just something which happens, naturally, involuntarily. On the opposite end of the spectrum are actions which require much thought or conscious effort. These activities would be considered "voluntary", that is, they are manifestations of one's volition. Thus, there are intentional activities (e.g., riding a bike, writing a paper, swimming) and unintentional (e.g., breathing, [subconscious] thought, falling asleep, living).[87]

It is easier to talk about joining in an activity with someone else if it is of this more intentional, non-existential type. But when one attempts to draw a line between *being* and *doing,* boundaries begin to blur. For instance, at what point does dwelling with someone not simply imply the sharing of space with another but a joint activity of "doing existence", viz.,

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86. It would make no sense if simple spatial proximity was indicated through עִם, for the proposition does not communicate that one is to stand around near his enemy and watch while he raises up his fallen donkey – it is just the opposite! The bystander is to *help* his enemy in raising the donkey up.

87. To an extent, all of these actions can be taken into one's own hands (e.g., holding one's breath, coffee/ caffeine, suicide), but for the most part, are considered involuntary activities.

of *being* together? In the present investigation, most of these instances involving existential activities (e.g., living, dwelling, sojourning) have been allotted under the Shared Presence sense with the assigned function of 'residency'.[88] For now, this will have to suffice; but it should not be forgotten that when dealing with semantics, one is often confronted with clines and fuzzy lines. Absolute demarcation is always a myth hoped for. Yet, this should not be daunting, for (as previously mentioned above) one of the strengths of appropriating a Cognitive paradigm is that this is to be expected *and* accepted as a natural testament to the manner in which language actually works.

Examples of "blurdom" include those where a TR is said to do be doing some mundane/static activity עִם/אֵת a LM. In the form of *double entendre* the question may be asked: *Did the TR do this with or with the LM?* – that is, *with* in activity or *with* in presence? The second reason for semantic demarcation being fuzzy is just this: in ancient times (and even up until the last several hundred years), shared activity has always necessitated shared presence.[89] With this said, in examples such as Ex 34.5 (23) which sense of עִם is used?

(23)[90] **Ex 34.5**

וַיֵּרֶד יְהוָה בֶּעָנָן וַיִּתְיַצֵּב **עִמּוֹ** שָׁם וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה	YHWH descended in the cloud and stood **with** him, there, as he called upon the name of YHWH.

Is the joint activity of *standing* profiled, or the shared proximity between the TR and LM? Whatever the case may be, one fact remains: it is at least the latter.

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88. The reasoning behind this is that existential activities fall under the category of involuntary actions: they are things which will happen no matter what. The question remaining then becomes "Who will they *happen* in general proximity to?" For an activity to count as a joint activity it must be an action executed by choice, viz., not related to existential or involuntary ones.

89. Save, for example, activities such as letter writing (or other various sorts of correspondence) which have never required the co-location of the participants for the activity to be undertaken together.

90. The provisional specification of שָׁם adds weight to the previous assessment that the target lexemes convey a *general* sense of spatial proximity, for whether shared proximity or activity is indicated here, the speaker was coerced into using additional spatial specification since עִם expresses more the idea of together-ness than close proximity.

Having thoroughly discussed the difficulties of demarcating various types of activities, a brief overview will now be given of several common functions activated through the Shared Activity configuration. One of the major functions is that of 'communication', primarily involving the piel stem of the verb דָּבַר in which a TR and LM are described as engaging in a conversation together (24).[91] Furthermore, a functional consequence of 'teamwork' or 'collaboration' are evidenced in examples like the one above (22)[92] where a TR and LM are said to engage in some activity with the intention/result of lightening another's load. A staple function in this sense is that of 'covenant making' (25), where a TR and LM (typically with God as the TR) engage in the process of *cutting a covenant* (כָּרַת בְּרִית).[93]

A final function to comment on is that of 'opposition' (26). Typically, in verses like Gen 32.25 (where Jacob is described as *wrestling with* [אָבַק עִם] an angel-man) or Gen 14.8 (where a host of kings *gather with* [עָרַךְ אֵת] their enemies for battle), the target lexemes are understood as representing some distinct sense of Conflict or Opposition. This is most likely the case because a different semantic value, other than *with*, can be assigned to the target lexeme, such as *against*. But in fact, there is no change in the TR-LM configuration from that which is found in Shared Activity – and this is exactly what these verses are describing: a shared activity between two parties which happens to be driven by and reflective of mutual opposition. This is one of those cases where an interpreter may wish to make a branch out of a twig; for to consecrate such a usage as distinct is to commit the 'polysemy fallacy' and over-attribute meaning to an underspecified linguistic prompt. It is to downplay contextual effects and elevate (or rather exaggerate) the semantic import given to a lone lexeme.

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91. More will be commented on this function when discussing the connection between the Shared Presence and Recipient sense (5.3.2).

92. Cf. **Ex** 18.22; **Lev** 25.50a; **Num** 1.5.

93. E.g., with עִם: **Ex** 24.8; **Deut** 4.23; 5.2; 29.24; and with אֵת: **Deut** 5.3 (2x); 28.69 (2x); 31.16. It is interesting that in Deut 29.14, אֵת is chosen over עִם to relate covenant participation while עִם is reserved to indicate Shared Presence. This of course chips away at any theory assuming עִם to be the more relational and אֵת, the spatial. It is also significant to note that, generally speaking, there are two types of covenants: 1) promissory and 2) obligatory (Wenham 1987: 334). Though these categories are not as clear-cut as proposed, the former may be understood as being unilateral in nature, while the latter is characterized by being bilateral. This means that when the target lexemes relate the promissory type (e.g., Gen 6.18), a Recipient sense is being invoked; on the other hand, when an obligatory covenant is related, Shared Activity is in play (25).

(24)[94] **Ex 19.9**

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי בָּא
אֵלֶיךָ בְּעַב הֶעָנָן בַּעֲבוּר יִשְׁמַע הָעָם
בְּדַבְּרִי **עִמָּךְ** וְגַם־בְּךָ יַאֲמִינוּ לְעוֹלָם וַיַּגֶּד
מֹשֶׁה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי הָעָם אֶל־יְהוָה

YHWH said to Moses, "Behold, I will come to you in a thick cloud, so that the people may hear when I speak **with** you and may also believe in you forever." Then Moses told the words of the people to YHWH.

(25) **Deut 9.9**

בַּעֲלֹתִי הָהָרָה לָקַחַת לוּחֹת הָאֲבָנִים
לוּחֹת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־כָּרַת יְהוָה **עִמָּכֶם**
וָאֵשֵׁב בָּהָר אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לַיְלָה
לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַלְתִּי וּמַיִם לֹא שָׁתִיתִי

When I went up the mountain to receive the stone tablets, the tablets of the covenant which YHWH had made **with** you, then I remained on the mountain for forty days and nights; I did not eat bread or drink water.

(26)[95] **Ex 17.2***

וַיָּרֶב הָעָם **עִם**־מֹשֶׁה וַיֹּאמְרוּ תְּנוּ־לָנוּ
מַיִם וְנִשְׁתֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם מֹשֶׁה
מַה־תְּרִיבוּן **עִמָּדִי** מַה־תְּנַסּוּן אֶת־יְהוָה

Therefore the people quarreled **with** Moses and said, "Give us water that we may drink." And Moses said to them, "Why do you quarrel **with** me? Why do you test YHWH?"

5.3.1.5 Recipient

(27) **Gen 24.12**

וַיֹּאמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם
הַקְרֵה־נָא לְפָנַי הַיּוֹם וַעֲשֵׂה־חֶסֶד **עִם**
אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם

And he said, "O YHWH, God of my master Abraham, please grant me success today and show steadfast love **to** my master Abraham."

Cases similar to the one above represent the Recipient sense. In this actional scene, the non-spatial meaning of recipiency is expressed between an oriented TR and a profiled LM (the recipient). This altered TR-LM configuration from the proto-scene would not be understood

94. Note that אֶל is used two times to express the one-way telling of a conversation (with a focus on the content of what is said) while עִם is reserved to express a two-way conversation (with a focus on the conversing). This is also largely due to verbal valency, the influence of which will be further discussed in 5.3.2.

95. Further testament to עִם and עִמָּדִי's standard functional equivalency.

properly if one was to interpret Gen 24.12 as indicating a wish for God to show kindness in the spatial proximity of Abraham. Rather, עִם is used to mark the recipient of the verbal action. In this sense, עִם (and אֵת which is used similarly) almost lose any semantic import it possesses as it becomes closer to a simple functional marker. Evidence for this further grammaticalization (i.e., abstraction) of עִם and אֵת's function is testified to by its parallel occurrence with the preposition לְ in Gen 20.9* (28) and Num 10.32b. It is in such contexts of use that עִמָּדִי is normally found alongside עִם and אֵת.[96]

(28) **Gen 20.9***

וַיִּקְרָא אֲבִימֶלֶךְ לְאַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ
מֶה־עָשִׂיתָ לָּנוּ וּמֶה־חָטָאתִי לָךְ כִּי־הֵבֵאתָ
עָלַי וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתִּי חֲטָאָה גְדֹלָה מַעֲשִׂים
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יֵעָשׂוּ עָשִׂיתָ **עִמָּדִי**

Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said to him, "What have you done *to* us? How have I sinned against you that you have brought such great guilt on me and my kingdom? You have done things **to** me that ought not to be done."

Briefly mentioned above (footnote 93), those instances in which the target lexemes relate the participants involved in a promissory (unilateral) covenant, are further evidence of this grammaticalization trend in which the spatial lexeme begins to simply mark the object to which the verbal action is directed (29).[97]

(29) **Gen 9.11**

וַהֲקִמֹתִי אֶת־בְּרִיתִי **אִתְּכֶם** וְלֹא־יִכָּרֵת
כָּל־בָּשָׂר עוֹד מִמֵּי הַמַּבּוּל וְלֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד
מַבּוּל לְשַׁחֵת הָאָרֶץ

I shall establish my covenant **with** you; and all flesh shall never again be cut off by the flood's water, nor shall there ever be a flood again to destroy the earth.

Identifying the Recipient sense is made easier since – besides these covenant cases – it only occurs with verbs denoting two types of conduct (this binary worldview is typical of BH thought). If BH speakers perceive only two types of people as existing (viz., the righteous and the wicked; cf. Ps 1), then it naturally follows that there are only good or evil activities to

96. **Gen** 3.12; 19.19; 20.9, 13; 21.23b; 31.7; 40.14; 47.29.

97. For more examples of this type, see **Gen** 6.18; 9.9; 15.18; 17.4, 19, 21; **Ex** 2.24; 6.4; **Lev** 26.9, 44.

be done. אֵת and עִם can be used to pinpoint the recipient(s) of such activities.[98] Good deeds are characteristically expressed through the construction עָשָׂה חֶסֶד עִם (27), and secondarily by יָטַב עִם (30).[99] As for wicked behavior, various forms of the root רעע or חטא are used with the verb עָשָׂה (31). Consequently, the function of such a sense is limited to either 'benefactive' (27, 30) or 'malevolent' (31). This of course greatly aids the BH reader in identifying the sense and function of עִם or אֵת, in these regards.

(30) **Num 10.32b**

וְהָיָה כִּי־תֵלֵךְ עִמָּנוּ וְהָיָה הַטּוֹב הַהוּא
אֲשֶׁר יֵיטִיב יְהוָה **עִמָּנוּ** וְהֵטַבְנוּ לָךְ

Moreover, if you go with us,
whatever good YHWH does for us,
we will do **for** you.

(31) **Gen 31.7***

וַאֲבִיכֶן הֵתֶל בִּי וְהֶחֱלֵף אֶת־מַשְׂכֻּרְתִּי
עֲשֶׂרֶת מֹנִים וְלֹא־נְתָנוֹ אֱלֹהִים לְהָרַע
עִמָּדִי

Yet your father has cheated me and
changed my wages ten times, but
God did not permit him to do harm
to me.

5.3.1.6 Possession

(32) **Num 14.24**

וְעַבְדִּי כָלֵב עֵקֶב הָיְתָה רוּחַ אַחֶרֶת **עִמּוֹ**
וַיְמַלֵּא אַחֲרָי וַהֲבִיאֹתִיו אֶל־הָאָרֶץ
אֲשֶׁר־בָּא שָׁמָּה

"But my servant Caleb, because he
has **possessed** [i.e., embodied] a
different spirit and has followed me
wholeheartedly, I will bring into the
land into which he went."

The Possession sense is unique in that it represents the same basic spatial configuration as the proto-scene, yet conveys a completely different usage construal than the literal or surface

98. C.H.J. van der Merwe (via personal communication) has pointed out that if the target lexemes typically profile the proximity of "things", the idealized cognitive model of the ancient world may permit such notions as good and evil to be conceptualized *as things sharing spatial proximity with another entity*. Admittedly, he notes that more must be known about the ancient construal and embodiment of such concepts before these speculations may be given credence.

99. It is possible that this usage of יָטַב עִם represents another separate distinct sense from Recipient, for rather than the configuration conveying a *primary* goal (viz., the LM receiving the TR), this usage speaks more of the TR as representing an ulterior motive that the LM is *intended* to receive. However, more attention and a larger sample should be directed towards this construction in future research to determine whether or not this may be considered a distinct sense (cf. Tyler and Evans 2003: 146-154 for more on what this potential Intended Recipient sense entails).

level meaning. The additional non-spatial meaning of possession (as the name implies) meets the first criterion of sense distinction. Likewise, the second criterion is fulfilled – evidenced through the above example – in that in no way would a literal interpretation of "Caleb was *with* a different spirit" be indicative of Caleb possessing some other spirit (i.e., attitude) unless this specific reading was known. If there was no such Possession sense communicated through this particular TR-LM configuration, then the hearer would assume that Caleb was located in general proximity to some spirit. In other words, the only way *X is with Y* could code *X is Y's* (viz., Possession) is if the language users were aware of this alternative sense. Thus, this usage construal also displays contextual independence, further solidifying its status as distinct. The functional consequences of such uses vary from 'embodiment' (like the one above)[100] to 'ownership' (33, 34) and 'theft' (35, 36).

(33) **Num 32.32**[101]

נַחְנוּ נַעֲבֹר חֲלוּצִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן
וְ**אִתָּנוּ** אֲחֻזַּת נַחֲלָתֵנוּ מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן

We will cross over armed before YHWH into the land of Canaan, but the possession of our inheritance shall remain **with** [i.e., in our control] us on this side of the Jordan.

(34) **Gen 24.25**

וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו גַּם־תֶּבֶן גַּם־מִסְפּוֹא רַב **עִמָּנוּ**
גַּם־מָקוֹם לָלוּן

She added, "We **have** [i.e., own] plenty of straw and fodder and a place to spend the night."

(35) **Gen 44.10**

הוּא אֲשֶׁר יִמָּצֵא **אִתּוֹ** יִהְיֶה־לִּי עָבֶד וְאַתֶּם
תִּהְיוּ נְקִיִּם

Whoever you find **in possession of** [i.e., has stolen] it shall become my slave, but the rest of you shall go free.

(36) **Gen 31.32a**

עִם אֲשֶׁר תִּמְצָא אֶת־אֱלֹהֶיךָ לֹא יִחְיֶה

"Whoever you find that **has** your gods shall not live..."

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100. A different attitude (רוּחַ אַחֶרֶת) is said to be with (עִם) Caleb when he scouted the Promise Land, viz., Caleb embodied a different attitude and perspective compared to the rest who went out and returned.

101. When the tribes of Gad, Reuban and half tribe of Mannaseh cross the Jordan to help the rest of Israel claim Canaan, they specify that their own portion of the promise land will remain with them on the other side of the river, viz., though they temporarily leave their inheritance behind, they insist on it still being theirs to keep (cf. Milgrom 1990: 274).

5.3.1.7 Addition

(37) **Gen 18.23**

וַיִּגַּשׁ אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמַר הַאַף תִּסְפֶּה צַדִּיק **עִם**־רָשָׁע

Then Abraham came near and said, "Will you indeed sweep away the righteous **in addition to** the wicked?"

The Addition sense is typical of instances like the one above. It describes a TR-LM configuration in which one entity (TR) is coupled with another (LM). Its sense-distinction is evident for several reasons.

For one, it breaks congruency with the proto-scene in two different manners: 1) it conveys non-spatial meaning, i.e., addition, and 2) there is a change in the TR-LM configuration from that which is found in the proto-scene of Shared Presence, viz., one entity (TR) is described as being coupled with another (LM). These changes meet the requirement of the first criterion.

Secondly, one can be certain that cases involving a TR-LM configuration similar to Gen 18.23 are indeed distinct because without knowing that עִם specifically codes addition, the proposition would be interpreted incorrectly. For example, one may (wrongly) interpret the statement to mean *Will God really kill (A) the righteous **and** (B) the wicked?* This is far – and in fact opposite – from the text's original intent. Such a use of עִם would be reflective of the particle functioning with a conjunctive sense. But if this was the case, then the two contrastive parties would need to be switched if the desired interpretation was to be conveyed, viz., *Will God really kill (B) the wicked **and** (A) the righteous?* – yet this is not reflective of the original word ordering. Instead, Abraham uses עִם to convey addition, consequently rendering the following reading: *Will God really kill (A) the righteous **in addition to** (B) the wicked?* Having met the two criteria for sense distinction, one can be sure that cases like Gen 18.23 exhibit the Addition sense of עִם or אֵת.

The functional relations of such a sense will vary (as is the case with any distinct sense), but for the example under consideration (37), a consequence of 'inclusion' is active, viz., *Will the righteous really be **included** in this wiping out of the wicked?* Other functions may include 'complement' (38) and 'expansion' (39).

(38) **Deut 32.14**

חֶמְאַת בָּקָר וַחֲלֵב צֹאן **עִם**־חֵלֶב כָּרִים
וְאֵילִים בְּנֵי־בָשָׁן וְעַתּוּדִים **עִם**־חֵלֶב
כִּלְיוֹת חִטָּה וְדַם־עֵנָב תִּשְׁתֶּה־חָמֶר

[He made him eat…] cow's curds and the flock's milk **in complement with** the best of lambs, and rams of Bashan and female-goats, **in complement with** the finest wheat – and wine's blood you drank.

(39) **Deut 32.25**

מִחוּץ תְּשַׁכֵּל־חָרֶב וּמֵחֲדָרִים אֵימָה
גַּם־בָּחוּר גַּם־בְּתוּלָה יוֹנֵק **עִם**־אִישׁ
שֵׂיבָה

In the street, the sword shall bereave, and inside terror – both young man and virgin, the nursling **as well as** the gray-haired man.

It may be of help to the BH reader to note that this particular sense has several structural clues which may help the reader identify when this sense is being used. For one, a וְ (*waw*) is never used to connect the TR and LM – it is always simply the lexeme עִם or אֵת. Furthermore, the representative entities being coupled together are always passive/recipient entities.[102] A common verb to be aware of is סָפָה (e.g., Deut 29.18). Recalling the review of Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008), it is construction patterns like these which can serve as hints for any language learner – be it a kid, as in their case-study, or a student of BH. Finally, this is one sense that seems to primarily appear in clusters (e.g., Gen 18.23, 25; Deut 32.14[2x], 24, 25), though an extended data sample would bring more conclusive evidence on this point.[103]

5.3.1.8 Idioms and the Like

In this section a number of distinct senses will be discussed that might fall under the category of idioms or formulas. But before we begin, a few remarks on this subject of fixed expressions will be helpful to better situate the ensuing observations.

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102. There is uncertainty as to whether cases like Gen 17.27 should be included here or under the Shared Activity sense with the function of 'inclusion'. Whatever the case, it certainly represents one of those instances which could be considered 'fuzzy'. If cases like Gen 17.27 are to be considered an instance of the Addition sense then the syntactical constructions with which Addition occurs would be broadened significantly.

103. It is significant to note that of the instances of Addition in Deut 32 (4x), they all occur within the song that Yahweh prescribed to Moses to give to the people before crossing the Jordan. Thus, these instances represent a unique cluster of usages as they, despite being in a narrative backdrop, are clearly situated in the genre of poetry in their immediate context.

In Taylor (2003: 539-558), a very informative chapter both covering and titled "Idioms, formulas, and fixed expressions" is provided in which he explores the vast realms into which idiomaticity reaches. In fact, Taylor (ibid.: 541) argues that what may be considered idiomatic virtually affects and is present in all speech to where, in his words, "it becomes possible to turn the mainstream view of idioms on its head. Rather than being peripheral to the 'core' of a language, it becomes possible to argue that idioms *are* the core". Whether they be considered fixed expressions, idioms or formulas, certain idiosyncratic constructions have come to represent some entrenched meaning which holds a certain amount of idiomaticity in all of them. For the present investigation it is enough to recognize that "[p]repositions, in particular, are liable to have a large number of uses which are idiomatic with respect to the items with which they co-occur" (ibid.: 544). This would of course explain why עִם and אֵת have so many idiomatic senses. Furthermore, while some of these senses discussed below may seem to have less idiomaticity than another, this is probably so; for as previously mentioned, "[…] the boundary between the idiomatic (in the sense intended here) and the non-idiomatic is fuzzy in the extreme" (ibid.).

5.3.1.8.1 Support

(40) **Deut 31.8**

וַיהוָה הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ לְפָנֶיךָ הוּא יִהְיֶה **עִמָּךְ** לֹא יַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא יַעַזְבֶךָּ לֹא תִירָא וְלֹא תֵחָת	It is YHWH who goes before you. He will be **with** you; he will not fail you or forsake you. Do not fear or be dismayed.

The Support sense may be used with both Shared Presence and Shared Activity's TR-LM configurations. This sense merits distinction through the addition of non-spatial meaning, as well as an altered TR-LM configuration in which a superior TR is described as being with (in proximity or activity) an inferior LM. This contrast of status is not one of intellectual capacity but of existential quality as well as the power to act or intervene.

Provided that communal living was the easiest way to survive in the harsh ecological climate of the ancient Near East, it makes sense that if the BH speaker wished to convey comfort or affirm one's success he would say *God is/has been עִם/אֵת you*. This is exactly what is found in places like Gen 39 where it is repeatedly observed that an outsider *saw that God was with*

(אֵת) Joseph because "YHWH caused all that he did to prosper in his hands" (Gen 39.3). And when Israel goes out to fight against her enemies, God charges his people to remember that *Yahweh your God goes with you* (יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הַהֹלֵךְ עִמָּכֶם) – meaning that victory and protection are sure (Deut 20.4). Thus, over and over again throughout the Pentateuch we find this fixed expression that if God is with someone, in either spatial proximity or joint activity, success is sure to follow. The functional consequence is dependent upon the context and may manifest itself in any of the following areas of support: 'equipping' (41), 'security' (42), 'protection' (43), 'favor' (44) or 'prosperity' (45).

(41) **Ex 4.15**

וְדִבַּרְתָּ אֵלָיו וְשַׂמְתָּ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים בְּפִיו
וְאָנֹכִי אֶהְיֶה **עִם**־פִּיךָ וְ**עִם**־פִּיהוּ וְהוֹרֵיתִי
אֶתְכֶם אֵת אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּן

You are to speak to him and put the words in his mouth; and I, even I, will be **with** your mouth and **with** his mouth, and I will teach you what you are to do.

(42) **Gen 48.21**

וַיֹּאמֶר יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יוֹסֵף הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי מֵת
וְהָיָה אֱלֹהִים **עִמָּכֶם** וְהֵשִׁיב אֶתְכֶם
אֶל־אֶרֶץ אֲבֹתֵיכֶם

Then Israel said to Joseph, "Behold, I am about to die, but God will be **with** you, and bring you back to the land of your fathers."

(43) **Num 14.9**

סָר צִלָּם מֵעֲלֵיהֶם וַיהוָה **אִתָּנוּ**
אַל־תִּירָאֻם

Their protection has been removed from them, and YHWH is **with** us; do not fear them.

(44) **Gen 21.20**

וַיְהִי אֱלֹהִים **אֶת**־הַנַּעַר וַיִּגְדָּל וַיֵּשֶׁב
בַּמִּדְבָּר וַיְהִי רֹבֶה קַשָּׁת

God was **with** the lad, and he grew; and he lived in the wilderness and became an archer.

(45) **Gen 39.2**

וַיְהִי יְהוָה **אֶת**־יוֹסֵף וַיְהִי אִישׁ מַצְלִיחַ
וַיְהִי בְּבֵית אֲדֹנָיו הַמִּצְרִי

YHWH was **with** Joseph, so he became a successful man. And he was in the house of his master, the Egyptian.

It is perhaps significant to point out that this conventionalized expression of Support likely came about in the context of early nomadic Israel being accompanied (or rather led) by God from Egypt, through the wilderness and to the promised land (cf. Ex 3.8, 17; 13.17, 21). This pivotal era of Yahweh's support on their long journey became entrenched in the BH speaker's minds to where eventually, if it was said that Yahweh was עִם/אֵת another, this was an inevitable equation and explicit expression for success. Preuss (1974: 457) affirms this, remarking, "[t]he belief in the presence of God with his people (from Ex. 3 on) is a fundamental component of the concept of salvation history […]".

At this point, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 118) may wish to suggest this Support idiom is a derivation from the A COMPANION IS SUPPORT metaphor, explaining that the more concrete concept of a companion "[…] provide[s] the right kind of [internal] structure to allow us to get a handle on those natural kinds of experience that are less concrete or less clearly delineated in their own terms", like support. Though this may be the case, Evans (2010: 216-218) and Riemer (2010: 379) would no doubt respond that metaphorical-extension cannot account for everything: other factors, such as non-linguistic parameters and the conventionalization of implicatures, also play a crucial role in the development of new senses. Here, Preuss would agree, arguing that its "stereotyped" (1974: 457) usage in relation to the Exodus-to-Promise Land accompaniment motif solidifies its flexibility to be construed in new situations and contexts, even generations later.

5.3.1.8.2 Devotion

(46) **Gen 6.9**

אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק תָּמִים
הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו **אֵת**־הָאֱלֹהִים

These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his generation; Noah walked **with** God.

When the Support configuration is swapped (that is, the TR becomes the inferior entity and the LM the superior), a completely new sense is born. Simply put, it is no longer God working for man, but man working for God. Unlike the Support sense, Devotion only occurs in one construction which is illustrated in the verse above where Noah's activity of walking with (אֵת) God is synonymous with the proposition that Noah lived his life in devoted compliance to him. Surely such a limited use testifies to the semantic impact of the

entrenchment of meaning; for though this sense only occurs three times (Gen 5.22, 24; 6.9), it seems to have carried enough semantic weight to require the qualification of *in hostility* (בְּקֶרִי) when God spoke of Israel as *walking in hostility against him* (הָלַךְ עִם בְּקֶרִי),[104] viz., behaving in the opposite of religious devotion. In short, the entrenchment of meaning encoded within the Devotion sense necessitated a qualification to express its opposite: the former construal can be considered the unmarked construction and the latter, the marked.[105]

5.3.1.8.3 Sexual Relations

(47) **Gen 39.7**

וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַתִּשָּׂא אֵשֶׁת־אֲדֹנָיו אֶת־עֵינֶיהָ אֶל־יוֹסֵף וַתֹּאמֶר שִׁכְבָה **עִמִּי**

And after a time his master's wife cast her eyes on Joseph and said, "Lie **with** me."

The Sexual Relations sense, as the name suggests, describes a TR and LM which perform the joint activity of intercourse together. This idiomatic euphemism occurs numerous times throughout the Pentateuch, but always with the same verb and particle (i.e., שָׁכַב עִם), so it is easy to identify.[106] It's contextual independence (viz., just because one lies down beside another is not indicative of sexual intercourse, further demonstrated with the next sense) and addition of non-spatial meaning to the proto-scene verify its status as distinct among עִם's network of senses.

5.3.1.8.4 Death

(48) **Gen 47.30**

וְשָׁכַבְתִּי **עִם**־אֲבֹתַי וּנְשָׂאתַנִי מִמִּצְרַיִם וּקְבַרְתַּנִי בִּקְבֻרָתָם

When I lie down **with** my ancestors, carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burial place.

The same verb used to express intercourse is used with עִם to indicate death. This Death sense is validated as distinct on the exact same grounds as the Sexual Relations sense; similarly, no more needs to be said about this sense until its semantic-derivation is evaluated.

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104. Cf. **Lev** 26.21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 40, 41.

105. Thanks are due to Josh Westbury for bringing the notion of construction-markedness to my attention.

106. The one exception is Gen 39.10 where שָׁכַב is paired with אֵצֶל – not implying intercourse, but close proximity – and is then followed by the verb-particle pairing הָיָה עִם, implying intercourse.

5.3.1.9 מֵעִם and מֵאֵת: Source & Separation

The remaining distinct senses to be discussed are those which are exclusively represented through the מֵעִם or מֵאֵת compound: Separation and Source.[107] The former may be thought of as communicating the exact opposite of the proto-scene, viz., a situation in which the TR is separated from a LM in such a way that spatial proximity is no longer shared between the two entities. Similarly, like Shared Presence, it primarily involves two animate entities. Recalling the introductory statistics of this compound's occurrence among the target lexemes,[108] it is perhaps significant to note that though אֵת doubles עִם's presence with the prefixed מִן, when it comes to expressing Separation, מֵעִם is preferred to מֵאֵת just over 50% percent of the time (i.e., מֵעִם occurring 23x, while מֵאֵת appears only 11x).[109] The reason for this is uncertain, for עִם and אֵת occur with (relatively) equal frequency when used to indicate Shared Presence (i.e., עִם appearing 49x, with אֵת at 58x) – but is certainly something worthy of attention for future research. A sample of the functional relations represented by Separation's TR-LM configuration include 'expulsion' (49), 'relocation' (50), 'departure' (51) and 'release' (52).

(49) **Gen 26.27**

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם יִצְחָק מַדּוּעַ בָּאתֶם אֵלָי
וְאַתֶּם שְׂנֵאתֶם אֹתִי וַתְּשַׁלְּחוּנִי **מֵאִתְּכֶם**

Isaac said to them, "Why have you come to me, since you hate me and have sent me away **from** you?"

(50) **Lev 10.4(+)**

וַיִּקְרָא מֹשֶׁה אֶל־מִישָׁאֵל וְאֶל אֶלְצָפָן בְּנֵי
עֻזִּיאֵל דֹּד אַהֲרֹן וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם קִרְבוּ
שְׂאוּ אֶת־אֲחֵיכֶם **מֵאֵת** פְּנֵי־הַקֹּדֶשׁ
אֶל־מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה

Moses called also to Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Aaron's uncle Uzziel, and said to them, "Come forward, carry your relatives away **from** the front of the sanctuary to the outside of the camp."

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107. One instance which remains undetermined is that of Gen 44.32.

108. מֵעִם occurs 29x, while מֵאֵת appears 58x.

109. מֵעִם: **Gen** 13.14; 24.27; 26.16; 31.31; 44.29(+); 48.12; **Ex** 8.8, 25, 26; 9.33; 10.6, 18; 11.8; 21.14; 22.11, 13; **Lev** 25.41; **Deut** 15.12, 13, 16, 18; 23.16; 29.17.

מֵאֵת: **Gen** 8.8; 26.27, 31; 27.30(+); 38.1; 42.24; 44.28; **Ex** 5.20; 10.11(+); **Lev** 10.4(+); **Num** 31.2.

(51) **Gen 13.14**

וַיהוָה אָמַר אֶל־אַבְרָם אַחֲרֵי הִפָּרֶד־לוֹט **מֵעִמּוֹ** שָׂא נָא עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה מִן־הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה שָׁם צָפֹנָה וָנֶגְבָּה וָקֵדְמָה וָיָמָּה	YHWH said to Abram, after Lot had separated **from** him, "Now lift up your eyes and look from the place from where you are, northward and southward and eastward and westward."

(52) **Deut 15.12**

כִּי־יִמָּכֵר לְךָ אָחִיךָ הָעִבְרִי אוֹ הָעִבְרִיָּה וַעֲבָדְךָ שֵׁשׁ שָׁנִים וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִת תְּשַׁלְּחֶנּוּ חָפְשִׁי **מֵעִמָּךְ**	If your kinsman, a Hebrew man or woman, is sold to you, then he shall serve you six years, but in the seventh year you shall send him away **from** you.

Besides this sense, Source is also communicated through this construction and describes a TR-LM configuration in which one entity (TR) is spoken of as being derived from another (LM). As with Separation, another noteworthy statistical dispersion is manifested: מֵאֵת represents 90.3% (47x) of this sense's construction between the two target lexemes,[110] while מֵעִם comprises the remaining uses (a meager five occurrences).[111] Regrettably, once again, the reason for this disparity is uncertain; yet the repeated nature of this statistical distinction between the target lexemes when paired with the מִן prefix is a significant trend to take note of in future research.[112] Some of the functions of this sense include 'agent' (53), 'origin' (54) and 'membership' (55); though the major function is 'possession transfer', be this of a transaction involving payment (56) or a charitable offering (57).

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110. **Gen** 17.27; 19.24; 23.20; 25.10; 43.34(+); 47.22; 49.30, 32; 50.13; **Ex** 11.2 (2x); 25.2, 3; 27.21; 29.28 (2x); 30.16; 35.5; **Lev** 7.34 (2x), 36; 16.5; 24.8; 25.15, 36, 44; 27.24; **Num** 3.9; 7.5, 84; 8.11; 11.31; 16.35; 17.17 (2x); 18.26 (2x), 28; 31.3, 28, 51, 52 (2x); 35.8 (2x); **Deut** 18.3 (2x).

111. **Gen** 41.32; **Deut** 10.12; 18.16, 19; 23.22.

112. It is possible, that herein lies a key to determining if there be any semantic distinction between the two target lexemes, for as it has previously been illustrated, when occurring on their own, they largely demonstrate the same semantic potential (as they do with this compound preposition, but) with an undifferentiated lexical representation. BDB (1962: 87) – who recognizes this disparity – posits that the reason מֵאֵת is preferred over מֵעִם is because, in general, "אֵת expresses closer association than עִם" (something Van Groningen [1980: 675] completely disagrees with, stating the opposite: "אֵת also means 'with,' but עִם expresses more the concept of relationship […]"). What BDB mean by this is that אֵת seems to connect two entities in a deeper manner (e.g., greater intimacy, more established interpersonal relations) than עִם, which in their opinion, "denotes hardly more than *from the surroundings* or *belongings of*" (ibid.) when paired with מִן – thus, simple proximity when it stands alone. This line of thinking simply cannot be accepted in light of this investigation's evaluation of the target lexemes, however appealing it may be, to resolve the tension accompanying עִם and אֵת's pairing with מִן.

(53) **Gen 41.32**

וְעַל הִשָּׁנוֹת הַחֲלוֹם אֶל־פַּרְעֹה פַּעֲמָיִם כִּי־נָכוֹן הַדָּבָר **מֵעִם** הָאֱלֹהִים וּמְמַהֵר הָאֱלֹהִים לַעֲשֹׂתוֹ

Now as for the repeating of the dream to Pharaoh twice, it means that the matter is determined **by** God, and God will quickly bring it about.

(54) **Gen 19.24**

וַיהוָה הִמְטִיר עַל־סְדֹם וְעַל־עֲמֹרָה גָּפְרִית וָאֵשׁ **מֵאֵת** יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמָיִם

Then YHWH rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire **from** YHWH out of heaven.

(55) **Num 31.3**

וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־הָעָם לֵאמֹר הֵחָלְצוּ **מֵאִתְּכֶם** אֲנָשִׁים לַצָּבָא וְיִהְיוּ עַל־מִדְיָן לָתֵת נִקְמַת־יְהוָה בְּמִדְיָן

Moses spoke to the people, saying, "Arm men **from among** you for war, that they may go against Midian to execute YHWH's vengeance on Midian.

(56) **Gen 17.27**

וְכָל־אַנְשֵׁי בֵיתוֹ יְלִיד בָּיִת וּמִקְנַת־כֶּסֶף **מֵאֵת** בֶּן־נֵכָר נִמֹּלוּ אִתּוֹ

All the men of his household, who were born in the house or bought with money **from** a foreigner, were circumcised with him.

(57) **Num 8.11**

וְהֵנִיף אַהֲרֹן אֶת־הַלְוִיִּם תְּנוּפָה לִפְנֵי יְהוָה **מֵאֵת** בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהָיוּ לַעֲבֹד אֶת־עֲבֹדַת יְהוָה

Aaron then shall present the Levites before YHWH as a wave offering **from** the sons of Israel, that they may qualify to perform the service of YHWH.

5.3.2 Dating Branch Age: Sense-Derivation

Having clearly laid out the distinct senses which both עִם and אֵת encode, this study may now proceed to explain how this semantic network came to be: from the semantic potential of a seed, to the realization of its derived branches (distinct senses) and twigs (functions).[113]

113. The two distinct senses of Source and Separation will not be considered in this section of the analysis, in part, because their existence is strictly contingent upon their co-occurrence with the מִן prefix; but more so,

Recalling the chain of grammaticalization which Heine *et al*. (1991) posited, these distinct senses will temporarily be grouped according to the broad categories which characterized their chain, with some adaptation. The titles "spatial/human/inanimate relations" are representative of three stages of grammaticalization which exist among various cognitive domains (see section 4.4.1 for more details on these concepts).

Spatial relations	Human relations		Inanimate relations
• In front of • In company of • Shared Presence	• Recipient • Shared Activity • Support • Possession	• Death • Sex • Devotion	• Addition

Admittedly, even at the start of determining sense-derivation we see problems with the laying of boundaries (hence the dotted lines), for Shared Presence – while highly indicative of a spatial configuration – is also very much a part of the human relations stage of the grammaticalized chain, for its configurational components are primarily animate entities. Nonetheless, it is still helpful to use this grammaticalization chain as a *tool* for an initial organization of the distinct senses.[114]

From this initial drafting of senses, we see that the majority of senses can be represented under the middle stage of grammaticalization, that of human (or animate) relations.[115] Furthermore, we observe that Addition has been left all alone in the inanimate relations stage. This signals that Addition is the most grammaticalized (or youngest) of the senses identified in the Pentateuch. An astute reader may challenge this, remarking that Addition can occur with human participants just like Shared Activity, or any other sense included in the human relations stage; and while this may be true, it is besides the point. The distinguishing factor of assigning Addition to the inanimate relations stage is that this sense is actually capable of not

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because this stage of the study is primarily concerned with identifying the semantic development of the target lexemes as they appear on their own, independently throughout the Pentateuch.

114. This converging of two components is also a subtle reminder of the anthropocentric nature of עִם and אֵת, for whether Shared Presence is under scrutiny or Recipient, the participants of each sense are typically represented by humans.

115. It is important to remember that we are talking about the forest, not the trees when discussing these broad semantic generalizations. It is what is prototypically true (e.g., Shared Activity is between two humans), not the exceptions to the rule (e.g., Rachel came with the sheep back to the house; Gen 29.6)

only pairing a human/animate TR with an inanimate LM (e.g., Gen 6.13), but that it often pairs the inanimate with the inanimate (e.g., אֵת: Deut 29.18; עִם: Deut 12.23; 32.14, 24). This propensity to pair two inanimate entities represents a stage of grammaticalization that lies beyond mere human relations. Furthermore, the fact that the Addition sense is also able to pair two humans together (e.g., Gen 18.23) is evidence of its increased grammaticalization in that it is more inclusive of other types of relations, viz., the sixth parameter mentioned in section 4.4.1 (Heine *et al.* 1991: 160).

With the youngest branch sorted, let us return to the earliest and work our way forward. The senses which are related to spatial proximity are the least grammaticalized and thus earlier semantic predecessors. The reason for this is because among the level of relational concepts – communicated through adpositions or inflectional morphology – "[…] SPACE provides the most 'concrete' domain of concepts" (ibid.: 161).[116] It is from these concrete spatial relations that other non-spatial and eventually abstract relations may be communicated.

From the initial plotting, we see that among the domain of spatial relations are the distinct senses In the Company of, In front of and the proto-scene, Shared Presence. These senses are then among the oldest in the network of the target lexemes (minus, of course, In front of for עִם). Having already identified the proto-scene we are then left to posit a predecessor for the remaining two. Leaning on the statistical data obtained from the Pentateuch sample, it would seem that the In front of sense is a later derivation from the proto-scene than In the Company of. This is so for two reasons: 1) In the Company of is more prone to relate animate entities, while In front of is comfortable accommodating inanimate entities in general, for it even contains uses where the TR is inanimate (e.g., Lev 4.6), and 2) In the Company of is closer to the proto-scene of Shared Presence in that both communicate spatial proximity between un-oriented LMs while In front of is more specific, containing orientation.[117] This leaves us with the following derivation for those senses contained in the initial cognitive domain of spatial relations: 1) Shared Presence, 2) In the Company of and for אֵת's network, 3) In front of.[118]

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116. This relational level is in different from the other conceptual level of actual physical, concrete referential entities, e.g., people, objects, events (Heine *et al.* 1991: 161).

117. Furthermore, it may be true that for a lexeme to appear as a compounded form is indicative of greater semantic development and time for such a grammatical situation to be construed.

118. If one was to plot those senses communicated through the additional מִן prefix, it is likely that Separation

The remaining senses nicely fit into the human relations stage. אֵת is representative of all these, save the idiomatic euphemisms of Death and Sexual Relations (which are both signaled by שָׁכַב). The major sense among these is, of course, Shared Activity. Above, it was briefly mentioned in several places that Shared Activity and Shared Presence have a unique relationship in that the former implies the latter. The derivation of the two will now be explained in more detail.

In every society of every era, the manner in which joint activity is experienced will vary due to the technological state of the time and to what extent it is appropriated in a specific society. For instance, though current technology allows one to converse with a friend across the street or overseas via telephone, Amazonians may not have yet implemented this technology into a part of their everyday lives; consequently, they are thus restricted to doing the activity of conversing only when there is a sufficient amount of shared proximity between the two participants allowing one's voice to be heard. The fact of the matter, is that only in the past century has technology began to grow at its remarkable exponential rate to such an extent that our experience of joint activity has seen change. Now, a video-gamer may say *I'm playing Halo with my friends* and mean that he is playing an online multiplayer game in which a projected image of himself is manipulated to do as he wants with other friends across town who are doing the same thing.

Tyler and Evans (2003: 47) are spot on when they point out that spatial relations may not have changed over the last thousands of years, and that because of this, spatial descriptions (partly communicated through spatial particles) have not needed to change either – they only need to be bent and redirected through contextual modulation or semantic entrenchment to communicate new meanings. With this said, the technological contingency between shared space and shared activity should be clear, as well as the static growth and mundane impact that technology has imparted throughout the ancient past.

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would be included in this initial stage of spatial relations as it simply designates the opposite of Shared Presence.

Nonetheless, the majority of activities which can be done jointly necessitate shared space, *regardless of the technology available at the time*. If this is the case, then it is not difficult to imagine how Shared Activity slowly began to emerge from Shared Presence. Consider the following jumbled narrative which illustrates a potential derivation from Shared Presence to Shared Activity:

> One day, "Only Noah was left, and those that were *with* (אֵת) him in the ark" (Gen 7.23). The next day, "Laban said to him, 'Surely you are bone of my flesh!' And he stayed *with* (עִם) him a month" (Gen 29.14). Then, "YHWH descended in the cloud and stood *with* (עִם) him, there" (Ex 34.5). After that, "Someone went out into the forest *with* (אֵת) another to cut wood" (Deut 19.5); and finally, "Jacob was left alone; and a man wrestled *with* (עִם) him until daybreak" (Gen 32.24).

It is hoped that the reader did not get lost in this hodgepodge of stories, but that the possible development from Shared Presence to Shared Activity was illustrated. What begins with purely shared proximity develops into different modes of existential existence. Next, static and normative behavior is brought into the developing scene. Eventually, motion is introduced and finally specific types of activity are engaged in between two participants – all the while, spatial proximity is necessarily shared. Perhaps there is a better way to describe this semantic evolution but it seems most likely that it developed along a continuum of activities ranging from the involuntary/static/existential to the voluntary/dynamic/non-existential. With this said, we may posit with confidence that the next major sense-development from the proto-scene is that of Shared Activity.

From this point, it is not difficult to posit that, at some point, the doing of an activity *with* another became the doing of an activity *to* another. In other words, the roles of active participation in Shared Activity dwindled to one actor, leaving a patient, represented through the Recipient sense. A prime example of this potential derivation is attested to in the conversation frame. Typically, in a conversation, there are at least two participants who are actively engaged in communicating with one another through means of a shared language. In BH, this study has already mentioned that one of the functional consequences of Shared Activity can be to code this communicative event. This is typically done so with the piel stem

of the verb דָּבַר followed by עִם or אֵת.[119] This construction may be contrasted with that of אָמַר or even דִּבֶּר followed by אֶל/לְ.[120] For the former, אָמַר tends to focus on the content of the speaking, while piel דִּבֶּר seems to profile the communicative event, itself (58). In other words, אָמַר focuses on the words spoken, while דָּבַר עִם/אֵת focuses on the speech shared. Furthermore, the tandem particles are also an important addition to whatever verb is chosen, for when אֶל or לְ are used one can be certain that a one-way "conversation" is being described; but when עִם or אֵת is used, it is more likely that a two-way conversation is taking place. Gen 31.24 (59) illustrates this situation nicely, with both אָמַר לְ and דָּבַר עִם constructions present and at work, in the previously mentioned manner. In fact, this one-way/two-way distinction may also be implied by the simple change of particles (consider Num 7.89 [60] with the constructions דָּבַר אֶל and דָּבַר אֵת; cf. also Ex 25.2).

It would seem then that עִם and אֵת regularly encode more of an idea of joint activity, even in conversations, than other lexemes like לְ or אֶל. However, though the general sense conveyed be of shared activity, there are times when the TR seems to be portrayed as the main participator of the communicative event (61-62). Perhaps this is the case when the TR is the

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119. With עִם: **Gen** 29.9a; 31.24, 29b; **Ex** 19.9; 20.19 (2x), 22; 33.9; **Num** 11.17; 22.19; **Deut** 5.4; 9.10. With אֵת: **Gen** 17.3, 23; 23.8a; 34.6, 8; 35.13, 14, 15; 41.9; 42.7, 30; 45.15; **Ex** 25.22; 31.18; 34.29, 32, 33, 34, 35; **Num** 3.1; 7.89; 26.3; **Deut** 5.24.

120. A quick note is deserving here as to why the preposition בְּ is not considered alongside אֶל and לְ, for the fact of the matter is that both אָמַר and piel דִּבֶּר are followed by בְּ (this discussion is limited to those occurrences found inside the Pentateuch). The former construction (אָמַר בְּ) appears 42x; yet this statistic is deceitful, for it actually only occurs 5x (Gen 17.17; Deut 7.17; 8.17; 9.4a; 18.21) in which the בְּ marks the patient/co-participant of the conversation – as is the case with the target lexemes and אֶל and לְ. Furthermore, these five occurrences are instances of the exact same idiomatic expression, used to describe the activity of talking to oneself, i.e., אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ *he said in his heart*. As for the remaining thirty-seven instances, בְּ is to be understood quite separately from describing the relationship between the interlocutors, and instead relates the temporal aspect (Ex 12.3), means (Lev 10.3), cause (Ex 13.8) or manner of some event (Deut 1.27), or even the location of where something is written (Num 21.14). Thus, אָמַר בְּ is not considered as being related to the manner in which the target lexeme's or אֶל/לְ occur with אָמַר/דָּבַר. As for דָּבַר בְּ, this construction only appears 28x, four of which can be considered instances where the preposition marks the recipient/co-participant of the conversation (Num 12.6, 8 [2x]; 21.7). In two out of these four cases, בְּ indicates that the main speaker (i.e., the subject of the verb) is speaking against (in opposition to) the object which the preposition marks (Num 12.8b; 21.7). This is unique, for the target lexemes never do this with the neutral verb of דָּבַר; instead, a verb which connotes (verbal) opposition is supplied while the target lexemes simply relate the shared activity (Gen 26.20). Besides this, the majority of occurrences involve דָּבַר בְּ being used in two forms of fixed expression: 1) דָּבַר בְּשֵׁם – speaking in God's name (Ex 5.23; Deut 18.19, 20) – and 2) דָּבַר בְּאָזְנֵי – speaking in one's hearing/presence (Gen 23.16; Num 14.28; Deut 5.1; 31.28). Thus, the only uses of דָּבַר בְּ which may be considered synonymous with the target expressions are two (Gen 12.6, 8a). In these cases, בְּ does indeed function similarly to the target lexemes, yet understandably, more attention should be given to those particles (i.e., אֶל and לְ) which provide a substantially larger sample of comparative uses when it comes to relating the participants/patients of the verbs אָמַר and piel דִּבֶּר.

initiator of the conversation. Furthermore, and as previously mentioned before, Gen 42.30 (63) represents those instances where עִם or אֵת begin to behave almost like a semantically mute functional form.[121] All of this to say, the evolution and flux of עִם and אֵת's role in relating the participants of a conversation are a prime example of how a joint activity such as talking, may become solely an activity of telling. Thus, the current research postulates that the Recipient sense is a direct derivation from Shared Activity.

(58) **Deut 5.24**

וַ**תֹּאמְרוּ** הֵן הֶרְאָנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ
אֶת־כְּבֹדוֹ וְאֶת־גָּדְלוֹ וְאֶת־קֹלוֹ שָׁמַעְנוּ
מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאִינוּ כִּי־**יְדַבֵּר**
אֱלֹהִים **אֶת**־הָאָדָם וָחָי

And you **said**, "Look, YHWH our God has shown us his glory and greatness, and we have heard his voice from in the midst of the fire. This day we have seen that God may **speak with** man, yet he still lives."

(59) **Gen 31.24**

וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־לָבָן הָאֲרַמִּי בַּחֲלֹם
הַלָּיְלָה וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־תְּדַבֵּר
עִם־יַעֲקֹב מִטּוֹב עַד־רָע

God came to Laban the Aramean in a dream during the night and said *to* him, "Be careful not to speak **with** Jacob either good or bad."

(60) **Num** 7.89

וּבְבֹא מֹשֶׁה אֶל־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד **לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ**
וַיִּשְׁמַע אֶת־הַקּוֹל **מִדַּבֵּר אֵלָיו** מֵעַל
הַכַּפֹּרֶת אֲשֶׁר עַל־אֲרֹן הָעֵדֻת מִבֵּין שְׁנֵי
הַכְּרֻבִים **וַיְדַבֵּר אֵלָיו**

Now when Moses went into the meeting tent to **speak with** him, he heard the voice **speaking to** him from above the mercy seat that was upon the ark of the testimony, from between the two cherubim, so he **spoke to** him.

(61) **Gen 45.15**

וַיְנַשֵּׁק לְכָל־אֶחָיו וַיֵּבְךְּ עֲלֵיהֶם וְאַחֲרֵי כֵן
דִּבְּרוּ אֶחָיו **אִתּוֹ**

He kissed all of his brothers and cried on them, and afterwards, his brothers spoke **with** him.

121. An insightful study to be conducted in the future would be to determine if (and if so, when) דָּבַר אֵת/עִם/אֵל became synonymous expressions.

(62) **Ex 34.32**

וְאַחֲרֵי־כֵן נִגְּשׁוּ כָּל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְצַוֵּם
אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה **אִתּוֹ** בְּהַר סִינָי

Afterwards, all the sons of Israel came close, and he commanded them to do everything YHWH had spoken **with** him on Mount Sinai.

(63) **Gen 42.30**

דִּבֶּר הָאִישׁ אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ **אִתָּנוּ** קָשׁוֹת
וַיִּתֵּן אֹתָנוּ כְּמְרַגְּלִים אֶת־הָאָרֶץ

The man, the lord of the land, spoke **to** us harshly, and thought we were spies of the land.

The next sense to discuss is Possession. This is a more complicated sense to plot for several reasons. For one, the TR-LM relationship expressing Possession is heavily rooted in the spatial scene of Shared Presence: *X is with Y* (this of course amounts to *X is Y's*). This configuration would then pull the Possession sense towards the left, to the less grammaticalized senses, closer to the initial spatial relations stage. On the other hand, the Possession sense is quite comfortable with relating animate entities to inanimate (or vice-versa). This propensity clearly tugs Possession the other way, towards the more grammaticalized stage of inanimate relations. What we are left with then is a certain degree of tension. The question is, *Who pulls harder?*

Once again, Heine *et al.*'s (1991) parameters help us determine the answer to this question. If a sense is more inclusive in the conceptual domains it is able to relate, Heine *et al.* (ibid.: 157, 160) posit that it must be more grammaticalized than one that is more restricted. With Possession, if we look at the dominating tendency of what constitutes the components of its TR-LM configuration we would find that it only relates two animate entities once (and this is with an animal as the TR and human as the LM; Gen 30.33). The majority of instances actually consist of the configuration: inanimate TR with an animate LM.[122] If a sense is able to relate inanimate entities with the versatility displayed by Possession, it is clearly more grammaticalized than the "neutral" middle ground of human relations and must fall in lot

122. With אֵת: **Gen** 27.15; **Lev** 5.23; **Num** 32.32; **Deut** 15.3. Also with אֵת, animate + inanimate occurs equally: **Gen** 44.9, 10; **Ex** 35.23, 24. With עִם, inanimate + animate is the only way it occurs: **Gen** 24.25; 31.32a, 32b*; **Num** 14.24; **Deut** 29.16.

with the inanimate domain of relations – this being the case no matter how grounded its "literal" TR-LM configuration may be, or its inclusion of an animate participant in every configuration; for the truth is, all senses have derived from the more spatially "concrete" and passed through the human relations stage, usually leaving traces of this more concrete phase. What *is* true however, is that not every sense's spatial roots are as visible as Possession displays. For the present investigation it would seem that this semantic tug-of-war has landed Possession somewhere in the camp between the animate and inanimate cognitive domain. It then resembles a sort of semantic bridge from one camp (human relations) to another (inanimate relations).

The remaining senses to semantically coordinate are the more idiomatic in nature. Just as Possession straddled the borders of animate-inanimate relations, so one might initially assume Support does – but this is not so. Even though the Support sense is equally rooted in the configuration of Shared Presence and -Activity, it nonetheless conveys an abstracted notion of support – not spatial proximity or joint activity – between a superior animate TR and an inferior animate LM. It then fits nicely among the human relations stage and is simply more grammaticalized than Shared Activity due to its idiomatic nature (viz., idioms require more time to become entrenched and distinct). After all, its configurational base boasts of both Shared Presence and -Activity, therefore, it must be a later development of these two core senses (and would be what we called earlier, a peripheral branch; see 5.3.1).

The reversal of Support's TR-LM configuration (64) indicates Devotion (65). This idiomatic construal relates the religious devotion/compliance of an inferior animate TR to a superior animate LM. Unlike Support's multi-based configuration (viz., between Shared Presence and Shared Activity), Devotion is confined to only appearing with the "literal" configuration found in Shared Activity. It is then reasonable to postulate that this sense developed alongside or after Support, but not before.

(64) **Deut 31.8**

וַיהוָה הוּא הַהֹלֵךְ לְפָנֶיךָ הוּא יִהְיֶה **עִמָּךְ** לֹא יַרְפְּךָ וְלֹא יַעַזְבֶךָּ לֹא תִירָא וְלֹא תֵחָת	It is YHWH who goes before you. He will be **with** you; he will not fail you or forsake you. Do not fear or be dismayed.

(65) **Gen 6.9**

אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדֹת נֹחַ נֹחַ אִישׁ צַדִּיק תָּמִים
הָיָה בְּדֹרֹתָיו **אֶת**־הָאֱלֹהִים

These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, blameless in his generation; Noah walked **with** God.

Finally, the idioms of Sexual Relations and Death – which only occur with עִם – may be allotted somewhere among the animate relations stage, but after Shared Activity, for both are idiomatic entrenchments derived from this TR-LM configuration.[123] With the completed assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic network, including both distinction and derivation, we may now reorganize the initial drafting into something more reflective of the previous deductions.[124]

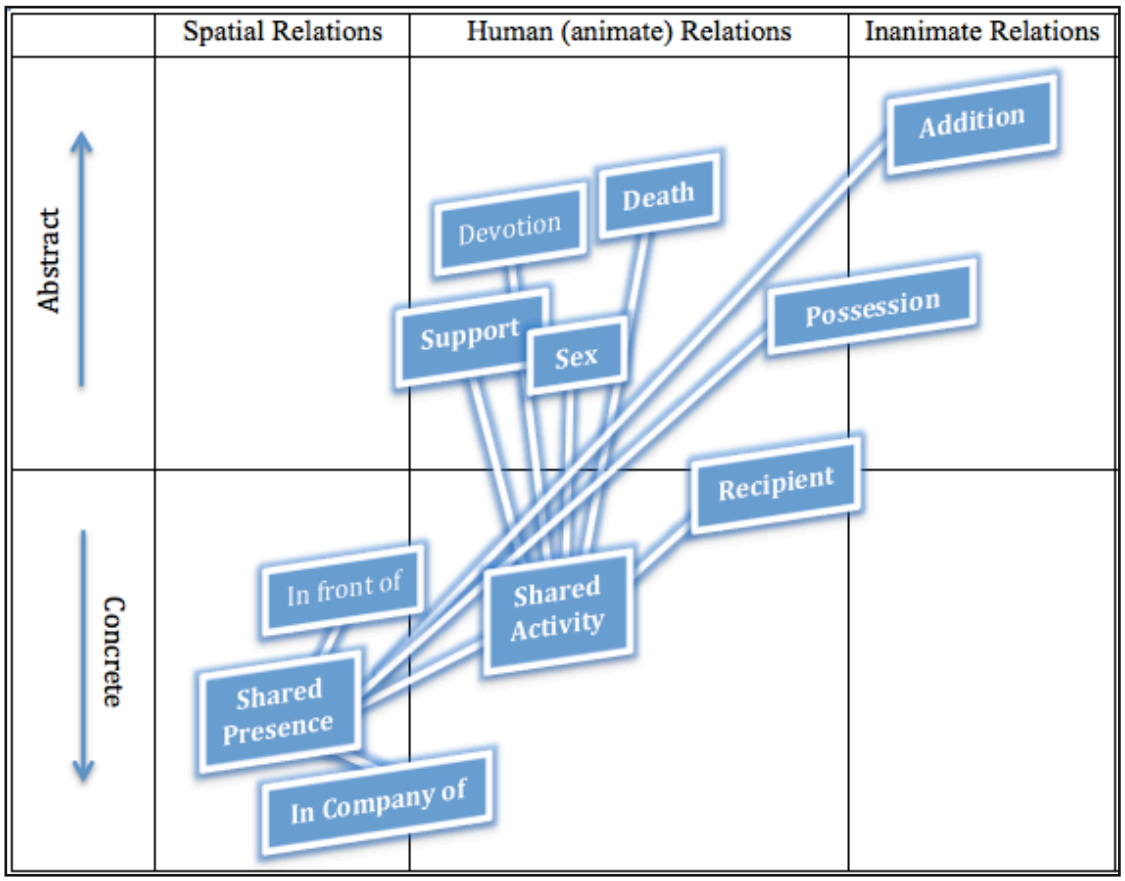
Spatial relations	Human relations	Inanimate relations
• Shared Presence • In company of • In front of	• Shared Activity • Recipient • Support • Devotion • Sexual Relations • Death	• Possession • Addition

In order to provide more description and to really be true to the semantic derivation – beginning with the semantic seed and ending with the full grown tree –, a more expansive depiction has been drafted below. The column divisions have remained the same concerning what they represent, i.e., the three major cognitive domains of spatial, human and inanimate relations. These three columns then represent the X-axis. The Y-axis contains the additional feature of the concrete-abstract continuum. With neutrality thought to exist among the middle

123. Though the idiom of Death may be included in the human (or more confusing, animate) relations stage, it should be remembered that in the BH idealized cognitive model (i.e., the mental encyclopedic library holding information on a particular theme) of the afterlife, it is not that humans were dead in the sense of turned to nothingness, but that *Sheol* was less-life. It was a qualitative deduction of the life experienced under the sun – but not the end of life itself. Such thinking is reflective of the ancient Near Eastern tendency to deal with death pragmatically, not theoretically as modern man does (Xella 1995: 2059, 2067).

124. For the following chart, sense-derivation may largely be interpreted as going from left to right and top to bottom as representative of oldest to youngest.

horizontal line, abstraction increases as one goes up; and as one goes down, the level of concreteness rises. With this said, observe the dynamic construal of עִם (bolded) and אֵת's (bolded and un-bolded) semantic network. It is hoped that this version of semantic potential-coordination will allow the reader to visualize and recognize the semantic impact of the proto-scene.



5.4 The Tree: A View of the Semantic Network

5.4.1 An Exclusive and Inclusive View

Earlier, two different modes of lexical inquiry were mentioned (i.e., semasiology and onomasiology), and it was affirmed that an implementation of both perspectives has the potential to add considerable depth to the analysis of a lexeme's semantic potential. Up until this point, the current investigation has primarily been characterized by a semasiological venture; that is, the various meanings a word may represent have been explicated into a full semantic network. However, due to the fact that both עִם and אֵת have been assessed together, it is now possible to examine this tree of senses from an onomasiological perspective; that is,

one concerned with tracing various meanings back to the forms that signal them. The former approach has clarified the differences between עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, for instance, illustrating that the Devotion idiom is only communicated through אֵת. An onomasiological starting point will now affirm the similarities – which may lead us to question the differences.

Among עִם and אֵת's network of senses there are surprising similarities. For starters, both employ the same proto-scene (i.e., Shared Presence) which begets many of the same senses (e.g., Possession, Addition, Shared Activity). In fact, the core senses – those whose distinction is not contingent upon idiomatic entrenchment and who occur throughout the Pentateuch – are all synonymously echoed by both עִם and אֵת. These include: Shared Presence, In the Company of, Shared Activity, Recipient, Possession and Addition. Thus if עִם and אֵת share the same semantic seed and equally represent the same core branches, what in fact is the real difference between the two? To answer this, we must return again to those senses which one lexeme represents that the other does not.

For עִם, the distinct senses of Sexual Relations and Death are communicated through the consistent pairing of עִם שָׁכַב, regardless of which is meant, for context activates the appropriate idiomatic meaning. Aside from their distinction in meaning though, the restriction of these two senses from being communicated by אֵת שָׁכַב – rather than עִם – seems more likely to be attributed to the idiomatic entrenchment of the expression, than any semasiological salience evident in עִם or אֵת's semantic potential. In fact, one statistic mentioned earlier in a footnote (cf. fn 60) is now worth repeating in the open text: while עִמָּדִי regularly stands in for עִם plus the 1cs suffix, the latter construction does in fact occur, though only four times (Gen 39.7, 12, 14; Ex 33.12). Interestingly, three of these instances (all in Genesis 39) are representative of this Sexual Relations sense. That means the rare עִמִּי construction was chosen over עִמָּדִי when the staple עִם שָׁכַב euphemism was employed. This adds considerable weight to the argument that when it comes to the idiomatic distinction between עִם and אֵת, pre-selected lexical choice overrides even the possibility for another lexeme to stand in its place – though it be just as fitting. For with the exception of Ex 33.12, עִם never occurs in non-idiomatic usage with the 1cs suffix: either עִמָּדִי stands in or אֵת is comfortably chosen.[125]

125. **Gen** 14.24; 30.29, 33; 33.15; 39.8; 42.33; 43.8, 16; 44.34; **Num** 23.13.

This line of reasoning may also be transferred over to אֵת's restrictive representation of the Devotion idiom *X walks with Y* (i.e., a man הָלַךְ אֵת God). This sense only occurs three times in the entire Old Testament; furthermore its short life is only represented in the book of Genesis – more specifically, within two chapters (Gen 5.22, 24; 6.9). With this said, the restricted nature of the Devotion idiom is more likely due to a specific time period of authorship than some semantic distinction between עִם and אֵת. In fact, this speculation is verified if one extends the current data sample beyond the Pentateuch. In Mic 6.8, the TR-LM configuration which indicates Devotion is represented by הָלַךְ followed by עִם – not אֵת.[126]

Thus, concerning the semantic differences which lie within the realm of fixed expressions, it seems inappropriate to suggest that any qualitative distinction lies between the target senses on account of these three idiomatic entrenchments found within the Pentateuch. In fact, the much more prominent idiom of Support – which is commonly represented by both עִם and אֵת – would suggest otherwise, for it is used 1) throughout the Pentateuch and 2) in an oscillating construal between the two major senses' configurational set-up. In other words, a much more established idiomatic sense, such as Support, seems to vouch for the fact that a BH speaker/writer had no qualms in using עִם or אֵת interchangeably – as the Devotion sense identified in Mic 6.8, further demonstrates.

The final semasiological difference between עִם and אֵת's network is the fact that אֵת is regularly used in conjunction with פְּנֵי to indicate the In front of sense. Such an ability to convey such a specific type of spatial proximity would initially suggest perhaps that אֵת is more spatial in nature than עִם. However, when one extends their onomasiological catch-net and observes other lexemes which may be used to encode the same spatial scenario they would discover that the compound preposition לִפְנֵי is even more inclined to represent this In

126. While these uses of הָלַךְ are restricted to the Qal stem, it is significant to note that when paired with לִפְנֵי rather than עִם or אֵת, the same Devotion sense may also be indicated, yet the stem of הָלַךְ invariably changes to Hithpael, e.g., **Gen** 17.1; 24.40; **1 Sam** 2.30, 35; 12.2 (2x). It is also interesting that when this TR-LM configuration of an inferior TR behaving before a superior LM is switched (begetting the Support idiom), the Support sense may also be indicated with this הָלַךְ לִפְנֵי construction (e.g., **Ex** 32.1; 32.34; **Deut** 1.30); also, in such cases, the stem of הָלַךְ reverts back to the simple Qal.

front of sense.[127] It would then seem that the In front of sense is more contingent upon the lexeme פָּנֵי, than its prefixed counterpart (which may even be עִם, when part of the compound מֵעִם; cf. Gen 44.29).

Having reviewed the surface level semasiological differences between עִם and אֵת, it would appear that they are all artificial distinctions – either based in specific, rare and entrenched contexts or accompanying compounded forms with quite a neutral semantic load. Surely, the nature of the semantic weight behind these distinctions does not warrant a dismantling of the grand scheme of onomasiological solidarity existing among עִם and אֵת's network of senses. These deductions lead us to the conclusion that though the networks of the target lexemes represent semasiological differences, onomasiologically, it seems that there is no substantial difference between the two.

5.4.2 A Resolute and Remote View

Apart from a semasiological-onomasiological shift, there is another mode of perspective shifting which enables a more well-rounded understanding of the target networks. This second type of orientation-shift represents that of a "zoomed-in" polysemous appraisal to that of a "zoomed-out" monosemous assessment. The former is more grounded in semantic resolution and will result in greater sense-distinction, while the latter is able to transform a plethora of twigs and leaves into a full bodied tree, with only abstracted, schematic representations to be seen. For the derived network of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential (posited earlier in section 5.3.2), the extreme ends of this continuum of resolution and remoteness may be represented in the following manners: diagram (A) illustrates the network of distinct senses (branches), including those of the various functional consequences (twigs) activated through specific contexts; the second diagram (B) removes these functions and senses, revealing the schemas which facilitate these detailed linguistic construals.

127. For example, the following random sample was taken from Gen 1-23: with לִפְנֵי: Gen 6.13; 7.1; 10.9 (2x); 13.9, 10; 17.1, 18; 18.18, 22; 20.15; 23.12; with אֵת פְּנֵי: Gen 19.13, 27.

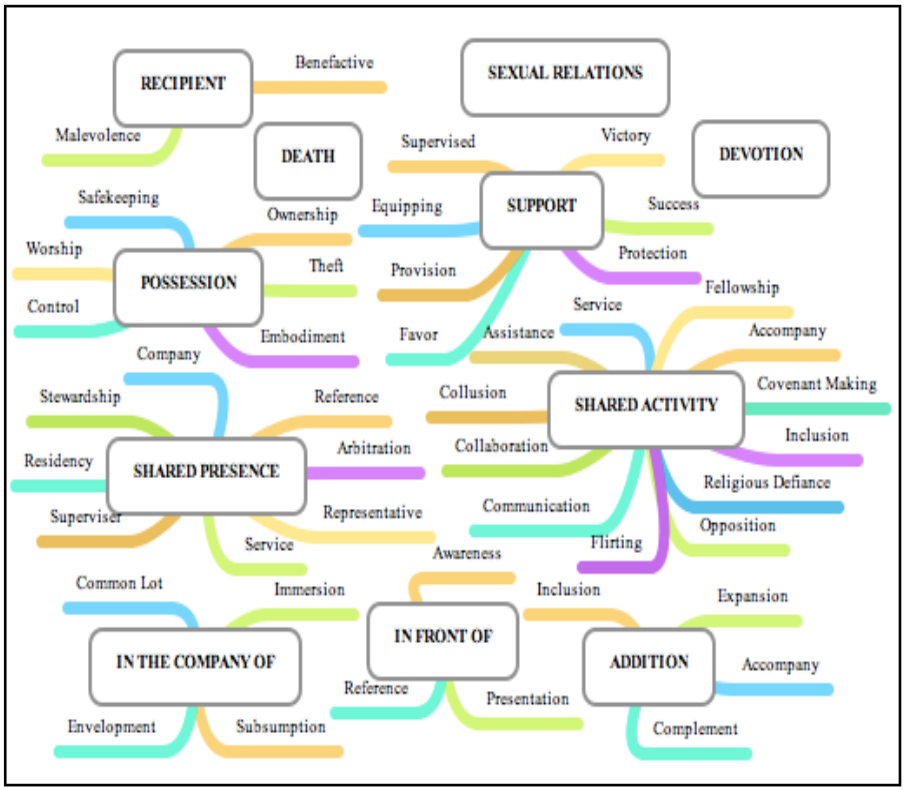


Diagram (A)[128]

What is remarkable when viewing the blended networks of עִם and אֵת at this level of resolution (polysemy) is how vast their branches and twigs really do extend. It seems that every aspect of life may be touched through the target lexemes – both spatial, animate and inanimate. Nothing seems to escape their reach. Such an extension boasts of the potency of their semantic flexibility, which is tested again and again through contextual modulation and the entrenchment of meaning. For both context and repeated use refine the elasticity of semantic potential: the former, by seeing if it will "bend this way", and the latter, by testing if it will *only* "bend that way".

Before advancing to the second diagram, it should be noted that the following diagram seeks to capture those schemas (which could be identified by the author) that lie behind particular senses among networks of the target lexemes. The FRONT-BACK schema corresponds to

128. The following diagram is not arranged in any specified order, it is merely meant to showcase the vast dynamism of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential. Also, the senses and functions listed below are representative of both עִם and אֵת's semantic network, for there is much semantic overlap in even the functions these two lexemes encode (and the reader has already been made aware of which senses עִם and אֵת do and do not share).

אֵת's In front of sense; CENTER-PERIPHERY to In the Company of; AGENT-PATIENT to the Recipient sense; and of course CO-LOCATION for Shared Presence and CO-ACTIVITY for Shared Activity; finally, the all inclusive schema of TOGETHER-APART which seems to capture all of עִם and אֵת's network of senses. Though the diagram does not represent the full semantic network and the related schemas, it is a sufficient number of examples to illustrate the muting of senses and their functions as one's viewing is abstracted farther and farther to the realm of schemas.

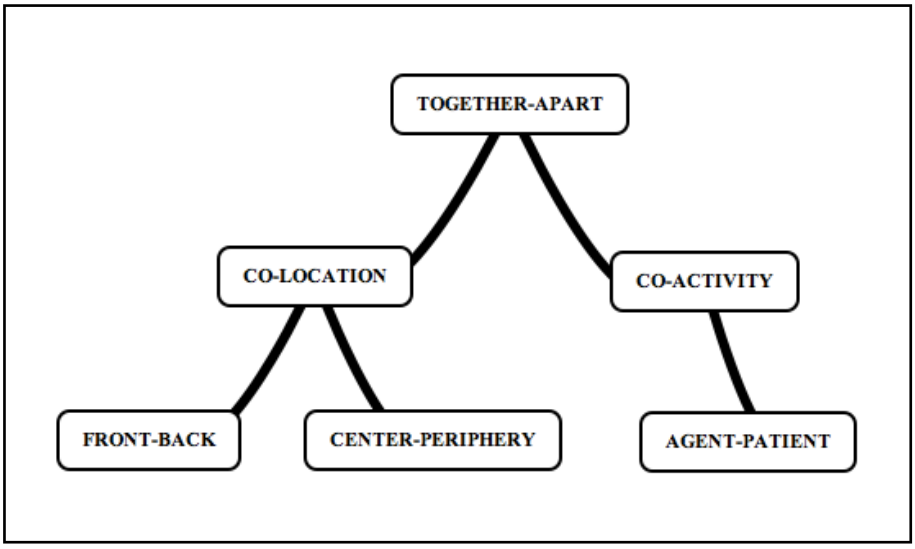


Diagram (B)

When panned out to such a distance, the similarities are unavoidably easy to recognize. From this perspective it is not difficult to observe the synonymous nature of עִם and אֵת. Furthermore, we see that both עִם and אֵת's semantic potential may be captured inclusively by the TOGETHER-APART schema, from which all senses have grown. Significantly, this notion of *together-ness* has not departed from עִם or אֵת: it was present in their nominal origins, has stuck with them through many semantic transformations and has planted its roots in their proto-scenes, making both its stay and impact certain.

Having witnessed the semantic network of עִם and אֵת from such heights and depths, we are certain to possess a broader scope of understanding relating to the flexibility of the semantic potential of the target lexemes. These varying perspectives of semantic analysis – both the sema-/onomasiological mode of inquiry and the previously discussed continuum of abstraction – are of great significance and aid when attempting a rigorous, in depth

assessment of a lexeme's semantic potential. With the implementation of these two oscillating modes of lexical inquiry we have seen how עִם and אֵת can in fact, be considered near synonyms: they are represented by the same schemas and themselves represent the same core senses, as well as a host of other identical and related functions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Chapter Summaries

The current research was conducted under the awareness that Cognitive linguistics has made numerous advancements which yield a remarkable amount of explanatory power, and that for the most part, the semantic representation of BH particles (like the target lexemes) have not benefited from such progress as there has been a shortage of research models that have implemented this technology into BH studies – particularly with lexical semantics. It was then the primary goal of this investigation to assess the semantic potential of עִם and אֵת in a manner which capitalizes on these recent advances in linguistic theory, ultimately hoping that the appropriated methodology might be a tool others may implement who wish to do the same with related BH lexemes.

With these aims in mind, Chapter 2 laid a theoretical foundation, explaining the concepts and theories which would be employed in the research – that in the author's opinion, are the most suitable for describing a lexeme's semantic potential. The primary theoretical framework discussed was that of Cognitive linguistics, and more specifically, Cognitive semantics. Such an approach was described as being maximalist in orientation (e.g., it rejects semantic/ pragmatic/syntactic distinctions) and holds to a theory which grounds meaning as being deeply related – in both contingency and effect – to the way speakers experience the physical world through means of their body (i.e., the notion of the 'embodiment of meaning'). Furthermore, it was illustrated that for the present research, the semantic potential of the target lexemes would not be understood as consisting of fixed semantic distinctions, but rather would exhibit prototypical and fuzzy uses (viz., the contrast between classical categorization and prototype theory). Finally, it was discussed how lexemes from modern languages might be organized in a radial network, exemplifying certain prototypical occurrences; yet due to this investigation's target language being ancient, a more diachronic analysis would be more fitting to chart semantic growth, rather than the utilization of a synchronic plotting which is deeply rooted in the researcher's intuition (i.e., linguistic competency) of the target language. A literature review was then provided of several linguistic analyses of English words and meanings which many BH scholars find to be related to the target lexemes. From Schlesinger (1979) this study learned to appreciate the

semantic spectrum a given sense may represent through his notion of different uses existing along a continuum of meanings. Stolz (2001) then introduced the notion of various senses having a preference for which semantic-partner it is paired with when derivation (or sense-extension) occurs. Kidd and Cameron-Faulkner (2008) spoke of the various means by which particular senses are primed or restricted for actual use (e.g., prototypical constructions or verbal valency collocations).

Chapter 3 then moved on to explore the various ways in which the semantic potential of the target lexemes have been modeled in BH studies. This investigation revealed the natural tendency to overestimate the importance of the semantic value a lexeme may represent, rather than the actual sense behind this interpretative affect (e.g., Koehler's heavy reliance on bolded glosses). Others went to the other extreme and focused on the schematic, at which point many sense-distinctions were lost (e.g., Baumgartner). A common critique permeating all treatments of the target lexemes was an unjustified dependence on intuition concerning the semantic demarcations made: no reasons were ever provided as motivations for the various semantic structures offered (e.g., BDB). In theory, WO was surprisingly sound, showing significant correlations with Tyler and Evans (2003); however, in actual praxis intuition as well as the notion of prototypicality (which they blended with frequency) seemed to be the main determiners of their semantic analysis. In short, all of the lexical analyses reviewed were unclear in their method of presentation and provided no motivation for the decisions of semantic demarcations which were made.

In order to provide coherency, replicability and to downplay the role of intuition, Chapter 4 introduced several sets of criteria introduced by Tyler and Evans (2003) which would be used to regulate the assessment of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential. Criteria for determining sense-distinction was described which would ensure a clear presentation of the various senses represented by the target languages as well as to provide a buffer from exaggerating their semantic potential (i.e., the polysemy fallacy). A set of criteria for identifying the primary sense was then posited which when worked out would specify the originating sense (i.e., the proto-scene) from which all others developed. From here, the theory of grammaticalization was introduced more fully and demonstrated how it could be used to chart the growth of עִם and אֵת's sense-extensions. Once the semantic network had been posited, it was explained how

an alternating perspective of this network would enhance one's understanding of the target lexeme's semantic potential. This could be done in two ways: 1) through an onomasiological/ semasiological interchange, and 2) by varying the level of abstraction (or resolution) in which the network is viewed.

Chapter 5 then applied the criteria, goals and vantage points to a study of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, and the resulting network. A total of six core senses were identified, which were equally represented by the target lexemes (i.e., In the Company of, Possession, Addition, Recipient, Shared Presence and Shared Activity). Also, four idiomatic expressions were recognized (i.e., Support, Devotion, Sexual Relations and Death), of which אֵת was only found in one (i.e., Devotion). Furthermore, three construction-contingent senses were taken note of (i.e., In front of, Source and Separation) in which אֵת held exclusive representation of one (i.e., In front of). The full semantic network was thus comprised of no less than thirteen distinct senses. Shared Presence – which describes a TR-LM configuration in which the TR is located in general spatial proximity to a LM – was identified as the proto-scene from which the remaining senses were derived. From here, these senses were organized in such a way that attempted to represent the semantic derivation of the resultant network. After a network was constructed, it was viewed from varying modes of lexical inquiry, ranging from a more polysemous, semasiological point of view to a more monosemous, onomasiological perspective.

6.2 Concluding Comments

The results of this applied criteria and assumed vantage points were surprising concerning the comparison of עִם and אֵת's semantic potential, one against the other; for despite the idiomatic and construction based disparities, it was argued that such differences – though on the surface, seemed significant – were deemed as superficial moments of semantic distinction, and not defining characteristics.[129] The unexpected consequence of such a decision is that if both עִם and אֵת do indeed share the same core senses – and these peripheral differences are not to be considered influential features –, then there is no reason to assume that the target

129. Admittedly, more research needs to be focused in the area of making sense of the statistical and semantic disparity accompanying the target lexeme's association with the מִן prefix.

lexemes are anything other than (at the very least) near synonyms. Preuss (1974: 449) echoes both this sentiment and deduction stating:

> "In the history of languages, it is extraordinary when two different words belonging to the same chronological period of a language have the same meanings. Yet the OT reflects no essential difference in the meanings or uses of אֵת and עִם either as to the historical periods when they occur or as to the genres in which they appear."[130]

The reason this is unexpected is due to the type of word class the target lexemes belong, namely, particles (or more specifically, prepositions). These types of lexical units exist in what is called a closed class, viz., there is a select and limited number to convey an ever evolving amount of relational situations (be they interpersonal, spatial, stative, etc.). This is contrary to lexemes which belong to an open class, for example, nouns or verbs, for which there is an ever changing and expanding number of units to describe new meanings. Because of this, one would assume that as a language develops it would maximize the semantic potential of lexemes belonging to closed class word types due to the limited nature of their existence. In other words, semantic redundancy would presumably be a feature to be downplayed in a given language. Yet far from this, עִם and אֵת seem to constitute two lexemes of a closed class that primarily express the same types of relations (viz., spatial and non-spatial). What is certain, though a topic for future studies, is that as the BH language evolved, עִם continued in both frequency and development while אֵת dwindled to non-existence as far as its use as a preposition is concerned.[131] Thus, it is undeniable that one of the two lexemes eventually eclipsed the other, yet under the current study and within the closed corpus of the Pentateuch, it has been demonstrated that עִם and אֵת indicate remarkably similar senses and even function complementarily throughout the Pentateuch (viz., as one's frequency increases, the other drops and vice-versa). In conclusion then, there seems no other way to understand the two lexemes comparatively, than to recognize them as (at least) near synonyms.

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130. The last half of the final sentence, concerning the target lexeme's similarity *throughout eras and genres* cannot be assumed as definitive for the present author, as a mere perusal through Preuss' assessment of these lexemes' semantic potential shares the same flaws as the other lexicographers reviewed earlier (e.g., polysemy fallacy, no clear sense-demarcations, an over-reliance on glosses). Despite not presenting עִם and אֵת's semantic potential in a clear or motivated manner, still, Preuss rightly recognizes the similarities among these lexemes' gamut of senses – be they distinct or a sense's function.

131. This development is noted by several lexicographers, cf. Preuss (1974: 449) and Vetter (1997: 919). Furthermore, consider the statistical dispersion of עִם and אֵת's occurrences in Chronicles (what is commonly accepted as being reflective of older BH): עִם appears 170x, while אֵת only occurs 28x.

6.3 Areas for Future Research

One of the major difficulties in assessing the semantic potential of the target lexemes was that within linguistic circles, the literature is typically restricted to discussing a specific set of spatial particles; and though a linguist's method may be observable in his treatment of other lexemes, the fact that none have been done (to the author's knowledge) that may be considered English semantic counterparts of עִם and אֵת, does not lighten the load of assessing a lexeme which has been given very limited attention. This unfortunate trend of neglect means that other particles which communicate different types of spatial dimensions (e.g., lateral relationships or similar aspects of *general* spatial proximity) remain unobserved. Moreover, it is typical of modern lexical analyses to only cover the *spatial* senses of a target lexeme, rather than to explore the realm of non-spatial uses; and of course, עִם and אֵת are loaded with contexts in which a gamut of social interrelations are conveyed – which consequently affect עִם and אֵת's semantic potential in non-spatial matters. Thus, it would seem beneficial (though bold) to venture out into the dark waters of non-spatial meanings which spatial lexemes regularly encode. It is hoped that in the future, less typical lexemes will be chosen for linguistic inquiry: *near*, *with*, *beside*, *among* rather than *on*, *in*, *at*, *under* or the notorious *over*.[132] But for the moment, other spatial dimensions (such as lateral presence) and schemas (like TOGETHER-APART) remain largely untapped.[133]

It should be clear by this point that another area of future research is to try and make more sense of the compound based disparities between עִם and אֵת (i.e., when these lexemes occur with the מִן prefix or are followed by פְּנֵי), for there is significant variation in both meaning and frequency.

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132. A sample may consist of the following: *on/onto*, *in/into*, *at*, *to*, *towards*: Cienki (1989); *in*, *at*, *on*: Evans 2010 and Herskovits (1986); *over*: Taylor (2003), Tyler and Evans (2001) and Lakoff (1987); *in-out*, *over-under*, *above-below*, *up-down*, *to-for*, *in front of-behind*, *before-after*: Tyler and Evans (2003). A BH endeavor underway that will prove highly insightful considering the array of spatial dimensions encoded by the target lexeme is being conducted by Mena (forthcoming) who is treating the BH lexeme עַל.

133. And if linguistics and specifically the Cognitive enterprise – which is particularly fond of and well-suited for discussing the peculiarities of adpositions – are stuck in a rut of only assessing a handful of the same group of prepositions, it is not surprising to note that biblical studies are further behind, as new analyses incorporating linguistic advances are scarce (though they seem to be picking up steam).

Another promising area worthy of future study is to explore the manner in which עִם and אֵת develop as their usages extend into later eras and different genres. A particularly fruitful semantic venture would be to explore the target lexemes' uses in the Psalms, for this represents another closed corpus of a fixed genre (as the Pentateuch was for this study) that is ripe possibilities for new meanings to emerge as the compactness of poetry demands that conventional ranges of semantic potential be exploited.[134]

One method of semantic inquiry not fully addressed in the current thesis is that of 'frame semantics', first introduced by Fillmore (2006).[135] A 'frame' basically represents the linguistic backdrop (i.e., context) upon which a specific meaning is understood (Evans and Green 2006: 222). This approach places a healthy amount of explanatory dependence upon the (cultural) context in which a lexical unit is used, rather than exaggerating the semantic import a linguistic prompt may encode. With this said, a promising area of future study would entail a complementary implementation of frame semantics with the notion of functional consequences (introduced earlier). Both approaches consider the non-spatial features which influence a lexeme's network of senses. In short, frame semantics sets the stage for which the functional relations may be understood. Thus, the dual application of both approaches with a focus on the complementary interplay between the two would yield an enhanced appreciation of a lexeme's semantic potential as a deeper awareness of the activated frame in a given proposition helps one determine the functional consequence of the TR-LM configuration in that specific context.

Finally, an area of future research which is certain to yield elucidating finds would be to conduct an onomasiological survey of a sense like Possession, which would then trace back this meaning to lexemes such as לְ, בְּ, or עִם, leaving the researcher with the task of observing

134. It is understood that the Pentateuch (and the BH psalter, as well) does not necessarily – or even likely – represent a synchronic layer of BH. Furthermore, no distinctions were attempted in this research to distinguish between the different eras, authors or redactors. The unifying features spoken of above are genre and literary unit coherency.

135. For a BH study which takes full advantage of how this method of analysis may help assess a spatial lexeme's semantic potential, see Rodriguez (2011).

the similarities and differences between how the target lexemes represent the target sense. This model of lexical inquiry is highly undervalued (and thus often not employed) in studies of BH – mainly, due to the fact that it is difficult enough to ascertain the semantic potential of a single lexeme, which leads to the typical semasiological endeavor.[136] Nonetheless, there is much to learn from a meaning-based departure, rather than one based in a single form.

136. It is in this regard that the present study was enhanced and benefitted; namely, that both a semasiological and onomasiological inquiry was able to be made between the two target lexemes and their corresponding senses.

Appendix I: Semantic Potential of עִם

Shared Presence[137]	*Describes a TR located in general proximity to a LM*
Gen 3.6; 19.30; 21.22; 22.5; 24.54; 25.11; 26.3, 28a; 27.44; 28.15; 29.14, 19*; 31.3, 5*, 38, 50; 32.5, 7; 33.1, 15; 35.2, 3, 4, 6; 48.21; **Ex** 3.12; 4.12, 15; 10.10; 18.6; 18.18, 19; 22.13, 29; 24.14; 34.28; **Lev** 25.6, 35b, 40a, 47b; **Num** 22.8, 9; **Deut** 15.16; 20.1; 23.17; 29.14 (2x); 31.8, 23; 32.34*	
'arbitration'	**Ex** 18.18; 24.14
'company'	**Gen** 3.6; 19.30; 24.54; 31.50; 32.6; 33.1, 15; 35.2; 35.6; **Ex** 18.6; 22.13; **Deut** 29.14 (2x)
'reference'	**Gen** 22.5; 25.11; 35.4
'residency'	**Gen** 27.44; 29.14, 19; 32.5; **Ex** 34.28; **Lev** 25.6, 35b; **Num** 22.8; **Deut** 23.17
'safekeeping'	**Deut** 32.34
'service'	**Gen** 31.38; **Lev** 25.47b; **Deut** 15.16
'support'	**Deut** 32.12, 39

In the Company of	*Describes a TR that is in the company of a LM*
Gen 23.4 (2x); **Ex** 22.24; **Lev** 25.6, 23*, 45 (2x), 47a, 47c; **Deut** 10.9; 14.27, 29; 18.1	
'(residential) envelopment'	**Gen** 23.4 (2x)
'(residential) immersion'	**Ex** 22.24; **Lev** 25.6, 23, 45 (2x), 47a, 47c

137. **Gen** 18.16, **Ex** 34.5, and **Deut** 5.31 remain fuzzy cases, showing family resemblances with both Shared Presence and Shared Activity.

Shared Activity	*Describes the shared participation of an activity between a TR and a LM*
Gen 13.1; 18.16; 19.32, 34; 21.10 (2x)[138]; 24.58; 26.20 (2x); 29.6, 9 (2x), 28b; 29.25, 27, 30; 30.8, 15; 31.23, 24, 29 (2x); 32.25, 26, 29 (2x); 39.7, 10, 12, 14; 42.38; 43.34; 44.33; 46.4; 47.30; 48.1; 50.9; **Ex** 10.24, 26; 13.19; 14.6; 17.2a, 2b*, 8; 18.12; 19.9, 24; 20.19 (2x), 22; 21.3; 22.15, 18; 23.1, 5; 24.2, 8; 33.9, 12, 16; 34.3; **Lev** 15.33 25.40 (2x), 41, 50 (2x), 53; 26.21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 40, 41; **Num** 10.32a; 11.16, 17; 13.31; 14.43; 22.12, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22, 35 (2x), 39; 23.21; **Deut** 2.7; 4.23; 5.2, 4; 9.9, 10; 20.4 (2x), 20; 22.22 (2x), 23, 25 (2x), 28, 29; 27.20, 21, 22, 23; 29.11, 24; 31.6, 16	
'accompany'	**Gen** 13.1; 18.16, 24.58; 29.6, 9b; 31.23; 42.38; 44.33; 48.1; 50.9; **Ex** 10.24, 26; 13.19; 14.6; 19.24; 21.3; 24.2; 29.9b; 33.16; 34.3; **Lev** 25.41; **Num** 10.32a; 13.31; 22.12, 13, 14, 21, 22, 35 (2x), 39
'collaboration'	**Ex** 18.12; 23.5; **Lev** 25.50a; **Num** 11.16
'collusion'	**Ex** 23.1
'communication'	**Gen** 29.9a; 31.24, 29b; **Ex** 19.9; 20.19 (2x), 22; 33.9; **Num** 11.17; 22.19; **Deut** 5.4; 9.10
'covenant making'	**Gen** 26.28b; **Ex** 24.8; **Deut** 4.23; 5.2; 9.9; 29.11, 24
'fellowship	**Gen** 43.34
'inclusion'	**Gen** 21.10 (2x)
'opposition'	**Gen** 26.20 (2x); 30.8; 32.25, 26; **Ex** 17.2a, 2b, 8; **Lev** 26.21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 40, 41; **Deut** 20.4b, 20
'service'	**Gen** 29.25, 27, 30; **Lev** 25.40 (2x), 50b, 53

Recipient	*Describes a profiled LM which is the recipient of some activity of an oriented TR*
Gen 3.12*; 19.19*; 20.9*, 13*; 21.23a, 23b*, 23c; 24.12, 14; 26.29 (2x); 31.2, 7*, 29a; 32.10, 13; 40.14*; 47.29*; **Deut** 29.11	
'benefactive'	**Gen** 3.12; 19.19; 20.13; 21.23 (3x); 24.12, 14; 26.29b; 32.10, 13; 40.14; 47.29; **Deut** 29.11
'malevolent'	**Gen** 20.9; 26.29a; 31.2, 7, 29a

138. Could be the Addition sense.

Possession	*Describes a TR in spatial proximity to a LM which is understood as indicating the LM's possession of the TR*
Gen 24.25; 31.32a, 32b* (2x); **Num** 14.24; **Deut** 29.16	
'embodiment'	**Num** 14.24
'ownership'	**Gen** 24.25; 31.32b
'theft'	**Gen** 31.32a
'worship'	**Deut** 29.16

Addition	*Describes one entity (TR) being coupled with another (LM)*
Gen 18.23, 25; **Deut** 12.23; 32.14 (2x), 24, 25	
'accompany'	**Deut** 32.24
'complement'	**Deut** 32.14 (2x)
'expansion'	**Deut** 32.25
'inclusion'	**Gen** 18.23, 25; **Deut** 12.23

Support[139]	*Describes a superior TR in shared presence/activity with an inferior LM*
Gen 21.22; 26.3, 28; 28.15; 31.3, 5; 35.3; 46.4; 48.21; **Ex** 3.12; 4.12, 15; 10.10; 18.19; 33.12; **Num** 14.43; 23.21; **Deut** 2.7; 20.1, 4a; 31.6, 8, 23; 32.12, 39*	

Sexual Relations	*Describes the shared participation of sexual intercourse between a TR and a LM*
Gen 19.32, 34; 30.15; 39.7, 10, 12, 14; **Ex** 22.15, 18; **Lev** 15.33; **Deut** 22.22 (2x), 23, 25 (2x), 28, 29; 27.20, 21, 22, 23	

139. While in the main body of this study, an attempt was made at expounding upon the various functions of the Support sense, it may as well be noted here that a representation of the various functional consequences associated with this particular sense are by far more blurred than distinct. Thus, it may be more helpful to be aware of some such functions, as posited earlier; these include: 'equipping', 'favor', 'prosperity', 'protection', 'security' and 'success'.

Death	*Describes the shared participation of death between a TR and a LM*
Gen 47.30; **Deut** 31.16	

Separation	*Describes a TR which is separated from spatial proximity with a LM*
Gen 13.14; 24.27; 26.16; 31.31; 44.29(+); 48.12; **Ex** 8.8, 25, 26; 9.33; 10.6, 18; 11.8; 21.14; 22.11, 13; **Lev** 25.41; **Deut** 15.12, 13, 16, 18; 23.16; 29.17	
'departure'	**Gen** 13.14*;* **Deut** 23.16; 26.16
'dispossession'	**Gen** 31.31; Ex 22.11
'intercession'	**Ex** 8.8, 25, 26; 9.33; 10.18
'judgment'	**Ex** 10.6; 11.8; 21.14
'possession'	**Ex** 22.13
'rejection'	**Deut** 29.17
'release'	**Lev** 25.41; **Deut** 15.12, 13, 16, 18
'removal'	**Gen** 24.27; 44.29; 48.12

Source	*Describes the LM from which a TR is derived from*
Gen 41.32; **Deut** 10.12; 18.16, 19; 23.22	
'agent'	**Gen 41.32**
'requests/ requirements'	**Deut** 10.12; 18.16, 19; 23.22

Appendix II: Semantic Potential of אֵת

Shared Presence[140]	*Describes a TR located in general proximity to a LM*
Gen 7.13, 23; 8.1, 17a; 9.8, 10b, 10c, 12; 14.5; 20.16; 21.20; 22.5; 24.32, 55; 26.24; 28.4[141]; 32.8; 33.15b; 34.5; 39.2, 3, 21, 23; 40.4; 41.12; 42.32, 33; 43.3, 5, 16 (2x); 44.26 (2x), 30, 34; 45.1; **Ex** 2.21; 28.1, 41; 29.21 (2x); **Lev** 8.30 (2x); 10.9, 14, 15; **Num** 1.4; 14.9; 18.1 (2x), 11, 19 (2x); 22.40; **Deut** 22.2; 31.8	
'company'	**Gen** 7.13, 23; 8.1, 17a; 9.8, 10b, 10c, 12; 14.5; 20.16; 24.32; 28.4; 32.7; 33.15; 41.12; 42.33; 43.3, 5, 16 (2x); 44.26 (2x), 30, 34; 45.1; **Ex** 28.1, 41; 29.21 (2x); 31.6; 38.23; **Lev** 8.30 (2x); 10.9, 14, 15; **Num** 18.1 (2x), 11, 19 (2x); 22.40
'reference'	**Gen** 34.5; 42.32
'representative'	**Num** 1.4
'residency'	**Gen** 24.55; **Ex** 2.21
'stewardship'	**Gen** 30.29; **Deut** 22.2
'supervisor'	**Gen** 40.4

In the Company of	*Describes a TR that is in the company of a LM*
Gen 34.10, 16, 22, 23; **Ex** 12.48; **Lev** 19.33, 34; **Num** 9.14; 15.14, 16	
'(residential) envelopment'	**Lev** 16.16
'(residential) immersion'	**Ex** 12.48; **Lev** 19.33, 34; **Num** 9.14; 15.14, 16
'(residential) subsumption'	**Gen** 34.10, 16, 22, 23

140. Gen 6.19 is fuzzy, showing family resemblances with both Shared Presence and Shared Activity.

141. Could be the Addition sense.

In front of (+)	*Describes a TR that is positioned in front of an oriented LM*
Gen 19.13[142], 27; 33.18; **Ex** 32.11; 34.23, 24; **Lev** 4.6, 17; **Deut** 16.16 (2x); 31.11	
'awareness'	**Gen** 19.13, 27; **Ex** 32.11
'presentation'	**Ex** 34.23, 24; **Deut** 16.16 (2x); 31.11
'reference'	**Gen** 33.18; **Lev** 4.6, 17

Shared Activity	*Describes the shared participation of an activity between a TR and a LM*
Gen 4.1; 6.18b; 7.7; 8.16, 17b, 18; 11.31; 12.4; 13.5; 14.2, 8, 9 (2x), 24; 17.3, 23, 27; 22.3; 23.8a; 24.40; 26.8; 34.6, 8; 35.13, 14, 15; 37.2 (3x); 41.9; 42.4, 7, 30; 43.4, 8; 44.23; 45.15; 46.6; 50.7, 14; **Ex** 1.1; 12.38; 13.19; 17.5; 18.22; 25.22; 31.18; 34.27 (2x), 29, 32, 33, 34, 35; **Lev** 8.2; **Num** 1.5; 3.1; 7.89; 10.29; 11.17; 22.20; 23.13; 26.3; 32.29, 30; **Deut** 5.3 (2x), 24; 19.5; 28.69 (2x); 31.7, 16	
'accompany'	**Gen** 6.18b; 7.7; 8.17b, 18; 11.31; 12.4; 13.5; 14.24; 22.3; 42.4; 43.4, 8; 44.23; 46.6; 50.7, 14; **Ex** 1.1; 12.38; 13.19; 17.5; 28.1; **Lev** 8.2; **Num** 10.29; 22.20; 23.13; 32.29, 30; **Deut** 19.5; 31.7
'communication'	**Gen** 17.3, 23; 23.8a; 34.6, 8; 35.13, 14, 15; 41.9; 42.7, 30; 45.15; **Ex** 25.22; 31.18; 34.29, 32, 33, 34, 35; **Num** 3.1; 7.89; 26.3; **Deut** 5.24
'collaboration'	**Gen** 4.1; **Ex** 18.22; **Num** 1.5; 11.17
'covenant making'	**Ex** 34.27 (2x); **Deut** 5.3 (2x); 28.69 (2x); 31.16
'fellowship'	**Gen** 26.8
'inclusion'	**Gen** 17.27; 37.2 (3x); 43.16b
'opposition'	**Gen** 14.2, 8, 9 (2x)

142. This is certainly a fuzzy use (viz., inanimate, oriented TR) and may constitute a new distinct sense, one in which both TR and LM are oriented towards each other (i.e., the Before sense). Similarly, Deut 18.13 represents an unusual use of עִם which may represent the Before sense, as well.

Recipient	*Describes a profiled LM which is the recipient of some activity of an oriented TR*
Gen 6.18; 9.9 (2x), 10, 11; 15.18; 17.4, 19, 21; 32.11; 34.21; **Ex** 2.24 (3x); 6.4; **Lev** 26.9, 44; **Deut** 29.13, 14 (2x)	
'benefactive'	**Gen** 6.18; 9.9, 10a, 11; 15.8; 17.4, 19, 21; 32.11; 34.21; **Ex** 2.24 (3x); 6.4; **Lev** 26.9, 44; **Deut** 29.13, 14 (2x)
'malevolent'	**Gen** 20.9; 26.29a; 31.2, 7, 29a

Possession	*Describes a TR in spatial proximity to a LM which is understood as indicating the LM's possession of the TR*
Gen 27.15; 30.33; 44.9, 10; **Ex** 35.23, 24; **Lev** 5.23; **Num** 32.32; **Deut** 15.3	
'ownership'	**Gen** 27.15; **Ex** 35.23, 24; **Num** 32.32; **Deut** 15.3
'theft'	**Gen** 30.33; 44.9, 10
'safekeeping'	**Lev** 5.23

Addition	*Describes one entity (TR) being coupled with another (LM)*
Gen 6.13; **Deut** 29.18	
'inclusion'	**Gen** 6.13; **Deut** 29.18

Support	*Describes a superior TR in shared presence/activity with an inferior LM in which support is rendered by the former to the latter*
Gen 21.20; 24.40; 26.24; 39.2, 3, 21, 23; **Num** 14.9	

Devotion	*Describes an inferior TR in shared activity with a superior LM in which religious compliance is rendered by the former to the latter*
Gen 5.22, 24; 6.9	

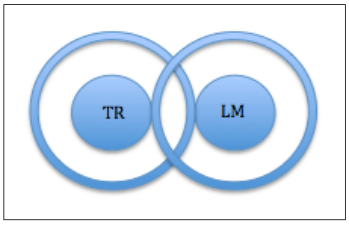
Separation	*Describes a TR which is separated from spatial proximity with a LM*
Gen 8.8; 26.27, 31; 27.30(+); 38.1; 42.24; 44.28; **Ex** 5.20; 10.11(+); **Lev** 10.4(+); **Num** 31.2	
'appropriation'	**Num 31.2**
'departure'	**Gen** 26.31; 27.30; 38.1; 44.28; **Ex** 5.20
'detainment'	**Gen** 42.24
'expulsion'	**Gen** 26.27; **Ex** 10.11
'scout'	**Gen** 8.8

Source	*Describes the LM from which a TR is derived from*
Gen 17.27; 19.24; 23.20; 25.10; 43.34(+); 47.22; 49.30, 32; 50.13; **Ex** 11.2 (2x); 25.2, 3; 27.21; 29.28 (2x); 30.16; 35.5; **Lev** 7.34 (2x), 36; 16.5; 24.8; 25.15, 36, 44; 27.24; **Num** 3.9; 7.5, 84; 8.11; 11.31; 16.35; 17.17 (2x); 18.26 (2x), 28; 31.3, 28, 51, 52 (2x); 35.8 (2x); **Deut** 2.8; 18.3 (2x)	
'exceedence'	**Deut** 2.8[143]
'distribution'	**Gen** 43.34; 47.22; **Ex** 30.16
'membership'	**Num** 31.3
'origin'	**Gen** 19.24; **Ex** 25.2, 3; **Num** 11.31; 16.35; 17.17 (2x); 18.26b, 28
'possession transfer'	**Gen** 17.27; 23.20; 25.10; 49.30, 32; 50.13; **Ex** 11.2 (2x); 29.28 (2x); 35.5; **Lev** 7.34 (2x), 36; 16.5; 24.8; 25.15, 36, 44 (/'origin'); 27.24; **Num** 3.9; 7.5, 84; 8.11; 18.26a; 31.28, 51, 52 (2x); 35.8 (2x); **Deut** 18.3 (2x)

143. This is certainly representative of a fuzzy case, which may be convey the Beyond sense; regardless, it is at least a derivation of this Source sense.

Appendix III: Proposed Diagrammatic Representations

Above (2.2), when some weaknesses of Cognitive semantics were pointed out by Riemer (2010), one particular shortcoming that could not be answered for was the ambiguity that often accompanies diagrammatic representations. For the current research, it was then decided that it would be better not to rely on them at all. Nonetheless, several samples of what a schematic diagram might look like for some of the target lexemes' senses will be posited below, with explanatory comments on what is intended to be represented as well as the ambiguity which inevitably surfaces.



Shared Presence: *Describes a TR located in general proximity to a LM*

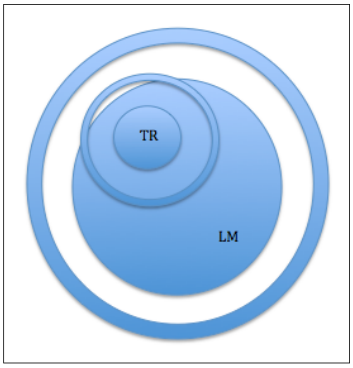
The solid circle is meant to denote the entity which the TR or LM represents. The hollowed thin circle is intended to convey something which needs more explaining. In a very peculiar manner, it seems that each entity emits its own invisible and imaginary field of space. In such a case, one can either be considered inside this circle (and thus be עִם a LM), or outside (and be מֵעִם [*from*] a LM, or simply לְבַד [*alone*] – depending on whether proximity or presence is profiled).[144] The actual range of this imagined (yet perceived) spatial parameter varies with context and according to the nature of the TR-LM entities. For example, if one is said to be living עִם another, this could mean inside their household, in their neighborhood or even among the same larger territory.

From here, it is not difficult to perceive how once shared proximity is involved between two humans, an activity might also be shared. At this point, however, there is uncertainty as to how this non-spatial, actional sense is best represented via diagrams. This then entails difficulties with representing the other extensions of Shared Activity, i.e., Recipient and the remaining idioms).

144. It may help to think of this invisible field of space, more metaphorically, as being inside or outside the *city limits* of a particular town.

A remaining question for the above diagram of Shared Presence is: What is different from this sense of עִם and another lexeme that more regularly conveys close proximity, e.g., עַל, אֶצֶל עַל־יָדוֹ, (*beside* or *next to*), or the spatial proximity between animate and inanimate entities, e.g., אֶל אַל, בְּ (*by*)? How are these differences to be accounted for? Through a diagram with more TR-LM overlap (but then what becomes the standard that spatial deviation might be marked)? Through varying levels of thickness for the projected imaginary spatial field? Questions like these seem unavoidable, and similarly, more cumbersome to deal with than profitable to sort through.

While uncertainty tends to rise with the representational distancing from spatial scenes, it can be less complicated when the schematic diagram is restricted to indicating things strictly spatial. As previously argued, the most natural derivational-extension from Shared Presence – which maintains a largely spatial meaning – is that of In the Company of, represented by the following schematic diagram.



In the Company of: *Describes a TR that is in the company of a LM*

In this case, the TR and its imaginary spatial parameter are enveloped by a larger LM and its respective spatial, or non-spatial (viz., recall qualitative envelopment) parameter. At the same time, what restricts this diagram from indicating a TR being located *inside* (e.g., בְּ) a LM, indicating a CONTAINMENT schema rather than one of CENTER-PERIPHERY? Again, the ambiguity which necessarily accompanies diagrammatic representations is attested to, illustrating the preference of the current researcher to rely on other explanatory tools.

Simply put, in conclusion, the moment one begins to use diagrams for semantic and schematic representation, lucid and restrained interpretation becomes highly suspect and quickly strained. Yet, as mentioned earlier, though this ambiguity be the natural consequences of how meaning is derived and understood (via embodiment), it nonetheless does not seem to be a promising explanatory tool if one seeks to expound upon a particular sense with certain focus, given this innate capacity for over-representation due to its under-specification.

Appendix IV: Undetermined and Difficult Uses

There are several uses of the target lexemes that were particularly troublesome in understanding; others still remain this way. Some of these will now briefly be confessed to and commented upon.

Undetermined Uses

Deut 8.5

וְיָדַעְתָּ **עִם**־לְבָבֶךָ כִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יְיַסֵּר אִישׁ
אֶת־בְּנוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מְיַסְּרֶךָּ

Thus you are to know **in/with/ through/by** your heart that YHWH your God was disciplining you just as a father disciplines his son.

Deut 15.9

הִשָּׁמֶר לְךָ פֶּן־יִהְיֶה דָבָר **עִם**־לְבָבְךָ

Beware that there is no base thought **in/with** your heart/mind.

Deut 8.5 and 15.9 both mention עִם in relation to one's לֵבָב *mind/heart*. The difficulties surrounding these uses are partly due to the lack of cultural sensitivity a modern reader possesses concerning how exactly לֵבָב was conceptualized in the BH mind. Deut 8.5 could indicate Manner (specifying *how* one should know, viz., "deep down inside"), Means (to know *with/through* one's לֵבָב), Instrument (to use one's לֵבָב as a tool for knowing), or some sort of metaphorical locative (specifying *where* this faculty of knowing should take place). Deut 15.9 may also be understood as indicating this metaphorical locative expression and possibly stems from the Shared Presence//'residency' sense-function combination, viz., a base thought could be personified as the guest of someone's mental abode. Whatever the case, at this point, the role such uses play in עִם's semantic network remain undetermined.

Gen 23.8

וַיְדַבֵּר אִתָּם לֵאמֹר אִם־יֵשׁ **אֶת**־נַפְשְׁכֶם
לִקְבֹּר אֶת־מֵתִי מִלְּפָנַי שִׁמְעוּנִי
וּפִגְעוּ־לִי בְּעֶפְרוֹן בֶּן־צֹחַר

And he said to them, "If it is **with** your wish that I remove my dead for burial, you must agree to intercede for me with Ephron, son of Zohar.

It is difficult to pinpoint what exactly אֵת is communicating here. This possibly represents a distinct sense, derived from Shared Presence (with an inanimate TR and LM) in which the non-spatial meaning could be Congruency; though certainly, this reflects a more idiomatic line of thought. Nonetheless, there remains the possibility that this usage is representative of a distinct sense not yet identified in אֵת's network. A larger sample consisting of similar constructions would certainly bring more determinative weight in such cases.

Deut 18.13

תָּמִים תִּהְיֶה **עִם** יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ	You shall be blameless/ undivided **before/with** YHWH your God.

This verse potentially illustrates the Manner sense, describing the way in which a TR's activity must be done in relation to a LM: in this case, between man (and his behavior) and God. If so, this particular use may be understood as being derived from the Devotion sense in which an inferior entity is described in relation to a superior entity (or perhaps the original development was the other way around). If this is the case, it could be representative of an implicature that eventually, through pragmatic strengthening, became understood as indicating the manner in which one is to behave. On the other hand, this use could also be a fuzzy case of Recipient in which God (LM) is the recipient of a man's loyalty (TR). All is speculation however, at this point. Similar data and more instances of this "Manner" sense are needed.

Difficult Uses to Identify

Gen 31.2

וַיַּרְא יַעֲקֹב אֶת־פְּנֵי לָבָן וְהִנֵּה אֵינֶנּוּ **עִמּוֹ** כִּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשׁוֹם	And Jacob saw the face (i.e., attitude) of Laban, and behold, it was not with **him** as [it was] formerly.

Gen 31.2 exhibits a highly idiomatic use of עִם. In this expression, one's face is understood as being the conduit for one's emotions and attitude. Through metonymy, then, Laban's "face" can be directed as a force towards a recipient – in this case, Jacob. That עִם is best understood as communicating recipiency is evidenced in Gen 32.5 where the same construction is used, except that עִם is replaced with אֵל, viz., אֶת־פְּנֵי אֲבִיכֶן כִּי־אֵינֶנּוּ **אֵלַי**.

Two noteworthy uses of Support are found in Deut 32.12 and 39. Though it may clash with one's Western, scientific understanding of (ancient) deities, it would be a mistake to understand these verses as suggesting that there are no other gods in existence, save the God of Israel. Such a reading interprets עִם as indicating Addition and is more a reflection of isogesis than exegesis. The existence of other gods lies outside the scope of these declarations. Instead, the God of Israel is understood as asserting his independence from needing the assistance of other deities to do his work (Tigay 1996: 304, 313). In self-proclamation, he affirms that he is perfectly capable of managing life and death all by himself. He needs no other – *he* is his own support!

Deut 32.12

יְהוָה בָּדָד יַנְחֶנּוּ וְאֵין **עִמּוֹ** אֵל נֵכָר	YHWH alone guided him; there was no other foreign god **supporting** him.

Deut 32.39*

רְאוּ עַתָּה כִּי אֲנִי אֲנִי הוּא וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים **עִמָּדִי** אֲנִי אָמִית וַאֲחַיֶּה מָחַצְתִּי וַאֲנִי אֶרְפָּא וְאֵין מִיָּדִי מַצִּיל	See now that I am he, and there is no God **supporting** me: it is I who put to death and give life. I have wounded and it is I who heal, and there is no one who can deliver from my hand.

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