

The polysemic nature of the preposition מִן (*min*) in Biblical Hebrew: A study in the book of Judges

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Abstract

This study investigates the polysemy of the preposition *מִן* (*min*) in Biblical Hebrew. The complexity relating to the senses of this preposition has long been recognised, but existing sources differ about the primary sense of *מִן* (*min*), as well as the delimitation of the derived senses. In order to provide a more systematic account of the senses of *מִן* (*min*) the principled polysemy approach, which was developed by Tyler and Evans (2003), was employed. This methodology is grounded in the theoretical framework of cognitive semantics. The criteria provided for determining the primary sense point to a sense in which *מִן* (*min*) indicates both locational source and separation. These two elements are both present in the primary sense. By applying criteria for determining distinct senses, ten additional usages of *מִן* (*min*) were identified, namely, material source, partitive, cause, agent, origin, position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, and time. It was shown that all these senses are related to the primary sense in a substantiated way. A semantic network for the preposition *מִן* (*min*) was proposed in which it was shown that half of the senses are more related to the source element in the primary sense and the other half to the separation element of the primary sense.

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Abbreviations

Transliteration notation:¹

Name	Hebrew letter	Transliteration
Consonants		
aleph	א	ʾ
beth	ב	<u>b</u>
gimel	ג	<u>ḡ</u>
daleṯ	ד	<u>d</u>
he	ה	<i>h</i>
waw	ו	<i>w</i>
zayin	ז	<i>z</i>
ḥeṯ	ח	<u>ḥ</u>
ṯeṯ	ט	<u>ṯ</u>
yod	י	<i>y</i>
kaph	כ	<u>k</u>
lameḍ	ל	<i>l</i>
mem	מ	<i>m</i>
nun	נ	<i>n</i>
sameḵ	ס	<i>s</i>
ayin	ע	<i>ʿ</i>
pe	פ	<u>p̄</u>
ṣade	צ	<u>ṣ</u>
qoph	ק	<i>q</i>
reš	ר	<i>r</i>
šin	שׁ	<i>ś</i>
šin	שׂ	<i>š</i>
taw	ת	<u>t</u>
Vowels		
qāmeṣ	◌ִ	<i>ā</i>
ḥōlem	◌ֵ	<i>ō</i>
šērê	◌ֶ	<i>ē</i>
šûreq	◌ֹ	<i>û</i>
pataḥ	◌ַ	<i>a</i>
patah furtivum	◌ָ	<i>a</i>
səgōl	◌ִי	<i>e</i>
qibbûṣ	◌ִו	<i>u</i>

¹ The transliteration notation is based on the *Transliterated BHS Hebrew Old Testament* (Anstey, 2001). The transliteration of the Hebrew text throughout the study is also taken from this source.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 General background and problem statement

Language is an integral part of being human. It is made up of sound, meaning, forms, structure and vocabulary. The lexicon includes all the words in the language. In the lexicon we find open-class words and closed-class words. New words are constantly added to the open class, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives. Of the lexical types found in the closed class, such as conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns, the creation of new words is uncommon (Fromkin & Rodman, 1993:3, 17, 38–39).

In the following sentence, for example, we find three new words which did not exist fifty years ago:

(1) I will google it with the app on my iPhone.

Although the verb (google) and the nouns (app, iPhone) are new words, the two prepositions *with* and *on* are “old” words. In what sense do we mean that applications are **on** the iPhone? *On* in this sentence does not have a spatial meaning, as in “The plate is on the table”, and yet it was decided to use the established form *on* to describe the non-spatial relationship between an application and a device, like a smartphone or a computer. Accordingly, a new word was not invented to describe this relation, but *on* was chosen because the speaker knew that the hearer would understand what it means even in this new context. This is only possible if the meaning extension of the preposition is in some way systematic, otherwise the hearer would not have a good chance of understanding the utterance.

From the above example it is clear that, in English as a modern language, prepositions are constantly being used in new ways. Let us look at another example of a preposition, namely, *from*, which is used in both of the following sentences.

(2) The children came running from the park where they were playing.

(3) The lifestyle in Africa differs significantly *from* that in Europe.

Consider for a moment the meaning of *from* in these examples. In (2) the word indicates the children’s movement away from the park. In (3), however, it indicates

the difference between the lifestyle in Africa and that in Europe. Both meanings are nonetheless coded for by the lexical form *from*.

Biblical Hebrew as an ancient language displays this same phenomenon.¹ Consider the following two examples which contain the preposition מן (*min*):²

(4) Judges 9:43

הָעָם יָצָא מִן הָעִיר

hā^cām yōṣē^ʔ min-hā^cîr

The people were coming מן (*min*) the city.

(5) Judges 14:18

מָה מְתוֹק מִדְּבַשׁ וּמָה עֹז מִלֵּוֹי

ma^h-mmāṭôq middəbaš ūme^h az mē^ʔārî

What is sweet מן (*min*) honey? What is strong מן (*min*) a lion?"

In (4), מן (*min*) is used to indicate the source of the man's movement in physical space. In (5), on the other hand, it indicates the difference between the degree of, firstly, the sweetness and, secondly, the strength of two entities. Yet, these two meanings are also both encoded by the same lexical form מן (*min*).

The above examples from English and Biblical Hebrew are representative of the linguistic phenomenon called polysemy.³ Polysemy refers, in its simplest form, to one linguistic form having more than one distinct, yet related, meaning⁴ (Cuyckens & Zawada, 2001:x)

¹ Although this language is not a spoken language today, it is generally agreed that it was a living language that was preserved in the text of the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Waltke & O'Connor, 1990:4; Van der Merwe *et al.* 1999:15).

² This preposition corresponds in some contexts with the English preposition *from*.

³ This term is derived from two Greek terms, namely, *poly* (meaning *many*) and *sem* (meaning *meaning*) (Cuyckens & Zawada, 2001:x).

⁴ Although the polysemy of lexical items has been the major focus in research on polysemy, the polysemy of grammatical categories has also received considerable attention (cf., for example, Casad [2001], Smith [2001], Selvik [2001] and Hendrikse [2001]). According to Hendrikse (2001:185) "it now seems that the phenomenon of polysemy is manifested in virtually all domains of linguistic description, including morphology, syntax and intonation."

The preposition מִן (*min*) has long been recognised as having numerous meanings. This is clear from the fact that some of the trusted lexica and grammars⁵ list between seven and 16 “senses” or “uses” of מִן (*min*). In most cases these “senses” are also divided into further subdivisions. The fact that the different senses were listed under the same entry in the lexica testifies to the fact that the compilers of these lexica and grammars acknowledged that the senses of מִן (*min*) were related to each other in some way.⁶

Nerlich and Clarke (1997:348) point to the importance of the study of polysemy when they state that “the study of polysemy is of fundamental importance for any semantic study of language”. Scanlin (1992:125) notes, however, that the focus in traditional approaches to linguistics has mainly been on phonetics, morphology and syntax and not on semantics. Regarding the traditional dictionaries of Biblical Hebrew, Barr (1992:143) writes that the “semantic analysis of the older dictionaries seems often to be defective and needs to be rethought”. De Blois (2000:2) explains that although *some* semantic analysis was usually present, a thorough analysis of the concepts that lie behind the linguistic forms and how these concepts were perceived by the speakers of the language was lacking. Thus, although the multiplicity of the senses of מִן (*min*) has been well noted in the lexicographical and grammatical work on Biblical Hebrew, the principled study of polysemy in Biblical Hebrew has been neglected together with the neglect of semantics.⁷

In order to demonstrate how this general neglect has influenced the treatment of מִן (*min*), its entry in the dictionary by Brown, *et al.* (1979) will be discussed concisely.

In the lexicon by Brown *et al.*, nine main uses or “meanings” of this preposition have been identified. Each of these main uses is also subdivided, but for the sake of

⁵ Among others A grammar of Biblical Hebrew by Joüon and Muraoka (2006), Hebrew-Aramaic and English Lexicon of the Old Testament by Brown, Driver and Briggs (1907) and Waltke and O’Connor’s Introduction to Biblical Hebrew syntax (1990).

⁶ This follows from the fact that it is standard practice in dictionaries that “homophonous words have separate entries, whereas the various meanings of a polysemous word occur within the same entry” (Fromkin & Rodman, 1993:174–175).

⁷ The problem regarding the treatment of polysemous lexical items in Biblical Hebrew lexica has also been noted by Lübke (1992). He has not, however, looked into the polysemy of prepositions.

brevity these subdivisions will not be discussed here. The following is thus a summary of the entry for *ገን* (*min*) in Brown *et al.* (1979:577–583):

1. with verbs expressing (or implying) separation or removal, whether from a person or place, or in any direction.
2. Out of;
3. Partitively;
4. Of time;
5. From ... even, to;
6. In comparisons “beyond, above” hence in English than;
7. Prefixed to an infinitive;
8. As conjunction before a finite verb;
9. In compounds.

From the above list of meanings or uses, it can be seen that this dictionary does not make a clear distinction between syntactic and semantic information. Van der Merwe (2004:122–123) notes that this is a common problem with the existing dictionaries. He further explains that it is not always clear to what extent the syntactic information that is provided contributes to our semantic understanding of a lexical item. In no. 7, for example, the use of *ገን* (*min*) when prefixed to an infinitive is treated. In subdivision c. of no. 7, it is said to be used with a temporal force, meaning *since* or *after*. In no. 4, however, the temporal use of *ገን* (*min*) has already been treated. In subdivision b. of no. 4, it is also said to mean *after*. It would seem, then, that this division between *ገን* (*min*) with an infinitive, meaning *after*, and *ገን* (*min*) with a noun, also meaning *after*, is made on syntactic instead of semantic grounds.

Added to the problem of the confusion of syntactic and semantic information is the fact that different senses have been identified apparently on the basis of the appropriate English translation. One example of this can be seen when comparing senses no. 1 and 2. The first sense is said to occur “with verbs expressing (or implying) separation or removal, whether from a person or a place ...”. The second sense of *ገን* (*min*) is described as occurring together with verbs of “proceeding, removing, expelling, etc.” A question arises as to what the difference between “verbs expressing ... separation or removal” and verbs of “proceeding, removing, expelling”

is. It appears that these two uses of the preposition have been distinguished from each other based on the English words that are appropriate in the translations, namely, *from* and *out of*, respectively. It is not clear whether this really is a semantic difference or merely a syntactical one based partly on the syntax of English.

As noted previously, the different grammars and lexica that have treated מִן (*min*) mainly identified a different number of senses for it.⁸ These works also listed and grouped the senses differently. As the representative example from Brown *et al.* revealed, the identification of the different senses of מִן (*min*) was not necessarily based on a solid semantic foundation. All of this points to the confusion that exists with regard to the way in which the senses of מִן (*min*) should be delineated and organised.

The problem that arises can, hence, be formulated as follows: How do the senses of the polysemic preposition מִן (*min*) relate to each other based on the data found in Judges?

From this problem statement flows the following research questions, which need to be answered in this study:

- What is the primary sense of מִן (*min*)
- How should the distinct senses of מִן (*min*) be delineated?
- How are these senses related to the primary sense and to each other?

1.2 Central theoretical argument

The preposition מִן (*min*) is polysemic and it has a primary sense from which, based on certain cognitive processes, the other distinct senses developed in a structured way.

1.3 Methodological framework

The methodology that was used to test the above-mentioned hypothesis is called the principled polysemy approach. It was developed by Tyler and Evans (2003) and is

⁸ Each of the works that were consulted will be treated in detail in section 2.1.

grounded in the larger field of cognitive linguistics⁹ and, more specifically, cognitive semantics. It aims to provide a theoretically sound methodology for determining a primary sense for a spatial preposition, as well as for determining when a sense should count as a distinct sense.

One of the foundational characteristics of cognitive linguistics is that it views language as being all about meaning¹⁰ (Geeraerts, 2006a:3). Because of the focus on meaning, cognitive semantics is a major subfield of cognitive linguistics.¹¹ It is in this area of research that the polysemy of prepositions has received much attention since the 1980s (Nerlich & Clarke, 1997:352). However, with the explosion of the literature on the polysemy of prepositions, much confusion has arisen as to how the senses and the semantic network of prepositions should be treated (Cuyckens & Zawada, 2001:xvii).

With the principled polysemy approach, Tyler and Evans (2003) aimed to provide a methodology that would allow researchers to study the polysemy of lexical forms systematically. Accordingly, they propose two sets of criteria: one set for determining what the primary sense of a preposition should be, and another set for determining when a sense should be considered as a distinct sense (Tyler & Evans, 2003:42, 47–49). To answer the research questions posed by this study, the data will be tested against the two sets of criteria mentioned above.

1.4 Delimitation

The data that will be used to test the hypothesis will be taken from the book of Judges in the Hebrew Bible. This book was chosen because other books or portions of the Hebrew Bible contain either too many or too few examples of this ubiquitous

⁹ It is important to note that the term “cognitive linguistics” is subject to different interpretations. When it is understood broadly, any approach to language in which language is viewed as being situated in the minds of the speakers and in which linguistic description is taken to be a hypothesis about the mental state of the speaker can be termed “cognitive”. The term is used here to refer to the narrower meaning of it; namely, to refer to a movement which developed in the late 1970s and early 1980s mainly as a reaction against some of the trends of Chomskyan and formalist linguistics (Taylor, 2006:569).

¹⁰ This contrasts with generative grammar in which the focus was primarily on syntactic structures and rules (Geeraerts, 2006a:3).

¹¹ Another subfield of cognitive linguistics is cognitive grammar. In this theory it is claimed that grammatical structures are inherently symbolic instead of an independent level of representation or formal system (Langacker, 2006:29 [originally published in 1990]).

preposition for the dimensions of this study.¹² This book furthermore presents us with mostly narrative material¹³ in which the use of *מִן* (*min*) will likely reflect its more typical or natural uses. For this study, all the occurrences of *מִן* (*min*) in Judges will be taken into account.¹⁴ In rare cases, examples of *מִן* (*min*) from the rest of the Hebrew Bible will be used to shed light on an example in Judges.

In the discussion on the various uses of *מִן* (*min*) the focus will be on the semantic value of *מִן* (*min*) only. The different combinations that it forms with verbs will not be analysed in detail since that falls beyond the scope of this study. The semantic value that a verb adds to *מִן* (*min*) will also not be taken into account. This has the effect that mainly the lexical meanings of the preposition will be described in this study. The contextual usages of *מִן* (*min*) will not be expounded on in detail.¹⁵

Since only the occurrences of *מִן* (*min*) in Judges will be analysed, the semantic network that will be proposed will not include all the senses that *מִן* (*min*) exhibits in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, in order to establish a comprehensive semantic network for the target preposition, all the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible should be taken into account.¹⁶ However, the dimensions of this study does not allow for this.

1.5 Organisation

This dissertation is divided in six chapters including the present one.

Chapter 2: Literature review

¹² *מִן* (*min*) appears 5 794 times in the Hebrew Bible and 1 553 times in the Pentateuch, for example.

¹³ Webb (2012:32) explains that the book of Judges has a clear structure. It comprises an introduction consisting of two parts (1:1-2:5 and 2:6-3:6), which is followed by a long central section in which the careers of the judges are narrated. The book concludes with an epilogue, also comprising two parts (chapters 17–18 and 19–21), which ends the book. For an in-depth discussion of the structure and the content of Judges, see Webb (2012), for example.

¹⁴ Representative examples of the data will be discussed in the body of the study. All the occurrences are listed in Appendix A.

¹⁵ In the case of the proto-scene that will be proposed for *מִן* (*min*) four contextual usages of the proto-scene will be briefly described in order to illustrate how it can be applied (cf. section 4.7.1). The semantic network that will be proposed will thus only include the lexical meanings of *מִן* (*min*) and not the contextual meanings.

¹⁶ For this reason this study should be viewed as exploratory, with a view to a later study of the complete semantic potential of *מִן* (*min*).

In the next chapter, an overview of the literature relevant for this study will be given. This literature can be divided in three main categories. Firstly, the literature on the preposition *מִן* (*min*) will be considered. This will be done by stating and briefly explaining the way in which some of the most influential lexica and grammars have treated *מִן* (*min*). Secondly, some of the previous studies that have been done on polysemy in Biblical Hebrew will be touched on. Thirdly, some of the important literature on the treatment of the polysemy of prepositions in natural languages will be explained.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In the third chapter the methodological framework used in this study will be expounded upon. To start with, the cognitive approach to language in general and to semantics more specifically, will be briefly described. A subfield of cognitive semantics, namely, spatial semantics, will be discussed in some detail since it is highly relevant in this study on the spatial preposition *מִן* (*min*). Finally, the principled polysemy approach will be discussed more extensively.

Chapter 4: Determining the proto-scene for *מִן* (*min*)

In chapter 4, an overview of the data will firstly be provided. The rest of this chapter will deal with determining the primary sense/proto-scene for *מִן* (*min*). The criteria that were proposed by the methodology for determining the primary sense will be applied to the data. Based on the results that were obtained through the application of the criteria, a primary sense will be proposed. The final section of the chapter will explain the proto-scene in more depth, while also dealing with the contextual and metaphorical uses of the proto-scene.

Chapter 5: The semantic network for *מִן* (*min*)

In chapter 5 an attempt will be made to develop a semantic network for *מִן* (*min*). Building on the proto-scene proposed in chapter 4, this chapter will continue with the application of the criteria in order to establish the derived senses. With the discussion of each distinct sense, a possible motivation for the development of this sense will be

offered. The chapter will conclude with a presentation of the semantic network that is proposed for ገጃ (*min*).

Chapter 6: Conclusion and recommendations

Chapter 2

Literature review

The literature that will be reviewed can be subdivided into three sections, each relating to one facet of the study at hand. Firstly, work that has been done on the preposition מִן (*min*) will be discussed in relative detail. This discussion will be preceded by an overview of the history of the study of Hebrew. Secondly, a brief overview will be given of work that relates to polysemy in Biblical Hebrew. The third section will provide a synopsis of the major approaches to the polysemy of prepositions in general linguistics.

2.1 The preposition מִן (*min*)

Before endeavouring to analyse the polysemic nature of מִן (*min*), it is essential to take a thorough look at how this preposition has been treated up to now. As can be expected, the different stages of the development of linguistics had a profound impact on the description of מִן (*min*). This section will therefore start with a brief look at the history of the study of Biblical Hebrew in general. The discussion will then focus more narrowly on the treatment of מִן (*min*) in some of the most significant Biblical Hebrew lexica and grammars.¹

It is generally accepted that the grammatical study of Hebrew started with Saadia Gaon in the early 10th century AD when he wrote the first Hebrew lexicon titled *Argon* in 902 AD. He also wrote a Hebrew grammar titled *Kutub al-Lugha* (“Books on the Language”) as well as many other works (Waxman, 1960:167–168). Other important role-players in this initial period of Hebrew lexicography were Menahem ben Saruq (c.910–c.970 AD) and Rabbi Adamin ha-Levy (or Dunash ben Labrat) (920–970 AD). Menahem ben Saruq’s most important work was a dictionary in which he dealt with the entire field of Biblical Hebrew. He also contributed much to the

¹ The following works will be discussed: Gesenius’s lexicon (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857) and grammar (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910), the lexicon by Brown, Driver and Briggs (1907), the lexicon by Koehler and Baumgartner ([1953], 1995), Clines’s *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (1993), Waltke and O’Connor’s *An introduction to Biblical Hebrew syntax* (1990), *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew* by Joüon and Muraoka (2006), and the *Biblical Hebrew reference grammar* by Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze (1999).

theory of the derivation of nouns from verbs, as well as to establishing and explaining the roots of words (Waxman, 1960:170). Dunash ben Labrat was the first to distinguish between transitive and intransitive verbs. In addition to this he divided the stems into weaker and stronger and he recognised the Pi'el stem formation (Waxman, 1960:170–171). These early linguists did pioneering work that prepared the way for all the research in Hebrew linguistics that would follow.

This initial period of Hebrew literature was succeeded by the so-called creative period, which lasted from about 1000 to 1150 AD. During this period a breakthrough in the study of Hebrew grammar came about when Judah Ḥayyuj (c.940–c.1010 AD) discovered that Hebrew roots consisted of three radicals instead of only two as earlier grammarians had thought (Waxman, 1960:72).

Another influential figure in Hebrew lexicography in the Middle Ages was David Kimḥi (1160–1235). His most important work was the *Mikhlol* (“Collection”), which consisted of a grammar and a lexicon of the roots of Biblical Hebrew words (Waxman, 1960:179). According to Waxman (1960:179), Hebrew lexicography and grammatical studies in the Middle Ages reached a climax with the works of Kimḥi.

The next major era in the study of Biblical Hebrew was the emergence of the comparative method from the middle of the 18th century. During this period Albert Schultens (1685–1750 AD) challenged the view that Hebrew was the original and primary Semitic language from which the other Semitic languages stemmed. He also initiated a period in which much emphasis was placed on Arabic to explain the meaning of obscure Biblical Hebrew words (Eng, 2011:10).

During this era, another very prominent person was Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius (1786–1842). His grammar and lexicon have undergone many revisions and have become standard works even for the present day. Since both of these works will be discussed at length in sections 2.1.1.1 and 2.1.2.1 respectively, it will suffice to say here that Gesenius had a very great impact on the study of Hebrew. One way in which the influence of Gesenius is manifested is in the fact that the lexicon by Brown *et al.* (1979),² which is also still a standard reference work, was based on his lexicon.

² This work will be discussed in section 2.1.1.2.

The comparative method was followed by the comparative-historical method. This was a diachronic approach in terms of which an attempt was made to reconstruct an earlier form of the Semitic languages. It is during this time that the concept of proto-Semitic developed, namely, the concept of a language that would be the ancestor of all the Semitic languages. With the discovery of Ugaritic and more finds of other Semitic languages in the 20th century, the historical-comparative enterprise continued. It is likely that these developments are best displayed in the lexicon by Koehler and Baumgartner,³ which first appeared in 1953 (Eng, 2011:11–12).

One of the main turning points in modern linguistic theory came with the work of Ferdinand de Saussure. With the publication of his books, *Memoire* and *Cours de linguistique generale* in 1878 and 1916, respectively, a whole new approach to the study of language came about. This new approach came to be known as structuralism. In structuralism the focus shifted from the study of isolated words to the structure of which a word formed part (Fensham, 1973:7). Eng (2011:14) mentions that this contrasted drastically with a purely etymological approach to language. He adds that the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* by Clines (1993) displays the influence of this linguistic approach in that it lists systematically the syntagmatic relations in which a word occurs.⁴

A completely new approach to the lexicography of Biblical languages was followed by Louw and Nida in the *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament based on semantic domains* (1989). Building on the notion of semantic domains, Reinier de Blois, as editor, developed the web-based *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (available at <http://www.sdbh.org>), which was launched in 2000. At the time of writing this dictionary had 3 893 entries. This new dictionary approaches language from a cognitive perspective and thus makes use of some of the important insights of cognitive linguistics (De Blois, 2002:2).⁵ Given the solid theoretical grounding of this dictionary, it is representative of a move in the right direction in Biblical Hebrew lexicography.

³ This lexicon will be discussed in section 2.1.1.3.

⁴ See section 2.1.1.4 for a discussion on this work's treatment of ׀ן (*min*).

⁵ At the time of writing, ׀ן (*min*) is not found in this dictionary. As far as could be determined other prepositions have also not been treated in it yet.

Since this dictionary will not be discussed in the next section where the treatment of *מִן* (*min*) is dealt with, it might be useful to briefly note some of its features here. One trait that distinguishes it from Louw and Nida's dictionary is that it makes a distinction between *lexical domains* and *contextual domains*. Words are thus listed in different lexical domains on the basis of their different lexical meanings. For every lexical meaning, the word is found in different contexts. According to these contexts, the word is again listed in the appropriate contextual domain (De Blois, 2000:20).⁶

The treatment of the target lexeme, *מִן* (*min*), in lexica and grammars will now be discussed.⁷

2.1.1 Lexica

2.1.1.1 Gesenius

The *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des Alten Testaments* by Dr Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius was first published around 1810. Although this lexicon has undergone many revisions and translations, the main content has stayed the same. It is one of the standard resources on Biblical Hebrew and contains a wealth of information about the philological relationship of the lexical items with related languages, as well as references to scholarly articles (De Blois, 2000:5).

To understand the method that Gesenius used to compile this lexicon, it is helpful to look at the eight rules that he proposed for lexicography. They are briefly summarised here (Miller, 2009:27–28):

⁶ The author believes that this approach to lexicography places the focus on the right place, namely, semantics. This study hopes to provide a starting point for the study of *מִן* (*min*) in order to be able to later classify it in lexical and contextual domains. The dimensions of this study, however, do not allow for this.

⁷ For the purposes of this study only the grammars and lexica that have treated *מִן* (*min*) will be discussed. Some studies, however, have also turned their attention to the interpretation of some aspects of *מִן* (*min*). See, for example, Jakob Milgrom (2007) and Roy Gane (2008), who investigated the meaning of *מִן* (*min*) in pericopes dealing with purification offerings. Mikhal Oren (2011) conducted research on the relation between the partitive meanings of both the prepositions *מִן* (*min*) and *בִּי* (*b-*), as well as looking at the partitive meaning of *מִן* (*min*) in relation to its other usages. William Chomsky (1970) looked into the phenomenon of the so-called “interchangeability” of the prepositions *בִּי* (*b-*), *לִי* (*l-*) and *מִן* (*min*). He argues that many difficult passages can be explained if it is assumed that these prepositions sometimes overlap in meaning (Chomsky, 1970:89).

1. The information that belongs in a lexicon should be kept apart from that which belongs in a grammar or commentary.
2. A complete list of the constructions and phrases in which a word appears should be listed. “This is called the syntactical side of the lexicon” (Miller, 2009:28).
3. The language should be treated historically.
4. Variant readings of the Hebrew manuscripts and the Samaritan text should be listed.
5. If a proper name contains a verbal root not attested elsewhere, this name should be included in the lexicon.
6. The lexicographer should also study oriental antiquities.
7. The significations⁸ of a word should be listed progressively in the most natural order “as they may have developed themselves” (Miller, 2009:28). This method is known as the “historico-logical” method.
8. All the words should be listed alphabetically.

Rule 7 is especially relevant for the present study as it deals with the fact that a word can have many different significations (i.e. meanings or senses). It is assumed that these senses are related and that they developed in a structured manner from a primary or native signification (as Miller [2009:28] puts it). This view contrasts sharply with later influential linguistic theories which viewed the lexicon as containing only the idiosyncratic and the arbitrary. According to this view, the different senses of one linguistic form are associated with it only by accident (Tyler & Evans, 2003:5). The view taken by Gesenius agrees to a large degree with the view that cognitive linguists take on the nature of word meaning, namely, that distinct meanings of a word are probably motivated and systematically related (Tyler & Evans, 2003:6).

The application of this rule can also be seen in Gesenius’s treatment of the preposition מִן (*mīn*). In the lexicon (as opposed to the grammar), Gesenius assumes that the preposition מִן (*mīn*) is in fact the construct state of the noun מֵן (*mēn*) meaning “part, portion” (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:481). This led to him placing the partitive meaning of מִן (*mīn*) first in the list of senses, because he considered it to be

⁸ That is, senses or uses.

the primary meaning of the preposition.⁹ He thus argues that the other senses developed from the partitive sense.

The following is a summary of the senses that this lexicon lists (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:481–485) (original italics):

1. Partitive
 - a. “When it refers to a multitude, it denotes (some) out of the whole number.”
 - b. “Where it refers to a whole, *something, some*.”
 - c. “*some part of one, even one*”

2. “Going out from any thing”;
 - a. “of the *material, out of* which any thing is made”
 - b. “of *origin* from a parent, or a native place”
 - c. “the *author and efficient cause* whence any thing proceeds”
 - d. “of the instrument”
 - e. “*of the reason, on account of* which (whence) any thing is done”.
 - f. “of a *law or rule, according to* which any thing is done”

3. “The notion of receding, departing, removing away from any place”;
 - a. after verbs of departing, fleeing, withdrawing, fearing, hiding, hiding oneself, shutting, guarding, keeping, defending.
 - b. “Put absol. *it signifies distance from any thing, to be far off from it*”
 - c. “*to be near but separated from any thing*”
 - d. “figuratively applied to time, it denotes-
 - i. “a time from which onward”
 - ii. “The time which next follows another, *immediately after*”

4. Comparative;
5. Prefixed to an infinitive
 - a. “*because that, because*”

⁹ As discussed later, this position was not held in the later versions of his Hebrew grammar.

- b. “*from that, used of time, after that*”
- c. “*so that not, lest*”

6. “Prefixed as a conjunction to a future.”

According to the seventh rule, it can be assumed that the senses are listed in the order which Gesenius took to be the order in which they developed from the primary sense. For some of the “derived senses”, an explanation as to how they are related to the primary sense is given. For the development of the second “main” sense (“going out of any thing”) from the primary (partitive) sense, the following explanation is given: When something goes out from something else it is implied that the former was *in* the latter and was “as it were, made a part of it” (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:482).

For the third main sense (“receding, departing, removing away from any place”), no explanation is given as to how this sense developed from either of the two senses discussed thus far. It is noted, however, that this sense is the more frequent meaning of the preposition, but not “as is commonly regarded, its primary sense” (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:483). As already mentioned briefly, this position was later challenged in the grammar by Gesenius and Kautzsch (1910:382).¹⁰

As regards the fourth main sense (comparative), it is merely stated that it comes “from the idea of *proceeding out of, taking out of*”, which seems to refer to the third sense. In the 1883 edition of the *Hebräisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch*, which was revised by Mühlau and Volck, it is asserted that the comparative usage of מִן (*min*) can be explained by the original spatial meaning of the particle (Gesenius, 1883:471). This stance also resembles the one taken by cognitive linguists such as Radden and Dirven (2007:304).

Concerning the fifth use (with an infinitive), subdivision (a) (“*because that, because*”) relates to subdivision (e) (*of the reason, on account of* which [whence] anything is done) of the second sense and is indicated as such in the lexicon. These two entries in the lexicon seem to refer to the same sense of the preposition. The reason they are listed separately is probably due to syntactic considerations and not semantic

¹⁰ The issue of which sense is to be regarded as the primary sense will be dealt with in chapter 4.

considerations. Regarding the sense of “*so that not, lest*” of subdivision (c), it is said to be derived from the third sense, namely, that of receding.

In conclusion we can say that although this lexicon does not have a solid semantic grounding, some of the underlying assumptions agree with state-of-the-art research in linguistics. We have seen that Gesenius endeavoured to structure the entry for מִן (*min*) in a logical way that makes the relations between the senses clear. With some of the proposed senses he provides a brief explanation of their development from the primary or derived senses. This is not done consistently, however, and he does not provide a structured methodological framework on which these assumptions are based. However, he does illustrate his explanation of the senses with examples from the Hebrew text, as well as from other languages such as Greek, Latin, Arabic and Syriac (cf. Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:481-485). This reveals that this work was strongly influenced by the philological school of thought that prevailed at the time of the publication of this lexicon.

2.1.1.2 *Brown, Driver and Briggs*

The lexicon by Brown, Driver and Briggs was first published in 1906 and is based on the translation of Gesenius’s lexicon into English done by Robinson in 1854. This lexicon is still a very influential source even today. As already noted, it is interesting to note that although this lexicon is based on the one by Gesenius, the entry that it has for מִן (*min*) differs substantially. In Brown *et al.*, for instance, very little attempt is made to explain how the different senses of the preposition are related. The order in which the senses are listed is also different from that of Gesenius, presumably because it does not assume the relation between the noun מֵן (*mēn*) and the preposition מִן (*min*), and therefore does not recognise the partitive sense as the primary sense. After the discussion on the morphology of מִן (*min*), a summary of the preposition’s senses is given in the following words: “[a] prep[osition] expressing the idea of *separation*, hence out of, from, on account of, off, on the side of, since, above, than, so that not” (Brown *et al.*, 1979:577). From this summary one can deduce that the sense of *separation* is taken to be the primary or basic sense from which the other senses developed. It also offers brief comparative information on the presence of מִן (*min*) in cognate languages, but the focus of this dictionary is largely

on the syntactical structures in which מִן (*min*) occurs and how it should be translated in each instance.

The following is a summary of the senses that this lexicon lists (Brown *et al.*, 1979:577–583) (italics and numbering original):

1. “with verbs expressing (or implying) *separation* or *removal*, whether from a person or place, or in any direction”
 - a. e.g. descend, fall, go up, raise up from (a mountain). Verbs of going, calling, asking, delivering, hiding, taking or withholding, keeping, being far, desisting, judge (and save), answer (and save), you shall see from me Jud 7:17. With adverbs.
 - b. “Without a verb of similar significance sometimes expresses the idea of separation, *away from*, *far from*”
 - c. “of position, off, on the side of, on

2. Out of.
 - a. “*out of* Egypt: so:”
 - i. “with verbs of proceeding, removing, expelling, etc.”
 - ii. “of the place *out of* which one looks, speaks, exerts power, etc.”
 - iii. With מִן, מִן, מִן .

 - b. “Of the material *out of* which anything is formed, or from which it is derived:”
 - i. *Out of* soil etc.
 - ii. “with verbs of eating, filling, etc.”

 - c. The source or origin
 - i. Parents
 - ii. “the tribe or people, *from* which a person comes”
 - iii. Of animals and things
 - iv. מִן “with reference to what is self-devised”

- d. “of the source or author of an action, counsel or event”
- e. “the immediate or *efficient* cause (chiefly poet.), *in consequence of*”
 - i. “the cause, a person”
 - ii. “the cause, a thing”
 - iii. “with verbs of fearing, to express the source of the emotion”
- f. “of the remoter cause, the ultimate ground *on account of* which something happens or is done.”
- g. “the cause being conceived as regulative ... *according to*”

3. Partitively

- a. “*out of, from*”
- b. “the number being omitted, מן is used indefinitely:”
 - i. “some of”
 - ii. “to designate an individual”
 - iii. In a negative or hypothetical sentence “*any, aught*”
 - iv. used with a noun of unity to express the idea of a *single one*

4. Of time

- a. “as marking the *terminus a quo*, the anterior limit of a continuous period, *from, since*”
- b. “as marking the period immediately succeeding the limit, *after*”
- c. In some phrases מן loses its significance.

5. From even, to

- a. In geographic or local sense.
- b. “metaph[orical], not of actual space but of classes of objects, to express idiomatically the idea of comprehension” “*both ... and*”, “*either ... or*”
- c. of *time* - implying intervals.
 - i. מן...ל: *from... to*, of time, implying *intervals*
 - ii. ל...מן: of time, with *intervals*

- iii. מִן-....הָ: *from ... to*, of time, implying *intervals*
6. “In comparisons, *beyond, above*, hence in Engl[ish] *than*”
- a. “when an object is compared with another distinct from itself”
 - b. “when an obj[ect] is compared with a group or multitude of which it forms one”
 - c. “sometimes in poetry the idea on which מִן is logically dependent, is unexpressed, and must be understood by the reader”
 - d. “a thing being *too much for* a person or surpassing his powers”
7. Prefixed to an infinitive:
- a. “with a causal force” “from, on account of, through”
 - b. “after verbs implying restraint, prevention, cessation”
 - i. “after similar verbs, expressing concisely a *negative consequence*”
“*so as not to, so that not*”
 - ii. Expresses negative consequence even more concisely with a noun only.
 - c. With a temporal force: “since, after”
8. Once as a conjunction before finite verb “*that* they rise not again”
9. In compounds with other prepositions:
- a. מֵאֶת, מֵאֶתְּךָ etc.
 - b. מִן לְמִן = מִן (*min*), “used almost exclusively for terminus a quo, whether of space or time”

In our discussion on this entry for מִן (*min*) attention will in particular be given to the way in which this entry differs from the one in Gesenius's lexicon.

Brown *et al.* explain the first sense of מִן (*min*) by means of the syntactic constructions in which it occurs. In subdivision (a) they provide a detailed list of verbs with which it is used. These verbs are said to express separation or removal and מִן

(*min*) can therefore mostly be glossed with *from*. This sense agrees with the one that Gesenius lists third.

The second main sense agrees for the most part with the second sense of Gesenius. In the dictionary by Brown et al. only a gloss is provided, namely, out of. In the first subdivision (2[a]), the sense is explained by stating that it co-occurs with verbs relating to “proceeding, removing, expelling”. As noted in the introduction, it is not clear how this sense differs from the one in 1(a). It seems then that this division was made on grounds of the English gloss that should be used, instead of the meaning of מִן (*min*) in both instances. The rest of the sub-senses listed under the second sense agree with those listed in Gesenius.

There are two other major differences between Gesenius and Brown *et al.*: Brown *et al.* list senses (4) and (5), whereas Gesenius does not. Sense (4), which relates to time, is incorporated in sense (3) of Gesenius, where it is stated that the “notion of receding, departing, removing away from any place” is “figuratively applied to time” (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:483–484). As has already been pointed out, the observation that abstract domains such as time are described in terms of concrete realities such as space corresponds with the view held by cognitive linguists (e.g. Radden & Dirven, 2007:304).

In sense (5), מִן (*min*) is dealt with as it co-occurs with other prepositions. These combinations then result in more or less fixed expressions which need to be translated with certain English equivalents. This use is also listed under sense (3) in Gesenius. One again wonders whether it is indeed a different sense, or whether Brown *et al.* listed it separately for the sake of the translation or on syntactic grounds.

In summary, we can say that although Brown *et al.* provide a detailed entry for מִן (*min*), the standard of the semantic analysis that was done remains dubious. The fact that this lexicon has deviated from its predecessor is significant and highlights the fact that the demarcation of the different senses of מִן (*min*) is in no way a simple matter. Although the summary of the preposition’s meaning (that was stated above) uses the word “hence” to indicate that the primary sense of *separation* provided the basis for the other senses (or rather glosses), no explanation of the relationship

between this primary sense and the other senses is given. This also has the effect that no rationale is provided for the order in which the senses are listed.

2.1.1.3 Koehler and Baumgartner

Another influential dictionary is the one by Koehler and Baumgartner, which first appeared in 1953. De Blois (2000:7) notes that this dictionary is more up to date than the ones by Brown *et al.* and Gesenius, even though in the preface to the first edition it is stated that “the most important part of linguistics is the comparison of languages” (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1953:XII). Regarding its treatment of מִן (*min*), as with the one by Brown *et al.* it does not consider it to be derived from the noun מֵן (*mēn*). Nevertheless, the 1953 edition gives its basic meaning as “part of > out of, from, off” (which seems to indicate that the senses of “out of, from, off” were derived from the partitive sense). It then goes on to list 19 different senses (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1953:535–536). In the 1995 edition, the basic meaning is given as “from within, away from” and only 11 different senses are listed. This reduced number of senses is due to the fact that several of the main senses in the first edition were combined in the second edition. This makes it clear that more attention was given to the relation of the senses in the later edition.

Here is a summarised version of the entry for מִן (*min*) in the later edition (Koehler & Baumgartner, 1995:597–599) (bolding and numbering original):

1. Local:
 - a. “The point of departure for an action: **away from, out of**”
 - b. “together with מֵן indicates direction of movement”
 - c. “points to the place or in the direction **where** something can be found”
2. Temporal:
 - a. “**Since**”
 - b. “**immediately after**”
 - c. “**after**”
 - d. “from the time when something happened”

3. Designates:
 - a. “the material from which something is made”
 - b. “the original source”

4. Designates:
 - a. “the cause”
 - b. “the originator”
 - c. “the logical subject of a passive verb”

5. “specifies the point of view of the person who is passing judgement”
 - a. “I am too small for” “too heavy”
 - b. “substitute for comparative form of the adjective, **more than**”

6. “specifies the logical cause (→ 4a): in consequence of, **because**”
7. “with verbs of fearing, hiding, warning, guarding: **from, before, in the face of**”
 - a. With ברח, גרש, זהר, ירא, סתר, שמר
 - b. “Therefore: far from > **without**”

8. Partitive
 - a. “part of the whole”
 - b. “after adj[ective] superlative”
 - c. “the proportion of the part to the whole is not specified”
 - d. “an undetermined part of the whole”

9. “מן with inf[initive]”
 - a. “because he loves”
 - b. “so that not”
 - c. “temporal: ... after he sent them away”

10. With other prepositions
 - a. Preceding
 - b. Following

11. “Conj[unction]. lest, so that ... not”

Once again, the number and the organisation of the senses in this lexicon differ from those in both Gesenius’s and Brown *et al.*’s lexica. An interesting point to note is that Koehler and Baumgartner grouped the senses of *out of* and *away from* together in 1.a., whereas both Gesenius and Brown *et al.* treated it as separate senses.

2.1.1.4 *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew (Clines)*

The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew, which was edited by David Clines, is a newer dictionary (the first volume was published in 1993) and De Blois (2000:8) states that modern linguistic theory formed the basis of this work. The uniqueness of this lexicon lies in the fact that it not only treats the Hebrew found in the Hebrew Bible but also that which is found in Ben Sira, and the Qumran texts.

The introduction to this dictionary clearly states that it “is not a historical dictionary, and it does not aim at tracing the development of the meaning of words” (Clines, 1993:16). In the entry for מִן (*min*), therefore, it does not make any assumptions about the origin of the preposition. It is also explained that the meaning of cognate words are irrelevant to Hebrew and thus מִן’s (*min*) occurrences in related languages are also not mentioned. The dictionary lists 16 different uses or senses, which are then subdivided and illustrated with detailed examples. This dictionary does not indicate a primary sense for the preposition, nor does it specify the relation between its uses.

In the introduction it is acknowledged that the semantic analyses in this dictionary “have a large subjective element in them, and that our perception of senses is often dependent on the semantic structure of the English language” (Clines, 1993:19). The introduction explains that the senses of the words are generally listed according to the frequency with which they are attested in the sources. According to the introduction this has the effect that concrete senses generally precede metaphorical senses and that this makes this dictionary different from many other Hebrew dictionaries (Clines, 1993:19).

Concerning the layout of the entry, the various forms of מִן (*min*) are discussed, followed by a summary of the full entry. In this summary, references are made to the

pages (not included here) where each sense is treated extensively. The following summary is taken verbatim from the lexicon (Clines, 2001:337) (bolding, italics and numbering original):

1. of direction,
 - a. **(away) from,**
 - b. **(positioned away) from, to, on at; from (the side of), in (the direction of), to(wards),**
 - c. **from (out of), (from) out of,**
 - d. **In from the outside, from the perspective of the one who is inside,**
 - e. **(originating) from, of,**
 - f. **from, (at the instigation) of, with (the sanction of),**
 - g. **starting from,**
2. of time,
 - a. **from, since,**
 - b. **after, at (the end of), beyond,**
 - c. **Immediately after,**
3. of material, (out) of, (made) from, (consisting) of,
4. partitive,
 - a. **(some) of, (one) of, (any) of, (none) of,**
 - i. as subject of the verb,
 - ii. in nominal clause,
 - iii. as object of the verb,
 - b. **(out) of, from (among),**
5. of comparison,
 - a. **(more) than, (better) than, (less) than,**
 - b. **(more) than (all others),** i.e. most of all,
6. privative,

- a. **without, for lack of, away from,**
 - b. **from (being), from (doing), so as not to be, so as not to do, so that not,**
7. locative, **in, on,**
8. of cause, on account of, because of, for (reason of), through, at,
9. of agent, **by,**
10. of instrument, by (means of), with,
11. in the estimation of, before,
12. perh[aps] against, (for protection) from,¹¹
13. מִמֶּנִּי and var[iations] as a noun, **your offspring,**
14. מִן וְמֵעֵלָה מִן
- a. positional,
 - b. temporal,
15. מִן in association with other prepositions,
- a. מִן(ל) מֵ(ל),
 - i. of place,
 - ii. class of objects,
 - iii. Time,
 - b. מֵ ... מִן *from ... to,*
 - c. מִן ... לְ,
 - d. of place,
 - i. of direction,
 - ii. of time,
 - iii. ה- of direction,
16. מִן in compound, followed by other preposition, particle or adverb.

¹¹ This possible sense is not attested in Biblical Hebrew and will therefore not be taken into account in this discussion.

Clines (2001) lists 16 main senses, which is the most of all the lexica that were discussed. This is probably due to the fact that he identifies at least three main senses that have not been listed in any of the other grammars, namely, numbers 12 and 13. The way in which the senses are organised also differs to a large degree from the other lexica. Although Clines (as cited by Eng, 2011:17) argues that the meaning of the words lies in their use in language, some of the examples that he gives does not seem to confirm this. Sense no. 7 is described as having a locative sense, which can be glossed with *on* or *in*. Two examples of this proposed sense do not, however, involve location, but time¹² (cf. Clines, 2001:342).

2.1.2 Grammars

2.1.2.1 Gesenius

Like his lexicon, Gesenius's *Hebrew Grammar*, first published in 1813, also analysed and described linguistic phenomena according to philological comparisons with related languages and logical explanations (Van der Merwe, 1987:162–163). In the 25th edition of this grammar, Kautzsch elaborates on the syntax that Gesenius wrote and, in the 28th edition, he uses the results of the most recent research on comparative philology of the time (Van der Merwe, 1987:163–164; Fensham, 1973:4). In this grammar's treatment of מִן (*min*), however, it does not draw heavily on etymological data, but rather treats מִן (*min*) under different sections according to its various syntactic uses.

Firstly, מִן (*min*) is treated in the section relating to prepositions. In the beginning of this section it is stated that “[a]ll words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives” (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:297). These substantives are said to be in the accusative and the construct state and the noun that is governed by them is therefore said to be in the genitive. This claim is supported by stating that Arabic in fact has the genitive ending. Examples of this pattern from German, Greek and Latin are also given. מִן (*min*) is listed together with other prepositions and the meaning of the substantive from which it presumably originated is given as

¹² The examples are “on the next day” (Genesis 19:34) and “turn back your foot on the sabbath” (Isaiah 58:13).

“separation”. The preposition is glossed as “from, out of” (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:297).

In the section that treats the “subordination of nouns to the verb by means of prepositions”, the senses of מִן (*min*) are explained. As in Gesenius’s lexicon it is remarkable to note that this grammar agrees, to some extent, with the cognitive linguistic view of prepositions when it maintains that with most prepositions some notion of a spatial relation underlies the construction. This notion is then extended to “the ideas of time, motive, or other relations conceived by the mind” (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:377). In correlation with the assumption that מִן (*min*) originated from a noun meaning separation¹³ it is said to represent two main ideas, namely, 1) that of separation, distance or remoteness from something, and 2) that of movement away from something (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:382). Senses of מִן (*min*) that are listed separately in other lexica and grammars are here accounted for as being related to and derived from these two main senses.

The last section in which מִן (*min*) is discussed is the one on “the comparison of adjectives”. Here it is implied that the comparative usage of מִן (*min*) is also related to the “separation” sense when it is stated that the fundamental idea behind the phrase גָּבוֹהַּ מִכֹּל הָעָם (*gābōh mikkol-hā‘ām*) is “tall away from all the people” (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:429). In the instances where מִן (*min*) is used after adjectives or intransitive verbs, it is argued that it either denotes “the *removal* of a thing *from* a person, or the *severance* of the person from some aim or object” (original italics) (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:430).

The senses of מִן (*min*) identified in this grammar can thus be summarised as follows (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:382–383, 429–430) (original italics):

Originally separation:

1. “distance, separation or remoteness from something”

¹³ With regard to the “original” sense, Gesenius and Kautzsch (1910:382) admit that they formerly advocated that the partitive meaning was probably the basic sense of מִן (*min*) but that it is more correct to take “separation” as the “starting-point” for the different uses.

- a. “(taken) from among ...”
 - b. “*without* (separated, free from ...)”
 - c. “after the ideas of restraining, withholding from, refusing to any one”
 - d. “the idea of precluding from anything is only indirectly contained in the preceding verb”
 - e. comparative
2. “motion away from something”
- a. “after such ideas as to take away from, to beware, to be afraid of, to flee, to escape, to hide oneself from”
 - b. Causative

2.1.2.2 Waltke and O’Connor

In Waltke and O’Connor’s *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew syntax* (1990), the semantics of prepositions in general is described in some detail. It is explained that prepositions signify *relations*, and that locational and temporal relations are said to be the best developed relations that prepositions signify. Prepositions often also indicate other important relational types, such as *goal, instrument, interest, agent* and *cause*. It is also emphasised that the verb by which the preposition is governed and the perspective from which the action is viewed are very important in the semantics of prepositions (Waltke & O’Connor, 1990:190–191).

The different senses of מִן (*min*) that this grammar identifies are the following (Waltke & O’Connor, 1990:212–214):

1. The locational מִן (*min*):
 - a. “the place where a thing or a person originated”;
 - b. “the direction where a thing is located”;
2. the ablative sense, thus “movement away from a specified beginning point”;
3. temporal;
 - a. beginning point included, *from, on, in*,
 - b. beginning point not included, *after*,

- c. block of time, *after*,
- 4. “the material of which something is made”;
- 5. “the author of authority from whom a standard or truth originated”;
- 6. “the cause or means of a situation”;
- 7. an agent;
- 8. a partitive marker;
 - a. simple, *some of*,
 - b. “comparative/superlative” *the best/better of, the worst/the worse of*,
 - c. “in negative clauses” *none of, not one of*
- 9. a privative marker; and
- 10. a comparative marker.
 - a. “prefixed to a standard by which a quality is measured”
 - b. prefixed “to a group to which something is compared”

It should be noted that this grammar observes that, spatially, מִן (*min*) can have both static and dynamic senses. Although the ablative sense is not listed first, it is said to be the more basic sense and that it underlies the sense indicating origin (no. 1a) (Waltke & O’Connor, 1990:212). Thus, the “primary” sense and the relationship of this sense to one of the other senses are indicated.

Senses 4 to 7 are said to be similar to the locational and ablative senses. With the rest of the senses, however, no attempt is made to explain the relationship between them or with the primary sense (cf. Waltke & O’Connor, 1990:212–214).

2.1.2.3 Joüon and Muraoka

In their work, *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, Joüon and Muraoka (2006) treat the morphology of מִן (*min*) in part two which is about morphology. In part three, on syntax, its distribution and uses are discussed. This grammar identifies the primary idea that מִן (*min*) expresses as that of *separation* and *distance*. The different senses are thus specified as the following (Joüon & Muraoka, 2006:460):

1. “Separation and distance”;

2. “The idea of provenance” or origin which entails:
 - a. “the material of which something was made;
 - b. cause; and
 - c. “source or origin.”

3. Partitive meaning;
 - a. “מִן of explanation”;
 - b. Temporal sense;
 - c. “Meaning of difference” i.e. comparison;

4. With an infinitive:
 - a. causal meaning; and
 - b. consecutive meaning.

This grammar does not specify as many meanings as the other sources. However, it is interesting to note that one of the seven senses listed in the so-called “מִן of explanation” did not receive much attention in the other works.¹⁴ Joüon and Muraoka (2006:460) explain that the comparative sense comes “from the idea of separation and distance”. As regards the other senses, no explanation for their relation to the primary sense is given.

2.1.2.4 Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze

The *Biblical Hebrew reference grammar* by Van der Merwe *et al.* (1999:276) gives more or less the same description of the semantics of prepositions in general as Waltke and O’Connor (1990:190–191). This grammar does not claim to offer a complete account of the semantics of prepositions (Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1999:225) and, in its treatment of מִן (*min*), it identifies eight main uses, which can be summarised as follows (Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1999:287–290):

¹⁴ As far as could be determined, only Brown *et al.* (1907) included this sense for מִן (*min*), calling it the מִן (*min*) of explication.

1. Spatial positioning: source:
 - a. “Place from where an action is undertaken”;
 - b. “Person from whom something has come”;
 - c. In a fixed expression with -לְ, translated as e.g. “at the northern side of”;
2. Temporal positioning: “a point in time since when something happened”;
3. Alienation: privative:
 - a. “alienation of a role”;
 - b. “alienation of a process (usually a threat)”;
 - c. “alienation of an object.”
4. “Material of which something is made”;
5. The “cause of a situation”;
6. Instrument:
 - a. non-human instrument;
 - b. “human instrument or agent.”
7. Partitive: “part of a greater whole”;
8. Comparison:
 - a. “positive comparison (more than, greater than)”;
 - b. “comparison of abilities”;
 - c. “exclusive comparison.”

This grammar provides a concise summary of the senses of לְ (*min*), and explains the basic spatial function of לְ (*min*) as movement “away from x” (Van der Merwe *et al.*, 1999:287). One oddity that should be noted is that although the first main sense is said to indicate *spatial* positioning, sense 1.b is said to indicate the *person* from whom something comes. The example that is taken from 1 Kings 2:15 to elucidate the sense refers to a non-spatial entity (namely kingship) that is said to have come from the Lord.

2.1.3 Summary

The discussion of the literature on the preposition מִן (*min*) started with an overview of the history of the linguistic research that has been done on Biblical Hebrew. In subsequent sections the way in which מִן (*min*) has been treated in influential lexica and grammars¹⁵ was examined. The differences in the analyses of מִן (*min*) emphasise the fact that the delineation of its senses is a difficult matter. Although some of the sources have attempted to provide a little explanation about the way in which the senses are related to the primary sense and to each other, none of them has offered a systematic account of the polysemic nature of מִן (*min*).

Since the polysemy of מִן (*min*) has not been treated in a systematic way, it may be beneficial to look at what research has been done on other lexemes in Biblical Hebrew.

2.2 Polysemy in Biblical Hebrew

2.2.1 De Regt

The article “Multiple meaning and semantic domains in some Biblical Hebrew Lexicographical Projects: zera” by De Regt (1997) deals with the polysemy of the lexeme זֶרַע (*zr*). De Regt (1997:63–65) firstly shows that the meanings of this lexeme have been treated inaccurately by the traditional dictionaries (Brown *et al.* and Koehler and Baumgartner), as these dictionaries did not clearly differentiate between lexical meanings of the root and contextual usages of it. He then explains that the research that was done for the *Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament Based on Semantic Domains* (a project launched in 1981 by the South African Bible Society) focused on determining the lexical meanings of a lexeme in order to formulate definitions rather than glosses for the meanings and to assign these meanings to specific semantic domains. He argues that as soon as a semantic shift in a lexeme can be identified, there is enough reason to distinguish between two different meanings (De Regt, 1997:66). In the research that is presented in this

¹⁵ There are some other grammars that treat מִן (*min*) in addition to those that have been discussed; see, for example, Davidson (1966), Gemser (1968) and Van Rooy (1984). The analyses that these grammars offer for מִן (*min*) do not differ significantly from any that have been discussed here.

article, it is clear that a thorough semantic analysis has been done. This did not, however, take the research that had been done on cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics into account.

2.2.2 Tawil

In his article, “The semantic range of the biblical Hebrew חלל: lexicographical note X”, Tawil (2005) inductively traces the “logical semantic development” (Tawil, 2005:92) of the senses of the root חלל (*ḥll*). He argues against the notion that חלל (*ḥll*) represents three or four homonyms and rather shows that it is a polysemous root with several related senses which developed in a logical way. He notes that medieval lexicographers such as Ibn-Janaḥ and Kimḥi believed that only one root חלל (*ḥll*) exists in Biblical Hebrew and that this root has a range of meanings. The lexica of Brown *et al.* (1979), Koehler and Baumgartner (1953) and Clines (1996), however, all list three to four homonyms with the root חלל (*ḥll*).

Tawil (2005:92–94) makes a case for the development of the abstract senses of this lexeme from its concrete physical connotation. Although no reference is made to cognitive semantics in this article, the notion that abstract senses probably developed from concrete senses agrees to a great extent with one of the main hypotheses of cognitive semantics (cf. e.g. Gibbs, 2003:6; Johnson, 1987:34).

2.2.3 Rodriguez

In his master’s dissertation titled “תחת: A cognitive linguistic analysis of the Biblical Hebrew lexeme”, Rodriguez (2011), analyses the polysemy of the lexeme תחת (*ṭḥt*) by means of lexical semantics and categorisation. He uses these tools of cognitive linguistics to develop a semantic network for this lexeme with the goal of contributing to digital lexicography. In addition to the semantic network, he illustrates the different meanings of this lexeme using frame semantic diagrams (Rodriguez, 2011:iv).

2.2.4 Lyle

In his master's dissertation titled “A cognitive semantic assessment of ׁ and ׂ's semantic potential”, Lyle (2012) uses the principled polysemy approach, developed by Tyler and Evans (2003), to analyse the polysemous particles ׁ (*ʿim*) and ׂ (*ʿēf*).

This approach is based on cognitive linguistics and (more specifically) cognitive semantics. The use of this approach in this regard proves very efficient in giving an account for the complex semantics of מֵ (*‘im*) and מִן (*‘ēl*). Lyle further makes use of the theory of grammaticalisation to explain the development of the distinct senses of these particles. Finally, he analyses the semantic networks from a monosemy–polysemy point of view, as well as from a semasiological and onomasiological point of departure (Lyle, 2012:iii).

In light of this discussion, we have seen that some progress has been made in the analysis of polysemous lexemes in Biblical Hebrew. The next section will deal with the study of polysemy in other languages.

2.3 Polysemy of prepositions in general linguistics

Owing to the fact that researchers have only just begun to apply modern linguistic principles to the study of prepositions in Biblical Hebrew, it is important to look at what has been done in general linguistics in order to learn from these studies.

It is generally agreed that the modern term “polysemy” was first introduced into linguistics by Michel Bréal in 1897, although the concept of polysemy has its roots in Greek philosophy. It was only in the 18th century, however, that scholars began with focused research into the multiplicity of meaning. Subsequently, in the 19th century, linguists who were interested in meaning approached it from the standpoint of historical semantics, historical lexicography and etymology. At the beginning of the 20th century the way in which polysemy was explained and observed shifted from historical semantics to synchronic semantics. When transformational generative grammar came onto the linguistic scene in 1950s, with its focus on syntax, a period followed in which the study of polysemy became latent until it was rediscovered with the dawn of cognitive semantics in the 1980s (Nerlich & Clarke, 1997:350–352).

Cuyckens and Zawada (2001:ix) note that in cognitive linguistics, “polysemy has become a core area of study”, with the polysemy of prepositions receiving particular attention. Taylor (1992:201) explains that since prepositions constitute one of the most polysemous word classes in many languages, it was inevitable that the study of prepositions should increase in order to account for this polysemy (Taylor, 1992:201).

Two representative schools of thought on the study of the polysemy of prepositions will now briefly be presented.

2.3.1 Brugman and Lakoff

Brugman (1981) has done ground-breaking research on the polysemic nature of the English preposition *over* (Tyler & Evans, 2001:726). In this work and in that by Brugman and Lakoff (1988) and Lakoff (1987), the preposition *over* is described as having different polysemous (i.e. related) senses rather than one abstract monosemous sense or multiple unrelated senses.¹⁶ The different senses can either be classified as being central, that is, more prototypical, or peripheral, that is, less prototypical. The distinct but related meanings are organised with respect to the central sense in order to form a so-called radial category (Evans *et al.*, 2007:15).

Although this approach by Brugman/Lakoff has been very influential, it has a number of weaknesses. It has, for example, received critique because it can potentially lead to a vast number of senses for each lexical item. This is problematic mainly because there are no clear methodological principles for determining the different senses of a polysemic lexical item (Evans *et al.*, 2007:15). This approach has also been criticised for committing the so-called polysemy fallacy which holds that every new meaning that a lexical item exhibits in context results from a distinct sense that is stored in memory (Evans, 2009:56).

2.3.2 Tyler and Evans

What is evident from the evaluation of the above methodology is that a methodology that “provides a rigorous and relatively consistent way of making judgements about whether a sense is distinct¹⁷” (Tyler & Evans, 2001:733) is needed in order to account for polysemy in a theoretically verifiable way.¹⁸ In their development of the “principled polysemy approach”, Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003) aim to provide such a methodology. Although Tyler and Evans (2003:42) admit that all linguistic analysis is

¹⁶ Geeraerts (2006a:9) notes that the study by Brugman and Lakoff (1988) (*Cognitive typology and lexical networks*) was influential not only because it made the radial network model popular but also because it generated a large amount of literature on the analysis of prepositions.

¹⁷ By distinct sense is meant a sense which is “putatively instantiated in semantic memory” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:58). See section 3.3.

¹⁸ As early as 1995, Sandra and Rice (1995:90) felt that one of the weaknesses of the so-called prepositional network approach is the fact that “no clear-cut methodology is offered for making distinctions between prepositional usages”.

to some extent subjective, they believe that their methodology strives to minimise the subjective character of an analysis of polysemic lexical items.

To begin with, Tyler and Evans (2003:42) “suggest two criteria for determining whether a particular instance of a spatial particle counts as a distinct sense”. These criteria aim to differentiate between an independent sense in the semantic network, versus an interpretation of the spatial particle that is created on-line for local understanding. They further present a methodology for determining the primary sense of a lexical item. This consists of five criteria each of which relates to a different type of linguistic evidence that points to the primary sense.

In their paper, “Reconsidering prepositional polysemy networks: The case of over”, Tyler and Evans (2001) apply this method to construct a polysemy network containing fourteen different senses for the preposition *over* (Tyler & Evans, 2001:762). They also applied this method to a range of spatial English particles in their book *The semantics of English prepositions* (Tyler & Evans, 2003).

2.4 Conclusion

The literature review conducted in this chapter has indicated that none of the traditional treatments of ገጃ (*min*) gave a systematic, consistent and organised account for its multiple senses. It has also been shown that much research has been done on how best to analyse polysemous prepositions in other languages. It was found that the principled polysemy approach (Tyler & Evans, 2003) that was discussed in this chapter offers a theoretically reliable methodology for analysing polysemous prepositions and it will therefore be used in this study to investigate ገጃ (*min*).

Chapter 3

Methodological framework

Before the principled polysemy approach can be explained, it is necessary to look at the broader theoretical ground in which it was developed. The approach is situated in the cognitive semantic approach which is a subfield of cognitive linguistics. In this chapter, an overview of the cognitive linguistic approach will firstly be given. This will be followed by a more detailed discussion of cognitive semantics. In this section on cognitive semantics, spatial semantics will also be examined, as this is especially relevant for the analysis of the spatial preposition *ḡ* (*min*). Lastly, the principled polysemy model that will be used in this study will be explained in some detail.

3.1 Cognitive linguistics

Cognitive linguistics is an approach to language that originated in the late 1960s and in the 1970s and 1980s. Some of the main role players in the emergence of this movement were Ronald Langacker, George Lakoff, and Leonard Talmy.¹ The research on cognitive linguistics done by these scholars resulted from dissatisfaction with formal approaches to language (Evans, 2011:69). When describing cognitive linguistics it is important to remember that it is a very broad field consisting of a bundle of approaches to language rather than a specific theory.

According to Talmy (2006:542), cognitive linguistics is mainly concerned with representing conceptual structure in language. This general property of the movement is explained in more detail in Taylor's (2006:569) concise list of some of the central views of cognitive linguistics:

1. Language is grounded in general cognitive processes and abilities, instead of in a language-specific faculty of the mind. For this reason the focus has been on

¹ Langacker specialises in cognitive grammar and the following are some of his foundational works: Foundations of cognitive grammar. Volume 1: Theoretical prerequisites (1987), Concept, image and symbol: The cognitive basis of grammar (1990), Foundations of cognitive grammar. Volume 2: Descriptive application (1991). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson introduced the idea of conceptual metaphors in their classic work *Metaphors we live by* (1980). Another influential work by Lakoff is *Women, fire and dangerous things: what categories reveal about the mind* (1987). Leonard Talmy's seminal papers on cognitive semantics up to now have culminated in his two-volume work *Toward a cognitive semantics* (2000a, 2000b) (Geeraerts, 2006b:459, 460, 478).

studying language for the “perspective of such topics as perception, categorization, concept formation, spatial cognition, and imagery” (Taylor, 2006:569).

2. In language there are signifiers (language in perceptible form) and signifieds (meanings).² Meanings or semantic representations are viewed as mental entities or even mental processes.
3. Owing to the fact that language is a symbolic system, the formal aspects of language organisation, that is, syntax and morphology, are also viewed as being symbolic and therefore meaningful in themselves.

3.2 Cognitive semantics

Cognitive semantics is, just like cognitive linguistics, not a unified theory about meaning, but rather an approach. The following four assumptions can be seen as the guiding principles in cognitive semantics (Evans & Green, 2006:156–157):

1. “Conceptual structure is embodied.”
2. “Semantic structure is conceptual structure.”
3. “Meaning representation is encyclopaedic.”
4. “Meaning construction is conceptualisation.”

The first principle holds that, as human beings, we have bodily experiences which are determined by the physical nature of our bodies as well as by the nature of our environment. Our experience of the world is therefore embodied and this has an important impact on our cognition. One important way in which embodied experience influences our cognition is by means of image-schemas.³ Image-schemas are basic concepts which are connected to our pre-conceptual bodily experiences.⁴ These image-schemas can be extended to help us talk about more abstract concepts by

² Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), who can be regarded as the father of the modern linguistic era, first made the distinction between that which signifies and that which is signified in the early 1900s. In other words, it is the distinction between “words as linguistic signs and the meaning of those signs” (Eng, 2011:12).

³ Tyler and Evans (2003:29) term these image-schemas *redescriptions*. These two terms will be used interchangeably in this dissertation.

⁴ Some image-schemas that have been identified are link, cycle, source-path-goal, container, centre/periphery, attraction and balance (Gibbs & Colston, 2006:239).

connecting them to embodied experiences⁵ (Evans & Green, 2006:45–46).

The second guiding principle of cognitive semantics entails that language does not refer to things in the external world, but rather to concepts in the mind of the language user. This means that the concepts in the mind (conceptual structure) can be equated with the semantic structure of linguistic units such as words. This does not mean, however, that semantic structure and conceptual structure are identical because there are many more feelings, thoughts and ideas than we can express in language (Evans & Green, 2006:158–159).

The third underlying principle entails that semantic structure does not consist of precisely defined clusters of meaning, but rather that it is of an encyclopaedic nature. Words therefore give us access to large collections of knowledge about a particular conceptual domain or concept. Words do have conventional meanings associated with them, but these meanings merely prompt the meaning construction process. During this process, the appropriate interpretation is selected according to the utterance's context. For understanding an utterance, it is necessary to use our encyclopaedic knowledge about the concepts in the utterance (Evans & Green, 2006:160–161).

This principle has significant implications for the study of prepositions. The sentential context in which a preposition occurs carries some of the spatial meaning associated with the preposition. This does not mean that the preposition itself has no meaning; although it does have conventional meanings associated with it, its exact interpretation is delineated by the context in which it appears (Evans & Tyler, 2004:3).

The last foundational principle of cognitive semantics holds that meaning is not something that is encoded by language itself. Meaning is a dynamic process in which words or other language units prompt many conceptual operations and draw on encyclopaedic knowledge. Meaning is thus not a “thing” that can be contained by language, but a process (Evans & Green, 2006:162).

⁵ In section 3.2.3 the notion of embodied experience and its impact on our understanding of the world will be discussed in more detail.

3.2.1 Spatial semantics

One subfield of cognitive semantics that is especially relevant for the present study is that of spatial semantics, since the preposition ገን (*min*) is essentially a spatial relation marker.⁶ It is important to have a good understanding of the way in which spatial particles (and spatial relations in general) have been treated in the framework of cognitive linguistics/semantics. Zlatev (2006:173) gives the following definition of spatial expressions: “spatial expressions are conventional specifications of the location or the change of location (i.e., translocation) of an object.” With this definition in mind some of the basic concepts that have been employed in spatial semantics will now be examined.

3.2.2 Basic concepts

In attempts to describe the semantics of spatial expressions several spatial concepts have been proposed. The following, however, is a list of the concepts that are regarded as important for a descriptive system of spatial relations (Zlatev, 2006:174): “trajector, landmark, frame of reference, path, region, direction, and motion”.⁷ For the sake of clarity, the concepts relevant in the rest of the study to the description of ገን (*min*) will now be briefly discussed.

Trajector (TR) and landmark (LM)

The TR can be defined in simple terms as the thing that is to be located. The TR can be static or dynamic, an animate or inanimate object, or even a whole event. The LM, on the other hand, serves as the reference point for the TR⁸ (Radden & Dirven, 2007:305; Zlatev, 2006:174).

⁶ Although many of ገን (*min*) senses are not spatial in nature, it is hypothesised that they were derived in a principled manner from an earlier spatial sense (cf. Radden & Dirven, 2007:304; Tyler & Evans, 2003:47).

⁷ Zlatev (2006:174) notes that different authors may use different terms for these concepts, but in essence the idea behind each remains the same.

⁸ The TR and LM are also referred to as figure and ground, respectively (Radden & Dirven, 2007:305). This notion comes from gestalt psychology, which demonstrated that human beings automatically organise the elements that are present in a visual scene into a more prominent figure and a less prominent background (or ground) (Radden & Dirven, 2007:28).

When working with TRs and LMs it is important to consider the dimension of the LM. Radden and Dirven (2007:309) convincingly show that by determining the dimension⁹ of a LM, we can more or less determine the spatial region where the TR is located with regard to the LM (i.e. the spatial configuration between the two). The dimensions of a LM will now be discussed briefly.

In the Euclidian system of space three dimensions are specified: one dimension for length, two for length and width and three for length, width and depth. It is also important to note that a point in space can be described as having zero-dimensionality, that is, it has no shape of its own. Not only can zero-dimensionality be applied to LMs with no shape of their own, but also to those whose shape is indeterminate or irrelevant (Radden & Dirven, 2007:309–311).

Spaces that are one- or two-dimensional both have the property that TRs may come into contact with, or may be in contact with them as LMs. A TR is, typically, in lateral or sideways contact with a one-dimensional LM. In English, an example of this is *on the line*. TRs are usually considered to be in vertical contact with a two-dimensional LM, for example *on the desk* (Radden & Dirven, 2007:310).

A three-dimensional space is generally a container. With prepositions that are used with three-dimensional spaces, the shape of the LM is not the important element, but rather the interior cavity, because that is what constitutes a container (Radden & Dirven, 2007:313).

Path and region

Zlatev (2006:176) remarks that the concept of path in spatial semantics is employed in two different ways. The first “refers to the trajectory of actual or imagined motion of the trajector with respect to the landmark” (Zlatev, 2006:176). The second way in which it is used is to refer to three parts of a motion event, namely, a beginning, a middle and an end. This usage has been called a minimal path characterisation.

Tyler and Evans (2003:218–219) distinguish between a trajectory and a path, and explain that a trajectory cannot be separated from a mobile trajector and that it is an

⁹ The dimension of the LM refers to its geometrical shape. The shape of the trajector is irrelevant since it does not influence its spatial relationship with the LM (Radden & Dirven, 2007:309).

abstract representation of the course of the trajector's motion. A path on the other hand does not require motion. Zlatev's (2006:176) and Tyler and Evans's (2003:218–219) interpretations of path and trajectory are directly opposed to each other. The former holds that imagined motion can be included in a trajectory while the latter ascribes it to a path. In this study the view of Tyler and Evans (2003:218–219) will be followed.¹⁰ Evans and Tyler (2004:5) define a path as the “consequence of an end point or goal being related (i.e., connected) to a starting point or locational source by virtue of a series of contiguous points”. Conversely, a trajectory is defined as “the shape of the motion event” (Evans & Tyler, 2004:5).

Direction

In dynamic spatial relations the direction of a TR that is moving can be specified relative to a LM. In terms of the image-schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL (which can be employed to understand motion events), direction is mostly specified with respect to the goal of the motion. Sometimes it can also be specified with respect to the source and only very rarely with respect to the path (Radden & Dirven, 2007:307). Levinson and Wilkins (2006:4) explain that when both the source and the goal are specified, a unique vector is determined. In such a case, direction is specified without the need for frames of reference.¹¹ In some spatial expressions, however, no LM is present and thus also no region, source or goal. Consequently, a notion of direction is needed that should be “defined as a vector along one of the axes provided by a frame of reference, to express the translocation of a trajector” (Zlatev, 2006:176).

Motion

¹⁰ Johnson (1987:113) also seems to have this view of paths when he says that of the many paths that exist in our everyday lives, some are actual physical paths on a surface that you cross while others are projected paths which exist only in our imagination, like the path from the earth to the nearest star.

¹¹ Frame of reference relates to the way in which a spatial scene is viewed. In spite of much disagreement as to how a frame of reference should be defined, in general it can be said that a frame of reference “defines one or more reference points, and possibly also a coordinate system of axes and angles” (Zlatev, 2006:174). Three types of frames of reference have been identified by Levinson (1996:138): “(1) intrinsic frame of reference; (2) relative frame of reference; and (3) absolute frame of reference”. When using an intrinsic frame of reference to locate objects in space, their position is described by using the speaker's or hearer's momentary position as reference point. With a relative frame of reference, one or more reference objects are used to specify an object's position. With an absolute frame of reference, universal anchoring points, a system of coordinates or prominent environmental landmarks are used to indicate an object's location (Radden & Dirven, 2007:304-305).

Simply put, motion is the “change of an entity’s location over time” (Evans & Tyler, 2004:5). As with path, motion can be described in two different ways, namely, in a minimal way and in an imagistic way. When it is described in an imagistic way, fictive motion is also included in its description (Zlatev, 2006:176).

3.2.3 Embodied meaning and spatial experience¹²

We have seen that the notion of embodied meaning is one of the key concepts in cognitive semantics and it has been touched on briefly in section 3.2.

The world in which we as human beings live is taken in through our sensory perceptions. From these perceptions conceptualisations arise. For this reason, the spatio-physical features of the world and the humanly perceived experience thereof are basic to human cognition. Our experience of the world is determined to a large extent by the kind of bodies we have. It is also suggested by many cognitive scientists that this embodied experience gives rise to our conceptual structure, which is the thought and concepts in our mind. All of this leads to the contention that “meaning itself is embodied” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:23–24).

From this argument it follows that our spatio-physical experience provides the grounding for many of the concepts that are expressed by language.¹³ If one did not understand the foundational character of spatio-physical experience in our construction of meaning, an adequate description of the semantics of a spatial preposition would be difficult if not impossible (Tyler & Evans, 2003:27). It is therefore imperative that this should be taken into account in the analysis that will be done in this study.

In the methodology that will be used in this study, it is assumed that human beings divide the way in which they perceive and experience the world into spatial scenes. These spatial scenes are brought about by the manner according to which humans perceive, analyse and understand entities in the world.¹⁴ Spatial scenes and our

¹² The heading of this subsection derives its name from the title of the second chapter in *The semantics of English prepositions* (Tyler & Evans, 2003:23).

¹³ Tyler and Evans (2003:25) note that some abstract concepts derive from internal and not external experience.

¹⁴ As has already been noted, this perceiving, analysis and understanding are completely dependent on the nature of our bodies as humans and how we interact with the world (Tyler & Evans, 2003:27).

conceptualisation thereof relate to the way in which entities in the world are related to each other in recurring ways. As soon as such a spatial scene is constructed it presents us with meaningful concepts, which originated from spatio-physical experience. These concepts can be extended in a systematic way to non-physical domains. This extension can often be seen to be reflected in linguistic systems (Tyler & Evans, 2003:27–28).

A spatial scene consists of two types of elements, namely, configurational and functional elements. Configurational elements are comprised of a TR, a LM¹⁵ and a conceptual spatial relation that exists between the two. The functional elements, on the other hand, signify the interactive relationship that is found between the TR and the LM in a certain spatial configuration. The fact that the spatial configuration between the TR and the LM has consequences in the real world gives rise to the functional element of the spatial scene (Tyler & Evans, 2003:50–51).

Related to spatial scenes is the concept of the proto-scene, which is central in this study. Tyler and Evans (2003:52) describe the proto-scene as “an idealized mental representation across the recurring spatial scenes associated with a particular spatial particle; hence it is an abstraction across many similar spatial scenes”. Proto-scenes are stored in memory because of their utility and frequency in human experience (Tyler & Evans, 2003:52).

The theoretical environment of the methodology that will be employed in this study has now been discussed, as well as the basic concepts relating to spatial semantics. With this basic foundation we can now proceed to a discussion of the principled polysemy model.

3.3 Principled polysemy approach

3.3.1 Introduction

Within the framework of cognitive semantics, Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans developed the principled polysemy approach. In terms of this approach, a methodology is proposed to analyse polysemous prepositions in a way that is verifiable and objective (Evans & Green, 2006:342). This is done by means of 1)

¹⁵ See section 3.2.2 for a description of these terms.

determining when something should count as a distinct sense as opposed to when the meaning is context-dependent,¹⁶ and 2) by establishing the central or prototypical sense of the preposition (Tyler & Evans, 2001:731, 733).

In terms of this approach it is assumed that polysemy is the best explanation for multiple meanings associated with one lexical form.¹⁷ According to the polysemy approach, a linguistic form is associated with a network of distinct, though related, meanings instead of with a single meaning. A central assumption of this approach is therefore that the senses of a spatial particle are related to each other in some motivated way. These senses constitute what is called a *semantic network*. However, not all usages of a linguistic form are contained in this network, only those meanings that are instantiated in long-term semantic memory. Other senses or uses are constructed on-line when regular utterances are interpreted (Tyler & Evans, 2003:7). The difficulty that arises is how to distinguish between these two types of use. The method that Tyler and Evans (2003:42–43) propose for solving this problem will now be explained.

3.3.2 Determining the distinct senses

For determining whether a sense of a preposition should be considered to be a distinct sense, Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003) provided two criteria. Firstly, “for a sense to count as distinct, it must contain additional meaning not apparent in any other senses associated with a particular form” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:42–43). By this they mean that a distinct sense must have a non-spatial meaning or that the configuration between the LM and the TR should be different from that in the proto-scene.¹⁸

¹⁶ This part of the methodology aims to address the problem that Cuyckens and Zawada (2001:xv) describe as “a problem that any account of polysemy ... needs to come to terms with”, namely, to distinguish between “those aspects of meaning that give rise to different polysemous senses of a word vs. those that are manifestations of a single sense”.

¹⁷ The two alternative approaches to this issue are that of homonymy and monosemy. The former holds that the distinct senses are just accidentally associated with one linguistic form (Tyler & Evans, 2003:5; Koskela & Murphy, 2006:742). On the other hand, in monosemy a lexical form is paired only with one very abstract meaning. Contextual knowledge can then be added to this abstract meaning so that all the meaning associated with it can be derived (Tyler & Evans, 2003:6).

¹⁸ In the earlier version of these criteria, Tyler and Evans (2001:731–732) do not specify that the configuration should be different from that of the proto-scene but rather from that of the other senses of the preposition.

The application of this criterion can be demonstrated by looking at an example that Tyler and Evans (2003:43) provide in their analysis of the English preposition *over*. The sentence *Joan nailed a board over the hole in the ceiling* is said to contain a distinct sense of *over* since the configuration between the TR and the LM is different from that in the proto-scene which they propose. They showed that the proto-scene involves a configuration in which the TR is located higher than the LM (Tyler & Evans, 2003:66). In the above example the TR is not located higher than the LM, but rather lower than it. *Over* in this sentence contains an additional semantic element of covering that was not present in the proto-scene (Tyler & Evans, 2003:43).

The second criterion they propose entails that some instances of the sense in question should be context independent.¹⁹ This means that examples of the sense should be available “in which the distinct sense could not be inferred from another sense and the context in which it occurs” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:43).

To get a clearer grasp of how this criterion will be implemented, let us once again consider an example that Tyler and Evans (2003:43) provide: *Joan nailed a board over the hole in the wall*. Tyler and Evans (2003:44) explain that there are no clues in this sentence that allow the reader to infer a covering sense for *over*. They argue that the spatial scene here would normally be described by an expression like *next to*. Thus, unless *over* already has a covering sense associated with it, this sense could not be derived from the context.

3.3.3 Determining the primary sense

The second facet of the analysis of a polysemic preposition is the determining of its central or primary sense. There has been much debate about what the primary sense of a particle is, and how it should be determined. Even though some scholars have

¹⁹ In later work, Evans himself criticises this criterion that he and Tyler (2003:43) offered. In his book *How words mean: lexical concepts, cognitive models and meaning construction* (2009), Evans writes that although the Principled Polysemy approach was aimed at determining sense units which are associated with words, “it could not in fact do this, as context necessarily enters into any given meaning.” In this book he provides an updated methodology for identifying the lexical concepts (i.e. senses) which are associated with lexical forms (i.e. words) (Evans, 2009:28). Although this is a very valid point, Taylor (2010:507) has argued that the theory proposed in this book is “very much a work in progress.” He notes; for instance, that the amount of data which Evans uses to illustrate the theory is much too little and that it sometimes leads to “unjustified generalizations” (Taylor, 2010:506). Due to concerns such as these this updated theory will not be employed in the study at hand.

suggested that any analysis of what constitutes a primary sense is relatively arbitrary, Tyler and Evans (2003:47) argue that it is possible to present a set of criteria that is able to provide a “more principled, inter-subjective method for determining the appropriate primary sense for individual spatial particles”.²⁰

The two major types of evidence that can be employed to reduce the arbitrariness of selecting a primary sense are linguistic and empirical evidence. In order to constitute criteria, these two pieces of evidence should be used together. Tyler and Evans (2003:47–50) focus on linguistic evidence and merely mention briefly the empirical evidence provided by studies done by Beitel, Gibbs and Sanders (2001), Gibbs and Matlock (2001), and Cuyckens, Sandra and Rice (1997), among others²¹.

The criteria for linguistic evidence include the following (Tyler & Evans, 2003:47): “(1) The earliest attested meaning, (2) predominance in semantic network, (3) use in composite forms (Langacker, 1987), (4) relations to other spatial particles, and (5) grammatical predictions (Langacker, 1987).” Each of these criteria will now be briefly discussed.

The earliest attested meaning

The conceptualisation of spatial relations in a language is very stable in nature and therefore the historically earliest sense for a preposition is one likely candidate for the primary sense.²² The earliest attested sense of spatial particles is an active and major component of its synchronic semantic network²³ (Tyler & Evans, 2003:47–48). The evidence that Tyler and Evans (2003:47) have gathered from English has generally shown that the earliest attested uses of prepositions relate to a spatial configuration that exists between the LM and the TR.²⁴

²⁰ Tyler and Evans (2003:47) acknowledge that “advance experimentation may eventually prove the criteria inadequate, but for the present, we believe they provide an important move in the right direction.”

²¹ Owing to the fact that there are no native speakers of Biblical Hebrew around to help us conduct empirical experiments, this study will only make use of the linguistic evidence that is found in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the book of Judges.

²² This is not necessarily the case with words from other word classes (Tyler & Evans, 2003:47).

²³ Since we have little evidence for מִן (*min*) outside the Hebrew Bible, this criterion will be difficult to apply, but this will be further considered in the chapter in which the data will be discussed.

²⁴ Radden and Dirven (2007:304) agree with this when stating that: “most prepositions denote spatial relations as their basic and historically primary meanings, and their uses in abstract domains are

The predominance within the semantic network

Tyler and Evans (2003:48) “interpret predominance to mean the unique spatial configuration that is involved in the majority of the distinct senses found in the network”. In their study of *over* they (Tyler & Evans, 2003:48) found fifteen distinct senses, with the majority (eight) involving a spatial configuration in which the TR is located higher than the landmark. This criterion thus suggests that in the primary sense of *over* the TR is located higher than the landmark.

The use of the particle in composite forms

In English, spatial particles can be involved in two types of composite lexical unit, namely, compound forms (e.g. *overcoat*), and verb particle forms (e.g. *look over*).²⁵ Participation in a composite form will not directly determine the primary sense, but when a sense does not participate in a composite form, that sense is probably not primary in the network (Tyler & Evans, 2003:48).

The relation to other spatial particles

Certain clusters of particles within the complete group of spatial particles “form compositional sets that divide up various spatial dimensions” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:48).²⁶ Looking at other particles in such a compositional set is important since the meaning of a particle in a contrast set is determined in part by the way it contrasts with the other particles in the set. The sense of the preposition that is used in the formation of a contrast set is a good candidate for the primary sense (Tyler & Evans, 2003:49).

Grammatical predictions

metaphorical extensions of spatial meanings.” They explain that abstract domains such as circumstances, time, cause, purpose or reason are so frequently and naturally described in terms of space that we hardly realise that a metaphor is involved. The fact that humans have such rich conceptions of space has the result that we even keep the typology of space when we project spatial ideas onto abstract domains. It is further noted that spatial prepositions used metaphorically in abstract domains enable language users to make more detailed distinctions in the abstract domains that would not have been possible were it not for spatial metaphors (Radden & Dirven, 2007:304).

²⁵ The types of composite forms in which spatial particles in Biblical Hebrew are involved will be different, but this will be examined in the chapter in which the data are discussed.

²⁶ Examples of such sets in English are *before* and *after*, and *in* and *out*. Examples of compositional sets in Biblical Hebrew will be given in section 4.5.

This criterion holds that there should be a number of distinct senses that should be directly derivable from the primary sense. If a sense cannot be derived directly, it should be traceable to a sense that was indeed derived directly from the primary sense. When seeking to represent a distinct sense as directly relating to the primary sense, it is important to be able to find examples of sentences where the “context provides the implicature²⁷ that gives rise to the additional meaning associated with the distinct sense” (Tyler & Evans, 2003:49).

3.3.4 Sense extensions

The way in which a primary sense and distinct, but related, senses can be determined has now been discussed. However, another goal of the principled polysemy approach (and of the study at hand) is to ascertain how and why new senses of the preposition were derived from the primary sense. The hypothesis put forward in the principled polysemy approach is that all the senses paired with a preposition were derived from the proto-scene (or from a sense that can be traced to the proto-scene) at a certain time in the development of the language (Tyler & Evans, 2003:58).

There has been much debate about the relation between the hypothesis that all senses are derived from the proto-scene and the mental reality of language users. Gibbs and Matlock (2001:214) point out that the theoretical proposals of cognitive linguists about polysemous word meanings and their relation to the mental representation of meaning are viewed in various different ways, which will be discussed now. One opinion is that the proposals about polysemic word meanings actually represent cognitive theories. Others argue that theories about polysemy are best seen as hypotheses that need empirical support from psychology and neuroscience. A third view is that lexical networks, for example, are depictive schemes of the diachronic and synchronic relations underlying a polysemous lexical item. The scholars who hold this view do not, however, claim that polysemy tells us anything about mental representation.

It would seem that Tyler and Evans (2003) agree with the third opinion. They argue that empirical research has suggested that language users do not necessarily

²⁷ The notion of implicature will be explained in the following section (3.3.4).

perceive a primary sense from which the other senses were derived; that is, speakers are not consciously aware that there is a relationship between the different senses of a certain lexical form. In the principled polysemy approach, it is assumed that language users may not recognise all the senses of a phonological form as being synchronically related. It is nevertheless held that all the senses in the semantic network of a spatial particle are diachronically related.²⁸ The fact that language users are not aware of this relatedness can be explained by processes of language change, which obscured the original motivation for the way in which senses were derived from the earlier senses for language users (Tyler & Evans, 2003:59).

One such process is called pragmatic strengthening. The result of this process is that a new meaning component is associated with a particular lexical form because of its continued use in contexts where the implicature for the new meaning results. If such an implicature is recurring it can be reanalysed as separated from the scene of which it formed part. When it is reanalysed in such a way, the implicature as a distinct meaning component becomes conventionalised. When this additional sense has been instantiated in semantic memory it can be used in new contexts which are unrelated to the context in which it has originally arisen. When such a conventionalised sense is used, the speaker no longer actively draws on the metaphorical conceptualisations that gave rise to the sense (Tyler & Evans, 2003:60–61).

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the methodological framework that will be used in the analysis of the polysemy of ገን (*min*) was discussed. The chapter commenced with an overview of the broader theoretical ground in which the study is situated, namely, that of cognitive linguistics. The discussion then narrowed to the more specific field of cognitive semantics. With regard to cognitive semantics, spatial semantics was looked at since it bears particular significance for the study of spatial particles such as ገን (*min*).

²⁸ For example, the English preposition *in* has a sense which indicates being in a state, instead of a location, as in the sentence *He is in love*. It has been argued that this sense arose from an experiential correlation between being in a location and being in an emotional state. Owing to the fact that this state sense of *in* became a conventionalised sense, speakers do not draw on the metaphor which originally gave rise to the sense (Tyler & Evans, 2003:61).

Lastly, the specific methodology used to answer the research questions in this study, namely, the principled polysemy approach, was described in relative detail.

The following two chapters, chapters 4 and 5, are devoted to an analysis of the data according to the principled polysemy approach. Chapter 4 will seek to determine a possible proto-scene for מִן (*min*), while chapter 5 will focus on proposing a semantic network for this preposition.

Chapter 4

The proto-scene for מִן (*min*)

In this chapter, the data will be presented and discussed according to the methodology that was explained in the previous chapter. The discussion of the data will begin with an overview of the dataset. The methodology will then be applied to the data to determine the proto-scene of מִן (*min*) that is evidenced in Judges.

4.1 The dataset

The data for this study was taken from the book of Judges. In this book the preposition מִן (*min*) occurs 277 times in total. In 245 (88,4%) cases, מִן (*min*) is assimilated in the word following it or attached to pronominal suffixes. In 32 (11,6%) cases it occurs in the canonical form.¹ This distribution is summarised in the table below. As far as it could be determined, whether מִן (*min*) is assimilated or not, it does not make a difference to its semantics. None of the grammars or lexica that were consulted made any allusion to such a difference. As is clear from its distribution in Judges, the canonical form appears much less than the assimilated form. Waltke and O'Connor (1990:212) observe that the canonical form regularly appears before the article and only irregularly otherwise.

Table 4.1: Distribution of מִן (*min*) in Judges

	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
Canonical form	32	11,6
Assimilated to following word	232	83,8
With pronominal suffix	13	4,7
Total occurrences	277	100

¹ Included in the 32 instances of the canonical form are the two times that it appears as מִיִּן (*minnî*) in Judges 5:14. According to Brown *et al.* (1907), this form is used mainly in poetry, and Koehler and Baumgartner (1953:535) remark that it is the older form of the preposition. Clines (2001:337) merely states that it is a rarer form of the preposition. No apparent difference in meaning exists between this form and the shorter, more common, form מִן (*min*).

מִן (*min*) also appears in conjunction with other lexical items. It is used twice in the dataset with the preposition אֶת (*ʿet*)² and once with עִם (*ʿim*)³. With עַל (*ʿal*) it is used 11 times.⁴ It is prefixed to the construct noun פְּנֵי (*pəneʿ*) 16 times⁵ and it is used once with תַּחַת (*taḥat*)⁶, once with סָבִיב (*sābîb*)⁷ and twice with נֶגֶד (*neḡed*).⁸

4.2 Criterion 1 – The earliest attested sense

The first criterion for determining the primary sense states that the diachronically earliest sense of a preposition is likely to be the primary sense. To find the diachronically earliest sense for Biblical Hebrew, however, is not so easy since the main evidence that we have of Biblical Hebrew is contained in the closed corpus of the Hebrew Bible. Unlike Tyler and Evans, who developed the methodology, we are dealing with an ancient language that is no longer in use.⁹ Tyler and Evans's (2003) methodology was designed for analysing English prepositions¹⁰ and since there is such a large amount of written English material in all the stages of the language, they could easily trace the earliest usages of any given preposition.¹¹ Applying this criterion would therefore rarely be a problem in English.

Since there is no immediate information available about the earliest usage of מִן (*min*), two other sources of information will be employed in the application of this criterion. Firstly, the way in which מִן (*min*) etymology was treated will be briefly mentioned and, secondly, its occurrence in related languages will be touched on.

² Judg. 1:14 and 19:2.

³ Judg. 9:37

⁴ Judg. 1:14; 3:19; 3:20; 3:21; 4:15; 8:3; 13:20; 15:14; 16:12; 16:19; 16:20

⁵ Judg. 2:3; 2:18; 2:21; 2:21; 5:5; 5:5; 6:2; 6:6; 6:9; 6:11; 9:21; 9:40; 11:3; 11:23; 11:24; 11:33

⁶ Judg. 3:16

⁷ Judg. 2:14

⁸ Judg. 9:17; 20:34

⁹ This was also noted by Lyle (2012:60), who analysed the Biblical Hebrew prepositions of עִם (*ʿim*) and אֶת (*ʿet*).

¹⁰ This is clear from the title of the book in which the methodology is explained, namely, *The semantics of English prepositions*. In other works they also applied this methodology to English prepositions, for example Tyler and Evans (2001); Evans (2005) and Tyler and Evans (2004).

¹¹ The *Oxford English Dictionary*, for example, lists examples of a word's occurrence throughout the different stages of the language. It also provides elaborate etymological information.

As has already been noted in the discussion of the literature on מִן (*min*), the assumption about the origin of מִן (*min*) in Gesenius's lexicon (section 2.1.1.1) is that it is the construct state of the noun מִן (*mēn*), meaning *part* or *portion* (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:481). In accordance with this assumption, the partitive meaning of מִן (*min*) is then assumed to be the primary meaning. In contrast with this explanation of the origin of מִן (*min*), is that which is offered in Gesenius's grammar (section 2.1.2.1). This also assumes that מִן (*min*) stems from a substantive, but here the meaning of the noun from which it stems is said to be *separation*¹² (Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:297). Hence, the primary sense is given as *separation*.

It is noteworthy that these two sources differ so sharply on the origin of מִן (*min*). The fact that none of the other grammars or lexica that were consulted makes assumptions about the etymology of מִן (*min*) further points to the uncertainty that exists in this regard.

The preposition מִן (*min*) does not, however, occur in Biblical Hebrew only. It is also attested in other Semitic languages. Lipiński (2001:474) explains that the two primary prepositions -ב (b-) and -ל (l-) of Semitic languages indicated only general position and general direction, respectively. Because of this, he argues, a need for a particle with a more specific meaning of “from” or “away from” arose. In the first millennium BC, therefore, a new preposition (*min*) appeared in South Semitic and West Semitic,¹³ which had a “centrifugal meaning” (Lipiński, 2001:474). This preposition is found in Hebrew, Aramaic, Phoenician, North Arabian, Arabic, South Arabian, Modern South Arabian and Ethiopic.¹⁴ In the case of each of these languages, Lipiński glosses the target preposition with “from”.¹⁵ This seems to indicate that he regards a sense of the preposition, which can be glossed with “from”, as the basic sense in all these languages.

¹² The supposed noun is not mentioned.

¹³ Biblical Hebrew is classified as West Semitic.

¹⁴ The form of the preposition differs between the languages, but are all regarded as being derived from the same root.

¹⁵ The gloss “by” is added only in the case of Arabic and Aramaic (Lipiński, 2001:716,724). This gloss indicates that the preposition is also used to indicate the agent of a passive verb.

Since Lipiński's goal is not to provide extended semantic information about the preposition, it might be useful to briefly note that 𐤌𐤍 (*min*) in the other languages also displays more than one sense. In Biblical Aramaic, for instance, it displays the same kind of polysemy as in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Koehler & Baumgartner, 1953:1094–1095). Baumgartner (in the Biblical Aramaic part of the dictionary) lists six senses, of which the first one is said to involve *space* and to mean *from*. By listing it first, he probably regards it as the primary sense.¹⁶

According to Biella (1982:278–279), in the Sabaeen dialect of Old South Arabian, the target preposition seems to display usages in which it indicates separation/source, origin and partitive. As regards *mn* in Phoenician, Harris (1936:120) glosses it with “from, of” and provides four examples that seem to display senses of origin, and source/separation.¹⁷

It is obvious that neither the etymology of 𐤌𐤍 (*min*) nor information about its usage in other languages provides us with decisive evidence for the earliest usage of 𐤌𐤍 (*min*). Nevertheless, two general observations can be made. Firstly, only a separation or a partitive sense is suggested when looking at the etymology. Secondly, the fact that Lipiński (2001:474) contends that 𐤌𐤍 (*min*) has developed because of a need for a preposition to indicate “from” or “away from” and that it had a centrifugal meaning seems to suggest that its primary sense should be exactly that.

4.3 Criterion 2 – The predominance within the semantic network

As was explained in the methodology, the second criterion for determining the primary sense is to look at the unique spatial configuration that is involved in the majority of the senses of the preposition¹⁸ (Tyler & Evans, 2003:48). In Tyler and

¹⁶ In Syriac, one of the later dialects of Aramaic, ܡܢ (*min*) is also attested, displaying similar polysemy. The description that Brockelmann (1968:111) gives for it makes it clear that he regards ܡܢ (*min*) to primarily indicate “separation” and the “source” (ܡܢ (*min*) “bezeichnet die Trennung und den Ausgangspunkt”).

¹⁷ In the example that displays a source/separation sense, Harris (1936:120) suggests that although ܒܢ (*bn*) is used instead of ܡܢ (*mn*), this sound change is probably due to dissimilation and ܒܢ (*bn*) should be considered to be the same preposition.

¹⁸ In order to apply this criterion, the distinct senses are already assumed, but, according to Tyler and Evans's (2003) criteria, one needs the primary sense in order to identify the distinct senses. It is

Evans's (2003:48) explanation, it would seem that they have applied this criterion to *over* after they have explained the sense extensions. In their explanation of these extensions they have related even the non-spatial senses to spatial configurations of the TR and the LM. In other words, they considered the non-spatial sense that was derived from a particular spatial sense to count as having the same configuration as its spatial predecessor. Accordingly, they could determine the configuration that occurs most frequently across the semantic network by also counting the non-spatial senses.

The different senses of מִן (*min*) that are present in Judges, as well as the sense extensions, will be explained in chapter 5. It is therefore necessary to take a quick look ahead in order to apply this criterion in the way that it was proposed in the methodology. Ten distinct senses for מִן (*min*) have been identified in accordance with the methodology for determining the senses. In the analysis of these senses, it will be shown that all the senses of מִן (*min*) have a configuration in which the LM serves as the source of the TR and in which the TR is separated from the LM, or in the case of the non-spatial senses, a predecessor of this configuration.

4.4 Criterion 3 – The use of the particle in composite forms

It will be remembered that this criterion holds that a sense of the preposition that is not attested in a composite form is most likely not a contender for the primary sense. This does not, however, imply that the opposite is true; namely, that a sense which is found in a composite form should be primary.

מִן (*min*) is prefixed to a number of other lexical items. As noted in the discussion of the dataset, it is used with the prepositions אֶת (*'et*), עִם (*'im*), תַּחַת (*taḥat*) and עַל (*'al*). It is also prefixed to נֶגַד (*neḡed*), סָבִיב (*sābīb*), in the book of Judges.¹⁹ It is also frequently prefixed to the construct noun פְּנֵי (*pənē*).

therefore unavoidable to have to identify preliminary distinct senses in order to be able to propose a proto-scene. This difficulty in the methodology has also been noted by Lyle (2012:63).

¹⁹ The composite forms in which מִן (*min*) occurs in the rest of the Hebrew Bible will not be considered in this study.

Lyle (2012:64) has argued that in cases where מן (*min*) is prefixed to אַתְּ (²*eṯ*) and עִם (³*im*),²⁰ the compound prepositions מִיָּאֵת (*mē³eṯ*) and מִיָּעִם (*mē³im*) regularly have meanings of both source and separation.²¹ This is clear in the following two examples:

(6) Judges 19:2

וַתֵּלֶךְ מֵאֵתוֹ אֶל בֵּית אָבִיהָ

wattēlek mē³ittô ³el-bêt ³ābîhā

And she went away from him to her father's house.

(7) Judges 9:37

עַם יוֹרְדִים מֵעַם טַבּוּר הָאָרֶץ

‘ām yôrdîm mē³im ṭabbûr hā³āreṣ

People are coming down from the centre of the land.

In (6) מן (*min*) clearly indicates the separation of the concubine from the man. The use of מִיָּאֵת (*mē³eṯ*) instead of just מן (*min*) seems to emphasise the fact they had a shared presence before the separation took place. In (7) it would seem that מִיָּעִם (*mē³im*) indicates the separation of the people from the centre of the land. In both examples the compound preposition also indicates the source of the TR's motion.²²

This is also the case when מן (*min*) is prefixed to עַל (³*al*). In the following example עַל (³*al*) is used to indicate the shared presence of the king and his attendants. When מן (*min*) is prefixed to עַל (³*al*) it indicates the separation of the attendants from the presence of the king. The presence of the king is also the source of their motion.

(8) Judges 3:19

וַיֵּצְאוּ מֵעֲלָיו כָּל הָעֹמְדִים עָלָיו:

wayyēṣû mē³ālāyw kol-hā³ōmdîm ‘ālāyw

²⁰ These two prepositions have convincingly been shown to be synonyms by Lyle (2012:106).

²¹ עִם (³*im*) and אַתְּ (²*eṯ*) on their own usually indicate shared presence and spatial proximity.

²² Cf. section 4.7, where the relation between separation and source is explained.

And all the people who were standing around him went out from his presence.

The other lexical items that מן (*min*) occurs together with in Judges are סָבִיב (*sābīb*),²³ נָגַד (*neḡeḏ*),²⁴ and תַּחַת (*taḥaṭ*). In the instances where מן (*min*) occurs with these words, a sense of position is displayed rather than one of source/separation. Consider the following examples:

(9) Judges 2:14

וַיִּמְכְּרֵם בְּיַד אֹיְבֵיהֶם מִסָּבִיב:

wayyimkārēm bəyad ʾōybēhem missābīb

And he sold them into the hand of their enemies around them.

(10) Judges 9:17

וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ אֶת נַפְשׁוֹ מִנֶּגֶד:

wayyašlēk ʾet-napšō minneḡeḏ

He threw his life in front [of himself].

(11) Judges 7:8

וַיִּמְחַנֶּה מִדְּיָן הָיָה לוֹ מִתַּחַת בְּעֵמֶק:

ūmaḥănē^h midyān hāyā^h lô mittāḥaṭ bāʿēmeq

And the camp of Midian was below him in the valley.

In examples (9) to (11), מן (*min*) is used to indicate the position of a TR relative to a LM, rather than its separation from a specified LM.

The compound preposition מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) occurs 15 times in Judges and frequently in the rest of the Hebrew Bible. It consists of the noun פָּנִים (*pānîm*) (meaning “face”)

²³ סָבִיב (*sābīb*) is mostly classified as a substantive but is said to be used mostly as an adverb or a preposition (Brown *et al.*, 1979:687; Koehler and Baumgartner, 1995:740).

²⁴ There is some disagreement about the classification of נָגַד (*neḡeḏ*). Clines (2001:603) classifies it as a preposition, whereas Brown *et al.* (1979:617) regard it as a substantive which is always used as an adverb or a preposition.

in its construct form, with מִן (*min*) prefixed. Indeed, in some cases it has a separation sense and quite literally means “from before (the face of ...)”. An example of this sense can be seen in (12).

(12) Judges 2:3

וְגַם אֶמְרָתִי לֹא אֶגְרֹשׁ אֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם

wəḡam ʔāmártî lōʔ-ʔāḡārēš ʔōtām mippənêkem

And now I say, I will not drive them out before you

This construction does, however, also display other senses of מִן (*min*). In example (13) it is clear that it is used to express cause. In this sentence, the people groaned because they were afflicted and oppressed. To express it differently, their groanings were caused by their oppressors and afflictors.

(13) Judges 2:18

כִּי יָנַחַם יְהוָה מִנְּאֻקָּתָם מִפְּנֵי לְחֻצְיָהֶם וְדַחְקֵיהֶם:

kî-yinnāḥēm yhw(ʔādōnāy) minnaʔāqāṭām mippənê lō

ḥāšêhem wəḏōḥāqêhem

For the LORD was moved to pity by their groaning because of those who afflicted and oppressed them.

In the application of this criterion it became clear that מִן (*min*) exhibits a source/separation sense, a position sense and a cause sense²⁵ when it is used in composite forms. The goal of this criterion, however, is to show that the senses that are *not* attested in the compound forms are probably *not* primary. This means that of the other senses that will be explained in chapter 5, the following are not likely candidates for the primary sense: exception, comparison, negative consequence, time, material source, origin, partitive, and agent.

4.5 Criterion 4 – The relation to other spatial particles

²⁵ Although the cause sense is found when מִן (*min*) is used in compound forms, it is also not a likely candidate for the primary sense since it is a non-spatial sense (see section 3.3.3).

This criterion for determining the primary sense is motivated by the fact that the meaning of a spatial particle is partly determined by its relation to other spatial particles. For example, the meaning of the spatial preposition *up* in English is partly determined by the meaning of *down* (Tyler & Evans, 2003:49).

In order to get a clearer grip on the primary meaning of מִן (*min*), it is thus necessary to look at other spatial particles that relate to מִן (*min*). With regard to prepositions, much research has been done by Ernst Jenni (1992). In his book which focuses on the preposition -בִּי (*bə-*), he summarises the grades of semantic specialisation that can be differentiated for Biblical Hebrew prepositions. According to him, the prepositions that have the most general meaning are -בִּי (*bə-*), -לִי (*lə-*) and -כִּי (*kə-*). מִן (*min*) is classified as a preposition that has intermediate specialisation, which he regards as indicating directionality. לָאֵל (*ʔel*), which also indicates directionality, is listed as the opposite of מִן (*min*) (Jenni, 1992:18).

It is clear that Jenni only considered one of מִן's (*min*) uses in this contrast set. The fact that he uses the sense of spatial separation of מִן (*min*) that contrasts with לָאֵל'S (*ʔel*) sense of spatial approaching is significant, since this indicates that he probably considered this sense to be מִן's (*min*) primary sense.

In the entry for לָאֵל (*ʔel*), Brown *et al.* (1979:41) also state that the opposite thereof is מִן (*min*). The fact that Brown *et al.* consider these prepositions to be opposites is also evidenced in the summarised definition that they give for both these prepositions before the explanation of the different senses. As noted in section 2.1.1.2, Brown *et al.* in summary describe מִן (*min*) as a preposition “expressing the idea of separation”. לָאֵל (*ʔel*) is described as a preposition “denoting motion to or direction towards”.

4.6 Criterion 5 – Grammatical predictions

One of the assumptions of polysemy is that the goal of language is communication. Accordingly, a speaker would not use a lexical form with one established meaning to communicate something else unless he was sure that the hearer would understand it

(Tyler & Evans, 2003:5–6). From this it follows that the secondary senses of a preposition (or any other word for that matter) should be related to the primary sense in a motivated way. The hearer of a novel use of a preposition should be able to find some motivated relation between this sense and the sense/senses that are already established in his or her semantic memory. This criterion therefore holds that the distinct senses should be traceable, directly or through another sense, to the primary sense.

The relations of the distinct senses to the primary sense will be discussed in detail in chapter 5. In that chapter the way in which the senses were derived will be explained, as well as the processes which plausibly motivated the extensions that took place at some stage during the development of the language. For the time being, it will thus be necessary to state the conclusion of the investigation done in chapter 5.

In chapter 5, the senses that were identified are the following: position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, time, material source, origin, partitive, cause, and agent. The line of derivation from the proto-scene in each of these senses suggests that they can all be derived in a principled manner from a sense that indicates source and separation.

From the discussion of the criteria for determining the primary sense it became clear that all the criteria point to a proto-scene that involves a spatial configuration in which the TR is separated from the LM and in which the LM serves as the source of the TR's motion. In the following section (4.7) the researcher will attempt to show that source and separation do not constitute two distinct senses but rather two elements of the proto-scene of מן (*min*).

4.7 The proto-scene for מן (*min*)

This section will serve to elucidate the proto-scene of מן (*min*) that was proposed in the previous section. Let us consider an example that exhibits the proto-scene.

(14) Judges 4:14

וַיֵּרֶד בָּרַק מִהַר תְּבוֹר

wayyēred bārāq mēhar tābôr

And Barak went down from Mount Tabor.

In (14) we find a spatial scene involving a motion event in which Barak goes down from a mountain. As will be remembered from section 3.2.3, each spatial scene consists of configurational and functional elements. In this spatial scene, the configurational elements are the TR, Barak, the LM, Mount Tabor and the conceptual spatial relation that exists between the two. The TR goes down (movement takes place) from the mountain and thus comes to occupy a position away from the LM. The LM is therefore the locational source of the TR in this motion event. The verb *יָרַד* (*yrd*) serves to specify the trajectory of the TR's movement away from this point.²⁶ The spatial relation that exists between the LM and the TR is conceptualised as the TR being located away from the LM²⁷ after movement has taken place.

The second component of a spatial scene is the functional element. Functional elements relate to the interactive relationship that exists between the LM and the TR, which is meaningful because of the consequences that this has for real life. In this example, the TR moves away from the LM and this has the consequence that they are separated from each other by distance in space. One functional element in this spatial scene therefore is separation. *מֵן* (*min*) in (14) also contains an additional functional element, namely, that it indicates that the LM is the source of the TR's motion.

The proto-scene of *מֵן* (*min*) thus contains two elements: 1) source: the LM is the source of the TR's motion and 2) separation: the TR becomes separated from the LM.

Before moving on to the other distinct senses of *מֵן* (*min*), it is important to consider another example. It will be argued that the sense of *מֵן* (*min*) in example (15) is the same as the proto-scene. Since this usage has been treated by some as constituting

²⁶ In some other examples the direction of the motion event is specified in terms of a source and a goal. This will be shown in example (24). The semantic contribution of the verb, however, will not be taken into account in determining the sense of *מֵן* (*min*).

²⁷ In this sentence the mountain (*הַר תְּבוֹר* (*har tāvôr*)) is used metonymically for a certain area of the mountain instead of the whole mountain, since Barak did not occupy the whole mountain (cf. for example, Kövecses (2006:100) for a discussion of the metonymy of PART OF A THING FOR THE WHOLE THING).

a distinct sense, a brief investigation will be made to try to determine the reason for this distinction.

(15) Judges 1:24

וַיֵּרְאוּ הַשְּׂמֵרִים אִישׁ יוֹצֵא מִן הָעִיר

wayyir'û haššōmrîm 'iš yôšē' min-hā'îr

And the spies saw a man coming out of the city.

In (15), the TR (a man) comes out of the LM (the city). The TR becomes separated from the LM and the LM also serves as the source of the TR's motion. It would seem then that this corresponds to the proto-scene. The sense of מִן (*min*) in examples such as (15), however, has been treated by some²⁸ as being distinct from the separation sense that we find in (14). Others regard these senses as constituting one and the same sense.²⁹ The sense of מִן (*min*) that is found in examples such as (14) has been termed the ablative sense by Waltke and O'Connor (1990:212). By this they mean that it indicates "movement away from specified beginning point" (Waltke & O'Connor, 1990:212). Van der Merwe *et al.* (1999:287) also state that it designates the location from where an action is carried out, i.e. the source. These authors group examples such as (14) and (15) under this one sense, while others, such as Brown *et al.* (1979:577), are of the opinion that מִן (*min*) has a different sense in each of these two examples. The sense of מִן (*min*) in (14) can be classified under sense 1.a. in Brown *et al.* (1979:577), because it is used with a verb of descending from a LM. מִן's (*min*) usage in (15), however, can be grouped under sense 2.a, because it can be translated with *out of*.

The fact that authoritative sources differ on this raises the question as to why such doubt exists about these two uses of מִן (*min*). The issue behind this question is whether the sentence in (15) contains a distinct sense instantiated in semantic memory or whether it is merely a contextualised usage of the proto-scene. In an

²⁸ See, for example, Brown *et al.* (1907:577–578).

²⁹ See, for example, Koehler and Baumgartner (1995:597).

attempt to solve this problem we will test this sense against the criteria proposed by the methodology for determining distinct senses.

The first criterion requires that the configuration between the TR and the LM should be different from that in the proto-scene in order for the sense to count as distinct. In this example, the TR (the man) comes to occupy a place that is separated from the LM (the city). Since the TR moves out of the LM, it is also the source of the TR's motion. It would seem then that this causes the proposed sense to fail the first criterion, since the configuration between the TR and the LM is both spatial and the same as that of the proto-scene shown in (14).

The second criterion states that for a sense to count as distinct, it should be possible to find instances where this sense cannot be inferred from the sentential context. In this example the sense of separation can be inferred from the context, given that we already know that ḥḥ (*min*) has a source/separation sense. Accordingly, both the criteria posed by the methodology suggest that the use of ḥḥ (*min*) in example (15) does not constitute a distinct sense that is stored in semantic memory.

Although the criteria suggest that the sense in (15) is not a distinct sense, one should note that there is indeed a subtle difference between the two examples: the nature and dimensions of the LM in (15) are different from that in (14). It is thus necessary to look briefly at whether or not the nature and dimensions of a LM influence the spatial configuration of a spatial scene. An attempt will also be made to provide a possible explanation why Brown *et al.* (1979:577–578) made a distinction between the two senses.

In (14) the LM was a mountain which, technically, is three-dimensional, since it has length, width and depth. Nevertheless, the three-dimensionality of the mountain is not relevant to the spatial scene, since the interior part of the mountain is not involved in the relation between the TR and the LM. The part of the mountain that is relevant is a point on the surface of the mountain from which Barak went down (see (14)).

Although the surface is a two-dimensional space, points are zero-dimensional since a point does not have length, width or depth.³⁰

In (15), however, the LM is a city and one should keep in mind that the way in which modern cities are built is drastically different from the way cities were built in the past. In most cultures, cities were previously characterised by surrounding walls and city gates leading out of the walls. The city was a three-dimensional structure since the height of the walls provided the depth dimension. Hence, the source of the TR's motion is a three-dimensional container.³¹

It could be argued that *יָנַח* (*min*) needs to have an *out of* sense in order for us to be able to understand the utterance in (15); namely, that the TR moves out from a bounded LM and is no longer contained by it. However, this would attribute meaning to *יָנַח* (*min*), which is actually contained in the rest of the sentence. The verb *יָצָא* (*yats'a*) in (15) already contains the notion of going out of a bounded LM and, thus, it indicates that the TR is no longer being contained by that LM. *יָנַח* (*min*) in this sentence serves to indicate that the LM is the source of the TR's motion and that the TR becomes separated from the LM. The dimension of the LM, therefore, does not influence the spatial configuration between the TR and the LM.

Although the dimension of the LM does not change the TR–LM configuration and therefore also not the sense, it can lead to contextualised interpretations. Tyler and Evans (2003:73) are also of the opinion “that changes in the metric dimensions of the LM do not necessarily result in distinct senses”, but this does not exclude the possibility that the physical structure of the LM can lead to context-dependent implicature (Tyler & Evans, 2003:74).

In (15), the dimension of the LM, as well as the verb, has provided the information for understanding the sentence correctly. In this example, *יָנַח* (*min*) does not fulfil another

³⁰ In English, separation from a point is generally indicated by the prepositions *from* or *away from* (e.g. Radden & Dirven, 2007:310). This is noted here since Brown *et al.* glosses *יָנַח* (*min*) with *from* when it is used with verbs of descending.

³¹ Movement out of a container in English is mostly indicated by the preposition *out of* (e.g. Radden & Dirven, 2007:310). Again this is noted because Brown *et al.* glosses *יָנַח* (*min*) with *out of* when the source of the TR's movement is three-dimensional or when it is conceptualised as being three-dimensional.

purpose to the one that it fulfils in (14). It would seem then that Brown *et al.* (1979:577–578) have taken meaning components, such as exiting a bounded landmark, from the other elements in the sentence and included them in the meaning of מן (*min*) in such contexts.

The following three examples serve to make the proto-scene of מן (*min*) clearer. The relation of the TR and the LM in every instance is one in which the TR is separated from the LM and in which the LM serves as the source of the TR's motion, even though the nature and dimensions of the respective LMs differ.

(16) Judges 3:22

כִּי לֹא שָׁלַף הַחֶרֶב מִבֶּטְנוֹ

kî lōʿ šālāp haḥéreb mibbitnô

... because he did not pull the sword out of his belly ...

(17) Judges 6:38

וַיִּמַץ טַל מִן הַגִּזָּה מְלֹא הַסֶּפֶל מַיִם:

wayyîmeš tal min-haggizzā^h mēlôʿ hassēpel māyim

And he wrung dew from the fleece to fill a bowl with water.

(18) Judges 8:13

וַיָּשׁוּב גִדְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹאָשׁ מִן הַמִּלְחָמָה | מִלְמַעְלֵה הַחֶרֶס:

wayyāšob gidʿôn ben-yôʿāš min-hammilḥāmā^h miḵlōmaʿālē^h

heḥāres

Then Gideon the son of Joash returned from the battle, from the ascent of Heres.

In examples (16), (17) and (18), the spatial relation that exists between the TR and the LM is that they are separated in space after movement has taken place. The functional relation is that the LM is the source of the TR's movement. The relationship that held between the TR and the LM before movement has taken place is that the TR was located in the sphere of influence of the LM. For example, in (16) the blade of the sword was enclosed by Ehud's belly, in (17) the dew was absorbed

by the fleece, and in (18) Gideon was in such a relation to the battle that he could be influenced by it. Although the metric dimensions of the LM in these three examples are different, $\eta\eta$ (*min*) serves the same purpose in every case.

The proto-scene that can be abstracted from all of these examples is diagrammed below in figure 4.1:

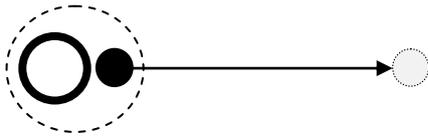


Figure 4.1: The proto-scene

In this diagram the TR is represented by the solid black sphere before movement has taken place and by the dashed, slightly shaded sphere after movement has taken place. The LM is represented by the circle with the thick outline, while the sphere of the LM's influence is represented by the dashed empty circle. The arrow indicates that the TR undergoes movement. Since it has been shown that the dimension of the LM does not influence the sense of ןָ (*min*), the sphere of influence of the LM involves both situations in which the TR can be contained by the LM and situations in which it is located in the proximity of the LM.

We have seen that the proto-scene of ןָ (*min*) is present in examples where the LM is both zero-dimensional and three-dimensional. The fact that the proto-scene can indicate separation from both types of LM will also be seen in the way in which the derived senses are related to the proto-scene (cf. chapter 5). It will be shown that in some of the senses the LM is conceptualised as being zero-, one- or two-dimensional and in others it is conceptualised as being three-dimensional. The way in which the LM is conceptualised will also influence the element of the proto-scene (source or separation) that is profiled in every distinct sense.

Some of the contextual uses of the proto-scene will now be shown briefly.

4.7.1 Contextual uses of the proto-scene

4.7.1.1 Speaking

(19) Judges 11:36

וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיּוֹ אָבִי פְּצִיטָהּ אֶת פִּיךָ אֶל יְהוָה עֲשֵׂה לִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר יִצְאֵךָ מִפִּיךָ
wattō³mer ʔelāyw ʔābî pāšîtā^h ʔet-píkā ʔel-yhwh(ʔādōnāy) ʕāšē^h
lî kaʔāšer yāšāʔ mippíkā

And she said to him, “My father, you have opened your mouth to the LORD; do to me according to what has gone out of your mouth ...”

That which Jephthah has spoken is said to have gone out of his mouth. The verb used here is יצא (*yāṣ*) (to go out), which was the same word used to describe a man coming out of the city in example (15). The mouth is therefore the LM and the words that he has spoken form the TR. The LM can thus be said to be the source of the TR. The proto-scene for מן (*min*) thus has an application in that it refers to the act of speaking.

4.7.1.2 Asking

(20) Judges 1:14

וַיְהִי בְבוֹאָהּ וַתְּסִיְתֶהּ לְשֹׂאוֹל מֵאֵת אָבִיהָ הַשָּׂדֶה

wayəhî bəbôʾāh wattəsîṭêhû lišʾôl mēʾēt-ʾābîhā hasśāde^h

When she came to him, she urged him to ask her father for a field.

Closely related to the use of the proto-scene to refer to speaking, is its function in indicating the person of whom something is asked, or requested. The verb that is used with מן (*min*) in this sentence is שאל (*šʾl*). The LM in this sentence is her father, and the TR is the field that she asks for. The TR does not perform any movement away from the LM, therefore the LM is not the actual source of the TR’s movement. The expected outcome of the asking, however, is that the father, the LM, will give the field (the TR) to the daughter. Although the field will not move in physical space, the change in the ownership of the field that takes place can be seen as movement.

4.7.1.3 Salvation

(21) Judges 6:9

וַאֲצִלְ אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּמִיַּד כָּל לְחָצִיכֶם

wāʾaṣṣîl ʾetkēm miyyaḏ mišrāyim ûmiyyaḏ kol-lōhăṣêkēm

And I delivered you from the hand of the Egyptians and from the hand of all who oppressed you.

One of the most common ways to describe salvation in the Hebrew Bible is with the idiomatic expression to “save from the hand of ...”.³² This expression is also frequently found in the book of Judges. When somebody has something in his hand, he has total control over it. He can restrict its actions and movements. In a metaphorical way, one person or group of people can be in the hand of another person or group of people when they have dominion over them. So, to save somebody from the hand of another person or nation is to take them out of that nation’s or person’s control. The proto-scene of מִן (*min*) is thus frequently used metaphorically to express salvation.

4.7.1.4 Fictive motion

One of the most interesting metaphorical uses of the proto-scene of מִן (*min*) is to indicate what has been called fictive motion. Consider the following example from Judges:

(22) Judges 21:19

לְמִסְלָהּ הָעֹלָה מִבֵּית אֵל שְׁכֶמָה

limsillā^h hā^ʿōlā^h mibbêt-ʿēl šəkémā^h

the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem

Langacker (2003:201) notes that fictive motion can also be called abstract or subjective motion. He gives the following example of this phenomenon in English (Langacker, 2003:201): “That funny white mark on my cat runs from its forehead down to the tip of its nose.” He observes that although directional elements and motion verbs are used in this sentence, nothing actually moves in the scene. He argues that the direction of the motion and the motion itself are subjective or virtual. In conceptualising the scene, one mentally scans the length of the mark on the cat’s face. Nevertheless, the event is described as though it were an actual event of movement.

We also see this in example (22). The verb הָלָךְ (*ʿālā^h*) (“go up”) is a motion verb which is used here with a static entity, namely the highway, which is said to go up

³² Cf. for example Genesis 32:12, Exodus 3:8, 1 Samuel 12:11 and 2 Samuel 3:18.

from Bethel to Shechem. Let us consider the following example which will assist in explaining the use of מן (*min*) in an expression that indicates fictive motion.

(23) Numbers 20:19

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בַּמִּסְלָה נֵעֲלֶה

wayyōʾmərū ʿēlāyw bənê-yisrāʿel bāməsillā^h na ʿāle^h

And the people of Israel said to him, “We will go up by the highway ...”

In example (23), the people of Israel say that they will go up by the highway. We see that a mobile TR (the people) is moving on a static LM (the highway). The motion that the TR undergoes allows us to scan the distance over which the highway extends. It is now argued that even when there is no TR moving on the road we still imagine a TR moving along the road to help us to scan the extent of the road. This is confirmed by Radden and Dirven (2007:308), who give an explanation for the same phenomenon in English. They argue that although the road itself does not move, we describe it as moving because of this imaginary moving TR. Example (23) provides us with the link between a motion event of a TR moving from a source along a path to a goal and a static event in which there is no moving TR.

The proto-scene of מן (*min*) is also found in specific combinations of מן (*min*) with other prepositions.³³ Owing to space restrictions, only one of these constructions (מן (*min*) with אֶל (*ʿel*)) will be considered.

(24) Judges 1:11

וַיֵּלֶךְ מִשָּׁם אֶל יוֹשְׁבֵי דְבִיר

wayyēleḵ miššām ʿel-yôšbê dəbîr

And he went from there to the inhabitants of Debir.

³³ This does not refer to complex prepositions. With complex prepositions, מן (*min*) together with another preposition forms a new complex preposition. Here מן's (*min*) co-occurrence with other prepositions in the same sentence results in a fixed syntactic construction.

מִן (*min*) is frequently used together with לָאֵל (²*el*). We have noted already in section 4.5 that לָאֵל (²*el*) indicates movement towards something.³⁴ Let us now consider the spatial scene in (24). The TR is the tribe of Judah and the LM is indicated by “there”, which refers to the city of Hebron. The TR goes from a starting point or source (indicated by מִן (*min*)) to an endpoint or goal (indicated by לָאֵל (²*el*)). The path along which the TR moves is the area between the two cities. מִן (*min*) together with לָאֵל (²*el*) has been described by Koehler and Baumgartner (1995:597) as indicating “the direction of the movement”. It will be argued, however, that although the construction of מִן (*min*) and לָאֵל (²*el*) indicates the direction, the sense of מִן (*min*) in this example is no different from that in the proto-scene.

The reason why מִן (*min*) does not display a different sense in this example lies in the fact that it relates to the relationship between the source of the movement and the TR and not to the goal of the movement.³⁵ As in example (14), it still indicates that the TR becomes separated from the LM.

4.7.1.5 Source of an action

(25) Judges 5:20

מִן שָׁמַיִם נִלְחָמוּ | הַכּוֹכָבִים מִמְּסִלּוֹתָם נִלְחָמוּ עַם סִיסְרָא:
min-šāmáyim nilhámû hakkôkâbîm mimməsillôtām nilhámû
‘im-sîsrā³

From heaven the stars fought, from their courses they fought
 against Sisera.

In the above example, מִן (*min*) indicates the place from where an action takes place. This action does not, however, involve movement out of this place. מִן (*min*) does not indicate the source of motion but rather the place where the subject of the verb is

³⁴ The directional *he* or *he locale* is also used to indicate “direction toward” and can thus be used in similar constructions (cf. for example Judges 21:19).

³⁵ This stance is supported by Taylor (1992:202), who notes that a preposition can profile or focus on one aspect of the SOURCE – PATH – GOAL image-schema. In our example the goal is profiled by the preposition לָאֵל (²*el*).

located. Brown *et al.* (1979) specify a sense of מִן (*min*) which seems to correspond with this. In this sense, מִן (*min*) is said to indicate “the place *out of* which one looks, speaks, exerts power etc.” (emphasis original).³⁶ Accordingly, מִן (*min*) indicates the place where the subject of the verb is situated when the action is carried out.³⁷ The action is thus viewed as going out of that place. In this example the TR is not a thing, but an action.³⁸ The configuration between the TR and the LM is, nevertheless, the same as in the proto-scene, since the LM serves as the source of the TR.

Some of the other contexts in which the proto-scene of מִן (*min*) is found are those of removal, hiding, breaking, calling, dedication, mustering, driving out, waking from sleep, bringing and purging.³⁹

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the criteria for determining a primary sense for a preposition have been applied to מִן (*min*). It has been shown that the criteria provide evidence for a proto-scene of מִן (*min*) which involves a spatial scene in which the LM is the source of the TR’s motion and in which the TR becomes separated from the LM. The proto-scene thus has two elements, namely, source and separation. The proto-scene was discussed further by referring to examples from Judges. This discussion led to the conclusion that the proto-scene involves spatial scenes in which the dimension of the LM can be either zero-, one- or two-dimensional, on the one hand, or three-dimensional on the other. A few of the contextual uses of the proto-scene were briefly presented, as well as one syntactic construction in which מִן (*min*) frequently appears.

³⁶ This sense is listed under the second main sense, namely, “out of”. By listing it here, it seems to imply that this sense is connected to that sense, which, in this study, has been identified as the proto-scene of מִן (*min*).

³⁷ For example, Psalm 130:1: יְהוָה מִמְעַמְקִים קָרָאתִיךָ יְהוָה (*mimma‘āmaqqîm qərā‘îkā yhwḥ (‘ādōnāy)*) “out of depths I cried to you, O LORD”. Here again מִן (*min*) indicates the place where the subject of the verb finds himself when executing the action of the verb.

³⁸ Radden and Dirven (2007:307) support this notion when stating that a “trajector may be a thing or a situation”.

³⁹ Examples of these will not be given in this study since it relates to contextual domains and not lexical domains (cf. section 1.4).

Chapter 5 will deal with the rest of the senses that יָדָא (*min*) displays in Judges. A list of senses of יָדָא (*min*) will be proposed from the data, after which the validity of each of these possible senses will be established by applying the criteria put forward in the methodology. With each sense an explanation for the relation of this sense to the primary sense will be proposed.

Chapter 5

The semantic network for מן (*min*)

In this chapter, the criteria for determining distinct senses (Tyler & Evans, 2003) will be used to determine the distinct senses of מן (*min*) that are present in Judges. A set of possible senses will be proposed from the occurrences of מן (*min*) in the dataset. With every proposed sense the two criteria will be applied to establish whether or not the proposed sense is really a distinct sense (i.e. instantiated in semantic memory) or whether it is a context-dependent meaning of another sense. In each case a schematic drawing of the scene that is present in the example will be made.

Consequently, the manner in which the sense in question came to be derived from the primary sense will be discussed. The endeavour to determine the link between the proto-scene and the derived senses is essentially an attempt to find the reasons for each sense becoming established as a distinct sense.¹

The chapter will conclude by presenting a possible semantic network for מן (*min*).

5.1 Distinct senses of מן (*min*)

From the data that was analysed the following possible senses were proposed:

- position
- exception
- comparison
- negative consequence
- time
- material source
- origin
- partitive

¹ When the motivations for the derivations are given, it should not be taken to mean that there are no other possible explanations for the origin of the specific sense. Tyler and Evans (2003:84–85) explain that the possible multiplicity of motivations for a particular sense attest to the “complexity of spatial scenes, the richness of human cognition and the many ways in which experience is meaningful to us as human beings”. This possible excess of routes of derivation in no way implies that the model of principled polysemy is flawed.

- cause, and
- agent.²

These senses will now be discussed in this order.

5.1.1 Position

The first proposed sense that will be discussed can be termed the “position” sense. Firstly, an explanation will be provided to motivate its classification as a distinct sense. This will be done by applying the criteria for determining distinct senses to examples of this proposed sense. Consequently, a possible explanation for the development of this sense from the proto-scene will be provided.

Consider the example below:

(26) Judges 2:9

וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּגִבּוֹל נַחֲלָתוֹ בְּתִמְנַת הַרְס בְּהַר אֶפְרַיִם | מִצְפּוֹן לְהַר גֹּעַשׁ:
wayyiqbərû ʾôtô biḡbûl naḥălātô bətimnat-ḥéres bəhar
ʾepráyim miššəpôn lahar-gāʿaš

And they buried him within the boundaries of his inheritance in Timnath-heres, in the mountain of Ephraim, north of Mount Gaash.

In this example, the TR is Timnath-heres, which is located in the mountains of Ephraim to the north of Mount Gaash. The LM, which is indicated by מן (*min*), is positioned to the north of Mount Gaash, which can be called the reference object. The northern side of Mount Gaash refers to a certain point or region in space. Timnath-heres could be located right next to the northern side of Mount Gaash, or it could be located some distance away. The spatial configuration that exists between the TR and the LM therefore involves the TR being located on the side of the LM, but nevertheless separate from the LM. The LM does not serve as the source of the TR's

² The names of the senses that are proposed in this study do not seek to provide a definition for the sense in question. In each case they refer to what מן (*min*) indicates when it has that particular sense. For example: In the negative consequence sense, מן (*min*) indicates negative consequence.

motion, since no motion is present in this sentence. This satisfies the first criterion,³ since the spatial configuration between the TR and the LM here is different from that in the proto-scene.

The example makes it clear that ገገ (*min*) serves to locate the TR relative to a reference object. It does not, as in the proto-scene, indicate the source of the TR's motion. We can see that the position sense of ገገ (*min*) could not have been derived from context, if we had only known that ገገ (*min*) had a separation/source sense. Since no verb is present that indicates movement away from or out of the LM, the source/separation sense would have led to a strange reading in this context. It would have implied that the northern side of the mountain was somehow the source of the TR motion. It follows then that the position sense could not have been derived from the sentential context and must have existed as a distinct sense in the semantic memory of the language users.

It is now hypothesised that this sense came to be established as a distinct sense in the semantic network by means of the reanalysis of the proto-scene. In the proto-scene the TR became separated from the LM through motion. The location that the TR occupies after movement has taken place is separated from the LM. Through the recurrence of the proto-scene the functional component of separation came to be established in semantic memory. Thus, ገገ (*min*) acquired a connotation of separation even when no motion had taken place.

The scene that is present in example (26) can be depicted visually in Figure 5.1 below:

³ Cf. section 3.3.2 where the criteria are explained.

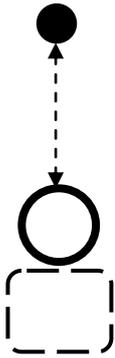


Figure 5.1: Position sense

In this diagram the TR is represented by the solid black sphere and the LM by the circle with the thick outline. The reference object, in this case Mount Gaash, is indicated by the dashed rectangle. The dashed arrow indicates that there is separation between the TR and the LM. The relation to the proto-scene can be seen in the fact that the TR is also separated from the LM in space.

Other examples of this sense involve complex prepositions. Examples of this have already been given in section 4.4, examples (9) to (11). Let us consider another example of a complex preposition that indicates position:

(27) Judges 3:16

וַיַּעַשׂ לּוֹ אֶהוּד קֶרֶב ... וַיִּקְגַּר אוֹתָהּ מִתַּחַת לְמַדְיָיו
wayyaʿas lô ʿehûd ḥéreb ... wayyaḥgôr ʾôṭā^h mittáḥat
ləmaddāyw

And Ehud made himself a sword and he strapped it under his clothes.

In (27), the spatial correlation with the proto-scene is less clear than in the previous example, which makes it difficult to provide an explanation. It seems probable, however, that contexts such as that in example (23), which are more closely related to the proto-scene, could have caused the position sense to become an independent sense. It may be that after it had been established as a separate sense, it could have

started to be used in contexts such as these where the spatial correlation is less straightforward.⁴

5.1.2 Exception

The sense that will be discussed in this section is more abstract than the position sense and has been termed the exception sense. The following example will clarify what this sense indicates:

(28) Judges 11:34

וְרַק הִיא הָיְתָה אֵיךְ לֹא מִמֶּנּוּ בֶן אִוּ בַּת:

wəraq hiʔ yəḥîdāḥ ʔēn-lô mimménnû bēn ʔô-bat

She was the only one; beside her he had neither son nor daughter.

In (28), Jephthah's daughter⁵ is the LM and the other sons or daughters form the TR. The usage of מִן (*min*) here does not indicate the physical separation of the other (hypothetical) sons or daughters from the (real) daughter of Jephthah but rather indicates a non-spatial relation. The sense of מִן (*min*) that is present in this sentence is that there are no sons or daughters except for her/besides her.

We find that this sense could not have been derived from the context, as the context does not give us any hint that movement has taken place and that the TR came to occupy a location that is separated from the LM. If it was only known that מִן (*min*) had a sense that indicated separation, it would have been impossible to determine the sense of “besides” or “except for” unless it had already been instantiated in semantic memory.

According to the proposed methodology, therefore, this sense counts as a distinct sense that was instantiated in the memory of first language speakers.

⁴ In accordance with the theory of grammaticalisation, Heine *et al.* (1991:32) suggest that some purely grammatical concepts, like prepositions in this case, are derived from concrete locations, processes and objects.

⁵ Although the pronominal suffix attached to מִן (*min*) is masculine, this is a recognised text-critical problem (cf. BHS, 1997:423). There is no ambiguity about who the antecedent is and therefore this will not be regarded as a problem for the present discussion.

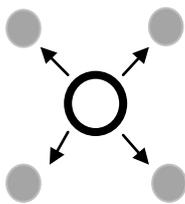


Figure 5.2: Exception sense

This diagram (Figure 5.2) illustrates the relation between the LM (Jephthah's daughter), which is represented by the circle with the thick border and the TR (the hypothetical sons and daughters), which is represented by the shaded spheres (these spheres are shaded to indicate that the TR is hypothetical). The arrows indicate that there are no other children “separated from” her, that is, except for her.

The following example serves to illustrate the connection between this sense and the separation sense.

(29) Judges 20:15

וַיִּתְפַּקְדוּ ... עֶשְׂרִים וְשֵׁשָׁה אֶלֶף אִישׁ שֶׁלֹּף חֶרֶב | לְבַד מִיִּשְׁבֵי הַגִּבְעָה

הַתְּפַקְדוּ שְׁבַע מֵאוֹת אִישׁ בְּחֹר:

wayyitpāqdû ... ʿesrîm wəšiššā^h ʿelep ʾiš šōlēp ḥāreb ləbad

miyyōšbē haggib^{ʿā^h} hitpāqdû šəba^ʿ mē^ʾōt ʾiš bāḥûr

And they mustered ... 26,000 men who drew the sword, apart from the inhabitants of Gibeah, who mustered 700 chosen men.

In this example we again find the exception sense of מִן (*min*) but it is used together with the construction לְבַד (*ləbad*). לְבַד (*ləbad*) consists of the preposition -לְ (*lə-*) and the noun בַּד (*bad*), which means “separation”. The construction לְבַד (*ləbad*) can thus be said to mean “in a state of separation, alone, by itself” (Brown *et al.*, 1979:94). לְבַד (*ləbad*) together with מִן (*min*) is usually translated with “except for” or “besides”. When we look at what the words mean, without being influenced by the conventional translations, it becomes clear how the use of מִן (*min*) in this example relates to the proto-scene.

The LM in (29) is the inhabitants of Gibeah, and the TR is the 26 000 swordsmen who were mustered. The relation between the TR and the LM can be illustrated as follows:



Figure 5.3: Relation of proto-scene to the exception sense

The arrow indicates the separation of the TR from the LM. The scene can be described as the TR being on its own, separated from the LM. This separation between the TR and the LM corresponds to the functional element of separation evident in the proto-scene. In the reanalysis of the proto-scene, the element of separation was profiled. The context of this example, however, also provides a meaning component which not only refers to separation but also to exception. This extra meaning is added by לָבַדַּד (*ləbadd*). מִן (*min*) thus became associated with a sense of exception as a result of its usage in a context such as this. It is argued that because this usage was recurring, the exception sense of מִן (*min*) became established in semantic memory, and it could also be used in sentences where the context does not provide the implicature for this sense such as in example (28).

5.1.3 Comparison

The sense of מִן (*min*) that has been termed the comparison sense will now be examined.

(30) Judges 18:26

וַיֵּרָא מִיכָה כִּי הָזְזָקִים הֵמָּה מִמֶּנּוּ

wayyār^s mīkā^h kī-ḥāzāqîm hém^h mimmén^hû

And Micah saw that they were too strong for him.

In (30), “they” (referring to the Danites), the TR, are compared with “him” (referring to Micah) the LM. The adjective הָזָק (*ḥāzaq*) (strong) provides us with the quality of the two objects that are being compared. Like all comparative constructions in Biblical

Hebrew, the adjective does not have a special morphological form indicating comparison and, instead, a construction with *מִן* (*min*) is used.

It is again clear in (30) that the configuration between the TR and the LM is not spatial, as the Danites are not necessarily spatially separated from Micah. Rather, *מִן* (*min*) is interpreted as indicated in the comparison between the TR and the LM. Thus, the first criterion⁶ is satisfied.

In considering the second criterion, we have to ask ourselves whether this meaning of comparison could have been deduced from the context of the sentence if we knew that *מִן* (*min*) means separation of the TR from the LM. The Danites are not necessarily separated from Micah in physical space, nor does he serve as the source of their movement. It seems then that if a comparative sense for *מִן* (*min*) had not already been known, the context would not have suggested this sense. According to the methodology, then, it follows that the comparative sense of *מִן* (*min*) is a distinct sense that was stored in the semantic memory of the speakers.

A possible way in which this sense could have been derived from the proto-scene will now be investigated.

As already noted, the comparative sense in the examples above is expressed by the spatial preposition *מִן* (*min*). Jackendoff (1983:196–197) presents an explanation for this phenomenon which also occurs in English. He argues that English comparative adjectives express direction. He explains that a comparative adjective indicates a path away from the thing against which something is compared. This happens along a certain scale on which a quality is measured. Comparative adjectives convey properties relative to some standard. When these adjectives are used in such a relative sense, they act as spatial directions. He argues that in English there is some kind of quantifier present in a comparative expression that is enough for the spatial parallel of distance on a path (Jackendoff, 1983:197–198). Such a quantifier can be “more” or the “-er” suffix on the adjective that indicates the comparative.

⁶ Cf. section 3.3.2 where the criteria are explained.

The adjective in Biblical Hebrew does not have any quantifier that indicates the comparative degree. Some other construction is thus needed to express the separation that is implied between the two entities that are being compared. It is argued that the preposition מִן (*min*) serves this purpose in Biblical Hebrew in that it indicates the path of the thing being compared away (or separated) from the reference object to which it is compared on the scale of the quality that is measured.

In the mentioned example, the scale on which “strength” is measured is equated with a path. The TR and the LM are both situated on this path and מִן (*min*) denotes the separation between the two. The separation indicates the difference in the degree of their strength.⁷

The comparison sense of מִן (*min*) can thus be illustrated as follows:

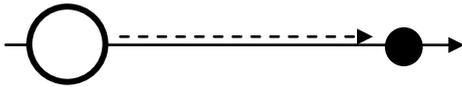


Figure 5.4: Comparison sense

The circle with the thick outline represents the LM (Micah in this example) and the smaller solid sphere represents the TR (“they”). The solid arrow represents the scale of strength on which the LM and the TR are compared; the direction of the arrow indicates the direction in which strength increases. The dashed arrow indicates the separation between the LM and the TR on the scale, hence the difference in their degree of strength. In the relation of the comparison sense to the proto-scene we can see that the element of separation is profiled.

5.1.4 Negative consequence

The sense that has been termed “negative consequence”⁸ will now be considered. This sense occurs in constructions where מִן (*min*) is prefixed to an infinitive construct,⁹ as can be seen in example (31).

⁷ Strength is a quality which is not measurable in metric values and it is therefore only compared on a relative scale.

⁸ The name of this sense is taken from Brown *et al.* (1907).

(31) Judges 6:27

וַיְהִי כִּאֲשֶׁר יָרָא אֶת בַּיִת אָבִיו וְאֶת אַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר מַעֲשׂוֹת יוֹמָם וַיַּעַשׂ לַיְלָה
wayəhî kaʾăšer yārēʿ ʾet-bêt ʾābîw wəʾet-ʾanšê hāʿîr mēʿăšôṭ
yômām wayyáʿas lāylā^h

And because he feared the house of his father and the men of the town he could not do (lit. מן (*min*) doing) it by day, so he did it by night.

In this example, מן (*min*) is prefixed to the infinitive construct of the verb עשה (*ʿāsā^h*), which means “to do”. מן (*min*) clearly does not have a spatial meaning since it is prefixed to a lexical item that does not refer to a spatial entity, but rather to an activity. The fact that he feared his family and the people of the town had the consequence that he could not do it by day. מן (*min*) thus marks the consequence of the preceding events, but at the same time negates it. It would have been difficult to derive this meaning from the context if a sense of negative consequence had not already been present in the semantic network. The criteria thus suggest that this sense is indeed a distinct sense. How this sense came to be derived from the proto-scene will now be investigated. Consider the following example:

(32) Exodus 14:5

וַיֹּאמְרוּ מַה זֶה עָשִׂינוּ כִּי שְׁלַחְנוּ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעַבְדֵּנוּ:
wayyōʾmrū mah-zzōʾt ʿăśînû kî-šillāhnû ʾet-yisrāʾēl
mēʿobdēnû

And they said, “What is this we have done, that we have let Israel go (away) from serving us?”

It will be argued that the sentence in example (32) provides a possible implicature for the development of the negative consequence sense. Israel (the TR) is sent away

⁹ מן (*min*) also displays other senses when prefixed to an infinitive. Gesenius, for example, lists a causal sense and a temporal sense in addition to the negative consequence sense (Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857:481–485). There are no examples of the causal and temporal sense of מן (*min*) when used with the infinitive in Judges.

from the LM, which is quite literally the service of the Egyptians (LM). We can see here that the LM is not a spatial entity, but rather a state of activity in which the Israelites found themselves. When the Egyptians let them go, separation between them and their service of the Egyptians takes place. This relation of separation that exists between the TR and the LM corresponds to the element of separation that is present in the proto-scene. Separation is not all that מָנָה (*min*) conveys in this example, however. From our knowledge of the world, we know that if somebody is separated from another person or group of people (in this case the Israelites from the Egyptians) the one cannot serve the other. Thus, the result of the fact that the Egyptians have sent them away is that they could not serve them any longer. In other words, מָנָה (*min*) also adds the semantic element of negative consequence to this sentence.

If this implicature is recurring, it becomes set in memory and becomes an independent sense of מָנָה (*min*). It can then be used in sentences where the context does not call for such an implicature, as in example (31).

In (32), the Israelites were literally separated from their “serving” of the Egyptians. Although it is not explicitly stated, in (31) Gideon is metaphorically separated from “doing” it by day by his fear. Even though the TR in (31) is not stated, it becomes clear that it is Gideon. This sense can be illustrated in the following figure:

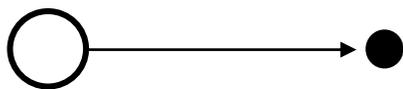


Figure 5.5: Negative consequence sense

The LM represents the “doing” (the infinitive of עָשָׂה (*‘āśāh*)) in (31), while the TR represents Gideon who is separated from the “doing”. The arrow represents the metaphorical separation indicated by מָנָה (*min*).

5.1.5 Time

In some of the examples in Judges, we find that מִן (*min*) refers to a temporal relation instead of a spatial one.¹⁰ There are examples of slightly different nuances, but for the purposes of indicating that the temporal use of מִן (*min*) is indeed a distinct sense and not just a context-dependent use of the proto-scene, we will use a general example.

(33) Judges 11:39

וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ שְׁנַיִם חֳדָשִׁים וַתָּשָׁב אֶל אָבִיהָ

wayəhî miqqēš šənáyim ḥōdāšîm wattāšob ʔel-ʔābîhā

And מִן (*min*) the end of two months, she returned to her father.

In (33), we have a temporal LM and an event¹¹ as the TR. The LM is the end of a period of two months, which is indicated by מִן (*min*). The TR, on the other hand, is the event of Jephthah's daughter's return. Thus, we do not have a spatial relation, but rather a temporal relation between the TR and the LM. This already satisfies the first criterion for determining distinct senses since the relation is non-spatial in nature.

Turning to the second criterion, we see that if a temporal sense of מִן (*min*) were not already instantiated in semantic memory, it would not have been possible to derive this sense from the context. This follows from the fact that there is no notion of the TR (the activity) being separated from the LM by distance in space, nor that the LM is the source of the TR's motion. Accordingly, this sense satisfies both criteria and can be taken as a distinct sense of the preposition מִן (*min*).

The temporal scene that is present in the above example is graphically depicted in figure 5.6.

¹⁰ As Radden and Dirven (2007:317) note, it is highly probable that the notion of time is conceptualised in terms of space across the world. Many basically spatial prepositions in English also have many temporal uses. This can be explained mainly by means of the conceptual metaphor "time is space" (Radden & Dirven, 2007:317).

¹¹ Whereas the TR in physical space can be an object or an event, the TR in a temporal expression is an event (Radden & Dirven, 2007:317).

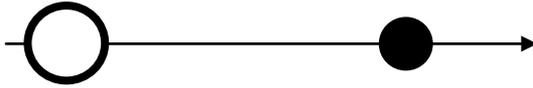


Figure 5.6: Time sense

The arrow pointing to the right represents the time axis. The empty circle with the dark outline represents the end of the two-month period (the LM). The black sphere is the event of her return (the TR). The time that has elapsed between the LM and the TR is indicated by מִן (*min*). The time in this example corresponds with the distance in space (or separation) between the LM and the TR that was present in the proto-scene. In both cases, מִן (*min*) indicates either the distance travelled or the time that has elapsed. It is important to note that the time that has elapsed is not of a fixed length. The idea that this diagram seeks to convey is that the מִן (*min*) is used to indicate some separation in time between the LM and the TR. We can thus see that time is described in terms of space. As in the previous examples, the element of separation of the proto-scene is profiled in the relation of the time sense to the proto-scene.

In the example that was discussed above, מִן (*min*) located the temporal TR (the event) at the end of the two-month period (LM). מִן (*min*) can also be used in a temporal sense to denote the starting point of a longer period of time. This can be seen in the example that we find in Judges 13:5.

(34) Judges 13:5

נָזִיר אֱלֹהִים יִהְיֶה הַנֶּעַר מִן הַבֶּטֶן עַד יוֹם מוֹתוֹ

nəzîr ʿēlōhîm yihye^h hannáʿar min-habbāʿten ʿad-yôm môtô

the boy will be a Nazirite to God from the womb until the day of his death

Here מִן (*min*) marks the starting point¹² of the period in which the boy will be a Nazirite. In this case, the event (the TR) is extended over a period of time. Both the

¹² Although בֶּטֶן (*bēʿten*) means “womb” and is thus not a temporal expression, it is used metonymically for the time when the boy comes out of the womb.

starting point and the end point of the duration of the event are specified, which is used here to indicate an extent in time.

The following example provides us with another usage of מן (*min*) that involves time.

(35) Judges 11:40

מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה תִּלְכְּנָה בְּנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל לְתַנּוֹת לְבַת יַפְתָּח הַגִּלְעָדִי
*miyyāmîm yāmîmā^h tēlāk^hnā^h bənōt yisrā^ʿel ləṭannōt ləḅat-
 yiṗtāḥ haggil^ʿādî*

the daughters of Israel went from (מן (*min*)) year to year to
 lament the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite.

The Hebrew idiom מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (*miyyāmîm yāmîmā^h*) means *from year to year* or *annually*. The LM is a year¹³ and the TR is the activity of the young women's going to lament. This expression also shows a strong correlation between the spatial usage of מן (*min*) in the proto-scene. In example (24), we saw that מן (*min*) together with אֶל (*ʿel*) was used to describe the TR's movement from a starting point to an end point. The directional he (ה) suffix in יָמִימָה (*yāmîmā^h*) serves the same purpose as אֶל (*ʿel*), namely, to indicate movement toward. We can thus see that this idiom has its roots in the proto-scene.

In all the senses that have been discussed up to now, it was shown that the relationship between the TR and the LM is one of separation. Although this separation is not in physical space, the discussion attempted to show how this corresponded with the separation that is present in the proto-scene.

In the discussion of the following senses, an attempt will be made to indicate that the element of source in the proto-scene is profiled in the derivation of these senses.

¹³ The expression מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (*miyyāmîm yāmîmā^h*) literally means *from days to days*. The plural form *days* is often used to refer to a year; see, for example, 1 Samuel 1:3, 2:19, 7:27.

5.1.6 Material source

(36) Judges 13:14

מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִגֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן לֹא תֹאכַל וְיַיִן וְשֵׁכָר אַל תִּשְׁתֵּה
mikkōl ʾāšer-yēšēʾ miggēpen hayyáyin lōʾ tōʾkal wayáyin
wəšēkār ʾal-tēšt

She will not eat of anything that comes from the vine, neither let her drink wine or strong drink.

The TR in (36) is the indefinite “anything”. The LM is the vine (literally, the vine of wine). Although the relation between these two is spatial in nature, the configuration between them nonetheless differs from that in the proto-scene.

It was shown in the discussion on the proto-scene that the TR (which is a distinct entity) comes to occupy a position that is away from the LM and that the LM serves as the locational source of the TR’s motion. In the case of (36), however, the LM brings the TR into being and it is therefore not a distinct entity. The TR could not have existed without the LM and, hence, there exists a specific, non-arbitrary relationship between them, which was not the case with the proto-scene. In this instance, that which comes out of the vine does not even have to be separated from it. It can remain connected to it by means of a stem for some period after it has appeared. The configuration between the TR and the LM can be described as the TR emerging from the LM, but it does not necessarily come to occupy a location separated from it. This confirms that the configuration is different from that in the separation sense and, consequently, the first criterion is satisfied.

In (36), a prohibition is given against what the women may consume. The first prohibition is against “anything that comes from the vine”. We can assume that she was not allowed to eat grapes, whether the grapes were still hanging from the vine or whether they had already been removed. Consequently, מִן (*min*) cannot be interpreted as indicating separation, because that would mean that she was allowed to eat grapes that were still connected to the vine. The sense that is conveyed by מִן (*min*) in this sentence can only be understood correctly if it prompts for the material source sense, which is present in semantic memory.

According to two the criteria presented by the methodology for determining a distinct sense, this sense can be regarded as a distinct sense of the preposition מִן (*min*).

The way in which this sense is related to the proto-scene can plausibly be explained by looking at one of the most basic human experiences, namely, that of pregnancy and birth.¹⁴ As explained earlier, our bodily and sensory experiences lead to conceptualisations which are displayed in language.

Let us consider the following example in which מִן (*min*) is also used to describe birth in Biblical Hebrew.

(37) Ecclesiastes 5:14

כַּאֲשֶׁר יָצָא מִבֶּטֶן אִמּוֹ עָרוֹם יָשׁוּב לְלֶכֶת כְּשָׂבָא

kaʾāšer yāšāʾ mibbēten ʾimmô ʿārôm yāšûb lālēket kəšebbāʾ

As he came out of his mother's womb he shall go again, naked
as he came.

מִן (*min*) in this example displays the proto-scene in which the womb of the mother (the LM) serves as the source of the TR's (the baby) movement. The context in this example does not, however, provide only the information that the LM is the source of the TR's motion; it also shows that the LM is the *material* source of the TR. A mother's body produces a baby, partly from her own material in combination with the father's sperm. The baby is physically connected to the mother by means of the umbilical cord for nine months and is, furthermore, also contained by the mother during this period. With birth the baby comes out of the mother and thus becomes non-contained by the mother (Tyler & Evans, 2003:215). This emergence of the baby from the womb corresponds with the element of source that was present in the proto-scene. In this context, מִן (*min*) therefore not only displays a locational source/separation sense, but also receives an additional semantic element of material source.

¹⁴ Tyler and Evans (2003:215) use this explanation for the material source sense that the English preposition *out of* displays.

As soon as this sense associated with מִן (*min*) became conventionalised in memory, it could be used with LMs that do not represent prototypical containers like the mother's body (Tyler & Evans, 2003:215).

(38) Genesis 15:4

לֹא יִרְשֶׁךָ זֶה | כִּי אִם אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִמֶּעֶיךָ הוּא יִרְשֶׁךָ:

wəhinnē^h dəḇar-yhwh(ʔādōnāy) ʔēlāyw lē^ʔmōr lō^ʔ yîroš^{kā} ze^h

kî-ʔim ʔāšer yēšē^ʔ mimmē^ʕe^ykā hū^ʔ yîrāšē^{kā}

This one will not inherit you, but [he] that will come out of your body, he will inherit you.

In this example a son is promised to Abraham. Even though Abraham's body does not serve as the container or the source of the baby's movement, he is viewed as the material source of the baby. מִן (*min*) can thus be used in this context since it already has the sense of material source.

With the material source sense instantiated in semantic memory, this usage can even be extended to refer to the fruit of plants. In example (36), מִן (*min*) indicates that it is the material source from which the grapes come. The vine does not serve as the source of the TR's motion, nor does it have to become separated from the vine, but because מִן (*min*) has acquired a material source sense it can be used in this example.

This scene can be visually depicted in the following schematic drawing.

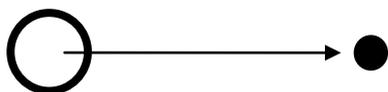


Figure 5.7: Material source sense

The vine (the LM) is represented by the circle with the thick outline. The arrow that starts from within the LM indicates that the LM is conceptualised as a container out of which the TR (the solid sphere) emerges.

In the explanation of the derivation of the material source sense from the proto-scene, it was shown that the source element of the proto-scene was profiled.

The following sense that will be discussed is the origin sense. It will be shown that this sense was not derived directly from the proto-scene, but rather that it is related to the proto-scene through the material source sense.

5.1.7 Origin

The origin sense of מן (*min*) relates to contexts where a TR's origin (i.e. hometown, native country, or tribe etc.) is indicated by מן (*min*). Let us consider the following example.

(39) Judges 17:7

וַיְהִי נֶעַר מִבֵּית לָקֵם יְהוּדָה מִמְּשֻׁפַּת יְהוּדָה

wayəhî-ná'ar mibbêt léhem yəhûdā^h mimmišpāḥat yəhûdā^h

Now there was a young man of Bethlehem in Judah, of the family of Judah.

In (39), we have a young man (the TR) and Bethlehem in Judah (the LM). In this sentence no motion verb is present to indicate the young man's movement away from the LM. The verb that we have is הָיָה (*hāyā^h*) ("to be"), which does not prompt for a TR.¹⁵ The TR cannot, therefore, come to occupy a position away from the LM. The relation between the TR and the LM in (39) has to be non-spatial in nature since it does not indicate physical separation or the source of a motion event but rather the origin of a person. This thus satisfies the first criterion. It can be argued that a person who comes from a certain place is separated from that place and that the place is the source of the person's movement. According to this argument, this sense will be a contextualised use of the proto-scene. This is not a valid argument, however, because one could also ask a person from where he/she is and he/she could reply "I am from here", referring to the place of speaking. This example shows that a person is not necessarily separated from the place that he/she originates from.

¹⁵ This is also noted by Tyler and Evans (2003:81) in their analysis of *over*.

Nevertheless, one can intuitively sense that this sense is related to the separation sense. How this came about will be discussed in detail in the next section.

The second criterion now requires that this sense of origin should not be determinable from the proto-scene and the context in (39). We have seen that this sentence means that the young man originated from Bethlehem, not that he was somehow physically separated from it. If מִן (*min*) in (39) were to be taken to indicate source/separation, the origin sense could not have been construed from the context. Hence, מִן (*min*) in this sentence would only make sense if an origin sense of this preposition were present in the language user's semantic memory.

The origin sense of מִן (*min*) satisfies both the criteria and can be regarded as a distinct sense. The question of how this sense came to be derived from the proto-scene will now be investigated.

In the discussion of the material source sense it was explained that the material source of a TR can be indicated by מִן (*min*) as a result of the correlation between the experience and observance of birth, and the notion of material source. It will now be argued that origin can be indicated by מִן (*min*) since a strong experiential correlation between material source (birth) and origin exists. It will be shown that this sense is not directly derived from the proto-scene, but rather from the material source sense. The following examples serve to illustrate this.

(40) Ruth 2:11

וַתַּעֲזְבִי אֲבִיךָ וְאִמְךָ וְאֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתְּךָ וַתֵּלְכִי אֵל עַם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַעְתָּ תְּמוֹל
שְׁלִשֹׁם:

*wattāʿazbî ʾābîk wəʾimmēk wəʾereš mōladtēk wattēlki ʿel-ʿam
ʾāšer lōʾ-yādāʿat tāmōl šilšôm*

You left your father and mother and your land of birth and came
to a people that you did not know yesterday or the day before.

In this verse, Ruth's origin (Moab) is described as her land of birth. In other words, this is the country in which she came from her mother's womb, like in the material

source sense. We have also seen in the material source sense that מן (*min*) is used to describe a person's descent from his/her father. Therefore, the fact that Ruth's parents were located in Moab and that she was descended from them, meant Moab was classified as her country of birth. Moab was also her place of origin.

It may be argued that the origin sense is a context-dependent usage of the proto-scene. It is true that there is a very fine distinction between these two senses. However, it has already been shown that it does indeed constitute a distinct sense of מן (*min*). In the following two examples both the origin sense and the proto-scene are used. These examples will now be discussed in order to illustrate the difference between the proto-scene and the origin sense.

(41) Judges 19:17

וַיֹּאמֶר הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה אֵינִי הַיָּדוּעַ וּמֵאֵינָן תָּבוֹא:

wayyô³mer hā³îš hazzāqēn ³ānā^h tēlēk ūmē³āyin tābô³

And the old man said, "Where are you going? and where do you come from?"

(42) Judges 19:18

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו עֲבָרִים אֲנִיחֶנּוּ מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה עַד יִרְכָתֵי הַר אֶפְרַיִם מִשָּׁם

אֲנִכִּי

wayyô³mer ³elāyw ³ōbrîm ³ānā^hnū mibbêt-léhem yəhūdā^h ³ad-yarkə³tē har-³eprayîm miššām ³ānō³kî

And he said to him, "We are passing from Bethlehem in Judah to the remote parts of the hill country of Ephraim, I am from there."

In Judges 19:17 (example (41)), the old man asks the traveller that he is speaking to, מֵאֵינָן תָּבוֹא (*mē³āyin tābô³*) "where do you come from?" We can assume that the old man is referring to the starting point of his current journey since he first asks, "Where are you going?" This is also the way that the traveller interprets the question since he answers that they (he, his concubine and his servant) have come from Bethlehem and going to the hill country of Ephraim. Then he adds that he is "from there",

referring to the hill country of Ephraim. By this he means that the hill country is his place of origin. In the former case he refers to the starting point of his journey, but in the latter case he clearly talks about the place from which he originates. The fact that the origin sense is a distinct sense of מִן (*min*) is thus clear.

The origin sense of מִן (*min*) can be illustrated in the following diagram:

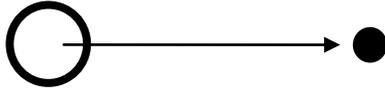


Figure 5.8: Origin sense

In figure 5.8, the LM indicates the origin of the TR, with the arrow indicating that the TR originated in the LM. Thus, the arrow does not imply separation, but rather the relationship that exists between the LM and the TR, namely, that of origin.

5.1.8 Partitive

The partitive sense of מִן (*min*) relates to instances in which it is used to indicate some part or subset of a larger whole or group. Consider the following example.

(43) Judges 6:27

וַיִּקַּח גִּדְעוֹן עֶשְׂרֵה אַנְשִׁים מֵעַבְדָּיו

wayyiqqah gid'on 'ásārā^h 'ānāšîm mē'ābādāyw

And Gideon took ten men of his servants.

In (43), the LM is a group of people, namely, Gideon's servants, and the TR is a subset of that group, namely, the ten men who he took from them. The relation that holds between them is therefore non-spatial in nature even though we can see how it relates to the spatial sense of source/separation present in the proto-scene. In this example we can imagine all the servants standing in a group and Gideon taking ten from them and thereby separating them in physical space. However, this does not have to be the case: we can also imagine Gideon servants being in different locations and him choosing ten of them. This, then, does not have such a strong sense of source/separation.

To support the claim that the partitive is indeed a distinct sense and not merely a context-dependent interpretation of the proto-scene, it is necessary to consider the following example in which מִן (*min*) does not exhibit the same notion of separation.

(44) Judges 2:12

וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים מֵאֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר סְבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם
wayyēlkû ʿaḥărê ʿēlōhîm ʿāḥērîm mēʿēlōhê ḥāʿammîm ʿāšer
səbîbôtêhém

And they went after other gods, from the gods of the peoples
 who were around them.

Here we see that the people of Israel worshipped a number of the gods of the peoples around them. In this case מִן (*min*) clearly indicates a subset of a larger group. No separation in distance or space is implied, since all the gods (or their images) could have been present at one place and still they could have chosen to worship only some of them. We can thus clearly see that the configuration between the TR and the LM is not necessarily spatial in nature. The functional element that we find in (44) is that of a part of the whole and not separation or that the group serves as the source of the TR's motion.

Turning to the second criterion, we should establish that this partitive meaning could not have been determined from the context in which it appears. If מִן (*min*) is interpreted according to the source/separation sense, this sentence would contain a semantically anomalous reading in which the gods that the people chose to worship would be understood to be separated from the others in physical space. The group of gods also did not serve as the source of the motion of the gods which were chosen. Had no partitive sense of the preposition מִן (*min*) already existed, the intended meaning of this sentence could not have been understood, since it is not derivable from the context.

According to the methodology, we can thus conclude that the partitive sense of מִן (*min*) is indeed a distinct sense since it satisfies both criteria.

In the examples that we have seen, the TR refers to a subset of a group (the LM). It has also been noted briefly that this sense ties in closely with the proto-scene, that is, source/separation. The following example will help illuminate how pragmatic strengthening played a part in the way in which this sense came to be derived from the proto-scene.

(45) Judges 8:14

וַיִּלְכֹּד נֶעֶר מֵאַנְשֵׁי סֻכּוֹת

wayyilkod-ná'ar mē'anšē sukkoṭ

And he captured a young man of the men of Succoth.

In (45), a boy is captured from the men of Succoth. We can see that the group from which the boy was taken away serves as the source of the boy's movement. We also see that the boy became separated from the group. This corresponds to the elements that were present in the proto-scene of מִן (*min*). One also notices, however, that מִן (*min*) in this example does not only provide information about the spatial configuration between the TR and the LM, but also adds the semantic element of a part being taken from a whole, namely, partitive.

This additional meaning of partitive, which is prompted by מִן (*min*) in this example, arises from its interpretation in the context of the sentence. The nature of a group of men/people is such that it consists of individual parts which are related to each other. The part/whole relation has been identified as one of the most common types of intrinsic relations (Radden & Dirven, 2007:159). In English such intrinsic relations can be indicated by the preposition *of*. An example of such a construction is *a piece of cake*. Even if the piece is separated from the cake, there still exists a non-random relation between the part and the whole (cf. Tyler & Evans, 2003:210–211). When one of the parts is taken out of the group, it leads us to interpret מִן (*min*) differently from example (15), for instance, where a man comes out of a city. As there was no intrinsic relation between the man and the city, this context does not prompt for a partitive meaning.

In (45), the context provides the implicature for the partitive meaning of מן (*min*). If this implicature is recurring, it can be reanalysed separately from the scene of which it formed a part, as was explained in section 3.3.4. When it is reanalysed in such a way, the implicature, in this case the partitive meaning, becomes conventionalised as a distinct sense which is associated with מן (*min*). Through this process of pragmatic strengthening מן (*min*) has acquired a partitive sense in addition to its source/separation sense. Consequently, as soon as this sense has become instantiated in semantic memory, it can be used in contexts that are unrelated to the context which originally gave rise to it. The configuration between the TR and the LM which caused this implicature is thus no longer required for using this sense. This can be clearly seen in example (46) where it is used in an unrelated context.

(46) Judges 14:2

וַיֹּאמֶר אִשָּׁה רָאִיתִי בְּתִמְנַתָּהּ מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים

wayyō³mer ʿiššā^h rā^ʿī^{tī} bə^timnā^{tā^h} mibbənō^t pəliš^{tîm}

And he said, “I saw a woman from the daughters of the Philistines at Timnah.

Here we again find a group of people (the daughters of the Philistines) as the LM and an individual (a woman) as the TR. In this case Samson does not take the woman from the group, but only sees (הָרָאָה) (*rā^ʿā^h*) her. The verb הָרָאָה (*rā^ʿā^h*), however, does not involve any motion and there is no notion of source/separation present in this sentence. This illustrates that the partitive sense of מן (*min*) has become instantiated in semantic memory and can consequently be used in such contexts without any risk that the sentence will be misinterpreted.

The following diagram serves to illustrate this sense visually. It shows that the TR is conceptualised as being taken out of the LM. The TR constitutes a certain part of the LM, which is indicated by the partition in the LM.

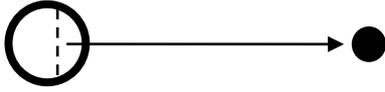


Figure 5.9: Partitive sense

5.1.9 Cause

Dirven (1995:95) describes cause as a situation that triggers another situation, given that the term “situation” can refer to events, states, activities and processes. מִן (*min*) also displays a cause sense in Judges. Consider the following example.

(47) Judges 2:18

כִּי יִנָּחֵם יְהוָה מִנְּאֻקָּתָם

kî-yinnāḥēm yhw̄h (ʾādōnāy) minnaʾāqātām

For the LORD was moved to pity by their groaning.

In (47) it is said that “the LORD was moved to pity by¹⁶ their groaning”. This is a typical expression of cause. In this case the people’s groaning (an activity) triggered the feeling of pity (an activity) that the LORD had for them. The first criterion requires that a non-spatial meaning should be present for the sense to be distinct. It is very clear that the relationship between the TR and the LM is non-spatial in nature. According to the first criterion the usage of מִן (*min*) in this example would constitute a distinct sense.

The second criterion requires that one should not be able to understand the meaning of the preposition from another sense used in this context. As we have seen, מִן (*min*) in the proto-scene indicates the separation of the TR from the LM. So, if we had known only that about this preposition, it would not have been possible to understand that מִן (*min*) in (47) has a cause sense. No notion of motion is present and therefore the LM could not serve as the source of the TR’s motion. This meaning could not have been derived from the context and therefore has to be a distinct sense that is instantiated in semantic memory.

¹⁶ Dirven (1995:105) shows that in English the path concept (indicated by *by*) may undergo metaphorisation to become a cause concept. It is interesting to note how English and Hebrew use different prepositions to indicate cause.

It will now be argued that the cause sense was derived from the proto-scene by means of a reanalysis of the spatial scene present in the proto-scene.

Dirven (1995) has done thorough research on English prepositions that indicate cause. In his 1997 research, he specifically looked into “The cause of emotions and emotions as cause” (Dirven, 1997), which is also the title of his chapter in the book *The language of emotions*. This is especially relevant for the topic at hand since the example of מִן (*min*) indicating cause in Judges has to do with emotions. Dirven (1995:97) shows that the three spatial prepositions *from*, *off* and *out of* in English can all be extended to indicate cause or reason. Spatially, these prepositions all indicate separation, with the difference between them being the dimensions of the LM. When these prepositions are used to indicate cause, cause is conceptualised as a source, whether it be a zero-, one-, two- or three-dimensional source. It is remarkable that these prepositions have significant semantic overlap with מִן (*min*) in that, as we have seen, מִן (*min*) also indicates separation from zero-, one-, two-, or three-dimensional sources. It would seem then that, in English and Biblical Hebrew (at least), causes can be conceptualised as sources.¹⁷

It can be argued that the cause sense of מִן (*min*) resulted from a reanalysis of the proto-scene. In this reanalysis the source element of the proto-scene was profiled. The phrase in this example can be paraphrased as: “from their groaning [it resulted that] the Lord felt pity”. The groaning was therefore the source of the Lord’s emotion of pity.

The scene that is present in the cause sense of מִן (*min*) can be diagrammed as shown in Figure 5.10.

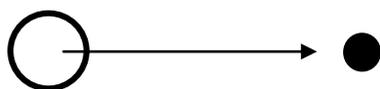


Figure 5.10: Cause sense

¹⁷ In Biblical Hebrew (as in English) there are also other syntactical constructions that can be used to indicate cause. Other prepositions are also used for this purpose, for example מֵ (‘*ā*) (cf. Gesenius & Kautzsch, 1910:492). The conceptualisations that are involved in these other constructions are, however, beyond the scope of this study.

The circle with the thick outline represents the LM (situation A: the people’s groaning) and the solid sphere represents the TR (situation B: the Lord’s pity). This sense thus corresponds with the proto-scene in that the LM is conceptualised as being the source of the TR.

As already briefly noted in section 4.3, the complex preposition מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) also indicates cause in some instances. This phrase literally means “from the face of ...”, “from the presence of ...” or “from before ...”. Let us consider an example that illustrates this use of מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*).

(48) Judges 9:40

וַיִּרְדְּפֵהוּ אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ וַיָּנוּס מִפְּנָיו

wayyirdəpēhū ʾābīmēleḵ wayyānos mippānāyw

And Abimelech chased him, and he fled before him.

In example (48), we can see that מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) indicates separation away from before Abimelech. This usage of מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) corresponds with the proto-scene, where the LM served as the source of the TR motion. Here the LM is the presence of Abimelech and the TR flees from it. We can, however, also infer from the context that he fled *because of* Abimelech. In order to make it clearer that מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) also indicates cause, consider another example for a moment:

(49) Psalm 68:3

כְּהִימָס דּוֹנָג מִפְּנֵי אֵשׁ

kəhimmēs dōnāg mippənē-ʾēš

as wax melts away from before fire ...

Wax literally melts away from a fire, but it is also true that wax melts *because of* fire. In both of these examples, מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) displayed the separation sense, but the context provided an additional semantic element of cause. It has been argued in section 3.3.4 that if such an implicature is recurring, it can become reanalysed apart from the context that gave rise to it. This has the effect that the new meaning

component becomes a distinct sense of מִפְּנֵי (*mippənê*). It can then be used in contexts where no sense of separation is present, such as in example (50):

(50) Judges 6:2

מִפְּנֵי מִדְיָן עָשׂוּ לָהֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ... אֶת הַמְּעֵרוֹת
mippənê midyān ʿāsû lāhem bənê yiśrāʿēl ... ʿet-hamməʿārôt
 because of Midian the people of Israel made for themselves ...
 the caves

Here מִפְּנֵי (*mippənê*) is used solely to indicate that Midian was the reason that the Israelites made caves to hide in.

Example (50) presents us with an example of מן (*min*) from Judges 5. It is included here, because it presents an interesting case of the usage of מן (*min*) to indicate cause.

(51) Judges 5:22

אֲזַ הִלְמוּ עֲקָבַי סוּס | מִדְּהָרוֹת דְּהָרוֹת אֲבִירָיו:
ʾāz hālmû ʿiqqəbê-sûs mīddahārôt dahārôt ʾabbîrāyw
 Then loud beat the horses' hoofs with the galloping, galloping of
 his steeds.

In this verse, the preposition מן (*min*) is prefixed to the noun דְּהָרוֹת (*dahārôt*), meaning “galloping”. Some have proposed that instead of the letter מ (*m*) being taken as the preposition attached to the noun following it, it should be taken as the plural suffix that should be attached to the noun before it. Another suggestion is that this is a case of haplography, in which the letter מ (*m*) is written only once instead of twice (NET Bible, note on Judges 5:22).

Despite all the uncertainty with regard to the original reading, מן (*min*) here has been interpreted by some as indicating cause. The *New American Standard Bible*, for example, keeps the original reading and translates it as:

Then the horses' hoofs beat
From the dashing, the dashing of his valiant steeds.

In other words, the beating of the horses' hoofs is caused by the dashing (or galloping) of the steeds. This seems to be a desirable solution and interpretation of מן (*min*), since it keeps the original reading and still results in a meaningful reading.

We have seen in this section that מן (*min*) can be used to indicate cause. It was also shown that the complex preposition מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) has a causal sense in some instances. The way in which the cause sense of מן (*min*) and מִפְּנֵי (*mippənē*) possibly developed from the proto-scene has also been explained.

5.1.10 Agent

(52) Judges 14:4

וְאָבִיו וְאִמּוֹ לֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי מִיָּהָה הִיא כִּי תֵאַנָּה הוּא מִבְּקֶשׁ מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים
wəʔābîw wəʔimmô lōʔ yādʿû kî myhwh(mēʔdōnāy) hîʔ kî-
tōʔānā^h hūʔ-məḇaqqēš mippəlišṭîm

His father and his mother did not know that this was from the LORD, for he was looking for an opportunity against the Philistines.

In this example, the LM is the Lord and the TR is referred to by הִיא (*hîʔ*). This pronoun in turn refers to the events that were described before this verse, which can be summarised as follows: Samson went to Timnah, a town of the Philistines, and saw a girl there whom he wanted to marry. He told his parents about her and asked them to arrange for him to marry her. They, however, were upset because he wanted to marry a foreign girl. Now, in our example, the narrator comments that they did not know that this request of Samson was actually brought about by the Lord. This means that the Lord is the agent who instigated this situation, in order to have “an opportunity against the Philistines”.

In order to indicate that this is indeed a distinct sense of מן (*min*) we need to have a look at the relation that exists between that LM and the TR. It is clear that the relation

is not a spatial relation, because the TR is an event (or more than one event). This satisfies the first criterion for determining a distinct sense, since it requires that the relation be different from that in the proto-scene, or non-spatial.

In order to satisfy the second criterion, the sense in question should not be derivable from the context of the sentence and the proto-scene of מן (*min*). If only the proto-scene were known to us, we would not have been able to deduce from the context that מן (*min*) indicates the agent of an event and not the physical source of the motion. Accordingly then, the agent sense of מן (*min*) can be classified as a distinct sense.

The following example provides a plausible implicature for the agent sense.

(53) Genesis 24:50

וַיַּעַן לָבָן וּבְתוּאֵל וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִיְהוָה יֵצֵא הַדָּבָר
wayyá'an lābān ûbətû'ēl wayyō'mərû myhwh(mē'dōnāy)
yāšā' haddābār

Then Laban and Bethuel answered and said, “The thing has gone out from the LORD.”

In this example it is said that the matter, namely Abraham’s request for Rebecca as a wife for his son Isaac, went out from the Lord. It is clear that the TR (the matter) did not physically go out from the LM (the Lord), even though the verb יָצָא (*yāšā'*) indicates movement out of a bounded LM. This context rather implies that the matter came about through the instigation of the Lord. This context provides the implicature for an additional meaning component of מן (*min*) namely, that it can also serve to indicate the agent of an action or event. This sense of מן (*min*) can be depicted visually in the following diagram.

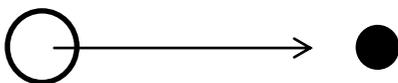


Figure 5.11: Agent sense

This diagram (Figure 5.11) shows that the LM is conceptualised as the source of the TR. The action or event is thus viewed as coming out of the agent. This diagram makes the relation of this sense to this proto-scene clear and shows that the source element of the proto-scene was profiled in the derivation of this sense.

5.2 Difficult cases of מן (*min*)

The sense of מן (*min*) in some of its occurrences in Judges is difficult to determine.¹⁸ In order to illustrate the difficulty with these examples, each of them will be briefly considered. In each case the factors that have contributed to the complexity of the matter will be examined.

The first example that will be addressed is found in Judges 5:11. This chapter is recognised as one of the earliest pieces of biblical literature that we have (Waltke & O'Connor, 1990:4, 14; Lindars, 1995:213). This fact together with the poetic nature of this chapter makes the interpretation of מן (*min*) in this verse quite complicated.

(54) Judges 5:11

מִקּוֹל מְחַצְצִים בֵּין מְשַׁאבִּים שָׁם יִתְנוּ צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה

miqqôl məḥaṣṣîm bên məšabbîm šām yaṭannû ṣidqôṭ

yhwh(ʿāḏōnāy)

מן (*min*) the sound of musicians(?) at the watering places, there they repeat the righteous triumphs of the LORD.

This verse has posed many problems for translators, not because the function of מן (*min*) is very difficult to determine, but also because the meaning of the word מְחַצְצִים (*məḥaṣṣîm*) is uncertain. The way in which this word is interpreted also has an impact on the way in which מן (*min*) was interpreted and translated. Some translations¹⁹ have followed the suggestion of the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS) that the text is corrupted and that this word should be amended to מְחַצְצִים

¹⁸ Due to the fact that no certain conclusions could be reached on the uses of מן (*min*) in this section, these examples will not be taken into account in the semantic network.

¹⁹ For example, the English Standard Version and the New Living Translation.

(*maḥāṣṣōsrîm*) meaning *trumpet blowers*, that is, musicians. Other translations²⁰ have taken this word to mean *archers*. Still others²¹ regard this word to mean *those who divide the sheep*. Two more interpretations were present in the translations that were consulted, namely, *shouters*²² and *destroyers* (German: “Zerstörer”).²³ The last group of translations did not translate this word.²⁴

Let us briefly consider the different translations to see how מִן (*min*) has been treated:

Afrikaans (1953):

Vanweë die stem van die boogskutters tussen die drinkplekke, besing hulle daar die regverdige daede van die HERE.

(Because of the voice of the archers between the watering places, they sing there of the righteous deeds of the LORD.)

New American Standard Bible:

At the sound of those who divide flocks among the watering places,

There they shall recount the righteous deeds of the LORD ...

These two translations have treated מִן (*min*) as indicating cause. This corresponds to Gesenius, who lists this verse under the sense that he calls “of the reason, on account of”. In other words, the 1953 Afrikaans translation, the New American Standard Bible and Gesenius all interpret מִן (*min*) to indicate that the voice of the archers (/those who divide the flocks) causes them (the subject of the verb מִתְנַבְּאִין (*yəṭannû*) is not specified) to recount the righteous acts of the Lord.

Comparative

JPS Tanakh:

²⁰ For example, the 1933/1953 Afrikaans translation, King James Version (1769) and the JPS Tanakh (1985).

²¹ For example, the New English Translation (2005) and the New American Standard Bible (1977).

²² Young's Literal Translation (1862/1898)

²³ German Schlachter Version (1951)

²⁴ 1983 Afrikaans translation and Luther's German translation (revised 1984).

Louder than the sound of archers,

There among the watering places

Let them chant the gracious acts of the LORD,

The Jewish Publication Society's Tanakh translation interprets מן (*min*) as indicating comparison. This interpretation route was also followed by Webb (2012:196), who translates מן (*min*) in the same way.

Another possible interpretation of מן (*min*) is found in the King James Version.

They that are delivered from the noise of archers in the places of drawing water, there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the LORD.

This translation added the first four words of the sentence in order to make sense of מן (*min*). It seems likely that this interpretation was chosen due to the fact that מן (*min*) is frequently used to indicate salvation (cf. section 4.7.1.3).

Still another interpretation of מן (*min*) in this verse is found in Brown *et al.* (1979), who are of the opinion that it would mean *far from, away from*. In the context of the verse this would imply that the righteous acts of the Lord should be told far from the voice of the musicians/archers/dividers of flocks etc.

The uncertainty regarding the sense of מן (*min*) in this example has led the author not to take it into account in the semantic network of מן (*min*). The question of the sense of מן (*min*) in this example is left open for further research.

(55) Judges 7:17

וַיֹּמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם מִמֶּנִּי תִרְאוּ וְכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ

wayyōmer ʾălêhem mimménnî tîrʾû wəkēn taʿšû

And he said to them, "Look at (מן (*min*)) me, and do likewise.

Brown *et al.* (1979) treat מִן (*min*) in this verse in terms of the first usage that they identify, namely, when it is used with verbs that express or imply separation or removal. It is explained: “ye shall see *from* me, i.e. learn what to do by observing me.” The meaning of this phrase is clear enough; what remains unclear, however, is how it relates to removal or separation.

Let us briefly test this example against the criteria for determining distinct senses to see whether or not this sense is part of the proto-scene. The scene in the above example is not spatial in nature. There is no TR present and although the LM is a person, nothing goes out of it or moves away from it. The first criterion is thus satisfied. Secondly, the meaning of “learning from” which מִן (*min*) seems to have in this example, could not have been determined from the context and one of the other senses. It can be argued that רָאָה (rāʾā^h) with מִן (*min*) has this sense, but other occurrences of these two words together seem to provide evidence against this notion. Consider, for example, the following verse from Isaiah:

(56) Isaiah 63:15

הִבֵּט מִשָּׁמַיִם וּרְאָה מִזְבֹּל קִדְשְׁךָ וּתְפַאֲרֶתְךָ

habbēṭ miššāmayim ūrāʾeh mizzəbūl qodsəkā wəṭipʾartēkā

Look from heaven and see from your holy and glorious habitation.

Here רָאָה (rāʾā^h) is also used with מִן (*min*) but מִן (*min*) indicates the place from where, in this case, the Lord is urged to look.²⁵ If מִן (*min*) is to be interpreted in the same way in Judges 7:17, the sentence would mean something like: “Look out from me, and do likewise”. מִן (*min*) would then indicate the place from where the men, in this case, are urged to look. The criteria thus suggest that this sense is also a distinct sense that is instantiated in semantic memory.

²⁵ Note that the sense of מִן (*min*) in Isaiah 63:15 corresponds to the usage of מִן (*min*) in example (25) in section 4.7.1.5.

Since this is the only example of this usage of מן (*min*) in Judges, no conclusive decision about its sense could be reached. This verse is thus left open for further research. It is expected that more data will lead to better insights regarding the sense in this example.

(57) Judges 10:11-12

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל | הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם וּמִן הָאֱמֹרִי וּמִן כְּנִי עַמּוֹן וּמִן
 פְּלִשְׁתִּים: וְצִדוֹנִים וְעַמְלֵק וּמְעוֹן לְחָצוֹ אֲתָכֶם | וַתִּצְעַקוּ אֵלַי וְאוֹשִׁיעָה
 אֲתָכֶם מֵיָדָם:

wáyyōʿmer yhw̄h(ʿādōnāy) ʿel-bəneʿ yisrāʿēl hālōʿ
mimmišrāyim ūmin-hāʿēmōrī ūmin-bəneʿ ʿammôn ūmin-
pəlišṭīm wəšīdōnīm wəʿāmālēq ūmāʿōn lāḥšū ʿetkem
wattišʿāqū ʿēlay wāʿōšīʿāh ʿetkem miyyādām

And the LORD said to the people of Israel, “Did not from the Egyptians and from the Amorites, from the Ammonites and from the Philistines? The Sidonians also, and the Amalekites and the Maonites oppressed you? And you cried out to me, and I saved you out of their hand.

The difficulty of interpreting מן (*min*) in verse 11 arises from its unusual syntactic composition, namely, the absence of a verb. The first verb to appear is לְחָצוּ (*lāḥšū*) in verse 12. The problem is that מן (*min*) is difficult to make sense of with this verb. This has led translations²⁶ and commentaries²⁷ to assume that the text is either corrupted or that a word for saving should be supposed in verse 11. This is also the suggestion of the critical apparatus of the BHS (1997:421). To make such a suggestion is logical because of the frequent use of מן (*min*) in the context of saving (cf. section 4.7.1.3.).

²⁶ See, for example, the New English Translation, English Standard Version, Jewish Publication Society's Tanakh and the King James Version.

²⁷ See, for example, Webb (2012:300).

Despite the fact that the above-mentioned solution has been widely accepted, there have also been other proposed solutions to this problem. Clines (2001:339) suggests that מִן (*min*) should here be interpreted as meaning *starting from*. This assumption enables him to retain the wording found in the text and to still make sense of מִן (*min*). This, in turn, leads him to propose the following translation/explanation for the verse: “did they not oppress you, (starting from) Egyptians and Amorites and Ammonites and Philistines, then (resumptive waw) Sidonians and Amalekites and Maonites”.

Since only one example with this usage occurs in Judges, it was deemed wise not to make any decision about this usage. This usage of מִן (*min*) provides further ground for research. If more examples of this usage can be found, it is likely that a well-informed conclusion about the sense of מִן (*min*) could be reached.

(58) Judges 13:13

וַיֹּאמֶר מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה אֶל מְנוּחַ | מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי אֵל הָאִשָּׁה תִשָּׁמֶר
wayyōmer malʾaḵ yhwḥ(ʾādōnāy) ʿel-mānôʾh mikkōl ʾāšer-
ʾāmārtî ʿel-hāʾiššāʰ tiššāmēr

And the messenger of the LORD said to Manoah, “מִן (*min*) all that I said to the woman let her take heed.”

In this example the messenger of the Lord tells Manoah that his wife is to observe (take heed of) מִן (*min*) everything that he has said to her. What he has said to her is stated in verses four and seven of the same chapter. She was told that she should drink no wine or strong drink and that she should not eat anything unclean. Now the question is: what does מִן (*min*) in this verse communicate? Does it mean that she should observe *some of* the things that he has told her?²⁸ The following verse, verse 14, seems to disprove such a notion. Consider how the same command is stated in the latter part of verse 14:

²⁸ To see how מִן (*min*) is used to denote the notion of *some of*, cf. the following verses, for example: 2 Samuel 11:17, Genesis 4:3, and Isaiah 39:7.

(59) Judges 13:14

כל אשר צויתיה תשמר

kōl ʾāšer-šiwwîṭîhā tišmōr

Everything that I have commanded her, she should observe.

This repeated command makes the intention of the messenger clear: she should observe *everything* that he has told her.

The use of מן (*min*) in this verse seems to correspond with what Brown *et al.* (1979) have described as “specifying the objects, or elements of which a genus consists”.²⁹ They argue that, through the examples they provide, מן (*min*) can have the meaning of *consisting of* in some contexts. Although this seems a viable way to explain such usages of מן (*min*), it remains unclear how this sense relates to the proto-scene. Again, further research on this verse is encouraged. If a wider range of data is taken into account, more light will probably be shed on this usage of מן (*min*).

The preposition מן (*min*) is used twice in Judges 16:28. Its sense in both of the cases is not straightforward, but for different reasons and to different degrees. The first has been disputed, but it is possible to provide a probable solution. The second, however, will be left open for further investigation. Let us briefly examine this verse:

(60) Judges 16:28

זְכַרְנִי נָא וְחַזְקֵנִי נָא אֶדְ הַפְעַם הַזֶּה הָאֱלֹהִים וְאִנְקָמָה נִקֶּם אֶחַת מִשְׁתֵּי עֵינַי
מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים:

zokrēnî nāʾ wəḥazzəqēnî nāʾ ʾak happáʿam hazze^h hāʾēlōhîm
wəʾinnāqmā^h nəqam-ʾaḥat miššəṭē ʿēnay mippəlišṭîm

Please remember me and please strengthen me only this time,
O God, so that I may avenge myself with the revenge of one of
my two eyes on (מן (*min*)) the Philistines.

²⁹ According to Brown *et al.* (1907), this usage of מן (*min*) corresponds with the so-called מן (*min*) of explication, which is present in Arabic.

The first usage of מִן (*min*) in מִשְׁשֵׁתַי (misššetē) has been interpreted mainly in two different ways. These different interpretations are due to the different interpretations of the other words in the verse. The first line of interpretation³⁰ assumed that אַחַת (*ʾaḥat*) meaning “one” (feminine form) refers the one of the eyes (therefore corresponding in grammatical gender). This has led them to interpret מִן (*min*) as having a partitive sense: “one of my two eyes.”

The second line of interpretation³¹ has taken אַחַת (*ʾaḥat*) together with נִקְמָה (*nəqam*), meaning “vengeance”, and thus rendered the clause as something along the lines of “with one act of vengeance”. On grammatical grounds the second interpretation is dubious, since the feminine form אַחַת (*ʾaḥat*) is used with the masculine noun נִקְמָה (*nəqam*). This noun is also in the construct form, which is uncommon when a noun is qualified by the numeral “one” (Webb, 2012:408).

Thus, it seems justified to interpret this usage of מִן (*min*) as displaying the partitive sense.

Coming to the second case, however, we find a more complicated scenario. מִן (*min*) is used together with the verb נִקַּם (*nqam*) to mean “avenge (oneself) on” somebody.³² מִן (*min*) indicates the party on which the revenge will be taken, which in this case is the Philistines. It should be noted here that of the works that were reviewed, only the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Clines, 2001:338) treated this usage of מִן (*min*). Here it is regarded as a contextual usage of the sense which is glossed with “(away) from” (Clines, 2001:337).

³⁰ Only two of the ten translations that were reviewed followed this line of interpretation, namely, the 1933/1953 Afrikaans translation and the Jewish Publication society’s Tanakh. Webb (2012:408) also follows this interpretation in his commentary on Judges.

³¹ As noted, most translations followed this line of interpretation. Some of these are the English Standard Version, New International Version, King James Version and New English Translation.

³² This usage of מִן (*min*) is also found in Judges 11:36.

Although the principled polysemy approach would suggest that this usage of גָּן (*min*) constitutes a distinct sense,³³ the way in which it came to be derived from the proto-scene remains unclear. In order to get a better grasp of this usage of גָּן (*min*), more research is necessary, especially with regard to the way in which revenge was conceptualised.

5.3 Semantic network for גָּן (*min*)

In the previous section the derived senses of גָּן (*min*) were established and explained. It was shown that גָּן (*min*) in Judges displays the following senses in addition to the proto-scene:

- position
- exception
- comparison
- negative consequence
- time
- material source
- origin
- partitive
- cause and
- agent.

In with each sense, a possible explanation for its relation to the proto-scene was provided. Figure 5.12 presents the semantic network that can be proposed for גָּן (*min*) based on the abovementioned analysis.

This figure seeks to present graphically the distinct senses and their relation to the proto-scene. As explained in section 4.7, the proto-scene for גָּן (*min*) contains two elements, namely, that of source and that of separation. It was also explained throughout the discussion on the senses (section 5.1) that in the derivation of every

³³ This follows from the fact that the relation that גָּן (*min*) indicates is non-spatial in nature and it seems that the sense that גָּן (*min*) displays could not have been derived from the context.

sense, either the source element or the separation element was profiled. We thus find two groups of senses: those that relate to the proto-scene via the source element and those that relate to it via the separation element. For this reason the senses could be divided into two clusters, as shown in the network.

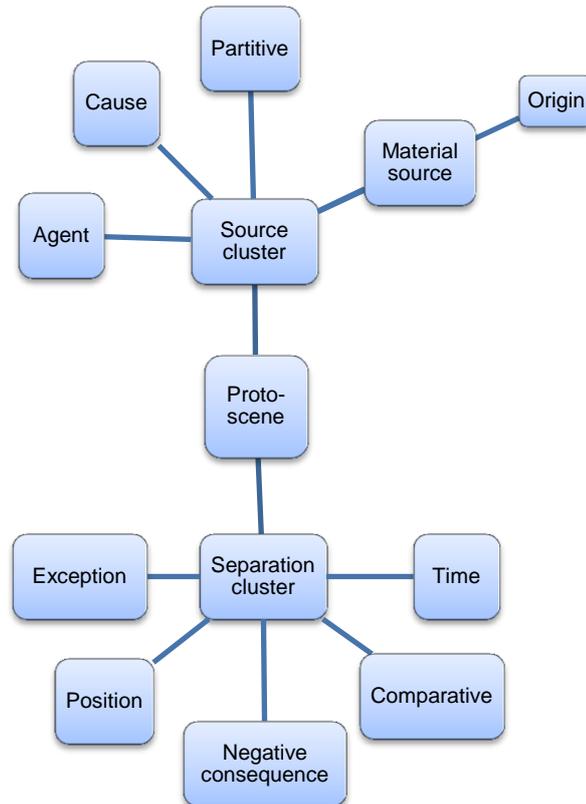


Figure 5.12: The semantic network of ገገ (min)

From the source cluster comes material source, partitive, cause, and agent and from the material source comes the origin sense. The separation cluster consists of position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, and time.

5.4 Conclusion

The goal of chapter 5 was to determine the semantic network of מִן (*min*) based on the senses which are attested in the book of Judges. Determining the semantic network involved two steps: determining the distinct senses and determining the link between these senses and the proto-scene.

Firstly, a list of senses was proposed from the data. Each sense was tested against the two criteria for establishing distinct senses. The goal of testing against these criteria was to distinguish distinct senses from context-dependent usages of the proto-scene or of another sense. Secondly, a possible explanation was given for the derivation of each sense from the proto-scene.

In addition to the proto-scene, ten distinct senses were identified, namely, material source, partitive, cause, agent, origin, position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, and time. It was shown that all of these senses are related to the proto-scene in substantiated ways. It became clear that some of the senses developed from the proto-scene through the profiling of the source element in the proto-scene, while others are related to the proto-scene through the profiled separation element.

Based on this analysis a semantic network was proposed for מִן (*min*). In the semantic network the senses could thus be divided into a source cluster and a separation cluster. The former consists of material source, partitive, cause, and agent. Although the origin sense is also part of the source cluster, it relates to the proto-scene via the material source sense. The separation cluster is made up of position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, and time.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Chapter summaries

In the field of cognitive linguistics much research has been done on the polysemy of prepositions. The advancements that this has brought about in general linguistics have also started to have an impact on the analysis of prepositions in Biblical Hebrew.¹ The analysis of the preposition *מִן* (*min*) has, however, not benefitted from the new insights put forward in cognitive linguistics. The primary goal of this research was therefore to provide a substantiated account for the polysemy that the preposition *מִן* (*min*) in Biblical Hebrew displays (based on the data found in the book of Judges).

In order to show where this study is situated in the history of the linguistic description of Hebrew, and *מִן* (*min*) in particular, chapter 2 was devoted to providing an overview of the literature related to this study. It was shown that the previous methodologies according to which Hebrew was analysed did not place sufficient emphasis on the semantics of the language. Cognitive linguistics brought about a change in the study of language, however, because in this linguistic theory the focus is on meaning.

Firstly, then, it was shown that the lexica and grammars did not offer a motivated account for the different senses of *מִן* (*min*). Although some of the lexica did indicate that the senses were derived from a primary sense and related to each other (e.g. Gesenius & Tregelles, 1857), this was not done consistently and, in addition, the patterns of derivation that were proposed were not explained. For the purpose of gleaning information from studies that were done on prepositions in other languages, two of the major approaches to polysemy in prepositions were discussed. The approach followed by Brugman and Lakoff has been pivotal in the study of the polysemy of prepositions. Nevertheless, this approach has been shown not to have clear methodological principles according to which distinct senses should be

¹ For example Lyle (2012) and Rodriguez (2011).

identified. In an attempt to provide a solution to this weakness, Tyler and Evans (2001, 2003) developed the principled polysemy approach. This approach provides criteria for determining the primary sense of a preposition as well as the derived senses. This methodology was deemed suitable for use in the analysis of the polysemy of *מִן* (*min*).

Chapter 3 started with a description of the broader theoretical framework in which this research was conducted, namely, that of cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics. The subfield of cognitive semantics, namely, spatial semantics, has been shown to be very important in the study of the preposition *מִן* (*min*). Accordingly, some of the concepts that have been employed in the study of spatial semantics were briefly discussed. The principled polysemy approach was discussed in detail to make the methodology for the analysis of *מִן* (*min*) clear. The criteria for determining both the proto-scene and the distinct senses were described, after which the method for explaining the sense derivations, namely pragmatic strengthening, was discussed.

In chapters 4 and 5 the methodology was applied to the data. Chapter 4 was devoted to determining the proto-scene of *מִן* (*min*), while chapter 5 sought to establish a semantic network for *מִן* (*min*) by firstly determining the distinct senses and, secondly, providing explanations for the derivation of the senses from the proto-scene.

Chapter 4 firstly presented an overview of the dataset that was used in this study, in which all of the 277 occurrences of *מִן* (*min*) were taken into account. This overview of the data was followed by the application of the five criteria proposed by the methodology for determining the proto-scene. The first criterion involves the earliest use of the preposition. It was shown that the closed corpus of Biblical Hebrew makes the application of this criterion difficult. The evidence that could be gained from related languages, however, suggests that the primary sense of *מִן* (*min*) would probably be one of source/separation, origin or partitive. The second criterion concerning the predominance in the semantic network pointed to a proto-scene in which the LM serves as the source of the TR and in which the TR is separated from

the LM. The third criterion suggests that the senses of exception, comparison, negative consequence, time, material source, origin, partitive, and agent are probably not primary since they do not occur when מִן (*min*) is used in complex prepositions. In the application of the fourth criterion it was shown that the opposite of the spatial sense of מִן (*min*) is generally regarded as לְעָלָה (*le'ela*). This preposition indicates *motion towards something*. It can thus be deduced that the proto-scene of מִן (*min*) probably contains an element of *motion away from something*. With regard to the grammatical predictions that the last criterion is concerned, it was shown that all the distinct senses could be derived in a principled manner from a proto-scene that indicates locational source and separation. If the results of the five criteria are considered together it seems likely that the major contender for the proto-scene is the sense of source/separation, which מִן (*min*) displays. This proto-scene contains two elements, namely, that of source and that of separation.

Chapter 5 continued to apply the criteria for determining the distinct senses for מִן (*min*). The following senses were proposed from the data: position, exception comparison, negative consequence, time, material source, origin, partitive, cause, and agent. It was indicated that these senses were derived from the proto-scene in a principled manner. In the derivation of the first five senses it was shown that the separation element of the proto-scene was profiled, while the last five senses were shown to be derived from the proto-scene based on the profiling of the source element.

6.2 Conclusions

In this study the polysemy that the preposition מִן (*min*) displays in Biblical Hebrew, was investigated. This investigation was motivated by the fact that none of the existing treatments of מִן (*min*) provides a systematic and motivated account for the various senses of this preposition. The first matter about which confusion exists relates to what the primary sense of מִן (*min*) should be, while the second matter involves the identification and delimitation of the other senses.

In an attempt to address these problems, the principled polysemy approach (developed by Tyler & Evans (2003)) was employed. This methodology is situated within the broader theoretical framework of cognitive semantics. The principled polysemy approach was developed to provide an objective and verifiable way of analysing polysemous prepositions. It consists of one set of criteria for determining the primary sense and another set for determining the derived senses.

The data that was used in this study consisted of all the occurrences of מִן (*min*) in the book of Judges. By applying the criteria to the data it was found that the preposition מִן (*min*) has a primary sense/proto-scene which indicates the source of a TR's motion and in which the TR becomes separated from the LM. The application of the criteria for determining the derived senses suggested a further ten distinct senses that מִן (*min*) displays in Judges. It was also found that these senses are related to the primary sense in a principled way. As a result of this analysis, a semantic network for מִן (*min*) was proposed. The senses that were identified for מִן (*min*) in Judges, in addition to the primary sense which indicates source/separation, are material source, partitive, cause, agent, origin, position, exception, comparison, negative consequence, and time.

6.3 Areas for future research

Owing to the dimensions of this study only a small fraction of the occurrences of מִן (*min*) in the Hebrew Bible were analysed. One of the first areas that require more research would thus be the analysis all instances of מִן (*min*) in the Hebrew Bible in order to establish a complete semantic network.

A further issue that could not be addressed in this study is that of the combinations of מִן (*min*) with specific verbs and other syntactical constructions. If such an analysis could be done it would provide a much deeper understanding of the semantics of מִן (*min*) and would also enable one to identify its contextual meanings.

This study has shown that it is possible to give a systematic account for the different senses of מִן (*min*). The literature review revealed that such an account of מִן (*min*) is

largely lacking in available resources. In order to prepare a systematic dictionary entry for מִן (*min*), further extensive research of מִן (*min*) is required. Seeing that the current, state-of-the-art dictionaries for Biblical Languages are based on semantic domains, the research should include the determination of the lexical and contextual semantic domains in which מִן (*min*) should be placed.

The difficult cases of מִן (*min*), which are discussed in section 5.2, provide rich ground for further research.

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Appendix A

All the occurrences of מִן (*min*) in Judges

Figure C.1 shows the number of times that the identified senses of מִן (*min*) occur in Judges.

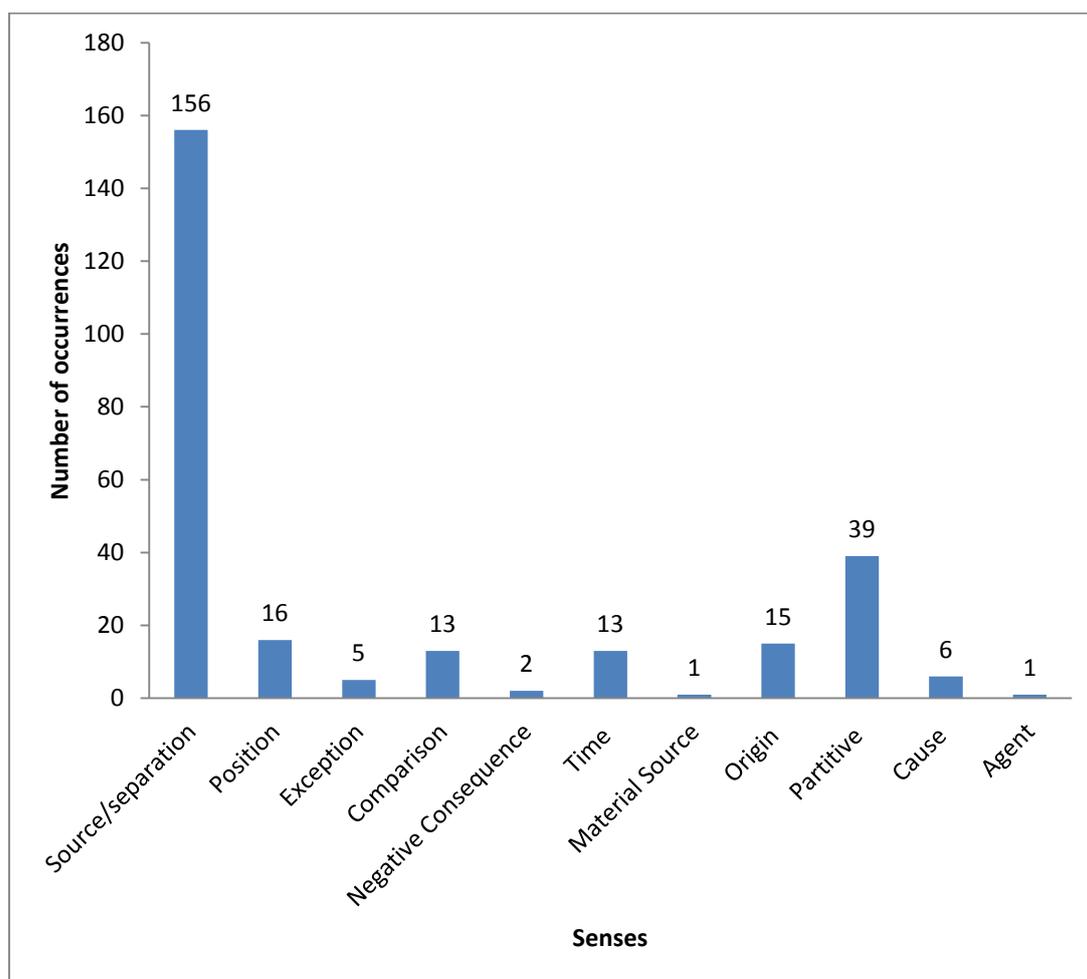


Figure C.1: Number of occurrences of מִן (*min*) in Judges

In the following list all the occurrences of מן (*min*) are listed with a literal translation and the identified sense in each case.

Reference in Judges	Phrase	Literal translation	Sense
1:11	וַיֵּלֶךְ מִשָּׁם אֶל יוֹשְׁבֵי דְבִיר	and he went from there to the inhabitants of Debir	Source/ Separation
1:13	אָחִי כָלֵב הַקָּטָן מִמֶּנּוּ	the brother of Caleb, the one younger than him	Comparison
1:14a	לְשֹׂאֵל מֵאֵת אָבִיהָ הַשָּׂדֶה	to ask the field of her father	Source/ Separation
1:14b	וַתִּצָּנַח מֵעַל הַחֲמֹר	and she got off the donkey	Source/ Separation
1:16	עָלוּ מֵעִיר הַתְּמָרִים	they went up from the city of palms	Source/ Separation
1:20	וַיֹּרֶשׁ מִשָּׁם אֶת שְׁלֹשָׁה בְנֵי הָעֶזְקָה	and he drove the three sons of Anak out from there	Source/ Separation
1:24	אִישׁ יוֹצֵא מִן הָעִיר	a man coming out of the city.	Source/ Separation
1:36a	וּגְבוּל הָאֱמֹרִיתִים מִמַּעַלָּה עַקְרָבִים מִהַסְּלַע וְמֵעֵלָה:	and the border of the Amorites went from the ascent of Akrabbim, from Sela and upward.	Source/ Separation
1:36b	וּגְבוּל הָאֱמֹרִיתִים מִמַּעַלָּה עַקְרָבִים מִהַסְּלַע וְמֵעֵלָה:	and the border of the Amorites went from the ascent of Akrabbim, from Sela and upward.	Source/ Separation
2:1a	וַיַּעַל מִלְאָךְ יְהוָה מִן הַגִּלְגָל אֶל הַבְּכִים	and the angel of the Lord went up from Gilgal to Bochim.	Source/ Separation
2:1b	אֶעֱלֶה אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם	I brought you up out of Egypt.	Source/ Separation
2:3	לֹא אֶגְרֹשׁ אֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם	I will not drive them out before you.	Source/ Separation
2:9	מִצְפוֹן לְהַר גַּעֲשׁ	to the north of Mount Gaash	Position
2:12a	הַמּוֹצִיא אֹתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	the One who brought you out of the land of Egypt	Source/ Separation
2:12b	אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים מֵאֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים	other gods from the gods of the peoples.	Partitive
2:14	אֹיְבֵיהֶם מְסֻבִּיב	their enemies around them	Position
2:16	וַיִּשְׁעֵם מִיַּד שׁוֹסֵיהֶם	and they saved them out of the hand of their plunderers	Source/ Separation
2:17	סָרוּ מִהֵרָא מִן הַדֶּרֶךְ	they turned away quickly from the way	Source/ Separation
2:18a	וַהֲשִׁיעֵם מִיַּד אֹיְבֵיהֶם	and he saved them from the hand of their enemies	Source/ Separation
2:18b	כִּי יָנַחַם יְהוָה מִנִּצְאָקָתָם	for the Lord felt sorry (for them) because of their groaning	Cause

2:18c	כִּי יִנָּחֵם יְהוָה מִנְּאֻקָּתָם מִפְּנֵי לְחָצִיָּהֶם וְדֹחֲקֵיהֶם:	for the Lord felt sorry (for them) because of their groaning because of their afflictors and oppressors	Cause
2:19a	וְהִשְׁחִיתוּ מֵאַבֹּתָם	they were more corrupt than their fathers	Comparison
2:19b	לֹא הִפִּילוּ מִמַּעַלְלֵיהֶם	they did not drop (any) of their practices	Partitive
2:19c	לֹא הִפִּילוּ מִמַּעַלְלֵיהֶם וּמִדַּרְכֵּם הַקְּשָׁה:	they did not drop (any) of their practices or (any) of their hard ways	Partitive
2:21a	לֹא אוֹסִיף לְהוֹרִישׁ אִישׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם	I will not continue to drive out from before you...	Source/ Separation
2:21b	לְהוֹרִישׁ אִישׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם מִן הַגּוֹיִם	I will not continue to drive out from before you any of the nations	Partitive
3:3	יֵשֵׁב הַר הַלְּבָנוֹן מִהַר בְּעַל הַרְמוֹן עַד לְבוֹא חַמַּת:	... who lives on the mountain of the Libanon: from Mount Baal- Hermon to Lebo-hamath	Source/ Separation
3:9	אָחִי כָּלֵב הַקָּטָן מִמֶּנּוּ:	The brother of Caleb, the one younger than him	Comparison
3:16	וַיַּחְגֵּר אוֹתָהּ מִתַּחַת לְמַדְיוֹ	and he strapped it on his right thigh under his clothes	Position
3:19a	וְהוּא שָׁב מִן הַפְּסִילִים	and he turned back from the idols	Source/ Separation
3:19b	וַיֵּצְאוּ מֵעָלָיו	they went out of his presence	Source/ Separation
3:20	וַיָּקָם מֵעַל הַכִּסֵּא	and he stood up from his chair	Source/ Separation
3:21	וַיִּקַּח אֶת הַחֶרֶב מֵעַל יָרֵךְ	and he took the sword off from his thigh	Source/ Separation
3:22	לֹא שָׁלַף הַחֶרֶב מִבֶּטְנוֹ	he did not pull the sword out of his belly	Source/ Separation
3:27	וַיֵּרְדוּ עִמּוֹ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן הַהָר	and the people of Israel went down from the mountain with him	Source/ Separation
4:6a	וַתִּקְרָא לְבָרַק בֶּן אַבִּינָעִם מִקְדֵּשׁ נַפְתָּלִי	and she called Barak, son of Abinoam from Kedesh-naphtali	Source/ Separation
4:6b	וְלָקַחְתָּ עִמָּךְ עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי	and take 10000 men with you from the sons of Naphtali	Partitive
4:6c	וְלָקַחְתָּ עִמָּךְ עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי נַפְתָּלִי וּמִבְּנֵי זְבֻלוֹן:	and take 10000 men with you from the sons of Naphtali and from the sons of Zebulun	Partitive
4:11a	וַחֲבֵר הַקֵּנִיטִי נִפְרָד מִקֵּנִי	And Heber the Kenite separated from Kenites	Source/ Separation
4:11b	וַחֲבֵר הַקֵּנִיטִי נִפְרָד מִקֵּנִי מִבְּנֵי הַחִיב	And Heber the Kenite separated from Kenites, from the sons of Hobab	Source/ Separation

4:13	וַיִּזְעַק אֶת כָּל רֶכֶבּוֹ... מִחֲרֹשֶׁת הַגּוֹיִם אֶל נַחַל קִישׁוֹן:	and he called all his chariots ... from Harosheth-hagoyim to the river Kishon.	Source/ Separation
4:14	וַיֵּרֵד בָּרַק מֵהַר תַּבּוֹר	and Barak went down from Mount Tabor	Source/ Separation
4:15	וַיֵּרֵד סִסְרָא מֵעַל הַמָּרְכָבָה	and Sisera got off off his chariot	Source/ Separation
5:4a	בְּצֵאתְךָ מִשְׁעִיר	when you went out of Seir	Source/ Separation
5:4b	בְּצַעֲדְךָ מִשָּׂדֵה אֲדוֹם	when you stepped from the field of Edom	Source/ Separation
5:5a	הָרִים נָזְלוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה	the mountains flowed from before the LORD	Source/ Separation
5:5b	הָרִים נָזְלוּ מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה זֶה סִינַי מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה	the mountains flowed from before the LORD, (even) that Sinai from before the LORD	Source/ Separation
5:11	מִקּוֹל מַחְצְצִים בֵּין מְשֻׁאֲבִים שָׁם יִתְּנוּ צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה	מז (min) the sound of musicians(?) at the watering places, there they repeat the righteous triumphs of the LORD.	Unsure
5:14a	מִנֵּי אֶפְרַיִם	(they came down) from Ephraim	Source/ Separation
5:14b	מִנֵּי מַכִּיר יָרְדוּ	they came down from Machir	Source/ Separation
5:14c	וּמִזְבוּלֹן	and (they came down) from Zebulun	Source/ Separation
5:20a	מִן שָׁמַיִם נִלְחָמוּ הַכּוֹכָבִים	from heaven the stars fought	Source/ Separation
5:20b	מִמְסְלוֹתָם נִלְחָמוּ עִם סִסְרָא	from their paths they fought against Sisera	Source/ Separation
5:22	אָז הִלְמוּ עֲקָבֵי סוּס מִדְּהָרוֹת	then the horses' hoofs hammered from the galloping	Cause
5:24a	תְּבָרָךְ מְנַשִּׁים יַעַל	more blessed than women is Jael	Comparison
5:24b	מְנַשִּׁים בְּאֹהֶל תְּבָרָךְ	more blessed than women in a tent	Comparison
6:2	מִפְּנֵי מִדְיָן עָשׂוּ לָהֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת הַמְּנַהָרוֹת	because of Midian the sons of Israel made for themselves the dens	Cause
6:6	וַיִּדַל יִשְׂרָאֵל מְאֹד מִפְּנֵי מִדְיָן	And Israel became very low because of Midian	Cause
6:8a	הֵעֲלִיתִי אֶתְכֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם	I brought you up out of Egypt.	Source/ Separation
6:8b	וְאֶצִּיא אֶתְכֶם מִבֵּית עַבְדִּים	I brought you out of the house of slaves.	Source/ Separation
6:9a	וְאֶצֶּל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם	and I saved you out of the hand of Egypt	Source/ Separation
6:9b	וְאֶצֶּל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם וּמִיַּד כָּל לֹחְצֵיכֶם	and I saved you out of the hand of Egypt and out of the hand of all your oppressors	Source/ Separation

6:9c	וְאֶגְרֵשׁ אֹתָם מִפְּנֵיכֶם	and I drove them out before you	Source/ Separation
6:11	לְהִנִּים מִפְּנֵי מִדְיָן	to hide from Midian	Source/ Separation
6:13	הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם הֵעֵלָנוּ	did he not bring us up out of Egypt?	Source/ Separation
6:14	וְהוֹשַׁעְתָּ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכַּף מִדְיָן	and you must save Israel for the hand of Midian	Source/ Separation
6:18	אַל נָא תֵמַשׁ מִזֶּה	please do not go away from here	Source/ Separation
6:21a	וַתַּעַל הָאֵשׁ מִן הַצּוּר	and the fire went up from the rock	Source/ Separation
6:21b	וּמִלְאָךְ יְהוָה הִלֵּךְ מֵעֵינָיו	and the angel of the LORD went out of his sight (lit. eyes)	Source/ Separation
6:27a	וַיִּקַּח גִּדְעוֹן עֲשָׂרָה אָנָשִׁים מֵעַבְדָּיו	And Gideon took ten men of his servants	Partitive
6:27b	וַיְהִי כִּי אִשָּׁר יָרָא אֶת בֵּית אָבִיו וְאֶת אַנְשֵׁי הָעִיר מַעֲשׂוֹת יוֹמָם וַיַּעַשׂ לַיְלָה	And because he feared the house of his father and the men of the town he could not do (lit. מן (min) doing) it by day, so he did it by night.	Negative Consequence
6:38a	וַיִּשְׁכַּם מִמָּחֳרָת	and he got up early the next morning	Time
6:38b	וַיִּמְצֵן טַל מִן הַגִּזָּה	and he wrung dew out of the fleece	Source/ Separation
7:1a	וּמַחֲנֵה מִדְיָן הָיָה לוֹ מִצְפוֹן	and the camp of Midian was north of him	Position
7:1b	וּמַחֲנֵה מִדְיָן הָיָה לוֹ מִצְפוֹן מִגְּבַעַת הַמּוֹרָה בְּעֵמֶק	and the camp of Midian was north of him, by the hill of Moreh in the valley	Position
7:2	רַב הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתְּךָ מִתְּתִי אֶת מִדְיָן בְּיָדָם	The people that are with you are too many for me to give Midian in their hand.	Comparison
7:3a	וַיִּצְפֹּר מֵהַר הַגִּלְעָד	let him go away (?) from Mount Gilead	Source/ Separation
7:3b	וַיָּשֻׁב מִן הָעָם עֲשָׂרִים וּשְׁנַיִם אָלֶף	And 22000 of the people returned	Partitive
7:5	יִלֵּק בְּלִשׁוֹנוֹ מִן הַמַּיִם	he laps from the water with his tongue	Source/ Separation
7:8	וּמַחֲנֵה מִדְיָן הָיָה לוֹ מִתַּחַת בְּעֵמֶק	and the camp of Midian was below his in the valley	Position
7:17	מִמֶּנִּי תִרְאוּ וְכֵן תַּעֲשׂוּ	look from me and do so.	Unsure
7:23a	וַיִּצְעַק אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִנַּפְתָּלִי	and the men of Israel were called from Naphtali	Source/ Separation
7:23b	וַיִּצְעַק אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִנַּפְתָּלִי וּמִן אֲשֶׁר	and the men of Israel were called from Naphtali and from Asher	Source/ Separation

7:23c	וַיִּצְעַק אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל מִנַּפְתָּלִי וּמִן אָשֶׁר וּמִן כָּל מְנַשֶּׁה	and the men of Israel were called from Naphtali and from Asher and from the whole Manasseh	Source/ Separation
7:25	וְרֹאשׁ עֵרֵב וְזַאֲב הֵבִיאוּ אֶל גִּדְעוֹן מֵעֵבֶר לַיַּרְדֵּן:	and the heads of Oreb and Zeeb they brought to Gideon on the other side of the Jordan	Position
8:2	הֲלוֹא טוֹב עֲלִלוֹת אֶפְרַיִם מִבְּצִיר אֲבִיעֶזֶר	is the gleaning (of grapes) of Ephraim not better that the grape harvest of Abiezer?	Comparison
8:3	רַפְתָּה רוּחָם מֵעָלָיו	their spirit relaxed from on him	Source/ Separation
8:8	וַיַּעַל מִשָּׁם פְּנוּאֵל	and he went up from there to Penuel	Source/ Separation
8:10	כַּחֲמִשָּׁת עֶשְׂרֵי אֶלֶף כֹּל הַנּוֹתָרִים מִכָּל מַחֲנֵה בְנֵי קֶדֶם	about 15000, all who were left over from the whole camp of the sons of the East	Partitive
8:11	הַשְּׂכֹנֵי בְּאֶהָלִים מִקֶּדֶם לְנֹבַח	the ones who dwell in tents east of Nobah	Position
8:13a	וַיָּשָׁב גִּדְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹאָשׁ מִן הַמִּלְחָמָה	And Gideon son of Joash returned from the battle	Source/ Separation
8:13b	וַיָּשָׁב גִּדְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹאָשׁ מִן הַמִּלְחָמָה מִלְמַעְלֵה הַהַרְס:	And Gideon son of Joash returned from the battle, from the ascent of Heres	Source/ Separation
8:14	וַיִּלְכֹּד נֶעַר מֵאֲנָשֵׁי סֻכּוֹת	and he captured a boy from the men of Succoth	Partitive
8:22	הוֹשַׁעְתָּנוּ מִיַּד מִדְיָן	you saved us from the hand of Midian	Source/ Separation
8:24	אֲשַׁאֲלֶה מִכֶּם שְׂאֵלָה	let me request something (lit. a request) from you	Source/ Separation
8:26a	לְבַד מִן הַשְּׁהָרִים	besides the crescent ornaments	Exception
8:26b	וּלְבַד מִן הָעֲנָקוֹת	and besides the necklaces	Exception
8:34a	הַמַּצִּיל אוֹתָם מִיַּד כָּל אִיְבֵיהֶם	the one who saved you from the hand of all your enemies	Separation
8:34b	כָּל אִיְבֵיהֶם מְסָבִיב	all your enemies around you	Position
9:4	כֶּסֶף מִבַּיִת בַּעַל בְּרִית	silver from the house of Baal-berith	Source/ Separation
9:15	תֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מִן הָאֵטָד	let fire come out of the thorn bush	Source/ Separation
9:17a	וַיִּשְׁלַךְ אֶת נַפְשׁוֹ מִנֶּגֶד	and he threw his life in front (of him)	Position
9:17b	וַיַּצֵּל אֶתְכֶם מִיַּד מִדְיָן	and he saved you from the hand of Midian	Source/ Separation
9:20a	וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מֵאַבִּימֶלֶךְ	and let fire come out of Abimelech	Source/ Separation
9:20b	וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מִבְּעָלֵי שֶׁכֶם	and let fire come out of the rulers of Shechem	Source/ Separation

9:20c	וַתֵּצֵא אֵשׁ מִבְּעֵלֵי שֶׁכֶם וּמִבֵּית מִלּוֹא	and let fire come out of the rulers of Shechem and out of Beth-millo	Source/ Separation
9:21	וַיָּשָׁב שָׁם מִפְּנֵי אֲבִימֶלֶךְ	and he lived there because of his brother Abimelech	Cause
9:35	וַיָּקָם אֲבִימֶלֶךְ וְהָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ מִן הַמְּאָרֵב	and Abimelech and the people who were with him stood up from the ambush	Source/ Separation
9:36	עַם יוֹרֵד מִרְאשֵׁי הַהָרִים	people are coming down from the heads of the mountains	Source/ Separation
9:37a	עַם יוֹרְדִים מֵעַם טְבוֹר הָאָרֶץ	people are coming down from the middle of the land	Source/ Separation
9:37b	וְרֹאשׁ אֶחָד בַּא מְדָרָה אֵלּוֹן	and one company comes from the road of the oak tree of the diviners	Source/ Separation
9:40	וַיָּנֹס מִפְּנֵי	and he fled from before him	Source/ Separation
9:41	וַיִּגְרֹשׁ זְבֻל אֶת גַּעַל וְאֶת אָחִיו מִשְׁכַּת בְּשֶׁכֶם	and Zebul drove out Gaal and his brothers so that they could not live in Shechem	Negative Consequence
9:42	וַיְהִי מִמָּחָרֵת	and on the next morning	Time
9:43	הָעָם יֹצֵא מִן הָעִיר	the people are coming out of the city	Source/ Separation
10:11a	הֲלֹא מִמִּצְרַיִם	Did not from Egypt	Unsure
10:11b	וּמִן הָאֲמֹרִי	and from the Amorites	Unsure
10:11c	וּמִן בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	and from the sons of Ammon	Unsure
10:11d	וּמִן פְּלִשְׁתִּים	and from the Philistines	Unsure
10:12	וְאוֹשִׁיעָה אֶתְכֶם מִיָּדָם	and I saved you from their hand	Source/ Separation
10:16	וַיִּסְרֻוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי הַנִּכְר מִקִּרְבָּם	and they removed the foreign gods out of their midst	Source/ Separation
11:3	וַיִּבְרַח יִפְתָּח מִפְּנֵי אָחִיו	and Jephthah fled from before his brothers	Source/ Separation
11:4	וַיְהִי מִיָּמִים	and it was after days	Time
11:5	וַיֵּלְכוּ זְקֵנֵי גִלְעָד לִקְחַת אֶת יִפְתָּח מֵאֶרֶץ טוֹב	and the elders of Gilead went to take Jephthah the land of Tob	Source/ Separation
11:7	וַתִּגְרֹשׁוּנִי מִבֵּית אָבִי	and you drove me out of my father's house	Source/ Separation
11:13a	לָקַח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת אֶרְצִי בְּעֵלוֹתוֹ מִמִּצְרַיִם	Israel took my land when they (lit. he) came up out of Egypt	Source/ Separation
11:13b	מֵאֶרְנוֹן וְעַד הַיַּבֵּק וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן	from the Arnon to the Jabbok and to the Jordan	Source/ Separation
11:16	בְּעֵלוֹתָם מִמִּצְרַיִם	when they came up out of Egypt	Source/ Separation

11:18	וַיָּבֹאוּ מִמִּזְרַח שֶׁמֶשׁ לְאֶרֶץ מוֹאָב	and they came from the eastern side of the land of Moab	Position
11:22a	וַיִּירְשׁוּ אֶת כָּל גְּבוּל הָאֱמֹרִי מֵאֲרֹנוֹן וְעַד הַיַּבֹּק	and they took the whole territory of the Amorites, from the Arnon to the Jabbok	Source/ Separation
11:22b	וּמִן הַמִּדְבָּר וְעַד הַיַּרְדֵּן	and from the desert and to the Jordan	Source/ Separation
11:23	הוֹרִישׁ אֶת הָאֱמֹרִי מִפְּנֵי עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל	he dispossessed the Amorites from before his people	Source/ Separation
11:24	וְאֵת כָּל אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִפְּנֵינוּ אוֹתוֹ נִירֶשׁ	and everything that the LORD our God dispossessed from before us, that we will possess	Source/ Separation
11:25	וְעַתָּה הֲטוֹב טוֹב אַתָּה מִבָּלָק בֶּן צְפּוֹר	and now, are you really better than Balak?	Comparison
11:29	וּמִמִּצְפָּה גִלְעָד עָבַר עַבְרַת בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	and from Mizpah in Gilead he passed on to the sons of Ammon	Source/ Separation
11:31a	הַיּוֹצֵא אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִדְּלֹתַי בֵּיתִי	the one who comes out of the doors of my house	Source/ Separation
11:31b	בְּשׁוֹבִי בְּשָׁלוֹם מִבְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	when I come back in peace from the sons of Ammon	Source/ Separation
11:33a	וַיַּכֵּם מֵעְרוֹעֵר וְעַד בּוֹאֵף מִנִּית	and he struck them down from Aroer until you come to Minnith	Source/ Separation
11:33b	וַיִּכְנְעוּ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן מִפְּנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	and the sons of Ammon were humbled before the sons of Israel	Position
11:34	הִיא יְחִידָה אֵין לוֹ מִמֶּנּוּ בֶן אוֹ בַת	she was the only one, except for her he did not have a son or a daughter	Exception
11:36a	עֲשֵׂה לִי כְּאֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִפִּיךָ	do to me like that which has gone out of your mouth	Source/ Separation
11:36b	עֲשֵׂה לְךָ יְהוָה נִקְמוֹת מֵאֲבִיךָ	the LORD made revenge for you on your enemies	Unsure (avenge?)
11:36c	עֲשֵׂה לְךָ יְהוָה נִקְמוֹת מֵאֲבִיךָ מִבְּנֵי עַמּוֹן	the LORD made revenge for you on your enemies, on the sons of Ammon	Unsure (avenge?)
11:37	הֲרַפָּה מִמֶּנִּי שְׁנַיִם חֳדָשִׁים	relax from me (=leave me alone) for two months	Source/ Separation
11:39	וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ שְׁנַיִם חֳדָשִׁים	and at the end of two months	Time
11:40	מִיָּמַיִם יְמִימָה תִּלְכְּנָה בָנוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל	from year to year the daughters of Israel went	Time
12:2	וְלֹא הוֹשַׁעְתָּם אוֹתִי מִיָּדָם	you did not save me from their hand	Source/ Separation
12:6	וַיִּפֹּל בְּעֵת הַהִיא מֵאֶפְרַיִם אַרְבָּעִים וּשְׁנַיִם אָלֶף	And at that time 42000 of Ephraim fell	Partitive
12:8	אֲבָצָן מִבֵּית לָחֶם	Ibzan of Bethlehem	Origin

12:9	בנות הביא לבניו מן החוץ	he brought daughters for his sons from outside	Source/ Separation
13:2a	ויהי איש אחד מצרע	and there was a man of Zorah	Origin
13:2b	ויהי איש אחד מצרעה ממִשְׁפַּחַת הַדָּנִי	and there was a man of Zorah of the tribe of the Danites	Origin
13:5a	נזיר אֱלֹהִים יִהְיֶה הַנֶּעֶר מִן הַבֶּטֶן	a Nazirite of God the child will be from the womb	Time
13:5b	לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל מִיַּד פְּלִשְׁתִּים	to save Israel from the hand of the Philistines	Source/ Separation
13:6	וְלֹא שָׁאֵלְתִּיהוּ אִי מִזֶּה הוּא	and I did not ask him from where he was	Origin
13:7	זִיר אֱלֹהִים יִהְיֶה הַנֶּעֶר מִן הַבֶּטֶן עַד יוֹם מוֹתוֹ	a Nazirite of God the child will be from the womb until the day of his death	Time
13:13	מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר אָמַרְתִּי אֶל הָאִשָּׁה תִשְׁמַר	מִן (<i>min</i>) all that I said to the woman let her take heed.	Unsure
13:14a	מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִגֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן לֹא תֹאכַל	of everything that goes out of the vine she shall not eat	Source/ Separation
13:14b	מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵא מִגֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן	of everything that goes out of the vine	Material Source
13:20	וַיִּהְיֶה בַעֲלוֹת הַלֶּהָב מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ	and when the flame went up from on the altar	Source/ Separation
13:23	לֹא לָקַח מִיַּדְנוּ עֹלָה	he did not take a sacrifice out of our hands	Source/ Separation
14:1	וַיֵּרָא אִשָּׁה בְּתַמְנָתָה מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים	and he saw a women in Timnah from the daughters of the Philistines	Partitive
14:2	אִשָּׁה רָאִיתִי בְּתַמְנָתָה מִבְּנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים	a woman I saw in Timnah from the daughters of the Philistines	Partitive
14:3	לָקַחַת אִשָּׁה מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים	to take a woman from the Philistines	Source/ Separation
14:4a	לֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי מִיְהוָה הִיא	they did not know that it was from the LORD	Agent
14:4b	תֹּאנָה הוּא מְבַקֵּשׁ מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים	he was seeking an opportunity against (lit. from) the Philistines	Source/ Separation
14:8	וַיָּשָׁב מִיָּמִים	and he returned after days	Time
14:9	מִגְּנוֹיַת הָאֲרִיָּה רָדָה הַדְּבִשׁ	from the carcass of the lion he scraped the honey	Source/ Separation
14:14a	מִהָאֹכֵל יֵצֵא מֵאֹכֵל	from the eater something to eat came out	Source/ Separation
14:14b	וּמֵעֵז יֵצֵא מְתוֹק	and from the strong came something sweet	Source/ Separation
14:18a	מָה מְתוֹק מִדְּבִשׁ	what is sweeter than honey?	Comparison
14:18b	וּמָה עֹז מֵאַרְיֵי	and what is stronger than a lion	Comparison

14:19	וַיַּךְ מֵהֶם שְׁלֹשִׁים אִישׁ	and he struck down 30 men of them	Partitive
15:1	וַיְהִי מִיָּמִים	and it was after days	Time
15:2	הֲלֹא אַחֲתָהּ הַקְטָנָה טוֹבָה מִמָּנָה	is her younger sister not better than she is?	Comparison
15:3	נְקִיתִי הַפְּעַם מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים	this time I am clean (i.e. innocent) from the Philistines	Source/ Separation
15:5	וַיִּבְעַר מִגְדִּישׁ וְעַד קָמָה וְעַד כְּרֵם זַיִת	and he set fire from the grain heaps to the standing grain and to the olive grove	Source/ Separation
15:11	וַיֵּרְדוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ מִיְהוּדָה אֶל סְעִיף סָלַע עֵיטָם	and 3000 men of Judah went down	Partitive
15:13	וַיַּעֲלוּהוּ מִן הַסָּלַע	and they brought him up from the rock	Source/ Separation
15:14	וַיִּמְסוּ אֲסוּרָיו מֵעַל יָדָיו	and his bonds melted off from his hands	Source/ Separation
15:17	וַיִּשְׁלֹךְ הַלְחִי מִיָּדוֹ	and he threw the jawbone out of his hand	Source/ Separation
15:19	וַיֵּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מַיִם	and from it water came out	Source/ Separation
16:12	וַיִּבְתְּקֵם מֵעַל זְרַעְתָּיו כַּחוֹט	and he broke it off from his arms like thread	Source/ Separation
16:14	וַיִּיקָץ מִשָּׁנָתוֹ	and he woke up from his sleep	Source/ Separation
16:17a	נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים אֲנִי מִבֶּטֶן אִמִּי	a Nazirite of God I am from the womb of my mother	Time
16:17b	וְסִר מִמְּנִי כֹחִי	and my strength will leave me	Source/ Separation
16:19	וַיִּסַּר כֹּחוֹ מֵעָלָיו	and his strength left him	Source/ Separation
16:20a	וַיִּיקָץ מִשָּׁנָתוֹ	and he woke up from his sleep	Source/ Separation
16:20b	יְהוָה סָר מֵעָלָיו	the LORD had turned away from him	Source/ Separation
16:25	וַיִּקְרְאוּ לְשָׁמְשׁוֹן מִבַּיִת הָאֲסִירִים	and they called Samson from the prison	Source/ Separation
16:28a	וְאֲנִקְמָה נָקָם אַחַת מִשְׁתֵּי עֵינָי מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים	so that I may avenge myself with the revenge of one of my two eyes	Partitive
16:28b	וְאֲנִקְמָה נָקָם אַחַת מִשְׁתֵּי עֵינָי מִפְּלִשְׁתִּים	so that I may avenge myself with the revenge of one of my two eyes on (מִן (<i>min</i>)) the Philistines.	Unsure (avenge?)
16:30	הֵמִית בְּמוֹתוֹ רַבִּים מֵאֲשֶׁר הֵמִית בְּחַיָּו	he killed with his death more than those whom he killed in his life	Comparison
17:1	וַיְהִי אִישׁ מֵהַר אֶפְרַיִם	and there was a man from the mountain of Ephraim	Origin

17:3	הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַקְדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת הַכֶּסֶף לַיהוָה מִיָּדִי	I have surely dedicated the money to the LORD from my hand	Source/ Separation
17:5	וַיְמַלֵּא אֶת יָד אֶחָד מִבְּנָיו	one of his sons	Partitive
17:7a	וַיְהִי נֶעֱר מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה	and there was a young man of Bethlehem Judah	Origin
17:7b	וַיְהִי נֶעֱר מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה מִמְשֻׁפַּחַת יְהוּדָה	and there was a young man of Bethlehem Judah of the tribe of Judah	Origin
17:8a	וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ מִהָעִיר מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה	and the man went away from the city	Source/ Separation
17:8b	וַיֵּלֶךְ הָאִישׁ מִהָעִיר מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה	and the man went away from the city, away from Bethlehem Judah	Source/ Separation
17:9a	מֵאֵין תָּבוֹא	from where do you come?	Origin
17:9b	לִי אָנֹכִי מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה	I am a Levite of Bethlehem in Judah	Origin
17:11	וַיְהִי הַנֶּעֱר לוֹ כְּאֶחָד מִבְּנָיו	and the young man was like one of his sons to him	Partitive
18:2a	וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ בְנֵי דָן מִמְשֻׁפַּחַתָּם חֲמִשָּׁה אַנְשִׁים	and the sons of Dan sent five men from their tribes	Partitive
18:2b	וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ בְנֵי דָן ... חֲמִשָּׁה אַנְשִׁים מִקְצוֹתָם	and the sons of Dan sent ... five men from their borders	Partitive
18:2c	וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ בְנֵי דָן ... חֲמִשָּׁה אַנְשִׁים ... מִצָּרְעָה	strong men from Zorah	Origin
18:2d	וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ בְנֵי דָן ... חֲמִשָּׁה אַנְשִׁים ... וּמֵאֶשְׁתָּאֵל	strong men from Zorah and from Eshtaol	Origin
18:7	וַרְחֻקִים הָמָּה מִצִּדוֹנִים	and they were far from the Sidonians	Source/ Separation
18:11a	וַיִּסְעוּ מִשָּׁם	and they set out from there	Source/ Separation
18:11b	וַיִּסְעוּ מִשָּׁם מִמְשֻׁפַּחַת הַדָּנִי	and they set out from there, from the tribe of the Danites	Source/ Separation
18:11c	וַיִּסְעוּ מִשָּׁם מִמְשֻׁפַּחַת הַדָּנִי מִצָּרְעָה	and they set out from there, from the tribe of the Danites, from Zorah	Source/ Separation
18:11d	וַיִּסְעוּ מִשָּׁם מִמְשֻׁפַּחַת הַדָּנִי מִצָּרְעָה וּמֵאֶשְׁתָּאֵל	and they set out from there, from the tribe of the Danites, from Zorah and from Eshtaol	Source/ Separation
18:13	וַיַּעֲבְרוּ מִשָּׁם הַר אֶפְרַיִם	and they passed on from there to the mountain of Ephraim	Source/ Separation
18:16	וְשֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ חֲגוּרִים (כָּלִי מִלְחָמָתָם נֹצְבִים פֶּתַח הַשָּׁעַר) אֲשֶׁר מִבְּנֵי דָן	and 600 men who are of the sons of Dan	Partitive
18:22	הָמָּה הִרְחִיקוּ מִבֵּית מִיכָה	they had gone far from Micah's house	Source/ Separation

18:26	וַיֵּרָא מִיכָה כִּי חֲזָקִים הָמָּה מִמֶּנּוּ	and Micah saw that they were stronger than him	Comparison
18:28	רְחֹקָהּ הִיא מִצִּידוֹן	it was far from Sidon	Source/ Separation
19:1	וַיִּקַּח לוֹ אִשָּׁה פִּלְגֶשֶׁת מִבֵּית לְחָם יְהוּדָה	and he took for himself a concubine of Bethlehem Judah	Origin
19:2	וַתֵּלֶךְ מֵאִתּוֹ אֶל בֵּית אָבִיהָ אֶל בֵּית לְחָם יְהוּדָה	and she went away from him to her father's house	Source/ Separation
19:12	לֹא נָסוּר אֶל עִיר נְכָרִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא מִבְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנֵּה	we will not turn to a city of foreigners in which there are not of the sons of Israel	Partitive
19:16a	אִישׁ זָקֵן בָּא מִן מַעֲשָׂהוּ	an old man was coming from his work	Source/ Separation
19:16b	אִישׁ זָקֵן בָּא מִן מַעֲשָׂהוּ מִן הַשָּׂדֶה	an old man was coming from his work, from the field	Source/ Separation
19:16c	וְהָאִישׁ מִהַר אֶפְרַיִם	and the man was from the mountain of Ephraim	Origin
19:17	וּמֵאֵינן תָּבוֹא	and from where do you come?	Origin
19:18a	עֹבְרִים אֲנַחְנוּ מִבֵּית לְחָם יְהוּדָה עַד יַרְכָּתֵי הַר אֶפְרַיִם	we are passing from Bethlehem Judah to the distant parts of the mountain of Ephraim	Source/ Separation
19:18b	מִשָּׁם אֲנֹכִי	I am from there	Origin
19:30a	וְלֹא נִרְאָתָה כְּזֹאת לְמִיּוֹם עֲלוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה	from the day that the sons of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt until this day	Time
19:30b	עֲלוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	from the day that the sons of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt until this day	Source/ Separation
20:1	וַתִּקְהַל הָעֵדָה בְּאִישׁ אַחַד לְמִדְּוָן וְעַד בְּאֶר שָׁבַע	from Dan to Beersheba	Source/ Separation
20:13	וּנְבַעְרָה רָעָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל	and we will burn evil from Israel	Source/ Separation
20:14	וַיֵּאסְפוּ בְּנֵי בְנֵימִן מִן הָעָרִים הַגְּבֻעָתָה	and the sons of Benjamin gathered out of the cities.	Source/ Separation
20:15a	וַיִּתְּפְקְדוּ בְּנֵי בְנֵימִן בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא מִהָעָרִים עֲשָׂרִים וְשֵׁשָׁה אֶלֶף אִישׁ	and the sons of Benjamin mustered on that day from the cities 26000 men	Source/ Separation
20:15b	לְבַד מִיִּשְׁבֵי הַגְּבֻעָה הַתְּפֻקְדוּ שָׁבַע מֵאוֹת אִישׁ בְּחֹר	except for the inhabitants of Gibeah	Exception
20:16	מִכָּל הָעָם הַזֶּה שָׁבַע מֵאוֹת אִישׁ בְּחֹר	of all these people were 700 chosen men	Partitive
20:17	וַתִּתְּפְקְדוּ לְבַד מִבְּנֵימִן אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אֶלֶף אִישׁ	and they mustered, except for Benjamin, 400 000 men	Exception

20:21	וַיֵּצְאוּ בְנֵי בִנְיָמִן מִן הַגִּבְעָה	and the sons of Benjamin went out of Gibeah	Source/ Separation
20:25	וַיֵּצֵא בִנְיָמִן לִקְרַאתָם מִן הַגִּבְעָה	and Benjamin went out to meet them from Gibeah	Source/ Separation
20:31a	וַיֵּצְאוּ בְנֵי בִנְיָמִן לִקְרַאת הָעָם הַנִּתְקָו מִן הָעִיר	the people who were drawn out of the city	Source/ Separation
20:31b	וַיַּחֲלוּ לְהַכּוֹת מֵהָעָם חֲלָלִים	and they began to strike down wounded ones of the people	Partitive
20:32	וַנִּתְקַנְהוּ מִן הָעִיר אֶל הַמְּסָלוֹת	let us draw them out of the city to the highways	Source/ Separation
20:33a	וְכָל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל קָמוּ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ	and every man of Israel rose out of his place	Source/ Separation
20:33b	וְאַרְבַּיִם יִשְׂרָאֵל מְגִיחַ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ	and the ambush of Israel rushed out of its place	Source/ Separation
20:33c	וְאַרְבַּיִם יִשְׂרָאֵל מְגִיחַ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ מִמַּעֲרֵה גִבְעָה	and the ambush of Israel rushed out of its place from Maareh-geba	Source/ Separation
20:34a	וַיָּבֹאוּ מִנֶּגֶד לַגִּבְעָה	and they came opposite Gibeah	Position
20:34b	אִישׁ בְּחֹר מִכָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל	10000 chosen men out of all Israel	Partitive
20:38	לְהַעֲלוֹתָם מִשְׁמַת הָעָשָׁן מִן הָעִיר	for them to make a cloud of smoke go up out of the city	Source/ Separation
20:40	וְהַמְּשָׁאת הַחֲלָה לַעֲלוֹת מִן הָעִיר עֲמוּד עָשָׁן	and the signal has begun to go up out of the city	Source/ Separation
20:42	וְאֵשׁ מֵהָעָרִים מִשְׁחִיתִים אוֹתוֹ בְּתוֹכוֹ	and those from the cities were destroying him in his midst	Source/ Separation
20:43	מִמְּזֵרַח שָׁמֶשׁ	Gibeah on the east	Position
20:44	וַיִּפְּלוּ מִבְּנֵימִן שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר אֶלֶף אִישׁ	and 18 000 men of Benjamin fell	Partitive
20:45	וַיַּכּוּ מִמֵּנֵהוּ אֶלְפִים אִישׁ	and they struck done 2 000 men of them	Partitive
20:46	וַיְהִי כָּל הַנִּפְּלִים מִבְּנֵימִן עָשָׂרִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה אֶלֶף אִישׁ	and all those of Benjamin who fell were 25 000 men	Partitive
20:48	וַיַּכּוּם לְפִי הָרֶבֶעַ מֵעִיר מְתָם עַד בְּהֵמָה עַד כָּל הַנִּמְצָא	and they struck with the edge of the sword from the city to the animals to everything that was found	Source/ Separation
21:1	אִישׁ מִמֵּנֵהוּ לֹא יִתֵּן בַּתּוֹ	anyone of us shall not give his daughter	Partitive
21:3	לְהִפָּקֵד הַיּוֹם מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל שָׁבֹט אֶחָד:	for one tribe to lack from Israel today	Source/ Separation
21:4	וַיְהִי מִמָּחָרֵת	and it was on the next morning	Time

21:5	מִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא עָלָה בְּקִהְלֵךְ מִכָּל שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל יְהוָה	who out of all the tribes of Israel did not come up in the assembly	Partitive
21:6	נִגְדַע הַיּוֹם שָׁבַט אֶחָד מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל	today one tribe is cut off from Israel	Source/ Separation
21:7	לְבַלְתִּי תֵת לָהֶם מִבְּנוֹתֵינוּ לְנָשִׁים	and we swore by the LORD that we will not give them of our daughters as wives	Partitive
21:8	מִי אֶחָד מִשְׁבֵּטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר לֹא עָלָה אֶל יְהוָה הַמְצַפֶּה	which one of the tribes of Israel is there that did not come up?	Partitive
21:8	לֹא בָא אִישׁ אֶל הַמַּחֲנֶה מִיְבֵישׁ גִּלְעָד אֶל הַקֵּהֶל	no one came to the camp from Jabesh-gilead	Source/ Separation
21:9	אִין שָׁם אִישׁ מִיוֹשְׁבֵי יְבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד	there was not one of the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead	Partitive
21:10	שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר אֶלֶף אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי הַקָּהֵל	12000 men of the brave men	Partitive
21:12	וַיִּמְצְאוּ מִיוֹשְׁבֵי יְבֵישׁ גִּלְעָד אַרְבַּע מְאוֹת נְעוּרָה בְּתוּלָה	and they found from the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead 400 young virgins	Partitive
21:14	הַנָּשִׁים אֲשֶׁר חָיו מִנְּשֵׁי יְבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד	the women that they let live from the women of Jabesh-gilead	Partitive
21:16	נִשְׁמְדָה מִבְּנֵימֵן אִשָּׁה	women are (lit. a woman is) destroyed out of Benjamin	Source/ Separation
21:17	וְלֹא יִמְחָה שְׁבֵט מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל	and a tribe should not be wiped out of Israel	Source/ Separation
21:18	לֹא נוּכַל לָתֵת לָהֶם נָשִׁים מִבְּנוֹתֵינוּ	we cannot give them women from our daughters	Partitive
21:19a	מִיָּמִים יְמִימָה	from year to year (lit. days to days)	Time
21:19b	מִצְפּוֹנָה לְבֵית אֵל	north of Bethel	Position
21:19c	לְמִסְלָה הָעֹלָה מִבֵּית אֵל שְׁכֶמָה	to the highway that goes up from Bethel to Shechem	Source/ Separation
21:19d	וּמִגֹּב לְלִבְנָה	and south of Lebonah	Position
21:21a	וַיֵּצְאוּ מִן הַכַּרְמִים	and come out of the vineyards	Source/ Separation
21:21b	וַחֲטַפְתֶּם לָכֶם אִישׁ אִשְׁתּוֹ מִבְּנוֹת שִׁילוֹ	and catch for you each his wife from the daughters of Shiloh	Partitive
21:23	וַיִּשְׂאוּ נָשִׁים לְמִסְפָּרָם מִן הַמְּחַלְלוֹת	and they took wives according to their number from the dancers	Partitive
21:24a	וַיִּתְהַלְכוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	and the sons of Israel went away from there	Source/ Separation
21:24b	וַיֵּצְאוּ מִשָּׁם אִישׁ לְנַחֲלָתוֹ	and they went out from there, each man to his inheritance	Source/ Separation