THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLICAL HEBREW PREPOSITIONS

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIBLICAL HEBREW PREPOSITIONS

By
H. H. Hardy II

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In loving memory of
Kathryn Marie Hardy
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PREFACE

The present volume comprises more than a decade of research on grammaticalization and the development of Biblical Hebrew prepositions. Various components of this study were presented at three annual meetings of the Society for Biblical Literature in 2011, 2014, and 2017. These presentations and the subsequent feedback from a number of scholars aided considerably in my thinking and the development of the project.

I am profoundly indebted to Dennis G. Pardee, Rebecca Hasselbach, and Salikoko Mufwene for their guidance. Many thanks to the magnanimous contributions over the years from Pete Bekins, Drayton Benner, Samuel Boyd, Aaron Butts, Andrew Dix, Brian Gault, Young Bok Kim, Matthew McAffee, Jody Otte, Benjamin Thomas, Jacqueline Vayntrub, and many others. Thank you, James Spinti, for your princely encouragement. Particular acknowledgement is due Daniel Rodriguez who interacted substantively with this investigation in personal communication and his own thesis (Rodriguez 2016).

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Finally, this volume is dedicated to my late wife, Katy. Her steadfast support—even in the most difficult days—is the reason the original study was completed. It is with great sadness that she was not able to see this finished product. May her memory be a blessing for she is not forgotten.

ABBREVIATIONS

The Leipzig glossing rules and conventions developed in consultation with the Max Planck Institute (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php), as much as possible, are used for the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme linguistic abbreviations.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolute state
ACCRD	accordantive
ADJ	adjective
ADJP	adjective phrase
ADV	adverb(ial)
ADVZ	adverbializer
AUX	auxiliary
BH	Biblical Hebrew
BEN	benefactive
BTWN	between function
C	common gender
CTA	Herdner, Andrée, ed. *Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939.* Paris:Geuthner, 1963
CAUS	causative
CJ	conjunction
CJ ADV	conjunctive adverb
COM	comitative
COMP	complementizer
CSTR	construct state
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
DOM	direct object marker

EA	El-Amarna tablets. According to the edition of Jörgen A. Knudtzon. *Die el-Amarna-Tafeln*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–1915. Repr., Aalen: Zeller, 1964. Continued in Anson F. Rainey, *El-Amarna Tablets*, 359–79. 2nd rev. ed. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1978.
EVAL	evaluative
EXIST	existence marker
F	feminine gender
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
GN	geographical name
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental
KAI	Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.
KTU	Dietrich, Manfried, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, eds. *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit.* Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013. 3rd enl. ed. of *KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
LM	landmark
LOC	locative
LOG REL	logical relation
M	masculine gender
N	noun
NEG	negation, negative
NP	noun phrase
PART	partitive
PC	prefix conjugation
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
POSTP	postposition
PP	preposition phrase
PREP	preposition
PRS	present
PRO	pronoun
PTCP	participle
PTCL	particle
PURP	purpose
Q	question particle/marker
RCPR	reciprocative
REL	relative

S	sentence
SC	suffix conjugation
SG	singular
SPRT	separative
TEMP	temporal
TR	trajector
VB	verb
VP	verb phrase
WCPC	*waw*-consecutive prefix conjugation
WCSC	*waw*-consecutive suffix conjugation

Transliteration

The Biblical Hebrew consonant system is represented in Latin transliteration following the paradigm:

א	*ʔ*	ח		*ḥ*	פ	ף	*p*
בּ	*b*	ט		*ṭ*	פ	ף	*p̄*
ב	*b̲*	י		*y*	צ	ץ	*ṣ*
גּ	*g*	כּ	ךּ	*k*	ק		*q*
ג	*ḡ*	כ	ך	*k̲*	ר		*r*
דּ	*d*	ל		*l*	שׁ		*š*
ד	*d̲*	מ	ם	*m*	שׂ		*ś*
ה	*h*	נ	ן	*n*	תּ		*t*
ו	*w*	ס		*s*	ת		*t̲*
ז	*z*	ע		*ʕ*			

For a more phonemically-oriented description of Tiberian Hebrew, this representation may be compared with that of Khan (2020, 240–42).

The Tiberian seven vowel system for Biblical Hebrew is transliterated as *a*, *ɔ*, *ɛ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. For a discussion of the allophonic realizations of *pataḥ* as the open front [a] and the open back [ɑ] qualities, see Khan (2020, 248–51). The zero-vowel (∅) realization of *schwa* is not transliterated. Even though vocalic schwa ([a]) and the ḥaṭef vowels ([a], [ɔ], [ɛ]) were likely read as full vowels (Khan 2020, 305–20), the graphic distinction is maintained with vocal schwa signified as *ə* and the compound-schwa vowels supra-linearly as ^{a}, ^{ɔ}, and ^{ɛ}. The presence of *matres lectionis* is not represented in transliteration system. Vocalic length is not represented.

The individual Semitic languages are transliterated according to their standard phonetic systems. The Central Semitic languages are represented consistent with Fox (2003, xvii–xix); Akkadian follows Huehnergard and Woods (2004); Geʕez corresponds to Leslau (1987); and Old South Arabian conforms to Beeston (1984) and Stein (2003).

INTRODUCTION

At every linguistic level—phonological and morphological, syntactic and pragmatic—speakers interact and adapt to one another's speech in discrete, recurrent steps to create meaning. These collaborative steps produce ongoing language variation and the perception of change. Structural innovation and procedural spread are offset with contraction and abandonment. On one level, concrete utterances generate variation in new contexts. But also, discourse occasions incipient structures, or procedures, that construct emergent grammar. Like partners dancing, verbal interaction couples memetic speech with expanding eclecticisms. This improvised negotiation results in the emergence of shared grammar as epiphenomenal. Noteably, such a conception contrasts with the common notion of grammar as "an abstract mentally represented rule system … [of] already available abstract structures and schemata" (Hopper 1987).

Two linguistic approaches are often employed to describe the choreography of language. A mostly synchronic assessment explains the relationship between the convergences and divergences of grammar from the standpoint of an individual and/or circumscribed community, whereas a diachronic examination explores the origin, development, and spread of adaptations unbounded by the temporal constraint of a speaker. While not ignoring the synchronic realities of language, the present work adopts a diachronic framework to investigate the development and emergence of Biblical Hebrew prepositions. It should be noted that determining actual historical change is not the end goal of the present study but rather potential (or shall we say cogent) semantic development. The resulting grammatical exploration accounts for language variation and change within a robust linguistic framework and an inductive, data-driven investigation in the textual corpus of the Hebrew Bible. Findings from cognitive linguistics and diachronic typology help to shed light on the evolution of prepositions. Moreover, it is showed that a "grammaticalization theory" can provide not just a descriptive rubric for individual changes but can help to account for the system-wide development of innovative grammatical functions.

In view of the extensive research conducted on Biblical Hebrew prepositions, one may query what, if anything, another study can offer. Previous work, while valuable, has largely been conducted using traditional philological approaches

often without substantial integration of current linguistic frameworks. Where up-to-date methods have been employed, the scope of study—rarely more than a lone preposition—affords only limited evaluation. This study presents a more comprehensive appraisal. It integrates an utterance-based or discourse-oriented approach with a clause-by-clause analysis of the Biblical Hebrew preposition usage. Forty-one source constructions (types) are examined comprising a total of nearly seven thousand tokens. Several novel semantic functions are plausibly identified. A semantic development pathway is proposed for each preposition from its source to all evidenced outcomes. In sum, the study yields a novel accounting of prepositions not merely as polysemous semantic glosses but through developmentally related functional use.

Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the theoretical framework of grammaticalization. A review of common approaches and a working definition is provided. Chapter 2 describes the grammatical characteristics of Biblical Hebrew prepositions including the morphological categories of simple and multi-word prepositions. Chapter 3 provides an examination of a subset of the simple prepositions. The source constructions, the functional usages, and the potential development(s) are assessed. Chapter 4 includes a similar accounting of the changes attested with Biblical Hebrew multi-word prepositions. Finally, Chapter 5 aggregates and compares the data on a corpus-wide scale.

One overarching goal of the study is to provide an interchange of ideas, or maybe even a prototype for constructive discourse, between research in linguistics and traditional grammatical approaches. The volume includes both a linguistic discussion—for those interested in the theoretical background—and a philological discussion—for those interested in the more data-driven approach. The intended audience includes grammatically minded readers in biblical studies who are interested in understanding and implementing current linguistic models for language variation and diachronic development. The result is a type of diachronic lexicon of preposition meaning that is useful not merely for linguistic investigation but Hebrew exegetes. That said, an effort to provide broader accessibility for the historical linguist and diachronic typologist is attempted with the hope that the wealth of Semitic data available may be more widely integrated into cross-linguistic investigations. This endeavor is largely accomplished through following common linguistic glossing practices and adhering to established functional terminology.