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*Surrounded by Bitterness:
Image Schemas and Metaphors for
Conceptualising Distress in Classical Hebrew*

Philip King

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Surrounded by Bitterness

Image Schemas and Metaphors for Conceptualising Distress in Classical Hebrew

A Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Abstract

This thesis explores the Classical Hebrew concept of ‘distress’ through the Cognitive Linguistic approach of George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, and Zoltán Kövecses. It investigates the conceptual metaphors ancient Hebrew speakers used to conceptualise their distressing experiences through basic embodied experiences. It studies image schemas (recurring patterns of experience) and primary metaphors (such as cognitive links between darkness and distress) which give structure to distressing situations and suggest actions to take. It provides a detailed and descriptive inventory of the main image schemas (VERTICALITY, CONSTRAINT and FORCE) and primary metaphors (DARKNESS and BAD TASTE) reflected in the conventional Hebrew language of distress found in the Psalms, Lamentations, Job and the Hodayot.

The first chapter introduces the topic of conventional distress language, arguing that the Cognitive Linguistic approach provides a useful complement to previous studies of the matter. The second chapter describes the theoretical semantic framework, particularly arguing that where it opposes James Barr’s lexical semantics it is nevertheless linguistically justified. Chapters three and four identify a specific corpus of Classical Hebrew texts that refer to situations of distress, and show how these texts are classifiable according to image schemas and metaphors. Chapters five, six and seven present all the examples of conceptualisations of distress based on the VERTICALITY, CONSTRAINT and FORCE schemas, respectively, and compare them to similar metaphors in other languages. They argue that in Classical Hebrew the FORCE schema is the most significant for conceptualising negative experience, and that, further, the CONSTRAINT schema is both more entrenched and more linguistically elaborated than the CONSTRAINT schema in English, and than the VERTICALITY schema in Hebrew. These chapters establish that forces and constrained situations are more significant for understanding situations of distress than up or down movement. Chapters eight and nine present conceptualisations of distress based on DARKNESS and BAD TASTE, arguing that the way vision and taste are perceived in Hebrew constrains the way distress is understood through metaphor. The conclusion argues that all these metaphors cohere to create a prototypical conceptualisation of distress, whose characteristic features are that it is unexpected by the sufferer, unjustified, and caused by a personal external agent. Moreover, these metaphors highlight that distress is an experience sufferers are unable to relieve by their own means.

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>ASTI</i>	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
B.C.E.	Before the Common Era
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> .
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BibInt</i>	<i>Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
C.E.	Common Era
CLR	Cognitive Linguistics Research
<i>COS</i>	<i>Context of Scripture</i>
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Imagery</i> . Edited by L. Ryken, J. C. Wilhoit and T. Longman III.
<i>DCH</i>	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Edited by D. J. A. Clines.
ESV	English Standard Version
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>

<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . 4 volumes.
ICC	International Critical Commentary
ICM	Idealised Cognitive Model
ITC	International Theological Commentary
<i>JANESCU</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
KJV	King James Version
KTBH	Key Terms in Biblical Hebrew
LCORE	Language Collaboration Opportunities Resources Encouragement
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic text
NET	New English Translation
<i>NIDOTTE</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i> . Edited by W. A. VanGemen. 5 volumes.
NLT	New Living Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NSM	Natural Semantic Metalanguage
<i>OTE</i>	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
PNG	Papua New Guinea
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SDBH	Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics

<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>TDOT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren and H.-J. Fabry. 15 volumes.
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i> . Edited by R. L. Harris and G. L. Archer, Jr. 2 volumes.
<i>TynBul</i>	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>WBC</i>	Word Biblical Commentary
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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Chapter 1: Conventional Distress Language

'You have put me in the depths of the pit, in the regions dark and deep' Psalm 88.6[7]

1.1. Introduction

How can people communicate meaningfully about distressing psychological and emotional experiences? In English, the experience of up-and-down movement offers some possibilities: someone may be *down* or *low*; *nosedive*, *spiral* and *crash*; or *hit rock bottom* and have to *climb out again*. All these expressions use the embodied experience of movement in relation to gravity to communicate the experience of English *depression*. However, how universal is this way of understanding such experiences? Are other types of embodied experience used in other cultures? This thesis investigates the experiences used in Hebrew.

The exploration is rooted in the *conventional language of distress* found in Classical Hebrew texts (including biblical and Qumranic material). The Cognitive Linguistics of George Lakoff, Mark Johnson and Zoltán Kövecses then provides a framework to investigate the most significant *image schemas* (recurring patterns of bodily experience) and *primary metaphors* (basic associations between perceptual and other more abstract domains) used to conceptualise distress, mapping structure from experiential domains of containment, force, sight and taste to the more abstract domain of distress. The first challenge, however, is to identify such conventional language and briefly compare this approach with other approaches to it.

1.2. Approaches to Conventional Language

Several images for distressing life experiences (including darkness, nets, 'the Pit', or bitter food) recur throughout Classical Hebrew texts. This is unsurprising, since "originality" of metaphoric invention does not appear to have been a consciously prized poetic value'.¹

Texts using such images sometimes contain near identical clauses, as in Psalm 143.3 and Lamentations 3.6:

¹ R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 189.

הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי בְּמַחְשָׁכִים כְּמֵתֵי עוֹלָם:

Psalms 143.3: Making me sit in darkness like those long dead.²

בְּמַחְשָׁכִים הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי כְּמֵתֵי עוֹלָם:

Lamentations 3.6: He has made me sit in darkness like those long dead.³

Elsewhere, texts only overlap thematically, with little shared vocabulary, as in Lamentations 3.2 and Job 30.28:

אֹתִי נָתַן וַיְלֵךְ חֹשֶׁךְ וְלֹא-אֹר:

Lamentations 3.2: He has driven and brought me into darkness without any light.

קָדַר הִלַכְתִּי בְּלֹא חֲמָה

Job 30.28: Darkling I wander, lacking the daystar.⁴

Such recurring images have been studied in various ways. For historical criticism, they indicate authorship, date and provenance, for form criticism they represent cultic liturgy, and for literary criticism they show intertextual relationships. Alternatively, this language may reflect universal psychology. These perspectives will be outlined below, before introducing the complementary *conceptual metaphor* perspective used in this thesis.

1.2.1. Historical Criticism and Idiosyncratic Language

Specific common images or expressions may place texts historically, though often inconclusively for poetry. Thus, specific images could date Job to Solomon's time (given affinities to Psalms 88 and 89)⁵ through to the post-exilic period (given similarities to Hezekiah's thanksgiving in First Isaiah).⁶ Similarly, common authorship of Lamentations and Jeremiah is suggested by the common imagery and language.⁷ Alternatively, the imprisonment imagery of Lamentations 3 suggests an exilic provenance similar to Second

² English translations are from the NRSV unless otherwise footnoted.

³ Author's translation.

⁴ D. Wolfers, *Deep Things out of Darkness: The Book of Job, Essays and a New English Translation* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 354.

⁵ F. Delitzsch, *Job, Vol. 1* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), 22-23.

⁶ Wolfers, *Deep*, 54-59.

⁷ W. C. Kaiser, Jr., *On Lamentations: A Biblical Approach to Personal Suffering* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1982), 29.

Isaiah.⁸ Finally, analysis of common motifs among the Hodayot also suggests common authorship, helping ascertain which (if any) come from the ‘Teacher of Righteousness’.⁹

However, rather than being idiosyncratic, these expressions may rather reflect ‘a common fund of technical lament terminology which was used in the laments of the Psalter, the book of Job and Lamentations’.¹⁰ Conceptual metaphor theory explains this cognitively, suggesting fairly stable mappings between mental domains (such as ‘bad tastes’ and ‘distressing experiences’) giving rise to this conventional ‘lament terminology’, metaphorical mappings exploited by different writers in slightly different ways. As Gibbs claims, ‘the way creative writers compose is not unlimited’ but constrained by ‘the ways we actually think of our ordinary experiences’.¹¹ Thus, although one author may have a particularly salient mapping between two domains, so that similar phrases may suggest common authorship, the emphasis here will be on the commonalities in linguistic metaphors, and what they reveal concerning common thinking about distress.

1.2.2. Form Criticism and Liturgical Language

Second, form criticism prioritises the use and transmission of texts in religious settings over their original historical setting.¹² Thus, conventional depictions of distress in Gunkel’s laments and thanksgiving songs are seen as basically liturgical and, to a degree, merely formulaic. For von Rad, then, this language only expresses actual suffering ‘in a few typical and very faded concepts’, severely diminishing the personal element.¹³ Thus, the Psalms are ‘in no sense whatever to be understood as personal outpourings, ... but as discourses bound to the cult and the liturgy’.¹⁴ Kraus is more positive, arguing that while the phraseology is ‘conventionalised’ it is nevertheless ‘a living language, open to manifold possibilities of application’.¹⁵

⁸ J. Middlemas, ‘Did Second Isaiah Write Lamentations III?’, *VT* 56 (2006) 505-525.

⁹ M. C. Douglas, ‘The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux’, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 6 (1999) 239-266.

¹⁰ N. K. Gottwald, *Studies in the Book of Lamentations* (London: SCM Press, 1954), 42-43.

¹¹ R. W. Gibbs, Jr., *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8.

¹² H. Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, 3rd edn. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1975 [1933]).

¹³ G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology, Volume 1: The Theology of Israel’s Historical Traditions* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1962), 399.

¹⁴ Von Rad, *Theology I*, 399-400.

¹⁵ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988), 49.

In Cognitive Linguistics, expressions that reflect ‘systematic metaphorical concepts ... [and] structure our actions and thoughts ... are “alive” in the most fundamental sense: they are metaphors we live by. The fact that they are conventionally fixed ... makes them no less alive’.¹⁶ Thus, even if language is ‘typical’, the concepts reflected are not necessarily ‘very faded’, but may significantly influence thought and action. Such typical language perpetuated within the cult defines and consolidates participants’ conceptualisations of what distress ‘is’ and frames their experiences as problems to be solved.¹⁷

Form criticism, therefore, usefully emphasises the conventional nature of distress language, and its use by generations of worshippers in varied settings. However, it prompts the question as to how the entrenchment of these metaphors and prototypical situations in liturgy might have served to structure the life experiences of participants in Israel’s religion.

1.2.3. Literary Criticism and Intertextual Language

Third, literary criticism recognises that texts are not independent entities but ‘inevitably shot through with references, quotations and influences of every kind’,¹⁸ so that conventional distress language may allude to other texts. This ‘intertextuality’ can consider influences from just written texts, or experiences of any kind. Biblical research has investigated both the rhetorical use of earlier texts to enrich and authorise claims, and the intentional and unintentional allusions of literary language.¹⁹ For example, Second Isaiah may have deliberately recollected the figure of Lamentations 3 in his writing.²⁰ Johnston describes intertextuality in the Psalms as conventional images ‘juxtaposed kaleidoscopically to become alternative and interchangeable images, a common stock of expressions for distress. The

¹⁶ G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By (with a New Afterword)*, 2nd edn. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003 [1980]), 55.

¹⁷ As in the conventional use of ‘heart’ in the Swedish hymnal, T. Nørager, ‘Heart’ as Metaphor in Religious Discourse’ in L. Boeve and K. Feytaerts (eds.), *Metaphor and God-talk* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 215-232.

¹⁸ J. Still and M. Worton, ‘Introduction’ in M. Worton and J. Still (eds.), *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 1-44, 1.

¹⁹ P. E. Koptak, ‘Intertextuality’ in K. J. Vanhoozer (ed.), *Dictionary for Theological Interpretation of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2005), 332-334.

²⁰ P. T. Willey, *Remember the Former Things: The Recollection of Previous Texts in Second Isaiah* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997).

distinctiveness of each poem lies not so much in its unique images (though these do occur occasionally) as in its unique blend of the common ones'.²¹

The Dead Sea Scrolls provide a supreme instance of intertextuality,²² revealing a community that interpreted the Scriptures differently from the New Testament authors, using them to give their theology a biblical base and establish the community's self-understanding.²³ For example, intertextual practices in a Qumranic Messianic text use biblical texts to 'reciprocally contribute to each other's significance by limiting, extending, focusing and emending what they would mean in isolation' giving the text 'meanings that are not otherwise present in the same words'.²⁴

The more dispersed intertextual relationships of the Hodayot may reflect similar deliberate compositions of texts. Holm-Nielsen concluded that the author bound himself to Old Testament words since 'he felt himself to be in the same situation as portrayed in the Old Testament' so the significant issue is 'not that these expressions suit in detail his own life, but that the Old Testament portrayals are now fulfilled in his own experience'.²⁵ Holm-Nielsen's method tended to overemphasise correspondences,²⁶ but it is still usually assumed that the Hodayot's distress imagery refers deliberately to particular scriptural passages.

Qumran's authors undoubtedly knew the Psalms and their conventional language well. The interesting aspect for a conceptual metaphor approach is that authors still use these conventional metaphors to conceptualise their own experience. Previous scholarship presumed that the community simply copied conventional language, but recent comparison of the Cave 1 Hodayot lacunae with Cave 4 documents show several places where the linguistic metaphors vary more significantly than expected from the biblical texts. Such creative elaboration of metaphors suggests the imagery is still 'active' in the author's mind,

²¹ P. S. Johnston, 'The Psalms and Distress' in P. S. Johnston and D. G. Firth (eds.), *Interpreting the Psalms: Issues and Approaches* (Leicester: Apollos, 2005), 63-84, 73.

²² J. A. Loader, 'Qumran, Text and Intertext: On the Significance of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Theologians Reading the Old Testament', *OTE* 19 (2006) 892-911, 898. For a good example, see A. Jassen, 'Intertextual Readings of the Psalms and the Dead Sea Scrolls: *4Q160 (Samuel Apocryphon)* and *Psalms 40*', *RevQ* 87 (2006) 403-430.

²³ Loader, 'Qumran', 907.

²⁴ Loader, 'Qumran', 904.

²⁵ S. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran* (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960), 327-328.

²⁶ B. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 14.

not just dead convention,²⁷ so provides a way in to how the authors thought about and acted upon distressing situations.

1.2.4. Psychological Interpretation and the Language of Humanity

The fourth set of approaches are psychological, investigating the common vocabulary and forms of Hebrew distress discourse as a reflection of pan-cultural psychological phenomena, as in Ryken's investigation of archetypes,²⁸ in Brueggemann's hermeneutical approach to lament psalms²⁹ and in various cross-cultural studies of distress language.

First, Ryken's *The Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* sees conventional imagery of traps or darkness as *archetypes*, which are images and symbols recurring 'not only throughout the Bible, but in literature generally and in life'. Archetypes originate in Jungian psychology, where they are universal, primal and innate. For Ryken, archetypes are a 'universal language', understood 'simply by virtue of being human', so that 'we all know the experiences of hunger and thirst, garden and wilderness'.³⁰ Whilst Ryken is correct that *hunger* and *thirst* have physiological justification as universal experiences, the latter two do not, as shown by attempts to translate either *garden* or *wilderness* into Papua New Guinean languages. The dictionary articles themselves distinguish more carefully between universal and culture-specific imagery. Similarly, in this thesis, certain embodied experiences (such as containment or force) are considered universal and thus 'archetypal'. Other embodied experiences, such as bird-trapping, are more culture-specific, evoking a 'limited range of associated commonplaces'³¹ when used in metaphor.

Second, Brueggemann uses psychology and linguistics to explore the function of conventional metaphors in lament psalms within the common life of faith.³² His Freudian approach emphasises universal experiences, arguing that people in all eras and cultures

²⁷ J. R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 500-501.

²⁸ L. Ryken, J. C. Wilhoit and T. Longman, III, *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1998).

²⁹ W. Brueggemann, 'Psalms and the Life of Faith: A Suggested Typology of Function' in P. D. Miller (ed.), *The Psalms and the Life of Faith* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 3-32.

³⁰ Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman, *Dictionary*, xvii.

³¹ D. R. Hillers, 'Dust: Some Aspects of Old Testament Imagery' in J. H. Marks and R. M. Good (eds.), *Love & Death in the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of Marvin H. Pope* (Guilford: Four Quarters Publishing Company, 1987), 105-109, 105.

³² Brueggemann, 'Psalms'.

experience ‘dislocation and disorientation’,³³ which typically drive people to ‘the extremities of emotion, integrating capacity, and of language’,³⁴ so that when an orderly life is lost people can no longer affirm the conventional assertions of blessing and security. The alternative language found should not be ‘reduced to clichés’.³⁵ Instead, ‘the rich array of language in which the words tumble out becomes ... a pastoral opportunity to let the impressionistic speech touch the particular circumstance of dislocation’.³⁶ Thus, while Brueggemann acknowledges recurring metaphors of pits, enemies and snares, he is only interested in the specifics of these metaphors to the extent they reflect timeless human experiences, so that he argues one can say that for today’s English-speaking world ‘to fall into “the pit” is indeed to lose one’s old equilibrium’.³⁷

Following Brueggemann, Cognitive Linguistics emphasises that lament language is a way of viewing reality rather than an exegetical problem to be solved in terms of Sitz im Leben or formal structure. However, it sees language, and especially metaphor, as very important for structuring experience itself. Brueggemann’s attempts to parallel the negative experiences of his contemporaries and the psalmist requires today’s conceptual metaphors and image schemas,³⁸ conceptualising them as ‘extremities’, ‘disorientation’, ‘disintegration’, ‘lost equilibrium’, ‘displacement’ or ‘regression’. Rather than reflecting Hebrew conceptual metaphors, these show the significance of image schemas of BALANCE³⁹ (‘losing’ and ‘regaining’ equilibrium, totally absent from the Hebrew corpus), NEAR-FAR (in ‘extremity’), and PATH (‘orientation / disorientation / reorientation’) for structuring contemporary distress metaphors. This thesis explores how metaphors of pits, snares, enemies and darkness give structure to negative experiences, and how this differs from a modern American who feels he has ‘lost his equilibrium’.

³³ Brueggemann, ‘Psalms’, 8.

³⁴ Brueggemann, ‘Psalms’, 8.

³⁵ Brueggemann, ‘Psalms’, 27.

³⁶ Brueggemann, ‘Psalms’, 12.

³⁷ Brueggemann, ‘Psalms’, 12-13.

³⁸ The plural ‘schemas’ has become convention, rather than ‘schemata’, as in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006).

³⁹ An extended discussion of the BALANCE schema is given in M. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 74-98.

Third, Dobbs-Allsopp compares conventional language in Lamentations 3 with language of severe trauma elsewhere. Grief-filled Polish texts do not go beyond or disintegrate traditional expressions, suggesting that ‘in response to horrific situations, people draw on the traditional motifs they know well’,⁴⁰ rather than creating novel metaphors. Further, using stereotyped images allows ‘a multiplicity of identities and settings’,⁴¹ where they can be fitted ‘for the saying of the unsayable’.⁴² Psychological studies by Kübler-Ross⁴³ and Spiegel⁴⁴ also suggest universal patterns in distress. Moore thus argues that the imagery and language of Lamentations enables the nation to do the necessary emotional ‘grief work’.⁴⁵ Brueggemann also recognises the psychological benefit of having existing forms to use in situations of grief.⁴⁶ Joyce defends the supposed inconsistencies of Lamentations, arguing that a mixture of hope and despair is typical of the grief processes. Joyce also helpfully acknowledges that an identity of psychological grief processes in Hebrew and Modern Western society cannot be assumed.⁴⁷

Cognitive Linguistics similarly explores universal psychological and emotional phenomena, and investigates the relationship between these and conventional language. However, it also recognises the different ways universal experiences are structured in specific cultures.

1.2.5. Cultural Linguistic Interpretation and the Language of Conceptual Metaphor

The conceptual metaphor approach adds an extra perspective to conventional language, using cognitive science and linguistic anthropology to investigate how particular metaphors used in distress conceptualise negative experiences, giving them culture-specific structure. This approach is rooted in research by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson,⁴⁸ but more recently also by Mark Turner,⁴⁹ Raymond Gibbs⁵⁰ and Zoltán Kövecses.⁵¹

⁴⁰ F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 2002), 116.

⁴¹ Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 115.

⁴² Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 116.

⁴³ E. Kübler-Ross, *On Death and Dying* (New York: Macmillan, 1969).

⁴⁴ Y. Spiegel, *The Grief Process* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1977).

⁴⁵ M. S. Moore, ‘Human Suffering in Lamentations’, *RB* 90 (1983) 534-555.

⁴⁶ W. Brueggemann, ‘The Formfulness of Grief’ in P. D. Miller (ed.), *The Psalms and the Life of Faith* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 84-97.

⁴⁷ P. Joyce, ‘Lamentations and the Grief Process: A Psychological Reading’, *BibInt* 1 (1993) 304-320, 316.

⁴⁸ For example, Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*; G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); G. Lakoff and

Following historical criticism, this approach recognises linguistic expressions may be peculiar to a particular time or author. However, it searches for commonalities across different texts to investigate how these unique expressions stem from similar understandings of reality. Following the intertextual approach, it recognises conventional language may deliberately allude to other texts. However, it focuses on how common embodied experiences and conceptualisations may guide which texts are re-used. The psychological approach has most commonalities, with both approaches recognising far-reaching psychological influences on language content and form. However, the approach of this thesis recognises that psychology itself may be influenced by culture, so that recurring themes reveal a unique set of ethnopsychological contours, not just universal archetypes.

1.3. Purpose and Outline of the Thesis

This research has three aims. First, from a linguistic perspective, it contributes further to applications of conceptual metaphor theory to Classical Hebrew, testing theses generated from a study of contemporary English on an ancient text. Specifically, it adds a further

M. Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); G. Lakoff, 'The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor' in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006 [1993]), 185-238; G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

⁴⁹ For example, Lakoff and Turner, *Reason*; M. Turner, *The Literary Mind: The Origins of Thought and Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); M. Turner and G. Fauconnier, 'Metaphor, Metonymy and Binding' in A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 133-145; G. Fauconnier and M. Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

⁵⁰ For example, Gibbs, *Poetics*; R. W. Gibbs, Jr., 'Taking Metaphor out of our Heads and Putting it into our Cultural World' in R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 145-166; R. W. Gibbs, Jr., 'Researching Metaphor' in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 29-47.

⁵¹ For example, Z. Kövecses, *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love : A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986); Z. Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts* (New York: Springer Verlag, 1990); Z. Kövecses, 'Metaphor: Does it Constitute or Reflect Cultural Models?' in R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 167-188; Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Z. Kövecses, 'The Scope of Metaphor' in A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 79-92; Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor: a Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Z. Kövecses, *Language, Mind and Culture: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

investigation of conceptual metaphors and metonymies used to structure emotion concepts.⁵² Second, from a Biblical Studies perspective, this thesis provides a comprehensive catalogue of the metaphors used to structure the experience of distress within the specific corpus in consideration, showing its most significant ethnopsychological contours. Third, by performing this interdisciplinary study, some new insights will be offered concerning the relationship between language and thought in Hebrew linguistics.

The thesis is organised in the following way. The next chapter focuses on the relation between culture, language and thought. Conceptual metaphor theory holds a relatively strong position on cognitive and linguistic relativity. That is, it is foundational to this research that the conventional language different cultures use to speak about experiences of distress reflect different ways of thinking about these experiences. This is not a generally accepted position in Biblical Studies, so the chapter will substantiate this claim more fully, situating it within twentieth-century approaches to semantics and linguistic relativity, particularly dialoguing with James Barr's work in Hebrew linguistics.

Having laid this foundation, the third and fourth chapters introduce the research methodology, focusing first on the corpus of texts to be used and then on the way they will be analysed and presented.

The following chapters cover the main conceptual metaphors that appear through analysing the texts. First, basic image schemas will be considered, with chapter five looking at the VERTICALITY schema, chapter six at the CONSTRAINT schema and chapter seven at the FORCE schema. Chapter eight turns to the primary metaphor of darkness and chapter nine to primary metaphors based on bad taste. Finally, the conclusion summarises the results and presents the implications of this research.

⁵² Other examples include: for Zulu, J. R. Taylor and T. G. Mbense, 'Red Dogs and Rotten Mealies: How Zulus Talk about Anger' in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 191-226; for Polish, A. Mikołajczuk, 'The Metonymic and Metaphorical Conceptualisation of Anger in Polish' in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 153-190; L. B. McMullen and J. B. Conway, 'Conventional Metaphors for Depression' in S. R. Fussell (ed.), *The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002), 167-182; and for Hebrew, Z. Kotzé, 'The Conceptualisation of Anger in the Hebrew Bible' (PhD thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2004).

Chapter 2: Culture, Language and Thought

‘As soon as evidence from linguistic phenomena is used in the contrast of ... ways of thinking, a relation is being established between mental patterns and linguistic structure. What has not been apparent when such evidence has been used in theological discussion ... has been the consciousness of how difficult a problem such a relation constitutes and how impossible it is to bypass the discussion of it in philosophy, psychology and linguistics.’ James Barr⁵³

‘It is all too easy to indulge in imaginative nonsense.’ Norman Porteous⁵⁴

2.1. Introduction

This research is about conceptualising distress, and thus, fundamentally, about how people think. The only evidence of how Classical Hebrew speakers thought is found in the texts they left, a few tokens of their language. Native intuition is inaccessible. So, what can language reveal about how people think? Moreover, how does language affect the way communities perceive and conceptualise the world they live in?

Clarifying the relationship between language and thought has long exercised philosophers, anthropologists and linguists. Some focus on universals and the ‘psychic unity of mankind’, others emphasise ‘linguistic relativity’, urging that differences in language across the globe must be reflected in different ways of thinking. Perhaps language reflects, influences, constrains, guides, or even determines thought processes. This chapter will summarise some of the central issues.

The aim of this chapter is threefold. First, it theoretically grounds the cognitive semantics used throughout this thesis, emphasising embodied experience and culture-specific conventional knowledge. These emphases began with Humboldt, Boas, Sapir and Whorf, who are the founders of the linguistic relativity tradition on which cognitive semantics rests.

⁵³ J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 25.

⁵⁴ N. W. Porteous, ‘The Present State of Old Testament Theology’, *ET* 75 (1963) 70-74, 71.

Their approach was developed by Rosch and Fillmore. The concepts of prototypes, scripts, semantic networks and conceptual metonymies will all be introduced here. Second, this chapter introduces more recent Cognitive Linguists whose contributions frame this research. Third, it discusses significant applications of linguistics to Biblical Studies against this backdrop. Specifically, it interacts with James Barr, whose forceful critique of carelessly applied Whorfian linguistics has dominated for fifty years. The argument will show how Cognitive Linguistics can be used without suffering the same criticisms as the preceding linguistic models.

A chronological perspective will be presented, surveying linguistics and Biblical Studies from Boasian linguistics and its Humboldtian heritage (section 2.2) to the biblical semantics of James Barr and John Sawyer (section 2.3), then on to Cognitive Linguistics, both at its foundation (section 2.4) and, most fully, in its more recent development by Lakoff, Johnson, Langacker, Talmy, Taylor, Gibbs and Kövecses (section 2.5). Finally recent applications to Biblical Studies will be surveyed (section 2.6).

2.2. The Tradition of Linguistic Relativity: Humboldt, Boas, Sapir and Whorf

2.2.1. Humboldt (1767-1835): Language Determines Characteristic Worldview

Carl Wilhelm von Humboldt was an influential founding figure for relativist linguistics,⁵⁵ beginning to relate the global diversity of linguistic structures to a new post-Kantian philosophy in which an objective world was no longer accessible. He maintained that each language contains a characteristic worldview and ‘draws a circle around the people to whom it adheres which it is possible for the individual to escape only by stepping into a different one’.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Although some of his ideas had a longer heritage, E. F. K. Koerner, ‘Towards a “Full Pedigree” of the “Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis”: From Locke to Lucy’ in M. Pütz and M. H. Verspoor (eds.), *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 1-23, 3.

⁵⁶ C. W. v. Humboldt, *Wilhelm von Humboldts Werke* (Berlin: B. Behr, 1903-36), v.7.60, cited in A. Wierzbicka, *Semantics, Culture and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3.

However, linguistic features like parts of speech or case are universal, acting as guiding principles within languages even when there was no explicit form to represent them.⁵⁷ Since mental capacities are universal, ‘the form of all languages must be essentially the same’.⁵⁸ Thus, while new evidence on ‘exotic’ languages directed Humboldt towards relativity, with language somewhat constraining a person’s worldview, his anthropological presuppositions precluded much real difference.

2.2.2. Boas (1858-1942): Language Reflects Unconscious Categories

Next, Franz Boas, the founder of American anthropological linguistics, sought to empirically validate Humboldt’s ideas.⁵⁹ His *Introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages* carefully outlines the relationship between language and thought. For example, he doubted Humboldt’s contention that grammatical forms of a language permanently constrain its speakers’ thoughts. Rather, ‘generalised’ forms would ‘develop just as soon as needed’ for new ideas,⁶⁰ since humanity is psychologically equal. He substantiated this by making a Kwakiutl speaker conceive a meaning for an abstract form which usually required inalienable possession. Thus, ‘language alone would not prevent a people from advancing to more generalised forms of thinking if the general state of their culture should require expression of such thought; ... under these conditions the language would be moulded rather by the cultural state’.⁶¹

However, Boas was very interested in how languages make accessible unconscious mental processes, without secondary explanations,⁶² advocating searching analyses of linguistic concepts, especially investigating ‘the grouping of ideas in different languages’.⁶³ For Boas, then, a language does not dictate how its speakers have to think, but, through unconscious categorisation, it reflects how speakers habitually think.

⁵⁷ W. A. Foley, *Anthropological Linguistics: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 194.

⁵⁸ C. W. v. Humboldt, *On Language: The Diversity of Human Language-Structure and its Influence on the Mental Development of Mankind* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 214.

⁵⁹ Foley, *Anthropological*, 194.

⁶⁰ F. Boas, *Introduction to the Handbook of American Indian Languages* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1911), 55.

⁶¹ Boas, *Introduction*, 54-56.

⁶² Boas, *Introduction*, 59.

⁶³ Boas, *Introduction*, 59.

2.2.3. Sapir (1884-1939): Language Creates Different Worlds

Edward Sapir studied under Boas and developed his ideas, becoming a key figure in American structuralism. His famous statement on linguistic relativity was first read in 1928:

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone ... but are very much *at the mercy* of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. ... The fact of the matter is that the "real-world" is to a large extent unconsciously built on the language habits of the group. ... The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached ... Even comparatively simple acts of perception are very much more at the mercy of the social patterns called words than we might suppose.⁶⁴

Here language is an oppressive master, holding speakers 'at its mercy', whereas for Boas it was more subservient, 'moulded ... by the cultural state'.⁶⁵ Further, Boas' contention that an Indian could 'reach abstract forms strictly corresponding to the abstract forms of our modern languages'⁶⁶ still betrayed a Platonic idealism that these concepts exist independently of culture. This universalism is targeted by Sapir's warning that we actually live in different worlds, not the same world with different labels. For example, chapter eight will show how visual perception is influenced by language. Whereas in English *darkness* is a scalar concept related to degrees of light, there is no evidence that the most similar concepts in Hebrew were conceived as gradable, so they are not just *darkness* with another label.

2.2.4. Whorf (1897-1941): Language Organises the 'Kaleidoscope Flux' of Impressions

Next, Benjamin Lee Whorf was a largely self-taught American linguist. His 'principle of linguistic relativity' states that:

The world is presented in a kaleidoscope flux of impressions which has to be organised by our minds – and this means largely by the linguistic systems in our minds. We cut nature up, organize it into concepts, and ascribe significances as we do, largely because we are parties to an agreement to organize it in this way – an agreement that holds throughout our speech community and is codified in the patterns of our language. The agreement is, of course, an implicit and unstated one, but its terms are absolutely obligatory; we cannot talk at all except by subscribing to the organization and classification of data which the agreement decrees.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ E. Sapir, *Culture, Language and Personality: Selected Essays* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), 68-69, italics added.

⁶⁵ Boas, *Introduction*, 56.

⁶⁶ Boas, *Introduction*, 54.

⁶⁷ B. L. Whorf, 'Science and Linguistics' in J. B. Carroll (ed.), *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1956 [1940]), 207-219, 213-214.

Whorf sought to empirically demonstrate the relationship between linguistic structure and habitual thought, by comparing English and Hopi. Following Sapir and Boas, Whorf was interested in the unconscious structure of language and the influence this has on thinking, such as the semantic similarities between verbs that can take the prefix *un-* in English. He argued that a language's 'constant ways of arranging data'⁶⁸ became part of the 'habitual thought' of its speakers. Thus, linguistics lights up a community's thought and culture, allowing 'a heuristic approach to problems of psychology which hitherto [a researcher] may have shrunk from considering'.⁶⁹

For Whorf, these culturally relative influences pervade both grammar and lexicon. For example, there is a 'far-reaching compulsion from large-scale patterning of grammatical categories, such as plurality, gender and similar classifications',⁷⁰ so that things sharing a gender are thought about in similar ways. Further, Whorf operates on a structuralist basis, with language limiting the free plasticity of culture because 'language is a system'. Whereas culture can change quickly, the language system 'can change to something really new only very slowly' and thus language 'represents the mass mind'.⁷¹

Whorf also discusses how metaphor reveals differences in thinking between peoples. For example, he found an 'almost inexhaustible' set of metaphors from the field of spatial extension to describe duration and intensity in Standard Average European⁷² (SAE), contrasted with very few non-metaphorical terms.⁷³ Thus, speakers 'can hardly refer to the simplest nonspatial situation without constant resort to physical metaphors'.⁷⁴ The extraordinary thing is the lack of such spatialisation in Hopi, supporting linguistic relativity.

⁶⁸ B. L. Whorf, 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language' in J. B. Carroll (ed.), *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1956 [1939]), 134-159, 135.

⁶⁹ B. L. Whorf, 'A Linguistic Consideration of Thinking in Primitive Communities' in J. B. Carroll (ed.), *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1956 [1936]), 65-85, 73.

⁷⁰ Whorf, 'Relation', 137.

⁷¹ Whorf, 'Relation', 156.

⁷² Whorf describes European languages as a whole this way.

⁷³ Whorf, 'Relation', 145.

⁷⁴ Whorf, 'Relation', 146.

Nevertheless, Whorf recognised that contemporary linguistic descriptions were insufficient to be categorical about implications from language structure to mentality. He advocated surveying many more languages, including a grammar for each ‘worked out scientifically and on the basis of the language’s own patterns and classes, and as free as possible from any general presuppositions about grammatical logic’.⁷⁵

Whorf has been both dismissed outright and uncritically approved, with, until recently, very few attempts to systematically prove or disprove his hypothesis. The Chomskyan emphasis on universal syntax pushed Whorf’s views into contempt, but they have resurfaced since the 1990s. John Lucy has particularly attempted to test Whorf’s hypothesis.⁷⁶ Sydney Lamb has also used neurocognitive research to confirm that ‘linguaging’ during infancy influences perception and thought throughout life, since top-down effects operate from conceptual structure to lower perceptual layers in the brain.⁷⁷ However, the next step here is to return to Whorf’s time and the vigorous critique from James Barr.

2.3. Linguistics and Biblical Studies I: Barr and Sawyer

2.3.1. Barr (1924-2006)

James Barr’s work, particularly *The Semantics of Biblical Language*⁷⁸ (1961), is important for the prominent position his negative critique of linguistic relativity has gained in Biblical Studies. Recent treatments of biblical linguistics still devote significant sections to Barr’s work, with little or no qualification.⁷⁹

Barr primarily attacks the presuppositions and methodology used in Biblical Studies to argue for profound differences between Hebrew and Greek minds, claiming that any approach that

⁷⁵ Whorf, ‘Linguistic’, 77.

⁷⁶ J. A. Lucy, ‘The Scope of Linguistic Relativity: An Analysis and Review of Empirical Research’ in J. G.umperz and S. C. Levinson (eds.), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 37-69.

⁷⁷ S. M. Lamb, ‘Neuro-Cognitive Structure in the Interplay of Language and Thought’ in M. Pütz and M. H. Verspoor (eds.), *Explorations in Linguistic Relativity* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), 173-196.

⁷⁸ Barr, *Semantics*.

⁷⁹ Cotterell and Turner devote a chapter to Barr’s critique of word studies, and assess negative reviews as misguided, P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove: Intervarsity Press, 1989), 106-128. Groom has a chapter on Barr’s impact on comparative philology, demonstrating the ongoing relevance, S. Groom, *Linguistic Analysis of Biblical Hebrew* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), 45-71.

assumes linguistic structure reflects thought structure is ‘wholly outmoded’.⁸⁰ He advocates a ‘strict and systematic method of discussing the relation between grammatical structures and lexical phenomena on the one hand and the Hebrew or Greek mind or any other national or cultural mind on the other’.⁸¹ Further, this method must be integrated with general linguistics and applied to the whole language. Embarking on ‘demonstrating how the features of Hebrew thought are built into Hebrew language, without giving full thought to these requisites, indicates a serious over-confidence and an ignoring of basic problems’.⁸² As this thesis is such an embarkation, Barr’s arguments need careful examination.

Barr’s attacks are rooted in Saussurean structuralism, and where he quotes contemporary linguists they are structuralists like Bloomfield and Ullmann. Thus, insistence that biblical theologians must heed ‘modern linguistics’ means structuralist emphases on synchronic rather than diachronic description, on descriptions of language as a system and not as isolated parts, and on the arbitrary nature of words,⁸³ whose meaning is determined by their indication of ‘an essential difference’⁸⁴ to other words within the linguistic system, rather than etymology or ‘inner meaning’.

Representing Barr’s targets, Snaith argues that the first word of Psalm 1 (אשרי, normally translated *happy* or *blessed*) comes from a root meaning ‘to go straight ahead’, illustrating Hebrew thought, where ‘a happy man is the man who goes straight ahead’.⁸⁵ Snaith and others often unquestioningly appropriated information on word meanings in newly-discovered cognate languages. Strengthened by popular ethnopsychology and linguistic relativity, they produced many thought-provoking, but not necessarily linguistically well-grounded, claims about Hebrew thought.

⁸⁰ Barr, *Semantics*, 33.

⁸¹ Barr, *Semantics*, 24.

⁸² Barr, *Semantics*, 25.

⁸³ For example, Barr, *Semantics*, 204.

⁸⁴ Barr, *Semantics*, 188.

⁸⁵ N. H. Snaith, ‘The Language of the Old Testament’ in G. A. Buttrick et al. (eds.), *The Interpreter’s Bible, Volume 1* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), 220-232, 225.

Five of Barr's most relevant arguments about the relationship between language, culture and thought are outlined below, based mainly on *Semantics*, which includes his fiercest critique of the ethnopsychology of Herder, Humboldt and Whorf.

a) No Simple Correspondence between Language Structure and Thought Structure

First, Barr argues one cannot assume a simple correspondence between language structure and thought structure, whether in grammar or vocabulary,⁸⁶ since in fact some peoples have very common worldviews despite radically different languages (such as Finns versus Swedes), whereas others have very similar languages yet different worldviews (such as fourth-century Jews versus Phoenicians).⁸⁷ Thus, grammatical structure (such as the verbal system or lack of a copula) cannot show Hebrew thought is more 'dynamic' than Greek.⁸⁸ Similarly, grammatical gender 'cannot be taken to reflect a thought pattern',⁸⁹ since the lack of distinct gender in Turkish does not mean Turks cannot differentiate male and female.⁹⁰

Regarding vocabulary, the absence of distinct words does not imply the absence of distinct mental concepts (such as the 'lack' of a Hebrew 'body' / 'soul' distinction) nor does the existence of more than one word reflect a 'need' to distinguish mental concepts.⁹¹ Such arguments fail to appreciate both the often unmotivated historical background for the words available in a given domain and the possibility of thinking about something without having a word to describe it.⁹²

Since identity cannot be assumed between linguistic and mental structure, Barr argues any theologian addressing Hebrew thought must explicate his or her assumptions on the relationship between linguistic structures and mental patterns.⁹³ This chapter fulfils precisely this purpose within this thesis.

⁸⁶ Barr, *Semantics*, 33.

⁸⁷ Barr, *Semantics*, 42-43.

⁸⁸ Barr, *Semantics*, 26-34, 46-106.

⁸⁹ Barr, *Semantics*, 40.

⁹⁰ Barr, *Semantics*, 39.

⁹¹ Barr, *Semantics*, 34-38.

⁹² Here, Barr explicitly opposes Whorf's contention that the vocabulary of a language reveals its way of organising the world, Barr, *Semantics*, 38.

⁹³ Barr, *Semantics*, 26.

b) No Privileged Cultural Mind

Second, presuppositions about the way people think in a culture cannot be used to interpret linguistic evidence.⁹⁴ Barr's contemporaries presumed the Hebrew mind viewed the world a certain way (from anthropological claims about 'primitive' mentality or theological convictions regarding the peculiarity, and superiority, of the Hebrew mentality), so linguistic evidence supporting this was presented, ignoring other evidence and alternative hypotheses. Barr claimed that his opponents defended the peculiarity of Hebrew psychology on the basis of the peculiarity of linguistic phenomena that were actually very widespread, through ignorance of general linguistics and failure to critically examine their own languages.⁹⁵ Instead, they needed a respectable linguistic methodology examining the whole language, one integrated with general linguistics, and 'open to relevant data for semantics of any language'.⁹⁶ It can be said that the Cognitive Linguistic methodology fits these criteria, originating in mainstream linguistics and increasingly well tested cross-linguistically.

c) Correct Use of Etymology

Third, Barr attacks abuses of etymology, stressing that a word's original meaning does not determine its current meaning.⁹⁷ Following Saussure, synchronic considerations (how a word fits with other possibilities in a language system at a given point in time) have priority over diachronic considerations (when a word originated). Before Barr, scholars used cognate languages to establish the 'exact' meanings of Hebrew words, even when spoken centuries earlier in different settings.⁹⁸ However, Barr found English words whose meaning changed beyond recognition even within one language and thus showed the falsity of supposing 'that the etymology of a word is necessarily a guide either to its 'proper' meaning in a later period or to its actual meaning in that period'.⁹⁹ The use of 'necessarily' is important: Barr is not saying that a word's etymology is always irrelevant, just that one cannot assume uncritically

⁹⁴ Barr, *Semantics*, 22-23.

⁹⁵ Barr, *Semantics*, 135.

⁹⁶ Barr, *Semantics*, 25.

⁹⁷ J. Barr, 'Etymology and the Old Testament' in J. Barr et al. (eds.), *Language and Meaning: Studies in Hebrew Language and Biblical Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 1-28, J. Barr, 'The Limitations of Etymology as a Lexicographical Instrument in Biblical Hebrew', *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1983) 41-65, J. Barr, 'Scope and Problems in the Semantics of Classical Hebrew', *ZAH* 6 (1993) 3-14, and to a lesser extent in J. Barr, 'The Synchronic, the Diachronic and the Historical: A Triangular Relationship' in J. C. de Moor (ed.), *Synchronic or Diachronic? A Debate on Method in Old Testament Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 1-14.

⁹⁸ For example, E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), 94 argues from an Arabic cognate that the 'exact' meaning of צדק in Hebrew is 'conformity to a norm'.

⁹⁹ Barr, *Semantics*, 109.

that etymology is determinative of a word's current meaning. Thus, in Snaith's exegesis of Psalm 1 (introduced at the start of section 3.1) he does not attack the use of etymological evidence, but that 'the etymological associations are used without any inquiry whether they existed in the minds of those who used the poem'.¹⁰⁰

d) The Root Fallacy

Fourth, the same Hebrew root for two words is insufficient evidence of associations between them in speakers' minds. Those who assert a 'root meaning' commit the 'root fallacy'. In the case of לֶחֶם (bread) and מִלְחָמָה (war), for example, it is 'doubtful whether the influence of their common root is of any importance . . . in the normal usage of the words'.¹⁰¹ Although Boman produces the root meaning of being 'closely packed',¹⁰² he misses Barr's real point, which is whether this meaning influences normal usage.

Barr claims only forms produced by 'narrowly grammatical variation', such as the paradigm of forms for different persons as subject, could be influenced by a 'root meaning'. Conversely, the different conjugations (like the hiphil) are new semantic formations with potentially their own 'semantic history'.¹⁰³ Thus, 'to be guided by the "fundamental meaning" of a "root" in discussing the various extant forms is to neglect the force of word-formation, which creates, or may create, separate fields of significance for what are independent forms'.¹⁰⁴ Later, Barr is more constructive, affirming 'a "root" is semantically significant, in a synchronic sense, usually only where the root morpheme is active and productive, usually as a rather basic verb or noun, in the Hebrew of biblical times'.¹⁰⁵

e) The Unitary Concept Fallacy

Fifth, Barr argues that the same form in multiple contexts is insufficient evidence to argue a meaning overlap in these contexts. He calls this the *unitary concept fallacy*. Theologians must avoid illegitimately carrying the entire situated meaning of a word in one context to

¹⁰⁰ Barr, *Semantics*, 116.

¹⁰¹ Barr, *Semantics*, 102.

¹⁰² T. Boman, 'Review: "The Semantics of Biblical Language" and "Biblical Words for Time"', *SJT* (1962) 319-324.

¹⁰³ Barr, *Semantics*, 102.

¹⁰⁴ Barr, *Semantics*, 165.

¹⁰⁵ J. Barr, 'Three Interrelated Factors in the Semantic Study of Ancient Hebrew', *ZAH* 7 (1994) 33-44, 35.

another context, as when ‘good’ used eschatologically in one context is taken to imply that ‘good’ always has an eschatological meaning.¹⁰⁶

This issue relates to polysemy and homonymy, which are important in Cognitive Linguistics,¹⁰⁷ so Barr’s views need consideration. Polysemy is usually defined as a word having more than one sense, whereas homonymy is two distinct words that have developed the same form. The difference is historical: for polysemy the senses originated in some motivated way from an original meaning, whereas in homonymy the ‘accidental’ coming together of two forms produces multiple senses. As Barr acknowledges, history may not effect the perceived links between words for current speakers, since many English speakers assume a polysemous relationship between a human ‘ear’ and an ‘ear’ of corn, despite originating from distinct roots.

Polysemy deriving from metaphorical transference is especially significant for this thesis. Consider the English example ‘seethe’. Although the first dictionary definition usually describes a bubbling liquid, contemporary English uses it much more commonly with an angry human subject, potentially still evoking the ‘bubbling liquid’ meaning. Such metaphorical transference is central to conceptual metaphor theory. Barr’s synchronic emphasis means that he allows only minimal impact of such possible metaphorical transference on semantics, so that senses for a word derived this way should not be assumed to activate links to a possible original more literal sense. For example, discussing **חטא**, usually translated ‘sin’ in English, but also used to describe how the Benjaminites could throw a stone at a single hair and not ‘miss’ (Judges 20.16), Barr dismisses the idea that ‘missing a target’ is accessible in every use of the word, saying it is ‘more likely’ that the meaning is ‘do wrongly’. The Benjaminite’s success is then an extension of not ‘doing wrongly’. More generally, Barr criticises ‘the overemphasising of ‘concrete’ or physical meanings in the presentation of lexical material’.¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Barr dismisses the proposed link between ‘belief’ and ‘established’, arguably visible through the common consonants

¹⁰⁶ Barr, *Semantics*, 219-220.

¹⁰⁷ Geeraerts describes modelling the ‘polysemic architecture of expressions’ as one of four specific characteristics of Cognitive Linguistics, D. Geeraerts, ‘Introduction: A Rough Guide to Cognitive Linguistics’ in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 1-28, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Barr, ‘Scope’, 8.

אין.¹⁰⁹ Cognitive Linguistics prioritises the ‘concrete’, perceptual, and ‘embodied’ for understanding more abstract domains,¹¹⁰ so there is potential conflict with Barr here.

Despite Barr’s polemicism and tendency towards criticism rather than constructing his own linguistic methodology,¹¹¹ *Semantics* was widely acclaimed, as a ‘trumpet blast against the monstrous regiment of shoddy linguistics’.¹¹² Subsequent authors hesitated to relate Hebrew language and thought. John Sawyer, however, did successfully challenge some of Barr’s assertions.

2.3.2. Sawyer

Sawyer differs from Barr over which words may be mentally linked, and in his approach to root meanings. Further, he began constructing a methodology for deciding whether an etymological connection still has current force in the minds of users.

First, whereas Barr would not assume words are semantically associated unless provable through sound linguistics, Sawyer’s approach is more generous, defining an *associative field* including ‘all the words associated in any way with a term’.¹¹³ These may share a ‘root’, be antonyms or synonyms, or even share similar letters or sounds. This associative field links many more words in a Hebrew speaker’s mind than Barr allowed.

Second, regarding root-meanings, Sawyer is cautiously optimistic, claiming ‘a recurring group of consonants common to several words carries with it some common semantic element into words and contexts in which it occurs’.¹¹⁴ Comparison should not be made with Indo-European roots because of three Semitic distinctives: first, compounds are not natural; second, the root of a Hebrew word is particularly obtrusive; and third, the data is written, so

¹⁰⁹ Barr, *Semantics*, 161-205.

¹¹⁰ Geeraerts, ‘Introduction’, 1.

¹¹¹ K. A. Tångberg, ‘Linguistics and Theology: An Attempt to Analyze and Evaluate James Barr’s Argumentation in The Semantics of Biblical Language and Biblical Words for Time’, *BT* 24 (1973) 301-310, 310.

¹¹² M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meanings: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*, 2nd edn. (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 18.

¹¹³ J. F. A. Sawyer, *Semantics in Biblical Research: New Methods of Defining Hebrew Words for Salvation* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 30.

¹¹⁴ J. F. A. Sawyer, ‘Root-Meanings in Hebrew’, *JSS* (1967) 37-50, 41.

the root can be seen, not just heard. These create ‘transparency’, with semantic components visible in a word’s form, meaning that ‘the root of a Semitic word is of particular importance in communicating information’.¹¹⁵

Finally, concerning metaphorically transferred senses (like ‘seethe’), Sawyer’s methodology investigates generalisations over polysemy, central to Lakoff’s later theory. Multiple words having meanings in two distinct domains suggest an active semantic link between the domains. Whilst Barr claimed that the play on words in Isaiah 7.9 (תִּאֲמִינִי ‘you will believe’ / תִּאֲמִנִי ‘you will be established’) could not be explained through root meanings, Sawyer considered semantic fields in Hebrew connected to both belief or truth (words that collocate with people) and firmness or fixedness (words that collocate with things). Comparison of the fields produces ‘at least four words that can occur both in *truth*-contexts and in *firmness*-contexts’.¹¹⁶

Further, Sawyer stresses transfer from concrete to abstract in metaphor, showing that source domains for salvation covered ‘almost every sphere of human experience: light, space, height ... and others’.¹¹⁷ Such transfers likely occurred when the source domain was emotionally charged, so that spatial terminology may have transferred to salvation during territorial expansion.¹¹⁸ Cognitive Linguistics also prioritises motivation, though it prioritises embodied motivation in infancy above a culture’s historical development.¹¹⁹

Sawyer allows a return from Barr back towards using roots, polysemy and metaphorical transference in semantic description, an increasingly necessary move as linguists began studying language systems less abstractly and more as they are used by individuals. Linguists started investigating how people learn word-meanings and create categories to fit their experiences, integrating developing emphases in other disciplines, including philosophy of language (Wittgenstein), artificial intelligence (Schank), and cognitive psychology (Abelson) to create ‘Cognitive Science’. This research showed that structuralist attempts to

¹¹⁵ Sawyer, ‘Root-Meanings’, 39-40.

¹¹⁶ Sawyer, ‘Root-Meanings’, 45.

¹¹⁷ Sawyer, *Semantics*, 54.

¹¹⁸ J. F. A. Sawyer, ‘Spaciousness (An Important Feature of Language about Salvation in the Old Testament)’, *ASTI* 6 (1968) 20-34, Sawyer, *Semantics*, 41-43, 54.

¹¹⁹ See for example Gibbs, ‘Heads’ or Kövecses, *Culture*, 231-243.

define words via oppositions or componential analysis without considering the experiential world of speakers or the scenarios to which such words typically applied, omitted a large area of meaning. The next section introduces some of this research, before turning to the development of Cognitive Linguistics.

2.4. Precursors to Cognitive Linguistics – Wittgenstein, Rosch, Fillmore, Schank, Abelson and Reddy

2.4.1. Wittgenstein (1889-1951): Family Resemblances

Wittgenstein's later philosophy made the first step towards a new type of semantics (prototype semantics), emphasising that speakers do not mentally check off a list of attributes when using a word, so necessary and sufficient conditions cannot accurately describe semantics. Wittgenstein took the word *game* and showed there are no common features for all games. Some involve competition, others skill, others just amusement. Instead, games share *family resemblances*, certain parameters (such as skill) that parallel shared features among family members. The same characteristics are not expected in each family member, similarly identical properties should not be expected in all *games*.¹²⁰ For semantic theory, a central sense for a word covering all contextual instantiations should not be expected, but rather networks of possible instantiations sharing various attributes. This emphasis is clearly in line with Barr's 'unitary concept fallacy'.

2.4.2. Rosch: Prototypes and Basic Level Categories

Eleanor Rosch developed prototype semantics further,¹²¹ using cognitive psychology to discover 'prototype effects' and the 'basic level' of categorisation, delivering the fatal blow to prevailing semantic models using necessary and sufficient features.

First, the feature model suggests every entity with the correct features should be rated equally. Thus, if *bird* is defined by features like 'has feathers' and 'lays eggs', then every such creature should be an equally good example. However, Rosch found in several psychological experiments that robins were considered 'better' examples than penguins.

¹²⁰ L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 66-67.

¹²¹ For example in E. Rosch, 'Natural Categories', *Cognitive Psychology* 4 (1973) 328-350, E. Rosch et al., 'Basic Objects in Natural Categories', *Cognitive Psychology* 8 (1976) 382-439 and E. Rosch, 'Principles of Categorization' in E. Rosch and B. B. Lloyd (eds.), *Cognition and Categorization* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1978), 27-48, cited and discussed in Lakoff, *Women*, 39-57.

These asymmetries are called *prototype effects*, showing certain members of a category considered more representative, or prototypical, than others.

Second, certain categories are at the *basic level* and thus especially privileged, a foundational empirical discovery for cognitive science.¹²² For example, when shown a card with a terrier, people normally identify *a dog* rather than *an animal* or *an Airedale*. The category ‘dog’ is thus at the basic-level,¹²³ with the super-ordinate level (*animal*) and subordinates (*terrier*, *Airedale*) less psychologically basic. This is the highest level with a coherent mental image, the level at which entities are related to in similar functional ways, and has names children learn first.

Both results demonstrate gradations in psychological processes, which must be prominent in any cognitively realistic lexical semantics, focusing more on what is typical and salient than necessary or sufficient.

2.4.3. Fillmore: Frames

Charles Fillmore’s frame semantics¹²⁴ further challenged existing semantic descriptions, endeavouring to account for meaning that relies on the whole scene, or *frame* for an utterance. Specifically, frames are ‘unified frameworks of knowledge, or cultural schematizations of experience’.¹²⁵ Thus, the word *breakfast*¹²⁶ relies on a sociocultural frame with typically three meals a day and typical foodstuffs consumed at each. This frame allows *breakfast* to be used when only the food is in focus (‘all day breakfasts’) or when something different (salad, for example) is eaten in the morning. Words then *evoke* frames (like the three-meal-a-day frame evoked by *breakfast*) that need retrieving to understand an utterance.¹²⁷

¹²² Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 90.

¹²³ For alternative definitions, see J. R. Taylor, *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 53-55.

¹²⁴ C. Fillmore, ‘Frame Semantics’ in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006 [1982]), 373-400 and C. Fillmore, ‘Frames and the Semantics of Understanding’, *Quaderni di Semantica* 6 (1985) 222-253.

¹²⁵ Fillmore, ‘Understanding’, 223.

¹²⁶ Fillmore, ‘Frame’, 380.

¹²⁷ Fillmore, ‘Frame’, 385.

2.4.4. Schank and Abelson: Scripts

Roger Schank and Robert Abelson were developing a computer programme to understand natural language when they discovered that much implicit information needed to understand texts came not from words but from knowledge structures arising from life experiences.¹²⁸ On hearing 'John likes apples', we presume he likes *eating* apples, because this is the typical relationship humans have with apples. The computer needed these knowledge structures, not just a lexicon and a grammar.

Much of this is structured in *scripts*, 'a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation'.¹²⁹ Scripts may be activated by individual words, allowing much information to be left implicit. English speakers can process '*the* waitress' after the word 'restaurant' has been used in a discourse because the script has been activated.¹³⁰

Scripts mean embodied experience is crucial. Words do not just provide access to isolated prototypical contexts, but to conventionalised sequences of events in scripts. This thesis will show how 'hunting' and 'lion attack' scripts are used to understand distressing situations in Hebrew.

2.4.5. Reddy: The Conduit Metaphor

In 1979, Michael Reddy demonstrated even more conceptual structure implicit in various words by showing how the conduit metaphors used to problematise communication difficulties fail to reflect actual communication.¹³¹ The way we conventionally discuss communication both reveals how we habitually think about communication and constrains our inferences when it fails. Thus, conventional language does influence thought.

Using the conduit metaphor, communication is understood as a conduit carrying mental material (thoughts, ideas, or meanings) in containers (words or other media) from one person

¹²⁸ R. Schank and R. Abelson, *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding: An Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures* (Hillside: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1977).

¹²⁹ Schank and Abelson, *Scripts*, 41.

¹³⁰ Schank and Abelson, *Scripts*, 47-50.

¹³¹ M. J. Reddy, 'The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in our Language about Language' in A. Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1979]), 164-201.

to another. Linguistic expressions include: *I couldn't get much from Max's paper; the paragraph was overloaded with meaning; Steve's ideas don't come across clearly in his writing*. This fundamental metaphor constrains inferences regarding miscommunication. A prototypical conduit should work efficiently, so communication failures must be the communicator's failure when loading their mental stuff into the container. A more accurate metaphor should acknowledge that miscommunications are 'tendencies inherent in the system, which can only be counteracted by continuous effort and by large amounts of verbal interaction'.

Reddy showed that systematic metaphorical structuring in language could influence thinking. He is the direct precursor to Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphors, and the beginning of Cognitive Linguistics.¹³²

2.5. The Cognitive Linguistics Paradigm

2.5.1. Lakoff and Johnson: Conceptual Metaphors and Image Schemas

George Lakoff's conceptual metaphors were introduced in his 1980 work with Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*. They acknowledge the influence of Sapir, Whorf, Wittgenstein, Schank, Fillmore and Rosch,¹³³ creating a theory of language and thought that prioritises categorisation and metaphor.

a) Philosophical Basis

Understanding Lakoff and Johnson requires comprehending their claims about metaphor,¹³⁴ that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another'.¹³⁵ Thus, metaphor is located in *thought* and concerned with conceptualisation (hence conceptual metaphor) and how metaphors are expressed in *language* is less important

¹³² Cognitive Linguistics (capitalised) is conventionally used for Lakoff and Johnson's strand of cognitive linguistics, Geeraerts, 'Introduction', 3.

¹³³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, xi-xii. Reddy is recognised in Lakoff, 'Contemporary', 186-187.

¹³⁴ Lakoff claims his view of metaphor differs radically from the classical tradition since Aristotle, which viewed metaphor as special language. More accurately, it challenges the prevailing approaches of the mid-twentieth century. For Aristotle's actual view of metaphor, see J. E. Mahon, 'Getting Your Sources Right: What Aristotle Didn't Say' in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 69-80.

¹³⁵ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 5.

for them. ‘Understanding’ here does not mean rational beliefs, but rather ‘our bodily, cultural, linguistic, historical situatedness in, and toward, our world’.¹³⁶

Lakoff and Johnson then develop their framework upon three results of cognitive science.¹³⁷ First, the mind is inherently embodied, so our thought processes are a result of our experiences of living in the world. Second, thought is largely unconscious, operating ‘too quickly to be focused on’.¹³⁸ Lakoff and Johnson suggest 95% of thought is unconscious, and this shapes conscious thought.¹³⁹ Meaning, then, is no longer just about conscious associations. This fits with Boasian emphases on unconscious categorisation in language, but also reopens the gate for irresponsible linguistics.¹⁴⁰ If thought, and thus meaning, are largely unconscious, the analyst must avoid unchecked flights of fancy. Third, abstract thought is largely metaphorical. Not only is thought the locus for metaphor, but ‘metaphorical thought is unavoidable, ubiquitous, and mostly unconscious’.¹⁴¹ A person may thus ‘understand’ certain domains metaphorically through other domains without being consciously aware of it. These three results create a philosophical position Lakoff and Johnson term ‘experiential realism’,¹⁴² or more recently, ‘embodied realism’.¹⁴³

b) Image Schemas and Gestalt Perception

If thought is largely metaphorical, what are these metaphors based on? Lakoff and Johnson’s solution lies in embodied experience, with two kinds of pre-conceptual (non-metaphorical) structures forming the basis for thought, specifically image schemas and gestalt perception.

First, *image schemas* are directly meaningful preconceptual structures emerging from our embodied experience of movement, perception and manipulation of objects.¹⁴⁴ They have a basic internal structure, as in the CONTAINER schema (structured with a boundary, interior

¹³⁶ Johnson, *Body*, 138.

¹³⁷ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 3-93.

¹³⁸ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 10.

¹³⁹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 13.

¹⁴⁰ This difficulty is acknowledged by several Cognitive Linguists, as in G. Fauconnier, *Mappings in Thought and Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1-13, Gibbs, ‘Researching’.

¹⁴¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 272.

¹⁴² Lakoff, *Women*, 269-303.

¹⁴³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 74-93.

¹⁴⁴ B. Hampe, ‘Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics: Introduction’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 1-12, 1.

and exterior) or the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema, deriving from bodily movement.¹⁴⁵ Mark Johnson defined an image schema as ‘a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience’.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the CONTAINER schema derives its existence and structure from experiencing our bodies as containers and moving our bodies in and out of other containers. They exist ‘*beneath* conscious awareness, prior to and independently of other concepts’,¹⁴⁷ generalising individual mental images and integrating information from multiple modalities. Johnson represents schemas through line drawings, as in Figure 1, although realising this implies an unwarranted similarity between image schemas and rich images.¹⁴⁸

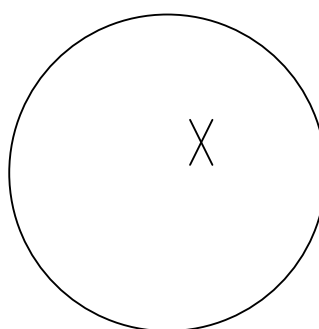


Figure 1. A Representation of the CONTAINMENT Image Schema

The internal structure of such schemas constrains meaning. For example, in FORCE schemas, the internal structure of source, intensity, movement and barriers is used to ‘understand’ modal verbs. Thus, *may* as root modal (*you may go to town*) and as epistemic modal (*he may have gone to town*) both use an image schema with no barrier blocking forceful movement, whether in the physical domain or more abstractly where the movement is from premise to

¹⁴⁵ These prototypical schemas are often used in place of a definition. However, schemas are still a useful and central concept in Cognitive Linguistics. See J. E. Grady, ‘Image Schemas and Perception: Refining a Definition’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 35-56.

¹⁴⁶ Johnson, *Body*, xiv. Despite moves to extend or alter this definition, recent literature affirms Johnson’s original emphases on fundamental units of sensory experience, Grady, ‘Definition’.

¹⁴⁷ Hampe, ‘Schemas’, 2.

¹⁴⁸ Johnson, *Body*, 23.

conclusion.¹⁴⁹ Here, embodied experiences of forces constrain our inferences in non-physical domains.

Second, *gestalt perception* provides more preconceptual structure for Lakoff's semantics, integrating frames and scripts, and being used for objects at Rosch's basic level (section 2.4.2).¹⁵⁰ Thus, recognising a *dog* rather than a *cat* is based on gestalt perception, psychologically recognising the whole object, rather than a complex sum of different features. *Experiential gestalts* are then 'ways of organizing experiences into structured wholes',¹⁵¹ with dimensions that emerge naturally in experience. Thus, a CONVERSATION is an experiential gestalt, and image schemas themselves are highly schematic gestalts.¹⁵² Experiential gestalts tend to have structural elements including: participants; parts combining to form a whole; stages; linear sequence; causation; and purpose.

Lakoff and Johnson illustrate experiential gestalts with CONVERSATION, ARGUMENT and WAR, each perceived as a structured whole with participants acting in prototypical ways through a sequence of stages to achieve their purposes. Actual experience is perceived relative to these gestalts. Demonstrating how metaphor uses these gestalts, they discuss two people talking. They may impose the CONVERSATION gestalt on their experience, but if through the words used some dimensions begin to fit the STRUGGLE gestalt (such as seeing the participants as opponents, or the interaction as verbal aggression), and they hold the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS STRUGGLE, the experience may begin to be perceived as fitting the ARGUMENT gestalt instead, so that they see themselves as having an 'argument'.¹⁵³ This thesis shows, for example, how an experiential gestalt of SIEGE structures experiences of DISTRESS, mapping onto the purpose, participants (the self, God and 'enemies') and sequence of events, when someone holds the metaphor BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING UNDER SIEGE.

¹⁴⁹ Johnson, *Body*, 41-64. Full discussion in E. Sweetser, *From Etymology to Pragmatics: Metaphorical and Cultural Aspects of Semantic Structure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁵⁰ Lakoff, *Women*, 46.

¹⁵¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 81.

¹⁵² Hampe, 'Schemas', 1.

¹⁵³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 77-86.

c) Conceptual Metaphor

It has been established that image schemas and perceptual gestalts have *structure*. Structure is then mapped through metaphor from these two types of *source domains* onto experiences (*target domains*) lacking their own discernible preconceptual structure.¹⁵⁴ Thus, the simply-structured SOURCE-PATH-GOAL schema is mapped to the ‘journey’ of life to evaluate ‘progress’, where some ‘get ahead’ while others are ‘left behind’. Similarly, THE MIND IS A MACHINE metaphor maps structure from our gestalt perception of machines (movement, efficiency, component parts) to question whether someone is ‘functioning’ properly or has ‘a screw loose’.

A basic way of importing structure is through *primary metaphor*, where distinct domains (such as ‘affection’ and ‘warmth’) are conflated during a person’s infancy through repeated correlation in experience, creating co-activation patterns in different parts of the brain’s neural network, ‘wiring together’ the two domains. Primary metaphors include MORE IS UP, SEEING IS KNOWING, DIFFICULTIES ARE BURDENS and HAPPY IS UP. These metaphors form unconsciously and automatically, so are as universally acquired as the embodied experiences they reflect are universal experiences.¹⁵⁵

Lakoff and Johnson contend that metaphorical mappings primarily *create* similarities, rather than reflecting pre-existing similarities (as in comparison theories).¹⁵⁶ Correlations in experience do not require any intrinsic similarity between two domains; the similarities are created by mapping structure from one domain to another. Thus, a complex concept is usually partially structured by different metaphors that are somewhat inconsistent with each other, each *highlighting* certain aspects of the target domain and *hiding* others, as in the English metaphors AN ARGUMENT IS A CONTAINER (that can be ‘empty’) and AN ARGUMENT IS A JOURNEY (that can ‘lose its way’).¹⁵⁷

d) Idealised Cognitive Models

These structures and processes produce a cognitive semantics resulting in *idealised cognitive models* (ICMs) through which we organise knowledge, handle concepts and construct

¹⁵⁴ Lakoff, *Women*, 303.

¹⁵⁵ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 45-58.

¹⁵⁶ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 147-155.

¹⁵⁷ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 87-96.

categories. Each ICM is a gestalt and produces various prototype effects, as when their idealised structure fits experience to varying degrees. Thus, a *bachelor* is not defined simply through necessary and sufficient conditions (unmarried, adult, male), but relative to an ICM including a society with heterosexual marriage occurring at a typical age. Whether Tarzan or the Pope is a bachelor then becomes a problem of how well this ICM fits the world. The worse the fit, the less appropriate it is to apply the concept.¹⁵⁸

An ICM may have intrinsic structure (propositional or image-schematic) or receive structure from metaphoric or metonymic mappings.¹⁵⁹ First, metaphoric mappings map structure from propositional or image-schematic models to other domains. For example, the BALANCE image schema (from maintaining bodily equilibriums) maps structure to emotions and psychology. A *well-balanced* individual is *stable* and keeps emotions *on an even keel*.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, the source domain of STRUGGLE structures arguments, with claims ‘defended’, positions ‘surrendered’ and participants as ‘opponents’. These structured, metaphorical mappings exist in thought, producing systematic conventional metaphors in language. Therefore, analysis of conventional linguistic metaphors reveals the mental mappings. As with communication ‘conduits’, the entailments of these mappings constrain the way the target domain is thought about, problematised, and acted upon. Second, *metonymic* mappings map structure from one element of an ICM to another within the same ICM. Traditionally, metonymy refers to linguistic expressions where a word is substituted by an associated one, as in *10 Downing Street has yet to respond*, where *10 Downing Street* stands for the Prime Minister. However, just as locating metaphor in thought redefines linguistic metaphor, so does locating metonymy in the mind. Cognitive Linguistics links metaphor and metonymy in a simple formulation: whereas metaphor maps between different domains, metonymy maps within the same domain.¹⁶¹ Metonymic mappings are used when a concept is understood through a particular instantiation, and produce many prototype effects, as seen in the different uses of social stereotypes, typical examples, ideal examples and salient examples.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Lakoff, *Women*, 69-71.

¹⁵⁹ Lakoff, *Women*, 68, 113-114.

¹⁶⁰ Johnson, *Body*, 74-100.

¹⁶¹ This unification of metaphor and metonymy is a significant strength of Cognitive Linguistics, Geeraerts, ‘Introduction’, 13. Important collections on metonymy include K.-U. Panther and G. Radden (eds.), *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999) and A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000).

¹⁶² Lakoff, *Women*, 84-90.

e) Further Evidence for Conceptual Metaphor

Lakoff advocated empirical research to support his hypotheses about metaphorical thought. The strands of evidence increased from two in 1980 to nine by 2003.¹⁶³

First, Lakoff stresses *generalisations over polysemy*, where several words have senses in two domains. Thus, *seethe*, *fume*, *explode* and *simmer* all describe heated fluids, but also human anger. This systematic polysemy demonstrates a conceptual link between anger and heated fluids, a link rarely mentioned in dictionaries. In *Metaphors We Live By* this was the primary evidence, with conceptual metaphors being ‘proved’ by a few sentences incorporating such systematic polysemy.

Second, *inference patterns* show reasoning in abstract domains based on inferences from more concrete domains, implying a conceptual mapping between them. For example, if someone *explodes*, they may have been *simmering* for a long time, but *keeping a lid on it*. These inference patterns offer generalisations when reasoning in one domain (heating a fluid in a container) is systematically used for reasoning in another domain (anger).

Third, extensions to *novel* examples show conceptual metaphors are indeed ‘alive’, though entrenched in conventional vocabulary. *More Than Cool Reason* claims poets extend, elaborate, question or conflate conventional metaphors, rather than creating totally new ones,¹⁶⁴ as when Hamlet extends DEATH IS SLEEP to include dreaming, by asking, ‘What dreams may come?’

Fourth, generalisations over historical *semantic change* provide evidence, as in perception verbs which developed figurative meanings with remarkable consistency across Indo-European languages and beyond.¹⁶⁵ Verbs of seeing became metaphors for knowledge, verbs

¹⁶³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 246-249.

¹⁶⁴ Lakoff and Turner, *Reason*, 67-72.

¹⁶⁵ Sweetser, *Etymology*.

of hearing for internal receptivity, verbs of touch for emotions and verbs of taste for personal preference.¹⁶⁶

Fifth, *psychological* evidence comes from Ray Gibbs' experiments, detailed in section 2.5.6 below.

Sixth, *gestures* 'often trace out images from the source domains of conceptual metaphors',¹⁶⁷ as when moving hands like scales when talking about choices, reflecting a CHOOSING IS WEIGHING conceptual metaphor.

Seventh, *discourse* studies show conceptual metaphors needed to make coherent sense of connected utterances. Eighth, *sign languages* may reflect conceptual metaphors. For example, the sign for *past* may indicate the area behind a speaker, reflecting the metaphor that the past is behind.¹⁶⁸

Finally, childhood *language acquisition* shows children learn conceptual metaphors in a conflated form when source and target domains appear together, and only later differentiate. For example, they learn SEEING IS KNOWING when they 'see' and 'know' something simultaneously (as in 'See, Daddy's home') and only later use 'see' without a visible stimulus (as in 'See what I mean?'). Significantly, this suggests humans acquire more abstract senses of polysemous words later than physical senses, contrary to Barr's contention that physical senses should not be privileged.

f) Linguistic Relativity

For Lakoff, relativity in thought, and therefore also in language, arises from two areas. Firstly, varying basic experience produces varying preconceptual structures. Bodily experiences of 'containing' food may be universal, but other experiences depend on

¹⁶⁶ Ibarretxe-Antuñano also investigates smell, I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 'Metaphorical Mappings in the Sense of Smell' in R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 29-45.

¹⁶⁷ Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy*, 85.

¹⁶⁸ Other gesture research supports the existence of image schemas and conceptual metaphors, as in A. Cienki, 'Image Schemas and Gesture' in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 395-420.

geography and culture. Thus, for the mountain-dwelling Cora people basic hill shape is a ‘fundamental aspect of their constant experience’.¹⁶⁹ As a result, rather than culture giving a conceptual overlay to experience, ‘we experience our “world” in such a way that our culture is already present in the very experience itself’.¹⁷⁰

Second, basic experiences may overlap but motivate different conceptual systems. For example, orientations like up-down may be universal image schemas, but which concepts are oriented which way varies across cultures.¹⁷¹

Thus, Lakoff substantially agrees with Whorf, but places more emphasis on metaphor, dissolving Whorf’s distinction between habitual thought and metaphor, and claiming metaphorical thought is universal, so that Whorf’s analysis of Hopi needs re-evaluation.

2.5.2. Langacker and Taylor: Cognitive Grammar

Ronald Langacker developed a new ‘cognitive’ grammar, again utilising Wittgenstein, Rosch, Fillmore and Schank’s ideas, prioritising psychologically real processes (particularly imagery) over his contemporaries’ mathematical formalism. Langacker’s *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* is still the core text for Cognitive Linguistics, focusing on appropriate methodology, principles and assumptions, to create an ‘open’ text to be filled out by others.¹⁷² Langacker and Lakoff (with Leonard Talmy) are the most influential Cognitive Linguists,¹⁷³ but form two schools: the ‘Berkeley’ school following Lakoff (concentrating on the centrality of metaphor to thought) and the ‘San Diego’ school around Langacker (investigating the interface between thought and grammar in every area of linguistics).¹⁷⁴

For Langacker, metaphor results from the foundational cognitive process of establishing correspondences,¹⁷⁵ and is thus constitutive of mental life, not peripheral to it.¹⁷⁶ In mental

¹⁶⁹ Lakoff, *Women*, 310.

¹⁷⁰ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 57.

¹⁷¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 24.

¹⁷² Taylor, *Grammar*, 40.

¹⁷³ Geeraerts, ‘Introduction’, 24.

¹⁷⁴ P. Werth, *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse* (Harlow: Longman, 1999), 42.

¹⁷⁵ R. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Volume 1, Theoretical Prerequisites* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 90-96.

categorisation, such correspondences may reflect *schematicity* (the ability to conceive an entity at various levels, such as being a *tree*, an *oak* and a *sessile oak*), or *comparison with a prototype* (such as recognising a *palm* as a *tree*). The mind continually makes comparisons and this ability ‘underlies the detection of regularity and imposition of structure on cognitive activity’.¹⁷⁷

Thus, Langacker’s lexical semantics complements *Metaphors* and can be used in this thesis. It emphasises an *encyclopaedic* approach to meaning and *schematic networks*, to which linguistic expressions provide points of access.

a) Encyclopaedic Knowledge

First, Langacker advocates an *encyclopaedic* view of semantics, with all the information a speaker knows about an entity legitimately belonging to the meaning of a lexeme referring to it.¹⁷⁸ Further, there is a graded scale, with certain specifications more entrenched through conventional usage, and thus more accessible in a usage event. Which specifications are salient depends on the speaker’s individual exposure to language and on an utterance’s context. As an example, Langacker explains how ‘the cat is on the mat’ could be easily understood at the climax of a tiger-wrestling competition:

It is not that the expression intrinsically *holds* or *conveys* the contextual meaning, but rather, that conventional units *sanction* this meaning as falling within the open-ended class of conceptualizations they *motivate* through judgments of full or partial schematicity. These conceptualizations may draw on any facet of a speaker’s conceptual universe.¹⁷⁹

This conceptual universe is modelled (simplistically) as a knowledge system consisting of a network of nodes (corresponding to different domains) and arcs representing relationships between them. Lexical units afford points of access to these knowledge networks.

b) Schematic Networks

Second, this encyclopaedic approach links Langacker’s *schematic networks* to lexical semantics,¹⁸⁰ describing polysemy and homonymy through the complex category created by using the same word for a network of different conceptualisations. Schematic networks

¹⁷⁶ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 5.

¹⁷⁷ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 100.

¹⁷⁸ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 154-165.

¹⁷⁹ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 158.

¹⁸⁰ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 369-408. Langacker uses schematic networks across the grammar, including phonology and morphology.

demonstrate, in an ideal situation, both prototypical specifications for a word and the highest level abstract schematisation covering all instantiations. For example, a (British) child may first acquire the concept [TREE] through generalising typical deciduous trees, such as oaks or sycamores, forming a prototypical sense for the category *tree*. Later, discovering pine *trees* with different leaves, the child creates [TREE'], an abstract schematisation allowing both pines and deciduous trees as elaborations. Later still, the schematic concept [TREE''] is formed when the child discovers palms are also *trees*. As the category grows by extension from the prototype, an abstraction process forms increasingly 'fuzzy' schemas compatible with the new category, containing only sufficient detail to cover the various elaborations. This schematic network is represented in Figure 2:¹⁸¹

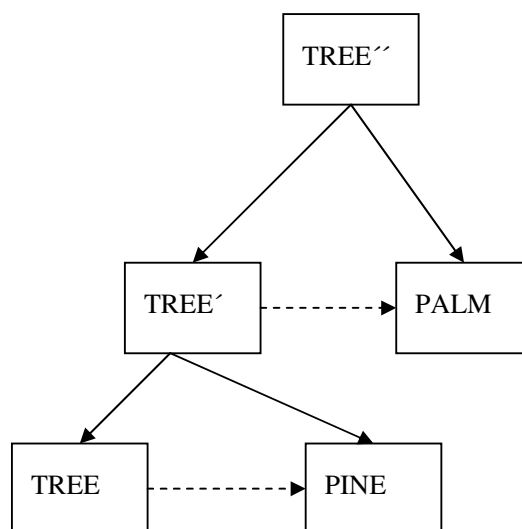


Figure 2: Schematic Network for the Category *tree*.

In general, the nodes in a lexical network provide alternate 'windows' on a knowledge system. In a specific usage, a speaker 'activates a particular node that approximates the notion he wishes to convey',¹⁸² which also facilitates the activation of linked nodes. The nodes and links vary in cognitive salience, with prominent domains (such as visual and spatial), or particularly entrenched senses, being most salient.

¹⁸¹ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 374.

¹⁸² Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 382.

c) Linguistic Relativity

Langacker agrees with Whorf that we impose structure on the flux of impressions in the world, and that ‘it is our conception of reality (not the real world per se) that is relevant to linguistic semantics’.¹⁸³ Still, Langacker thinks cognitive grammar is useful for describing universals. However, rather than seeking universal syntactic features to deduce universal mental properties (as Chomsky had done), Langacker uses universal mental processes (such as acquiring categories through lived experience, by extensions from prototypes and generalisations to form schemas) to formulate potential language universals.

d) Taylor’s *Cognitive Grammar*

Taylor’s *Cognitive Grammar* (2002) mostly restates Langacker’s theory, supporting Langacker’s encyclopaedic conception of knowledge, and incorporating conceptual metaphor theory.

First, Taylor experimentally supports Langacker’s claim that words are highly flexible points of access to multiple domains, variously activated in different contexts. For example, *the young man lifted the piano* was recalled when cued with *heavy*, whereas *the young man played the piano* was not. Both were recalled when cued with *music*, showing the music domain is more central to conventional conceptions of a piano than its weight, which is only activated in certain contexts.¹⁸⁴ Other psychological research confirms that a word’s senses are not ‘things’ but creative processes accessing various domains in different contexts. Meanings only seem stable because ‘most uses of the word will serve to highlight a recurring configuration of conceptual knowledge’,¹⁸⁵ entrenching these uses and making the domains they activate more salient. Thus the Hebrew word זָרָה may provide varying access to domains of enclosing and constraining in different contexts.

Second, Taylor integrates conceptual metaphors with schematic networks,¹⁸⁶ suggesting conceptual metaphors like CONCLUSIONS ARE DESTINATIONS are schematic for linguistic

¹⁸³ Langacker, *Foundations (I)*, 114.

¹⁸⁴ Taylor, *Grammar*, 442-444.

¹⁸⁵ Taylor, *Grammar*, 445.

¹⁸⁶ Taylor, *Grammar*, 487-504.

expressions like ‘we reached a conclusion’, abstracting the commonalities of two domains. Johnson’s image schemas and Talmy’s force dynamics are also then schematic notions.¹⁸⁷

Understanding conceptual metaphors as schemas provides a framework for discussing a metaphor’s productivity. Schemas are salient to the extent they are entrenched through a large number of instances. Similarly, a conceptual metaphor’s productivity can be categorised by speakers’ abilities ‘to create a large (and open-ended) set of expressions which instantiate the metaphor’,¹⁸⁸ revealed in the number of differently worded linguistic expressions. Further, comparing with the schema and instance treatment of complex morphology, Taylor contends that ‘if we find that a metaphor can be creatively elaborated, by bringing in various aspects from the source domain, we can be confident that the source domain is active in the expression’s use’.¹⁸⁹ In this thesis, variety in syntactic expression will be investigated to demonstrate the productivity of conceptual metaphors like DISTRESS IS CONSTRAINT, and extra elements introduced from the source domain will be taken as evidence of active cognitive links.

2.5.3. Talmy: Force Dynamic Patterns

Leonard Talmy’s force dynamics¹⁹⁰ parallels Johnson’s image schemas, and provides a potential universal structure for analysing emotion.¹⁹¹ Force dynamic patterns concern how entities forcefully interact, including ‘the exertion of force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage, and the like’.¹⁹² They offer a significant generalising principle for understanding language structure,¹⁹³ especially causation, but also psychological and social interactions, modals¹⁹⁴ and argumentation within discourse.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁷ Taylor, *Grammar*, 519-528.

¹⁸⁸ Taylor, *Grammar*, 497.

¹⁸⁹ Taylor, *Grammar*, 499-501.

¹⁹⁰ L. Talmy, ‘Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition’, *Cognitive Science* 12 (1988) 49-100, revised and republished in L. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics: Volume I, Concept Structuring Systems* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2000), 409-470.

¹⁹¹ Kövecses, *Emotion*.

¹⁹² Talmy, *Semantics*, 409.

¹⁹³ Talmy, *Semantics*, 410.

¹⁹⁴ Sweetser, *Etymology*.

¹⁹⁵ T. Oakley, ‘Force-dynamic Dimensions of Rhetorical Effect’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 443-474.

Talmy argues that we frequently frame situations linguistically by attributing forces to the entities involved, even though not scientifically justified. For example, saying ‘the ball *kept on* rolling’ gives the ball a force tendency to movement, overcoming some other force seeking to stop it. Here, ‘one force-exerting entity is singled out for focal attention – the salient issue in the interaction is whether this entity is able to manifest its force tendency or, on the contrary, is overcome’.¹⁹⁶ The focal entity is the *Agonist*, having a tendency to either movement or rest; the entity seeking to overcome it is the *Antagonist*.

In the interaction, either may prove stronger. This gives four scenarios: the Antagonist overcomes the Agonist’s tendency, making it move or rest (against its tendency), or, conversely, the Agonist prevails against the Antagonist and manifests its tendency, to move or rest. For causation, these reflect the English difference between ‘making’ something happen (when the Antagonist prevails) and ‘letting’ something happen (when the Antagonist fails). Although these four basic situations can be made more complex, Talmy identifies a prototype force-dynamic interaction that limits the linguistic system, of ‘a stronger force opposing a weaker force head on, with all-or-none conditions’.¹⁹⁷ Thus force interactions in language involve two forces rather than three or more, a constant Agonist force, rather than one that varies, a tendency in the Agonist only to rest or movement, and a two-valued resultant state for the Agonist, either action or rest.

As with image schemas, force dynamics are grounded in an ‘understanding system’ underlying commonsense conceptions and sophisticated reasoning, but diverging from the results of contemporary science. For example, privileging one entity within an interaction, or ascribing to it a force tendency, have no counterpart in physical theory, nor do the notions of blocking, letting, resistance or overcoming. This discrepancy between science and naïve models leaves linguistic relativity open. If the ascription of force to entities is a matter of folk rather than scientific theory, and much of our conception of causality is based on such attribution, there is the possibility of different conceptualisations across languages. As Talmy only considers English data, this avenue is not explored.

¹⁹⁶ Talmy, *Semantics*, 413.

¹⁹⁷ Talmy, *Semantics*, 467.

2.5.4. Fauconnier: Mappings and Integration

Gilles Fauconnier's contributes a theory of 'mental spaces' and mappings between them.¹⁹⁸ He contends that 'mappings between domains are at the heart of the unique human cognitive faculty of producing, transferring and processing meaning',¹⁹⁹ so that 'the simplest meanings are not simple at all. They rely on remarkable cognitive mapping capacities, immense arrays of intricately pre-structured knowledge, and exceptional on-line creativity'.²⁰⁰

Writing on *conceptual integration*, the evolution of conceptual systems that include cross-domain (metaphorical) mappings, he concludes that the source domain remains accessible 'at any time to provide further vocabulary and, more important, new ideas for dealing with the target' as long as a word continues to be used in both domains, so the mapping is 'linguistically transparent'.²⁰¹ This holds from the start of conceptual integration when an analogy is first made, through to cases of motivated polysemy (where source and target domains become increasingly distinguished). A word apparently applying directly in both domains (like a computer *virus*) 'does not sever the link between the original source domain and the target or diminish the importance of the source as an archetype for some abstract properties of the target'.²⁰² Rather, the synchronic conception of the vocabulary changes, so that speakers feel they are not talking about target domain entities 'as if' they were in the source domain, but that terms from the source domain can be used to speak of them (as possibly in the Hebrew description of other participants in distress as 'enemies'). By now, the mapping may be less consciously noticeable, but 'more available than ever for reasoning, inference transfers, and conceptual elaborations'.²⁰³ Conceptual links only disappear when the source domain changes vocabulary, so that, for example, 'idea' no longer has conceptual links to sight because the Greek *idein* 'see' is no longer used in the domain of vision.

¹⁹⁸ Including 'conceptual blending', analysing source and target domains interacting to create a new, blended space, Turner and Fauconnier, 'Binding', G. Fauconnier and M. Turner, 'Conceptual Integration Networks' in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006 [1998]), 303-371, Fauconnier and Turner, *Think*. This is most relevant to novel metaphor, thus outside the scope of this thesis.

¹⁹⁹ Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 1.

²⁰⁰ Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 187.

²⁰¹ Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 18-25.

²⁰² Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 21.

²⁰³ Fauconnier, *Mappings*, 22.

2.5.5. Wierzbicka: Natural Semantic Metalanguage

Although critical of Lakoff,²⁰⁴ Anna Wierzbicka works within a broadly Cognitive Linguistic paradigm, recognising the profound impact of language on thought, but also claiming meaningful universalism. Her approach is summarised as ‘Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations’²⁰⁵ and derives from Cartesian foundationalism, assuming certain unanalysable, basic concepts (or *semantic primitives*) that are, moreover, ‘universal words’ present in all languages. Thus ‘universal words stand for universal human concepts, that is, the universal building blocks of human thought’,²⁰⁶ and can be used to paraphrase more complex concepts, permitting translation and cross-cultural communication.

Wierzbicka has sought to elucidate these primitives, constructing a ‘Natural Semantic Metalanguage’ for cross-linguistic comparisons. In 1992, it contained around 30 words: I, you, someone, something, this, say, want, no, feel, think, know, where, good, when, can, like, the same, kind of, after, do, happen, bad, all, because, if, two, part, become, imagine and world.²⁰⁷ By 2002, the list contained some 60 items.²⁰⁸ Importantly, these primitives are not metaphorical, since ‘the meaning of metaphors ... can be explained in non-metaphorical language’.²⁰⁹ This clearly opposes Lakoff and Johnson, who claim the mind is inherently and foundationally metaphorical.²¹⁰

Wierzbicka emphasises prototypes in semantic description, with word ‘definitions’ written in her semantic metalanguage being cultural prototypes rather than necessary and sufficient conditions. These prototypes enable comparison of concepts like friendship, understanding of the self, or emotions across different cultures. She prioritises individual words (rather than

²⁰⁴ A. Wierzbicka, “Metaphors Linguists Live By: Lakoff and Johnson contra Aristotle” Review of Lakoff and Johnson 1980’, *Papers in Linguistics* (1986) 287-313.

²⁰⁵ The subtitle for Wierzbicka, *Concepts*.

²⁰⁶ A. Wierzbicka, *What did Jesus Mean? Explaining the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables in Simple and Universal Human Concepts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 8.

²⁰⁷ Wierzbicka, *Concepts*, 10.

²⁰⁸ A. Wierzbicka, ‘The Semantics of Metaphor and Parable: Looking for Meaning in the Gospels’, *Theoria et Historia Scientiarum* 4 (2002) 85-106, 86.

²⁰⁹ Wierzbicka, ‘Parable’, 86.

²¹⁰ Lakoff’s approach is preferred. Wierzbicka actually unconsciously uses her primitives metaphorically, as when she uses ‘something’ to refer to an event (‘do something bad’), not a concrete entity, Wierzbicka, *Sermon*, 6-7.

sentences) as access points to concepts, focusing on key words in different languages.²¹¹ Thus, although the absence of a word does not mean a speaker cannot form a concept, ‘the presence of a word proves the presence of the concept, and, moreover, its salience in a given culture’.²¹² She has been criticised for having too monolithic a view of language and culture here,²¹³ but replies that ‘language – and in particular, vocabulary – is the best evidence of the reality of “culture”, in the sense of a historically transmitted system of “conceptions” and attitudes’.²¹⁴

For emotion language specifically, words are important since

the way people interpret their own emotions depends, to some extent at least, on the lexical grid provided by their native language ... whether or not two feelings are interpreted as two different instances of, essentially, ‘the same emotion’ or as instances of ‘two different emotions’ depends largely on the language through the prism of which these emotions are interpreted.²¹⁵

Whilst this is undoubtedly valid, it excludes almost all the data in this thesis, since it ‘ignores the important fact that talk about the emotions does not require that the emotions be named’.²¹⁶ It is possible to express depression without explicitly saying, ‘I am depressed’, and it is this discourse this thesis investigates. Thus, this research follows Wierzbicka in taking vocabulary seriously, but uses biblical form criticism to define a wider set of linguistic expressions (discussed in 3.3.1 and 3.3.2.b), where the experience may not be explicitly named, that can be used to study the conceptualisation of distress.

2.5.6. Gibbs: Psychological Evidence for a *Poetic Mind*

Raymond Gibbs contributes through experimental psycholinguistics, questioning the distinction between literal and figurative meaning and demonstrating ‘how common

²¹¹ A. Wierzbicka, *Understanding Cultures Through Their Key Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

²¹² Wierzbicka, *Concepts*, 21.

²¹³ H. Mondry and J. R. Taylor, ‘The Cultural Dynamics of “National Character”: The Case of the New Russians’ in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 29-48, 30.

²¹⁴ A. Wierzbicka, ‘Russian “National Character” and Russian Language: A Rejoinder to H. Mondry and J. Taylor’ in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 49-54, 52.

²¹⁵ A. Wierzbicka, “Sadness” and “Anger” in Russian: The Non-universality of the So-called “Basic Human Emotions” in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 3-28, 5.

²¹⁶ Taylor and Mbense, ‘Dogs’, 193.

metaphorical knowledge motivates people's use and understanding of ordinary and literary language'.²¹⁷

Gibbs desires to clarify the role of metaphor within thought and language, offering four hypotheses as to how figurative thought may influence ordinary language use and understanding:

- Hypothesis one: Metaphoric thought might play some role in changing the meanings of words and expressions over time, but does not motivate contemporary speakers' use and understanding of language.
- Hypothesis two: Metaphoric thought might motivate the linguistic meanings that have currency within linguistic communities, or may have some role in an idealised speaker/hearer's understanding of language. But metaphoric thought does not actually play any part in individual speakers' ability to make sense of, or process, language.
- Hypothesis three: Metaphoric thought might motivate individual speakers' use and understanding of why various words and expressions mean what they do, but does not play any role in people's ordinary on-line production or comprehension of everyday language.
- Hypothesis four: Metaphoric thought might function automatically and interactively in people's on-line use and understanding of linguistic meaning.²¹⁸

James Barr's emphasis on separate semantic histories following metaphorical transference suggests he assumed hypothesis one, so that metaphoric thought does not occur when a polysemous word is used with a figurative sense. By contrast, Lakoff risks uncritically assuming hypothesis four, with linguistic metaphors providing direct access to 'on-line' metaphoric thought. Gibbs' psycholinguistic evidence confirms at least hypothesis three, and possibly (though not conclusively) hypothesis four.

²¹⁷ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 18.

²¹⁸ Gibbs, 'Researching', 42-43, Gibbs, *Poetics*, 18.

a) No 'Literal' Meanings

First, Gibbs attacks 'literal' meanings,²¹⁹ concluding 'there is no stable account of literalness for either concepts or language'.²²⁰ If 'literalness' cannot be defined, the mind cannot process information in a predominantly 'literal' way, and handling of 'literal' versus 'figurative' language cannot be contrasted. Rather, the mind works in an inherently poetic way. Following Reddy, words are not containers of meaning but ways of accessing highly interconnected networks, requiring an encyclopaedic approach to knowledge, and suggesting that concepts are 'temporary constructions in working memory constructed on the spot from generic and episodic information in long-term memory rather than ... stable structures stored in long-term memory'.²²¹

Next, Gibbs investigates any special process for understanding figurative language. Reaction times for comprehension of 'figurative' or 'literal' language show no differences, given an adequate contextual background, suggesting the mind processes both similarly, constructing meaning against the conceptual background and common knowledge of speaker and hearer. All the evidence contradicts the idea that figurative language requires a three stage process of understanding (literal processing, recognition of anomaly, and figurative processing).

b) Metaphor Comprehension

Gibbs clarifies what does happen in understanding figurative language. At different time scales, it may involve *comprehension*, *recognition* that an utterance is an example of figurative language, *interpretation* of the utterance, and *appreciation* as to whether it is a good or bad example. Comprehension comes first and relates to the *process* of understanding, the other three relate to the *product* of this process. Many theories of understanding figurative language confuse these stages of understanding. Any metaphor theory has to accept no difference between 'literal' and metaphorical language for the time taken in the earliest stages of comprehension. This rules out comparison, substitution, 'loose talk', anomaly, speech act and most interaction views of metaphor in their handling of this

²¹⁹ See also D. E. Rumelhart, 'Some Problems with the Notion of Literal Meaning' in A. Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1979]), 71-82.

²²⁰ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 19-20.

²²¹ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 54, a development of L. W. Barsalou, 'The Instability of Graded Structure: Implications for the Nature of Concepts' in U. Neisser (ed.), *Concepts and Conceptual Development: Ecological and Intellectual Factors in Categorization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 101-140.

stage of understanding, as all require extra processing for the early comprehension of figurative language, whether in identifying that communicative norms have been broken, creating new interactions between source and target domains or substituting literal meanings.²²² The only solution is the *conceptual structure* view, with both figurative and ‘literal’ language relying on similar pre-existing structures, so that there must be a pre-existing ‘constrained set of conceptual mappings, itself metaphorical, that structures our thinking, reasoning and understanding’.²²³ Only this approach allows us to understand metaphorical utterances before we even realise they are metaphorical.

c) Poetic Metaphor

Gibbs sees literary metaphors as special instantiations of shared conceptual metaphors. For example, when subjects shared their thoughts as they read love poetry, they used the same conventional figurative expressions (based on conceptual metaphors) identified in another experiment where participants defined love and described their experiences of it. Thus, the interpretation of poetic literature is constrained by ordinary metaphorical mappings, rather than creating novel ones. Gibbs concludes that ‘the vast majority of novel metaphors in poetry and literature reflect fixed patterns of metaphorical mappings between dissimilar source and target domains’.²²⁴ This is a significant empirical result for this project, which analyses literary texts.

d) Idiom Comprehension and Image Schemas

Idioms show further that conceptual metaphors constrain thought. People’s mental images for the conventional expressions ‘blow your stack’, ‘hit the ceiling’ and ‘flip your lid’ shared many similarities, whereas images for ‘blow your tire’, ‘hit the wall’ and ‘flip your hat’ were more varied. This suggests a constraining conceptual metaphor, in which internal pressure causes a substance to move upwards in a violent manner, linking the idioms to their figurative meanings. Elsewhere, Gibbs showed that *cognitive topology* (relationships within a domain) transferred from source to target domain for idioms. When questioned about causation, intentionality and manner when a sealed container explodes, most participants agreed it was due to internal pressure, was not the intention of the container, and would be violent. Other participants considered anger idioms like ‘blow your stack’ and again

²²² Gibbs, *Poetics*, 208-248.

²²³ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 250.

²²⁴ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 255.

understood the cause to be internal pressure, resulting in violent and unintentional behaviour. Thus, non-trivial aspects of the source domain may be preserved in idioms.²²⁵

Other research supports the psychological reality of image schemas as ‘the essential glue that binds embodied experience, thought, and language’,²²⁶ demonstrated by studies on how the mind represents momentum, on childhood development and on the relationship between stimuli in different modalities. In each area the mind apparently uses image schemas deriving from recurring bodily experience.²²⁷

e) Metaphor and Culture

Gibbs argues cognition is not just located in the head, but distributed into the wider cultural system. Thus, image-schemas and basic body experiences are themselves complex, and varying, social and cultural constructions. Although containment, for example, is universal, ‘scholars should look extensively at people’s social / cultural experiences of embodied containment, such as what causes people to move in and out of containers [and] how the escape of fluids from different containers is socially understood’.²²⁸ Here, this means Hebrew embodied experiences of containment are significant for metaphor comprehension.

2.5.7. Kövecses: Emotion and Cultural Variation

Zoltán Kövecses makes several relevant contributions. First, he has empirically investigated conceptual metaphors behind linguistic expressions found in various corpora, offering practical methodologies for this thesis. Second, he has researched emotions and relationships,²²⁹ similar domains to Hebrew distress language, so he offers some of the best comparative examples. Third, Kövecses relates conceptual metaphors to conceptual metonymies. Fourth, he has increasingly considered cultural influences on conceptual metaphor,²³⁰ investigating cross-cultural variation.²³¹

²²⁵ Gibbs, ‘Heads’, 148-151.

²²⁶ R. W. Gibbs, Jr., ‘The Psychological Status of Image Schemas’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 113-136, 113.

²²⁷ R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and H. L. Colston, ‘The Cognitive Psychological Reality of Image Schemas and their Transformations’ in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006 [1995]), 239-268

²²⁸ Gibbs, ‘Heads’, 161.

²²⁹ Kövecses, *Pride*, G. Lakoff and Z. Kövecses, ‘The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English’ in D. Holland and N. Quinn (eds.), *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 195-221, Kövecses, *Concepts*, Kövecses, *Emotion*.

²³⁰ Kövecses, ‘Models’.

²³¹ Kövecses, *Culture*.

a) Research Methodology

First, Kövecses' methodology typically involves collecting linguistic metaphors from specific corpora, classifying into groups according to source domains and then quantifying which conceptual metaphors are instantiated most frequently. For example, one project used a selection of romantic novels to discover metaphoric conceptualisations for 'lust' and then tabulated results. In another, magazine articles in Hungarian and English were read to find out how emotions were conceptualised in both languages. These methods provide prototypes for this thesis.

Kövecses has also developed analytical tools to describe how source domains are used to conceptualise target domains. These include the *scope* of a metaphor and its *main meaning focus*.²³² The scope of a metaphor is the full range of target domains, to which a specific source concept applies.²³³ Across this range, there are often main meaning foci for the source domain, being culturally predetermined conceptual materials, which are contributed to the target domains.²³⁴ For example, building metaphors used to structure arguments, relationships, theories or careers all focus on the creation and stability of the target domain's complex system. Similarly, fire and heat in English focus particularly on 'intensity', whichever target domain they conceptualise.

b) Emotion Metaphors

Kövecses' most well-known study concerns the English conceptualisation of anger,²³⁵ using conventional expressions to identify the main conceptual metaphors, such as ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and (most significantly) ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER. The different parts of the experience which these domains highlight create a prototypical *scenario*²³⁶ for anger in American culture, involving five stages: offending event; anger; attempted control; loss of control; and act of retribution. ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, for example, highlights the stages of 'loss of control' and 'act of retribution' (as in 'he unleashed his anger', 'she bit his head off'). Against this prototypical

²³² Kövecses, 'Scope'.

²³³ Kövecses, 'Scope', 80.

²³⁴ Kövecses, 'Scope', 82.

²³⁵ Kövecses, *Pride*, then Lakoff and Kövecses, 'Model', included in Lakoff, *Women*, 380-415.

²³⁶ Emotional 'scenarios' overlap with scripts, both having a chronological sequence of conventional actions or events.

scenario, non-prototypical cases stand out, such as successful control, or insatiable anger (where anger remains despite retribution).

Kövecses also investigated other basic-level emotions, including happiness, love and sadness, discovering some source domains only used for certain emotions (such as FEAR IS A HIDDEN ENEMY or SHAME IS A DECREASE IN SIZE). However, many applied to most emotion concepts: containers; natural and physical forces; social superiors; opponents or captive animals; a divided self; burdens; and illness. Other domains associated with more than one emotion included heat, light-dark, up-down, economic value, nutrient, war, hunger, and physical damage.²³⁷ Many of these metaphors can be considered as instantiations of the master (more schematic) metaphor that EMOTIONS ARE FORCES.²³⁸

Kövecses suspects that conceptualising emotions as forces is a language universal arising from physiological experiences. Cultural variation arises from such general schemas being ‘filled out in diverse ways with specific cultural material’.²³⁹ Concentrating on lexical items at the expense of conventional figurative language (as in Wierzbicka’s work²⁴⁰) misses these bodily based universals.²⁴¹

c) Conceptual Metonymy

Following Lakoff, Kövecses sees conceptual metonymy as ‘a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the *same* idealised cognitive model’.²⁴² Focusing on emotions, this allows for conceptual metonymies like THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION,²⁴³ a schematic metonymy encompassing instances such

²³⁷ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 36-40.

²³⁸ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 61-86.

²³⁹ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 185.

²⁴⁰ Wierzbicka, *Concepts*, A. Wierzbicka, *Emotions across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁴¹ Z. Kövecses, ‘Emotion Concepts: Social Constructionism and Cognitive Linguistics’ in S. R. Fussell (ed.), *The Verbal Communication of Emotions: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002), 109-124.

²⁴² G. Radden and Z. Kövecses, ‘Towards a Theory of Metonymy’ in K.-U. Panther and G. Radden (eds.), *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 17-59, 21, italics added.

²⁴³ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 134.

as BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER seen in linguistic expressions like *Billy's a hothead*.²⁴⁴ Kövecses argues that such conceptual metonymies motivate more elaborate conceptual metaphors, like ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER.²⁴⁵ Others show that a metonymic basis for metaphor accounts for the experiential basis of many metaphors, suggesting a universal phenomenon,²⁴⁶ thus this thesis investigates possible Hebrew metonymic motivations for metaphor.

d) Metaphor and Culture

In *Metaphor in Culture*, Kövecses analyses universality and variation in conceptual metaphors. Specifically, Kövecses compares American English, Hungarian, Chinese, Japanese, and to a lesser extent Wolof (spoken in West Africa), Zulu (spoken in South Africa), Polish, the language of the Ifaluk (spoken in Micronesia²⁴⁷) and Chagga (spoken in Tanzania). In the first seven languages, pressurized containers map onto the domain of anger. Usually, heat is the source of the pressure.²⁴⁸ This universal conceptualisation across such varied languages suggests universal embodied experiences (presumably increase in skin temperature and blood pressure) rather than linguistic borrowing. Thus, there may be several potentially universal conceptual metaphors (including anger as pressure).

However, when these generic metaphors are culturally instantiated, variation emerges. First, some variation relates to understanding of the source and target domains, and of the mapping between them. Source domains may have a different scope in different cultures (mapping onto a different set of target domains) or target domains may have a different 'range' (a different set of source domains used for conceptualisation). Sometimes the range is very

²⁴⁴ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 156.

²⁴⁵ Z. Kövecses, 'Anger: Its Language, Conceptualization and Physiology in the Light of Cross-cultural Evidence' in J. R. Taylor and R. MacLaury (eds.), *Language and the Cognitive Construal of the World* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1995), 181-196, Kövecses, *Emotion*, 156-161.

²⁴⁶ G. Radden, 'How Metonymic are Metaphors?' in A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 93-108, A. Barcelona, 'On the Plausibility of Claiming a Metonymic Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor' in A. Barcelona (ed.), *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 31-58.

²⁴⁷ Studied in C. Lutz, 'Ethnopsychology Compared to What? Explaining Behaviour and Consciousness among the Ifaluk' in G. M. White and J. Kirkpatrick (eds.), *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 35-79 and C. Lutz, 'Goals, Events, and Understanding in Ifaluk Emotion Theory' in D. Holland and N. Quinn (eds.), *Cultural Models in Language and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 290-312.

²⁴⁸ Kövecses, *Culture*, 39-43.

similar, but certain domains are preferred in different cultures.²⁴⁹ For example, although Americans and Hungarians both use the metaphors LIFE IS WAR and LIFE IS A GAME, the former was most commonly used by Hungarians and the latter by Americans, with the alternative conceptualisation much less frequent.

Even where the same source domain is used, variation may result from the source domain's *construal* (as in spatial motion, where English verbs like *march* or *run* encode manner whereas Turkish do not) or *cultural prototypes* (as in the metaphor SOCIETY IS A FAMILY, where it matters whether the prototypical family is dominated by a 'strict father' or is a place for 'nurturing' one another).²⁵⁰ Metaphors may also map different elements from source to target, or produce different entailments. For example, pouring water on someone's anger to 'extinguish' it is a conventional entailment of ANGER IS FIRE in Zulu, but not in English.

Second, linguistic expressions for a shared conceptual metaphor may vary across cultures: in the degree of elaboration (the variety of expressions instantiating a particular conceptual metaphor); the kinds of linguistic expression used (whether words, multiword phrases or more complex syntactic constructions); the degree of conventionalisation; and the degree of transparency.²⁵¹ These variations stem from either differential experience or differential cognitive preferences or styles.²⁵² Different experience may come from a different physical, social or cultural context, or from a different cultural memory. Different cognitive preferences may be seen in different cultures focusing on different aspects of universal physiological experience (for example pressure or heat in the experience of anger), in the cultural prototypes for specific domains, or in a preference for metonymic over metaphoric conceptualisation (or vice versa).

e) Language and Thought

Kövecses distinguishes conventionalised metaphors within a language (the 'supraindividual' level) from those activated within the heads of individual speakers (the 'individual' level). Thus, 'it is not the case that all the mappings arrived at by cognitive linguists at the supraindividual level are activated by individual speakers in the course of on-line thinking

²⁴⁹ Kövecses, *Culture*, 85.

²⁵⁰ Kövecses, *Culture*, 118-119.

²⁵¹ Kövecses, *Culture*, 151-155.

²⁵² Kövecses, *Culture*, 231.

and communication in the real world'.²⁵³ However, he remains positive about using language to discover how the mind works, noting that the main patterns that 'emerge from the study of language characterize ... other (non-linguistic) types of manifestation of the mind as well' suggesting that 'language can be taken to be a fairly reliable instrument in identifying general conceptual patterns and that the general conceptual patterns that we find give us a fairly good clue to what is going on in the mind'.²⁵⁴ However, the emphasis on individual experience within a culture puts Kövecses a long way from Whorf's determinism. Alternative conceptualisations are possible and ubiquitous.

2.5.8. Deignan: Metaphor and Corpus Research

Finally for this survey, Alice Deignan investigates metaphors in large corpora,²⁵⁵ demonstrating that figurative uses of a word may still evoke a physical mental image, even though never used in a physical sense within the corpus. Thus, lack of a concrete usage within the biblical corpus does not necessarily mean a word no longer generated an image from the physical domain.

For example, of 1000 random instances of *shoulder*, Deignan found 47 were verbal, 39 of which suggested responsibility, as in *shouldering a wide variety of risks*. This evokes 'an image of a person carrying a heavy load on their shoulders; the load is the metaphor for their responsibility, and the verb **shoulder** is a metaphor for taking on or coping with this responsibility'.²⁵⁶ However, only two uses described a physical situation, and those described pushing through a crowd. Thus, although the mental image of physically lifting a heavy weight onto the shoulders seems a perfectly reasonable background for the metaphorical use, such physical usage did not occur. For the noun *shoulder*, the physical sense far outweighed the 'responsibility' sense (828 to 31), so the form *shoulder* still primarily evokes a physical entity. However, lack of a physical context amongst the occurrences in one part of speech (here, verbs) does not preclude a physical mental image, especially if physical usage is still current in another part of speech. Thus, even if the Bible only shows a root having a physical sense in one part of speech and only more abstract senses in another, the physical mental image may still be evoked by both. Specifically, although the nominal **צָרַף** is only

²⁵³ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 243.

²⁵⁴ Kövecses, *Culture*, 169-170.

²⁵⁵ A. Deignan, 'Corpus-based Research into Metaphor' in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 177-199.

²⁵⁶ Deignan, 'Corpus-based', 186.

found for abstract ‘trouble’, this is insufficient evidence to preclude a mental image of constraint, as found in the physical contexts for the verb צָרָר.

2.5.9. Cognitive Linguistics and the Legacy of James Barr

So, does Cognitive Linguistics face Barr’s critique any better than its Whorfian predecessors? This section applies Barr’s concerns in *Semantics* to Cognitive Linguistics.

First, Barr warned against simply correlating language structure and thought structure, pleading for an approach from general linguistics. Cognitive Linguistics has developed within mainstream linguistics and moves beyond the simplicity of identifying linguistic structure and thought structure. However, it *is* optimistic that language provides generally reliable access to cognitive processes, based on convergent cross-linguistic research across psychology, linguistics and anthropology, contrasting with Barr’s emphasis on the unmotivated link between language and thought structures. Correlated language structure and thought structure *is* assumed, with many Cognitive Linguists adopting the ‘Cognitive Wager’, that linguistic constraints are most likely general to other cognitive processes, and others should prove otherwise.²⁵⁷ The difference between Barr and Cognitive Linguistics is partly one of emphasis. For Barr, since some linguistic structure derives from purely form-related phenomena (like Indo-European gender arising from an accent system²⁵⁸), semantic explanations should not be privileged. For Cognitive Linguistics, since much linguistic structure is explainable through general cognitive processes (such as comparison and salience), explanations in terms of ‘thought structure’ should be considered first.

For example, Lakoff’s discussion of the Japanese noun classifier *hon*²⁵⁹ and Barr’s discussion of grammatical gender both examine those nouns united by a common grammatical structure. For Barr, gender ‘cannot be taken to reflect a thought pattern’ because gender determination ‘is not ... made by distinctions in thought or by distinctions in the actual objects named but by matters of linguistic form and type’.²⁶⁰ Lakoff, conversely, emphasises that such classifiers do create cognitive categories, and thus require consideration in any model of thought. Moreover, such categories exhibit expected

²⁵⁷ Gibbs, *Poetics*, 15.

²⁵⁸ Barr, *Semantics*, 40.

²⁵⁹ Lakoff, *Women*, 104-109.

²⁶⁰ Barr, *Semantics*, 40.

properties for thought categories: central and peripheral members; basic-level prioritisation; conventional mental images; metonymy applied to these images; and metaphor.²⁶¹

Polysemy further exemplifies this conflict. Barr seeks the earliest stage where Hebrew senses established by metaphorical transference have a non-concrete sense, allowing an individual semantic history separate from the physical sense.²⁶² His concern is when a physical sense ‘ceased to be active and productive’,²⁶³ no longer being relevant for speakers’ cognitive processes. For Cognitive Linguistics, conversely, using a word in an ‘abstract’ target domain, even if no longer commonly used in the source domain, is insufficient evidence to preclude reasoning from the physical domain. The domains may still be conceptually integrated, especially if structural patterns in conventional language (generalisations over polysemy, generalisations over inference patterns, and novel extensions) support this. Thus, evidence for whether a polysemous word may still activate a physical domain comes more from comparison with other words suggesting the same link than from detailed analysis of that word’s semantic development.

Finally, although Cognitive Linguists do assume language reflects thought, the thought structures reflected are more carefully articulated and restricted than by Barr’s contemporaries, only allowing relationships consistent with research in cognitive science on thought processes.²⁶⁴ Perceptual abilities to recognise similarities (and thus create categories) and identify certain entities as salient, are fundamental to human thought. Thus, mental categories are organised around prototypes and have varying salience, with the basic-level being prioritised. Language categories share these properties, with grammatical and lexical structure reflecting these same psychological phenomena. In this sense, language and thought are similarly structured.

Second, Barr argued one cannot use presuppositions about a cultural mind to interpret linguistic evidence. Cognitive Linguistics assumes no peculiarity for the Hebrew, or any other, mind. Universal psychological phenomena are emphasised, though producing differing linguistic phenomena in different contexts. However, Cognitive Linguistics does

²⁶¹ Lakoff, *Women*, 109-110.

²⁶² See discussion of ‘faith’ and ‘truth’ in Barr, *Semantics*, 161-205.

²⁶³ Barr, *Semantics*, 186.

²⁶⁴ Lakoff, ‘Contemporary’, 234.

sometimes privilege an Anglo-American ethnopsychology, using English terms (such as ANGER) to state universal conceptual phenomena, although several scholars try to minimise this.

Using image schemas and primary metaphors reflecting near universal experience provides a relatively neutral basis for analysing any given language. Common cultural experiences and linguistic conventions do produce typical and salient mental categories that may be widespread within a speech community. Only in this sense does a 'cultural mind' have any meaning.

Third, Barr contended that etymology is insufficient evidence for current cognitive associations in speakers' minds. Cognitive Linguists do sometimes carelessly use historical metaphorical transference to prove current conceptual metaphors.²⁶⁵ A proposed conceptual metaphor argued only from etymological evidence, even if across several words, is less likely to influence on-line processing of language than when words continue to be used in both domains (as Fauconnier argues). Kövecses therefore no longer uses linguistic examples to assert how a domain is 'understood', but to make hypotheses that could be tested by cognitive psychologists.²⁶⁶ However, Gibbs' work on idiom comprehension does show that coherent mental images may still be evoked by 'dead' figurative language, particularly for a well-elaborated conceptual metaphor, and as Deignan discovered, this mental image may still be accessible even if a word is not used in its non-figurative sense in contemporary culture.

Fourth, Barr argued against root meanings, claiming the same root form for two words is insufficient evidence of cognitive associations between them. Here the schematic networks of Langacker, Lakoff and Taylor provide a potential descriptive framework. A common morpheme like a Hebrew root creates a category, providing a point of access to a network of domains linked by a degree of shared symbolisation. Graded salience of the different links in the network enables description of the relationship between different forms. The transparency of a root in different forms (as noted by Sawyer, section 2.3.2) increases the

²⁶⁵ Criticised by L. Cameron, 'Identifying and Describing Metaphor in Spoken Discourse Data' in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 105-132

²⁶⁶ Kövecses, *Culture*, 28-29.

salience of the link between such senses, as does the salience of a schematic, generalising, link between the set of senses for two forms. Thus the dispute over the schematic link between מלחמה and לחם suggests a low salience for this link. However, more generally, the links between forms of a root in the qal and hiphil conjugations would be much more salient, and the most salient links would join forms within the same paradigm.

Psycholinguistic studies also support the distinct mental representation of the consonantal root of Hebrew words, separate from the template in which it is found.²⁶⁷ Berman affirms that ‘the consonantal root has definite psychological reality as both the structural and the semantic basis for new-word formation’, even for pre-literate children who have not yet been taught orthography or grammar.²⁶⁸ Other studies found Hebrew speakers sensitive to the consonantal root in word recognition, with priming effects discovered for words after seeing one based morphologically on the same root.²⁶⁹ Although biblical and modern Hebrew differ, the mental representation of words is potentially very similar, especially for children who have not yet been formally educated in grammar, suggesting the root has more cognitive significance than Barr recognised.

Fifth, Barr argued that the same form in different contexts is insufficient evidence for an overlap in meaning. Here Cognitive Linguistics potentially has much to contribute, through its treatment of polysemy. The flexibility of concepts in different contexts fundamentally agrees with Barr, but the modelling of structural links between senses, and the existence of image schemas and conceptual metaphors, provides a way of describing ‘nodules’²⁷⁰ of meaning that are more stable across contexts. A schematic network accessed by the use of a lexical form, incorporating extensions from prototypes and schematic generalisations, provides a good descriptive framework. Different nodes and related domains are accessed in different contexts, with links to other domains differing in salience, and thus accessibility.

²⁶⁷ J. Shimron (ed.), *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-Based, Morphology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003).

²⁶⁸ R. A. Berman, ‘Children's Lexical Innovations: Developmental Perspectives on Hebrew Verb Structure’ in J. Shimron (ed.), *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-based, Morphology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 243-288, 244-245.

²⁶⁹ J. Shimron, ‘Semitic Languages: Are They Really Root-based?’ in J. Shimron (ed.), *Language Processing and Acquisition in Languages of Semitic, Root-based, Morphology* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003), 1-28, 18.

²⁷⁰ D. A. Cruse, ‘Aspects of the Micro-Structure of Word Meanings’ in Y. Ravin and C. Leacock (eds.), *Polysemy: Theoretical and Computational Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 30-51.

Within this framework, ‘illegitimate totality transfer’ is not the problem of suggesting a word always contains the same bundle of semantic features, but the recognition that different contexts provide different points of access to the network, so that different aspects of knowledge are accessible. Adopting encyclopaedic rather than logical semantic structures makes concepts even more flexible than for Barr, but emphasising schematic generalisations and prioritising perceptual experience in cognitive development, makes cognitive links to physical and prototypical senses much more salient than Barr suggested.

In summary, although Cognitive Linguistics follows the relativist tradition Barr so strongly criticised, especially with its mentalist assumptions about the reflection of psychology in language, it has descriptive frameworks and systematic approaches to face most of Barr’s criticisms. In particular, the psychological reality of prototypes, categories and conceptual metaphor provides a justified framework for arguing the priority of ‘concrete’ senses over ‘abstract’ ones, and the schematic network model provides a systematic method for describing the relationship between language and thought.

2.6. Linguistics and Biblical Studies II: Applications of Cognitive Semantics to Hebrew

2.6.1. Overview

Scholars have begun applying Cognitive Linguistics to biblical texts. Many are unaware of Barr’s concerns. Others mention him, but there has been little dialogue regarding the fundamental differences in linguistic approach, necessitating the preceding discussion.

Some Cognitive Linguists use biblical texts to test hypotheses in a non-Indo-European language. Thus, Sweetser cites the Hebrew metaphorical transfer from ‘hear’ to ‘obey’ as showing common semantic development of perceptual verbs,²⁷¹ and Gibbs uses biblical evidence to show the prevalence of the ‘journey’ metaphor.²⁷² Jäkel’s investigation of the biblical metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is more thorough,²⁷³ investigating the conceptual metaphor LEADING A MORAL LIFE IS MAKING A JOURNEY ON GOD’S WAY. Comparing with English, he notes similarities (such as difficulties in life being impediments to travel) and

²⁷¹ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 42-43.

²⁷² Gibbs, *Poetics*, 190-191.

²⁷³ O. Jäkel, ‘Hypotheses Revisited: The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor Applied to Religious Texts’, *Metaphorik.de* 2 (2002) 20-42.

differences (such as whether the path itself is crooked or straight). Most significant is the lack of elaboration of the 'path'. In English, journey stages correspond to life stages, but this is absent in the Bible. Jäkel's work considers seriously the way a biblical conceptual metaphor is instantiated, but suffers from using an English translation rather than Hebrew original, and from imposing his own interpretative logic on the text, as when he claims the 'path to life' in Proverbs 10.17 must refer to eternal life in God, since the earthly lifespan is already conceptualised as the journey, not the goal.²⁷⁴ This logic is at odds with the focus in wisdom instruction on maintaining a wise life in this world, not some after death experience.

More sensitive applications of Cognitive Linguistics to the Hebrew text come from biblical scholars. Three significant groups can be identified.

2.6.2. The South African School

Several scholars associated with the University of Stellenbosch have applied Cognitive Linguistics to the Hebrew Bible. First, within lexicography, Reinier de Blois has started creating a 'Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew' (SDBH)²⁷⁵ to remedy the failure of previous lexicons to show semantic structure, the relations between word meanings prioritised in Cognitive Linguistics. It aims to represent 'as much as possible the ways of thinking of the speaker of the language, and do justice to his / her organisation of experience'.²⁷⁶ Specifically, it shows prototypical meanings, represents encyclopaedic knowledge in different domains and highlights metaphorical transfer.

Elsewhere, Rechenmacher investigates prototypes and basic-level categorisation for Hebrew lion terminology²⁷⁷ whilst Foster cognitively analyses בְּרִית ('covenant'), arguing biblical words must be understood against the ancient Near Eastern prototypical assumptions.²⁷⁸ Christo van der Merwe praises SDBH for representing encyclopaedic knowledge and

²⁷⁴ Jäkel, 'Hypotheses', 27.

²⁷⁵ R. de Blois, 'Towards a New Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew Based on Semantic Domains' presented at Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (held in 2000).

²⁷⁶ R. de Blois, 'Lexicography and Cognitive Linguistics: Hebrew Metaphors from a Cognitive Perspective' presented at Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (held in Toronto, 2002).

²⁷⁷ H. Rechenmacher, 'Kognitive Linguistik und Althebräische Lexicographie', *JNSL* 30 (2004) 43-59.

²⁷⁸ S. J. Foster, 'A Prototypical Definition of בְּרִית, 'covenant' in Biblical Hebrew', *OTE* 19 (2006) 35-46.

cognitive categories,²⁷⁹ setting it above Clines' *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, which only lists syntactic frames.²⁸⁰ His own lexicographic application of Cognitive Linguistics²⁸¹ investigates the *meaning potential* of Hebrew words related to strength. Meaning potential is 'all the information that a word has been used to convey either by a single individual or, on the social level, by the language community',²⁸² a potential partially activated in any given context. Elsewhere, van der Merwe investigates Hebrew conceptual metaphors, and explores the translation implications.²⁸³

Second, several works utilise Kövecses' emotion research, with the conventional language approach fitting contemporary psychological studies of emotion better than approaches focused on theological implications or Hebrew anthropology.²⁸⁴ Kruger seeks Hebrew evidence for Kövecses' conceptual metaphors for anger²⁸⁵ and fear,²⁸⁶ though restricting himself to evidence of the English metaphors, rather than investigating specific Hebrew conceptual metaphors. He has also investigated depression²⁸⁷ and the face and emotions,²⁸⁸ and summarised Hebrew emotion research.²⁸⁹ Kotzé's approach is more sensitive, utilising Kövecses' 'scope of metaphor' by first finding the source domains for a given target, then investigating the scope of these source domains within the Hebrew corpus in an attempt to

²⁷⁹ C. H. J. van der Merwe, 'Towards a Principled Model of Biblical Hebrew Lexicology', *JNSL* 30 (2004) 119-137.

²⁸⁰ A similar criticism is given in T. Muraoka, 'A New Dictionary of Classical Hebrew' in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1995), 87-101.

²⁸¹ C. H. J. van der Merwe, 'Lexical Meaning in Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Semantics: A Case Study', *Biblica* 87 (2006) 85-95.

²⁸² J. Allwood, 'Meaning Potential and Context: Some Consequences for the Analysis of Variation in Meaning' in H. Cuyckens et al. (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 29-65, 43.

²⁸³ C. H. J. van der Merwe and L. Hendriks, 'Translating Metaphors in a Source Language Oriented Translation of the Bible in Afrikaans' presented at Context and Translation: Bible Translation Conference (held in Horsleys Green, UK 2006).

²⁸⁴ Z. Kotzé, 'A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to the Emotion of Anger in the Old Testament', *Hervormde Teologiese Studies* 60 (2004) 843-863.

²⁸⁵ P. A. Kruger, 'A Cognitive Interpretation of the Emotion of Anger in the Hebrew Bible', *JNSL* 26 (2000) 181-193.

²⁸⁶ P. A. Kruger, 'A Cognitive Interpretation of the Emotion of Fear in the Hebrew Bible', *JNSL* (2002) 77-89.

²⁸⁷ P. A. Kruger, 'Depression in the Hebrew Bible: An Update', *JNES* 64 (2005) 187-192.

²⁸⁸ P. A. Kruger, 'The Face and Emotions in the Hebrew Bible', *JNSL* 18 (2005) 651-663.

²⁸⁹ P. A. Kruger, 'On Emotions and the Expression of Emotions in the Old Testament: A Few Introductory Remarks', *BZ* 48 (2004) 213-228.

deduce their main meaning foci.²⁹⁰ For example, the main meaning focus for 'fire' in Hebrew is 'destruction', compared with 'intensity' in English. Kotzé then studies target domains of sex, lust and rape, showing fire in lust metaphors evokes resulting destruction more than the intensity of passion.²⁹¹ However, Kotzé's main focus is the conceptualisation of anger,²⁹² enumerating the source domains conceptualising anger in Hebrew, showing particularly the significance of breathing through the nose.

Elsewhere, Basson analyses metaphors in lament psalms, noting the significance of the up-down schema,²⁹³ and the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS, demonstrate structural mappings, such as blossoming corresponding to a person's prosperity.²⁹⁴ Pohlig also uses conceptual metaphor theory and surveys the methodological difficulties in applying Cognitive Linguistics to the Bible: the tendency to treat biblical culture as monolithic; the reliance on texts rather than native speaker intuition; and the theoretical difficulties at the heart of conceptual metaphor theory that this chapter has sought to partly address.²⁹⁵

2.6.3. The European School

The European Association of Biblical Studies' research programme on 'Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible' uses the Cognitive Linguistic approach as one strand in a multifaceted approach intending 'to fully grasp the phenomenon of religious metaphor'.²⁹⁶ Encyclopaedic knowledge and conceptual metaphor has been explored in relation to images of enemy and self,²⁹⁷ animals,²⁹⁸ fire,²⁹⁹ walls,³⁰⁰ restricted space³⁰¹ and bitterness³⁰² in lament Psalms and Lamentations. These studies are referred to as necessary within the thesis.

²⁹⁰ Z. Kotzé, 'A Cognitive Linguistic Methodology for the Study of Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible', *JNSL* 31 (2005) 107-117

²⁹¹ Z. Kotzé, 'Women, Fire and Dangerous Things in the Hebrew Bible: Insights from the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor', *OTE* 17 (2004) 242-251.

²⁹² Kotzé, 'Conceptualisation'.

²⁹³ A. Basson, *Divine Metaphors in a Selection of Biblical Hebrew Psalms of Lamentation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

²⁹⁴ A. Basson, "'People Are Plants" - a Conceptual Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible', *OTE* 19 (2006) 573-583.

²⁹⁵ J. N. Pohlig, 'Cognition and Biblical Documents: Towards Overcoming Theoretical and Methodological Obstacles to Recovering Cultural Worldviews', *JNSL* 29 (2003) 21-35.

²⁹⁶ 'Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible', *European Association of Biblical Studies* web site (June 2007, <http://www.eurassibstudies.group.shef.ac.uk/mhb.htm>).

²⁹⁷ P. Riede, 'Der Sprache der Bilder. Zur bedeutung und funktion der Metaphorik in den Feindpsalmen des Alten Testaments am Beispiel der Psalmen 57 und 59' in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 19-40, G. Eidevall, 'Images of God, self and

2.6.4. SIL

SIL is also producing a Cognitive Linguistic lexicon, called ‘Key Terms in Biblical Hebrew’ (KTBH). This assumes ‘our experience, knowledge and beliefs are structured in cognitive or conceptual networks which may be activated by language’.³⁰³ The documentation is based on Langacker and Taylor, using Fillmorean ‘frames’ for networks that interrelate all information that a speech community typically associate with a given term, and Langacker’s ‘domains’ for a coherent body of background information. Thus, frames link domains together, and words provide points of access to the domains. Further, the SIL approach distinguishes core domains that are accessed in nearly every use of a word from non-core domains that are more peripheral, accessed only in certain contexts.

Ken McElhanon uses conceptual metaphor theory to investigate ‘truth’ in the New Testament, finding the ancient conceptual metaphor TRUTH IS A ROAD.³⁰⁴ Elsewhere, he applies image schemas and human physiological universals to Old Testament metaphors.³⁰⁵ He considers VERTICALITY, CONTAINMENT and NEAR-FAR schemas, concluding that heaven, holy, strength, honour, security, prosperity, pride, arrogance and intelligence are all UP, and their opposites DOWN. Whilst the entailments McElhanon deduces are helpful (‘being accepted is being allowed to approach’, ‘being uninvolved is being distant’, ‘rejecting is being absent’), his attempt to apply logic to conceptualisations found in poetic works written

the enemy in the Psalms. On the role of metaphor in identity construction’ in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 55-66.

²⁹⁸ A. Labahn, ‘Wild Animals and Chasing Shadows: Animal Metaphors in Lamentations as Indicators of Individual Threat’ in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 67-97.

²⁹⁹ A. Labahn, ‘Fire from Above: Metaphors and Images of God’s Actions in Lamentations 2.1-9’, *JSOT* 31 (2006) 239-256.

³⁰⁰ G. Baumann, ‘Er hat mir den Weg mit Quadersteinen Vermauert (Thr. 3,9) Ein Vorschlag zur Auslegung einer ungewöhnlichen Metapher’ in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 139-146.

³⁰¹ G. Eidevall, ‘Spatial Metaphors in Lamentations 3,1-9’ in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 133-137.

³⁰² A. Labahn, ‘Bitterkeit und Asche als Speiser - das Leiden Jeremias am Schicksall Jerusalem, Metaphern und Metaphervariationen in Thr. 3, 1-21 LXX’ in P. van Hecke (ed.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 147-183.

³⁰³ SIL, ‘Key Terms in Biblical Hebrew: A Guide for Researchers’, *Key Terms in Biblical Hebrew* web site (June 2007, <http://www.ktbh-team.org/Project%20Information/Abridged%20Guide.doc>), 10.

³⁰⁴ K. McElhanon, ‘From Word to Scenario: The Influence of Linguistic Theories Upon Models of Translation’, *SIL Journal of Translation* 1 (2005) 29-67.

³⁰⁵ K. McElhanon, ‘From Simple Metaphors to Conceptual Blending: The Mapping of Analogical Concepts and the Praxis of Translation’, *SIL Journal of Translation* 2 (2006) 31-81. Unfortunately, McElhanon’s work is limited by being based predominantly on English rather than Hebrew.

by different authors at different times often ignores the possibility of people holding alternate, potentially conflicting conceptual metaphors for the same target. Conceptual metaphor theory relies on the existence of structural and systematic conventional links between domains. However, since metaphors highlight different aspects of experiences, they typically cohere, but only rarely will they be consistent.³⁰⁶

All these approaches help to shape the current thesis through their methodologies and the pitfalls they highlight, as well as through their specific results.

2.7. Position of this Thesis

In conclusion, the following claims of cognitive semantics are assumed in this thesis.

1. Language and thought: The cognitive processes governing language use are in principle the same as other cognitive abilities. Thus, language structure does provide access to thought structure.
2. Encyclopaedic knowledge: Understanding language requires networks that link many different domains of knowledge. There is no arbitrary cut-off point between linguistic and encyclopaedic knowledge.
3. Prototype categories: Categories in the mind are structured around prototypical examples, so that particular experiences may be better or worse examples of a category depending on their proximity to prototypical examples.
4. Basic-level categories: Some categories in the mind are more salient than others. The most salient are basic level categories.
5. Language Universals: There is a strong universal component in the relation between human thought and language. These universals are rooted in embodiment. Cognitive, and thus linguistic, universals arise from common experiences of life within a human body, particularly through image schemas such as CONTAINMENT, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, or UP-DOWN.
6. Linguistic Relativity: Linguistic relativity is significant, as recognised by Humboldt, Sapir and Whorf. The schemas chosen and elaborated within cultures, and the way

³⁰⁶ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 96.

different geographical locations and cultural milieus shape the experience of embodiment, give rise to a real form of linguistic relativity.

7. Thought mappings: Conceptual structures are characterised by mappings, whether metaphorical mappings between domains or metonymic mappings within domains.
8. Priority of the concrete: In contrast to Barr, abstract domains are normally understood through more concrete ones, which as more experientially basic are taken to be more prototypical.
9. Polysemy: Senses are not isolated meanings. Rather sense networks are accessed by a given word, with certain clusters of meaning being more stable than others. Polysemy reflects links between domains, particularly from prototypical instances to other domains, which are entrenched to varying degree and are reflected in overarching schemas of varying salience. Thus, whilst heeding Barr's salutary warnings that polysemy does not necessarily show any current relation in the mind of readers or hearers, nevertheless, polysemy is a significant *potential* source for investigating what domains a culture may see as corresponding with each other.

This chapter has introduced this theoretical framework and refuted the claim that such an approach is 'outmoded'. Naturally, several difficulties remain when applying this approach to the restricted corpus of an ancient language, without access to native intuition. However, the growing literature relating cognitive semantics to Hebrew texts shows some potential options.

The body of this thesis investigates Hebrew conceptual metaphors for distress in a specific corpus. Following the methodology of Kövecses and Kotzé, the source domains for 'distress' (image schemas of VERTICALITY, CONSTRAINT and FORCE, and primary metaphors from vision and taste) will be examined to find how they constrain inferences about distress.

However, first, the corpus needs clarification. If encyclopaedic knowledge is crucial to semantics, it is important to investigate the geographical, cultural and social milieu of the texts, including ascertaining whether it is that of post-exilic Judea or the early Israelite monarchy. Defining a coherent target domain also requires a systematic methodology: how can one argue that a particular metaphor relates to the target domain of 'distress' in a way that is intersubjectively testable, and does not import Anglo-centric categories? The next chapter considers these two issues, firstly identifying a coherent general corpus of Classical

Hebrew and clarifying the cultures that gave rise to it, and then arguing for a specific corpus of personal distress discourse for detailed study, with the target domain justified on extra-linguistic form critical grounds in order to reduce the subjective element.

Chapter 3: Corpus

‘A first task for any study of meaning in Classical Hebrew is to define the corpus under investigation.’ Sue Groom³⁰⁷

3.1. Introduction

This chapter clarifies the texts to be investigated and the situations that produced them. Cognitive Linguistics assumes conceptual metaphors depend on embodied experiences within culture, so it is necessary to know which cultures they arise from, a controversial issue for Hebrew texts. First, Classical Hebrew is identified, a period of Hebrew language development (incorporating biblical and Qumranic material) sufficiently homogeneous in language and cultural background for a cognitive investigation. Second, a specific sub-corpus of texts referring to first person situations of distress is identified, forming the basis for the subsequent research.

3.2. The General Corpus

Hebrew has over 3,000 years of literary history,³⁰⁸ exhibiting a surprising ‘fundamental unity’ of language.³⁰⁹ For some, this unity dates everything to Persian times or later, reflecting no earlier culture or language.³¹⁰ However, it is more likely that authors accessed ‘quite substantial Judaeans oral and written sources that had originated between the eighth and sixth centuries BCE’, even if they tuned it to Persian contexts.³¹¹ Substantial archaeological evidence from the Iron Age (and only then) also converges with biblical texts.

³⁰⁷ Groom, *Linguistic*, 3.

³⁰⁸ More if Ugaritic texts are included, M. Dahood, *Psalms 1-50* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), xxix.

³⁰⁹ A. Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 50.

³¹⁰ P. R. Davies, *In Search of 'Ancient Israel'*, 2nd edn. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995 [1992]); P. R. Davies, ‘The Society of Biblical Israel’ in T. C. Eskenazi and K. H. Richards (eds.), *Second Temple Studies 2: Temple Community in the Persian Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 22-33, J. Naudé, ‘A Perspective on the Chronological Framework of Biblical Hebrew’, *JNSL* 30 (2004) 87-102.

³¹¹ F. E. Deist, *The Material Culture of the Bible: An Introduction* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 77.

These cannot have been invented by writers in Persian times, so they must have had access to very substantial early and authentic witness to this period.³¹²

If the biblical text reflects sources from at least the Iron Age, what other sources are relevant for a linguistic study of comparable texts? Pragmatically, texts considered must be limited to some *general corpus*. This general corpus excludes Ugaritic texts and the Mishnah, but includes all significant Hebrew texts from the intervening era, whether biblical or Qumranic. The justification for this general corpus is given below.

3.2.1. Development of the Hebrew Language

Hebrew is a North-West Semitic language and by the earliest biblical texts was sufficiently distinct from Ugaritic, Aramaic and other Canaanite dialects to qualify as a separate language.³¹³ Even so, Ugaritic texts might have significant relevance to this thesis, revealing the ‘source of Hebrew mythopoeic thought and expression’.³¹⁴ However, the gulf in theological worldview diminishes the relevance of these texts, as does the ongoing debate over the relationship between the two languages. Alongside the pragmatic inability to do justice to the literature in Ugaritic Studies, there are sufficient reasons to exclude Ugaritic texts from the general corpus.

The first distinctively Hebrew texts to which we have access³¹⁵ are biblical poetry such as Judges 5 or Exodus 15, possibly dating to the twelfth century B.C.E.³¹⁶ The Hebrew of these texts has been termed *Archaic Hebrew*,³¹⁷ and may exemplify a literary language, ‘clearly distinguished from the everyday spoken language’.³¹⁸ Most biblical texts, however, preserve a relatively homogeneous stage of Hebrew language development, mostly deriving from pre-

³¹² W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know it? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2001).

³¹³ Hebrew possibly separated from Ugaritic around 1900 B.C.E., C. Rabin, ‘Lexicostatistics and the Internal Divisions of Semitic’ in J. Bynon and T. Bynon (eds.), *Hamito-Semitic* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975), 85-102.

³¹⁴ Dahood, *Psalms 1-50*, xxvii.

³¹⁵ Some scholars argue that the language of the current text has no direct relationship with the language used at the time of the composition, Naudé, ‘Perspective’. However, epigraphic parallels show that biblical Hebrew is more similar to pre-exilic inscriptions than later external sources.

³¹⁶ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 43.

³¹⁷ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 52.

³¹⁸ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 62.

exilic times, termed *Classical* or *Standard Biblical Hebrew*. This was perhaps ‘an “official” language ... used at court and in educated circles in Jerusalem’.³¹⁹

The social impact of exile undoubtedly affected language, especially through contact with Aramaic. *Late Biblical Hebrew* is used for a third distinctive stage, preserved in uncontroversially post-exilic texts such as Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah and Esther.³²⁰ Sáenz-Badillos claims this is now an artificial language, venerating and imitating traditional formula and vocabulary, but thoroughly divorced from the spoken language of the Judean community.³²¹

This is significant since separation between written text and everyday language suggests it less straightforwardly reflects mental categorisations. Sáenz-Badillos uses Kutscher’s study of 1QIsa^a to argue that during the last centuries B.C.E. ordinary people ‘could barely understand [Biblical Hebrew (BH)] or even read it correctly’.³²² Such claims exaggerate Kutscher’s work, which argued ‘Hebrew was still more or less generally understood’,³²³ stressing that though Hebrew was declining in its domains of use, it was precisely amongst the ‘ordinary’ semi-literate people that Hebrew was spoken longest.³²⁴

Archaic, Standard and Late Biblical Hebrew traditionally comprised ‘Classical Hebrew’, seen as distinct from Mishnaic Hebrew.³²⁵ Qumran texts, however, incorporate features of both Late Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew, blurring the boundaries between these two previously distinct domains.

The Qumran scrolls date from the final two centuries B.C.E. and the first century C.E., and exhibit such a variety of idiolects, dialects, styles and registers that the term ‘Qumran

³¹⁹ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 68.

³²⁰ Alternatively, these texts come from a different geographical setting, Naudé, ‘Perspective’, 96-98.

³²¹ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 105-129.

³²² Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 134.

³²³ E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a)* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 73.

³²⁴ Kutscher, *Language*, 11-13.

³²⁵ Or ‘Rabbinic Hebrew’.

Hebrew' suggests a false unity.³²⁶ It is unclear whether the texts demonstrate a substandard language to make Biblical Hebrew easier to understand by the semi-illiterate masses,³²⁷ or a struggle between living Aramaic, spoken Late Biblical Hebrew and a liturgical classical Hebrew, or whether they reflect a stable language between biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew.³²⁸ It is agreed, though, that the Hebrew represents 'a fundamentally biblical form of language',³²⁹ and second, that the differences from Late Biblical Hebrew reflect a spoken, rather than solely literary, language.³³⁰ These make Qumran Hebrew appropriate for the general corpus.

The social upheaval of 70 C.E., and even more following the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-135 C.E.), finally ended Hebrew's use as a living dialect.³³¹ Thus, texts from this era (the Tannaitic phase of the Mishnah) are the last texts to consider including in the general corpus, if it is to reflect a period when at least some form of Hebrew was still spoken. When the Mishnah was first written (around 200 C.E.) the language it was written in was already 'dead'.

Although initial analysis of the Mishnah's language concluded it was an artificial literary creation, since Segal³³² most scholars agree that Mishnaic Hebrew was actually a living language (albeit possibly a syntactically limited version of the spoken language³³³), particularly following discovery of the Bar Kochba letters at Qumran, non-religious material written in essentially Mishnaic Hebrew.³³⁴ Now, many see 'vital links between Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew',³³⁵ so semantic study of Classical Hebrew should include the Mishnah. However, as the Mishnah lacks poetic depictions of distress, it would not contribute greatly to this thesis, and so can be reasonably excluded from the general corpus.

³²⁶ Naudé, 'Perspective', 97.

³²⁷ Kutscher, *Language*, 61-73.

³²⁸ N. M. Waldman, *The Recent Study of Hebrew: A Survey of the Literature with Selected Bibliography* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1989), 100.

³²⁹ Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 133.

³³⁰ Based on phonological changes, S. Morag, 'Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations', *VT* 38 (1988) 148-164.

³³¹ E. Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 115-116.

³³² M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew* (Oxford: 1927).

³³³ J. Neusner, *The Mishnah: Introduction and Reader* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 12-13.

³³⁴ Waldman, *Study*, 109-111.

³³⁵ Muraoka, 'Dictionary', 89.

3.2.2. A Recognised Corpus

This definition of Classical Hebrew concurs with several recent semantic projects. The *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* considers ‘all kinds of Hebrew from the period prior to about 200 C.E., that is, earlier than the Hebrew of the Mishnah’,³³⁶ as does the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. ‘Classical Hebrew’ was also used for this selected corpus by the Oxford Hebrew Lexicon project.³³⁷ Elsewhere, the European Science Foundation database project chose ‘the language of the Hebrew Bible, ... ancient Hebrew epigraphical material, Ben Sira and the Hebrew Qumran texts’.³³⁸ This convergence validates the general corpus of Classical Hebrew outlined above.

3.3. The Specific Corpus

3.3.1. Definition of the Specific Corpus

Within this general corpus, a *specific corpus* will be exhaustively analysed to show how significant each metaphor for distress is.³³⁹ This corpus is defined as comprising all *first person singular texts that refer to a situation of distress*. The three elements here are elucidated below.

First, *first person singular* texts provide best access to individual emotional and psychological perceptions, potentially differing from third person perspectives,³⁴⁰ and echoing an anthropological trend towards personal subjective experience.³⁴¹

³³⁶ D. J. A. Clines (ed.), *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 14.

³³⁷ J. Barr, ‘Hebrew Lexicography: Informal Thoughts’ in W. R. Bodine (ed.), *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 137-151, 138.

³³⁸ J. Hoftijzer, ‘The History of the Database Project’ in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (Louvain: Peeters Press, 1995), 65-85, 80.

³³⁹ This is common in applications of conceptual metaphor theory. For example, taking editorials to ‘The Economist’ in F. Boers, ‘When a Bodily Source Domain Becomes Prominent: The Joy of Counting Metaphors in the Socio-economic Domain’ in R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 47-56, or interviews with teachers in M. Cortazzi and L. Jin, ‘Bridges to Learning: Metaphors of Teaching, Learning and Language’ in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 149-176.

³⁴⁰ Kövecses, *Culture*, 244.

³⁴¹ For example, R. Rosaldo, ‘Grief and a Headhunter's Rage’ in A. C. G. M. Robben (ed.), *Death, Mourning, and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 167-178, M. Z. Rosaldo, ‘Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling’ in R. A. Shweder and R. A. LeVine (eds.), *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self, and Emotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 137-157.

Second, choosing texts *referring* to a situation of distress means it may be portrayed as present, as in Job, or past as in the Hodayot. This also avoids the difficulties of time reference for Hebrew verbs in poetry.

The final aspect, a *situation of distress*, is most controversial. What classifies something as a distress situation? This thesis claims there is a gestalt concept of ‘distress’ structured by various metaphorical and metonymical mappings that surface in the linguistic expressions used in distress situations.³⁴² To investigate these expressions, a way of identifying pertinent texts is needed, even when lexical items for ‘distress’ (such as צָרָה) are absent.³⁴³ This difficulty is common to any metaphorical research investigating the vehicles for a given conceptual topic (which may well be implicit), versus investigating the scope of an image, which must be explicitly present. Subjectivity is thus unavoidable, but can be minimised by identifying tokens using formal and structural elements common to ‘distress’ discourse (as identified by form criticism) alongside characteristic contents. More detail is provided in section 3.3.2.b.

Language expressing distress is, broadly speaking, emotional language, even if ‘distress’ is not considered a basic universal emotion, so this study fits alongside recent cognitive studies of emotion language.³⁴⁴ Defining emotion has become controversial, especially as linguists have become involved in the debate.³⁴⁵ One definition is a ‘spontaneous human reaction to reality’,³⁴⁶ making the Hebrew descriptions of distress ‘emotional’ to the extent they verbalise spontaneous reactions to negative situations. Psychologists and philosophers have traditionally studied universal physiological aspects, including quickened pulses or widened eyes, defining a few universal emotions, such as sadness, happiness, anger, fear, disgust and shame. However, humans can express emotions verbally, and linguists have discovered

³⁴² See section 2.5.1.

³⁴³ Recalling the weakness of Wierzbicka’s lexical approach, see section 2.5.5.

³⁴⁴ As in S. Niemeier and R. Dirven (eds.), *The Language of Emotions: Conceptualization, Expression and Theoretical Foundation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997) and A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska, *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998).

³⁴⁵ Wierzbicka, *Emotions*, Kövecses, *Emotion*.

³⁴⁶ B. Kryk-Kastovsky, ‘Surprise, Surprise: The Iconicity-Conventuality Scale of Emotions’ in S. Niemeier and R. Dirven (eds.), *The Language of Emotions: Conceptualization, Expression and Theoretical Foundation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 155-169, 155.

substantial variation in how different cultures conceptualise emotions, consolidating different physiological and social aspects within linguistic convention.³⁴⁷ Thus, ‘whereas feelings may be universal, humankind’s conceptualisation of segments of the emotional continuum may strongly depend on cultural norms and beliefs’,³⁴⁸ with languages offering several conventionalised ways of expressing emotion, both in poetic and ‘normal’ discourse. Athanasiadou claims further that correspondences or universals ‘are to be found on the level of image schemas rather than on the level of translation equivalents’.³⁴⁹

Thus, this thesis cannot single out one particular emotion of, say, ‘fear’, against ‘sadness’ or even ‘anger’. The metaphorical language of ‘distress’ overlaps with each of these specific emotions expressed in English, and yet has a conceptual unity seen in the conventional forms of literature in which it is expressed and the conventional metaphors themselves used to articulate these experiences. This broad target domain, avoiding the terms of Anglo³⁵⁰ ethnopsychology, distinguishes this thesis from Kruger’s and Kotzé’s previous cognitive treatments of Hebrew emotion.³⁵¹

Explicitly then, the specific corpus contains Job’s laments, individual laments and thanksgivings of the Psalter, Lamentations 3, Isaiah 38.2-10, Jonah 2.2-9[3-10], the ‘confessions’ of Jeremiah and the Hodayot from Qumran. All contain either Standard Biblical Hebrew or the variety of Qumran Hebrew most closely resembling it.

The ‘distress’ target domain can be somewhat clarified by investigating the cultures and situations these texts reflect, although mostly preserved for their broad applicability.³⁵²

³⁴⁷ Wierzbicka claims even the concept of ‘emotion’ is culture specific. ‘Feelings’ are universal, but the particular interaction of ‘thinking’ and ‘feeling’ implied by *emotion* is particular to Anglo culture, Wierzbicka, *Emotions*, 1-7.

³⁴⁸ A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska, ‘Introduction’ in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), xi-xxii, xxi.

³⁴⁹ Athanasiadou and Tabakowska, ‘Introduction’, xi-xii.

³⁵⁰ This term is used by Wierzbicka to refer to the culture of English speakers in the United States, United Kingdom and Australia.

³⁵¹ Kruger, ‘Anger’, Kruger, ‘Fear’, Kruger, ‘Depression’, Kotzé, ‘Conceptualisation’.

³⁵² E. S. Gerstenberger, ‘Life Situations and Theological Concepts of Old Testament Psalms’, *OTE* 18 (2005) 82-92.

3.3.2. Context of the Specific Corpus

a) Job

Job is difficult to situate, as its language is difficult and historical details did not serve the author's purpose.³⁵³ Unusual names for God suggest the speeches are early, whereas Aramaisms³⁵⁴ or the possibility that Job represents a post-exilic crisis in Jewish thinking suggest a late date.³⁵⁵ The second century B.C.E. Targum at Qumran dates Job earlier than this, probably between the seventh and third centuries B.C.E.³⁵⁶ Similarities to Isaiah and Jeremiah suggest an early post-exilic date, but absence of clear reference to exile or Jerusalem's destruction suggests a pre-exilic composition.³⁵⁷ Wolfers explicitly dates Job between Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 and the destruction of 586, since, although Job suffers, like Jerusalem, his life is spared.³⁵⁸ Certainly a pre-exilic date cannot be dismissed.

Regarding the situation occasioning the conventional metaphors of distress, the narrative context is one of great loss (of wealth and family) and illness. Even if they should be 'metaphorically processed'³⁵⁹ as representing the Fall of Jerusalem or the siege of Sennacherib,³⁶⁰ the narrative context has priority for this thesis.

b) Psalms

Psalms referring to a 'situation of distress' provide the broadest set of metaphors for this thesis. This section provides the form critical argument, then surveys potential historical and social backgrounds.

³⁵³ C. H. Bullock, *An Introduction to the Poetic Books of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1979), 66.

³⁵⁴ However, Job also juxtaposes with elements considered archaic, Sáenz-Badillos, *History*, 115.

³⁵⁵ J. G. Janzen, *Job* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985), 5.

³⁵⁶ E. Lucas, *Exploring the Old Testament: Volume 3, The Psalms and Wisdom Literature* (London: SPCK, 2003), 129.

³⁵⁷ M. H. Pope, *Job* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965).

³⁵⁸ Wolfers, *Deep*, 51-59.

³⁵⁹ Gibbs distinguishes this as a later stage of interpretation than online processing of language, Gibbs, 'Researching', 40-41.

³⁶⁰ Wolfers, *Deep*.

Gunkel identified three major Psalm types including first person reference to a distressing experience: individual lament; individual thanksgiving psalm; and communal lament.³⁶¹ His categories derived from form and content: common literary form; a common life-setting within a specific occasion of worship; and a common treasury of thoughts and moods.³⁶² He saw these all originating as early liturgical poetry composed by priests³⁶³ to be used in the sanctuary at times of illness,³⁶⁴ although the extant psalms have become spiritual poems³⁶⁵ with only the figurative presupposition of sickness remaining.³⁶⁶ Most scholars accept Gunkel's typology,³⁶⁷ but see a cultic setting for many more Psalms (in contrast to the more pietistic Hodayot), whether in the temple³⁶⁸ or in post-exilic local community worship.³⁶⁹ Most likely, then, the biblical texts contain 'a large number of both pre- and post-exilic psalms'.³⁷⁰

Kraus³⁷¹ and Brueggemann³⁷² challenged Gunkel's typology. First, Kraus criticised Gunkel for mixing form and content in classification, and for naming genres with words external to the texts. Kraus himself used headings from the Psalms to distinguish songs of praise (שִׁיר), songs of prayer (תְּפִלָּה), royal psalms (מַעֲשֵׂי לְמֶלֶךְ) and songs of Zion (צִיּוֹן). 'Songs of prayer' embrace Gunkel's Communal Laments, Individual Laments and Individual Thanksgivings, emphasising the strong content similarities between Gunkel's 'Thanksgivings' and 'Laments', with the only objective difference sometimes being the order of elements. Thus, Williamson argues both types were intended for use *after* a period of distress.³⁷³ Second, Brueggemann distinguishes three functional groups, classified via

³⁶¹ H. Gunkel, *The Psalms: A Form-Critical Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 140-171.

³⁶² Gunkel, *Psalms*, 10.

³⁶³ Gunkel, *Psalms*, 25.

³⁶⁴ Gunkel, *Psalms*, 20.

³⁶⁵ Gunkel, *Psalms*, 26.

³⁶⁶ Gunkel, *Psalms*, 34.

³⁶⁷ J. Day, *Psalms* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 13.

³⁶⁸ Since S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1962).

³⁶⁹ E. S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part 1 with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988).

³⁷⁰ Day, *Psalms*, 16.

³⁷¹ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*.

³⁷² Brueggemann, 'Psalms'.

³⁷³ H. G. M. Williamson, 'Reading the Lament Psalms Backwards' in B. A. Strawn and N. R. Bowen (eds.), *A God so Near: Essays in Old Testament Theology in Honor of Patrick D. Miller* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3-15, 10-13.

orientation, disorientation and re-orientation. Psalms of disorientation and re-orientation refer to distress, with those of disorientation arising from periods of psychological imbalance and those of re-orientation from a time of return to equilibrium, but referring to the previous experiences.³⁷⁴

These approaches show a coherent group of psalms referring to a situation of distress, whether through Gunkel's form criticism, through thematic links native to the text (Kraus' 'songs of prayer') or through psychological conditions suggested by their content (Brueggemann's disorientation and re-orientation). The convergence of all these interpretative strands gives credibility to this research. Given this coherent category of psalms, it is legitimate to hypothesise correlated mental categories for life experiences that might 'fit' their use.

What experiences occasioned these Psalms? Three settings are typically suggested: illness, battle and accusation.³⁷⁵ Illness is suggested for various psalms referring to body parts in abnormal states. Seybold's thorough treatment (especially of vocabulary) argues that Psalms 38 and 88 certainly reflect illness, probably also 6, 13 and 51, and possibly 31, 35 and 71.

The language of armed conflict is also frequent, and sometimes the 'enemies' are foreigners, suggesting the king offered these psalms, representing the people.³⁷⁶ However, sometimes the enemies are explicitly within the psalmist's community. These texts exemplify the final suggested setting, that of trial. 1 Kings 8:30-31 provides a possible background, with an accused man appealing to God as judge in the temple. Although Schmidt assigned most lament psalms to this life setting,³⁷⁷ there is really insufficient evidence to substantiate any kind of cultic trial.³⁷⁸

Thus, there is no consensus on the precise situations, the psalms being 'couched in such vague and general terms they were probably capable of being employed in a wide range of

³⁷⁴ Brueggemann, 'Psalms'.

³⁷⁵ Lucas, *Exploring*, 4.

³⁷⁶ Lucas, *Exploring*, 4.

³⁷⁷ H. Schmidt, *Das Gebet der Angeklagten im Alten Testament* (Giessen: A. Töppelmann, 1928).

³⁷⁸ Day, *Psalms*, 28.

types of distress'.³⁷⁹ For this thesis, the significant result is that the language of illness, armed conflict and trial provide salient examples, functioning as prototypes to metonymically structure the experience of a much wider range of distressing situations.

c) Lamentations

Lamentations' five poems date from after Jerusalem's destruction in 586 B.C.E., and probably before 538 B.C.E. Most likely they come from lay people speaking 'the language of ordinary discourse, not that of a specialised group, school or profession', shown by the analogies used,³⁸⁰ and the faith they reflect.³⁸¹ The acrostic form may be a later overlay,³⁸² or come from the temple-singers finding a new form of prayer.³⁸³ Several scholars stress the essential unity throughout the book,³⁸⁴ with Shea arguing the poems have been together since their composition based on the macrostructure of three long and two short poems, as in *qinah* meter.³⁸⁵

Chapter 3 is in the specific corpus, and differs from other chapters. References to Jerusalem's destruction are much less obvious here.³⁸⁶ Correspondingly, this chapter draws most on the conventional language of distress (as in Job and Psalms), perhaps being a later attempt to typify the historical situation for use in liturgy,³⁸⁷ or reflecting an exilic perspective to correct the other poems' theology.³⁸⁸ Further, only chapter 3 uses the first person singular, recounting the voice of the נִבְּרָ, a typical figure 'who represents what any man may feel when it seems that God is against him'.³⁸⁹

³⁷⁹ Day, *Psalms*, 29-30.

³⁸⁰ C. Westermann, *Lamentations: Issues and Interpretation* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 57.

³⁸¹ R. Gordis, *The Song of Songs and Lamentations: A Study, Modern Translation and Commentary*, 3rd edn. (New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1974), 126.

³⁸² Westermann, *Lamentations*, 62-63.

³⁸³ J. Renkema, *Lamentations* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 44-45.

³⁸⁴ Dobbs-Allsopp, *Lamentations*, 5, Gordis, *Song*, 126, R. Martin-Achard and S. P. Re'emi, *Amos and Lamentations: God's People in Crisis* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1984), 75-76.

³⁸⁵ W. H. Shea, 'The *qinah* Structure of the Book of Lamentations', *Biblica* 60 (1979) 103-107.

³⁸⁶ Westermann, *Lamentations*, 71.

³⁸⁷ B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (London: SCM Press, 1979), 596.

³⁸⁸ Middlemas, 'Isaiah'.

³⁸⁹ D. R. Hillers, *Lamentations* (New York: Doubleday, 1972), 64.

Lamentations 3 is significant in the corpus because we have a fixed date and context. The degree of unity ties all the poems inescapably to the experiences of 587-586 B.C.E. in Jerusalem. Further, the authors were undoubtedly aware of earlier lament psalms, so the conventional language may draw deliberately on their phrases and motifs. A direct intertextual relationship with Job is harder to substantiate, despite the linguistic affinities. Rather, this chapter suggests the existence of ‘a common fund of ... lament vocabulary which was used in the laments of the Psalter, the book of Job and Lamentations’.³⁹⁰

d) Confessions of Jeremiah

Several of Jeremiah’s ‘confessions’ were form-critically identified by Gunkel as individual laments.³⁹¹ The texts include 8.18-23, 10.19-25, 11.18-23, 12.1-6, 14.2-15.21, 17.9-18, 18.18-23 and 20.7-18,³⁹² which Baumgartner claimed couched Jeremiah’s inner struggles in the conventional language of lament Psalms.³⁹³ Such material is unparalleled in the prophets, perhaps being transmitted orally by Jeremiah to his friends (rather than publicly proclaimed) and eventually becoming part of the present text.³⁹⁴ Although they give access to Jeremiah’s personal anguish, this anguish is all the more real as ‘it did not arise from his personal suffering alone, but was a reflection of the suffering of his people and the suffering of God’.³⁹⁵

e) Distress Language in Narrative Contexts

There are two lament-type psalms in narrative contexts referring to a distress situation, specifically Jonah’s (Jonah 2) and Hezekiah’s prayers (Isaiah 38).

The book of Jonah has been variously dated linguistically from the eighth to third centuries B.C.E. Further, the psalm itself could faithfully reflect Jonah’s words,³⁹⁶ or be a later scribal addition.³⁹⁷ Whichever holds, it is a good, structured example of a thanksgiving psalm by all the form-critical criteria, containing conventional psalm imagery, albeit particularly apposite

³⁹⁰ Gottwald, *Studies*, 42.

³⁹¹ Gunkel, *Einleitung*, 172.

³⁹² A compilation of the texts identified in W. McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1986), xcii and J. G. McConville, *Exploring the Old Testament: Vol 4, A Guide to the Prophets* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2002), 56.

³⁹³ W. Baumgartner, *Jeremiah's Poems of Lament* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1988 [1917]).

³⁹⁴ J. Bright, *Jeremiah* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), lxix.

³⁹⁵ P. C. Craigie, P. H. Kelley and J. F. Drinkard, Jr., *Jeremiah 1-25* (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), 173.

³⁹⁶ D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah* (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 473-474.

³⁹⁷ R. B. Salters, *Jonah and Lamentations* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 38-39.

imagery for Jonah's narrative situation. Stuart describes it as 'the closest one can get to a psalm composed specifically for the events Jonah experienced while still remaining a true psalm, i.e. general and pan-temporal',³⁹⁸ whereas Sawyer more sceptically 'wonders whether the situation, of Jonah inside a big fish, was not invented just to provide points of reference for details in the psalm'.³⁹⁹ Usefully for this thesis, it shows conventional imagery and forms being applied to a specific narrative situation of distress, that of drowning in the sea.

Second, Hezekiah's prayer in Isaiah 38.10-20 uses conventional imagery in the context of Hezekiah's illness, placed after Hezekiah had recovered, despite appearing formally closer to a lament than a thanksgiving. Thus, Hezekiah's 'lament' is located after recovery and Jonah's 'thanksgiving' from the midst of distress, further demonstrating the similarity of individual thanksgivings and laments, and cautioning against jumping too quickly from form to life-setting.

f) Hodayot

The limited redactional activity for the Hodayot simplifies identification of authorship, date and provenance. However, fragmented manuscripts make it harder to ascertain the original text.⁴⁰⁰

The first scroll found, 1QH^a, has been dated palaeographically after 50 B.C.E. However, the handwriting of 1QH^b suggests it is a copy from between 100 and 50 B.C.E.⁴⁰¹ Thus, they may come from the early years of the Qumran community (second century B.C.E.), with at least some possibly penned by the Teacher of Righteousness himself.

Holm-Nielsen first suggested the Hodayot were a collection (rather than a literary unity), originating 'possibly from different authors and from different times'.⁴⁰² He divided them into Thanksgiving Psalms and Hymns. The former centre on first person reference to distress situations and correspond to the following columns and verses of 1QH^a: 10.1-19; 10.20-30;

³⁹⁸ Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, 439.

³⁹⁹ Sawyer, *Semantics*, 13.

⁴⁰⁰ This thesis relies on the reconstruction provided in F. G. Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 1997).

⁴⁰¹ E. M. Schuller, 'Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH)' in C. A. Evans and S. R. Porter (eds.), *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (Leicester: IVP, 2000), 1214-1218, 1217.

⁴⁰² Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 131.

10.31-11.4; 11.5-18; 11.19-36; 11.37-12.4; 12.5-13.4; 13.5-19; 13.20-end; 14.1-15.5; 15.6-25; 16.4-end and 17.1-36.⁴⁰³

Several scholars divided this collection further into those from the Teacher of Righteousness versus other anonymous members of the community.⁴⁰⁴ However, most recently, Michael Douglas argues linguistically (using a signature phrase) that '1QH cols 10-17 are substantially the work of a single author',⁴⁰⁵ probably the 'Teacher of Righteousness' describing his experience of conflict in Jerusalem and culminating in his exile from the land ('יְדִיחָנִי מֵאֶרֶץ', 1QH^a 12.8).

The relation to the biblical psalms is also debated, given many similar images and metaphors. Licht claimed the Hodayot made 'rather awkward use of a great many biblical phrases' and were 'on the whole rather humdrum ... [and] repetitive, to the point of monotony'.⁴⁰⁶ Conversely, Kittel argued they stand alongside other great poems of the ancient world.⁴⁰⁷ Newsom also speaks positively, seeing a 'first-class piece of rhetoric', partly resulting from the traditional quality of the imagery.⁴⁰⁸ Further, the unanticipated ways Cave 4 copies fill lacunae in Cave 1 manuscripts shows that 'the vocabulary of these hymns seems to have been less stereotypical and standardised than has sometimes been assumed',⁴⁰⁹ where 'biblical words and phrases are reworked and reconfigured in a style that is quite different from earlier biblical poetry'.⁴¹⁰ Such activity, bringing in extra aspects of the source domain, is evidence that the source domain continues to be active in the minds of the authors,⁴¹¹ rather than being just a humdrum repetition of tradition. The copying and use of

⁴⁰³ Following labelling in Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*.

⁴⁰⁴ This position is articulated by both G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1963) and J. Becker, *Das Heil Gottes: Heils und Sündenbegriffe in den Qumrantexten und in Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1964).

⁴⁰⁵ Douglas, 'Hypothesis', 256.

⁴⁰⁶ J. Licht, *The Thanksgiving Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957), cited in Kittel, *Hymns*, 6.

⁴⁰⁷ Kittel, *Hymns*, 6.

⁴⁰⁸ C. A. Newsom, 'Kenneth Burke Meets the Teacher of Righteousness: Rhetorical Strategies in the Hodayot and the Serek ha-Yahad' in H. W. Attridge et al. (eds.), *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism and Christian Origins* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 121-131, 121.

⁴⁰⁹ E. M. Schuller, 'Some Contributions of the Cave Four Manuscripts (4Q427-432) to the Study of the Hodayot', *Dead Sea Discoveries* 8 (2001) 278-287.

⁴¹⁰ Schuller, 'Thanksgiving', 1216.

⁴¹¹ Taylor, *Grammar*, 500-501, see section 2.5.2.d.

these hymns for more than a hundred years must have also consolidated these ways of viewing distress, becoming ‘an important factor in shaping the self-identity and worldview of the community members’.⁴¹² Indeed, while one cannot be sure of the original *Sitz im Leben*, one can be sure that ‘the repetition of the various forms and images, and even the emotional patterns of the *Hodayot*, served to shape the beliefs and religious emotions of those who read them’.⁴¹³

3.4. Summary

This chapter has presented a general corpus of Classical Hebrew texts and a specific corpus for analysis of first person texts that refer to a situation of distress. The origin and character of these specific texts has been discussed. The next chapter describes the methodology used to analyse the conceptualisations of distress in this specific corpus.

⁴¹² Schuller, ‘Thanksgiving’, 1218.

⁴¹³ Newsom, ‘Burke’, 122.

Chapter 4: Methodology

‘Any research project needs to include overt discussion of the extent to which the reader can be confident about the nature of the data which has been selected or omitted from the study, about the techniques of analysis and categorisation used, and about the extent to which the data support the conclusions.’ Graham Low⁴¹⁴

4.1. Introduction

Having introduced Cognitive Linguistics and identified a corpus of texts to investigate, the next step is to outline the methodology for investigating the conceptualisations within this corpus.

First, to operationalise this research, two areas need clarification: the terminology for describing metaphors; and a method to identify and categorise them. Taking metaphors as fundamentally conceptual, the focus is on investigating conceptual entities (cognitive models, image schemas, prototypes, metaphoric and metonymic mappings) structuring distress experiences. However, since these are only accessible through linguistic expressions, a framework is necessary for analysing linguistic metaphors. Unfortunately, this receives little consideration in standard works on conceptual metaphor theory,⁴¹⁵ so other works are used.⁴¹⁶

4.2. Metaphor Terminology

Following cognitive semantics, prototypes can be used to describe metaphorical language. First, *topic* and *vehicle* are easily seen in an ‘ideal’ linguistic metaphor: ‘A is B’, where A and B are both nouns. The topic, A, is ideally a literal referent in the world of the text. B is the vehicle. Consider Psalm 84.11[12]:

כִּי שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמָגֵן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים:

For the LORD God (is) a sun and shield.

⁴¹⁴ G. Low, ‘Validating Metaphor Research Projects’ in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 48-65, 48.

⁴¹⁵ For example, there is no discussion in Kövecses, *Metaphor*.

⁴¹⁶ Principally, L. Cameron and G. Low, *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Here, ‘the LORD God’ is the topic and ‘a sun and a shield’ are vehicles. The topic is explicit and the vehicle predicates something of it that creates tension. It is literally inapplicable: God is not a shield in the most experientially basic way.

Such ideal prototypes are rare in the specific ‘distress’ corpus, although Lamentations 3.10 gives one example.

דָּב אֲרֵב הוּא לִי

He (is) a bear lying in wait for me.

Much more commonly within linguistic corpora,⁴¹⁷ the linguistic vehicle is a verb, as in Lamentations 3.9.

נָדָר דְּרָכַי בְּנִזִּית

He has blocked my way with hewn stones.

Here, the verb phrase is the vehicle. Identifying the topic is problematic, however, because of terminological confusion between using *topic* in surface language description and description of conceptual phenomenon.⁴¹⁸ In 3.10 (‘he is a bear...’), ‘he’ (God) was both the pragmatic topic of the sentence and the metaphorical topic, the entity conceptualised in terms of the vehicle. In Lamentations 3.9, ‘he’ (God) is still the pragmatic topic, but the vehicle conceptualises some unexpressed activity, the metaphorical topic. This *conceptual topic* could be paraphrased as ‘the distress he caused me’, suggesting the implicit metaphor ‘(the distress he caused me is) he has blocked my way with hewn stones’.

This terminological conflict is avoided by distinguishing *surface topic* from *conceptual topic*.⁴¹⁹ Whereas the surface topic is usually easily discernible, the conceptual topic is often

⁴¹⁷ L. Cameron, ‘Operationalising ‘metaphor’ for applied linguistic research’ in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3-28, 15.

⁴¹⁸ Cameron, ‘Operationalising’, 14.

⁴¹⁹ Cameron, ‘Operationalising’, 14. Steen has a more comprehensive framework, distinguishing three layers in metaphorical discourse (linguistic, conceptual and communicative) with different terminology for each layer, G. Steen, ‘Metaphor and Discourse: Towards a Linguistic Checklist for

only inferable through knowledge of the discourse situation,⁴²⁰ with the metaphor being *implicit*. These include *co-textual* implicit metaphors (where the conceptual topic is explicitly present elsewhere in the discourse) and *contextual* implicit metaphors (where the conceptual topic is not mentioned anywhere in the cotext).⁴²¹

Thus, the request to be saved from ‘dogs’ in Psalm 22.20[21] is a co-textual implicit metaphor, since dogs and evildoers are equated in 22.16[17]. Conversely, the waves and breakers in Psalm 42.7[8] create a contextual implicit metaphor. The genre implies the conceptual topic is the psalmist’s distressing experience, but the co-text gives few clues to any more precise identification.

Finally a *conceptual vehicle* can be identified,⁴²² clarifying which conceptual source domain(s) the surface vehicle provides access to and what prototypical knowledge about this domain is being mapped. Consider, for example, Lamentations 3.5a:

בָּנָה עָלַי :

He builds against me.

Here the surface topic is God (anaphorically), and the surface vehicle is ‘building against’ someone. The conceptual topic is being in distress, identifiable from the discourse context. Establishing the conceptual vehicle is harder, especially at such a distance in time and culture, requiring knowledge of prototypical ‘builders’, what they would be building, and why. Here, the consensus view is that ‘siege’ is the conceptual vehicle, so that the NRSV translates ‘he has besieged (me)’. Elsewhere the conceptual vehicle is more debatable.

4.3. Metaphor Identification

With this terminology, what linguistic expressions should be used to investigate conceptual topics and vehicles? Linguistic cues might include a literal inapplicability of the vehicle⁴²³

Metaphor Analysis’ in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 81-104.

⁴²⁰ Steen, ‘Discourse’.

⁴²¹ Steen, ‘Discourse’, 82-91.

⁴²² Extra steps are given in G. J. Steen, ‘From Linguistic to Conceptual Metaphor in Five Steps’ in R. W. Gibbs, Jr. and G. J. Steen (eds.), *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 57-77.

(as when discussing God's 'arrows' in Job 6.4) or a lack of congruence of the vehicle with the non-verbal setting⁴²⁴ (as when attack with bow and arrow is used in Psalm 11.2[3], but for a context of non-physical attack). However, again, a prototypical approach is more helpful than necessary and sufficient criteria,⁴²⁵ since 'every criterion for a metaphor's presence, however plausible, is defeasible in certain circumstances'.⁴²⁶ With a prototype approach to the category of metaphors, linguistic examples match the prototype to greater or lesser degree.⁴²⁷

The most stereotypical linguistic metaphors resemble Lamentations 3.15:

הַשְּׂבִיעַנִי בַמְרוֹרִים הָרוֹנִי לַעֲנָה:

He has filled me with bitterness; he has sated me with wormwood.

Here, the author describes his distress with vehicles that are unlikely to be physically applicable, referring to bitterness and wormwood to access the quite different domain of consuming something poisonous. Thus, in this prototype, the conceptual topic is clear ('distress') and there is a linguistic vehicle accessing a distinct domain, incongruous both to the rest of the co-text and the non-verbal setting. Other linguistic expressions may be better or worse examples by comparison to this prototype.

In less ideal cases, the only point of access to an incongruent source domain may be the etymology of the linguistic vehicle. For example, in Psalm 4.1[2], it is the etymological relationship between צַר and situations of physical constraint that reveals a conceptual metaphor, although made more prominent by the following word. Elsewhere, the etymology of one word alone may be a potential vehicle.

בְּצַר הִרְחַבְתָּ לִּי:

⁴²³ As in J. Pearsall (ed.), *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 1163.

⁴²⁴ M. Black, 'More about Metaphor' in A. Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993 [1979]), 19-41, 34.

⁴²⁵ See Cameron, 'Identifying'.

⁴²⁶ Black, 'More', 35.

⁴²⁷ Cameron, 'Identifying', 105.

Psalm 4.1[2]: You gave me room when I was in distress.

Such examples, where the incongruity is just at the etymological level, are included in the list of potential data, although their relevance for conceptualisation must be substantiated by other evidence, rather than presuming that such incongruity would be noticed by a hearer,⁴²⁸ as outlined in chapter two.⁴²⁹ Etymological incongruity generates a broad base of metaphors to include in the database; the existence of systematic generalisations over different examples can then provide the evidence whether such incongruity is indeed significant.

4.4. Collection of Data

With this broad prototypical definition of relevant data, the following method was used to collect data. First, the specific corpus was read, noting descriptions of the subject's distressing circumstances (where 'distress' was the conceptual topic) and comparing them to the metaphor prototype. Where these could potentially be viewed as vehicles describing the conceptual topic in terms of a more basic experiential domain, they were included as tokens in a database. Tokens included vehicles consisting of a single lexical item (like צָרָה לִי) through to images sustained in a whole verse (or even collection of verses), as in the metaphor of being trapped in the cords of death that runs through Psalm 18.4-5[5-6].

The word 'potentially' provides a broad data set, but also an unavoidable subjective element: who decides whether a particular phrase is potentially related to a more basic domain? The main curb came from established lexicons. For example, when deciding if particular lexical items should be considered as potentially relating to a more basic experiential domain, several standard lexicons were consulted (including BDB,⁴³⁰ TWOT,⁴³¹ TDOT,⁴³² and NIDOTTE⁴³³) to see if a meaning was given in a more basic domain. If the standard lexicons did not refer to any more basic experiential domain, or only did so in discussion of possible

⁴²⁸ Cameron, 'Identifying', 114-115.

⁴²⁹ Especially section 2.5.9.

⁴³⁰ F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1906).

⁴³¹ R. L. Harris, G. L. Archer, Jr. and B. K. Waltke (eds.), *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, Electronic edn. (Chicago: Moody Press, 1980).

⁴³² G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren and H.-J. Fabry (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, 15 Volumes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977-2006).

⁴³³ W. A. VanGemeren (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996).

etymologies from cognate languages, these examples were excluded. Thus, for example, every lexicon gives examples where words derived from צרר would be glossed as ‘narrow’ or ‘tight’, so there is a potential basic source domain here. Conversely, roots like עמל are not discussed in the context of any more basic experiential domain. In between, rarer roots, like צוק, are more difficult. Although there are no examples of words derived from צוק being used for ‘literal’ pressure or squeezing within the biblical corpus, all the lexicons mention this domain early in their discussion of meaning, so descriptions using this root are included in the database.

Second, after collecting all the possibly relevant linguistic data, the examples were classified according to the experiential domains they accessed. This involved comparison with ‘canonical’ image schemas of CONTAINMENT, FORCE, SOURCE-PATH-GOAL, NEAR-FAR, BALANCE and UP-DOWN,⁴³⁴ as well as perceptual source domains including TASTE and VISION. Since poetic metaphors often conflate different schemas, linguistic metaphors frequently accessed more than one domain. For example, using a ‘pit’ as a vehicle conflates schemas of being down and contained, as well as the perceptual experience of being in darkness. Such tokens were recorded as accessing each domain.

Third, the tokens were counted to estimate the significance of each domain for the conceptualisation of distress. There is some vagueness here since some tokens reflect just one word in a verse, whereas others consist of several verses maintaining the same vehicle. However, this gives a fair picture of the relative prominence of these source domains. Out of 489 tokens within the specific corpus, the following table shows the relative frequencies.⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ As in Lakoff, *Women*, Johnson, *Body* and more recently in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), for example, Hampe, ‘Schemas’, 2-3, M. Kimmel, ‘Culture Regained: Situated and Compound Image Schemas’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 285-312, 287, Grady, ‘Definition’, 37.

⁴³⁵ The tokens and their classifications are listed in the appendix.

Source Domain / Image Schema	Number of Tokens
FORCE	207
CONSTRAINT	129
VERTICALITY	81
DARKNESS	48
TASTE	36
SOURCE-PATH-GOAL	34
NEAR-FAR	16
BALANCE	0

Fourth, the five most significant source domains (image schemas of FORCE, VERTICALITY and CONSTRAINT, primary metaphors of DARKNESS and TASTE)⁴³⁶ were analysed in greater detail, to see what elements of the source domain are highlighted, what inferences are drawn from these domains to create entailments in the target domain of distress, and how these differ from similar conceptualisations in other cultures. The results are presented in the main body of the thesis as explained below.

4.5. Framework for Presenting Results

The results are presented identically for each of the image schemas and primary metaphors. First, the image schema or primary source domain is clarified. Second, a selection of cross-linguistic comparisons is offered. Third, the main metaphorical and metonymical mappings from the image schema or primary source domain to the target domain of distress are presented and analysed. Fourth, evidence is presented that these are indeed significant conceptual mappings. Fifth, comparison is made with other languages. Finally, the import of each image schema or primary source domain for the Hebrew ICM of distress is summarised.

4.5.1. Establishing the Image Schema or Primary Source Domain

The first task is clarifying the image schema or source domain being considered. For image schemas, according to assumptions five and six (section 2.7), this means considering both

⁴³⁶ These five alone were chosen because of the limited space in this thesis.

universal and culture-specific factors. Image schemas derive from recurring patterns of perceptual interaction or motor programs,⁴³⁷ the most significant of which often derive from common human embodied experience. These universal factors will be considered first.

However, the cultural elaboration of such schemas is not universal,⁴³⁸ so particular Hebrew instantiations require investigation. Kimmel calls a culturally augmented image schema a *situated schema*, often compounding more primitive schemas, and acquired through culture-specific formative practices, the general cultural environment, and especially through language itself.⁴³⁹ Further, culture-specific words ‘reflect a society’s past experience of doing and thinking about things in certain ways; and they help to perpetuate these ways’.⁴⁴⁰ The presentation of cultural influences will thus focus on language, studying the experiential range for Hebrew lexical items to establish recurring patterns. Following assumption 8 of section 2.7, this lexical analysis will prioritise concrete situations. For example, the use of the Hebrew root צרר for sieges, cloth wrappings and cramped spaces unites basic bodily schemas of containment and constraining forces to create a situated schema in which an Agonist with a desire to move is surrounded by a restrictive Antagonist.

Considering primary source domains, universal and cultural factors again interact. For example, the perception of ‘taste’ is constrained by the universal physiological arrangement of taste buds, but which tastes are salient varies between cultures, so that both universal and culture-specific elements need exploration.

4.5.2. Comparative Data

In this section of each chapter, cross-linguistic comparisons will be given, where the image schema or source domain conceptualises similar emotional, physical or psychological target domains. Comparisons come from contemporary languages and from other languages of the ancient Near East. Such comparisons highlight potentially significant aspects of the Hebrew mappings, as well as allowing analysis of both universal and culturally varying aspects of the conceptualisation of distress.

⁴³⁷ Johnson, *Body*, xiv.

⁴³⁸ The tension between universal and culturally situated image schemas is still an unresolved theoretical issue, Hampe, ‘Schemas’, 3-6.

⁴³⁹ Kimmel, ‘Culture’, 297-299.

⁴⁴⁰ Wierzbicka, *Understanding*, 5.

4.5.3. Presentation and Analysis of Mappings

The heart of each chapter presents the thought mappings that link the schema or primary source domain to distress. Following assumption one, language structure provides a ‘way in’ to thought structure, so this section provides examples of linguistic metaphors instantiating the specific conceptual metaphors. Hebrew examples have an English translation, usually from the NRSV or Martínez and Tigchelaar,⁴⁴¹ where satisfactory. Where a particular scholar offers a better translation, this is used, and where no satisfactory translation was found, the author’s own translation is used.

First, this section investigates encyclopaedic, prototypical knowledge relating to the domain, including any prototypical scripts (such as siege, or being hunted by a lion), derived from the Hebrew text or archaeological evidence.⁴⁴² Thus, a prototypical ‘siege’ script can be collated from biblical information, archaeological remains at Lachish, and from Sennacherib’s report of his Judean campaign and the reliefs in his palace in Nineveh.

Then, mappings will be presented showing which parts of source domain gestalts map on to parts of the distress gestalt.⁴⁴³ These include participants (especially agents), stages, purposes, causes and results. Thus, where God is conceptualised as ‘besieging’ someone, hostile purpose and fatal results map onto the distress experience. Since distress is an emotional experience, some elements may map onto elements of prototypical emotional scenarios, such as the cause of the emotion, physiological reactions caused by the emotion,⁴⁴⁴ and the emotion itself, including its duration and intensity. Thus, ‘my enemies set a net for my feet’ maps being a hunted animal onto the psalmist’s distress experience and maps the ‘enemies’ onto the cause.

⁴⁴¹ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*.

⁴⁴² At least from the tenth century onwards, archaeology and biblical texts give a coherent picture, see Dever, *Writers*.

⁴⁴³ See 2.5.1.b.

⁴⁴⁴ The cause of emotions in English can be found in the spatial prepositions used (as in ‘Bill was angry at Hillary’s remark’ versus ‘Bill was angry over Hillary’s remark’), R. Dirven, ‘Emotions as Cause and the Cause of Emotions’ in S. Niemeier and R. Dirven (eds.), *The Language of Emotions: Conceptualization, Expression and Theoretical Foundation* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997), 55-83, G. Radden, ‘The Conceptualisation of Emotional Causality by Means of Prepositional Phrases’ in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska (eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 273-294.

Next, entailments of these mappings for understanding the distress situation are presented. For example, if the psalmist's predicament is problematised as a net, what possible solutions are there? Finally, this section investigates source domain elements that are highlighted, to see how these elements highlight or hide aspects of distress experience.

For image schemas, this section enumerates the different source domains exhibiting the schemas recurring pattern. For example, the cluster of vehicles comprising nets, siege, drowning and prison all exemplify the enclosing CONSTRAINT schema. Since compound image schemas are often acquired through 'exposure to culture-specific scenes that create situation-bound knowledge packages',⁴⁴⁵ such culture-specific scenes are used to group the analysis of image schemas.

4.5.4. Further Evidence

Section 2.5.1.e listed several forms of evidence for conceptual metaphors. Unfortunately, the best, psycholinguistic evidence, is inaccessible for Classical Hebrew. However, this section documents other evidence for the conceptual reality of the mappings suggested by the linguistic expressions presented.

First, generalisations over polysemy will be offered, where several words are used in each of two distinct domains. This demonstrates *elaboration* of the metaphorical mapping and suggests a productive link between the domains. For example, using several roots related to being encircled (אָפּפּאַרן, סבב and נקף) in distress suggests an ongoing conceptual association between being surrounded and distress experiences.

Second, generalisations over inference patterns will show mapping of *inferential structure* from one domain to another. For example, along with several texts describing distress as being somewhere down, other texts infer that relief from distress must be movement upwards. This is a generalised inference, whether moving up to an upright position or moving up to a geographically higher position, revealing a conceptual structure.

⁴⁴⁵ Kimmel, 'Culture', 299.

Third, extensions from conventional expressions to novel poetic usages are evidence of *active* conceptual metaphors, which are sufficiently *entrenched* in the language to be reflected and developed in different registers. Since the specific corpus contains only poetic texts, this section will show how the more creative expressions reflect the same conceptual metaphors as more conventional poetic expressions, and also as conventional distress language in prose parts of the general corpus. Although there is no surviving biblical language that could be called ‘everyday’ Hebrew,⁴⁴⁶ expressions found within narrative are likely more conventional than those within poetry.

Within the poetry, imagery can be broadly distinguished as *conventional imagery*, found in the stock images of the psalms; *intensive imagery*, building on conventional metaphors and similes over several lines, found in Job and especially the prophets; and (most rarely) *innovative imagery*, found in highest concentration in Job.⁴⁴⁷ Thus, this section shows how the same conceptual metaphors surface across the spectrum of conventionality, from idioms of prose narrative, through the Psalms’ stock images, to the intensive structures of the prophets and the heights of Joban innovation. The Hodayot generally use stock images similarly to the biblical psalms, but sometimes use intensifying structures, as in 1 QH 10.7-18 where a simple simile comparing distress to labour pains becomes an involved exposition on childbirth, bringing in imagery of the sea, pit and death.

Fourth, the existence of a conceptual metaphor is supported by its *coherence* with larger-scale metaphorical systems. Conceptual metaphor theory claims that metaphors fit within larger hierarchies, so these will be investigated. For example, the metaphor EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS TASTING BITTER FOOD fits with the higher level (more schematic) conceptual metaphor LIFE EVENTS ARE INGESTED SUBSTANCES.

Fifth, any available non-linguistic expressions for the suggested conceptual metaphors will be presented, demonstrating its entrenchment throughout the linguistic and non-linguistic system. Conceptual metaphor research needs to recognise aspects ‘offloaded’ into the

⁴⁴⁶ The surviving texts are explicitly of a high literary calibre. Some even doubt whether Biblical Hebrew was ever a language of common parlance, E. Ullendorf, ‘Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?’ *BSOAS* 34 (1971) 241-255.

⁴⁴⁷ Alter, *Poetry*, 189-190.

cultural world, not just those in the brains of individuals.⁴⁴⁸ Kövecses lists possible non-linguistic realisations of conceptual metaphor, including: drawings, sculptures and buildings; symbols; myths; dream interpretation; interpretation of history; social institutions; and social practices.⁴⁴⁹ For example, eating bitter herbs at Passover to remember the Israelites' suffering powerfully consolidates the conceptual metaphor EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS EATING BITTER FOOD.

4.5.5. Universality and Variation

Finally, this section of each chapter will demonstrate how Hebrew metaphorical conceptualisations compare to the cross-linguistic examples, using Kövecses' parameters for variation described in section 2.5.7.d. This includes, first, presenting differences related to the conceptualisation of the source and target domains, their prototypical instantiations, and the inferences when used in metaphor. Second, variation in linguistic expressions will be presented, including different parts of experience highlighted by the linguistic expressions in different cultures, differences in conventionality of expressions, and differences in syntactic form. For example, dark weather is used to conceptualise negative emotional experience in English and in Hebrew (being 'gloomy' or קָדָר), but whereas in English this maps an intensity structure onto the target domain of emotion (one can be 'very' gloomy), in Hebrew it does not.

4.6. Summary

This chapter has described how the data was collected for use in this thesis, and introduced some terminology for describing that data, as well as outlining the format for presentation in the remainder of this thesis. It is now possible to present research results, beginning with the VERTICALITY image schema.

⁴⁴⁸ Gibbs, 'Heads'.

⁴⁴⁹ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 57-66.

Chapter 5: Distress and the VERTICALITY Schema

'You have put me in the depths of the pit, in the regions dark and deep.' Psalm 88.6[7]

5.1. Introduction

This chapter first establishes the VERTICALITY image schema, considering universal factors (like gravity) and more cultural-specific factors, like the vertical conception of the cosmos. Second, a brief cross-linguistic exploration shows how this schema conceptualises distress in other languages. Third, mappings within the specific corpus are given. Fourth, additional support for these mappings is presented. Finally, Hebrew and English mappings are compared, before summarising how the VERTICALITY schema in Hebrew distress discourse helps make sense of life experiences.

5.2. Establishing the Schema

5.2.1. Physiological / Universal Factors

The VERTICALITY schema is potentially universal since all humans experience gravity and, from infancy, unconsciously employ numerous processes to stay upright against it. More specifically,

The VERTICALITY schema ... emerges from our tendency to employ an UP-DOWN orientation in picking out meaningful structures of our experience. We grasp this structure of verticality repeatedly in thousands of perceptions and activities we experience every day, such as perceiving a tree, our felt sense of standing upright, the activity of climbing stairs, forming a mental image of a flagpole, measuring our children's heights, and experiencing the level of water rising in the bathtub. The VERTICALITY schema is the abstract structure of these verticality experiences, images and perceptions.⁴⁵⁰

Although standing upright is universal, other examples here are culture-specific (bathtub water or flagpoles), underlining how culture and cognition both shape image schema. Other examples would fit an ancient setting: drawing water from a well; building a wall; or forming a mental image of a tent pole.

⁴⁵⁰ Johnson, *Body*, xiv.

Cognitive Linguistics emphasises embodiment, so the upright human body is seen as prototypically giving structure to the VERTICALITY schema, alongside STRAIGHT and BALANCE schemas. As Cienki writes,

There is a significant relation between our bodies being straight, up, and in control; resisting the force of gravity, standing up straight, involves a specific kind of muscular tension. Contrast this with the relation between being bent, down, and a lack of control; when submitting to a force or influencing factor (e.g., fatigue), the body is bent over, slouched. The qualities of straightness, control, and being up, strong, and firm, therefore, commonly *group together in our experience* given how our bodies function, with a *contrasting grouping* being bent/curved, lack of control, down, weak and soft.⁴⁵¹

Thus, data fitting the STRAIGHT schema (including being ‘bowed down’) has been included with the VERTICALITY schema, as their co-occurrence in experience makes them difficult to distinguish.

The VERTICALITY schema is often structurally linked to the SCALE schema, allowing degrees of ‘up’ and ‘down’. The SCALE schema arises from experiencing our world as ‘a massive expanse of quantitative amount and qualitative degree or intensity. ... We can have more, less, or the same *number* of objects, *amount* of substance, *degree* of force, or *intensity* of sensation’.⁴⁵² Scales tend to be, first, directional, and oriented upwards. Second, they are typically normative, so that, typically, more is good. Finally, scales may or may not have fixed limits (in contrast to paths which generally terminate at definite points).⁴⁵³ Johnson concludes that ‘this experientially basic, value-laden structure of our grasp of both concrete and abstract entities is one of the most pervasive image-schematic structures in our understanding’.⁴⁵⁴ This value-laden structure maps to English emotion language, as in conventional metaphors for depression, where being *down* is culturally ‘associated with all of what we strive to avoid – for example, being “not normal,” devalued, of low status, lacking in power and control, morally bad, inferior, inadequate, and less than others’.⁴⁵⁵

In fact, Krzeszowski argues several spatial image schemas have such values attached, such as CONTAINER, BALANCE, FRONT-BACK, CENTRE-PERIPHERY, LINK and VERTICALITY. In each, a plus pole contrasts with a minus pole, the plus pole aligning with the canonical state:

⁴⁵¹ A. Cienki, ‘Straight: An Image Schema and its Metaphorical Extensions’, *Cognitive Linguistics* 9 (1998) 107-149, 111.

⁴⁵² Johnson, *Body*, 122.

⁴⁵³ Johnson, *Body*, 122-123.

⁴⁵⁴ Johnson, *Body*, 123.

⁴⁵⁵ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’, 177.

being linked; central; in; in front; or up.⁴⁵⁶ Although Hampe questions whether values inhere in the primitive VERTICALITY image schema or just in specific embodied instantiations of it,⁴⁵⁷ this chapter shows further contexts (the Hebrew conception of the universe and discourse of distress) in which ‘up’ is viewed positively and ‘down’ negatively.

5.2.2. Culture-specific Factors

For Hebrew, the absence of particles paralleling English *up* or *down* complicates comparison with conceptual metaphors like MORE IS UP or GOOD IS UP. The English word *up* in *he went up* and *he stood up* cognitively links erect posture and spatial upward movement. There is no comparable word in Hebrew, with only derivatives of רָם (‘to be high’) used in both spatial and postural domains.⁴⁵⁸ Therefore, these two VERTICALITY schemas (the spatial and postural) will be first considered separately.

a) Spatial Scale

The vertical spatial scale encompasses the whole cosmos, from heaven to Sheol. This section examines first the tangible environment, including mountains, pits and graves, before considering more fluidly conceptualised extremities.

Hills (הַרִים) and valleys (עֲמָקִים) were salient phenomena for ancient Israelites due to the hilly terrain ranging from the Judean hills (up to 1000m) down to the Dead Sea (down to 400 metres below sea level).⁴⁵⁹ Nowhere exceeded the mountains further north (including Hermon at 2840 metres), but it was certainly more mountainous than the Egyptian or Mesopotamian civilisations situated on river plains.⁴⁶⁰

The summits of hills were the highest humanly accessible points, and were often associated with divine encounter in Hebrew narrative (as in the case of Moses or Elijah) and in poetic

⁴⁵⁶ T. Krzeszowski, ‘The Axiological Parameter in Preconceptual Image Schemata’ in R. Geiger and B. Rudzka-Ostyn (eds.), *Conceptualizations and Mental Processing in Language* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1993), 307-329, 325.

⁴⁵⁷ B. Hampe, ‘When Down is Not Bad, and Up Not Good Enough: A Usage-Based Assessment of the Plus-Minus Parameter in Image-Schema Theory’, *Cognitive Linguistics* 16 (2005) 81-112, 106.

⁴⁵⁸ E. Firmage, J. Milgrom and U. Dahmen, ‘רָם’ *TDOT* XIII:403-412.

⁴⁵⁹ J. W. Rogerson, *Chronicles of the Bible Lands* (London: Angus, 2003), 58-60.

⁴⁶⁰ J. H. Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament: Introducing the Conceptual World of the Hebrew Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 175.

theophanies. Similarly, in Ugaritic texts, El's council meets at his mountain dwelling, the entrance to both heaven and the underworld.⁴⁶¹ Mountains thus connect heaven and earth.⁴⁶² With roots in the deepest seas and summits in the heavens, they unite the whole vertical cosmological scale.⁴⁶³ Even on the Mesopotamian plains, ziggurats created artificial mountaintops on which to meet the gods.⁴⁶⁴ Associating high places with gods even in Mesopotamia warns against claiming too deterministic a relationship between geography and culture.⁴⁶⁵

Aside from idolatrous worship, mountain tops are generally viewed positively in the Hebrew Scriptures expressing 'affirmed, positive, socio-religious values'.⁴⁶⁶ Valleys (עֲמָקִים) conversely, are more multivalent. They are praised as agricultural land (Psalm 65.13[14]), but negatively viewed as sites of battles, as places of stoning, or filled with dead bodies and ashes around Jerusalem. Verbs derived from עֲמַק describe making things deep, such as pits, with Semitic cognates also evoking 'depth'.⁴⁶⁷ The related noun מַעְמָקִים describes deep places, especially the deep subterranean waters.

Using wells and cisterns (to provide water in a dry climate), pits and graves required descending further, below the earth's surface. Sometimes natural underground water supplies were accessed using buckets at wells (usually בְּאֵר), like the ancient 40 metre deep shaft at Beersheba.⁴⁶⁸ Elsewhere, cisterns (usually בּוֹר⁴⁶⁹) were dug to store rainwater. Some people

⁴⁶¹ E. T. Mullen, Jr., *The Assembly of the Gods: The Divine Council in Canaanite and Early Hebrew Literature* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980).

⁴⁶² O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997 [1978]), 29.

⁴⁶³ S. Talmon, 'Har and Midbār: An Antithetical Pair of Biblical Motifs' in M. Mindlin et al. (eds.), *Figurative Language in the Ancient Near East* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1987), 117-142, 132.

⁴⁶⁴ M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Equinox, 1990), 104.

⁴⁶⁵ As in M. Smith, 'On the Differences Between the Culture of Israel and the Major Cultures of the Ancient Near East', *JANESCU* (1973) 389-395.

⁴⁶⁶ Talmon, 'Har', 125.

⁴⁶⁷ K. M. Beyse, 'עֲמָק' *TDOT* XI:202-208, 202.

⁴⁶⁸ J. A. Thompson, *Handbook of Life in Bible Times* (Leicester: IVP, 1986), 113.

had individual cisterns,⁴⁷⁰ with a narrow shaft leading to a wider chamber some 10-15 metres below ground,⁴⁷¹ but elsewhere towns shared collective cisterns, sometimes very impressive engineering feats,⁴⁷² with spiral steps around the walls of the shaft wide enough for pack animals to descend and bring up the water.⁴⁷³ Some towns had similar storage pits for dry produce, like the eleven metre wide, seven metre deep pit at Megiddo.⁴⁷⁴ These constructions provided an embodied experience where people could ‘descend into the pit’ together. When the psalmists describe being in the **בֹּר**, this variety of cisterns and pits were cognitively accessible, alongside Sheol itself as an underground ‘pit’.

שְׁחַת also prototypically describes a pit or cistern,⁴⁷⁵ particularly for trapping animals.⁴⁷⁶ Although lions or donkeys may also fall into a similarly shaped **בֹּר** (as attested in Torah legislation and in Benaiah’s exploits of 2 Samuel 23.20), the main difference is that a **שְׁחַת** was dug deliberately for catching animals. It also frequently describes the underworld, often paralleling **שְׁאֵל**, especially in the sectarian Qumran writings.

Burial practices also required going below the ground. A **קֶבֶר** was ‘a grave, excavated hole, or corresponding stone structure’.⁴⁷⁷ Surviving graves⁴⁷⁸ are hewn from rock caves,

⁴⁶⁹ The use of **בְּאֵר** in 2 Samuel 23.15 and **בֹּר** in the parallel verse in 1 Chronicles 11.17 suggests the Hebrew distinctions may not be totally clear cut. Perhaps in later Hebrew **בֹּר** came to mean both wells and cisterns, Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 92.

⁴⁷⁰ According to the Moabite Stone, King Mesha told each of the inhabitants of Qarhoh to dig their own cistern, B. T. Arnold and B. E. Beyer, *Readings from the Ancient Near East* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 162.

⁴⁷¹ Thompson, *Handbook*, 115.

⁴⁷² A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, 10,000-586 B.C.E.* (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 478.

⁴⁷³ Mazar, *Archaeology*, 478-483.

⁴⁷⁴ D. Ussishkin, ‘Gate 1567 at Megiddo and the Seal of Shema, Servant of Jeroboam’ in M. D. Coogan et al. (eds.), *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 410-428, 425.

⁴⁷⁵ The Moabite cognate is used on the Moabite stone passage referred to above.

⁴⁷⁶ L. Wächter, ‘שְׁחַת’ *TDOT* XIV:595-599.

⁴⁷⁷ K. Koch, ‘קֶבֶר’ *TDOT* XII:492-498, 492.

⁴⁷⁸ Koch argues that earthen graves were more common for most people, but have left no trace. Koch, ‘קֶבֶר’, 496.

comprising a square room with a narrow sealable entrance passage. Bodies and artefacts were first respectfully laid on benches, then unceremoniously swept aside when the bench was needed for another body.⁴⁷⁹ A typical tomb (at Tell Dothan) has a 3.3 metre deep vertical shaft leading down into a 5.5 metre tall central chamber.⁴⁸⁰ Thus, entering such a grave to bury family members certainly involved descent into the ground.

Beyond the tangible environment, the cosmos extends upwards into the heavens (שָׁמַיִם) and downwards extends watery depths (תְּהוֹמוֹת), and, somewhere, the netherworld destiny of the dead (שְׁאוֹל). Some Hebrew evidence suggests a tripartite cosmological division into heaven, earth (אֶרֶץ) and (potentially underground) seas (תְּהוֹמוֹת, or more commonly, יַמִּים).⁴⁸¹ A tripartite division is represented in Egypt and Mesopotamia,⁴⁸² although often in Egypt it is heaven, earth and realm of the dead (Duat). In Mesopotamia, the third place is most commonly the primeval ocean (Apsū).⁴⁸³ However, since Psalm 135.6 mentions four locations (listing seas and depths separately), and given frequent bipartite descriptions of heaven (שָׁמַיִם) and earth (אֶרֶץ), any Hebrew tripartite division is not rigid.

Typically for the ancient Near East, the subterranean regions are somewhat fluidly conceptualised, always including water but varying as to how the inhabited earth stayed afloat (suggesting pillars, beams, or more direct divine action).⁴⁸⁴ In Hebrew, watery depths are also a very consistent element of the conceptualisation, though totally alien to contemporary understanding. In Sumerian texts, this water is ‘sweet’, supplying the springs needed for agriculture.⁴⁸⁵ In Hebrew, the subterranean water is יַמִּים (Psalm 24.2) or מַיִם

⁴⁷⁹ R. E. Cooley and G. D. Pratico, ‘Gathered to His People: An Archaeological Illustration from Tell Dothan’s Western Cemetery’ in M. D. Coogan et al. (eds.), *Scripture and Other Artifacts: essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994), 70-92, 89.

⁴⁸⁰ Cooley and Pratico, ‘People’, 75-78.

⁴⁸¹ Keel, *Symbolism*, 35.

⁴⁸² I. Cornelius, ‘The Visual Representation of the World in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible’, *JNSL* 20 (1994) 193-218.

⁴⁸³ Keel, *Symbolism*, 35.

⁴⁸⁴ Keel, *Symbolism*, 39.

⁴⁸⁵ W. G. Lambert, ‘The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon’ in C. Blacker and M. Loewe (eds.), *Ancient Cosmologies* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1975), 42-65, 47.

(Exodus 20.3), neither specifying salt or fresh water.⁴⁸⁶ The phrase מַיִם רַבִּים also occurs, encompassing subterranean waters and the world-embracing oceans.⁴⁸⁷ However, passages describing their proximity to Sheol show they are prototypically ‘low’.

Similarly, מְצוּלָה describes ‘something which is “sunken down, deep”’,⁴⁸⁸ or at ‘an extreme distance’.⁴⁸⁹ It occurs most frequently with water, so may prototypically refer to deep water, and be appropriate cosmologically for the deep parts of subterranean water. Fabry claims it does not ‘necessarily evoke some sort of vertical dimension’,⁴⁹⁰ but its occurrence in a semantic domain with many other ‘low’ places suggests vertical dimension may indeed be evoked.

Next, שְׂאֵל was the final destiny of all, but especially the ungodly or those who died an untimely death.⁴⁹¹ Although appearing more in the context of personal emotional engagement than in cosmology,⁴⁹² and associated with destruction, desert and ocean as well as depths,⁴⁹³ the abode of the dead is nevertheless ‘down’ on the cosmological scale,⁴⁹⁴ probably ‘a great space in the depths’.⁴⁹⁵ Across the ancient Near East, ‘the movement downwards was universally associated with death’.⁴⁹⁶ However, שְׂאֵל is distinctly Hebrew,

⁴⁸⁶ H.-J. Fabry and R. E. Clements, ‘מַיִם’ *TDOT* VIII:265-288, 269.

⁴⁸⁷ Fabry and Clements, ‘מַיִם’, 275.

⁴⁸⁸ H.-J. Fabry, ‘מְצוּלָה’ *TDOT* VIII:514-519, 514-515.

⁴⁸⁹ N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, Vol. 21 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969), 56.

⁴⁹⁰ Fabry, ‘מְצוּלָה’, 516.

⁴⁹¹ P. S. Johnston, *Shades of Sheol: Death and Afterlife in the Old Testament* (Leicester: Apollos, 2002), 79-83.

⁴⁹² Johnston, *Shades*, 72.

⁴⁹³ Barth thus argued that Sheol was not a particular locality, C. Barth, *Die Errettung vom Tode in den Individuellen Klage- und Dankliedern des Alten Testaments* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1947), 80-89, cited in M. A. Knibb, ‘Life and Death in the Old Testament’ in R. E. Clements (ed.), *The World of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 395-415, 405.

⁴⁹⁴ For example, Tromp, *Conceptions*, 133, Johnston, *Shades*, 75, L. Wächter, ‘שְׂאֵל’ *TDOT* XIV:239-248.

⁴⁹⁵ Wächter, ‘שְׂאֵל’, 241-242.

⁴⁹⁶ N. Wyatt, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 40.

with major attributes including silence, darkness, dust, decay, and subterranean depth, all also characteristic of graves. Thus, possibly, ‘every grave is a little “Sheol”’.⁴⁹⁷ However, קֶכֶר occurs very rarely in the Psalms or Job (despite common reference to the underworld), and only very rarely are those in their graves linked to שְׁאֵל.⁴⁹⁸

The relative locations of Sheol and watery deep are debated. In Mesopotamian literature, where distinct levels are given, the realm of the dead is below the (positive) Apsū,⁴⁹⁹ so that ‘the furthest realm in the direction downward was “the netherworld”’.⁵⁰⁰ Cornelius, conversely, portrays Hebrew שְׁאֵל as a cavern within the solid earth, above the bottomless subterranean waters.⁵⁰¹ Frymer-Kensky argues that Sheol is ‘perhaps on the bottom of the sea’ since the way to get there is always through water,⁵⁰² assuming the underground seas do indeed have a ‘bottom’. Certainly, Psalm 139.8 puts שָׁמַיִם and שְׁאֵל as vertically opposite extremities. At least, שְׁאֵל is unequivocally down cosmologically, as are the subterranean waters. Further, the lowest point on the cosmological scale is the depths of Sheol.

Did the Israelites, then, actually think you passed through water when descending to Sheol?⁵⁰³ Probably not. Since the Israelites’ cosmic conception included subterranean water, being in this water is being cosmologically ‘down’, being very low is being down in Sheol, being the lowest possible is down in the depths at the very bottom of Sheol. But this does not mean a literal path through water is followed to get to Sheol at death.

This suggests the following spatial vertical scale, with positions indicating the depth of prototypical referents:

⁴⁹⁷ Keel, *Symbolism*, 63. This is more restrained than Pedersen’s contention that ‘Sheol is the totality into which all graves are merged’, J. Pedersen, *Israel Its Life and Culture, I-II* (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), 462.

⁴⁹⁸ Koch, ‘קֶכֶר’, 494, 497.

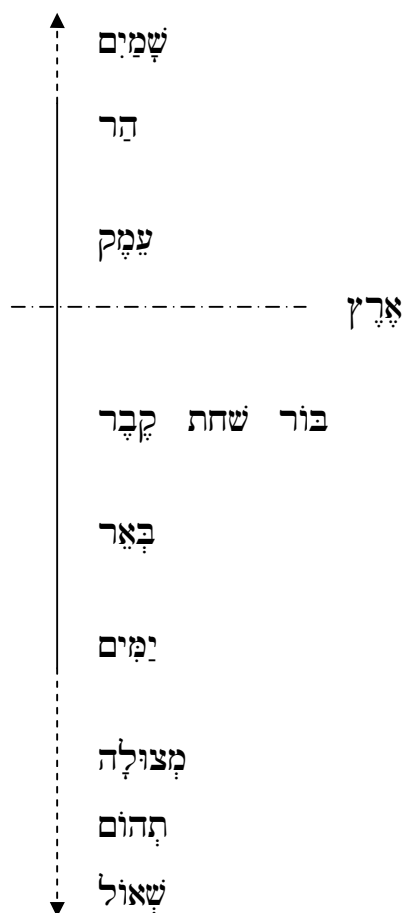
⁴⁹⁹ Lambert, ‘Cosmology’, 48.

⁵⁰⁰ F. Rochberg, ‘Mesopotamian Cosmology’ in D. C. Snell (ed.), *A Companion to the Ancient Near East* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 316-329, 325.

⁵⁰¹ Cornelius, ‘Representation’, 218.

⁵⁰² T. Frymer-Kensky, ‘Biblical Cosmology’ in M. O’Connor and D. N. Freedman (eds.), *Backgrounds for the Bible* (Winona Lake: Eerdmans, 1987), 231-240, 233.

⁵⁰³ See D. Rudman, ‘The Use of Water Imagery in Descriptions of Sheol’, *ZAW* 113 (2001) 240-244.



The basic-level verbs for movement on this scale are **עלה** (upwards) and **ירד** (downwards).

ירד describes descending into a pit or moving to lower ground.⁵⁰⁴ People descend to coastal cities or to the Philistines, and most typically, to Egypt. Perhaps travelling from north to south is seen as descent,⁵⁰⁵ somewhat fitting the topography and the flow of the Jordan.⁵⁰⁶ However, the simplest explanation is to recognise an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor DOWN IS BAD.

⁵⁰⁴ G. Mayer, 'יָרַד', *TDOT* VI:315-322, 316-319.

⁵⁰⁵ Mayer, 'יָרַד', 318.

⁵⁰⁶ Wyatt, *Space*, 40.

Going up, **עלה** basically means ‘move to a higher place’.⁵⁰⁷ Figuratively, it describes one country becoming greater than another (Deuteronomy 28.43) or a wife surpassing others (Proverbs 31.29), both showing positive evaluation of the UP pole.

b) Postural Scale

The postural VERTICALITY schema extends from an erect posture to lying prone on the ground. Universally, ‘as physical bodies we are usually oriented upright when we are healthy, awake, and alive; and we are often prone when we are ill, sleeping or dead’.⁵⁰⁸ There are also culture-specific reasons for standing or prostrating oneself.

The basic verb for becoming more erect is **קום**, typically describing a human achieving an erect posture, but extending to other objects or concepts (such as the Davidic dynasty) to emphasise their solidity and stability, or the readiness to act.⁵⁰⁹ Basson argues from the psalmists’ use to entreat God to act that the up-down schema is the most common orientational metaphor in lament psalms.⁵¹⁰

Conversely, **שכב** describes becoming horizontal, sanctioning all three prototypical scenarios: sleeping, sexual intercourse, and, most frequently, dying, perhaps motivated by burial customs.⁵¹¹ **שכב** also describes the horizontal posture of sickness, grief or petition, as when David hears of Bathsheba’s son’s sickness (2 Samuel 12.16) or that Absalom has killed all his sons (2 Samuel 13.31).

Next, **נפל** describes involuntary movement down the postural scale (‘falling’). Similarly, the noun **דָּחִי** is used for stumbling, the root **צלע** for both limping (as Jacob following Peniel) and stumbling, and the verb **טול** (in the hophal) for being thrown down.

⁵⁰⁷ H. F. Fuhs, ‘עָלָה’ *TDOT* XI:76-95, 81.

⁵⁰⁸ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’, 174.

⁵⁰⁹ J. Gamberoni, ‘קָוִים’ *TDOT* XII:589-612.

⁵¹⁰ Basson, *Divine*, 243.

⁵¹¹ W. Beuken, ‘שָׁכַב’ *TDOT* XIV:659-671, 661.

חֹוּה (in the ishtaphal⁵¹²) focuses posturally on bending over at the waist,⁵¹³ prostrating oneself before gods in worship, before kings, or to show respect. Only a few cases (as in Genesis 22.5) evoke more general worship without a postural focus.⁵¹⁴ The Black Obelisk of Shalmeneser III shows Jehu adopting this posture before his Assyrian overlord.⁵¹⁵ Sometimes texts emphasise noses or faces touching the ground, possibly only temporarily, expecting the invitation to rise.⁵¹⁶ Egyptian and Mesopotamian iconography show a specific prototypical posture with one knee forward, hands level with the shoulders, and chin on the ground.⁵¹⁷ Although חֹוּה is not associated with any verbs in the specific corpus, the phonological similarity to שָׁחָה allows some cognitive links, as in Sawyer's associative fields (section 2.3.2).

Other roots relate to this posture. קָרַד often occurs with חֹוּה, and specifically with אֶפֶס (nostrils), potentially highlighting putting the head to the ground, within the posture described above.⁵¹⁸ כָּרַע, by contrast, highlights the lower limbs, covering 'kneeling' and 'crouching',⁵¹⁹ and perhaps evoking a posture 'sitting on the lower leg'.⁵²⁰ A posture with shins in front of one another on the ground and arms upraised is shown in Egyptian reliefs,⁵²¹ from which it would be easy to drop to the more fully prostrate form described above, explaining the formula כָּרַעִים וּמִשְׁתַּחֲוִים used in Esther 3.2. כָּפַי also evokes a bowed

⁵¹² This way of explaining the form found in the Hebrew scriptures is preferred over a hithpael of שָׁחָה because it explains the otherwise intrusive vav, and is paralleled in Ugaritic texts, H. Preuss, 'חֹוּה' TDOT IV:248-256, 249.

⁵¹³ M. I. Gruber, *Aspects of Non-Verbal Communication in the Ancient Near East (2 Volumes)* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 91-92.

⁵¹⁴ Gruber, *Aspects*, 123.

⁵¹⁵ Shown in M. F. Unger, *Archaeology and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1954), 250.

⁵¹⁶ Preuss, 'חֹוּה', 251.

⁵¹⁷ Keel, *Symbolism*, 268 (Assyrian), 304-305, 309-310 (Egyptian).

⁵¹⁸ Gruber, *Aspects*, 123-131.

⁵¹⁹ H. Eising, 'כָּרַע' TDOT VII:336-339.

⁵²⁰ Gruber, *Aspects*, 171-172.

⁵²¹ Keel, *Symbolism*, 304, 305, 309.

posture, maybe with just the upper torso bent over, as in a bulrush bending its head (Isaiah 58.5).

Forms from שָׁחַ and שִׁיחַ are also relevant,⁵²² describing crouching lions (Job 38.40), and evil people bowing before the good (Proverbs 14.19). However, שָׁחַ also describes bringing down inhabitants of the heights (Isaiah 26.5), or city walls (Isaiah 25.12), schematically describing making something erect become low, rather than a particular posture. The hithpolel form תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (Psalm 43.5[6]) is often translated ‘downcast’ or ‘bowed down’, deriving it from שָׁחַ.⁵²³ Elsewhere, this form is attributed to שִׁיחַ, ‘dissolve’,⁵²⁴ so that the psalmist’s נֶפֶשׁ is dissolving rather than being ‘down’. However, melting, flowing or spreading is potentially linked to being down, in that something which spreads out also decreases in height.

Thus, several roots indicate specific low postures in the Classical Hebrew cognitive environment.

5.3. Comparative Data on Emotion Language and the VERTICALITY Schema

5.3.1. Contemporary Cross-Linguistic Comparisons

This section reviews three articles studying the VERTICALITY schema in contemporary emotion language, first for English depression, second, for Russian emotional states entered using verbs of downward movement, and third for Punjabi ‘sinking’ hearts.

⁵²² Ruppert lists שִׁיחַ, שִׁיחַ and שָׁחַ all as ‘secondary forms’ of שָׁחַ, L. Ruppert, ‘שָׁחַ’ *TDOT* XIV:558-562, 559.

⁵²³ As in G. A. Long, ‘שָׁחַ’ in W. A. VanGemeren (ed.), *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1996), 76-77.

⁵²⁴ As in Ruppert, ‘שָׁחַ’, 559, and H. M. Wolf and R. Holmstedt, ‘שִׁיחַ’ *NIDOTTE* 4:98 (inconsistent when compared to Long’s article elsewhere in *NIDOTTE*, G. A. Long, ‘שָׁחַ’ *NIDOTTE* 4:76-77).

First, McMullen and Conway studied metaphors used by depressed English speakers, finding 90% instantiated the conceptual metaphor DEPRESSION IS DESCENT.⁵²⁵ This metaphor is entrenched in both conventional and novel expressions, and has several entailments. Feeling *low*, *down*, or *depressed* are normal ways of expressing depression, as are the more creative *being down in the dumps*, *hitting rock bottom*, or *being in a slump*. Novel expressions included *being down in my catacombs* and *wallowing in a dreary, dismal pit*, easily comprehensible through familiarity with more conventional expressions.

An obvious entailment links depth to emotional intensity, descending from feeling *a bit low* to being *in the depths*. Second, easy downward movement (because of gravity) contrasts with difficulty moving upwards, so that verbs for entering depression like *spiralling down*, *crashing*, *nose-diving*, *sliding* and *slipping* show that 'depression is conceptualised as a downward progression that, once begun, is difficult, if not impossible, to stop'.⁵²⁶ Third, since conscious bodily control is unnecessary for descent, the metaphor highlights external causality and the lack of control sufferers experience in depression.⁵²⁷ Fourth, experiences of physical descent imply that the further one descends, the harder it is to come back up; that if one goes too far, one goes beyond reach; and that once one begins to fall, one normally has to hit the bottom before any attempt to climb out is possible. Thus, this metaphor highlights failure, loss of control and the difficulty returning to 'normality'.⁵²⁸

Second, in Russian, verbs for entering different emotional states use the VERTICALITY schema. Thus, *on pogružit'sja v X* ('he sank / plunged into X') is acceptable where X is *strax* (fear), *užas* (terror), *pečal* (sadness), *otčajanie* (despair), *gore* (grief), *skorb'* (sorrow), *blaženstvo* (bliss) or *ljubov'* (love), but not *ispug* (fright), *panika* (panic), *ogorčenie* (distress), *radost'* (joy), *vostorg* (delight) or any words relating to anger, disgust or surprise. Conversely, *vpal v X* ('he fell into X') is acceptable where X is *trevoga* (anxiety), *panika* (panic), *otčajanie* (despair) or any words related to anger. It is unacceptable for surprise, disgust or love.⁵²⁹

⁵²⁵ McMullen and Conway, 'Depression'.

⁵²⁶ McMullen and Conway, 'Depression', 172.

⁵²⁷ McMullen and Conway, 'Depression', 178.

⁵²⁸ McMullen and Conway, 'Depression', 172-179.

⁵²⁹ A. D. Mostovaja, 'On Emotions that One can "Immerse Into", "Fall Into" and "Come To": The Semantics of a Few Russian Prepositional Constructions' in A. Athanasiadou and E. Tabakowska

Pogruzit'sja refers to 'gradually getting deeper and deeper into a substance until an object is fully covered with this substance (normally a liquid)',⁵³⁰ so only appropriate if entering something deep. Depth on the VERTICALITY scale then maps to the emotion's duration, so that 'the longer the emotion lasts, the deeper it is. On the other hand emotions which pass quickly are not "deep" at all'.⁵³¹ Conversely, *vpal* focuses on falling into something bad. Thus, 'since real falling into something which happens in physical space is normally an undesirable event, it makes it easy to understand why words referring to positive emotions cannot occur in slot X in the construction *on vpal v X* "he fell into X"'. Rather, words here 'always denote inner states which are thought of as bad for the experiencer'.⁵³²

Third, Punjabi speakers use a 'sinking heart', *dil ghirda hai*, to describe a cluster of negative emotional and physical symptoms brought on by hunger, sunstroke, excessive anger, unhappiness, pride or shame, heart attacks, children leaving home or loss of family members.⁵³³ *Ghirna* evokes falling, sinking, dropping or stumbling,⁵³⁴ explainable in the idiom as 'when the heart moves downwards or decreases in strength'.⁵³⁵ Krause observes that 'Punjabis label their experience 'sinking heart' when feelings of anxiety are combined with physical sensations in the heart or chest'.⁵³⁶ The importance here is the VERTICALITY schema collocating with the most important body part (the heart is the source of life in Punjabi) to express a salient negative experience, combining social, physical and emotional components. It also warns against overusing universals in describing emotional and physical conditions. The cluster of causes and symptoms of a 'sinking heart' do not match any salient diagnosis in Western medicine, though salient in the Punjabi community.

Thus, in English, Russian and Punjabi, the DOWN pole of the VERTICALITY scale helps conceptualise negative emotional (and physical) experience. These studies also suggest

(eds.), *Speaking of Emotions: Conceptualisation and Expression* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), 295-330, 299.

⁵³⁰ Mostovaja, 'Emotions', 300.

⁵³¹ Mostovaja, 'Emotions', 304.

⁵³² Mostovaja, 'Emotions', 324.

⁵³³ I. B. Krause, 'Sinking Heart: A Punjabi Communication of Distress', *Social Science and Medicine* 29 (1989) 563-575, 568-571.

⁵³⁴ Krause, 'Heart', 566.

⁵³⁵ Krause, 'Heart', 564.

⁵³⁶ Krause, 'Heart', 567.

entailments potentially present in Hebrew. Does Hebrew map depth to duration (as in Russian), so that the longer the state of distress the farther the scale is descended? Do they allow the entailment (as in English) that the farther one has descended, the more difficult it is to return? Comparing with Punjabi, do salient idioms use a VERTICALITY schema, and if so, do they evoke a culture-specific constellation of causes and symptoms?

5.3.2. Ancient Near Eastern Comparisons

Next, two illustrative ancient Near Eastern examples show the antiquity of conceptualising negative experience through the VERTICALITY schema. First, lines in the Akkadian *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi* demonstrate this mapping:

ina ʔa-a-bi i-ta-ma-a i-li šá-ma-'i

ú-taš-šá-šá-ma i-dab-bu-ba a-rad ir-kal-la (Column II, lines 46-47)

In prosperity (happiness) they speak of scaling heaven,

Under adversity (sadness) they complain of going down to hell.⁵³⁷

Significantly, this describes a contemporary conventional idiom, not just the poet's own expression, and shows that conceptualising distressing experiences as a descent to the netherworld is not unique to Hebrew.

A few lines later, the sufferer's symptoms are summarised, with his⁵³⁸ low position on the postural VERTICALITY schema (at the hands of demons) symptomatic of his troubles.

la-na zaq-ru i-bu-tú i-ga-ri-iš

gat-ti rap-šat ú-ru-ba-iš uš-ni-i-la

ki-i ú-lil-te an-na-bi-uk bu-pa-niš an-na-di (Column II, lines 68-70)

My lofty stature they destroyed like a wall,

My robust figure they laid down like a bulrush,

I am thrown down like a bog plant and cast on my face.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁷ Akkadian transliteration and English translation from W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 40-41. Alternative translation from Fuhs, 'עֲלָה', 80.

⁵³⁸ Throughout this thesis, authors of biblical and ancient Near Eastern texts are generally assumed to be male, so that male pronouns are used to describe them and their situations. Gender-neutral pronouns are used for later users of the texts.

⁵³⁹ Lambert, *Wisdom*, 43.

Although the most significant schema here is FORCE, each line highlights something typically erect (wall, bulrush and bog plant) being brought down from its normative status.

A second illustrative Akkadian usage is the idiom *libbi šapil* ('low heart'). In Assyrian medical texts *libbu* usually more generally references the intestines in the abdomen, contrasting with lungs and organs higher in the chest,⁵⁴⁰ and the idiom is associated with depression or worry, such as the inability to speak or sadness over a child.⁵⁴¹

These comparisons again raise questions. What is the significance of the descent to the underworld motif in Hebrew distress discourse? How does the postural scale describe the lamenter's troubles? Are internal body parts described as 'low'? Some of these are answered below.

5.4. Presentation and Analysis of Hebrew Mappings

5.4.1. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING DOWN ON THE SPATIAL GEOGRAPHICAL SCALE

The most fundamental mapping here is that EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE IS BEING IN A SPATIAL LOCATION, as in English being *down in the dumps*, or *in heaven*. Psalm 130 is an obvious initial example:

מִמַּעַמְקִים קָרָאתִיךָ יְהוָה:

Psalm 130.1: Out of the depths I cry to you, O LORD.

This supports the general mapping, but also the value-laden mapping that negative experience is being in a spatial location low on the VERTICALITY scale. Several low locations are used for the distressed person, most commonly a **בֹּר** or **שְׁחַת**.

קָרָאתִי שְׁמֶךָ יְהוָה מִבֹּר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת:

Lamentations 3.55: I called on your name, O LORD, from the depths of the pit (**בֹּר**).

⁵⁴⁰ M. Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia* (Groningen: Styx Publications, 1993), 27.

⁵⁴¹ E. Reiner (ed.), *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (Š/I)* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1989), 424.

שְׁתֵּנִי בְּבוֹר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת בְּמַחְשָׁכִים בְּמַצְלוֹת:

Psalms 88.6[7]: You have put me in the depths of the pit (בֹּר), in the regions dark and deep.

[...] מה עלי כיוורדי שאול ועם 29 מתים יחפש רוחי כי הגיעו לשחת

1QH 16.28-29:⁵⁴² [...] over me like those who go down to Sheol, and with the dead my spirit hides because [my] li[fe] has drawn near to the pit (שחת).

Elsewhere, the lamenter sinks (טבע) into mud, a root describing the stone ‘sinking’ into Goliath’s head, Jeremiah sinking into mud (טִיט) at the bottom of a cistern, and the Egyptian army in the Yam Suph (Exodus 15.4). All describe an entity embedding into something soft,⁵⁴³ especially if the Egyptians in Exodus 15.4 were stuck in the mud before the waters returned and the deeps covered them in 15.5, rather than actually sinking through the water itself. Thus, whereas *sink* in English is prototypically framed against a medium of water, טבע is framed against mud and does not evoke the same unbounded downward trajectory.

Psalms 69.2[3] (and similarly 69.14[15]) has an intensification structure⁵⁴⁴ between the two parallel lines, the psalmist being first stuck in the mud, but by the second line being in deep water. 1QH 15.2 parallels Jeremiah 38.22, with the noun בִּץ suggesting the petitioner’s feet are stuck in swampy ground, a less dramatic image than the psalmist’s מְצוּלָה. Psalm 40.2[3] has no ‘sinking’ verb, but the psalmist is rescued from a ‘miry bog’ (טִיט הַיִּבּוֹן), another place of boggy danger.

טָבַעְתִּי בִּיּוֹן מְצוּלָה וְאִין מַעְמָד בָּאֲתִי בְּמַעְמְקֵי-מִים וְשִׁבְלֹת שְׁטָפְתִּנִּי:

⁵⁴² The references, Hebrew transcription and English translations of Qumran texts are based on Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, unless otherwise stated. *Hodayot* citations use 1QH^a, although lacunae may be filled by other versions. 1QH^a likely had a privileged position within the Qumran community, being, together with 1QS and 1QM, ‘venerated copies of earlier authoritative models of the major sectarian works’, D. Dimant, ‘The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of its Date and Provenance’, *RevQ* 88 (2006) 615-630.

⁵⁴³ Also suggested by the Hebrew cognate noun טָבַעַת (‘signet ring’), Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 371.

⁵⁴⁴ Alter, *Poetry*, 62-84.

Psalm 69.2[3]: I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold; I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me.

הִצִּילֵנִי מִטֵּיט וְאֶל־אֶטְבָּעָה אֲנַצֵּלָה מִשְׁנֵאֵי וּמִמַּעַמְקֵי־מַיִם:

Psalm 69.14 [15]: Rescue me from the mire, do not let me sink - let me be delivered from those who hate me, even from watery depths.⁵⁴⁵

וּתִטַּבַּע <ב>בְּבֶן רִגְלִי

1QH 15.2: My feet sink in the mud.

וַיַּעֲלֵנִי מִבּוֹר שְׁאוֹן מִטֵּיט הִיגֹן

Psalm 40.2[3]: He drew me up from the pit of tumult, out of the miry bog.

Other lamenters locate themselves in deep (subterranean) waters. Sometimes **מַיִם רַבִּים** is used, elsewhere it is more specifically the subterranean waters, evoked by **מְצוּלוֹת** or **תְּהוֹם**. Psalm 71 refers to the earth's depths, without referring to water.

יִשְׁלַח מִמְרוֹם יִקְחֵנִי יְמִשְׁנֵי מַמִּים רַבִּים:

Psalm 18.16[17]: He reached down from on high, he took me; he drew me out from the deep waters.⁵⁴⁶

וַיִּשְׁיִמוּ נַפְשִׁי כִּאֲנִיָּה בְּמַצּוּלוֹת יָם

1QH 11.6: They have set [my] soul like a boat in the [de]pths of the sea.⁵⁴⁷

[כ]לֹאֵי עִם תְּהוֹם נִחְשַׁב לֵאמֹר [...]

1QH 13.38: My [ga]ol is comparable to the deep without there being [...]

בָּאֵתִי בְּמַעַמְקֵי־מַיִם וְשִׁבְלֵת שְׁטָפְתָּנִי:

Psalm 69.2[3]: I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me.

וּמִתְהַמּוֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תַּעֲלֵנִי:

⁵⁴⁵ M. E. Tate, *Psalms 51-100* (Waco: Word Books, 1990), 187.

⁵⁴⁶ P. C. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50* (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 167.

⁵⁴⁷ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, 165.

Psalm 71.20: From the depths of the earth you will bring me up again.

Finally, sometimes the lamenter apparently locates himself in Sheol, more frequently in thanksgivings than laments.⁵⁴⁸ In Psalm 86.13, the psalmist may only have been destined for Sheol when rescued, since **נצל מן** in Genesis 32.11 is used for Jacob's deliverance from a distress that has not yet fully arrived. The following two examples, however, more clearly place the petitioner in Sheol. The four final examples portray Sheol more as a person than a place, who can tie the petitioner up, buy him, or be on his bed with him. However, these are included here since Sheol prototypically refers to an underground location, even if personified in these texts.

והצלת נפשי משאול תחתיה:

Psalm 86.13: You have delivered my soul from the depths of Sheol.

יהוה העלית מן-שאול נפשי חיתני מירד-בור:⁵⁴⁹

Psalm 30.3[4]: O LORD, you brought up my soul from Sheol, restored me to life that I should not go down to the Pit.⁵⁵⁰

ויאמר קראתי מצרה לי אל-יהוה ויענני מבטן שאול שועתי שמעת קולי:

Jonah 2.2[3]: And he said, "I called to the LORD out of my distress, and he answered me; out of the belly of Sheol I cried, and you heard my voice."

אפפוני חבלי-מוות ומצרי שאול מצאוני צרה ויגון אמצא:

Psalm 116.3: Death's cords were all around me, Sheol's nooses had seized me, I encountered distress and anguish.⁵⁵¹

חבלי שאול סבבוני קדמוני מוקשי מות:

Psalm 18.5[6]: The cords of Sheol have surrounded me, the snares of Death have confronted me.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁸ Johnston, *Shades*, 89.

⁵⁴⁹ Here, and elsewhere with a Ketiv-Qere distinction, the Qere is written.

⁵⁵⁰ The Qere translation, footnoted in the NRSV.

⁵⁵¹ L. C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* (Waco: Word Books, 1983), 111.

⁵⁵² Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 166.

לְמוֹת 10 הֵייתִי בַחַטָּאִי וְעוֹנוֹתַי לְשֹׂאֵל מִכְרוֹנִי וְתִצִּילֵנִי 11 אֱלֹהִים

11Q6 19.9-11: I was near to death because of my sins, and my iniquities have sold me to Sheol, but you YHWH, saved me.

[...אפפוני] 4 מִשְׁבְּרֵי מוֹת וְשֹׂאֵל עַל יְצוּעֵי

1QH 17.3-4: The breakers of death [surround me], Sheol is upon my bed.

All these verses conceptualise distress as being located low on the VERTICALITY scale, mapping both the low position to the distressing situation, and the person there to the petitioner. Other dimensions of the experiential gestalt of ‘being in a low place’ are also mapped onto the target domain of distress, potentially including: participants; parts; stages; linear sequence; causation and purpose.⁵⁵³ For example, the person in a low position is a *participant* in the gestalt. Four further elements are considered below.

First, regarding *causation*, embodied experiences of becoming low are often non-volitional. Sinking into mud results from the external force of gravity. Alternatively, someone may fall into a trap or be imprisoned in an underground pit. These images map the external cause of being low onto the external cause of distress, whether unspecified (like gravity, Psalm 69.1-2[2-3], cited above), or a deliberate, hostile agent: either God (Psalm 88.6[7], putting the psalmist in a pit, cited above), or the ‘enemies’ (Psalm 119.85, Psalm 57.6[7], Psalm 35.7-8). The petitioner neither desires nor has any control over his low position, highlighting external causes and hiding the lamenter’s own part in the situation.

כָּרוּ לִי יָדַיִם שִׁיחֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא כְתוּבָה:

Psalm 119.85: The arrogant have dug pitfalls for me; they flout your law.

כָּרוּ לִפְנֵי שִׁיחָה נִפְלִי בְּתוֹכָהּ:

Psalm 57.6[7]: They dug a pit in my path, but they have fallen into it themselves.

כִּי-חָנָם טָמְנוּ-לִי שִׁחַת רִשְׁתָּם חָנָם חָפְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי: תִּבְוֹאֶהוּ שׂוֹאָה לֹא-יֵדַע וְרִשְׁתּוֹ
אֲשֶׁר-טָמְנוּ תִּלְכְּדוּ בְּשׂוֹאָה יִפְּלֻ-בָּהּ:

⁵⁵³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 77-86, see section 2.5.1.b.

Psalm 35.7-8: For without cause they hid their net for me; without cause they dug a pit for my life. Let ruin come on them unawares. And let the net that they hid ensnare them; let them fall in it - to their ruin.⁵⁵⁴

In some (mainly Qumranic) texts, the cause comes from the deep place itself (that may swallow up the petitioner, have traps to catch him, or shoot arrows out upwards).

אַל-תִּשְׁטַפְנִי שְׂבָלֶת מַיִם וְאַל-תִּבְלַעְנִי מְצוּלָה וְאַל-תִּאָטֶר-עָלַי בְּאֶר פִּיהָ:

Psalm 69.15[16]: Do not let the flood sweep over me, or the deep swallow me up, or the Pit close its mouth over me.

ותשוך בעדי מכול מוקשי שחת

1QH 10.21: You have protected me from all the traps of the pit.

בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין השב ויודו לאין תקוה

1QH 11.17: When all the arrows of the pit fly forth without return. Then they rend beyond hope.⁵⁵⁵

Second, returning to the *parts* of the low scenario, several texts highlight the depth of the low places through a descriptive adjective. Thus, the petitioner is in the ‘lowest’ pit (בּוֹר), Lamentations 3.55, Psalm 88.6[7]), the ‘depths’ of Sheol (תְּהוֹמֹת), Psalm 86.13), and ‘deep’ mud and deep water (יִוֵּן מְצוּלָה, מַעְמְקֵי-מַיִם, Psalm 69.2[3]). In Psalm 88.6[7], the psalmist explicitly mentions the depth again (מְצוּלוֹת), after positioning himself in the lowest pit, to emphasise his plight. This syntax suggests depth is explicitly mapped onto the intensity of distress, and also demonstrates active use of the source domain.⁵⁵⁶

Third, the perceptual experience of low places (both in hearing and vision) is another *part* mapped onto the perceptual experience of the petitioner. The tumultuous noise of deep

⁵⁵⁴ The NRSV translation reverses the order of pit and net, to make sense of the pit being dug rather than the net.

⁵⁵⁵ Kittel, *Hymns*, 59.

⁵⁵⁶ See section 2.5.2.d.

waters is highlighted (Psalm 42.7[8]), sometimes specifically mapped onto the noise of opponents, as in 1QH 10.27. Similarly, Psalm 69 also maps the perceptual experience of being in the water to the effect of the speech of the enemies so that ‘like the relentless pounding of waves, slander, insult and false accusation crush the psalmist’.⁵⁵⁷ Visually, the location’s darkness may be highlighted, as in Psalm 88.6[7], cited above.

תְּהוֹם-אֶל-תְּהוֹם קוֹרָא לְקוֹל צְנוּרִיךָ

Psalm 42.7[8]: Deep calls to deep at the thunder of your cataracts.

וּכְהִמּוֹן מִיִּם רַבִּים שֹׁאֵן קוֹלָם נִפְץ זֶרֶם לַהֲשָׁחִית רַבִּים

1QH 10.27: And like the roar of the deep waters is the sound of their voice, torrents of rain for the destruction of many.⁵⁵⁸

Considering *stages* and *linear sequence*, some evidence suggests that stages of downward cosmological descent, and vertical closeness to the lowest point, Sheol, are mapped to a sequence of worsening distress and ‘closeness’ to the final stage, death. For example, the writer positions himself with those ‘descending’ to the pit or Sheol (יֹרְדֵי בֹרַי in Psalm 28.1, Psalm 88.4[5] and Psalm 30.3[4], cited above; יֹרְדֵי שְׂאוֹל in 1QH 16.28, cited above). A trajectory towards Sheol is also visible where the petitioner is ‘near’ (‘touching’, נִגַּע Sheol or death (Psalm 88.3[4], 1QH 14.24). In Isaiah 38.10, Hezekiah considers himself ‘deposited’ by God in the ‘gates of Sheol’, marking ‘the threshold between life and death. Once one has crossed this ultimate bourne there is no returning to the land of the living’.⁵⁵⁹ Using this image allows the inference that Hezekiah is as near as he could be, yet not quite locked in for good.

כִּן-תִּחְשָׁה מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם-יֹרְדֵי בֹרַי:

Psalm 28.1: For if you are silent to me, I shall be like those who go down to the Pit.

נִחְשַׁבְתִּי עִם-יֹרְדֵי בֹרַי הֵייתִי כְּנֹכַר אֵין-אֵיִל:

⁵⁵⁷ W. P. Brown, *Seeing the Psalms: A Theology of Metaphor* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 114.

⁵⁵⁸ Translation based on Kittel, *Hymns*, 35.

⁵⁵⁹ M. L. Barré, *The Lord Has Saved Me: A Study of the Psalm of Hezekiah (Isaiah 38:9-20)* (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 75.

Psalms 88.4[5]: I am counted among those who go down to the Pit; I am like those who have no help.

כִּי־שָׁבַעָה בְּרָעוֹת נַפְשִׁי וְחַיִּי לְשְׁאוֹל הִגִּיעוּ:

Psalms 88.3[4]: For my soul is full of troubles, and my life draws near to Sheol.

תְּהוֹם לֹא־נַחֲתִי וְנַפְשִׁי תִּגִּיעַ עַד שַׁעַר מוֹת

1QH 14.24 The deep thunders at my sigh, [my] so[ul nears] the gates of death.

בְּשַׁעַרֵּי שְׁאוֹל פָּקַדְתִּי יֵתֶר שְׁנוֹתַי:

Isaiah 38.10: I am consigned to the gates of Sheol for the rest of my years.

However, since the only indication of a downward trajectory occurs in the fixed idiom יוֹרֵדִי בּוֹר, the ‘path’ part of the mapping is not as elaborated as in English, where verbs like *spiralling*, *nose-diving*, *crashing*, *sinking*, *going downhill* and *plunging* elaborate the manner of worsening emotional distress.

These mappings can be summarised as follows:

Position low on geographical scale (pit, Sheol, mighty waters)	→	Situation of distress (sickness, opposition)
Person in low position	→	Person in distress
(Agentive) cause of being low (God, hunters)	→	(Agentive) cause of distress (God, opponents)
Perceptual experience in low place (crashing waters, darkness)	→	Perceptual experience of distress (taunts of opponents)
(Vertical) proximity to Sheol	→	Likelihood of distress situation resulting in death

These mappings also have several explicit entailments. First, if distress is being low, *relief* becomes movement upwards. Psalms 40.2[3], 30.3[4] (cited above) and 1QH 11.20 use עֲלָה. Psalm 9.13[14] uses רוּם, another general root, whereas Psalm 18.16[17] uses מִשָּׁה

(only used elsewhere for drawing Moses up from the water), and Psalm 30.1[2] uses **רָלָה**, prototypically used for drawing water from a well.

וַיַּעֲלֵנִי מִבּוֹר שְׁאוֹן מִטִּיט הַיָּוֵן

Psalm 40.2[3]: He drew me up from the pit of tumult, out of the miry bog.

אֹדְכָה אֲדוֹנִי כִּי פָדִיתָה נַפְשִׁי מִשַּׁחַת וּמִשְׁאוֹל אֲבֶדּוֹן 20 הֵעֲלִיתָנִי לָרוֹם עוֹלָם

1QH 11.19-20: I thank you, Lord, because you have saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon have lifted me up to an everlasting height.

מִרֹמְמֵי מַשְׁעָרֵי מוֹת:

Psalm 9.13[14]: You are the one who lifts me up from the gates of death.

יִשְׁלַח מִמָּרוֹם יִקְחֵנִי יְמַשְׁנֵי מַמִּים רַבִּים:

Psalm 18.16[17]: He reached down from on high, he took me; he drew me out of mighty waters.

אֲרֹמְמֶךָ יְהוָה כִּי דָלִיתָנִי

Psalm 30.1[2]: I will extol you, O LORD, for you have drawn me up.

Further, any help in distress comes from above, as in Psalm 144.7 and Isaiah 38.14.

שְׁלַח יְדִיךָ מִמָּרוֹם פָּצְנִי וְהַצִּילָנִי מִמַּיִם רַבִּים מִיַּד בְּנֵי נָכָר:

Psalm 144.7: Stretch out your hand from on high; set me free and rescue me from the deep⁵⁶⁰ waters, from the hand of aliens.

דָּלוּ עֵינַי לַמָּרוֹם

Isaiah 38.14: My eyes are weary with looking upwards.

Second, gravity means descending bodies continue falling if nothing supports them and no-one pulls them up. This entailment is used when writers seek help to prevent them descending to the pit. In Psalm 28.1 and 143.7, God must answer (quickly) otherwise the

⁵⁶⁰ NRSV has 'mighty' here.

psalmist will descend, whereas in Psalm 88.4[5] the lack of help means the psalmist is descending.

פֶּן־תִּחְשָׁה מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם־יֹרְדֵי בֹר:

Psalm 28.1: If you are silent to me, I shall be like those who go down to the Pit.

מִהֵר עֲנֵנִי יְהוָה כָּל־תָּה רֹחִי אֶל־תִּסְתֵּר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם־יֹרְדֵי בֹר:

Psalm 143.7: Answer me quickly, O LORD; my spirit fails. Do not hide your face from me, or I shall be like those who go down to the Pit.

נִחְשַׁבְתִּי עִם־יֹרְדֵי בֹר הָיִיתִי כְּנֶכֶד אֵין־אֵיל:

Psalm 88.4[5]: I am counted among those who go down to the Pit; I am like those who have no help.

Third, pleading for quick action uses experiences where the longer spent descending, the deeper something becomes. Thus, the distance down highlights the duration of distress. Combined with the above mapping from depth to intensity of distress, the longer a situation goes on without God's involvement, the deeper a person goes, and thus the more serious the situation.

The most sustained descent metaphor is in Jonah 2, fitting neatly with the unique narrative context. Many of the conventional mappings and entailments mentioned above are apparent: existence in a variety of low positions (קִצְבֵי הָרִים, לִבְבַּי יָמִים, מִצּוּלָה, בְּטֶן שָׂאוֹל) describes the distressing situation; the agent causing lowness on the scale (God) is the agent causing distress; and movement upward is relief from distress (עֲלָה). Further, descent to deeper locations represents an increasingly intense situation, so that 'the narrator made use of the fish episode and the spatial dimensions attached to it to depict the nature and depth of the experience Jonah suffered'.⁵⁶¹ That so many conventional mappings and entailments are present shows the narrative artistry here, integrating conventional mappings of distress with Jonah's personal plight.

⁵⁶¹ P. J. Nel, 'The Symbolism and Function of Epic Space in Jonah', *JNSL* 25 (1999) 215-224, 222.

קָרָאתִי מִצָּרָה לִי אֶל־יְהוָה וַיַּעֲנֵנִי מִבֶּטֶן שְׁאוּל שְׁמַעְתָּ קוֹלִי: וַתִּשְׁלִיכֵנִי
 מִצּוֹלָה בְּלִבֵּב יָמִים וְנָהָר יִסְבְּבֵנִי כָל־מִשְׁבְּרֵיךָ וְנָלִיךְ עָלַי עֲבָרוּ: אֶפְפוּנִי מִיָּם
 עַד־נֶפֶשׁ תְּהוֹם יִסְבְּבֵנִי סוּף חָבוּשׁ לְרֹאשִׁי: לְקַצְבֵי הָרִים יִרְדֹּתִי הָאָרֶץ בְּרַחֲיָהּ
 בְּעַדִּי לַעֲוֹלָם וַתַּעַל מִשַּׁחַת חַיִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי:

Jonah 2.2-5[3-6]: “I called to the LORD out of my distress, and he answered me; out of the belly of Sheol I cried, and you heard my voice. You cast me into the deep, into the heart of the seas, and the flood surrounded me; all your waves and your billows passed over me. The waters closed in over me; the deep surrounded me; weeds were wrapped around my head at the roots of the mountains. I went down to the land whose bars closed upon me forever; yet you brought up my life from the Pit, O LORD my God.”

To conclude this section, the relation to previous studies needs brief consideration. Several scholars (including Pedersen,⁵⁶² Barth,⁵⁶³ Tromp⁵⁶⁴ and Johnston⁵⁶⁵) use the verses considered in this section to relate distressing experiences and death experiences. Knibb summarises Pedersen, Barth and Tromp as arguing that ‘any impairment, or threat to, life is a form of death’.⁵⁶⁶ These scholars generally took as many linguistic metaphors as possible as describing death experiences, whether being surrounded by water, sinking in mud, or being in the earth’s depths. Debate has focussed on how ‘real’ the experience of death was. Pedersen’s ideas about ‘totalities’ meant such language implied a real and total experience of death, since it is not life.⁵⁶⁷ Barth similarly thought it mistaken to interpret lament language as metaphorical. Rather, the experience of death for the distressed individual is real. Even proximity to death is ‘counted as a real experience of death’.⁵⁶⁸ However, it is only partial, because he still has hope whereas the dead man does not.⁵⁶⁹ For Tromp, such language reflects real experience of death, so that ‘deadly peril is experienced as real death, partial death as total death’.⁵⁷⁰ Johnston is more balanced, agreeing that ‘any illness or misfortune is

⁵⁶² Pedersen, *Israel*.

⁵⁶³ Barth, *Errettung*.

⁵⁶⁴ Tromp, *Conceptions*.

⁵⁶⁵ Johnston, *Shades*.

⁵⁶⁶ Knibb, ‘Life’, 400.

⁵⁶⁷ Pedersen, *Israel*, 466.

⁵⁶⁸ Barth, *Errettung*, 111, cited in Johnston, *Shades*, 91.

⁵⁶⁹ Barth’s views cited in Knibb, ‘Life’, 407.

⁵⁷⁰ Tromp, *Conceptions*, 138.

a partial experience of death's power and of underworld conditions',⁵⁷¹ but arguing such restriction of life cannot be considered 'real death', and that such expressions should not be taken literally.

This analysis differs by not conflating all subterranean localities into references to death, assuming that the VERTICALITY schema is more psychologically basic (an embodied experience from birth) than the complex concept of death (which itself needs conceptual metaphors to be understood). These verses then instantiate the conceptual metaphor BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING IN A LOW PLACE, being a useful, structured metaphor for understanding distressing experiences. Thus, it is not 'mere' metaphor or poetic ornamentation. The conceptualisation is 'real' in constraining inferences about the situation, but, as Johnston notes, to insist on the dichotomy 'that Israelites were either fully alive or actually experiencing Sheol is to deny the wide range of human experience, or at least deny Israelite awareness of it'.⁵⁷²

Rather, descent provides a way to understand distressing experiences, and draw meaningful inferences. For example, understanding distress as a cosmological descent away from God to deep places, increasing the separation between the sufferer and God, provides a way for understanding situations where God does not appear to be acting as he should to preserve life. Further, this problematisation of the situation directs the psalmist to particular actions.⁵⁷³ For example, conceptualising distress as involuntarily succumbing to the force of gravity highlights the inability to do anything oneself and directs the psalmist to look 'upward', to God who can 'rescue' him, and hence the writing of the psalm itself.

5.4.2. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING DOWN ON THE POSTURAL SCALE

Posturally, the basic mapping is BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING LOW ON THE POSTURAL SCALE. There is potentially a physiological metonymic motivation here, in the involuntary 'downward' position of head, face, shoulders and hands characteristic of sadness, listlessness or depression.⁵⁷⁴ However, postures adopted for prayer complement this downward

⁵⁷¹ Johnston, *Shades*, 97.

⁵⁷² Johnston, *Shades*, 97.

⁵⁷³ See Reddy, 'Conduit' for the way conceptual metaphors problematise situations and suggest solutions.

⁵⁷⁴ Kruger, 'Depression', 187.

movement, complicating the separation of linguistic expressions describing the psalmist's actual posture in prayer from idiomatic expressions no longer having physical ties. For example, **דָּבַקָה לָאָרֶץ בְּטִנְנִי** (Psalm 44.25[26]) could describe a lament ritual, lying on the ground 'to manifest distress in order to establish a request'.⁵⁷⁵ Alternatively, it could be idiomatic, understood as 'our body is stuck in the netherworld'.⁵⁷⁶ However, given that a physical act still instantiates a conceptual metaphor (albeit non-verbally), all such expressions were included as potential data.

Most generally, a person (or part of a person) in low posture maps onto the person in distress, demonstrated first using forms from **שָׁחָה**, **שָׁוָה** or **שָׁיָה**. In Psalm 38.6[7], the initial verb derives from **עוּה**, prototypically referencing something bent or twisted,⁵⁷⁷ showing some elaboration of this schema.

**מִה־תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה נַפְשִׁי וְתִתְּנֵנִי עָלֵי הוֹחִילִי לְאֱלֹהִים כִּי־עוֹד אוֹדְנִי יִשְׁוּעוֹת פָּנָיו:
אֱלֹהֵי עָלֵי נַפְשִׁי תִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה**

Psalm 42.5-6[6-7]: Why are you cast down, O my soul, and why are you disquieted within me? Hope in God; for I shall again praise him, my help and my God. My soul is cast down within me...

זָכוֹר תִּזְכּוֹר וְתִשְׁוֶה עָלֵי נַפְשִׁי:

Lamentations 3.20: My soul continually thinks of it and is bowed down within me.

כִּי שָׁחָה לְעָפָר נַפְשֵׁנוּ דָּבַקָה לָאָרֶץ בְּטִנְנִי:

Psalm 44.25[26]: For we have been prostrated in the dust, our belly clings to the earth.⁵⁷⁸

נַעֲוִיתִי שָׁחָתִי עַד־מָאֵד כָּל־הַיּוֹם קָדַר הִלָּכְתִּי:

Psalm 38.6[7]: I am utterly bowed down and prostrate; all day long I go around mourning.

⁵⁷⁵ Keel, *Symbolism*, 319-320.

⁵⁷⁶ Tromp, *Conceptions*, 36.

⁵⁷⁷ C. Schultz, 'עוה' TWOT.

⁵⁷⁸ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 330.

Mostly, the petitioner's נִפְּשׁ is in low posture, best understood here as a person's 'vitality'.⁵⁷⁹ Further, use of נִפְּשׁ frequently suggests that 'humans have a relationship with themselves',⁵⁸⁰ as in Psalm 42, where the petitioner addresses his נִפְּשׁ, but also uses עָלַי. Elsewhere, individuals lift up (נִשְׂאוּ) their נִפְּשׁ, again distinguishing the נִפְּשׁ from other volitional parts of the self, and reflecting a positive emotional and volitional attitude toward something.⁵⁸¹ This demonstrated a positive emotional state for the up-pole for the נִפְּשׁ, contrasting with the negative state for the down-pole.

Sometimes, more specific roots for 'low' posture occur. כָּפַךְ (prototypically describing a bowed head) describes the נִפְּשׁ in Psalm 56.6[7], whereas in Psalm 119.25 and Psalm 44.25[26] (cited above) the verb דָּבַק evokes a much lower posture, 'stuck' to the ground.

כָּפַךְ נִפְּשִׁי

Psalm 57.6[7]: My soul was bowed down.

דָּבַקָה לְעָפָר נִפְּשִׁי

Psalm 119.25: My soul clings to the dust.

These examples, alongside Cain's face falling and Elijah putting his face between his knees on Carmel, lead Kruger to conclude that 'the feeling of depression most often finds expression in the Hebrew Bible in a definite 'downward' bodily posture'.⁵⁸² Certainly these examples associate negative emotional experience with the down pole on the postural scale, but such experience is not necessarily best understood as 'depression' (particularly with the narrative examples cited), nor is this necessarily the schema used 'most often' to conceptualise such experiences.

⁵⁷⁹ A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, 2nd edn. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1964), 8-11.

⁵⁸⁰ H. Seebass, 'נִפְּשׁ' *TDOT* IX:497-519, 510.

⁵⁸¹ Seebass, 'נִפְּשׁ', 507.

⁵⁸² Kruger, 'Face', 660.

Forms from **רָלַל** also possibly belong here. Fabry argues the verb ‘essentially reflects its original, etymological meaning, “to be/become lowly, small”’,⁵⁸³ being used for the diminishing streams of Egypt in Isaiah 19.5.

שָׁמַר פְּתָאִים יְהוָה דָּלוּתִי וְלִי יְהוֹשִׁיעַ:

Psalm 116.6: The LORD protects the simple; when I was brought low, he saved me.

הִקְשִׁיבָה אֶל־רִנָּתִי כִי־דָלוּתִי מְאֹד

Psalm 142.6[7]: Give heed to my cry, for I am brought very low.

מִהֵר יִקְדָּמוּנוּ רַחֲמֶיךָ כִּי דָלוּנוּ מְאֹד:

Psalm 79.8: Let your compassion come speedily to meet us, for we are brought very low.

These verses also demonstrate lower physical posture entailing greater distress. First, the modifier **מְאֹד** deepens the low posture to strengthen the cry of distress, with **רָלַל** in Psalm 142.6[7], and **שָׁחָה** in Psalm 38.6[7]. Second, the variety of verbs suggests this entailment, with **כָּפַף נַפְשִׁי** in Psalm 57.6[7] reflecting less intense distress than **בָּטַנְנוּ לְאָרֶץ** in Psalm 44.25[26].

Other verses map non-volitional downward movement onto entering a state of distress.

כִּי הִצַּלְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִמָּוֶת הָלֹא רַגְלִי מִדָּחִי

Psalm 56.13[14]: For you have delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling.

כִּי־אָמַרְתִּי פֶן־יִשְׁמְחוּ־לִי בְּמוֹט רַגְלִי עָלִי הִגְדִּילוּ: כִּי־אֲנִי לְצַלַּע נָכוֹן וּמִכְאוּבִי
נִגְדִּי תָמִיד:

Psalm 38.16-17[17-18]: For I pray, “Only do not let them rejoice over me, those who boast against me when my foot slips.” For I am ready to fall, and my pain is ever with me.

⁵⁸³ H.-J. Fabry, ‘רָלַל’ *TDOT* III:208-230, 229.

This mapping also allows the entailment (shown in Psalm 37.24) that the further one falls, the greater the distress, so that stumbling is less severe than falling flat on the ground.

כִּי־יִפֹּל לֹא־יִטֹּל כִּי־יִהְיֶה סוּמֵךְ יָדוֹ:

Psalm 37.24: If he falls, he won't fall flat on his face, for the LORD is holding his hand.⁵⁸⁴

As with the spatial scale, the *agent* causing a low position maps to the agent causing distress, whether God (Lamentations 3.16, Job 30.19, Psalm 22.15[16]) or human 'enemies' (Psalm 143.3, Psalm 7.5[6], Psalm 17.11, 1QH 17.8-9).

וַיִּגְרַס בְּחֶצֶץ שְׁנֵי הַכְּפִישָׁי בְּאַפֶּר:

Lamentations 3.16: He has made my teeth grind on gravel, and made me cower in ashes;

הִרְנִי לַחֲמֹר

Job 30.19: He has cast me into the mire.

וְלִעֲפֹר־מוֹת תִּשְׁפָּתֵנִי:

Psalm 22.15[16]: You lay me in the dust of death.

כִּי רָדַף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי דָּכָא לְאַרְץ חַיְתִּי

Psalm 143.3: For the enemy has pursued me, crushing my life to the ground.

יִרְדֹּף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי וַיִּשָּׁג וַיִּרְמַס לְאַרְץ חַיְתִּי וַיַּכְבוּדֵי לְעֶפֶר יִשְׁכֵּן:

Psalm 7.5[6]: Then let the enemy pursue and overtake me, trample my life to the ground, and lay my soul in the dust.

עֵינֵיהֶם יִשִּׁיתוּ לְנִמְוֹת בְּאַרְץ:

Psalm 17.11: They set their eyes to cast me to the ground.⁵⁸⁵

ואשיבה למבלעי דבר 9 ולמשתוחיחי בי תוכחת

1QH 17.8-9: I can give a reply to those who wish to devour me and a rebuke to those who wish to cast me down.

⁵⁸⁴ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 295.

⁵⁸⁵ Basson, *Divine*, 88.

Restoration to an erect posture then describes rescue from distress, or the ability to withstand it, although more common in third person references (God raising those who are bowed down) than in the specific corpus. Psalm 119.28 is a rare individual example, and Psalm 20.8[9] is communal.

דָּלַפָּה נַפְשִׁי מִתּוֹנָה קִיַּמְנִי כְּדְבָרְךָ:

Psalm 119.28: I have collapsed with intense sorrow: make me stand upright as your word promises.⁵⁸⁶

הֵמָּה כָּרְעוּ וְנָפְלוּ וַאֲנַחְנוּ קָמְנוּ וְנִתְעוֹדָד:

Psalm 20.8[9] They will collapse and fall, but we shall rise and stand upright.

The third person references use a wider range of verbs for God's action in keeping someone erect, including סָמַךְ (support), זָקַף (lift up), עוֹר (restore⁵⁸⁷), רוּם (raise) and קוּם (make erect).

סוֹמֵךְ יְהוָה לְכָל־הַנִּפְלִים וְזוֹקֵף לְכָל־הַכְּפוּפִים:

Psalm 145.14: The LORD upholds all who are falling, and raises up all who are bowed down.

יְהוָה זָקַף כְּפוּפִים:

Psalm 146.8: The LORD lifts up those who are bowed down.

מַעֲזִיד עֲנָוִים יְהוָה מִשְׁפִּיל רְשָׁעִים עַד־אָרֶץ:

Psalm 147.6: The LORD lifts up the downtrodden; he casts the wicked to the ground.

מִקִּימֵי מַעְפָּר דָּל מֵאֲשַׁפֶּת יָרִים אֲבִיוֹן:

Psalm 113.7: He raises the poor from the dust, and lifts the needy from the ash heap.

וְנוֹתַן לַנְּמוּגֵי בָרָכִים חֶזֶק מֵעַמֵּד 7 וְאִמּוֹץ מִתְנִים לִשְׁכֵם מְכִים

⁵⁸⁶ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 127.

⁵⁸⁷ This verb does not necessarily imply erect posture (Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 729), but the contrast with שָׁפַל in the second colon brings the up-down orientation into focus.

1QM 14.6-7: Those with knocking knees he gives strength to stand upright, and vigour of loins to broken backs.

These mappings and entailments can be summarised as follows:

Position low on postural scale (bowed, prostrate, low)	→	Situation of distress
Person in low posture	→	Person in distress
Agentive cause of low posture (God, enemies)	→	Agentive cause of distress (God, opponents)
Adopting low posture (falling, stumbling, being pushed)	→	Entering state of distress
Returning to upright posture	→	Relief from distress

Entailments:

The lower the posture the more intense the distress.

5.5. Further Evidence

Having presented these texts, what evidence suggests they indeed represent significant conceptual metaphors? Lakoff and Johnson's criteria (section 2.5.1.e) are investigated below.

5.5.1. Generalisations over Polysemy

Generalisations over polysemy show how well elaborated a conceptual metaphor is by different expressions, with several words being used in the same two distinct domains suggesting significant conceptual integration. The best examples here are words describing relief from distress. All the following roots describe an upward trajectory, whether spatial-geographic or postural, and also describe relief from distress: **עלה** ('go up', Ps. 40.2[3]), **רם** ('raise', Ps. 9.13[14]), **משח** ('draw up', Ps. 18.16[17]), **רלה** ('pull up', Ps. 30.1[2]), **קום** ('make erect', Psalm 119.28). This variety demonstrates an entrenched mapping from upward movement to relief from distress, and thus also from being low to being in distress.

By comparison, the downward trajectory is less elaborated. Only יָרַד indicates a significant downward trajectory on the spatial scale, and this only in fixed expressions. The postural scale is more elaborated, with נָפַל ('fall'), צָלַע ('stumble'), דָּכָא ('press down'), נָטָה ('thrust down') all describing downward trajectories, whether forced or unforced.

Nouns used for low locations form a larger set than verbs of descent, including שַׁחַת, בּוֹר, מְעַמְקִים, מְצוּלָה, מַיִם רַבִּים, and שְׂאוֹל. Similarly, many roots for low postural states are used, including דָּלָה, דָּבַק, כָּרַע, כָּפַף, שַׁחַח.

This variety of verbs and nouns demonstrates the entrenchment and conventionality of BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING DOWN ON THE VERTICAL SCALE. Different writers can utilise this metaphor in different ways and still be understood. Further, it guides the problematisation of distress and thus the inferences for how to resolve it. In this sense, the composers of these petitions 'thought of' distress as being in a low place from which they desired to be raised up.

5.5.2. Generalisations over Inference Patterns

Next, generalisations over inference patterns, here generalising over both sub-schemas, demonstrate common inferential structure. First, on both scales, mapping low position to distress leads to the inference that relief is movement upwards, whether spatially from water, from a well or to higher ground, or posturally, being raised up, or made to stand erect.

Second, both scales develop the inference that greater 'depth' implies more intense distress. For the spatial scale, adjectives denoting depth added to the petitioner's description of his locality intensified his plight. Posturally, the modifier מְאֹד was added to a low postural state. Both of these show the source domain being actively used, as well as demonstrating a common entailment.

5.5.3. Novel Metaphor

The third kind of evidence comes from the common use of conceptual metaphors in both conventional idioms and novel metaphors, showing active use of the source domain. Two

idioms of emotional distress from prose contexts are given below, showing that the VERTICALITY schema is used in both conventional and more novel language.

First, when Cain saw God's response to his offering, Genesis 4.5 says **וַיַּחַר לְקַיִן מְאֹד** **וַיִּפְּלוּ פָנָיו** (literally, 'it was very hot to Cain and his face fell'), describing his emotional response. Whether this is more accurately a state of anger, depression,⁵⁸⁸ or some more general hot, negative emotion, the use of the verb **נָפַל** for entering a state of physical and emotional distress links this idiom to the VERTICALITY schema.

Second, in Joshua 2.11, Rahab explains the emotional impact of the Israelites' progress as **וְלֹא־קָמָה עוֹד רוּחַ בְּאִישׁ מִפְּנֵיהֶם**, describing spirits that no longer 'stood'. Here, **קָוָה**, associated with the postural VERTICALITY scale, is used with **רוּחַ**, describing an emotion something like fear, given the collocation with hearts melting in the previous phrase. Again this conventional idiom associates the VERTICALITY schema, and particularly the down pole, with a negative emotion.

Neither of these idioms is explicitly developed in the specific corpus, though they cohere together. The most conventional collocations within the specific corpus are the association of **שָׂחָה** with **נֶפֶשׁ** and the idiom **יִזְרְרֵי בֹר**, both occurring several times. Conversely, the description in Psalm 40.2[3] is more novel, using several unusual collocations (**בֹּר שְׂאוֹן**, **טִיט הַיָּיִן**) to create a vivid image, yet it too describes a situation of physical and emotional distress using the VERTICALITY schema. There are very few uses in Job, but the one occurrence in Job 30.19 (**הֲרֵנִי לַחֲמֹר**) uses two words found nowhere else in the specific corpus, suggesting novelty.

⁵⁸⁸ According to Kruger, 'Depression', 190 and M. I. Gruber, 'Was Cain Angry or Depressed? Background of a Biblical Murder', *BAR* 6 (1980) 35-36, but the characteristic lethargy and inaction of English depression certainly does not fit here.

Thus, the VERTICALITY schema was used in conventional idioms and more novel poetry, suggesting authors could actively utilise the conventional source domain to create new expressions in distress.

5.5.4. Larger Scale Metaphorical Systems

Further evidence comes from coherent larger scale metaphorical systems. First, the most obvious such system is the conceptualisation of death, which is also ‘down’. Since death is the ultimate distress, it being down coheres with metaphors that place any distress down on the VERTICAL scale.

Second, Egypt is consistently ‘down’. Egyptian bondage and subsequent salvation is the most stereotypical relief from distress within the biblical cultural memory, and is framed as upward movement in Exodus 3.17, 13.18, 32.7, Deuteronomy 20.1, Judges 6.8, 1 Samuel 10.18, 1 Kings 12.28, 2 Kings 17.7, Nehemiah 9.18, Psalm 81.11, Jeremiah 2.6, Hosea 2.17, Amos 2.10 and Micah 6.4. For example, 2 Kings 17.7 has **הַמֶּלֶךְ אָתָם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם** **מֵתַחַת יַד פַּרְעֹה מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם** (‘who brought them up from the land of Egypt, from under the hand of Pharaoh, king of Egypt’). Such examples cohere with conceptualising any relief from distress as upward movement.

The exiles’ return is also sometimes framed this way, again mapping distress to being down, relief to movement upwards, in the wider conceptual system. For example, Nehemiah 7.6 has **אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי הַמְּדִינָה הָעֵלִיִּים מִשְׁבֵּי הַגּוֹלָה**, ‘these are the people of the province who came up out of the captivity of the exiles’.

Thus, both conceptualising death as ‘down’, and the cultural memory of ‘upward’ rescue from Egypt provide larger metaphorical systems that cohere with, and help consolidate, the metaphor that being in distress is being ‘down’, relief is movement upwards.

5.5.5. Non-verbal Realisations

Finally, non-verbal realisations may reflect conceptual metaphors, accessible through written records of non-verbal communication, particularly here of ‘low’ postures in distress.

For example, Kruger takes Elijah's posture on Mount Carmel as 'expressive of a mood of depression'.⁵⁸⁹ 1 Kings 18.42 reads וַיִּנָּחֵר אֶרְצָה וַיִּשָּׁם פָּנָיו בֵּין בְּרַכְיָיו, 'he bowed himself down upon the earth and put his face between his knees'. Also, in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, the emotional response to Yammu's threat is that 'the gods lower their heads onto their knees, upon their princely thrones' (i.22).⁵⁹⁰ Both times, a low posture of the head reflects emotional distress, whichever precise emotion it signifies. A final non-verbal example comes from people 'sitting' in distress. Kruger particularly identifies references to people 'sitting' in Lamentations, both figuratively and literally, arguing that 'in almost every chapter this rings like a refrain'.⁵⁹¹ Thus, in addition to postures mentioned earlier, various non-verbal communicative acts associated with the 'down' pole of the VERTICALITY schema signal emotional distress.

These five strands of evidence strongly support the cognitive reality of a conceptual map between experiences of being down and experiences of emotional and physical distress.

5.6. Universality and Variation

Finally, the way this schema conceptualises negative emotional states in Hebrew can be contrasted with English (using Kövecses' parameters, section 2.5.7.d), to demonstrate both universality and variation across cultural conceptualisations.

5.6.1. Variation within Source and Target Domain

First, both English and Classical Hebrew conceptualise negative experiences with the VERTICALITY schema. However, as Kövecses noted, cultures may prefer different conceptualisations for similar experiences. Whereas for English the VERTICALITY scale subsumes 90% of the linguistic expressions of depression, in Hebrew, FORCE schemas are much more significant. Out of 489 tokens in the database, 81 reflected the VERTICALITY schema, whereas 207 used the FORCE schema.

Second, the target domains differ somewhat for the conceptual metaphors compared here. English metaphors for 'depression' can be compared with Hebrew metaphors of 'distress' as

⁵⁸⁹ Kruger, 'Depression', 190.

⁵⁹⁰ W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr. (eds.), *The Context of Scripture (COS): Volume One, Canonical Compositions from the Biblical World* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 246.

⁵⁹¹ Kruger, 'Depression', 191.

both cover situations of negative emotion. However, the overlap is incomplete. In English, depression relates to sadness, lasts a long time, easily gets worse, and is hard to recover from. The Hebrew ‘distress’ domain includes physical conditions alongside emotion, and includes elements of both fear and activity (such as calling out to God) typically absent from ‘depression’. Yet the VERTICALITY schema means this target domain is also construed as something that goes on a long time, worsens as it does so, and is hard (if not impossible) for the sufferer to recover from alone.

Considering the source domain, the cultural prototypes for being low also differ between English and Hebrew. The prototypical Hebrew low place is the **בֹּר**, salient for inhabitants of ancient Israel, yet totally alien to most English people. The real danger of falling into a cistern and the impossibility of getting out on one’s own creates different entailments from the prototypical ‘pit’ for most English speakers, from which one may be able to climb out.⁵⁹² Further, although English conceptualisations include ‘catacombs’, or ‘going through hell’, the shadowy subterranean world of the dead and turbulent waters are not accessible. In Hebrew, the presumed noise of the subterranean waters is available to highlight the mocking of companions more than in typical English expressions.

Sheol as a prototypical low place also makes the Hebrew metaphors more appropriate for life-threatening situations. In English, someone *plunging into the depths*, *spiralling down* or *in the pits* rarely describes a threat to their existence, just some kind of depressive emotion. In Hebrew, descent metaphors indicate closeness to Sheol, suggesting death is a distinct possibility, also seen from contextual parallels with **מוֹת**.

Third, entailments of mappings may differ. Greater depth reflects greater intensity of distress in English and Hebrew. However, the ‘relief’ entailments differ. In English, the entailment that moving upwards is harder than moving downwards means sufferers have to hit *rock bottom* and then try to *climb out*, or *get back up again* after being *knocked down*. That is, prototypically, relief requires the individual making their own, difficult ascent. Conversely, the Hebrew corpus never refers to making one’s own ascent, on either the postural or spatial scale. Rather, God always raises the petitioner, and the verbs never suggest difficulty. This is

⁵⁹² Although the concept of a ‘pit’ is probably not very well-defined.

entailed by the different cultural prototypes for low places. In Hebrew, people cannot rescue themselves from the prototypes of cistern or sea. This difference is also symptomatic of the difference in worldview from a largely secular Western ethnopsychology, and a Hebrew worldview in which the activity of God was unquestioned.

5.6.2. Variation in Linguistic Expression

Considering linguistic expressions, first, Kövecses notes that certain *parts* of a conceptual metaphor may be more elaborated linguistically in one language than another. Here, the downward trajectory is elaborated in English whereas the place that is down is elaborated in Hebrew. Thus, English uses many verbs evoking downward trajectories to conceptualise increasing emotional distress. All of these, like *plunging*, *plummeting*, *spiralling* and *nosediving*, imply an external uncontrollable force, and elaborate different manners (such as speed) of descent. The sole Hebrew word (יֵרֵד) does not imply an external force, and has no implications for the manner of descent. Conversely, the various Hebrew words for low places, like שְׁחָת, בּוֹר, שְׂאוֹל, תְּהוֹם, or מַיִם רַבִּים show significant elaboration of this part of the mapping in Hebrew, allowing inferences about danger and deliberate causation.

Second, *degree of conventionalisation* of linguistic expressions may vary. As the VERTICALITY schema rarely expresses distress in narrative Hebrew texts, it is presumably a less conventional mapping than in English. This is further supported by their being few identical phrases within this corpus. The next chapter contrasts this with the more conventionalised CONSTRAINT schema, with common lexical items in narrative texts accessing this schema.

Finally, syntactic expression may vary. In English, many single words access this VERTICALITY schema when used in situations of emotional distress, such as ‘down’, ‘low’, ‘collapse’, ‘spiral’ or ‘nosedive’. In Hebrew, conversely, it is more common for the schema to be referenced through multiword phrases, as in מִבּוֹר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת or תִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה נַפְשִׁי, or more complex syntactic constructions as in דָּבַקָה לְעַפְרָה נַפְשִׁי, or וּמִתְהַמּוֹת הָאָרֶץ תָּשׁוּב תֵּעָלֵי.

5.7. Summary

In summary, negative experience is partially understood within this corpus as movement up and down, or position upon, a vertical scale. Perceptual bodily experiences of being low are certainly used to help understand distressing experiences. The most highlighted parts of this mapping are that the experience of distress is being in a place or posture low on the VERTICALITY scale, and that relief from such a situation is therefore being raised up on the scale.

Further, ‘up is good’ and ‘down is bad’ is the prevalent valuation for the VERTICALITY schema in Hebrew, at least for this corpus of distress language. However, this VERTICALITY schema is less significant for conceptualising feelings of distress than in English. It mainly surfaces in conceptualisations of distressing experiences as part of the descent into the underworld and in descriptions that can be tied to bodily posture. Actual movement up and down is not as significant in Hebrew as other schemas for understanding distress.

Our prioritisation of the VERTICALITY schema in English makes some examples appear more salient than they warrant, whilst at other times the use of particular English translations makes the schema appear more significant. For example, metaphors translated as ‘sinking in the mud’ are likely more about being ‘stuck’ than a downward trajectory. Similarly, the main meaning focus in references to pits and water may be more the inability to escape than their low position. It is precisely such metaphors of constraint and confinement that the next chapter considers.

Chapter 6: Distress and the CONSTRAINT Schema

‘You, my God, have opened a broad space in my heart, but they have increased the narrowness and have wrapped me in darkness.’ 1QH 13.32-33

6.1. Introduction

This chapter starts investigating how FORCE schemas conceptualise situations of distress. FORCE schemas are very significant, subsuming over 50% of the database examples, and are therefore split into two categories. This chapter investigates the first category: a CONSTRAINT schema where the petitioner sees himself as an Agonist with a force tendency toward movement, surrounded by an Antagonist restricting that freedom, instantiated as ropes, waves, bars, mud, nets or traps. This chapter argues that this schema forms a natural cognitive category for Classical Hebrew speakers, shown in the way Hebrew lexicalises this schema and the variety of images it schematises.

Goldingay notes the importance for distress discourse, writing that ‘a negative event is often experienced as one of constraint and confinement, like imprisonment’,⁵⁹³ as does Fabry, observing that all uses of צָר ‘involve situations of being in unpleasant “straits”, a sense of having no saving access to “expanse”, of stricture necessarily implying anxiety and oppressiveness prompted by a hopeless situation’.⁵⁹⁴ Similarly, Eidevall notes that ‘width, or open space, stands for health and freedom // narrowness, or confinement, means suffering and oppression’.⁵⁹⁵ This chapter expands these statements, showing the frequency and variety of images instantiating this schema.

The first step is to establish the existence and nature of the CONSTRAINT schema, then some cross-cultural comparisons will be offered, before presenting and analysing the mappings from this schema to situations of distress. Following this, supporting evidence for the conceptual metaphor is offered, before, finally, both universal and culturally varying aspects of the metaphor are suggested.

⁵⁹³ J. Goldingay, *Psalms: Volume 1, Psalms 1-41* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 267.

⁵⁹⁴ H.-J. Fabry, ‘צָר I’ *TDOT* XII:455-464, 459.

⁵⁹⁵ Eidevall, ‘Spatial’, 134.

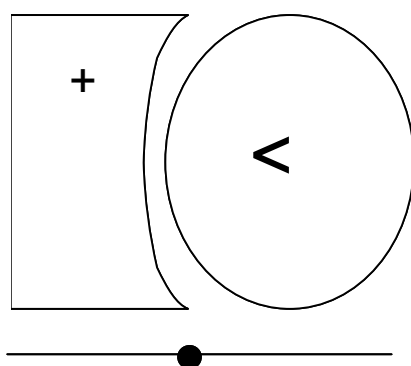
6.2. Establishing the Schema

6.2.1. Physiological / Universal Factors

This CONSTRAINT schema is very culturally constrained, being a recurring pattern of experience that is made salient in Hebrew through the lexicon (for example, the variety of senses of the root צָרַר). It is striking that no English gloss highlights the same pattern.

Enclosure, containment or *constraint* come closest. Nevertheless, FORCE and CONTAINMENT schemas offer potentially universal comparisons to this schema from the Cognitive Linguistic literature, which includes both being forcefully held and contained. These universal schemas are considered in turn.

First, Talmy argues that experiencing FORCE is a fundamental human universal. His linguistic ‘force dynamics’ were introduced in section 2.5.3. This schema represents the scenario where the ‘Agonist has a tendency toward motion, the Antagonist is ... stronger and so effectively *blocks* it’, and ‘the Agonist is kept in place’.⁵⁹⁶ This FORCE schema is represented below. The circle represents the Agonist, the arrow shows its force tendency to movement, and the plus sign that the Antagonist is stronger. The line and circle underneath show the resultant state of rest.



⁵⁹⁶ Talmy, *Semantics*, 415

For Johnson, this ‘blockage’ schema is a common experiential FORCE structure, grounded in everyday encounters with obstacles that block our way, and learned from early infancy onwards.⁵⁹⁷

Second, the CONTAINMENT schema is also frequently discussed. Johnson writes that

Our encounter with containment and boundedness is one of the most pervasive features of our bodily experience. We are intimately aware of our bodies as three-dimensional containers into which we put certain things (food, water, air) and out of which other things emerge (food and water wastes, air, blood, etc.). From the beginning, we experience constant physical containment in our surroundings (those things that envelop us). We move in and out of rooms, clothes, vehicles and numerous kinds of bounded spaces. We manipulate objects, placing them in containers (cups, boxes, cans, bags, etc.). In each of these cases there are repeatable spatial and temporal organizations.⁵⁹⁸

The most ‘experientially salient’ of these examples are those of three dimensional containment, where someone is restricted in an enclosure.⁵⁹⁹ Such situations typically have at least three entailments, available for reasoning based on this schema. First, containment involves resistance to external forces or protection from them. Second, containment restricts forces within the container. Third, containment fixes the locality of the entity being contained.⁶⁰⁰ The use of these entailments to reason about distress will be explored later.

Gibbs adds a cultural component, arguing that the containment experiences giving rise to the schema affect the way other experiences are understood and valued. Thus, for example, our experience of containment is influenced by our feelings as we go in and out of different ‘containers’ or put things in and out of our body.⁶⁰¹ The way cultural examples of containment affect the evaluation of the CONSTRAINT schema for the Classical Hebrew texts will be examined below.

The salient Hebrew CONSTRAINT schema conflates this CONTAINMENT schema with Talmy’s FORCE schema (above), and can be diagrammed as follows, modifying Talmy’s picture to represent the Antagonist completely surrounding the Agonist (the circle). The Antagonist is still stronger (shown by the plus sign), holding the Agonist in one place.

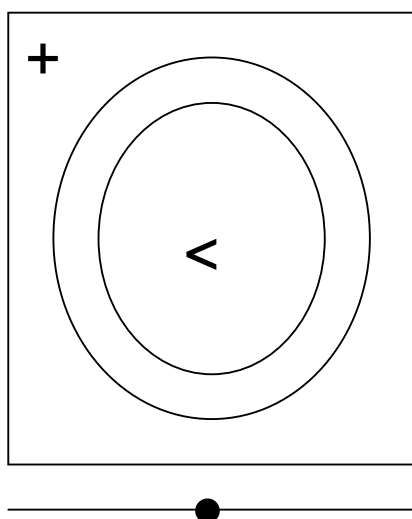
⁵⁹⁷ Johnson, *Body*, 45.

⁵⁹⁸ Johnson, *Body*, 21.

⁵⁹⁹ Johnson, *Body*, 22.

⁶⁰⁰ Johnson, *Body*, 22.

⁶⁰¹ Gibbs, ‘Heads’, 154.



6.2.2. Culture-specific Factors

The clearest example of, and best evidence for, this specific Hebrew CONSTRAINT schema comes from the semantic network for the root **צָרַר**, used for physical situations and more emotional experiences of distress. The physical uses, as when the Israelites' kneading troughs are 'wrapped up' in Exodus 12.34, imply the root may be 'semantically significant',⁶⁰² with the physical source domains accessible even when the root is used in psychological contexts.

The semantics of **צָרַר** can be described through both the prototypical scenario of contents held within a cloth, and through the high level sanctioning schema of an Agonist with a tendency to move being enclosed and restricted. This claim will be substantiated by considering Classical Hebrew usage of **צָרַר**.

⁶⁰² Barr, 'Factors', 35.

a) The Root צָרָר

The major lexicons split צָרָר into three homonymous senses, supported by Arabic cognates with different initial consonants.⁶⁰³ Still, there may be cognitive links between the first two roots, glossed for the verb in BDB as ‘bind, tie up, be restricted, narrow, scant, cramped’ versus ‘shew hostility toward, vex’, and for the nouns (צָרָה, צָרָה) as ‘straits, distress’ versus ‘adversary, rival wife’.⁶⁰⁴ Sometimes it is difficult to specifically attribute one of these senses, as in Psalm 138.7, אֶם-אֵלֹהִים בִּקְרָב צָרָהּ ‘if I walk in the midst of enemies / trouble’.⁶⁰⁵ However, the first homonym is of most interest here, especially the links between being ‘restricted’ and being ‘in distress’.

b) Semantics and Syntax of the Verb

Starting with the verb, the physical uses of צָרָר need examination to clarify what entailments may carry over to less concrete situations. Fabry focuses on the linguistic realisation of subjects and objects, to distinguish nine transitive uses (‘wrap up’, ‘envelop’) from thirty-three intransitive uses (‘be cramped for space, restricted’).⁶⁰⁶ However, a semantic analysis of the arguments is more helpful.

In every scenario there is an Agonist that is in some way restricted, and, usually, an Antagonist restricting it. Although the verb (in the qal) usually agrees with the Antagonist, the Agonist is actually more in focus, since it is always present as a core argument (without a preposition, as in Isaiah 8.16, צֹרֶר תְּעִידָהּ, ‘seal the testimony’) or in a prepositional phrase (as in Genesis 32.7[8], וַיִּצָּר לוֹ, ‘Jacob was very afraid and distressed’), whereas the Antagonist may just be an impersonal third person agreement on the verb (as in Genesis 32.7[8] again).

Specifically, there are four syntactic frames for the qal. First, there are transitive examples where the Agonist is a core argument and the Antagonist is either a core argument or implicit

⁶⁰³ Snaith, ‘Language’, 221.

⁶⁰⁴ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 864-866.

⁶⁰⁵ H. Ringgren, ‘צָרָר II’ *TDOT* XII:464-468, 467.

⁶⁰⁶ Fabry, ‘צָרָר I’.

in a passive construction. Secondly, there are intransitive examples where the Agonist is a core argument and the Antagonist is implicit. Third, sometimes the Agonist is in a prepositional phrase headed by **מִן** and the Antagonist is a core argument. Finally, the Agonist is frequently in a prepositional phrase headed by **לְ** and the Antagonist is an impersonal third person, following the pattern of other verbs for which **לְ** is used ‘to denote the subj[ect] of a sensation or emotion’,⁶⁰⁷ such as **לְתַרְהֵל**. The hiphil fits with this last frame as the Agonist is always in a prepositional phrase headed by **לְ**.

i) Transitive Examples

First, for transitive cases, the most experientially basic use is something wrapped, or held tightly, within material. The Israelites carried their kneading troughs wrapped in their cloaks (**מִשְׁאַרְתָּם צָרְרָת בְּשִׁמְלָתָם**, Exodus 12.34), and a stone in a sling is tightly held (Proverbs 26.8). Proverbs 30.4 imagines water restrained in a cloak (**מִי צָרַר-מַיִם**) **בְּשִׁמְלָה**, ‘who can wrap/hold⁶⁰⁸ water in a cloak?’). In Job 26.8 (**צִרְרֵם-מַיִם בְּעָבִיו**), ‘wrapping/holding water in his clouds’, water is again restrained. In Isaiah 8.16 (**צֹרֵר**) **תְּעִיֶדָה**, ‘wrap/hold the testimony’) the verb may suggest wrapping written testimony in cloth to preserve it. Hosea 13.12 (**צָרוּר עֹן אֶפְרַיִם**, ‘Ephraim’s iniquity is wrapped up’) again preserves something by wrapping. In Joshua 9.4, a pual participle describes the Gibeonites’ wineskins as **בָּלִים וּמִבְקָעִים וּמְצָרִים**, ‘worn out’, ‘ripped’ and ‘wrapped/held’, with material restraining the wine. More metaphorically, in 1 Samuel 25.29, Abigail says **וְהָיְתָה נַפְשִׁי אֲדָנִי צְרוּרָה בַּצֹּרֹר הַחַיִּים** ‘may the life of my Lord be wrapped/held in the bag of the living’, rather than thrown out as from a sling. Finally, Hosea 4.19, describes Ephraim via **צָרַר רוּחַ אוֹתָהּ בְּכַנְפֶיהָ** ‘a wind has wrapped/held her in its wings’. This is the clearest transitive example, as both core arguments (wind, her) are visible. In every case, something with a tendency to move is wrapped and held in place (by material), whether wine, water, the testimony that may otherwise decay, stones and kneading troughs (acted on by gravity) or Ephraim who might otherwise go out to serve Yahweh.

⁶⁰⁷ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 511.

⁶⁰⁸ The gloss ‘wrap/hold’ conflates CONTAINMENT and FORCE in English.

Extending this prototype, in 2 Samuel 20.3 David imprisons his concubines so that ‘they were shut up until the day of their death’, **וַתִּהְיֶינָה צָרָרוֹת עַד־יוֹם מָתָן**. This restriction under guard again uses **צָרָר** for an entity desiring to be free being surrounded and unable to go out.

ii) Intransitive Examples

In the second syntactic frame, the verb is intransitive and the Agonist governs verb agreement. It is used twice of legs restricted in movement, in Job 18.7, **וַיִּצְרוּ צַעְדֵי אוֹנוֹ**, ‘his strong steps will be restricted’, and Proverbs 4.12, **בְּלִכְתְּךָ לֹא־יִצָּר צַעְדְּךָ**, ‘your step will not be restricted as you walk’. In Isaiah 28.20, **וְהַמִּסְכָּה צָרָה כְּהִתְכַּנֵּס**, ‘the blanket is too narrow to cover oneself’, something (the blanket) is again restricted. Here, the surrounding Antagonist has receded into the background, and the verb just focuses on restriction to an Agonist which would normatively be bigger or longer.

The third (again intransitive) frame describes the residence of the prophets in 2 Kings 6.1 as **צָר מִמָּוֶנִי**, ‘cramped for us’, and addresses Zion in Isaiah 49.19 as **תִּצְרִי מִיּוֹשֵׁב**, ‘too crowded for (your) inhabitants’. Here, the verb agrees with the place, which acts as a restrictive Antagonist to the Agonist of those living there, appearing in a **מן** prepositional phrase.

The fourth frame (classified by Fabry as intransitive) has the Agonist in a prepositional phrase with **לְ**, as in Judges 2.15, **וַיִּצָּר לָהֶם מְאֹד**, ‘it was great distress/constraint to them’. In the qal, in Genesis 32.7[8], Judges 2.15, 10.9, 11.7, 1 Samuel 13.6, 28.15, 30.6, 2 Samuel 1.26, 13.2, 24.14, Job 20.22, Psalm 31.9[10], 59.16[17], 69.17[18], 102.2[3], Isaiah 49.20, and Lamentations 1.20, the English translation normally has someone ‘in distress’. The verb agrees with an impersonal third person, usually masculine but occasionally feminine, showing that the Antagonist has not totally disappeared. This syntax conceptualises distress as an Agonist desiring freedom but being restricted by something external.

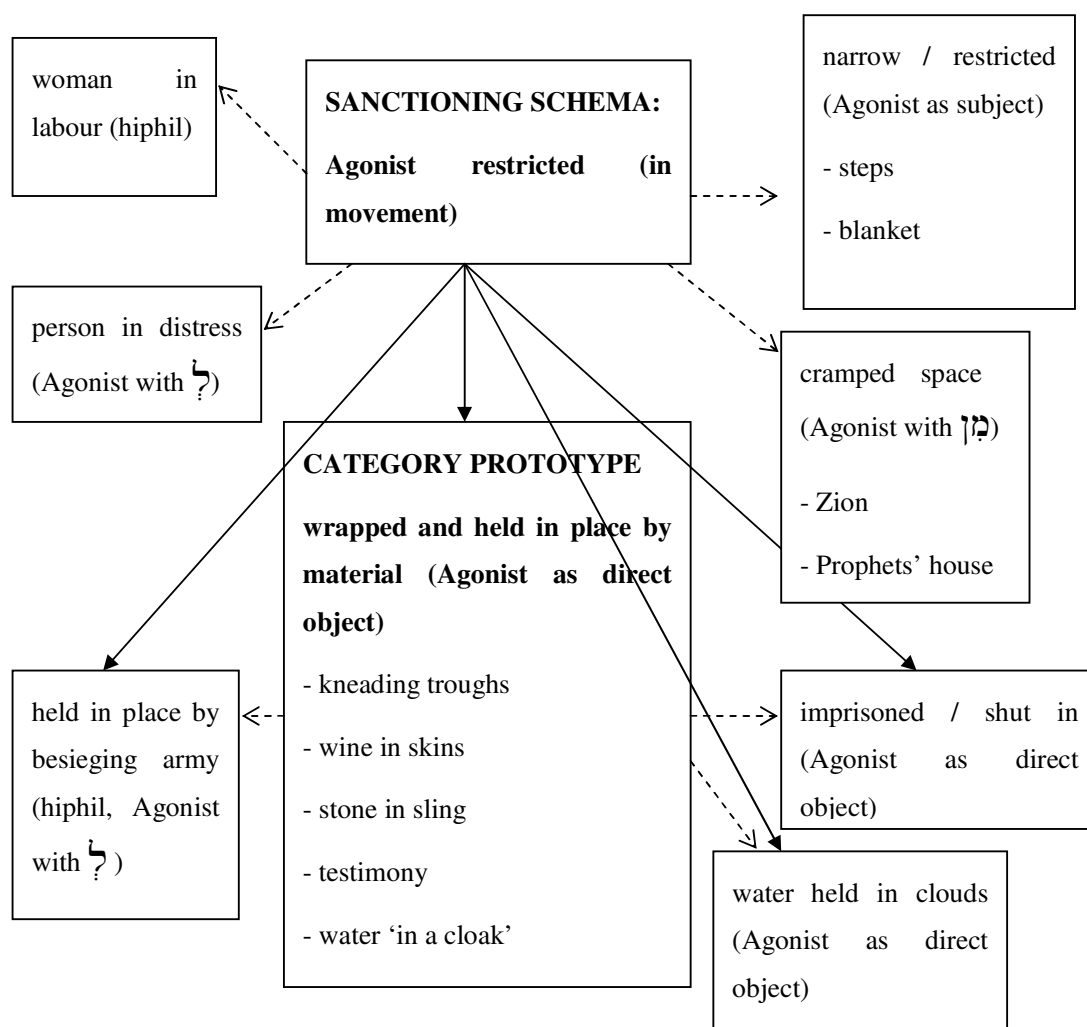
In the syntactically related hiphil examples, the external restricting force is caused by an agent, prototypically in siege, as in Deuteronomy 28.52, **וְהִצֵּר לְךָ בְּכָל־שְׁעָרֶיךָ**, ‘he will cause restriction (besiege) to you in all your gates’, or 1 Kings 8.37 / 2 Chronicles 6.28, **כִּי יִצְרֶלּוּ אֹיְבָיו בְּאַרְצְךָ שְׁעָרָיו** ‘if his enemy causes restriction (besieges) to him in the land of his gates’. Again, an entity that desires to come out (the city’s population) is held in place. This restriction of movement is highlighted through the use of **שַׁעַר** (gate) as a metonym for the city.

Finally, the hiphil refers to the experience of labour, picturing warriors’ hearts in Jeremiah 48.41 and 49.22 as **כָּלֵב אִשָּׁה מְצַרָה**, ‘as the heart of a constraining (labouring) woman’. Here, the Hebrew language perhaps conceptualised the contractions of labour as something (the woman’s interior) holding tight around another entity (the baby in her womb) that has a tendency to come out.

iii) Semantic network

These uses can be summarised in a semantic network.⁶⁰⁹ Here, prototypical or sanctioning senses are in bold, solid arrows indicate a schematic extension from a prototype, and dashed lines indicate only partial schematicity. That is, solid arrows show where the extension from the prototype is fully sanctioned by the overarching sanctioning sense, completely fitting the schema. Dashed lines show extensions from the prototype which differ in some way from the overarching schema, and thus are only partially sanctioned by it.

⁶⁰⁹ Based on Langacker and Taylor as in section 2.5.2.b, and developed in C. Brugman and G. Lakoff, ‘Cognitive Topology and Lexical Networks’ in D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 109-139, C. Fillmore and B. T. S. Atkins, ‘Describing Polysemy: The Case of "Crawl"’ in Y. Ravin and C. Leacock (eds.), *Polysemy: Theoretical and Computational Approaches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91-110, and D. Tuggy, ‘The Nawatl Verb *kīsa*: A Case Study in Polysemy’ in H. Cuyckens et al. (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003), 323-362.



c) Nouns

For nouns, Fabry concludes that ‘restriction in the sense of “having no space”’, still inheres in both **צָר** and **צָרָה**, based on parallel terms and verbs combined with them.⁶¹⁰ Specifically, Psalm 4.1[2], **בְּצָר הִרְחַבְתָּ לִּי**, ‘in distress/constraint you gave me space’, solves a situation of distress problematised with **צָר** using **רחב**, indicating space or width, as also in Psalms 31.7[8] and 25.17. Although Goldingay sees this as abnormal awareness of the root meaning, so that normally **צָר** ‘means “distress” more generally’,⁶¹¹ Cognitive

⁶¹⁰ Fabry, ‘**צָר** I’, 456-457.

⁶¹¹ J. Goldingay, ‘Psalm 4: Ambiguity and Resolution’, *TynBul* 57 (2006) 161-172, 162.

Linguistics argues that even where spatial words do not co-occur with **צָר** or **צָרָה**, the spatial domain may nevertheless have been cognitively accessible and constrained some inferences about the distressing situation. *NIDOTTE* agrees that for nouns and adjectives, as well as verbs, **צָר** applies ‘either literally to physical dimensions or metaphorically to human experience in contexts of physical danger, psychological anxiety, or spiritual distress ... The forms derived from **צָר** are applied to any kind of restricting, claustrophobic experience.’⁶¹²

Thus, using **צָרָה** in distress situations provides cognitive access to networks related to restricted movement. To see this, compare with the English lexeme *stress*, used to describe physical, emotional and social experience. Although *stress* is used in contexts without any other reference to forces, the very use of this lexeme allows a wealth of inferences based on usage in physical domains. Just as physical stress is scalable, so is psychosomatic stress. Further, after experiencing a little stress, return to normality is possible, but if the stress increases, a person may eventually (and irreparably) snap. In a similar way, the use of **צָרָה** potentially makes inferences from the physical domain possible.

d) The Root **צוּק** I

Several other Hebrew roots link to the same schema as **צָר**. The closest is **צוּק** I. In Akkadian, the cognate root means ‘narrow’ or ‘tight’, both for material things (such as clothes) and for psychological conditions.⁶¹³ Lamberty-Zielinski argues that Hebrew is more specialised, meaning “‘drive into a corner, press in on, distress, badger” in the sense of a psychologically stressful and even terrifying condition brought about by external circumstances’,⁶¹⁴ as in Delilah’s badgering in Judges 14.17. Thus, this word implies more of a force directed at the Agonist in distress contexts than the wrapping implied by **צָר**.

⁶¹² I. Swart and R. Wakely, ‘**צָר**’ *NIDOTTE* 3:853-858, 854.

⁶¹³ H. Lamberty-Zielinski, ‘**צוּק**’ *TDOT* XII:301-306, 301.

⁶¹⁴ Lamberty-Zielinski, ‘**צוּק**’, 303.

e) ‘Surrounding’ Roots: סבב, נקף, אפף

Several roots also highlight the ‘surrounding’ aspect, with **סבב** being most common. Its use prototypically ‘involves an external circular movement’.⁶¹⁵ Within the corpus, it always evokes being encircled and is sometimes translated as ‘on every side’. A prototypical scenario is given by city walls surrounding a city, encompassing everything within, as in 2 Kings 3.1. Although **סבב** is used negatively for being surrounded by enemies or war (as in 1 Kings 5.3[17]), it also fits positive situations such as the protective armies encamped around the king in 1 Samuel 26.5.

נקף (in the hiphil) and **אפף** have similar ‘surrounding’ meanings. Of fifteen occurrences of **נקף**, eleven occur with **סבב**, showing very close links. **נקף** frequently amplifies or complements **סבב**,⁶¹⁶ as in 2 Kings 11.8, **וְהִקְפּוּם עַל-הַמֶּלֶךְ סָבִיב**, ‘they will surround the king, all around’. The fundamental meaning is ‘to surround’, with only context again giving a positive (2 Kings 11.8) or negative (2 Kings 6.14) evaluation in different cases.⁶¹⁷ Other verses focus on completing a full cycle, whether around the rim of the bronze sea (1 Kings 7.24), a journey through the land of Moab (Isaiah 15.8), days of festival (Job 1.5) or annual feasts (Isaiah 29.1).

Third, **אפף** also describes the ‘surrounding’ Antagonist and occurs five times, all within the specific corpus. In each case there is a negative evaluation of the situation. Thus, **נקף, סבב**, and to a lesser extent **אפף**, all evoke an entity completely encircling or surrounding another entity.

⁶¹⁵ F. Garcia-López, ‘סבב’ *TDOT* X:126-139, 130.

⁶¹⁶ Garcia-López, ‘סבב’, 129.

⁶¹⁷ F. Reiterer, ‘נָקַף’ *TDOT* X:10-14, 10.

f) Restricting Roots: אסר, חבל, סגר, עטף

Other roots fit the schema by evoking restriction, by being wrapped, shut in, tied or bound. First, אסר is used for animals that have been tethered (2 Kings 7.10) and people bound as prisoners (as in Judges 16).

Second, forms from the root חבל also relate to binding. *TDOT* finds four homonyms here: first, related to חָבַל, ‘rope’; second, meaning to ‘take in pledge’; thirdly, ‘violence’ or ‘damage’; and fourth, related to pregnancy and labour.⁶¹⁸ Ropes (חֲבָלִים) were used for drawing water, tying animals, and in hunting, alongside snares, nets and traps (as in Psalm 140.5[6]).⁶¹⁹ This last usage is most significant in the corpus, where the noun is used with death or Sheol, illustrating ‘the tight constraint exercised by the powers of the underworld’.⁶²⁰ This image of being tied is also used where the cords are sin (חַטָּא, Proverbs 5.22), or affliction (עֲנִי, Job 36.8).

The third homonym accesses the domain of physical, physiological or social violence. Gamberoni links the unusual pual form רִיחִי חֲבָלָה (Job 17.1) with this homonym, explaining it as ‘profound emotional depression’.⁶²¹ However, he also notes this sense converging with others, arguing that even in the biblical period the ‘rope’ image was associated with this third homonym.⁶²²

For the fourth homonym, related to pregnancy, חבל does not evoke labour pains (צִירִים) so much as ‘the state of incipient, continuing, or culminating pregnancy, ... the anxious

⁶¹⁸ G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren (eds.), *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, Vol. IV (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 172-189.

⁶¹⁹ H.-J. Fabry, ‘חבל I’ *TDOT* IV:172-179, 174.

⁶²⁰ Fabry, ‘חבל I’, 176.

⁶²¹ J. Gamberoni, ‘חבל III’ *TDOT* IV:185-188, 186.

⁶²² Gamberoni, ‘חבל III’, 188.

uncertainty with which the expectant mother awaits the approaching birth'.⁶²³ Rabbinic interpretation linked this with being tied by ropes, explaining that ropes hold the baby in the womb until the start of labour.⁶²⁴ Using cognitive semantics, the basic-level prototype of something tied by ropes (sense I) extends to being bound in a pledge (sense II) and the 'binding' of an unborn child (sense IV). Cognitive links between the third homonym ('violence') and this prototype are less salient, but still accessible in some contexts.

Third, the root סָנַר, when used in the niphal, describes being shut in, fitting the schema of צָרָר as used with David's concubines. Prototypically, the qal describes shutting doors or city gates. The hiphil usually means to 'hand someone over', but can also mean 'imprison'. The related nouns מִסְגֵּרָה and מִסְגֵּר are used for prisons, a place of being shut in, although מִסְגֵּרָה may alternatively be a hiding place, reflecting voluntary rather than forced confinement.⁶²⁵

Fourth, the root עָטַף, found several times in the specific corpus in the hithpael, may also link to a prototypical scenario of something that is wrapped. BDB lists three homonyms: 'turn aside'; 'envelop oneself'; and 'be feeble' or 'faint'.⁶²⁶ In the qal, the second sense describes being clothed in a garment of violence (Psalm 73.6), and in Psalm 65.13[14] describes valleys clothed in grain. A derived noun מַעֲטָפָה denotes an 'overtunic' in Isaiah 3.22. Waldman argues that the third homonym, 'be feeble' or 'faint', actually reflects the more literal 'clothing' prototype, since Akkadian texts describe sickness as being covered or wrapped. Thus, Psalm 143.4, וַתִּתְּעַטֵּף עָלַי רוּחִי, has the petitioner's spirit 'wrapped', and Jonah 2.8 בְּהִתְעַטֵּף עָלַי נַפְשִׁי is 'when my soul is wrapped upon / within me',⁶²⁷ so that in both texts part of the person is emotionally and psychologically wrapped and held tight by another part. The significance of the wrapping prototype for understanding צָרָרִי

⁶²³ H.-J. Fabry, 'חָבַל IV' *TDOT* IV:188-192, 189.

⁶²⁴ Fabry, 'חָבַל IV', 189.

⁶²⁵ H. Ringgren, 'סָנַר' *TDOT* X:148-152.

⁶²⁶ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 742.

⁶²⁷ N. M. Waldman, 'The Imagery of Clothing, Covering and Overpowering', *JANESCU* 19 (1989) 162-170, 168-169.

strengthens Waldman's argument, showing a generalisation over polysemy, as both **צָר** and **עָטַף** access a physical domain of wrapping and the domain of psychophysical distress.

Finally, the root **בלע** ('swallow'), is also cognitively linked to this schema, since what is swallowed is an Agonist held within another entity. However, what is ingested is also almost certainly destroyed (Jonah being a notable exception), so that **בלע** becomes a metaphor for destruction,⁶²⁸ rather than just being held with the potential to escape, as in Psalm 124.3, **אִי בָלְעוּנוּ חַיִּים בְּלָעוּנוּ**, 'then they would have swallowed us alive'.

All these roots link with the schematic network for **צָר** in some way, whether emphasising the surrounding Antagonist, the pressure on the Agonist, or its restricted position. The number of roots demonstrates the richness of this domain, justifying this schema as a significant feature of Classical Hebrew language and, potentially, thought. Domains linked by one or more of these roots further demonstrate this. For example, the experience of labour and childbirth is described using the roots **צָר**, **חבל** and **צוּק** (1 QH 11.7-12, Jeremiah 6.24), all of which have been discussed above. This shows conceptual unity for at least these three roots, and the importance of childbirth as a cultural prototype for understanding situations of distress.

g) Evaluation

Finally, is there a constant value judgement when this CONSTRAINT schema is accessed? **צָר** and **נָקָה** can all be used with a positive value, as shown above. In the specific corpus, further examples show surrounding schemas used with both positive and negative evaluation. In Job 1.10 and Job 3.23, the same root (**שָׁן** / **סָן**) firstly describes God's protection as a hedge around Job and later to describe Job's misfortune. In Psalm 32.6-7, distress is conceptualised as being reached by flooding waters, but protection is conceptualised as being 'surrounded' (**סָבַב**) with shouts of deliverance. These examples reinforce the importance of this 'surrounding' schema for Classical Hebrew speakers, but

⁶²⁸ J. Schüpphaus, 'בלע', *TDOT* II:136-139.

also show that it is not consistently evaluated. Whereas the verticality schema was unified by the evaluation ‘up is good’ and ‘down is bad’, being surrounded may be good or bad, depending on the context.

6.3. Comparative Data on Emotion Language and the CONSTRAINT Schema

6.3.1. Contemporary Cross-Linguistic Comparisons

The only data available for contemporary cross-linguistic comparison comes from McMullen and Conway’s study of depression. Although 90% of the metaphors fitted DEPRESSION IS DESCENT, there were a small number of examples in which ‘clients communicated a sense of restriction’, such as feeling ‘trapped’, wanting to ‘break out’ or wanting to be ‘free’.⁶²⁹ The authors postulate DEPRESSION IS CAPTOR to account for these linguistic metaphors. However, these examples would also fit well with the image schema here of a surrounding barrier. The significant thing from this comparison is the infrequency of such metaphors in these psychotherapy sessions compared with other schemas. By contrast, the idea of being constrained pervades the Hebrew corpus.

6.3.2. Ancient Near Eastern Comparisons

Looking instead at ancient Near Eastern comparisons, this schema is paralleled in Akkadian. First, several (non-cognate) roots exhibit the same patterns of senses as 𒌷𒌷𒌷, showing the conceptual significance of the link between distress and being surrounded. In particular, the root *ašāšu*, found in the line from *Ludlul Bel Nemeqi* cited in the previous chapter, **ú-taš-ša-ša-ma** i-dab-bu-ba a-rad ir-kal-la, ‘under adversity they complain of going down to hell’ (Column II, line 47),⁶³⁰ has a similar semantic network. CAD lists the meanings ‘to be worried, disturbed, in despair’ or ‘to be in continual distress’ (some referring particularly to pregnant women) alongside being ‘caught in a net’, ‘engulfed’ or ‘overwhelmed’.⁶³¹ As for 𒌷𒌷𒌷, this polysemy links the scenario of an Agonist being surrounded (as in the material of a net) with being in distress. Similarly, the Akkadian root *pašāqu*, is glossed as either ‘to

⁶²⁹ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’, 171.

⁶³⁰ Akkadian transliteration and English translation from Lambert, *Wisdom*, 40-41.

⁶³¹ A. L. Oppenheim (ed.), *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (A/2)* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1968), 422-425.

become narrow, constricted’ or ‘to suffer difficulties, to be anguished’. It is used for narrow roads, potentially fatal illness and for difficult labour during childbirth.⁶³²

Second, some Akkadian roots related to being wrapped in a garment are used both for physical scenarios and for illness as being ‘clothed’ or ‘overpowered’ by demons. The root *katāmu*, ‘cover (like a cloak)’ is used in examples like *alû lemnu ša kīma šubāti ikattamu*, ‘the evil *alû* –ghost who envelops [his victim] like a garment’ or *amēla muttalika kīma šubāti iktatam*, ‘he [the *asakku*-demon] enveloped the miserable man like a garment’.⁶³³

The verbs *edēqu*, ‘wrap’, and *labāšu*, ‘wear’, also describe ‘wearing’ a disease as one wears clothes.⁶³⁴ In all of these examples a demon or disease is the Antagonist, enveloping the afflicted sufferer, as the Agonist. These Akkadian examples show illness being conceived as being wrapped or restricted by an external force, prompting a search as to whether there are explicit entities seen as wrapping the person in Hebrew.

6.4. Presentation and Analysis of Hebrew Mappings

In this section, each image utilising the CONSTRAINT schema is considered separately, clarifying the Agonist and Antagonist and showing how the metaphor maps this structure onto experiences of distress. Utilising the structure of experiential gestalts,⁶³⁵ each image is considered with respect to *participants*, *causation*, which *parts* of the image are mapped, whether there is any mapping of *intensity* and the inferable *result* of the situation, since, as Gibbs’ showed for English anger idioms, the implicit results of a metaphorically conceptualised situation are frequently accessible for reasoning. For example, people reasoned that someone who has been ‘simmering’ for a long time may eventually ‘explode’ in a violent way.⁶³⁶ Similarly, possible outcomes for a situation of distress conceptualised as constraint will be considered, to see if generalisations over inference patterns can be observed.

⁶³² M. T. Roth (ed.), *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (P)* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2005), 235-236.

⁶³³ Akkadian examples cited in Waldman, ‘Imagery’, 161.

⁶³⁴ Waldman, ‘Imagery’, 163.

⁶³⁵ Section 2.5.1.b.

⁶³⁶ R. W. Gibbs, Jr. et al., ‘Metaphor in Idiom Comprehension’, *Journal of Memory and Language* 37 (1997) 141-154.

6.4.1. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION

Sometimes, verbs or adjectives relating to the CONSTRAINT schema are used with physiological aspects of the person. These are often conceptual metonymies rather than conceptual metaphors, highlighting a physiological aspect of the distress experience to ‘stand for’ the whole experience. As noted in section 2.5.7.c, Kövecses sees such conceptual metonymies (like THE PHYSIOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION STAND FOR THE EMOTION) as potential motivations for more elaborate conceptual metaphors, just as BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER motivates metaphors of anger as fire.⁶³⁷

The physiological aspects here include the **נֶפֶשׁ**, **רִיִּן** and **לֵב**, all of which have been described as psychophysical,⁶³⁸ referencing not just physiological elements of the body (breath, throat, heart) but more psychological functions, such as thinking, feeling and desiring. For example, the **נֶפֶשׁ** physically evokes the throat, but is also used for ‘vitality’, and, idiomatically, for desire,⁶³⁹ whereas the **לֵב** describes the ‘internal organs of cognition and control’.⁶⁴⁰ However, grouping these examples may reveal some physical symptoms understood in terms of CONSTRAINT that could motivate some of the other metaphorical mappings.

Most clearly, Psalm 25.17 uses **צָרָה** in a construct with **לִבִּי**. The solution is framed with **רָחַב**, showing that constraint or restriction is cognitively accessible in this use of **צָרָה**. This spatial conceptualisation is maintained in the second colon, with the problematisation framed spatially as **מִצִּיקָה**, and the solution then being spatially ‘brought out’.

צָרוֹת לִבִּי הִרְחִיבוּ מִצִּיקוֹתַי הוֹצִיאֵנִי:

Psalm 25.17: Enlarge my heart’s constraint, and bring me out of my distress.⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁷ For example, Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 156-157

⁶³⁸ R. Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine Strukturesemantische Analyse von ruah, nepeš, lēb* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1983), cited in A. L. Warren-Rothlin, ‘Body Idioms and the Psalms’ in P. S. Johnston and D. G. Firth (eds.), *Interpreting the Psalms: Issues and Approaches* (Leicester: Apollos, 2005), 195-212, 204.

⁶³⁹ See previous chapter.

⁶⁴⁰ R. North, ‘Brain and Nerve in Biblical Outlook’, *Biblica* 74 (1993) 577-597, 595.

⁶⁴¹ Revocalising to an imperative, following NRSV and Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 217.

The heart (לֵב) is also spatially conceptualised in 1 QH 13.32-33, contrasting God ‘opening space’ in the petitioner’s inner being with the opponents adding to the constricting pressure on him. The use of צוקה allows a rare mapping of scalarity for the CONSTRAINT schema, as it includes pressure inwards as well as being surrounded.

ואת אלי 33 מרחב פתחתה בלבבי ויוספוה לצוקה

1QH 13.32-33: And you, my God, have opened a broad space in my heart but they have increased the narrowness.

1 QM 11.9 (outside the specific corpus) also shows relief from physiological distress as God ‘opening’ the heart.

ולב נמס לפתח תקוה

The melting heart you open to hope.⁶⁴²

Jeremiah 4.19 refers to קירות לֵב (‘walls of the heart’), which, despite interpretative difficulties, again potentially expresses distress through constrained internal parts, here by walls. This verse gives the best argument for a metonymic grounding for these distress metaphors, since if one aspect of the internal bodily experience of distress is understood as the ‘walls of the heart’ constricting, there is a potential physical basis for other metaphors that understand distress as constriction.

מַעֲי מַעֲי אֲחִילָה קִירוֹת לֵבִי הִמָּה-לִּי לֵבִי

Jeremiah 4.19: My anguish, my anguish! I writhe in pain! Oh, the walls of my heart! My heart is beating wildly.

נֶפֶשׁ is also used with צָרָה, in Psalms 31.7[8] and 143.11, 1 QH 17.27-28, 7.19 and 13.12.

In Psalm 31.7[8] the distress conceptualised as צָרוֹת נֶפֶשׁ is resolved in verse 8[9] by a

⁶⁴² F. G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 104.

wide space for the author's feet. In Psalm 143.11, relief is sought from צָרָה by the נֶפֶשׁ being 'brought out' (צָא) with (מִן).

אֲגִלָּה וְאֶשְׂמְחָה בְּחַסְדֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר רָאִיתָ אֶת־עַנְיִי יִדְעֶתָ בְּצָרוֹת נַפְשִׁי:

Psalm 31.7[8]: I will exult and I will rejoice in your loving-kindness, you who have seen my affliction; you knew about the constraint of my soul.⁶⁴³

לְמַעַן־שְׁמֶךָ יִהְיֶה תַּחֲיִי בְּצַדִּיקְתֶּךָ תוֹצִיא מִצָּרָה נַפְשִׁי:

Psalm 143.11: For your name's sake, O LORD, preserve my life. In your righteousness bring my soul out from constraint.⁶⁴⁴

In 1 QH 17.27-28, parallels with 'wound' and 'weakness' suggests a 'constricted soul' is a metaphor for the petitioner's physical distress, and again the solution is framed as 'width', through the use of רָחַב. In 1QH 7.19, פָּתַח together with צָרַת נַפְשׁוֹ frames a problem and views its solution in terms of opening a restricted space for the petitioner's נֶפֶשׁ.⁶⁴⁵ Although no particular troubles are mentioned in the context, the contrastive themes of 'eternal salvation', 'endless peace' and lack of 'want', suggest צָרַת נַפְשׁוֹ refers to the opposite, negative life experiences. Finally, צָרַת נַפְשִׁי occurs in 1 QH 13.12, though not solved spatially here.

... מִחַן מַכְתִּי וּלְמַכְשׁוּלֵי גְבוּרַת פְּלֹא וְרָחוּב 28 עוֹלָם בְּצָרַת נַפְשִׁי

1QH 17.27-28: ... the wound inflicted on me, my weakness to wonderful force, the constriction of [my] soul to everlasting expanse.

וּלְפָתוּחַ כּוֹל צָרַת נַפְשׁוֹ לִישׁוּעַת עוֹלָם וְשָׁלוֹם עַד וְאֵין מַחְסוֹר

1QH 7.19: ... to open all the narrowness of his soul to eternal salvation and endless peace, without want.

כִּי בְּצָרַת נַפְשִׁי לֹא עֹזְבָתִנִּי

⁶⁴³ Based on Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 256.

⁶⁴⁴ Author's translation.

⁶⁴⁵ Although this verse is in the third person, it is in a description of the righteous man, with whom the petitioner identifies himself.

1QH 13.12: For in the distress of my soul you did not desert me.

Other examples of physiological parts being ‘wrapped’ may come from עֲטָף, if it indeed provides a cognitive access point to domains of wrapping and covering. In Psalm 61.2[3], the psalmist’s לֵב is ‘wrapped’, whereas in Psalm 77.3[4] it is his רוּחַ. In Psalm 142.3[4], 143.3[4] and Jonah 2.7[8], the use of עָלַי brings the petitioner himself in as a further argument, emphasising that he feels the emotional situation ‘acting upon him’,⁶⁴⁶ again with his רוּחַ wrapped in the first two verses, and his נֶפֶשׁ in Jonah. Perhaps the image here is that the רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ and לֵב are wrapped up and thus restricted within the person.

מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ אֵלֶיךָ אֶקְרָא בְּעֵטֶף לִבִּי

Psalm 61.2[3]: From the end of the earth I call to you, when my heart is faint (wrapped).

אֶזְכְּרָה אֱלֹהִים וְאֶהְמִיָּה אֲשִׁיחָה וְתַתְּעִטֶנִּי רוּחִי:

Psalm 77.3[4]: I think of God and I moan; I meditate, and my spirit faints (is wrapped).

בְּהִתְעִטֶנִּי עָלַי רוּחִי וְאַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ נְתִיבָתִי

Psalm 142.3[4]: When my spirit is faint (wraps upon me), you know my way.

וְתַתְּעִטֶנִּי עָלַי רוּחִי

Psalm 143.3[4]: Therefore my spirit faints within me (wraps upon me).

בְּהִתְעִטֶנִּי עָלַי נֶפְשִׁי אֶת־יְהוָה זָכַרְתִּי

Jonah 2.7[8]: As my life was ebbing away (was wrapped upon me), I remembered the LORD.

⁶⁴⁶ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 753.

In addition, the unusual form חִבְלָה in Job 17.1, although usually derived from the sense of חָבַל meaning ‘destroy’,⁶⁴⁷ may potentially link to the meaning of being ‘bound’,⁶⁴⁸ paralleling this verse with Job 7.11, where צָר is used in construction with רוּחַ.

רוּחִי חִבְלָה יָמֵי נִזְעָכִי קִבְרִים לִי:

Job 17.1: My spirit is bound,⁶⁴⁹ my days are extinct, the grave is ready for me.

נִם־אֲנִי לֹא אֶחְשָׁךְ פִּי אֶדְבָּרָה בְּצָר רוּחִי

Job 7.11: Therefore I will not restrain my mouth; I will speak in the constraint⁶⁵⁰ of my spirit.

All these examples show a mapping from physiological constraint to a situation of distress. That is, the cognitive model of distress is understood partly in terms of the לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ, רוּחַ or לֵב being constrained, a constraint on the vitality, life and mind of the individual in distress. As a corollary, relief from distress is seen as these parts being ‘given space’ (רָחֵב) or ‘opened’ (פָּתַח). The physiological feeling of ‘tightness’ in the chest (possibly referenced in Jeremiah 4.19) gives a biological grounding for this conceptual metonymy.

The following sections consider the variety of conceptual metaphors that use this schema and that cohere with this metonymy, being potentially conceptually motivated by it.

6.4.2. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS LACKING SPACE TO MOVE

In the first group of examples, the petitioner sees himself as restricted when in distress, or conceptualises relief as a broad place. The basic mapping here is from a person who is an Agonist hemmed in a tight spot and unable to move (possibly in a narrow valley, or between walls) to the person in distress.

⁶⁴⁷ For example, D. J. A. Clines, *Job 1-20* (Texas: Word Books, 1989), 392.

⁶⁴⁸ Argued by Wolfers, *Deep*, 338.

⁶⁴⁹ Author’s translation.

⁶⁵⁰ Author’s translation.

a) Narrow Places and Blocking Walls

In 1 QH 13.29-30 ‘narrow places’ (מצרים) are symptomatic of the troubles the petitioner faces. These are metaphorical (referring to some sort of trial) as the following verse makes clear, complaining about the charges his enemies bring. The main inference is that in a narrow place there is no escape, the petitioner is totally at the mercy of his enemies.

וישיגוני במצרים לאין מנוס

1QH 13.29-30: They have overtaken me in narrow places where there is no escape.

In Job 19.8, Job accuses God of building a wall in his path to restrain him. This image does not fit any normal scenario, as a גדר normally surrounds a vineyard or sheepfold, rather than blocking a path, but still reflects a hindrance to Job following the normal ‘course of life’ he desires.⁶⁵¹ Lamentations 3.9 again uses גדר with relation to the petitioner’s path (דרכי).

The assertion that these are particularly ‘hewn stones’ (גזית) has perplexed interpreters, maybe reflecting Zion theology,⁶⁵² but most likely that it is a very deliberate, premeditated action. These references to paths and blockages instantiate what Lakoff terms the ‘event structure’ metaphor, a potentially universal conceptual metaphor. Within this metaphor, purposes are destinations, means are paths to these destinations and difficulties are impediments to motion,⁶⁵³ so that the petitioners’ purposes are being thwarted. Earlier, in Lamentations 3.7, God is also portrayed as building a wall to block the lamenter, here all around him and stopping him leaving.

אֶרְחִי גֶדֶר וְלֹא אֶעְבּוֹר

Job 19.8: He has walled up my way so that I cannot pass.

גֶּדֶר דְּרָכֵי בְּגִזִּית נִתְּיַבְתִּי עֲנֵה:

Lamentations 3.9: He has blocked my ways with hewn stones, he has made my paths crooked.

גֶּדֶר בְּעָדֵי וְלֹא אֵצֵא

⁶⁵¹ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 442.

⁶⁵² Baumann, ‘Weg’.

⁶⁵³ Lakoff, ‘Contemporary’, 204.

Lamentations 3.7: He has walled me about so that I cannot escape.

In Job 3.23, Job uses the hiphil of סוֹךְ, which prototypically means building a hedge or fence.⁶⁵⁴ Although used in Job 1.10 to positively portray God's protection on Job's family, here it is used with irony to show Job surrounded by disaster. A final reference to blocking walls is seen in Psalm 18.29[30], where leaping over a wall is used to understand getting out of a distressing situation.⁶⁵⁵

לְגִבּוֹר אֲשֶׁר-יִדְרֹכּוּ נִסְתָּרָה נִסְתָּרָה וַיִּסְךְ אֱלֹהִים בְּעָדָיו:

Job 3.23: ...to the man whose way is hidden, and whom God has hedged about?⁶⁵⁶

כִּי-בָךְ אֶרֶץ גְּדִיד וּבְאֵלֹהִים אֶדְלֶג-שׁוֹר:

Psalm 18.29[30]: For through you I rushed a barricade; through my God I leaped a wall.⁶⁵⁷

b) Being Shut In

In several of these examples, the inability of the Agonist to manifest his force tendency to move was explicit. In Job 19.8, עֹבֵר is used, showing Job cannot pass the blockage and 'move on' in his life. In Lamentations 3.7, the restriction to the author's force tendency is an inability to 'go out' (יֵצֵא). The same entailment is explicit in Psalm 88.8[9], whereas the restriction is framed using כָּלָא, a general root for spatial restraint or imprisonment (as a noun).⁶⁵⁸

כָּלָא וְלֹא אֵצְא:

Psalm 88.8[9]: I am shut in so that I cannot escape.

⁶⁵⁴ R. D. Patterson, 'סוֹךְ' TWOT.

⁶⁵⁵ Craigie interprets as scaling enemy walls to capture them, Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 175. However, since the psalm focuses on relief from distress, it is preferable to seek an interpretation within that scenario, Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 271.

⁶⁵⁶ Wolfers, *Deep*, 320.

⁶⁵⁷ Goldingay, *Psalms I*, 271.

⁶⁵⁸ J. Hausmann, 'כָּלָא' TDOT VII:143-145.

Elsewhere in Job, his plight is conceptualised as somewhere lacking in space. In Job 12.14, Job talks about God's power, and uses the example of someone 'shut in' (סגר), possibly comparing to his own situation. Later, in Job 36.16, Elihu contrasts Job's distress (conceptualised as constraint using צר) with רחב לא-מוצק תחתיה, a 'broad place without constraint'. Whilst this difficult verse could be picturing Sheol as the 'broad place' Job desires to go to,⁶⁵⁹ the rest of the book consistently values width positively and constriction negatively, and never suggests Sheol is 'wide'. Rather, this verse likely expresses how Job's life before disaster struck was not one of distress but of expanse.⁶⁶⁰

יסגר על-איש ולא יפתח:

Job 12.14: If he shuts someone in, no one can open up.

ואף הסיתך מפֿי־צר רחב לא-מוצק תחתיה ונחת שלחנך מלא דשן:

Job 36.16: He also allured you out of distress into a broad place where there was no constraint, and what was set on your table was full of fatness.

c) צוק and צרר

In many verses, reference to constraint is made through צר or צוק without any other spatial words used in the context. However, the lack of such words does not preclude spatial inferences being cognitively accessible to users of the poem. Psalm 119.143, for example, uses both צר and מצוק to describe the distressing situation, both allowing spatial, constraining inferences. Other verses using צר include Psalms 22.11[12], 31.9[10], 34.6[7], 69.17[18], 71.20, 77.2[3], 86.7 and 102.2[3], Jeremiah 15.11 and 1 QH 19.31-32, too many to cite in full here.

צר-ומצוק מצאוני מצותיך שעשעי:

Psalm 119.143: Constraint and pressure have come upon me, but your commandments are my delight.⁶⁶¹

⁶⁵⁹ Wolfers, *Deep*, 364.

⁶⁶⁰ D. J. A. Clines, *Job 21-37* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2006), 863.

⁶⁶¹ Author's translation.

d) Entailments

This mapping allows various inferences with regard to *causation* of distress. It is possible to hide an agentive cause by just describing a narrow place (as in 1 QH 13.29) or being shut in (Psalm 88.8[9]), or by using the phrase **צָר־לִי**, where the syntactic form emphasises the restriction felt by the Agonist, but does not mention a personal agent.

However, images with an *agent* are also fairly common, mapping the agent causing the restriction to the agent causing distress. In Lamentations 3.7 and 9 and Job 19.8, the author did not just say there are walls surrounding him and blocking his path, but that God built them. In Job 12.4, God is the agent shutting someone in.

As for the *result* mapped in this image, narrow spaces themselves do not lead to increasing distress or difficulty, the person in them is merely contained in one place. Rather, they are appropriate for distress, then, because the fixity of location makes the petitioner especially vulnerable. Enemies can overtake him (1 QH 13.29-30) and walls mean there is no escape possible under attack (Lamentations 3.7, Psalm 88.8[9]).

With distress as a lack of space to move, a natural entailment is that *relief* from distress is being brought to a wide space. Psalm 18.19[20] and 36[37] both explicitly describe relief this way, first generally and then specifically for the feet to move freely, for a situation conceptualised in verse 6[7] as **בְּצָר־לִי**. Similarly, **מִן־רֶחֶב** in Psalm 118.5 relieves a cry from **הַמִּצָּר**.⁶⁶² Whether this is a prison or desert citadel,⁶⁶² it is a place where the force tendency to movement is restricted. Psalm 31 conceptualises distress using **צָרָה** in verse 7[8], then in verse 8[9] as being ‘handed over’ to the enemy (**סָגַר**, hiphil, suggesting being ‘shut in’). The second half of the verse conceptualises relief as a wide space for the psalmist’s feet. Psalm 4.1[2] also links together distress conceptualised as **צָר** and relief as space (**רֶחֶב**). A final example comes in Psalm 119.45, where the image of walking in wide spaces evokes a life free of trouble. Briggs and Briggs’ comment on Psalm 4 holds true for all these examples, that ‘distress is here a being constrained into narrow limits; pressed from

⁶⁶² Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 120.

rightful freedom and shut in on every side. The antith[esis] is the removal of such restraint and pressure, giving room and freedom'.⁶⁶³ In a related way, 1 QH 14.30-31 frames relief from the individual's current distress as an eschatological breakthrough into a broad place.

וַיֹּצִיאֵנִי לְמָרְחָב

Psalm 18.19[20]: He brought me out into a broad place.

תִּרְחִיב צַעְדֵי תַחְתֵּי וְלֹא מָעַדוּ קַרְסָּלַי:

Psalm 18.36[37]: You gave me a wide place for my steps under me, and my feet did not slip.

מִן־הַמָּצָר קָרָאתִי יְהוָה עֲנֵנִי בְּמָרְחָב יְהוָה:

Psalm 118.5: From my narrow straits I called Yah(weh): Yah(weh) answered me with spaciousness.⁶⁶⁴

וְלֹא הִסְגִּירְתָּנִי בְּיַד־אֹיֵב הָעַמְּדָהּ בְּמָרְחָב רַגְלִי:

Psalm 31.8[9]: [You] have not delivered me into the hand of the enemy; you have set my feet in a broad place.

בִּצָּר הִרְחַבְתָּ לִּי

Psalm 4.1[2]: You gave me room when I was constrained.⁶⁶⁵

וְאַתָּה לָכֵן בְּרִחְבָּה כִּי פָקַדְיָךְ דָּרַשְׁתִּי:

Psalm 119.45: Thus I will walk on a broad path, for I investigate your ordinances.⁶⁶⁶

וַיִּדְרוּךְ גִּבּוֹר קִשְׁתּוֹ וַיַּפְתַּח מִצּוֹר [...] 31 לְמָרְחָב אֵין קֶץ

1QH 14.30-31: The hero will draw his bow and break open the encirclement [...] into an endless broad place.

Brown notes how open vistas here stand in contrast to the 'sore straits of the journey', explaining this as a conceptual metaphor in which 'the psalmist's "pathway" has broadened

⁶⁶³ C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms, Vol. I* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906), 30.

⁶⁶⁴ Based on Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 119.

⁶⁶⁵ Author's translation.

⁶⁶⁶ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 404.

into a “refuge”.”⁶⁶⁷ However, the idea of a refuge being a wide open space seems unusual. Rather, these examples all reflect a removal of restrictions. The psalmist becomes an Agonist with plenty of space, able thus to exert his force tendency as desired.

A summary of these mappings is given in the following table:⁶⁶⁸

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Free person (often on a journey) to move along path to a desired destination</i>	<i>Walls or other blockages to prevent movement in a particular direction</i>	Potentially deliberate action of wall-builder	Person is held in one spot, vulnerable to attack and unable to travel freely or reach destination
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self to achieve purposes</i>	<i>Distressing experiences prevent achievement of purposes</i>	Potentially deliberate action of others to hinder achievement of purposes	Self is vulnerable to worse disaster, and may never be able to achieve purposes
Other Entailments: Removal of blocking obstacles, coming to wide space → Relief from situation of distress				

6.4.3. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING SURROUNDED

Another general aspect of the CONSTRAINT schema is focused on when the distressing situation is conceptualised as an Antagonist encompassing or surrounding the petitioner as Agonist, especially using סבב, אפך, and נקף (in the hiphil).

⁶⁶⁷ Brown, *Seeing*, 45.

⁶⁶⁸ Based on the tables for summarising force metaphors in emotion language found in Kövecses, *Emotion*, 61-86, but adding space for causation and entailments.

a) Surrounding Enemies

Sometimes, phrases may reflect the writer's actual original situation, since encampments or cities could be surrounded by enemy forces (as Gideon's attack on the Midianites in Judges 7.18 or Samson in Judges 16.2), or houses by angry men (Genesis 19.5, Judges 19.22 or 20.5). In each situation, סָבַב describes a literally confined Agonist. However, it is notable that the 'surrounding' aspect of the situation is highlighted, and doing this in psalms repeated over time by a community solidifies the salience of this spatial situation for understanding other distressing situations.

The clearest examples are in Psalms 140.9[10], 12.8[9], 17.9,11 and 3.6[7], where the enemies are conceived particularly as surrounding the petitioner, whatever their actual original spatial situation.

רֹאשׁ מִסָּבִי עֲמַל שְׁפָתֵימוֹ יִכְסֶּמוּ:

Psalm 140.9 [10]: The heads of those who surround me - may the harm done by their lips overwhelm them.⁶⁶⁹

סָבִיב רָשָׁעִים יִתְהַלְכוּן

Psalm 12.8[9]: On every side the wicked prowl.

אֲשֶׁרֵינוּ עָתָה סָבְבוּנוּ

Psalm 17.11: They track me down,⁶⁷⁰ now they surround me.

אִיבֵי בְנֶפֶשׁ יִקִּיפוּ עָלַי:

Psalm 17.9: My mortal enemies encompass me!⁶⁷¹

לֹא-אֵירָא מִרְבָּבוֹת עָם אֲשֶׁר סָבִיב שְׁתּוֹ עָלַי:

Psalm 3.6[7]: I am not afraid of ten thousands of people who have set themselves against me all around.

⁶⁶⁹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 264.

⁶⁷⁰ The Masoretic Text reads 'our steps', but NRSV amends to אִישְׁרוּנֵי, 'they track me down'.

⁶⁷¹ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 159.

b) Surrounding Animals

Elsewhere, adversaries are conceptualised as surrounding animals. In Psalm 118.10-12 they are compared to bees. Repeating **סבב** in each line and the intensification in verse 11 (**גם־סִבְּבוּנִי**) shows the significance of ‘surrounding’ for conceptualising this distress.

כָּל־גּוֹיִם סִבְּבוּנִי בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה כִּי אֲמִילָם: סִבְּבוּנִי גַם־סִבְּבוּנִי בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה כִּי אֲמִילָם:
סִבְּבוּנִי כְּדֹבֵרִים דֹּעֲכוּ כְּאֵשׁ קוֹצִים בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה כִּי אֲמִילָם:

Psalm 118.10-12: All nations surrounded me; in the name of the LORD I cut them off! They surrounded me, surrounded me on every side; in the name of the LORD I cut them off! They surrounded me like bees; they blazed⁶⁷² like a fire of thorns; in the name of the LORD I cut them off!

In Psalm 22 the situation is understood as both being surrounded by bulls and dogs. Three different roots are used, **סבב**, **כתר** and **נקף**. Eidevall notes a ‘concentric’ type of spatial metaphor here, with metaphors evoking feelings of ‘almost suffocating closeness’, and the author, throughout the poem, ‘placed at the very centre of some circular entity, in a position which entails being the focus of everyone’s attention (whether hostile or benign)’.⁶⁷³ In Psalm 59.6[7], enemies are again conceptualised as dogs, this time surrounding the city.

סִבְּבוּנִי פָּרִים רַבִּים אֲבִירֵי בָשָׁן בְּתִרְוָנִי:

Psalm 22.12 [13]: Many bulls encircle me, strong bulls of Bashan surround me;

כִּי סִבְּבוּנִי כָּל־בָּיִם עֹדֵת מַרְעִים הַקִּיפוּנִי

Psalm 22.16[17]: For dogs are all around me; a company of evildoers encircles me.

יָשׁוּבוּ לָעֶרֶב יִהְיוּ כְּכֹלֵב וַיִּסּוּבּוּ עִיר:

Psalm 59.6[7]: They return at evening, they growl like dogs, and they surround the city.⁶⁷⁴

⁶⁷² NRSV follows the Septuagint here.

⁶⁷³ Eidevall, ‘Images’, 57.

⁶⁷⁴ Basson, *Divine*, 188.

c) Job Surrounded

Three places in Job describe God's hostility using the root סבב. In Job 16.3, God's archers surround him. In Job 19.10, נתץ describes God's aggression, tearing him down as one might a house or wall, but modified by סביב, linking FORCE and 'surrounding'.

יִסְבּוּ עָלַי רִבּוֹ

Job 16.13: His archers surround me.

יִתְצֵנִי סָבִיב וְאֵלַי

Job 19.10: He breaks me down on every side, and I am gone.

The second half of Job 10.8 also uses סביב, although difficult to interpret. Possibly, סביב means that Job was fashioned completely by God (as in KJV), but both the MT and LXX include it with the second colon, where it could literally read 'together around, you swallow me' showing how completely God has attacked Job (as in ESV and NLT). This interpretation is supported by using בלע, since 'swallowing' also entails surrounding with a constrictive presence, which is also used in Psalm 124.3, a verse followed by other descriptions of the enemy as a flood surrounding those in distress.

יְדִידְךָ עֲצָבוֹנִי וַיַּעֲשֵׂנוּנִי יָחַד סָבִיב וַתִּבְלָעֵנִי:

Job 10.8: Your hands fashioned and made me, and now you have engulfed me altogether.⁶⁷⁵

אֲזֵי חַיִּים בָּלְעוּנוּ

Psalm 124.3: Then they would have swallowed us up alive.

Many metaphors have the petitioner surrounded by watery elements, as in 1QH 13.39, but these are significant enough to warrant their own section below.

נַחֲלִי בְּ[לִי]עַל אַפְּפוּ נַפְשִׁי

1QH 13.39: [The streams of Be][i]al surround my soul.

⁶⁷⁵ Author's translation, based on Wolfers, *Deep*, 329 and ESV.

d) Surrounded by Abstract Hostile Entities

Sometimes, the words of the petitioner's adversaries surround him. In Psalm 140.9[10] (cited above) the surrounding heads are linked to harmful lips, and in 59.6[7] (cited above) the surrounding dogs 'growl' and their words are given in verse 7[8]. The mapping is explicit in Psalm 109.2-3, where 'words of hate' surround, mapping the abstract entity causing suffering onto a surrounding Antagonist.

כִּי פִי רָשָׁע וּפִי־מִרְמָה עָלַי פָּתְחוּ דְבָרוֹ אֶתִּי לְשׁוֹן שָׁקֶר : וְדִבְרֵי שִׁנְאָה סָבְבוּנִי
וַיִּלְחַמוּנִי חֲנָם :

Psalm 109.2-3: For wicked mouths, deceitful mouths have they opened against me, they have spoken to me with lying tongues, and surrounded me with hateful talk and attacked me without reason.⁶⁷⁶

More abstract still, the idiom 'terror surrounds' occurs in the corpus. In Psalm 31.13[14] and Jeremiah 20.10,⁶⁷⁷ מָגוֹר is used, whereas in Job 18.11 בְּלִהּוֹת terrify on every side. Both of these words reference emotions related to fear, but metaphorically conceptualised, and thus experienced, through a 'surrounding' schema.

כִּי שָׁמַעְתִּי דְבַת רַבִּים מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב בְּהוֹסְדָם יַחַד עָלַי לְקַחַת נַפְשִׁי זָמְמוּ :

Psalm 31.13[14]: For I hear the whispering of many - terror all around! - as they scheme together against me, as they plot to take my life.

כִּי שָׁמַעְתִּי דְבַת רַבִּים מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב חֲגִידוֹ וְנִגִּידוֹ

Jeremiah 20.10: For I hear many whispering: 'Terror is all around! Denounce him! Let us denounce him!'

סָבִיב בַּעֲתָהוּ בְּלִהּוֹת וַהֲפִיצָהוּ לְרַגְלָיו :

Job 18.11: Terrors frighten them on every side, and chase them at their heels.

⁶⁷⁶ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 70.

⁶⁷⁷ This phrase also occurs in Jeremiah 6.25, 20.3, 46.5 and 49.29, but only 20.10 is in the specific corpus.

Several other abstract entities take the Antagonist position in this conceptualisation, this variety demonstrating the conventionality of the surrounding schema for understanding distress. These Antagonists include ‘poison and hardship’ (רָאֵשׁ וּתְלָאָה), Lamentations 3.5), ‘calamity’ of the enemies’ hearts (חַוּוֹת לָבָם, 1QH 13.31), ‘darkness’ (צִלְמוֹת, 1QH 13.33, but with יְשׁוּכּוֹ בְעָדִי rather than סָבַב), ‘agony and pain’ (אֲנָחָה וַיְגוֹן, 1QH 13.34), ‘evils without number’ (רָעוֹת עַד־אֵין מִסְפָּר, Psalm 40.12[13]), and the iniquity of the petitioner’s persecutors (עֲוֹן עֲקֵבִי, Psalm 49.5[6])

וַיִּקְרַח רָאֵשׁ וּתְלָאָה:

Lamentations 3.5: He surrounds me with poison and hardship.⁶⁷⁸

וּסְבִיבוּנִי בַחַוּוֹת לָבָם

1QH 13.31: They surrounded me with the calamity of their heart.

וַיּוֹסֶפּוּהָ לְצִוּקָה וַיְשׁוּכּוּ בְעָדִי בַצִּלְמוֹת

1QH 13.33: They have increased the narrowness and have wrapped me in darkness.

אֲנָחָה וַיְגוֹן 35 יְסֻבִּבוּנִי

1QH 13.34-35: Agony and pain surround me.

כִּי אֶפְפוּ-עָלַי רָעוֹת עַד־אֵין מִסְפָּר

Psalm 40.12[13]: For evils have encompassed me without number.

לָמָּה אֵירָא בַיָּמִי רָע עֲוֹן עֲקֵבִי יְסֻבִּבוּנִי:

Psalm 49.5[6]: Why should I fear in times of trouble, when the iniquity of my persecutors surrounds me?

e) Entailments

Turning to entailments, first, the surrounding Antagonist often deliberately surrounds the petitioner, mapping the *cause* of the distress to the deliberate action of those surrounding. This holds where people and animals are the Antagonists, and sometimes where an agent causes the surrounding with something else, as in God’s placing the poison of Lamentations

⁶⁷⁸ Author’s translation.

3.5 around the petitioner. However, sometimes no deliberate agent is necessary as in 1 QH 13.34-35, where the reason for the surrounding elements is not explicit.

Another potential entailment could relate to *intensity*, with more complete surrounding evoking more severe distress. However, there is little evidence of this in the texts (which could be shown by repetition, modifying phrases or infinitive absolutes, for example), unless using סָבִיב itself indicates more severe distress than examples without it.

Third, the *result* of such surrounding is also potentially mapped. In most of these verses, the context suggests an imminent threat. The dogs surrounding the city are growling, ready to take their prey (Psalm 59.6-7[7-8]), the talk that surrounds is intended to bring down the petitioner (Psalm 109.2-3, Psalm 31.13[14]), or their eyes are set to bring him down (Psalm 17.11). Thus, just as the result in the source domain would be an imminent attack, the result in the target domain is impending serious disaster, which the petitioner, fixed in one place, is unable to escape.

The following table summarises this mapping:

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Free person</i> to move without restraint	<i>Surrounding people, or animals</i> to threaten, restrict or capture	Often deliberate action of those surrounding	Person is held captive by the surrounding forces, which are now ready to attack.
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To act freely without hindrance	<i>Distressing experiences</i> threaten well-being and life of self so that cannot act freely	Often deliberate action of those causing distress	Self is threatened and unable to avoid worse distress
Other Entailments: Being fixed and vulnerable to attack → being vulnerable to those causing distress				

6.4.4. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING ENCLOSED BY WATER

More specifically, several verses describe petitioners surrounded by water. Water is a significant symbolic threat in the ancient Near East. In the Babylonian *Enuma Elish*, the primeval watery elements Apsū (representing freshwater lakes and marshes) and Tiamat (representing marine water) are killed by Ea and Marduk respectively while creating the cosmos.⁶⁷⁹ The Ugaritic texts recount Baal fighting against watery elements named Yam (Sea) and Nahar (River).⁶⁸⁰ In both contexts, watery elements are enemies to the rightful god. Reading these anthropologically, ‘the sea represented everything that the civilized world was not and everything it feared. It had no boundaries, no shape. It was vast, open and unformed’.⁶⁸¹

Genesis 1 also has water, darkness and ‘the deep’ (תְהוֹמִים) present ‘in the beginning’, although there is no indication of intrinsic power, nor that God needed to ‘fight’ them. He simply divides and orders the watery mass. However, in Job and the Psalms, God sometimes more dramatically subdues the waters, as in Psalm 74.12-15 or Job 38.8-11, showing they are at times considered as hostile forces even in Israel. Thus, water references in the Psalms may fit a creation context, linking together God’s first act of imposing order on the primeval waters with his ongoing ability to create order for individuals in threatening circumstances.⁶⁸²

Common embodied experience is also significant. The proximity of the Mediterranean Sea, Dead Sea and Sea of Galilee suggest the experience of helplessness when surrounded by water may be fairly common, and that people may have heard of others who had drowned. Further, the fluid ability of water to completely surround a person makes it a very natural element to be used with the CONSTRAINT schema.

⁶⁷⁹ S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia: Creation, the Flood, Gilgamesh and Others*, 2nd revised edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 233-277.

⁶⁸⁰ Hallo and Younger (eds.), *COS I*, 241-274.

⁶⁸¹ K. Armstrong, *A History of Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), 15.

⁶⁸² B. W. Anderson, *Creation Versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible* (New York: Association Press, 1967), 93-99.

a) Examples

Psalm 88.17[18] is a prototypical example, using both סבב and נקף in conjunction with watery elements.

סבבני כמים כל־היום הקיפו עלי יחד:

Ps. 88.17[18]: They surround me all day like water; they close in on me together.⁶⁸³

Explicit verbs of surrounding also occur in 1QH 13.39, 1QH 17.3-4 and Jonah 2.3[4] and 5[6]. Jonah 2 gives a concrete situation for the language used more metaphorically in the Hodayot. Interestingly, the verbs describing Jonah's distress use the CONSTRAINT schema more frequently than the VERTICALITY schema, which is only accessed by a verb in verse 6[7], although the VERTICALITY schema is used throughout the book of Jonah as a significant structural element.⁶⁸⁴

נחלי ב[ל]על אפפו נפשי

1QH 13.39: [The streams of Be]l[i]al surround my throat/soul.

[אפפוני] 4 משברי מות

1QH 17.3-4: The breakers of death [surround me].

ותשליכני מצולה בלבב ימים ונהר יסבבני כל־משבריך ונליך עלי עברו:

Jonah 2.3[4]: You cast me into the deep, into the heart of the seas, and the flood surrounded me; all your waves and your billows passed over me.

אפפוני מים עד־נפש תהום יסבבני סוף חבוש לראשי:

Jonah 2.5[6]: The waters closed in up to my throat; the deep surrounded me; weeds were wrapped around my head.⁶⁸⁵

Elsewhere, other verbs situate the petitioner in the midst of water. Lamentations 3.54 uses צוף, 'overflow'. שטף also evokes overflowing floodwaters, used in other contexts for

⁶⁸³ Author's translation.

⁶⁸⁴ Nel, 'Symbolism'.

⁶⁸⁵ Author's translation.

invading armies (Isaiah 8.8, Jeremiah 47.2). In the corpus this verb is used in Psalm 69.1-2[2-3] and communally in Psalm 124.3-5. In Psalm 32.6 the same root describes the overflowing flood that will not touch the faithful. Verse 7 then conceptualises distress using **צָר**, contrasted with being surrounded (**סָבַב**) by songs of deliverance, showing the surrounding part of the schema being used with both positive and negative evaluations. In Psalm 69.15[16] the root **שָׁטַף** is repeated, but in parallel with two other ‘surrounding’ roots, **בלע** ‘swallow’ and **אָטַר** ‘close’, prototypically for the mouth of a well closing over the petitioner. Eliphaz summarises Job’s plight in Job 22.11 with **כָּסָה**, situating him ‘covered’ by a flood of water (**שָׁפַעַת מַיִם**), a verb used prototypically for covering something with a garment. Finally, 1QH 14.22-23 has water ‘roaring over’ (**הִמּוּ עַל**) the petitioner, less directly instantiating the schema, but nevertheless implying that he is covered in water. In all of these texts the person in distress is positioned as an Agonist surrounded on all sides by watery elements.

צָפוּ-מַיִם עַל-רֹאשִׁי אָמַרְתִּי נִזְוָרְתִּי:

Lamentations 3.54: Water closed over my head; I said, “I am lost.”

הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי אֱלֹהִים כִּי בָאוּ מַיִם עַד-נֶפֶשׁ: טָבַעְתִּי בִּיּוֹן מִצּוֹלָה וְאִין מַעֲמֹד בְּאֶרְצִי
בְּמַעֲמְקֵי-מַיִם וְשִׁבְלֹת שְׁטָפְתָּנִי:

Psalm 69.1-2[2-3]: Save me, O God, for the waters have come up to my neck. I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold; I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me.

אֲזִי חַיִּים בְּלָעוּנוּ בַּחֲרוֹת אַפָּם בָּנוּ: אֲזִי הַמַּיִם שְׁטָפוּנוּ נִחְלָה עָבַר עַל-נֶפְשָׁנוּ: אֲזִי
עָבַר עַל-נֶפְשָׁנוּ הַמַּיִם הַיִּדְוָנִים:

Psalm 124.3-5: Then they would have swallowed us alive, so furious was their anger against us. Then the waters would have overwhelmed us, the torrent would have gone above our necks, then it would have gone above our throats - those raging waters.⁶⁸⁶

עַל-זֹאת יִתְפַּלֵּל כָּל-חֹסֵיד אֱלֹהִים לָעֵת מָצָא רַק לְשִׁטָּף מַיִם רַבִּים אֵלָיו לֹא יִגִּיעוּ:

⁶⁸⁶ Based on Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 163.

אַתָּה סֵתֶר לִי מִצָּר תִּצְרֵנִי רְנִי פֶלֶט תִּסּוּבֵּבֵנִי:

Psalm 32.6-7: Therefore let every godly one pray to you at a time of stress, at the flood of mighty waters, they shall not reach him. You are a hiding place for me: you will protect me from trouble, you will surround me with shouts of deliverance.⁶⁸⁷

אַל-תִּשְׁטַפְּנִי שִׁבְלֵת מַיִם וְאַל-תִּבְלַעֵנִי מִצּוֹלָה וְאַל-תֵּאָטֵר-עָלַי בְּאֵר פִּיהָ:

Psalm 69.15[16]: Rescue me from sinking in the mire; let me be delivered from my enemies and from the deep waters. Do not let the flood sweep over me, or the deep swallow me up, or the well⁶⁸⁸ close its mouth over me.

וְשִׁפְעַת-מַיִם תִּכְסֶּה:

Job 22.11: A flood of water covers you.

והייתי כמלח באוניה בזעף 23 ימים גליהם וכול משבריהם עלי המו

1QH 14.22-23: I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging seas: their waves and all their breakers roar over me.

b) Entailments

These images map *intensity* onto distressing experiences. The embodied experience of drowning entails that the more of the body covered in water, the more serious the situation. If the water reaches head-level, the predicament is very severe. This entailment is mapped onto general situations of distress here. In Psalm 69.1[2] and Jonah 2.5[6], waters reach the level of the petitioner's neck (נֶפֶשׁ), signalling the severity of the situation, whereas in Psalm 124.4-5 the author offers thanks that the water did not exceed this level (עָבַר עַל-נֶפְשִׁי). Lamentations 3.54 has the most serious predicament, with the water already above the head (עַל-רֹאשִׁי), so that the petitioner is indeed 'lost'. The *result* is also clear. If the petitioner is not helped out he will drown, the ultimate threat of terminal, uncreating disaster.

In terms of *causation*, it is possible here to hide personal agency, since sometimes water alone is mentioned, without any other human or divine agent. This Antagonist can be used

⁶⁸⁷ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 264.

⁶⁸⁸ NRSV has 'the Pit' here.

for impersonal forces constraining the person, without attributing distress to any particular personal agent.

The mappings and entailments here are summarised in the following table:

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Person in water</i> To carry on breathing	<i>Water</i> To surround the person, preventing him from breathing	Non-agentive 'natural' forces	Water finally overwhelms person and he drowns
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To carry on living	<i>Distressing experiences</i> To destroy the person	Non-specific agents	Increasingly severe distress ends in death
Other Entailments: More complete covering by water → More severe situation of distress				

6.4.5. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING UNDER SIEGE

Another 'surrounding' image relates to being besieged, linked specifically to the CONSTRAINT schema through the use of צָרַר in the hiphil for this scenario.

a) Encyclopaedic Knowledge

Archaeological, textual and pictorial evidence reveal much about the experience of siege in Ancient Israel. Archaeological evidence suggests walled cities became the normal dwelling from the tenth century B.C.E., whether residential, or with various administrative and military functions.⁶⁸⁹ Still, most inhabitants were farmers, so men spent morning to evening outside the city walls. Fields, olive groves, vineyards and enclosures for flocks and herds were all outside the city walls, as were threshing floors, winepresses, places for slaughtering

⁶⁸⁹ V. Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 117-118.

animals, and probably potters' and smiths' workshops.⁶⁹⁰ Being under siege prevented all these activities, particularly prohibiting food collection, resulting eventually in starvation. Whilst undoubtedly many Israelite cities experienced siege conditions (for example, according to Assyrian records, Sennacherib laid siege to 46 Israelite strong cities and walled forts in 701 B.C.E.),⁶⁹¹ Sennacherib's siege of Lachish has left most evidence, in Assyrian reliefs and archaeological remains,⁶⁹² revealing the siege ramp built by the Assyrians, on which to wheel battering rams, while defenders threw torches or stones or fired arrows from the walls (leaving remains still found at the site).⁶⁹³ The reliefs and excavations also depict the siege's consequences: exiles are led away and others impaled on spears, the scale of the massacre indicated by some 1500 skeletons found in a water shaft near the city.⁶⁹⁴ Although this was an atypical siege (Lachish was probably Judah's second city,⁶⁹⁵ and the Assyrian siege ramp has no parallels),⁶⁹⁶ the attention devoted to this particular conquest in Assyria shows its salience there. It may have been salient for Israel's general populace too, despite the minimal discussion in the Bible's official history. The Assyrian record of Sennacherib's campaign also suggests the salient aspects of besieging a city:

I laid siege to 46 of [Hezekiah's] strong cities, walled forts and to countless small villages in their vicinity, and conquered (them) by means of well-stamped (earth-) ramps, and battering-rams brought (thus) near (to the walls) (combined with) the attack of foot soldiers, (using) mines, breaches as well as sapper work. I drove out (of them) 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, big and small cattle beyond counting, and considered (them) booty. Himself I made a prisoner, in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage. I surrounded him with earthwork in order to molest those who were leaving his city's gate.⁶⁹⁷

Yadin identifies the siege as the most protracted way of conquering a city, and the one least dangerous to the attacker, noting that 'its aim was to encircle the city and so prevent supplies from reaching the defenders within ... it became, in great measure, a passive force'.⁶⁹⁸

⁶⁹⁰ Fritz, *City*, 176-189.

⁶⁹¹ J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (ANET)*, 3rd edn. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 288.

⁶⁹² Dever, *Writers*, 167-172.

⁶⁹³ Mazar, *Archaeology*, 430-434.

⁶⁹⁴ Dever, *Writers*, 169.

⁶⁹⁵ Dever, *Writers*, 171.

⁶⁹⁶ Mazar, *Archaeology*, 432.

⁶⁹⁷ Pritchard, *ANET*, 288.

⁶⁹⁸ Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Discovery* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1963), 18.

b) Examples

In the corpus, then, the distressed petitioner is sometimes pictured as an Agonist in a besieged city, with the Antagonist as the besieging army (complete with accompanying siege works), as in Psalm 31.21[22] and in 1 QH 11.7.

בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה כִּי הִפְלִיא חֶסְדּוֹ לִי בְּעִיר מְצוּרָה:

Ps. 31.21[22]: Blessed be the LORD, for he has wondrously shown his steadfast love to me when I was beset as a city⁶⁹⁹ under siege.

וכַּעֲרֵי מִבְצָר מִלִּפְנֵי [אֹיְבֵיהָ] אֵהְיָה בְּצוּקָה

1QH 11.7: Like a fortified city positioned opposite [its enemies], I was in distress...

In Job 19, different parts of the siege scenario are mapped onto his distress. In verse 6, the siege works surrounding (הַקִּיף) the city are highlighted. In verse 12, סָבַב evokes ‘surrounding’ again, now by a multiplicity of troops (perhaps mapped onto the multiplicity of sufferings Job was experiencing). There is also reference to the enemy paving an assault ramp (וַיִּסְלֹוּ עָלַי דְּרָכָם) against Job, maybe comparable to that at Lachish.⁷⁰⁰ Such siege works also likely complete the verb בָּנָה in Lamentations 3.5, where God ‘builds against’ the author. Indeed, the construction בָּנָה עַל is used for constructing siege works in Deuteronomy 20.20 and Ezekiel 4.2,⁷⁰¹ albeit with the object explicit there.

דַּע-נָאפֹו כִּי-אַלּוֹהִים עֲתָנִי וּמְצוּרֹו עָלַי הַקִּיף:

Job 19.6: Know then that God has subverted my cause and surrounded me with his siege works.⁷⁰²

⁶⁹⁹ Literally, ‘in a besieged city’. Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 258 emends the MT to עֵת ‘time’, but this is unnecessary given the other examples where the siege source domain is explicitly exploited.

⁷⁰⁰ Wolfers sees so much siege imagery in Job as to suggest the book should be read as a metaphor for the sufferings of Israel during Sennacherib’s campaign of 702 B.C.E. (Wolfers, *Deep*). However, in the text itself, these images conceptualise Job’s personal distress, which according to the prologue is a result of the loss of his family and possessions and the impact of physical illness.

⁷⁰¹ Eidevall, ‘Spatial’, 135.

⁷⁰² The NRSV reads מְצוּרֹו as ‘his net’. However, the military context suggest it is rather a ‘temporary wall that besiegers built around a city they were attacking’, R. Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation and Special Studies* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 196, 201.

יָחַד יָבֹאוּ גִדּוּדֵי וַיִּסְלּוּ עָלַי דֶּרֶכָם וַיַּחֲנוּ סָבִיב לְאַחֲלִי:

Job 19.12: His troops come forth all together; they have paved their road against me and have encamped around my tent.⁷⁰³

בָּנָה עָלַי וַיִּקְןֵה רֹאשׁ וַתִּלְאָה:

Lamentations 3.5: He builds a rampart against me and surrounds me with poison and hardship.⁷⁰⁴

A final example is 1QH 10.25-26, referring to the camps of the enemies and using סַבֵּב with weapons of war (כלי מלחמותם).

ואני אמרת חנו עלי גבורים סבבים בכל 26 כלי מלחמותם

1QH 10.25-26: And I, I said, mighty men have encamped against me, surrounding <me> with all their weapons of war.⁷⁰⁵

c) Entailments

Turning to entailments, first, understanding distress via the siege mapping allows an explicit *agent* of distress. The commander of the besieging army in the target domain becomes God (in Job and Lamentations), or the petitioner's adversaries (Psalm 31.21[22] and 1 QH 11.7). Second, the *result* is clear. A siege is designed to wear down resistance and finally defeat the town when it has been suitably weakened. Rescue is not possible without external help. Similarly, where distressing symptoms 'besiege' someone, the inference is that if this continues without external help the person will finally be weakened to the point he will not be able to resist anymore, and will finally be ultimately defeated.

The table below summarises this mapping:

⁷⁰³ Translation from Gordis, *Job*, 196. The NRSV corrects the text to make 'siege works' explicit instead of 'their way'. In either case, however, the siege metaphor is clear.

⁷⁰⁴ Author's translation.

⁷⁰⁵ Kittel, *Hymns*, 35.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Inhabitants of city</i> to freely leave the city to harvest food and trade	<i>Besieging army</i> to prohibit exit from the city and destroy defences	Deliberate action of attacking commander	Inhabitants are unable to break the siege to get food and, ultimately, surrender or die
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> to be able to look after self and freely act to provide for needs	<i>Distressing experiences</i> prohibit self from providing for needs, destroy the self's protection	Deliberate action of God or adversaries	Self is unable to end the distressing experiences and, ultimately, dies

6.4.6. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING HELD IN A NET OR TRAP

Returning from the 'surrounding' aspect of the CONSTRAINT schema to that of being held, one of the most elaborated images is that of being caught in a net or a trap. In this scenario the petitioner maps onto a hunted animal Agonist (whether bird, fish or land animal), and the Antagonist is the trap that closes around it.

a) Encyclopaedic Knowledge

The Bible rarely refers to hunting in Israel in narrative contexts (although frequent in poetic texts), and never glorifies it, in contrast to other ancient Near Eastern cultures where the king's hunting prowess is celebrated as a sign of his power.⁷⁰⁶ In these cultures, nets and traps were significant for hunting, since the ancient Sumerian sign for hunting originally meant 'to surround', making it 'evident that the hunt was originally conducted by entrapment in nets or pits'.⁷⁰⁷ However, depictions of Assyrian royal hunts show other hunting methods, with the king and his companions on foot, on horseback and in chariots armed with bows and arrows and chasing lions, elephants, cattle or goats across the plains.⁷⁰⁸ However, in the

⁷⁰⁶ M. Oeming, 'צַדִּיק' TDOT XII:270-275, 272-273.

⁷⁰⁷ Keel, *Symbolism*, 89.

⁷⁰⁸ Roaf, *Atlas*, 154-155.

psalms the hunting metaphors all relate to pits, traps, nets and snares. This may reflect the different geography and methods of hunting in Palestine, but also emphasises a particular kind of hunting. Whereas the enemy is visible and the animal may fight back in the open field, the use of pits and nets relies on concealment and surprise, leading to inescapable disaster. Once caught, the animal has no chance of survival.⁷⁰⁹

Various words signify different nets and traps. A פֶּחַ is prototypically for catching birds, since only they are mentioned in conjunction with the word. The description in Amos 3.5 suggests a triggered snare (shown in Egyptian art) made from two curved frames attached to nets which are set half open. When a bird attempts to take bait from the trigger, the snare closes around the bird and it is trapped in the net.⁷¹⁰ מוֹקֵשׁ often occurs with פֶּחַ, probably referring to the trigger or its bait.⁷¹¹ Kellermann suggests the main meaning focus of פֶּחַ is ‘trickery and ruin’,⁷¹² however, suddenness and concealment seem to be equally, if not more, important in this corpus.

A רֶשֶׁת is a more general word for nets to catch birds and larger animals. Some could be pulled shut when a bird entered it, others were camouflaged in the ground to catch small animals, or were stretched out so that large animals (such as lions) could be driven in. A רֶשֶׁת never refers to a fishing net, these being most often referred to as מְצוֹדָה.⁷¹³ Very occasionally צָמִים is used, but no precise identification is possible. Cognates suggest at best something drawn together,⁷¹⁴ and translations include ‘noose’⁷¹⁵ or ‘web’.⁷¹⁶

These different traps have different scripts, mapped metaphorically to distress situations. For the פֶּחַ (bird snare), the trap is baited and left by the hunter. When a bird takes the bait, the

⁷⁰⁹ Keel, *Symbolism*, 89.

⁷¹⁰ D. Kellermann, ‘פֶּחַ’ *TDOT* XI:513-516, 514.

⁷¹¹ Keel, *Symbolism*, 91, H. Ringgren, ‘יִקְשׁ’ *TDOT* VI:288-290, 288.

⁷¹² Kellermann, ‘פֶּחַ’, 514.

⁷¹³ P. Mommer, ‘רֶשֶׁת’ *TDOT* XIV:16-19, 17.

⁷¹⁴ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 855.

⁷¹⁵ Gordis, *Job*, 188.

⁷¹⁶ Wolfers, *Deep*, 339.

jaws snap shut. If the bird is quick enough, it could potentially escape, otherwise it is trapped in the net, in which case the end is inevitable unless it can manage to break the trap. There is no escaping death on the hunter's return. The רֶשֶׁת script is more general. As a concealed net in the ground, an animal may get its legs caught so that it is, at least temporarily, held fast. It may be possible to break free before the hunter finds the animal, or the animal may be helped out of the net in this time. In other kinds of רֶשֶׁת the hunter stayed close to the net, though concealed, to draw it together as the animal is captured. Parts of these scripts are used metaphorically, and the knowledge of concealment, surprise, suddenness and inevitability of disaster once caught are all used to draw inferences about distress.

b) Examples

One of the clearest examples of the mapping from being in a net to being in distress is found in Ecclesiastes 9.12, although outside the specific corpus.

כִּי גַם לֹא־יָדַע הָאָדָם אֶת־עֵתוֹ כִּדְגִים שְׁנֵאֲחֻזִּים בְּמִצּוֹרָה רָעָה וְכַצִּפֹּרִים הָאֲחֻזּוֹת בִּפְתָח
בָּהֶם יוֹקְשִׁים בְּנֵי הָאָדָם לְעֵת רָעָה כְּשֶׁתִּפּוֹל עֲלֵיהֶם פְּתָאִם:

Ecclesiastes 9.12: For no one can anticipate the time of disaster. Like fish taken in a cruel net, and like birds caught in a snare, so mortals are snared at a time of calamity, when it suddenly falls upon them.

Here the sufferer is understood as a bird or a fish that has been trapped, explicitly emphasising suddenness (פְּתָאִם) and unexpectedness (לֹא־יָדַע הָאָדָם אֶת־עֵתוֹ), although also allowing the inference that such calamity, once it falls, is inescapable.

Within the specific corpus, the petitioner is not usually positioned inside the net. However, Psalm 31.4[5] and 1 QH 16.34 give two such examples, first using the larger רֶשֶׁת, so the trapped animal could conceivably be released before the hunter returns. In the latter, the noun כְּבֶל ('snare') is only used twice in the Bible, for prisoners' iron fetters. However, here, from Qumran and in conjunction with לֶכֶד, it likely refers to a kind of snare. The petitioner is never located inside a פֶּתַח, perhaps because of the finality of such a plight. Psalm 66.11 gives a final example of actually being in a net, from a communal lament.

תוֹצִיאֵנִי מִרֶשֶׁת זוֹ טָמְנוּ לִי כִּי־אַתָּה מַעֲוִי:

Ps. 31.4[5]: Take me out of the net they hid⁷¹⁷ for me, for you are my refuge.

[רנ] לי נלכדה בכבל וילכו כמים ברכי ואין לשלוח פעם ולא מצעד לקול רגלי

1QH 16.34: My [fo]ot has been caught in the snare, my knees slide like water, and it is impossible to move one step forward, there is no sound to the tread of my feet.

הִבֵּאתָנוּ בַּמְצוּדָה

Psalm 66.11: You brought us into the net.

More commonly, traps have been set and the petitioner fears being caught in them, as in Psalm 38.12[13], 1QH 21.8, Psalm 119.110, Lamentations 1.13 and Psalm 141.9-10. The phrase **יָדֵי פַח** in Psalm 141.9 suggests the bows of the trap that hold the net.⁷¹⁸ 1QH 11.26 is unusual in including fishing nets (**מַכְמֶרֶת עַל פְּנֵי מַיִם**) as well as traps more common from the Psalms (**מַצּוּדוֹת** and **פַּחִים**).

וַיִּנְקְשׁוּ מִבְּקָשִׁי נַפְשִׁי וְדָרְשִׁי רַעְתִּי דָּבְרוּ חַוּוֹת וּמַרְמוֹת כָּל־הַיּוֹם יִהְיֶה:

Psalm 38.12[13]: Those who seek my life lay their snares; those who seek to hurt me speak of ruin, and meditate treachery all day long.

וּפַח לַפַּח יִטְמוֹנוּ צַמֵּי רָשָׁעָה

1QH 21.8: They have hidden trap upon trap, the snares of wickedness.

נִתְּנוּ רָשָׁעִים פַּח לִי

Psalm 119.110: The wicked have laid a snare for me.

פָּרַשׁ רֶשֶׁת לְרַגְלִי

Lamentations 1.13: He spread a net for my feet.

**שָׁמְרָנִי מִיָּדֵי פַח יִקְשׁוּ לִי וּמַקְשׁוֹת פָּעַלִי אֲנִי: וַפְּלוּ בְּמַכְמֶרֶיִי רָשָׁעִים יַחַד אֲנֹכִי
עַד־אֶעְבֹּר:**

⁷¹⁷ NRSV has 'is hidden', but the form here is an active third person.

⁷¹⁸ Keel, *Symbolism*, 91.

Psalms 141.9-10: Guard me from the jaws of the traps they have set for me and the snares of evildoers. May the wicked fall one and all into their own nets, while I myself escape.⁷¹⁹

בהפתח כל פחי שחת ויפרשו כול מצודות רשעה ומכמרת חלכאים על פני מים

1QH 11.26: When all the traps of the pit open, all the snares of wickedness are spread and the nets of scoundrels are upon the surface of the sea.

In these verses, the petitioners' experience of distress is the fear of an animal faced by snares, rather than being trapped already. However, this mapping still reflects the conceptualisation that being caught in a trap would be a kind of distress, an even worse scenario than the current predicament. That is, the entailed result of this image, whether in a trap or in fear of falling into one, is that of being caught and held utterly at the mercy of one's enemies.

Turning to Job, he never positions himself as trapped or in danger of being snared, but his friends do, either explicitly or implicitly (as they discuss the fate of the wicked). In Job 22.10, Eliphaz describes Job's plight as one surrounded (סבב) by snares, a double use of the CONSTRAINT schema, both being surrounded by the snares collectively, and at danger of being held by any particular one. In Job 18.8-10, Bildad's summary of the plight of the wicked (and Job by inference) devotes six cola to understanding the disasters they face as being trapped by a net (רֶשֶׁת), a snare (פֶּחַ), a noose (צָמִים), a rope (חֶבֶל) and a trap (מִלְכָּד), as well as the less easily identified שִׁבְכָה.

עַל־כֵּן סְבִיבוֹתֶיךָ פָּחִים וַיִּבְהַלֶּךְ פֶּחֶד פְּתָאם:

Job 22.10: Therefore snares are around you, and sudden terror overwhelms you.

**כִּי־שָׁלַח בְּרִשָׁת בְּרִנְלִיו וְעַל־שִׁבְכָה יִתְהַלֵּךְ: יֵאָחֵז בְּעַקֵּב פֶּחַ יִחְזַק עָלָיו צָמִים: טָמוּן
בְּאֶרֶץ חֶבֶל וּמִלְכָּדָתוֹ עָלֵי נְתִיב:**

⁷¹⁹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 270.

Job 18.8-10: For they are thrust into a net by their own feet, and they walk into a pitfall. A trap seizes them by the heel; a snare lays hold of them. A rope is hid for them in the ground, a trap for them in the path.

c) Entailments

Nets and traps frame the CONSTRAINT schema to draw explicit attention to the *agentive cause* of distress (in contrast to narrow places, water or prison), mapping the hunter setting the trap onto the agent causing distress. The cause is very deliberate: nets and snares are not left accidentally, they are deliberately set to catch prey. By using this metaphor, petitioners attribute deliberate action against them by others, whether human adversaries (the wicked (Psalm 119.110), ‘workers of iniquity’ (Psalm 141.9)), or God himself, to whom the petition is addressed (as in Lamentations 1.13). Psalm 18.5[6] even grants personification to death as the one trying to snare the petitioner.

חֲבִלִי שְׂאוּל סָבְבוּנִי קִדְמוּנִי מוֹקְשֵׁי מָוֶת:

Psalm 18.5[6]: The cords of Sheol entangled me; the snares of death confronted me.

Other entailments of the ‘trap’ script are explicitly highlighted in the metaphors of the specific corpus. First, being caught is no fault of the animal. In the mapping, this conceptual metaphor highlights the innocence of the petitioner in contrast to his adversaries’ cunning, so that the distress falling upon him is unjustified. This is explicit in Psalm 35.7.

כִּי־חָנָם טָמְנוּ־לִי שַׁחַת רְשָׁתָם חָנָם חָפְרוּ לְנַפְשִׁי:

Psalm 35.7: For without cause they hid their net⁷²⁰ for me, without cause they dug a pit for my life.

Second, being caught is also unsuspected, with the hidden nature of nets and traps frequently made explicit. Just as the prey is unable to perceive a hidden trap, the petitioner is concerned about a source of distress that he is unable to discern until it is too late. The root טָמַן is used for this concealment in Psalm 31.4[5], 1QH 21.8 (both cited above), Psalm 64.5[6], Psalm 142.3[4] and 1QH 21.4.

⁷²⁰ ‘Net’ and ‘pit’ are the other way around in Hebrew, but the sentence only makes sense this way, as in Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 285.

יִחְזְקוּ-לָמוֹ דְּבַר רָע יִסְפְּרוּ לְטָמוֹן מוֹקְשִׁים אָמְרוּ מִי יִרְאֶה-לָמוֹ:

Psalm 64.5[6]: They hold fast to their evil purpose; they talk of laying snares secretly, thinking, ‘Who can see us?’

בְּאַרְחֻזוֹ אֶתְלִיד טָמְנוּ פֶּחַ לִי:

Psalm 142.3[4]: In the path where I walk they have hidden a trap for me.

[...] וּפַעַמִּי עַל מַט(מ) יָנִי פַחִיה וּמַפְרָשֵׁי ר[שת]

1QH 21.4: [...] my steps over those who hide its traps and who stretch a n[et ...].

Several verses map release from the confines of a net or trap to relief from distress. Psalms 25.15 and 31.4[5] (cited above) use this entailment in individual lament, whereas Psalm 124.7 gives an example from a communal lament. The former two examples also demonstrate the helplessness of the prey, the only way out of distress is by the action of an outsider. Psalm 124 is a rare example where the animal manages to escape on its own, through the trap ‘breaking’.

עֵינַי תָּמִיד אֶל-יְהוָה כִּי הוּא-יוֹצִיא מִרְשֶׁת רַגְלִי:

Psalm 25.15: My eyes are ever toward the LORD, for he will pluck my feet out of the net.

נִפְשָׁנוּ כְּצִפּוֹר נִמְלָטָה מִפֶּחַ יוֹקְשִׁים הִפַּח נִשְׁפָּר וְאַנְחָנוּ נִמְלָטָנוּ:

Psalm 124.7: We have escaped like a bird from the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we have escaped.

A final frequent entailment is the possibility of the hunters being trapped in their own devices. Within the source domain this is at least theoretically possible, but in the target domain this idea is variously elaborated to become a significant feature of this conceptual metaphor. In Psalm 141.10 (cited above), the petitioner sees all the wicked falling into their own traps while he alone escapes. In Psalm 57.6[7], the psalmist’s enemies use a net and a pit, but they themselves fall in, and in Psalm 35.8 the psalmist asks for his adversaries to be caught in the net they set for him in verse 7. Nets and traps both capture those who set them in 1QH 10.29. Finally, Psalm 7.15[16] and Psalm 9.15[16] both assert that those who dig holes and set nets end up trapped by their own activities.

רָשַׁת הַכִּינּוּ לַפַּעֲמִי כַּפֶּף נַפְשִׁי כָּרוּ לְפָנַי שִׁיחָה נָפְלוּ בְּתוֹכָהּ סָלָה:

Psalm 57.6[7]: They set a net for my steps; my soul was bowed down. They dug a pit in my path, but they have fallen into it themselves.

תְּבוֹאָהוּ שׁוֹאָה לֹא־יֵדַע וְרָשָׁתוֹ אֲשֶׁר־טָמַן תִּלְכְּדוּ בְּשׁוֹאָה יִפֹּל־בָּהּ:

Psalm 35.8: Let ruin come on them unawares. And let the net that they hid ensnare them; let them fall in it - to their ruin.

וְהֵם רָשַׁת פִּרְשׁוּ לִי תִלְכוֹד רִגְלָם וּפְחִים טָמְנוּ לַנַּפְשִׁי נָפְלוּ בָּם

1QH 10.29: But they, the net which they spread for me, entangled their own feet, in the traps they hid for my life, they have fallen.

בּוֹר כָּדָה נִיחַפְּרָהוּ וַיִּפֹּל בְּשַׁחַת יִפְעֹל:

Psalm 7.15[16]: They make a pit, digging it out, and fall into the hole that they have made.

טָבְעוּ גוֹיִם בְּשַׁחַת עָשׂוּ בְּרָשָׁת־זוֹ טָמְנוּ גִלְכָּדָה רִגְלָם: נוֹדַע יְהוָה מִשְׁפָּט עֲשָׂה
בְּפַעַל כַּפְּיוֹ נִקְשׁ רָשָׁע הַגִּיּוֹן סָלָה:

Psalm 9.15-16[16-17]: The nations have sunk in the pit that they made; in the net that they hid has their own foot been caught. The LORD has made himself known, he has executed judgment; the wicked are snared in the work of their own hands.

Finally, do any aspects of this image map onto the intensity of distress? One way is through the contrast between being surrounded by nets and actually being in the net itself. Being caught expresses a more severe situation than just being worried about the traps. Another way of expressing intensity is through highlighting the number of traps, either by reduplication, as in the reference to **לפח** and **לפח** in 1 QH 21.8, or through the multiplication of different kind of traps, as in the six different images of Job 18.8-10.

These mappings and entailments are summarised in the following table.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Animal</i> to move and act freely	<i>Net / trap</i> to hold the animal until hunters arrive to kill it	Deliberate action of hunters directed at prey	Animal is held and, ultimately, captured and killed by hunters
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> to act freely	<i>Distressing experiences</i> to bring self under the control of adversaries	Deliberate action of adversaries directed at self	Person is completely under the control / at the mercy of the adversaries
Other Entailments: Prey is innocent (not responsible for getting caught) → Situation of distress is unjustified Prey does not suspect the trap → Situation of distress comes suddenly and unexpectedly Trap can snare the hunter → Situation of distress can fall on the adversary				

6.4.7. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING CONFINED IN A PIT

Closely related to these images are those of being trapped in a pit. These images were discussed in some detail in chapter five. However, as they conflate both being down and being constrained (by the walls of a pit) they need brief revisiting.

The two main types of pits mentioned are **בֹּר** and **שְׁחַת**, the former prototypically referring to a pit dug for water or produce storage, whereas the latter is dug deliberately for trapping animals,⁷²¹ and thus fits closely with trap images. References to being in, or on the way to, a **בֹּר** occur in Lamentations 3.53 and 55, Psalms 40.2[3], 88.6[7] and 143.7.

צָמְתוּ בַּבּוֹר חַיֵּי יִיְהוּאֲבָן בִּי:

Lamentations 3.53: They flung me alive into a pit and hurled stones on me.

קָרָאתִי שְׁמֶךָ יְהוָה מִבּוֹר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת:

⁷²¹ See chapter 5.

Lamentations 3.55: I called on your name, O LORD, from the depths of the pit.

וַיִּעַלְנִי מִבּוֹר שְׁאוֹן מִטֵּיט הַיּוֹן וַיִּקָּם עַל-סִלְעַ רְגְלִי כוֹנֵן אֲשֶׁרִי:

Psalm 40.2[3]: He drew me up from the desolate pit, out of the miry bog, and set my feet upon a rock, making my steps secure.

שִׁתְנִי בְּבוֹר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת בְּמַחֲשָׁכִים בְּמַצְלוֹת:

Psalm 88.6[7]: You have put me in the depths of the pit, in the regions dark and deep.

אֶל-תַּסִּיתָר פָּנֶיךָ מִמֶּנִּי וְנִמְשַׁלְתִּי עִם-יֹרְדֵי בּוֹר:

Psalm 143.7: Do not hide your face from me, or I shall be like those who go down to the pit.

Since a בּוֹר already exists, where the agent is mentioned (Psalm 88.6[7], Lamentations 3.53) it is someone who has put the petitioner into the pit. Where שָׁחַת or related words are used, by contrast, the agent has more premeditated intentions, actually digging the pit out, as in Jeremiah 18.20 and 22 and Psalm 119.85.

הַיִּשְׁלֵם תַּחַת-טוֹבָה רָעָה כִּי-כָרוּ שׁוֹחָה לְנַפְשִׁי

Jeremiah 18.20: Is evil a recompense for good? Yet they have dug a pit for my life.

כִּי-כָרוּ שׁוֹחָה לְלַכְדֵּנִי וּפָחִים טָמְנוּ לְרַגְלִי:

Jeremiah 18.22: For they have dug a pit to catch me, and laid snares for my feet.

כָּרוּ-לִי יָדִים שִׁיחוֹת אֲשֶׁר לֹא כְתוּרְתָהּ:

Psalm 119.85: The arrogant have dug pitfalls for me; they flout your law.

The result of being in a pit is eventual death, whether it is a prison from which one cannot escape, or a pit dug for animals in which one awaits the returning hunter to come and claim his catch. This result is mapped onto the target domain. Someone in a pit is doomed and awaiting the inevitable end.

1QH 13.6 uses the entailment that it is impossible to escape from a pit oneself, but is possible with another's help. Along with Psalm 40.2[3] (above), this also shows that release

from distress is being brought out to space from the pit. The lack of a verb of vertical upward movement for this release suggests that the confining aspect of pits is just as important as the vertical aspect.

ולא עזבתני בזמות יצרי ותעזור משחת חיי

1QH 13.6: Nor did you abandon me to my wicked nature, but you helped my life out of the pit.⁷²²

In these examples, the pit (either **בֹּר** or **שְׁחַת**) is frequently a metaphor for the ultimate situation of distress, existence in Sheol. This is often shown by the subsequent parallel expressions, as in 1QH 11.19-20.

**אודכה אדוני כי פדיתה נפשי משחת ומשאול אברון העליתני לרום עולם
ואתהלכה במישור לאין חקר**

1QH 11.19-20: I thank you, Lord, because you have saved my life from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon have lifted me up to an everlasting height, so that I can walk on a boundless plain.

Conceptualising the ultimate end of humanity as in a ‘pit’ is further evidence of the significance of this constraint schema for understanding distress. If the worst possible outcome of distress (the end of life) is understood as a confining pit, it is not surprising that less severe examples of distress in everyday life are also understood as restriction. Sheol is the paradigmatic example of confinement, where the force tendency for movement is once and for all restrained and there is no chance of return.

These mappings and entailments are summarised below:

⁷²² Kittel, *Hymns*, 84.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
Source	Person or animal To move freely	Pit walls To prevent the person or animal escaping	Pit may be dug deliberately to trap, or person may be thrown in	Person or animal perishes from lack of food or is taken and killed
Target	Self To live and act freely	Distressing Experiences To hold back the self	May be a result of deliberate action	Self ultimately perishes
Other Entailments: Release from the pit → Relief from distress Inability to help oneself out → Inability to get out of distress alone				

6.4.8. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING TIED UP WITH CORDS

a) Examples

In several verses, the Antagonist is identified as binding ropes or fetters, tying either a hunted animal or a person bound in prison. Often חֶבֶל is used. In Psalm 119.61, the ropes of the wicked are restricting the author, but in Psalm 18.4-5[5-6], Psalm 116.3 and the apocalyptic 1 QH 11.28, they are more sinister ropes of death. Thus, these metaphors map an agent, although the agency is minimised by using a construct state rather than a verb of 'tying'. The roots expressing the ropes' restriction include אָפַף and סָבַב, already noted as accessing the surrounding part of the CONSTRAINT schema, and עוֹרֵד which is used in the piel for 'surrounding'.

חֶבְלֵי רָשָׁעִים עוֹרְדֵי תוֹרַתְךָ לֹא שָׁכַחְתִּי:

Psalm 119.61: The cords of wicked men are all around me - I do not forget your Torah.⁷²³

אֶפְפוּנִי חֶבְלֵי-מוֹת וּמִצְרֵי שְׂאוֹל מִצְאוּנִי צָרָה וַיִּגְזֹן אֶמְצָא:

⁷²³ Based on Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 129.

Psalm 116.3: Death's cords were all around me, Sheol's nooses had seized me, I encountered distress and anguish.⁷²⁴

אֶפְפוּנִי חֲבִל־מָוֶת וְנַחֲלִי בְלִיעַל יִבְעֲתוּנִי: חֲבִלִי שְׂאוּל סָבְבוּנִי קִדְמוּנִי מִוֶּקְשִׁי
מָוֶת:

Psalm 18.4-5[5-6]: Death's cords were all around me;⁷²⁵ the torrents of perdition assailed me. The cords of Sheol have surrounded me; the snares of death have confronted me.⁷²⁶

וְקֶץ חֲרוֹן לְכוֹל בְּלִיעַל וְחֲבִלִי מוֹת אֶפְפוּ לְאִין פֶּלֶט

1QH 11.28: And the period of anger against any Belial, and the ropes of death enclose with no escape.

In Job 36.8 (implicitly directed at Job) and Psalm 107.10, Agonists are bound by the more abstract Antagonist of 'affliction' (עֲנִי / עָנִי).

וְאִם־אֲסוּרִים בְּזָקִים יִלְכְּדוּן בְּחֲבִל־עָנִי:

Job 36.8: And if they are bound in fetters and caught in the cords of affliction...

יִשְׁבִּי חֹשֶׁךְ וְצִלְמָוֶת אֲסִירִי עָנִי וּבִרְזָל:

Psalm 107.10: ...those who lived in darkness grim as death, fettered in affliction's iron chains.⁷²⁷

Sometimes the verb אָסַר makes the agency of the aggressor more explicit, as in Job 36.13 (implicitly applied to Job), although at other times a passive or niph'al is used, hiding the agent, as in Job 36.8 (above) and 1 QH 13.36-37. The passive form of רָתַק also minimises the agent of distress in 1 QH 16.35.

וְחִנְפִּי־לִבִּי יִשְׁימוּ אָף לֹא יִשְׁעוּ כִּי אָסְרָם:

⁷²⁴ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 111.

⁷²⁵ As in Psalm 116.

⁷²⁶ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 166.

⁷²⁷ Based on Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 56.

Job 36.13: “The godless in heart cherish anger; they do not cry for help when he binds them.”

כי נאסר[תי] בעבותים 37 לאין נתק וזקים ללוא ישוברו וחומת עון יסבני

ובריחי ברזל ורלתי נחושת לאין 38 [פתוח]

1QH 13.36-38: For [I] am tied with ropes which can not be untied, with fetters which can not be broken; a str[ong] wall [surrounds me,] iron bars and [bronze] doors [which can not] [be opened].

זרועי רותקו בזקי מכשול ...

1QH 16.35: My arms are bound by fetters which cause stumbling.

Restricting chains are also intended by the heavy ‘bronzes’ in Lamentations 3.7.

הַכֶּבֶד נְחֹשֶׁתִי:

Lamentations 3.7: He has put heavy chains on me;

b) Entailments

Turning to entailments, several verses describe relief as removal of the bonds restraining the petitioner. This is specified as ‘opening’ (פתח, Psalm 116.16) or ‘cutting’ (קצץ, Psalm 129.4) the bonds, and in Psalm 107 as ‘snapping’ (נתק) and ‘cutting in half’ (גדע).

אֲנִי יְהוָה כִּי־אֲנִי עֲבָדְךָ אֲנִי־עֲבָדְךָ בֶּן־אֲמָתְךָ פִּתְחָהּ לְמוֹסְרִי:

Psalm 116.16: O LORD, I am your servant; I am your servant, the child of your serving girl. You have undone my bonds.

יְהוָה צַדִּיק קָצַץ עֲבוֹת רָשָׁעִים:

Psalm 129.4: The LORD is righteous; he has cut the cords of the wicked.

יוֹצֵאֵם מִחֶשֶׁד וְצִלְמֹנֹת וּמוֹסְרוֹתֵיהֶם יִנְתֵּק: יוֹדוּ לַיהוָה חֲסִדּוֹ וְנִפְלְאוֹתָיו לְבָנֵי

אָדָם: כִּי־שָׁבַר דְּלָתוֹת נְחֹשֶׁת וּבְרִיחֵי בְרָזֶל נִדְּע:

Psalm 107.14-16: He brought them out of darkness and gloom, and broke their bonds asunder. Let them thank the LORD for his steadfast love, for his wonderful works to humankind. For he shatters the doors of bronze, and cuts in two the bars of iron.

Being bound with fetters has the implication of being in the control of someone else, thus becoming totally at their mercy. In Psalm 18 and Psalm 116, the psalmist felt himself in the control of death and thus in danger of being taken prisoner forever to Sheol. This mapping then entails the result that the one tied is in danger of worse disaster from the agent who has tied him up and has him in control.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
Source	Person or animal To move freely	Bonds / ropes / fetters To restrain movement of the body	Not often mentioned.	Person or animal is completely under the control of the enemy
Target	Self To live and act freely	Situation of distress Restrains the person from living as he chooses	-	Self no longer has control of itself.
Other Entailments: Cutting the ropes → Freedom from distressing situation				

6.4.9. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING IMPRISONED

Imprisonment is also closely related, where elements of the prison become the surrounding Antagonist. Psalm 142.7[8] requests release from a **מִסְגֵּר**, to be surrounded (**כְּתֹר**) instead by the righteous, showing another positive evaluation of being 'surrounded'. 1QH 13.38 uses **כָּלָא** for the prison, a root focusing on restricted movement and also occurring as a verb of imprisonment in Psalm 88.8[9].⁷²⁸

הוֹצִיאָה מִמִּסְגֵּר נַפְשִׁי לְהוֹדוֹת אֶת־שִׁמְךָ בִּי יִכְתְּרוּ צַדִּיקִים כִּי תִגְמַל עָלַי:

⁷²⁸ J. N. Oswalt, 'כָּלָא', TWOT.

Psalm 142.7[8]: Bring me out of prison, so that I may give thanks to your name. The righteous will surround me, for you will deal bountifully with me.

וחומת עוֹן יסבני וברִיחי ברזל ודלתֵי נחושת לאִין 38 [פתוח כ] לאִי עם תהום
נחשב לאִין

1QH 13.37-38: A str[ong] rampart [surrounds me,] iron bars and [bronze] doors [which can not] [be opened]; my [ga]ol is comparable to the deep without there being...

כָּלֹא וְלֹא אֶצֵּא:

Psalm 88.8[9]: I am shut in so that I cannot escape.

Frequently, chains and bars explicitly highlight the restriction of imprisonment. References to chained arms in Lamentations 3.7 and in 1QH 16.35 were given in section 6.4.8. Bars, בְּרִיחִים, are used in 1 QH 13.37 (above) and Jonah 2.6[7].

יִרְדְּתִי הָאָרֶץ בְּרִיחֶיהָ כְּעָרִי לְעוֹלָם

Jonah 2.6[7]: I went down to the land whose bars closed upon me forever.

Elsewhere other restrictive elements are used. In Job 13.27, Job's feet are restricted, imprisoned within stocks, whereas in Job 7.12 a prison guard is mapped onto someone checking that the petitioner as Agonist is not able to manifest his force tendency to go out.

וְתִשֹּׂם בַּסֹּד רַגְלִי וְתִשְׁמֹר כָּל־אַרְחוֹתַי עַל־שָׁרְשֵׁי רַגְלִי תִתְחַקֶּה:

Job 13.27: You put my feet in the stocks, and watch all my paths; you set a bound to the soles of my feet.

הַיּוֹם־אֲנִי אִם־תִּנֵּין כִּי־תִשֹּׂם עָלַי מִשְׁמָר:

Job 7.12: Am I the Sea, or the Dragon, that you set a guard over me?

As for the pits in section 6.4.7, Sheol is frequently viewed as a prison, with bars (Jonah 2.6[7], Job 17.16) and guards (Isaiah 38.10, if שְׂעָרֵי שְׂאוֹל are gatekeepers keeping

Hezekiah from escaping).⁷²⁹ Again this shows how distressing life experiences cohere with the ultimate form of distress as prison.

The *result* of imprisonment again places the Agonist completely under the control of someone else. Whether imprisonment ends in death or release depends on a higher authority.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Person</i> To move freely	<i>Prison</i> To hold the prisoner captive	Not often mentioned.	Under the control of another – possibly death
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To act freely as one chooses	<i>Situation of distress</i> To prevent the self from acting as he chooses	-	Self has no control over actions or life choices

6.4.10. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING GRIPPED BY THE CONTRACTIONS OF LABOUR

Metaphors conceptualising distress as the experience of a woman in labour are also linked to this CONSTRAINT schema, through the roots **צָרַר** and **חָבַל**, as explained in section 6.2.2. This conceptualisation is more common at Qumran than in the biblical texts, although Jeremiah 6.24 describes Jerusalem's inhabitants on the brink of invasion by paralleling the general term **צָרָה** with **חֵיל**, evoking writhing in labour, and demonstrating that **צָרָה** did still provide a cognitive point of access to the domain of labour and birth.

צָרָה הִחְזִיקָתָנוּ חֵיל כִּיּוֹלָדָה:

Jeremiah 6.24: Anguish has taken hold of us, pain as of a woman in labour.

In the Hodayot, the fullest example is 1 QH 11.7-12. In verse 7, the distress (conceptualised as **צוּקָה**) is compared to a woman giving birth, and verses 8, 9, 11 and 12 all use **חָבַל**.

⁷²⁹ Barré, *Lord*, 63.

After the initial comparison the remaining verses discuss the pain of birth, especially for a first born male, infused throughout with Qumranic dualism, with children born either as sons of the light or sons of darkness. The relevance here is the collection of distress motifs that are linked together in this understanding of birth. Not only are **צוקה** and **חבל** mentioned, but also **משברי מות** and **חבלי שאול** (as in Psalm 18.5[6]).

אהיה בצוקה כמו אשת לדה מבכרית היא נהפכו ציריה 8 וחבל נמרץ על
משבריה להחיל בכור הריה היא באו בנים עד משברי מות 9 והרית גבר
הצרה בהבליה היא במשברי מות תמליט זכר ובחבלי שאול יניח 10 מכור
הריה פלא יועץ עם גבורתו ויפלט גבר ממשברים בהריתו החישו כול 11
משברים וחבלי (נ)מרץ מולדיהם ופלצות להורותם ובמולדיו יהפכו כול
צירים 12 בכור הריה והרית אפעה לחבל נמרץ ומשברי שחת לכול מעשי
פלצות

1QH 11.7-12: I was in distress like a woman giving birth the first time when her labour-pains come on her and a pang racks the mouth of her womb to begin the birth in the <<crucible>> of the pregnant woman. For children come through the breakers of death and the woman expectant with a boy is racked by her pangs, for through the breakers of death she gives birth to a male, and through the pangs of Sheol there emerges, from the <<crucible>> of the pregnant woman a wonderful counsellor with his strength, and the boy is freed from the breakers. In the woman expectant with him rush all the contractions and the racking pain at their birth; terror (seizes) those expectant with them, and at his birth all the labour-pains come suddenly, in the <<crucible>> of the pregnant woman. And she who is pregnant with a serpent is with a racking pang; and the breakers of the pit result in all deeds of terror.

A simpler example is found in 1 QH 13.30-31, again using **חבל**. Another reference to **חבל** in 1 QH 17.6 may also provide cognitive access to this same domain.

זלעופות אחזוני וחבלים כצירי 31 יולדה

1QH 13.30-31: Resentment has taken hold of me and 'pangs' like the labours of a woman giving birth.

ואני משאה למשואה וממכאוב לנגע ומחבלים 7 למשברים תשוחח נפשי

בנפלאותיכה

1QH 17.6-7: As for me, from ruin to annihilation, from sickness to disease, from pangs to labours, my soul reflects on your wonders.

These are insufficient examples to be definitive about parts of the mapping or entailments. However, this mapping does not include an agentive cause, nor is this metaphor used to express the possibility of distress bringing about something good, through the entailment that labour pains can lead to the joy of new birth. The focus is more on labour pain as symptomatic of the pain of distress. The result is not in focus, unless it is the possibility that labour can result in death, much more frequent when these texts were written than now.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Woman in labour</i> To bear the child	<i>Womb</i> To constrict / immobilise the woman's body	None given	If constrictions too great, woman may die in birth
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> Pain free achievement of life goals	<i>Distressing experiences</i> To constrict / immobilise the self	-	Self may be at risk of death
Other Entailments: Pain of birth → Pain of situation of distress				

6.4.11. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING STUCK IN MUD

Finally, in a few verses, movement of the Agonist's feet is restricted by mud, introduced in section 5.4.1, but actually fitting more accurately here, since טבע is more about 'embedding' than a downward trajectory. By being fixed in one position, the petitioner is at greater risk from other elements, whether enemies coming to attack (1QH 15.2-3) or flooding waters (Psalm 69.2[3]). The result of this map would thus be greater disaster, if there is no help.

ותטבע >ב< בבץ רגלי

1QH 15.2-3: My feet sink in the mud.

טָבַעְתִּי בֵּינוֹן מְצוּלָה וְאֵין מַעֲמָד בְּאֶתִּי בְּמַעְמְקֵי-מַיִם וְשִׁבְלָת שְׁטָפְתָּנִי:

Psalm 69.2[3]: I sink in deep mire, where there is no foothold; I have come into deep waters, and the flood sweeps over me.

6.5. Further Evidence

6.5.1. Generalisations over Polysemy

Generalisations over polysemy give the starting point for summarising the significance of the CONSTRAINT schema and conceptual metaphors based on it, showing the unity of the schema, its degree of elaboration in metaphor, and how embedded the metaphor is in the Hebrew language.

First, a great variety of concrete metaphorical images used in distress are unified by a relatively small number of Hebrew roots. The roots **צוק** and **חבל**, **נקף**, **אפף**, **סבב**, **צרר** link the concrete images of tight spaces, traps, nets and pits, siege, imprisonment and labour. Each root is polysemous, accessing a spatial domain of surrounding constraint and also the domain of psychological or emotional distress. Indeed, the unity between these images means it is sometimes difficult to identify which concrete image (if any) was in the author's mind. This diversity of images and yet schematic unity is the main justification for the CONSTRAINT schema posited here.

Several roots complementing the schema (relating to spaciousness) are also polysemous. The most significant are **רחב**, describing both wide spaces and the 'width' of someone relieved from distress, and **פתח**, describing physical openings (in tents or houses) and the relief of enclosing distressing elements.

Second, the variety of less common roots linguistically elaborating this metaphor shows how well entrenched it is in Hebrew. These roots include: **אסר** 'bind'; **גדר** 'build a wall'; **סוך** 'make a hedge'; **עור** (piel) 'go round'; **כלא** 'imprison'; **בלע** 'swallow' and **טבע** 'be

embedded in'. This variety of verbs shows the metaphor is conventionalised enough that new roots can be used and understood by coherence with more common conceptualisations.

Third, this polysemy permeates the linguistic system, surfacing in several different parts of speech. Thus, the polysemy includes verbs (for example, **נָרַר** 'he built a wall', **וַיִּסְקֶה** 'and he has caused to be hedged around' or **סָבְנוּנִי** 'they surround me'), nouns (for example, **פֶּחַח** 'bird snare', **מִצְרִים** 'narrow places', **חֶבֶל** 'rope') and adverbs (for example, **סָבִיב** 'all around'). This demonstrates how entrenched this schema is for conceptualising distressing situations.

Relating to Barr's criticisms, all of this evidence comes from a systematic, structural approach to the Hebrew language to suggest that the basic physical meaning of **צָרָר** does influence thought about distress when its derivatives are used in those contexts.

6.5.2. Generalisations over Inference Patterns

Alongside these lexemes, the analysis revealed several common inferences from the spatial domain being used to reason about more general distress. Several of these overlap with the entailments of the CONTAINMENT schema cited in section 6.2.1.

First, the most common inference is that if being in distress is being constrained, *relief* from distress is removal of the constraint. Specifically, where distress is bodily constriction, relief is opening of the constriction; where distress is being in a narrow place, relief is being brought to a wide place; where distress is being surrounded by water, relief is being lifted out of the water; where distress is being caught in a trap, relief is being set free; where distress is being tied with ropes, relief is having the bonds loosed; and where distress is imprisonment, relief is being released.

Second, the *cause* of such distress is always external, whether a very deliberate agent (a commander besieging a city, a hunter laying traps, someone building a wall, or dogs surrounding a city), or a more general external cause from the natural environment (surrounding waters, narrow places, or pits). The petitioner never voluntarily puts himself in

a container. In the more psychological target domain, these metaphors highlight external factors and hide personal responsibility for distressing situations.

Third, there is a generalised *result* that the situation is dangerous and will probably get worse, expressing the danger posed by fixity of location, making the petitioner vulnerable. With this mapping, increased time being constrained maps to increased time in distress, which will lead to more serious consequences for most images, whether starvation in a pit or behind the enemies' siege works, withering away in prison, succumbing to surrounding waters, having the dogs finally attack or the hunters returning to capture their prey from the net. Thus, while constrained, there is still time to call out for help, before the petitioner finally loses hope. This fits a corpus of prayers where petitioners are precisely crying out for help at such a time. Psychologically, then, these images all conceptualise distress as a place of threat of impending disaster.

Fourth, an inference is absent: aside from the length of time, distress conceptualised this way does not readily provide a scale of *intensity*. With **צָר** and **סָבִיב** a person is either contained or not. A few examples in the Hebrew Bible have **צָר לִי מְאֹד** (Judges 2.15 and 10.9, 2 Samuel 24.14 / 1 Chronicles 21.13), but these are outside the specific corpus, and the general quantifier **מְאֹד** is unrelated to the schema.

Finally, several images allow the inference that restricting the petitioner's force hinders him from pursuing life purposes, especially images where the petitioner's path is blocked, but also those of siege, imprisonment and being tied. This uses the event-structure conceptual mapping that maps purposes onto paths.

6.5.3. Novel Metaphor

The active use of the source domain is shown by both novel and conventional metaphors all instantiating the CONSTRAINT schema. Most obviously, the common conventional conceptualisation of distress using **צָרָר**, or as something **סָבִיב** the petitioner, is elaborated in all the different concrete images given above. For example, Genesis 32.7[8] conventionally frames Jacob's emotional response to Esau's approach as **וַיִּצָּר לוֹ**, but this same schematic understanding of emotional distress as constriction is expressed more

poetically and creatively in Psalm 116.3, אַפְפוּנִי חֲבִלֵי־מוֹת ('death's cords were all around me') or Lamentations 3.5, בָּנָה עָלַי וַיִּקַּף רֹאשׁ וַתִּלְאָה ('he builds a rampart against me and surrounds me with poison and hardship'). In each case, the experiencer's emotional distress is framed as a constricting Antagonist holding the Agonist in place, although using more novel images.

Elsewhere in narrative texts conventional idioms describe distress using this schema. For example, Exodus 14.3 associates the wilderness 'closing in on' (סָגַר עַל) the Israelites with their state of confused distress there. Such examples demonstrate that the more novel examples in the specific corpus have conventional parallels in narrative texts.

וְאָמַר פַּרְעֹה לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל נִבְכִּים הֵם בְּאֶרֶץ סָגַר עֲלֵיהֶם הַמִּדְבָּר:

Exodus 14.3: Pharaoh will say of the Israelites, 'They are wandering aimlessly in the land; the wilderness has closed in on them'.

סָגַר also describes sick people 'shut up' apart from the rest of the community, as for Miriam in Numbers 12.15: וַתִּסָּגֶר מִרְיָם מִחוּץ לַמַּחֲנֶה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים, 'Miriam was shut outside the camp for seven days'. Framing the afflicted person's banishment as 'shutting' with סָגַר gives extra background to metaphors of imprisonment and containment where psalms may come from sick petitioners.

Within the specific corpus too, the conventionality varies. For example, the image of a surrounding barrier might be accessed simply with the word סָבִיב in the psalms. By contrast, Job more innovatively uses the image of a surrounding thorn hedge in Job 3.23, וַיִּסְדֵּךְ אֱלֹהֵי בַעֲרֹי יֹסְבוּ, surrounding walls in Job 19.8 or surrounding archers in Job 16.13, עָלַי רַבִּיו.

6.5.4. Larger Scale Metaphorical Systems

At a wider level, conceptualising distress as constraint coheres with conceptualising salvation as spaciousness, as researched by John Sawyer, who argued that 'an important

feature of OT tradition is the remarkable applicability of ideas like the spaciousness of salvation to an infinite variety of human situations'.⁷³⁰ By studying רחב (a root tied to physical dimensions), Sawyer showed the importance of spaciousness in God's promise of land to Israel from an early time, through idioms such as וְהִרְחַבְתִּי אֶת־גְּבוּלְךָ, 'I will enlarge your borders', in Exodus 34.24. This language then developed metaphorical senses from ideas of territorial freedom to become 'colourful, poignant expressions for liberation from all kinds of restricting danger and distress', rooted in the time of David and Solomon when such a metaphor would have been particularly productive.⁷³¹ Sawyer rejects the idea that this spatial salvation language is late, supporting the idea that spatial conceptualisations of both distress and relief from distress (salvation) are firmly entrenched in the Hebrew language of the scriptures from every age.

6.5.5. Non-verbal Realisations

Finally, non-verbal realisations can show the entrenchment of a conceptual metaphor, possibly shown here in examples from Leviticus of 'shutting in' diseased people.

In Leviticus 13-14, rules are given for treating various 'diseases' affecting people, clothing or houses. In some cases, after an initial check of symptoms, the priest is commanded to 'shut up' (סָגַר) the person, article or house for seven days, check the symptoms again and then possibly repeat the process for another seven days. At the end of this time a pronouncement can be made as to whether the person or item is clean or not. This process, framed with סָגַר, may provide a cognitive cultural background for the use of confinement language in the laments of sick people, as in Psalm 88.8[9]. This use of confinement language also fits the inferences given above for the CONSTRAINT schema. The constraint is externally imposed, and in terms of results, the time of confinement is principally a time of waiting for an impending decision.

6.6. Universality and Variation

As there is very little cross-cultural information on CONSTRAINT schemas in emotion language with which to compare this research, this section focuses more on explaining

⁷³⁰ Sawyer, 'Spaciousness', 31.

⁷³¹ Sawyer, 'Spaciousness', 26, 31.

cultural prototypes and types of linguistic expression that may vary when compared to other languages, than on providing explicit contrasts.

6.6.1. Variation within Source and Target Domain

The first area of potential variation is the preference for different metaphors to conceptualise experience. 129 of the expressions in the specific corpus used the CONSTRAINT schema, in comparison to 81 for the VERTICALITY schema. Thus, there is a slight preference for the CONSTRAINT schema over the VERTICALITY schema for individuals making sense of their negative physical, social, and emotional experiences. Certainly, the CONSTRAINT schema is more significant for this corpus than it was for those talking in English about depression, where depression as captor was only a minor metaphor.

Second, the target domain here is broader than that conceptualised via the category of ‘depression’ in English. Comparing with English emotional categories, metaphors using the CONSTRAINT schema are often more closely related to fear than sadness. Further, while the CONSTRAINT schema can be used for general personal psychological or emotional distress, it is also used more broadly for social distress (problems in interpersonal relationships, or when enemies threaten), seen in the role of other personal agents in the various metaphors, who lay traps, hide nets, build walls or surround like animals.

Third, for the source domain, cultural prototypes and entailments may differ from the instantiations of the CONSTRAINT metaphor in distress discourse in other cultures. For example, the 罟 snare is an important cultural prototype for understanding distress situations. The use of bait, the trap’s hidden nature, and the suddenness of its enclosing are all entailed when used to describe distress. These differ from the entailments for an English person who more generally feels *trapped*, although both use the CONSTRAINT schema for understanding negative life experience. Similarly, siege is a salient cultural prototype for this schema. Here, the situation’s severity increases the longer it lasts, ending in final disaster, and thus, when used in metaphor, implies the increasing severity of distress the longer it continues. This cultural prototype therefore adds extra structure to the containment schema.

6.6.2. Variation in Linguistic Expression

Kövecses also noted that conceptual metaphors may vary in the linguistic expressions used, including the degree of elaboration of different parts of the metaphor, the conventionalisation of the linguistic expressions, and the syntactic expressions used.

First, the most striking thing here is the variety of verbs used to describe the experience of being constrained by an Antagonist. The roots include **צוק**, **אפף**, **סבב**, **נקף**, **עוד**, **אסר**, **גדר**, **סוך**, and **בתר**, a much more elaborated set than those found for ‘descent’. This demonstrates again the significance of this schema compared to the VERTICALITY schema for conceptualising distress. Fewer different verbs describe relief from distress, but these include **פתח**, **יצא** and **רחב**. There are also a large number of nouns used for these situations of distress, normally referencing the Antagonist, including **כָּלָא**, **צָרָה**, **רָשָׁת**, **פַּח**, **בּוֹר** and **חֶבֶל**.

Second, concerning conventionalisation, this schema is much more conventionalised in distress discourse than the VERTICALITY schema. This is seen by the frequency of the expression **צָר לִי**, both in the specific corpus and in narrative texts, and in the use of **סָבִיב** with many different abstract Antagonists.

Third, regarding syntactic expression, this schema is realised in a considerable variety of different syntactic forms. This includes single words, such as **צָר** and **סָבִיב**, short multiword phrases such as **נָדַר בְּעֵדִי** or **וְתִשָּׁם בְּסֵד רְגְלִי**, through to longer and more elaborate constructions based on the schema, such as **יָחַד יָבֹאוּ גְדוּדָיו וַיִּסְלְּוּ עָלַי דִּרְכָּם** (Job 19.12). Further, it is impossible to translate the verbal phrase **צָר-לִי** into English and maintain the verbal syntax. The best approximation is by using a noun in a prepositional phrase, like *in straits*. This shows a syntactic difference between English and Hebrew.

6.7. Summary

In summary, this chapter identified the CONSTRAINT schema as a particularly significant image schema for conceptualising distress in the specific corpus. The clarification of this image schema is one of the most striking results of this research, a schema relating to an entity that desires to move being surrounded and held fast by another entity. This schema is more frequent in distress discourse, more conventionalised and more highly elaborated than the VERTICALITY schema. This suggests that inferences from this schema may have been more significant for understanding distressing life experiences for an ancient Israelite than inferences from the VERTICALITY schema. Such inferences include being in a situation of imminent disaster, which could come suddenly. Without a mapping of intensity, there is less emphasis on a situation worsening. Rather it is an ongoing state of distress (one cannot gradually change from being contained to not contained) at a relatively constant level, which will eventually wear down defences.

The next chapter will continue to investigate forceful interactions used to understand distressing experience, focusing on cases where the force is directed straight at the sufferer, rather than merely hindering the sufferer's own desire to move.

Chapter 7: Distress and the FORCE Schema

‘Your arrows have sunk into me, and your hand has come down on me.’ Psalm 38.2[3]

7.1. Introduction

This chapter investigates a more general FORCE schema than the previous one. Here, the petitioner resists a change of state or location, and the focus is on the forceful Antagonist seeking to change the Agonist’s state or location, whether military opponents or wild animals, crashing waves, fire or more general forces that crush and break. Contemporary English and ancient Akkadian also conceptualise emotional or psychophysical experiences as force encounters, so comparisons will be made with both. First, however, the FORCE schema will be clarified.

7.2. Establishing the Schema

7.2.1. Physiological / Universal Factors

Human existence entails constant experience of forces, whether external forces such as gravity or wind resistance, or forces exerted by a person, moving muscles to pump blood around the body, open eyelids or manipulate objects. Thus, ‘our bodies are clusters of forces and ... *every* event of which we are a part consists, minimally, of forces in interaction ... Our daily reality is one massive series of forceful sequences’.⁷³² Many are not consciously reflected upon, unless they are exceptionally strong, or cease to be balanced, yet they are ever present.

Six features of forces give a gestalt structure to the FORCE schema, potentially constraining inferences in metaphors.⁷³³ First, every experience of force involves *interaction*. Second, force interactions usually involve movement of something through space in some *direction*, or at least a force exerted in a particular direction. Third, such force vectors prototypically have a *single path of motion*, as when gravity pulls an object to the ground. Fourth, forces have *sources*, and can be directed by *agents* at *targets*. Fifth, forces have *degrees* of power. Sixth, there is always a sequence of *causality* for forceful interaction. Prototypically, forces

⁷³² Johnson, *Body*, 42.

⁷³³ Johnson, *Body*, 43-44.

are not conceptualised as just happening, but as being caused by something, whether inanimate object, event or purposive being.

This gestalt structure suggests inferences when forces conceptualise emotional experience, such as varying intensity, potential causes, or changes in state or location resulting from experiencing the emotion.

7.2.2. Culture-specific Factors

How did Classical Hebrew authors perceive force interactions? The corpus has no abstract discussion of forces, but can answer the following questions: What entities were perceived as forcefully interacting? Which kinds of force interaction were particularly salient, potentially shaping understanding and thinking about forces?

First, force-exerting entities included humans, animals, Yahweh himself, and ‘natural’ forces including winds, seas, rivers, lightning, fire, earthquakes and heat. Force is prototypically exerted by direct contact between a human or animal and another object, and the results are generally predictable. Many common roots describe human exertion of force, including עשה ‘make’, נתן ‘give / put’, לקח ‘take’, נשא ‘lift’, שים ‘put’ and נכה ‘strike’. Forceful effects achieved without direct contact, or where direct contact has an ‘unpredictable’ result, are presented as anomalous, demonstrating divine forces, as in the collapse of the walls of Jericho or Elisha’s ability to make an axe head float. Force interactions are also attributed to God making physical contact with the environment. For example, God’s feet touch the mountains and they quake, or he ‘hurls’ a wind at the sea to stop Jonah. Sometimes, signs of God’s presence make physical entities respond as if forcefully struck, his voice breaking cedars (Psalm 29.5) or making the earth melt (Psalm 46.6[7]) or the ark of the covenant causing Dagon to fall before it (1 Samuel 5.1-4). Yahweh’s messenger (מַלְאָךְ) also exerts force: pulling Lot into the house (Genesis 19.10) or touching Elijah to arouse him (1 Kings 19.5). Other spiritual entities only exert direct forces in visions, like the seraph who touches Isaiah’s lips (Isaiah 6.6). ‘Natural’ forces also impact the environment, although sometimes natural and supernatural forces are conflated together,⁷³⁴ so that, for example, Jonah’s storm is portrayed both as Yahweh hurling a great wind at the sea, and as the sea itself exerting an increasingly stormy force. Elsewhere, natural forces act without any reference to God, as in

⁷³⁴ Deist, *Culture*, 109-110.

the wind that ‘struck’ Job’s children’s house (Job 1.19), and perhaps more figuratively, the earth that ‘swallowed’ Korah, and fire that ‘ate’ his followers (Numbers 16.31-35). Thus, several agents act forcefully, and may exert force upon the sufferer in distress.

Second, salient cultural force interactions occur in domains of technology, economy, politics, social life, environment and religion.⁷³⁵ Regarding technology and economy, the texts derive from agricultural cultures, so salient force interactions relate to animal husbandry (particularly shepherding), vine tending, and farming cereals. These give verbs related to ‘driving’, ‘pruning’, ‘cutting’, ‘ploughing’ and ‘harvesting’. The material culture included clay pots, wooden plates, animal skins and woven materials (shown by the categories of artifacts in Leviticus 11), explaining the salience of verbs for ‘breaking’, ‘shattering’ and ‘tearing’, which would be framed against such prototypical materials.

Politically, Canaan’s fertile location between Egypt and Mesopotamia made it the scene of conflict between these powers or with others. International conflict recurs throughout the Hebrew Bible,⁷³⁶ so forces of warfare would be more salient than in contemporary English, providing an embodied background for drawing bows or swords, and striking.

Socially, physical interpersonal conflict within the community also pervades the corpus. Beginning with Cain’s murder of Abel, through Moses’ witnessing of fighting contemporaries, Torah regulations for those fighting and the establishment of cities of refuge, to Shimei stoning David and his troops (1 Samuel 16.1) or Nehemiah striking and pulling the hair of his fellow Jews (Nehemiah 13.25), community disputes were frequently settled physically. Such conflicts are normally hand-to-hand, so the language of ‘striking’, ‘blows’, ‘seizing’ or ‘grasping’ would have been easily accessible, and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a Psalm refers to metaphorical blows or real ones. However, even for originally physical blows, repetition by the community over subsequent generations would have allowed wider application.

Environmentally, wind and rain powerfully affected Canaan, and thus were likely to be cognitively salient for Hebrew authors, including the week-long sirocco, a dry, hot East wind

⁷³⁵ These domains of culture come from Deist, *Culture*, 103.

⁷³⁶ Thompson, *Handbook*, 283.

(קָרַיִם).⁷³⁷ Rain was also significant. Although limited to around 45 days per year, it often fell in heavy showers, potentially creating raging masses of water able to sweep away fertile soil, houses, people and animals, especially in a wadi (נַחַל), a dry gorge for most of the year, but potentially channelling a tremendous force of water following heavy rain.⁷³⁸

7.3. Comparative Data on Emotion Language and the FORCE Schema

7.3.1. Contemporary Cross-Linguistic Comparisons

English will be considered for contemporary comparisons, having at least three areas where force conceptualises negative life experiences. First, conflict language conceptualises disease; second, force is used in *stress* discourse; and third, forces conceptualise emotions.

First, conversational English often conceptualises sickness as an attacker and the sufferer as defender. Someone may *lose the fight against cancer*, or *battle a nasty infection*, or communally we fight *the war against AIDS*. Some parts of this mapping are so deeply entrenched they are not perceived as metaphoric:⁷³⁹ referring to the immune system as the body's *defences*, or to a virus *attacking* a body function, are conventional descriptions of biological mechanisms. This 'invasion' metaphor dates from Pasteur and the beginnings of germ theory,⁷⁴⁰ although conceptualising sickness as being overwhelmed by an aggressive force has a much longer history. The primary agent here is always non-human, related to the sickness itself, whether germs, cancer or AIDS.

Second, the conceptual model of 'stress' deserves separate consideration because of its salience in contemporary English and the possibility for the agentive force to be another person causing stress. Stress research started with Hans Selye identifying a 'syndrome produced by diverse noxious agents',⁷⁴¹ common symptoms resulting from various shocks to

⁷³⁷ J. H. Negenman, 'Geography of Palestine' in A. S. van der Woude (ed.), *The World of the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 2-20, 15.

⁷³⁸ Negenman, 'Palestine', 16-17.

⁷³⁹ R. Gwyn, '"Captain of my Own Ship": Metaphor and the Discourse of Chronic Illness' in L. Cameron and G. Low (eds.), *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 203-220, 208.

⁷⁴⁰ Gwyn, 'Captain', 208.

⁷⁴¹ H. Selye, 'A Syndrome Produced by Diverse Noxious Agents', *Nature* 138 (1936) 32.

the body system. These became known as a *stress response*, including aches and pains in the joints, intestinal distress, loss of appetite, fever, enlarged spleen or liver, inflamed tonsils and skin rash.⁷⁴² From a Cognitive Linguistic perspective, Selye discovered that using a general FORCE schema to frame what happened to the body in various situations (such as exposure to cold, injury, intoxication or excessive exercise) enabled a better problematisation, and suggested new solutions.⁷⁴³ Selye specifically refers to physical forces, arguing that ‘in the biological sense stress is the interaction between damage and defence, just as in physics tension or pressure represent the interplay between a force and the resistance offered to it’.⁷⁴⁴ Problematising stress as a balance between forces prompted solutions which emphasised ‘supplementing the natural defensive measures’ when they are suboptimal,⁷⁴⁵ as well as dealing with the ‘attacking’ force directly, forcing a paradigm shift in medicine.

From this physiological paradigm, a pervasive, well-elaborated cultural model of stress has developed, still based on forces impacting the individual, but prioritising psychological responses,⁷⁴⁶ and including emotional and social factors.⁷⁴⁷ Such models evoke ‘a diffuse and invisible “force”, somehow mediating between individuals (and their mental and physical state), and the social environment in which they live and work’,⁷⁴⁸ blending Selye’s concept with older conceptualisations of divine punishment, witchcraft or demon possession, linking ‘popular, medical and religious explanations for suffering’.⁷⁴⁹ Common conceptualisation through the FORCE schema makes this blend possible.

Helman analysed conceptual metaphors used by American patients with psychosomatic disorders, and found stress conceptualised as a heavy weight (an invisible force pressing down on individuals), a wire (that becomes tense under the application of force), a force causing internal chaos, a force causing fragmentation (‘going to pieces’ or ‘falling apart’), a

⁷⁴² H. Selye, *The Stress of Life* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956), cited in Johnson, *Body*, 128.

⁷⁴³ Johnson discusses Selye’s breakthrough more thoroughly in Johnson, *Body*, 127-137.

⁷⁴⁴ H. Selye, ‘Stress and the General Adaptation Syndrome’, *British Medical Journal* 1 (1950) 1383-1392, 1384.

⁷⁴⁵ Selye, ‘Adaptation’, 1394.

⁷⁴⁶ C. G. Helman, *Culture, Health and Illness: An Introduction for Health Professionals*, 3rd edn. (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1994), 297.

⁷⁴⁷ W. W. Dressler, ‘Culture, Stress and Disease’ in C. Sargent and T. Johnson (eds.), *Medical Anthropology: Contemporary Theory and Method* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 248-267.

⁷⁴⁸ Helman, *Culture*, 314.

⁷⁴⁹ Helman, *Culture*, 314.

machine malfunctioning, a depletion of vital liquid, an inner explosion (an internal force), or an interpersonal force, with one person causing another to feel stressed.⁷⁵⁰ The omnipresence of forceful interactions shows the FORCE schema's significance for the model of stress in popular culture.

Third, the FORCE schema conceptualises emotion, as presented in Kövecses' *Metaphor and Emotion*. Kövecses sees EMOTION IS FORCE as a single 'master metaphor' giving coherence to many specific emotion metaphors.⁷⁵¹ The self is an Agonist with a force tendency towards inaction (opposite to chapter six), and the Antagonist is the emotion exerting a force. This is instantiated by metaphors of emotion as internal pressure inside a container, an opponent, a wild animal (that needs controlling), a social force, a natural force, a mental force, insanity, heat, a physiological force (such as hunger), physical agitation or a burden.⁷⁵² This overlaps somewhat with Helman's research, but differs because of the different target domains. For example, for Helman, being *all shook up* conceptualises stress as internal chaos,⁷⁵³ whereas for Kövecses it exemplifies EMOTION IS PHYSICAL AGITATION.⁷⁵⁴ Such overlap demonstrates the difficulty in precisely defining target domains (and hence for choosing the broad topic of 'distress' for this thesis), but also supports the reality of these source domains as cognitive resources for understanding negative life experiences. This convergence above all shows the importance of the FORCE schema for these conceptualisations.

A significant generalised inference is that controlling emotions is consistently understood as resisting forces: by 'keeping a lid' on them (EMOTION IS INTERNAL PRESSURE); by 'taming' them (EMOTION IS A WILD ANIMAL); by 'conquering' them (EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT) or by 'extinguishing' them (EMOTION IS HEAT). This inference occurring across almost every source domain shows how important controlling emotions is in Anglo culture. Emotions are consistently problematised as potentially harmful forces, so that solutions are framed as ways of resisting these forces.

⁷⁵⁰ Helman, *Culture*, 315-16.

⁷⁵¹ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 61.

⁷⁵² Kövecses, *Emotion*, 65-83.

⁷⁵³ Helman, *Culture*, 315.

⁷⁵⁴ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 80.

This survey of illness, stress and emotions has revealed various source domains to contrast with the Hebrew examples, and some structural features to compare. For example, who are the agents in the Hebrew texts, and is it possible for a person to exert a psychological or emotional force on another (as in English stress)? Are there explicit entailments relating to controlling forces, as for English emotions? These questions will be investigated below.

7.3.2. Ancient Near Eastern Comparisons

Ancient Near Eastern literature is also comparable with Hebrew. Only illustrative examples will be given, from Akkadian. Negative experience is conceptualised as being gripped by an opponent, experiencing heat, or being ‘broken’ hearted. The Diagnostic Handbook is particularly useful for the conceptualisation of diseases in Mesopotamia, listing symptoms followed by a diagnosis of the problem.

Many symptoms result from physical contact with spiritual beings, framed as ‘seizing’ (*ṣabātu*), ‘touching’ (*lapātu*), ‘striking’ (*maḥāṣu*), and ‘reaching’ (*kašādu*).⁷⁵⁵ A picture of a god holding someone upside down by the legs graphically displays seizure by disease.⁷⁵⁶ Physical contact is also entailed by the omnipresent diagnosis ‘the hand of x’, where x embraces great gods (like Marduk, Shamash and Ishtar), less important deities (like Ningirsu or Baba), all kinds of demons (like Lamaštu, Kubu or Alû lemnu), but also the hand of a ghost, the stars, the Underworld or of human beings.⁷⁵⁷ This phrase attributes the disease to a particular agent (with whom reconciliation must be sought) rather than naming a specific disease.⁷⁵⁸ Similarly, the demon Lamaštu ‘is a paramount evil force whose actions can (and regularly do) lead to a loss of health and subsequent or immediate death’.⁷⁵⁹ Thus, with this language, ‘diseases were understood by analogy with injuries received in battle, fights or accidentally at the hands of a fellow human being, the blows being administered this time by supernatural agents’.⁷⁶⁰

⁷⁵⁵ N. P. Heessel, ‘The Hands of the Gods: Disease Names, and Divine Anger’ in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 120-130, 125.

⁷⁵⁶ J. Black and A. Green, *Gods, Demons and Symbols of Mesopotamia: An Illustrated Dictionary* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 67.

⁷⁵⁷ Heessel, ‘Hands’, 121.

⁷⁵⁸ Heessel, ‘Hands’, 128-129.

⁷⁵⁹ W. Farber, ‘Lamaštu - Agent of a Specific Disease or a Generic Destroyer of Health?’ in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 137-145, 144-145.

⁷⁶⁰ K. van der Toorn, *Sin and Sanction in Ancient Israel and Mesopotamia: A Comparative Study* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985), 68.

With this problematisation, finding the agent responsible is important for a solution, in order to be reconciled, usually through the *āšipu* “‘exorcist’-psychologist, magician-diviner”.⁷⁶¹ Usually, the force-exerting agent is supernatural, but sorcery by another human is also possible, framed as the ‘hand of man’.⁷⁶² For supernatural forces, ‘only the physical separation of perpetrator and victim could guarantee long-term healing’,⁷⁶³ hence the importance of knowing who to address. Further, conceptualising disease as a superior supernatural force made it seem especially terrifying, bringing about an ‘apprehensive state of mind’ and its own set of fear-induced psychosomatic symptoms.⁷⁶⁴

The FORCE schema is also instantiated in descriptions of fever. Fevers are consistently conceptualised as heat, but also as external forces that can ‘seize’, ‘hold’, ‘attack’ or ‘fall on’ the sufferer, ‘eating’ or ‘gnawing’ the body. Intermittent fevers may seize and then ‘release’ the sufferer, and treatment is framed as ‘tearing out’ or ‘loosening’ the aggressor.⁷⁶⁵ The scalarity of heat is used, with the fever’s intensity evoked by words indicating various degrees of heat, so that, for example, *ummu danna* (very hot) is used for a strong fever ‘seizing’ someone.⁷⁶⁶

Finally, references to a (forcefully) ‘broken heart’, *hīp libbi*, provide interesting comparisons with Hebrew. It is always caused by divine wrath, occurs in contexts of anxiety, and iterative verb forms suggests it happens ‘again and again’.⁷⁶⁷ Someone suffering heart-break may have lost possessions, be being ignored, be losing sleep, have a diminished appetite or become forgetful.⁷⁶⁸ The psychological state describes someone who may be ‘ill-tempered,

⁷⁶¹ D. J. Wiseman, ‘Medicine in the Old Testament World’ in B. Palmer (ed.), *Medicine and the Bible* (Exeter: Paternoster Press, 1986), 13-42, 17.

⁷⁶² M. Stol, ‘Psychosomatic Suffering in Ancient Mesopotamia’ in I. T. Abusch and K. van der Toorn (eds.), *Mesopotamian Magic: Textual, Historical and Interpretive Perspectives*, Vol. 1999 (Groningen: Brill, 1999), 57-68, 57.

⁷⁶³ Farber, ‘Lamaštu’, 138.

⁷⁶⁴ Stol, ‘Suffering’, 57.

⁷⁶⁵ M. Stol, ‘Fevers in Babylonia’ in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1-39.

⁷⁶⁶ Stol, ‘Fevers’, 1, 6.

⁷⁶⁷ Stol, *Epilepsy*, 28-29.

⁷⁶⁸ Stol, *Epilepsy*, 29.

suspicious, have a nervous breakdown, be full of apprehensions, be worried, or in a panic'.⁷⁶⁹ Classifying this as fragmentation of the heart uses the FORCE schema even without explicitly attributing distress to the direct influence of supernatural forces. A 'shattered' heart (*kusup libbi*) also occurs in similar contexts.

As well as this conventional medical terminology, more poetic prayers and incantations also evoke distress through the FORCE schema. For example, an incantation against headache frames the sufferer as experiencing a forceful onslaught, using similes of reeds, rope, boats and basket. The variety of forceful verbs is suggested by Foster's translations: 'wastes'; 'contorts'; 'twists'; 'chokes'; 'crushes'; 'snaps off'; 'destroys'; 'slits open'; 'staves in'; 'gets a grip'; 'flattens'; 'slaughters'; 'strikes' and 'punctures'.

It makes the [b]elly(?) tremble, it wastes the body,
 It makes [the stomach] rumble like a porous pot,
 It contorts the tendons, it twists the sinews,
 It twists the sinews like a heavy rope,
 It contorts [the mus]cles,
 It chokes the mouth and nostrils as with pitch,
 It crushes the armpit like malt,
 It snaps off the [ha]nd like a thread in a tempest,
 It destroys the shoulder like an embankment,
 It slits open the breast like a (flimsy) basket
 It staves in the ribs like an old boat
 It gets a grip on the colon as if it were intestines,
 It flattens the tall like a reed
 It slaughters the great one like an ox
 ...
 It punctures everything like a throw stick.⁷⁷⁰

Thus, Akkadian literature conceptualises sickness and other negative psychological states as forces acting on the sufferer. Occurring in conventional, technical and cultic language, this conceptualisation is sufficiently entrenched to pervade many domains of discourse, and is instantiated in single conventional verbs through to stretches of poetic metaphor. Primarily,

⁷⁶⁹ Stol, *Epilepsy*, 32.

⁷⁷⁰ B. R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature*, 3rd edn. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2005), 974-975, Akkadian transliteration not accessible.

the agents are spiritual beings, although they can also be humans. Turning to Hebrew: do the texts use the force schema in similar ways to conceptualise illness? Is it entrenched as thoroughly into the language? What agents exert forces on those suffering?

7.4. Presentation and Analysis of Hebrew Mappings

The Hebrew mappings are grouped below according to different specific source domains, facilitating comparison with the comparative material. These groups are not mutually exclusive, since metaphors of gripping and seizing, for example, also fit the ‘opponent’ metaphors. The presentation moves from more general instantiations of the FORCE schema to more specific source domains.

7.4.1. BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FORCE DAMAGING PART OF THE BODY

This presentation again begins with metonymic mappings, with distress conceptualised as experiencing a force in different body parts, potentially motivating some of the metaphors considered later.

The heart, kidneys, bones, spirit, flesh and self (נִפְשׁ) all experience force. For the heart, most commonly, one’s heart is ‘broken’ as in Psalm 69.20[21]. Elsewhere, the heart melts in response to a force and is poured out, as in 1QH 16.32, fitting a conceptualisation where distress makes the insides tremble, turn to liquid, and perhaps come out through the eyes as tears,⁷⁷¹ showing vitality draining away.⁷⁷² In Psalm 109.22, the heart is ‘pierced’,⁷⁷³ giving another kind of force impacting the heart.

חֲרַפָּה שִׁבְרָה לִבִּי וְאֲנוּשָׁה

Psalm 69.20[21]: Reproach - it has broken my heart and I am sick (with misery).⁷⁷⁴

כִּי נִשְׁבַּת מַעֲוִי מַגִּוִּיתִי וַיִּגְרַם כְּמִים לִבִּי וַיִּמָּס 33 כְּדוֹנָג בְּשָׂרִי וּמַעֲוִי מוֹתֵנִי הִיא
לְבַהֲלָהּ

⁷⁷¹ T. Collins, ‘The Physiology of Tears in the Old Testament, Part I’, *CBQ* 33 (1971) 18-38.

⁷⁷² Johnson, *Vitality*.

⁷⁷³ Although frequently emended to ‘writhes’ (חִיל), Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 75.

⁷⁷⁴ Tate, *Psalms*, 187.

1QH 16.32-33: For my vitality has left my body, my heart pours out like water, my flesh melts like wax, the vitality of my loins turns into listlessness.

וְלִבִּי חָלַל בְּקֶרְבִּי:

Psalm 109.22: ... and my heart is pierced within me.

The kidneys (כְּלִיּוֹתֵי) are also 'pierced' (אֶשְׁתּוֹנֵן) in Psalm 73.21, a root used for sharpening arrows in the qal, and perhaps describing envious emotions in distress.⁷⁷⁵

וְכִלְיֹתַי אֶשְׁתּוֹנֵן:

Psalm 73.21: ... and as to my kidneys, I was pierced.⁷⁷⁶

Forces also impact the skeleton (עֲצָם). Job 30.17 has a third root translated 'pierce' in English (נָקַר), used elsewhere for boring out eyes or quarries,⁷⁷⁷ for the night forcefully impacting Job's bones. Psalm 42.10 has a deadly force striking the bones. Finally, bones, arms and the general foundation of the person are all subject to a variety of forces in 1QH 15.2, 4 and 16.33.

לֵילָה עֲצָמֵי נָקַר מִעָלַי וְעַרְקֵי לֹא יִשְׁכָּבוּן:

Job 30.17: The night pierces my bones, and those who gnaw me take no rest.⁷⁷⁸

בְּרָצַח בְּעֲצָמוֹתַי חֲרַפּוֹנֵי צוֹרְרֵי

Psalm 42.10[11]: As with a deadly wound in my bones, my adversaries taunt me.

[עֲזָרוּ] עֲנִי נִשְׁבַּרְתָּ מִקְנִיָּה

1QH 15.2: My [ar]m is broken at the elbow.

וִירֻעוֹ כּוֹל אוֹשִׁי מִבְּנֵיַי וְעֲצָמֵי יִתְפַּרְדּוּ

1QH 15.4: The foundations of my build have crumbled, my bones have been disjoined.

⁷⁷⁵ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 1044.

⁷⁷⁶ Tate, *Psalms*, 227, 230.

⁷⁷⁷ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 669.

⁷⁷⁸ Clines, *Job 21-37*, 931.

ותשבר זרועי מקניה [ואי]ן להניף יד

1QH 16.33: My arm is broken at the elbow [with]out my being able to wave my hand.

Occasionally the spirit (רוח) is also impacted by forces, being ‘crushed’ (דכא) in Psalm 34.18[19], or possibly ‘broken’ in Job 17.1.

קרוב יהוה לנשבר־לֵב וְאֶת־דָּכְאֵי־רוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ:

Psalm 34.18 [19]: The LORD is near to the brokenhearted, and saves the crushed in spirit.

רוחִי חִבְלָה

Job 17.1: My spirit is broken.

Finally, the נֶפֶשׁ sometimes experiences forces in distress, as in 11Q5 24.5, where the petitioner fears his נֶפֶשׁ will be ‘hurled’ (מגור), or in 1QH 13.17 where it is ‘crushed’.

בנה נפשי ואל תמגרה

11Q5 (Psalm 155) 24.5: Build up my soul and do not demolish it.

וכול היום ידכאו נפשי

1QH 13.17: The whole day they crush my soul.

Thus several physiological parts experience force during distress, including heart, spirit, bones, and other internal organs. Further, several verbs are used, with fragmentation (crushing, crumbling, breaking) and piercing being the most common forces. However, there is no especially salient physiological symptom conceived as a force that might metonymically motivate other metaphors.

7.4.2. BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FRAGMENTATION

Several Hebrew verbs describe a forceful impact transforming a unity into several pieces. These conceptualise distress experiences as experiencing fragmentation, mapping the sufferer onto an entity that is crushed or broken.

The most common root is **שבר**, used with trees, bows, gates, dishes, yokes, rocks, and snares as well as physiological terms. The verb's agent is almost always personal, either God or humans.⁷⁷⁹ In physical usage, whole objects are fragmented into several pieces, becoming no longer functional.

The substantive **שִׁבְרָה** also occurs, usually translated as 'wound' or 'injury'. However, its semantic development likely 'never parted company with that of the verb',⁷⁸⁰ so it could still evoke situations of forceful fragmentation.

Several places refer to a 'broken heart'. With the **לֵב** as the organ of cognition and control, fragmentation is serious, affecting thinking and decision making, not just feelings. Outside the specific corpus, **שבר** occurs in the niph'al or in a passive participle (both having no explicit agent), as in Psalm 34.18[19] and 147.3. Within the corpus, the substantive in 11Q5 24.16 also leaves the agent implicit, whereas in Psalm 69.20[21] fragmentation is caused by 'reproach' (**חֲרָפָה**).

קָרוֹב יְהוָה לְנִשְׁבָּרֵי לֵב וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי־רוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ:

Psalm 34.18[19]: The LORD is near to the brokenhearted and saves the crushed in spirit.

הָרַפָּא לְשִׁבְרֵי לֵב

Psalm 147.3: He heals the brokenhearted.

קראתי יְיָ וַיַּעֲנֵנִי [וַיִּרְפָּא אֶת] שִׁבְרֵי לִבִּי

11Q5 24.16 : I called <YHWH> and he answered me, [and he healed] my broken heart.

חֲרָפָה שִׁבְרָה לִבִּי

Psalm 69.20[21]: Reproach - it has broken my heart.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷⁹ B. Knipping, 'שִׁבְרָה' TDOT XIV:367-381.

⁷⁸⁰ Knipping, 'שִׁבְרָה', 379.

⁷⁸¹ Tate, *Psalms*, 187.

In Lamentations 3.48, paralleling Lamentation 2.11, שָׁבֵר links ‘brokenness’ with the desolate state of Jerusalem’s inhabitants. Jeremiah describes himself similarly in Jeremiah 8.21, feeling himself ‘broken’ for the ‘brokenness’ of his people. In Jeremiah 10.19, his ‘broken’ situation (שָׁבֵרִי) is paralleled by מַכָּתִי evoking the impact of being ‘struck’.

פְּלִגֵּי-מַיִם תָּרַד עֵינֵי עַל-שָׁבֵר בַּת-עַמִּי:

Lamentations 3.48: My eyes flow with rivers of tears because of the brokenness of my people.⁷⁸²

נִשְׁפָּךְ לָאָרֶץ כְּבִדִּי עַל-שָׁבֵר בַּת-עַמִּי

Lamentations 2.11: My bile is poured out on the ground because of the brokenness of my people.⁷⁸³

עַל-שָׁבֵר בַּת-עַמִּי הִשְׁבַּרְתִּי

Jeremiah 8.21: For the brokenness of my people I am broken.⁷⁸⁴

אֹי לִי עַל-שָׁבֵרִי נִחָלָה מַכָּתִי

Jeremiah 10.19: Woe is me because of my brokenness! My wound is severe.

Elsewhere, ‘bones’ are broken. Bones often metonymically stand for a person’s core, so that their ‘broken’ condition covers physical and psychological distress.⁷⁸⁵ Thus, English reference to ‘broken bones’ in Lamentations 3.4, should not be understood literally, but as evoking fragmentation at the author’s very foundation. Similarly, the ‘broken’ arm in 1 QH 15.2 and 1 QH 16.33 expresses fragmentation of the petitioner’s power.

בִּלְהָ בִשְׂרִי וְעוֹרִי שָׁבֵר עֲצָמוֹתִי:

Lamentations 3.4: He has made my flesh and my skin waste away, and broken my bones.

[עֲזָרוֹ] עֲשֵׂבֶרֶת מִקְנִיָּה

⁷⁸² Author’s translation.

⁷⁸³ Author’s translation.

⁷⁸⁴ Author’s translation.

⁷⁸⁵ K.-M. Beyse, ‘עֲצָם’ TDOT XI:304-309, 308, van der Toorn, *Sin*, 63.

1QH 15.2: My [ar]m is broken at the elbow.

ותשבר זרועי מקניה [ואי]ן להניף יד

1QH 16.33: My arm is broken at the elbow[with]out my being able to wave my hand.

In 1 QH 15.4, רעע evokes breaking, and separation of the bones is emphasised (יתפרדו).

Fragmentation and separation at the petitioner's core signify the extent of distress.

וירועו כול אושי מבניתי ועצמי יתפרדו

1QH 15.4: The foundations of my build have crumbled, my bones have been disjointed.⁷⁸⁶

In Job 17.11, the root נתק describes Job's plans, fragmented as they are torn apart.

זמתי נתקו מורשי לִבִּי:

Job 17.11: My plans are broken off, the desires of my heart.

דכא also implies fragmentation. Forms from דכא, דכה, or דוך almost exclusively occur in non-concrete situations, with only Numbers 11.8 in a physical domain, for 'crushing' manna in a mortar. However, two other facts suggest these roots still provided cognitive access to crushing, grinding, or pulverising. First, poetic parallels include שבר (to break), תחן (to grind), נכה (to smite) and נגע (to touch or strike), all accessing force domains. Second, דכא is possibly linked to דקק,⁷⁸⁷ a verb for crushing or grinding into small pieces, as when preparing sacred incense (Exodus 30.36) or Moses' destroying the golden calf (Exodus 32.20). This use is similar to דוך in Numbers 11.8, plus דקק occurs precisely in

⁷⁸⁶ F. G. Martínez and J. T. Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Writings, Beliefs and Practices* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 177.

⁷⁸⁷ H. F. Fuhs, 'דִּכָּא', *TDOT* III:195-208, 201.

the books where **דכא** and derivatives are absent.⁷⁸⁸ **דקק** conceptualises the nations as ground in a mortar in Psalm 18.42[43] and Micah 4.13. Thus, being ground to fine powder is potentially evoked when distress is described with **דכא**, highlighting ‘the grinding effect of oppression that penetrates the whole person’.⁷⁸⁹

Psalm 34.18[19] (cited above) parallels **דִּכְאִי־רִי** with a ‘broken heart’, with the adjective hiding the ‘crushing’ agent, as does the niphal in Psalm 38.8[9], where the modifier **עַד־מָאֵד** expresses intensity. In Psalm 143.3 and 1QH 13.17 (following the conceptualisation of oppression as **במצוקותם**, a constricting force), the enemy causes crushing and consequent fragmentation. In Job 19.2, Job’s friends’ words ‘crush’ him. God himself is the agent in Psalm 51.8[10] and Psalm 44.19[20].

נפונותי ונדפיתי עד־מָאֵד

Psalm 38.8[9]: I am utterly spent and crushed.

כִּי דָדַךְ אוֹיֵב נִפְשִׁי דִּכָּא לְאָרֶץ חִיָּתִי

Psalm 143.3: For the enemy has pursued me, crushing my life to the ground.

וימהרו עלי רשעי עמים במצוקותם וכול היום ידכאו נפשי

1QH 13.17: The wicked of the nations hustle me with their trials, and the whole day they crush my soul.⁷⁹⁰

עַד־אָנָה תוֹנִינִין נִפְשִׁי וְתִדְכָּאוּנִי בְמִלִּים:

Job 19.2: How long will you torment me, and crush me with your words?⁷⁹¹

תִּגְלִיָּה עֲצָמוֹת דִּכִּיתָ:

Psalm 51.8[10]: Let the bones that you have crushed rejoice.

⁷⁸⁸ Fuhs, ‘דִּכָּא’, 199.

⁷⁸⁹ E. Tamez, *Bible of the Oppressed* (New York: Orbis Books, 1982), 9, cited in I. Swart, ‘The Hebrew Vocabulary of Oppression: The State of Semantic Description’, *JNSL* 16 (1990) 179-197, 188.

⁷⁹⁰ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, 173.

⁷⁹¹ Gordis, *Job*, 196.

כִּי דָפִיתָנוּ בַּמָּקוֹם תַּנִּים

Psalms 44.19[20]: Yet you crushed us in the place of jackals.⁷⁹²

Thus, experiencing a fragmenting force is a salient way of conceptualising distress, using **שבר** and **דכא**, but also elaborated with roots like **רעע** and **נתק**. This conceptualisation may highlight an aggressive agent (as typically for **דכא**), or use a less active form to hide it. Two non-personal agents occur: ‘words’ and ‘reproach’.

The linguistic forms suggest that **שבר** profiles the resultant broken state of the sufferer, whereas **דכא** profiles the agent causing fragmentation. They also evoke different manners of fragmentation. **דכא** evokes very deliberate and thorough fragmentation, whereas **שבר** neither requires a deliberate agent nor evokes such complete fragmentation.

These mappings are summarised as follows:

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Whole object</i> To remain intact	<i>Fragmenting force</i> To break or grind into pieces	May be deliberate action	Object is no longer able to function as desired
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To keep life, thoughts, feelings together	<i>Distress</i> To fragment the self	May be deliberate action of another entity	Self is no longer able to function as desired
Other Entailments: Greater extent of fragmentation → More intense distress				

⁷⁹² Basson, *Divine*, 162.

7.4.3. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING FORCEFULLY GRIPPED

Next, several conventional roots frame distress with verbs of object manipulation, specifically being touched or held by someone (or something).

First, **אָחַז** is used, physically describing holding or grabbing objects, usually implying ‘a certain vivacity or forcefulness’,⁷⁹³ and often describing violent or aggressive action. Different agents ‘hold’ the petitioner: in Job 21.6, the agent is ‘shuddering’ (**פִּלְצוֹת**) and Job’s flesh (**בְּשָׂרִי**) is ‘seized’; in Job 30.16 the agent is ‘days of affliction’ (**יְמֵי-עֲנִי**); in 1QH 13.30 it is ‘heat’⁷⁹⁴ (**זְלַעְפוֹת**); and in 1QH 12.33, ‘dread and dismay’ (**רֵאד וּרְתַת**), showing some similarities to the English phrase being ‘gripped by emotion’.⁷⁹⁵ In Psalm 77.4[5], God himself grips the petitioner, holding open his eyelids. The various abstract agents indicate the conventionalisation of this FORCE schema for conceptualising distress. However, the absence of intensity modifiers (such as **מְאֹד**) suggests limited scalarity here.

וְאָחַז בְּשָׂרִי פִלְצוֹת:

Job 21.6: ... and shuddering seizes my flesh.

יֵאָחֲזוּנִי יְמֵי-עֲנִי:

Job 30.16: Days of affliction have taken hold of me.

זְלַעְפוֹת אָחֲזוּנִי וְחַבְלִים כְּצִירִי 31 יוֹלְדָה

1QH 13.30-31: Resentment [heat] has taken hold of me and pangs like the labours of a woman giving birth.

וְאֲנִי רֵאֵד וּרְתַת אָחֲזוּנִי

1QH 12.33: And I, dread and dismay have gripped me.

אָחֲזָה שְׁמֵרוֹת עֵינַי

⁷⁹³ A. H. Konkel, ‘אָחַז’ *NIDOTTE* 1:354-358, 354.

⁷⁹⁴ Martinez and Tigchelaar translate as ‘resentment’, but the basic meaning of **זְלַעְפָּה** is ‘heat’, as in Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 278.

⁷⁹⁵ Konkel, ‘אָחַז’, 355.

Psalm 77.4[5]: You held open my eyelids.⁷⁹⁶

The hiphil of חִזַּק evokes a similar image, of ‘seizing’ or ‘grasping’.⁷⁹⁷ In Jeremiah 8.21 the agent is dismay (שָׁמָה) and in 6.24 it is distress (צָרָה).

שָׁמָה הִחֲזִיקָנִי:

Jeremiah 8.21: Dismay has taken hold of me.

צָרָה הִחֲזִיקָנִי חֵיל כִּינְלָהָ:

Jeremiah 6.24: Anguish has taken hold of us, pain as of a woman in labour.

Finally, נָגַע is used, frequently translated as ‘touch’. It denotes both touches so gentle that they are unnoticed (Leviticus 5.2)⁷⁹⁸ and powerful forces like the wind destroying Job’s house (Job 1.19). The noun נֶגַע describes skin diseases in Leviticus, and Seybold identifies this word in certain Psalms as clear indication that they come from a life-setting of physical illness.⁷⁹⁹ Sussman thinks it specifically represents epidemic diseases spread through contact.⁸⁰⁰ However, in 1 Kings 8.37, נֶגַע summarises several distressing circumstances, including famine, pests, mildew, locusts, human enemies and disease,⁸⁰¹ showing many disasters attributable to divine touch. It is also used for the disasters befalling Pharaoh in Genesis 12.17 and Exodus 11.1.

Sometimes, God’s touch specifically causes distress, as in Psalm 39.10[11] or Job 19.21. Elsewhere, distress is conceptualised simply as a ‘touch’. Psalm 73.14 uses a passive to minimise the agent, whereas Psalm 38.11[12] and 1QH 12.36 use a nominal.

⁷⁹⁶ R. Alter, *The Book of Psalms* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007), 268.

⁷⁹⁷ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 305.

⁷⁹⁸ Emphasised by L. Schwienhorst, ‘נָגַע’ *TDOT* IX:203-209, 204-205.

⁷⁹⁹ K. Seybold, *Das Gebet des Kranken im Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1973).

⁸⁰⁰ M. Sussman, ‘Sickness and Disease’ in D. N. Freedman (ed.), *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 6-15, 8.

⁸⁰¹ R. K. Harrison and I. Swart, ‘נָגַע’ *NIDOTTE* 3:24-25, 25.

הָסַר מֵעָלַי נִנְעָךְ מִתְּנִיחַ יָדְךָ אֵנִי כָּלִיתִי:

Psalm 39.10[11]: Take away from me your touch, from the blow of your hand I perish.⁸⁰²

יַד-אֱלֹהִים נִנְעָה בִּי:

Job 19.21: The hand of God has touched me!

וְאֵהִי נֹנֵעַ כָּל-הַיּוֹם

Psalm 73.14: For all day long I have been plagued.

אֶהְיֶה בִּי וְרַעִי מִנִּגְדִּי נִנְעִי יַעֲמִדוּ

Psalm 38.11[12]: My friends and companions stand aloof from my affliction.

וְרוּחִי הַחֲזִיקָה בַּמַּעֲמָד לִפְנֵי נֹנֵעַ

1QH 12.36: My spirit kept firmly in place in the face of affliction.

אָחַז and **נֹנֵעַ** all evoke physical contact, but in different manners. **אָחַז** may focus on ‘forcefulness’, and the intention to not let go, whereas **נֹנֵעַ** evokes more general physical contact. **חֲזָקָה** may emphasise strength, given its qal meaning.

Conceptualising distress as being gripped or touched is thus deeply entrenched, shown especially by these different roots and the variety of abstract agents. Rather than specific diseases gripping someone (as in Akkadian), Hebrew texts have general agents (more commonly than God or human enemies), such as ‘trouble’ or ‘dismay’. Despite this conventionality, few texts use source domain inferences, either related to intensity or potential solutions.

The following table summarises this mapping, focusing on **אָחַז** and **חֲזָקָה**.

⁸⁰² Based on Alter, *Psalms*, 139.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Material entity</i> To remain at rest	<i>Forceful entity</i> To hold on with strength, and bring under control	May be deliberate	The gripped entity is under control of the stronger entity
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To remain at ease and in control	<i>Emotions / God / distress</i> To hold strongly onto the self and control it	May be deliberate	Self is under control of someone or something else

7.4.4. BEING IN DISTRESS IS ENCOUNTERING A MOVING FORCE

A third category conceptualises distress as an entity coming forcefully towards the petitioner, and potentially penetrating him or her. Here, the potential forceful impact affects the author's feelings.

Psalm 55.5[6] prototypically has emotion responses (יִרְאָה וְרֵעַד) 'coming into' the petitioner. Again in Job 3.25-26, substantives related to fear (פַּחַד, אֲשֶׁר יִגְרֶתִי, רָנָו) 'come' to Job, using both בּוֹא and the much rarer אֵתָה for the movement towards the sufferer. In Job 30.26, 'evil' and 'darkness' come.

יִרְאָה וְרֵעַד יָבֹא בִּי

Psalm 55.5[6]: Fear and trembling come upon me.

כִּי פַחַד פַּחַדִּי נִיָּאֲתִינִי וְאֲשֶׁר יִגְרֶתִי יָבֹא לִּי: לֹא שָׁלוֹתִי וְלֹא שָׁקֵטִי וְלֹא־נַחֲתִי
נִיבֹא רָנָו:

Job 3.25-26: I feared a fear and it came to me, all that I dreaded has come upon me. I have no repose, no quiet, no rest. Turmoil has come.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 68, 75.

כִּי טוֹב קִוִּיתִי וַיָּבֹא רָע וַאֲחִלָּה לְאוֹר וַיָּבֹא אֶפֶל:

Job 30.26: But when I looked for good, evil came; and when I waited for light, darkness came.

In Psalm 119.143, trouble and anguish have come to meet the psalmist. The same verb in Psalm 116.3 describes the pangs of Sheol (מִצָּרִי שְׁאוֹל) ‘meeting’ (מִצָּאוֹנִי) the psalmist. Psalm 22.11[12] uses a ‘path’ entailment, describing trouble as not just coming but ‘near’ (קְרוֹבָה).

צָר־וּמְצוֹק מִצָּאוֹנִי

Psalm 119.143: Trouble and anguish have come upon me.

וּמִצָּרֵי שְׁאוֹל מִצָּאוֹנִי צָרָה וַיִּגְוֹן אֶמְצָא:

Psalm 116.3: The pangs of Sheol laid hold on me; I suffered distress and anguish.

אַל־תִּרְחַק מִמֶּנִּי כִּי־צָרָה קְרוֹבָה כִּי־אֵין עוֹזֵר:

Psalm 22.11[12]: Do not be far from me, for trouble is near and there is no one to help.

Job 30.27 uses the rarer קָדַם for days of affliction which ‘come to meet’ Job. In 1QH 19.21, thoughts of man’s sin and guilt have ‘penetrated’ (וַיִּנְעוּ) the author, and cause him emotional distress.

קָדַמְנִי יְמֵי־עֲנִי:

Job 30.27: Days of affliction come to meet me.

וַיָּבֹאוּ בְּלִבִּי וַיִּנְעוּ בְּעַצְמִי

1QH 19.21: These things have entered my heart, they have penetrated my bones.

All these expressions conceptualise distress as moving forcefully towards the sufferer, inferring that the closer the entity is, the more imminent distress is. The situation is most serious when it penetrates ‘into’ a person. These mappings are shown below:

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Material entity</i> To remain at rest	<i>Forceful entity</i> To move towards the other entity and even penetrate it	Deliberate, inescapable movement towards the other entity	Material is penetrated by the forceful entity
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To remain unaffected and in control	<i>Emotions / distress</i> To come to the self and even penetrate it	Deliberate, inescapable occurrence of distress is coming	Distress reaches and penetrates the self
Other Entailments: The closer the force is → The more serious the distress				

7.4.5. BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING ENFORCED MOVEMENT

The previous mappings leave the Agonist in one place. Elsewhere, metaphors frame distress as enforced movement, where an irresistible Antagonist overcomes the Agonist's tendency to rest. Such 'compulsion' frequently results in the Agonist involuntarily following an undesired path.⁸⁰⁴ Within the English event-structure conceptual metaphor, self-propelled motion maps onto purposeful action, whereas other-propelled motion maps onto caused events.⁸⁰⁵ The Hebrew mapping may similarly have important entailments regarding control and causation.

Different verbs evoke different manners of enforced movement. First, sometimes the sufferer is an inanimate object sent along a trajectory over which it has no control. Psalm 102.10[11] uses שָׁלַךְ, prototypically describing 'thrown' inanimate objects, with God as the agent. In Psalm 118.13, דָּחָה evokes 'violent pushing' by the psalmist's enemies. The infinitive absolute highlights this force's intensity. Psalm 109.23 pictures the psalmist as a locust

⁸⁰⁴ Johnson, *Body*, 45.

⁸⁰⁵ Kövecses, *Emotion*, 51-60.

shaken (נָנַעַרְתִּי) from a garment, using a niphil and hiding the agent, but still suggesting a deliberate action.

כִּי נִשְׁאַתְנִי וְתִשְׁלִיכֵנִי:

Psalm 102.10[11]: For you have lifted me up and thrown me aside.

דָּחָה דְּחִיתָנִי לְנֶפֶל וַיְהִיָּה עֲזָרָנִי:

Psalm 118.13: You pushed me hard so that I was falling, but the LORD helped me.⁸⁰⁶

נָנַעַרְתִּי כְּאַרְבֶּה:

Psalm 109.23: I am shaken off like a locust.

Second, some verbs evoke more personal enforced movement. In the ‘anti-Psalm 23’ of Lamentations 3.1-6,⁸⁰⁷ a long-term, purposeful, directing force leads the sufferer like an animal (נִהְיָה)⁸⁰⁸ into darkness, not green pastures and still waters. נָדַח also fits a shepherding context, used for driving sheep from their pasture (Jeremiah 23.2),⁸⁰⁹ or a bird from a nest, and in 1QH 12.8-9, for the author ‘driven’ from his land. In Jonah 2.4[5], נָרַשׁ evokes ‘forcible or violent expulsion’,⁸¹⁰ with the niphil minimising the agent. In Psalm 36.11[12] the hiphil of נָדַח, suggests causing someone to wander aimlessly,⁸¹¹ describing the threat of the wicked. These verses thus show several verbs evoking someone forcing another to move.

אוֹתִי נִהְיָה נִלְךְ חֹשֶׁךְ וְלֹא-אוֹר:

Lamentations 3.2: He has driven and brought me into darkness without any light.

כִּי־יָדִיחַנִי מֵאַרְצִי 9 כַּצְפּוֹר מִקְנֵה וְכוּל רֵעִי וּמוֹדַעִי נִדְחוּ מִמֶּנִּי

⁸⁰⁶ NRSV, but following the Masoretic ‘you pushed me hard’ rather than the LXX ‘I was pushed hard’, taking this verse as addressing the hostile nations, as in Alter, *Psalms*, 416.

⁸⁰⁷ P. van Hecke, ‘Lamentations 3,1-6: An Anti-Psalm 23’, *SJOT* 16 (2002) 264-282.

⁸⁰⁸ W. Gross, ‘נִהְיָה’ *TDOT* IX:255-259.

⁸⁰⁹ T. Kronholm, ‘נָדַח’ *TDOT* IX:235-241, 239.

⁸¹⁰ H. G. Stigers, ‘נָרַשׁ’ *TWOT*.

⁸¹¹ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 627.

1QH 12.8-9: For they drive me from my land like a bird from its nest; all my friends and my acquaintances have been driven away from me.

וְאָנִי אָמַרְתִּי בְּנִשְׁתִּי מִמֶּנֶּךָ עֵינֶיךָ אֵךְ אוֹסִיף לְהִבִּיט אֶל-הַיְכָל קִדְשְׁךָ:

Jonah 2.4[5]: Then I said, ‘I am driven away from your sight; how shall I look again upon your holy temple?’

אֶל-תְּבוֹאֲנִי רֶגֶל בָּאֵה וְיַד-רָשָׁעִים אֶל-תִּגְדְּנִי:

Psalms 36.11[12]: Do not let the foot of the arrogant tread on me, or the hand of the wicked drive me away.

Third, the petitioner is occasionally lifted up, using the root נשא. In Psalm 102.10[11] (cited above) the psalmist is lifted before being thrown, and in Job 30.22 he is then forced to even more violent movement, riding the wind. In both cases this image shows a harmful intent that the sufferer cannot do anything about.

תִּשְׂאֵנִי אֶל-רוּחַ תַּרְכִּיבִנִי

Job 30.22: You snatch me up and make me ride on the wind.⁸¹²

Job being moved by the wind is also implicit in Job 13.25.

הֲעֵלָה נִדְךָ תַּעְרוּץ וְאֶת-קֶשׁ יִבֶּשׁ תִּרְדֶּף:

Job 13.25: Will you frighten a windblown leaf and pursue dry chaff?

Fourth, some texts show the concept of enforced movement being particularly appropriate for the wicked, whose plight is being ‘moved away’, presumably in death. In both Psalm 28.3 and Psalm 26.9 the psalmist asks not to be moved as the wicked are, first with מושך, being drawn away by a stronger force, and second with אסף, being gathered together with the wicked by a stronger force.

אֶל-תִּמְשְׁכֵנִי עִם-רָשָׁעִים

⁸¹² Clines, *Job 21-37*, 931.

Psalm 28.3: Do not drag me away with the wicked.

אַל־תִּאָּסֶף עִם־חַטָּאִים נַפְשִׁי

Psalm 26.9: Do not gather up my soul with sinners.⁸¹³

These metaphors all conceptualise distress as movement against the will of the sufferer, evoking different manners of movement. **שָׁלַךְ** and **דָּחָה** evoke violent movement after an initial contact with the one causing movement, whereas the shepherding roots **נָדַח**, **נָדַשׁ**, and **נָדַח** evoke the force causing the movement accompanying the moved body. Further, several verses explicitly entail movement from a good place (a bird in its nest, or within God's sight) to a negatively conceptualised place (such as darkness, or with the wicked).

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Material entity</i> To remain at rest, in control of own movement	<i>Forceful agent</i> To cause the entity to move	Usually deliberate and purposeful	Entity is forcibly moved
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To remain in control of own life events	<i>Distress causing agent</i> To control what happens to the self	Usually deliberate and purposeful	Self's life events are in the control of another
Other Entailments Undesirable destination → Undesirable life situation				

7.4.6. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING ATTACKED BY WILD ANIMALS

Considering more specific scripts, several examples conceptualise the petitioner as stalked or attacked by animals. The Palestinian lion was the prototypical predator,⁸¹⁴ being fairly

⁸¹³ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 233.

common and living amongst dense vegetation.⁸¹⁵ Its cultural significance is seen by seven Hebrew denotations,⁸¹⁶ including **אַרְיֵה** / **אַרִי**, **כָּפִיר**, **לָבִיא**, **שָׁחַל**, and **גֹּרֵר אֲרִי**. **אַרִי** is probably the basic-level term, used for a prototypical lion but also a male adult lion in distinction to the other words marking sex and maturity.⁸¹⁷

Lions symbolised power across the ancient Near East, whether positively representing fertility, protection, or strength, or negatively representing chaos and destruction.⁸¹⁸ In the corpus, lions are unequivocally negative. Power (**כֹּחַ**) is highlighted in 1QH 13.18-19.

ונפש אביון פלטתה כ...[...]. טרף מכח 19 אריות

1QH 13.18-19: and have freed the soul of the poor like [...] prey from the power of lions.

Psalm 35.15-17 typically instantiates lion metaphors, framing the mockers as lions surrounding a stumbling prey, gnashing their teeth as they tear it apart.

וּבְצִלְעֵי שְׂמִיחוּ וּנְאֻסָּפוּ נְאֻסָּפוּ עָלַי נָכִים וְלֹא יָדַעְתִּי קָרְעוּ וְלֹא דָמוּ: בְּחִנְפֵי לַעְגִי
מְעוֹג חָרַק עָלַי שְׁנִימוּ: אֲדַנִּי כַּמָּה תִרְאֶה הַשִּׁיבָה נַפְשִׁי מִכַּפְיָהֶם מִכַּפְיָהֶם
יְחִידָתִי:

Psalm 35.15-17: But at my stumbling they gathered in glee, they gathered together against me; ruffians whom I did not know tore at me without ceasing; they impiously mocked more and more, gnashing at me with their teeth. How long, O LORD, will you look on? Rescue me from their ravages, my life from the lions!

⁸¹⁴ Dogs and bulls are also mentioned, but mainly as surrounding the petitioner and cited in the previous chapter. The closest to their exerting a direct force is the psalmist saved from the hand of the dog (**מִיַּד-כָּלֵב**) and from the horns of the wild oxen (**מִקַּרְנֵי רְמִים**) in Psalm 22.20-21[21-22]. Psalm 74.19 also refers generally to wild animals (**חַיִּית**).

⁸¹⁵ Negenman, 'Palestine', 18, although very few bone remains have been found, B. Hesse, 'Animal Husbandry and Human Diet in the Ancient Near East' in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Volumes I and II* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 203-222, 203.

⁸¹⁶ Rechenmacher, 'Kognitive', 51.

⁸¹⁷ Rechenmacher, 'Kognitive', 51-54.

⁸¹⁸ I. Cornelius, 'The Lion in the Art of the Ancient Near East: A Study of Selected Motifs', *JNSL* 15 (1989) 53-85.

Such verses, alongside descriptions of typical leonine behaviour, suggest a prototypical ‘lion attack’ script. First, the lion stalks its prey under cover, preparing an ambush, then as it breaks cover, it snarls, showing its teeth and opening wide its mouth. The attack itself involves ripping flesh with its mouth, tearing the body apart, breaking and shattering bones. Finally, the lion may drag the victim away to finish the destruction.

This script maps onto distressing experiences as follows:

Person being attacked	→	Person in distress
Lion(s)	→	Agent(s) causing distress
Lion in hiding / hunting	→	Agent premeditating to cause distress
Lion snarling / showing teeth / opening mouth	→	Agent using words to initiate distress
Ripping and tearing flesh	→	Painful experience of distress
Being dragged off	→	Distressed person is completely under the agent’s control

First, the agent, mapped to the lion, may be non-specific enemies (Psalm 17.12), or God himself (Job 10.16). Psalm 17.12 also maps the agent’s desire to a lion longing to eat, inferring motivation from this script. Job 10.16 specifically maps the lion’s boldness onto God’s character.

דְּמִינוּ כְּאַרְיֵה יִכְסֹף לְטָרוֹף וְכִכְפִּיר יֵשֵׁב בְּמַסְתָּרִים:

Psalm 17.12: His appearance is like a lion, longing to tear apart, like a young lion lurking in ambush.⁸¹⁹

וַיִּנָּאֶה כְּשַׁחַל תְּצוּדֵנִי

Job 10.16: Bold as a lion you hunt me.

Second, the deliberate, premeditated nature of attack maps to the enemies’ deliberate undertakings. An attacking lion may stalk prey silently under cover, before charging at the

⁸¹⁹ Basson, *Divine*, 88.

prey, or male lions may scare prey towards lionesses waiting in ambush to finish the job.⁸²⁰ The hunting lion of Job 10.16 (תַּצִּירֵנִי, above) suggests the first script. The lions lying in wait in Lamentations 3.10 and Psalm 10.8-9 are more like the second. A hiding lion evokes deliberate action, but also unsuspected distress. Explicating the 'blameless' (נָקִי) prey highlights that distress is unjustified, the psalmist is as innocent as the lion's prey.

דב אֲרֵב הוּא לִי אֲרִי בַּמִּסְתָּרִים:

Lamentations 3.10: He is a bear lying in wait for me, a lion in hiding.

יֹשֵׁב בַּמְאָרֵב חֲצֵרִים בַּמִּסְתָּרִים יִהְיֶה נָקִי עֵינָיו לְחִלָּה יִצְפֹּנוּ: יֵאָרֵב בַּמִּסְתָּר
בְּאֶרֶץ בְּסֻכָּה יֵאָרֵב לְחֹטֵף עָנִי

Psalm 10.8-9: He waits in ambush in a sheltered place, from a covert he kills the blameless, for the wretched his eyes look out. He lies in wait in a covert like a lion in his lair, lies in wait to snatch up the poor.⁸²¹

Third, the script includes the lion's threatening behaviour as it closes in. Whilst the stalking is silent, snarling accompanies the final approach 'produced with exposed teeth, the body in a low crouch, and ears laid back flat'⁸²² and also the ensuing fight. This may explain חָרַק, usually translated as 'gnashing' or 'grinding' of teeth and clearly a gesture of hostility. Psalm 35.16 equates this with 'contemptuous mocking chatter',⁸²³ in Psalm 37.12 it is part of the enemies' plot, indicating desire to harm, and in Psalm 112.10 failure to do more than this shows the inability of the wicked to fulfil their desire to harm the righteous. In Job 16.9 it more closely parallels 'tearing'. In most cases, this action could specifically conceptualise the opponents' threatening words.

בְּחִנְפִי לַעֲנִי מְעוֹג חָרַק עָלַי שְׁנִימוּ:

Psalm 35.16: With contemptuous mocking chatter they gnashed their teeth against me.

זִמָּם רָשָׁע לְצַדִּיק וְחָרַק עָלָיו שְׁנִי:

⁸²⁰ E. R. Hope, *All Creatures Great and Small: Living Things in the Bible*, electronic edn. (New York: United Bible Societies, 2003), 2.24.

⁸²¹ Alter, *Psalms*, 30.

⁸²² Hope, *Creatures*, 2.24.

⁸²³ Following Kimchi's interpretation of מְעוֹג as 'empty talk', Alter, *Psalms*, 124.

Psalm 37.12: The wicked plot against the righteous, and gnash their teeth at them;

רָשָׁע יִרְאֶה וְכָעַס שִׁנָּיו יִחָרֵק וְנִמְסָה תַאֲוַת רָשָׁעִים הַאֲבֵר:

Psalm 112.10[10]: The wicked see it and are angry; they gnash their teeth and melt away; the desire of the wicked comes to nothing.

אִפֹּ טָרַף וַיִּשְׁטַמְנֵי חֶרֶק עָלָיו בְּשִׁנָּיו צָרִי יִלְטֹשׁ עֵינָיו לִי:

Job 16.9: He has torn me in his wrath, and hated me; he has gnashed his teeth at me; my adversary sharpens his eyes against me.

The fourth stage is the attack and devouring of the prey, including grabbing the prey at the neck with the mouth to suffocate the animal,⁸²⁴ then tearing it apart as it is eaten. The most common root for the lion's action here is **טָרַף**, but roots evoking tearing (**קָרַע**, **פָּרַק**) or breaking bones (**שָׁבַר**) also occur.

For **טָרַף**, Wagner observes ‘the basic meaning is “tear (to pieces),” especially with large beasts of prey as subject’.⁸²⁵ However, this overlooks the mouth's importance. All verbal uses could describe tearing prey with the mouth, and the noun **טָרֶף** describes food, both for large beasts and humans (Proverbs 31.15). Assyrian art shows the lion's claws primarily holding down the victim, while the lion uses teeth to tear the prey.⁸²⁶ Further, 1 QH 13.14 emphasises God's closing the teeth of the lions as the way to stop them ‘tearing’ (with **טָרַף**). Thus, the prototypical meaning is more likely ‘tear apart *with the mouth*’.

פָּרַק highlights the prey's fate more than the lion's action, evoking forceful separation, whether positive (in rescue) or negative.⁸²⁷ Psalm 7.2[3] uses both verbs for the pursuers' actions. Since the lion is the strongest animal, rescue is impossible.

⁸²⁴ Hope, *Creatures*, 2.24.

⁸²⁵ S. Wagner, ‘**טָרַף**’ *TDOT* V:350-357, 351.

⁸²⁶ As shown in Cornelius, ‘Lion’, 72-73.

⁸²⁷ F. Reiterer, ‘**פָּרַק**’ *TDOT* XII:111-114.

פֶּן־יִטְרֹף פָּאֲרִיָּה נַפְשִׁי פֶּרֶק וְאֵין מַצִּיל:

Psalm 7.2[3]: Lest they should rip me like a lion, tearing me up, with no deliverer.⁸²⁸

The lion's mouth (פֶּה) is always feared (rather than claws), with the teeth (שֵׁן) and tongue (לָשׁוֹן) specifically highlighted, as in Psalm 22.13[14] and 21[22]. In Psalm 35.16, cited above, the teeth are associated with mocking. In Psalm 57.4[5], the enemies are lions, then their teeth are arrows and tongues swords, perhaps in this context describing the accusers' words in a trial.⁸²⁹ Thus, the enemies' 'attacking' words may be specifically focused whenever this part of the script is invoked, as with 'gnashing' teeth. Therefore, even the intensely physical language of a lion attack may describe psychological or social violence. As Firth notes for Psalm 7, 'false accusation is in itself an intensely distressing thing'.⁸³⁰

נַפְשִׁי בְּתוֹךְ לִבְאֵם אֲשַׁכְּכָה לְהָטִים בְּגִי־אֲדָם שְׁנֵיהֶם חֲנִית וְחֶצִים וּלְשׁוֹנָם חֶרֶב
חֲדָה:

Psalm 57.4[5]: I lie down among lions that greedily devour human prey; their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords.

פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיהֶם אֲרִיָּה טָרֵף וְשֹׁאֵג:

Psalm 22.13[14]: They open wide their mouths at me, like a ravening and roaring lion.

הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אֲרִיָּה וּמִקֶּרְנֵי רִמִּים עֲנִיתָנִי:

Psalm 22.21[22]: Save me from the mouth of the lion! From the horns of the wild oxen you have rescued me.

בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה שֶׁלֹּא נָתַנּוּ טָרֵף לְשִׁנֵּיהֶם:

Psalm 124.6: Blessed be the LORD, who has not given us as prey to their teeth.

וּתְסַגּוּר פִּי כַפִּירִים אֲשֶׁר 10 כַּחַרְבַּ שְׁנֵיהֶם וּמִתְלַעֲוֹתָם כַּחֲנִית חֲדָה

⁸²⁸ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 96.

⁸²⁹ Tate, *Psalms*, 78.

⁸³⁰ D. G. Firth, *Surrendering Retribution in the Psalms: Responses to Violence in the Individual Complaints* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 23.

1QH 13.9-10: You closed the mouth of the lion cubs, whose teeth are like a sword, whose fangs are like a sharpened spear.

ותצל נפש עני במעון אריות אשר שננו כחרב לשונם 14 ואתה אלי סגרתה בעד
שניהם פן יטרפו נפש עני ורש ותוסף לשונם 15 כחרב אל תערה בלוא כר[תה
נפש עבדכה

1QH 13.13-15: And you rescued the life of the afflicted in the den of lions, whose tongue is like a sharpened sword. And you, O my God, you shut their teeth, lest they tear apart the life of the poor afflicted. And their tongue was drawn back like a sword to its sheath, lest it [dest]roy the life of your servant.⁸³¹

Lamentations 3.11, Isaiah 38.13 and Job 16.9 most vividly describe someone who has actually been attacked by a lion. In Lamentations and Job the petitioner has been ‘torn’ (טָרַף, פָּשַׁח), whereas in Isaiah 38 all the sufferer’s bones have been broken (שָׁבַר). None of these fit the contexts of accusation or trial common elsewhere, describing life threatening illness or the experience of Jerusalem’s destruction. This stage of the script is the most serious. The possibility of lions breaking bones also occurs in 1 QH 13.6-7.

דְּרָכֵי סוֹרֵר וַיִּפְשַׁחַנִי שָׁמַיִם:

Lamentations 3.11: He led me off my way and tore me to pieces; he has made me desolate.

אִפּוֹ טָרַף וַיִּשְׁטְמֵנִי

Job 16.9: He has torn me in his wrath, and hated me;

כָּאֲרִי בֶן יִשְׁבֵּר כָּל-עֲצָמוֹתַי מִיּוֹם עַד-לַיְלָה תִשְׁלִימֵנִי:

Isaiah 38.13: Like a lion he breaks all my bones; from day to night you bring me to an end.

ותתן [...] [...] בתוך 7 לביאים מועדים לבני אשמה אריות שוברי עצם אדירים
ושותי ד[ם] גבורים

⁸³¹ Kittel, *Hymns*, 85.

1QH 13.6-7: And you placed [me] in the midst of lions, those appointed for the sons of guilt, lions who shatter the bones of the noble, and who drink the blood of the mighty.⁸³²

Further, problematising a situation as a lion attack entails particular solutions. Psalm 58.6[7] asks God to tear out the lions' fangs, a plea to nullify the words of the unjust judges addressed in verse 1[2].⁸³³ Similarly, 1QH 13 thanks God for 'closing' (סגר) the teeth of those he dwelt amongst (verse 14, cited above). The only solution for a helpless prey facing a powerful enemy is for a stronger power to vanquish the predator. Sufferers never ask for increased strength to fight back.

אֱלֹהִים הֲרֹס־שִׁנֵּימוּ בְּפִימוּ מִלְתַּעוֹת כְּפִירִים נָתַץ יְהוָה:

Psalm 58.6[7]: O God, break the teeth in their mouths; tear out the fangs of the young lions, O LORD!

Finally, the petitioner's perceived position within the script also constrains inferences. If the lion is waiting in ambush, escape is still possible. The predicament is more serious when the lion breaks cover and is snarling in full view, but still a stronger power may intervene and rescue the prey. Where the petitioner has actually been torn to pieces, or had his bones shattered, hope is very limited, showing the greatest intensity of distress.

These metaphors show a well-structured source domain giving structure to distressing experiences perceived to be caused by deliberate aggressive agents. The structured script of leonine attack, and the various entailments regarding motives and character of predator and prey, enable petitioners to understand their distressing situation, predicting what will happen next and guiding their prayers for God to intervene.

The mappings are summarised as follows:

⁸³² Kittel, *Hymns*, 84.

⁸³³ Tate, *Psalms*, 87.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Prey</i> To survive, escape	<i>Lion</i> To capture with the jaws and then eat the prey	Deliberate premeditated attack	Serious harm and finally death
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To live in safety and security	<i>Enemies</i> To harm the self with words, and possibly more seriously, for their own benefit	Deliberate premeditated action of enemies	Serious harm.
Other Entailments: Temporal progress of the lion attack script → Temporal progress of the distressing predicament Lion attacks from hiding → Distress comes unexpectedly Desire of lion to eat → Desire of enemies to cause harm Boldness of lion → Boldness of enemies Innocence of the prey (attack is unjustified) → Innocence of the sufferer (distress is unjustified) Supreme strength of the lion → Supreme strength of the opponent (no-one can rescue) Gnashing and tearing with teeth → Opponents verbal attacks Breaking the teeth / closing the mouth → Being saved from distress				

7.4.7. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING ATTACKED BY A HUMAN OPPONENT

Forceful interpersonal human conflict also frequently conceptualises distress. Sometimes, informal hand-to-hand fighting is evoked. Elsewhere, images evoke more formal, armed combat. Although more than one script is evoked, a general overarching script (similar to that of lion attack) maps to distressing situations, as shown below.

Person being attacked	→	Person in distressing circumstances
Adversary / enemy	→	Agent causing distress
Enemy hunts / pursues his opponent	→	Premeditated action of adversaries towards the sufferer

Enemy waits to ambush	→	Distress comes unawares
Enemy prepares for attack (drawing bow or sword)	→	Further premeditated action by adversaries towards the sufferer
Enemy attacks (with sword, arrow, or hand)	→	The sufferer experiences distress

a) Various Adversaries

Considering these individually, first, the enemy (אֹיֵב), or adversary (צָר), maps onto the agent causing distress. Job consistently conceptualises his situation (of loss and sickness) as conflict with God, a strong opponent, against whom he has no chance of prevailing (Job 13.24, 19.11 and 9.19). Jeremiah 20.7 also conceptualises God as an overpowering strong opponent.

לְמַה־פָּנִיךָ תִּסְתִּיר וְתַחֲשַׁבְנִי לְאֹיֵב לָךְ:

Job 13.24: Why do you hide your face, and count me as your enemy?

וַיַּחֲשַׁבְנִי לֹא כְצָרִי:

Job 19.11: He counts me as his adversary.

אִם־לָכַח אֲמִיץ הִנֵּה

Job 9.19: If it is a contest of strength, he is the strong one!

חֲזַקְתָּנִי וַתּוֹכֵל

Jeremiah 20.7: You have overpowered me, and you have prevailed.

Similarly, in Lamentations, God has become the enemy. He has caused the disastrous circumstances, not the Babylonian army, as in Lamentations 2.5 and 3.1.

הָיָה אֱלֹהֵי כְאוֹיֵב

Lamentations 2.5: The Lord has become like an enemy.

אֲנִי הַגֵּבֶר רָאָה עֵינִי בְשִׁבְט עֲבָרָתוֹ:

Lamentations 3.1: I am the man who has seen affliction under the rod of his wrath;

In the Psalms, people are more frequently conceptualised as enemies or adversaries. Whilst some may originate from the king during national conflict with very real enemies, many do not fit this context very well, especially when the psalmist is apparently suffering from disease, yet still mentions enemies. No identification of these enemies has yet gained wide scholarly acceptance.⁸³⁴ The enemies are depersonalised, so that distinguishing physical and psychological scenarios is rarely possible.⁸³⁵ Thus, this analysis will not presume that enemy references necessitate there being opponents bent on physical harm.

b) Deliberate Preparation

The earliest stages of the script conceive the enemies pursuing, plotting or hunting down their opponent. **רדף** sometimes occurs, evoking ‘active pursuit of one or more persons, with hostile intent’.⁸³⁶ In narrative, pursuit frequently follows a battle, to complete victory over a fleeing enemy.⁸³⁷ The psalmists’ use is depersonalised and generalised, but still suggests aggressors deliberately setting out to apprehend their opponents and ‘finish them off’.

In Psalm 71.10-11, the enemies deliberately plot together to pursue and seize (**תפשׁ**) the petitioner, exploiting his vulnerability, whereas in Lamentations 3.43 God has set out in pursuit. Both emphasise deliberate intent to harm.

כִּי־אֶמְרוּ אוֹיְבֵי לִי וְשֹׁמְרֵי נַפְשִׁי נִוְעָצוּ יַחְדָּו: לֵאמֹר אֱלֹהִים עָזְבוּ רִדְפוּ וְתַפְשׁוּהוּ
כִּי־אֵין מַצִּיל:

Psalm 71.10-11: For my enemies speak concerning me, and those who watch for my life consult together. They say, ‘God has forsaken him; pursue and seize him, for there is no one to deliver’.⁸³⁸

סַכְתָּה בָּאֵף וְתִרְדַּפְנוּ הָרִגְתָּ לֹא חַמֶּלְתָּ:

Lamentations 3.43: You have wrapped yourself with anger and pursued us, killing without pity;

⁸³⁴ Johnston, ‘Distress’, 75.

⁸³⁵ C. Frevel, ‘רִדְף’, *TDOT* XIII:340-351, 349.

⁸³⁶ Frevel, ‘רִדְף’, 343.

⁸³⁷ Frevel, ‘רִדְף’, 344.

⁸³⁸ Author’s translation.

Elsewhere, the enemies' perceived intentions map onto those of hunters, as in Lamentations 3.52 and 4.18 (using **צוד**) and Psalm 55.3[4] (using **שטם**). In Lamentations 3.52, the modifier **הֵנָּם** emphasises unjustified distress, typical of this motif.

צוד צדוני כצפור איבי הֵנָּם:

Lamentations 3.52: Those who were my enemies without cause have hunted me like a bird.

צדו צעדינו מלקת ברחבתינו קרב קצינו מלאו ימינו כי־בא קצינו:

Lamentations 4.18: They dogged our steps so that we could not walk in our streets; our end drew near; our days were numbered; for our end had come.

כי־ימיטו עלי און ובאף ישטמוני:

Psalm 55.3[4]: For they move evil over on me, and hunt me down in their wrath.⁸³⁹

In Psalm 86.14, this intention is framed as enemies 'seeking my life' (**בקשו נפשי**).

אלהים ידים קמו־עלי ועדת עריצים בקשו נפשי ולא שמוך לנגדם:

Psalm 86.14: O God, the insolent rise up against me; a band of ruffians seeks my life, and they do not set you before them.

Deliberate actions are also mapped when enemies hide or lie in ambush. Whereas pursuing and hunting highlight harmful intent, hidden enemies (usually using **ארב**) evoke unexpected or unjustified distress, as in Psalm 59.3[4].

כי הנה ארבו לנפשי וגורו עלי עזים לא־פשעי ולא־חטאתי יהוה:

Psalm 59.3[4]: Even now they lie in wait for my life; the mighty stir up strife against me. For no transgression or sin of mine, O LORD.

⁸³⁹ Tate, *Psalms*, 50, understanding **שטם** as 'hunt' from the parallel in Job 16.9.

Other verses reflect deliberate intentions with opponents surrounding the petitioner, setting traps or digging pits, but these were considered in chapter six.

Beyond these preparations, conceptualisations vary depending on whether hand-to-hand conflict is assumed, or with bow and arrow, with sword, or some more comprehensive military endeavour.

c) The Enemy's Hand

First, the opponent's hand is often upon the petitioner. Usually, it is God's hand, (Job 19.21, Psalm 77.10[11]), but occasionally it is the hand of the wicked (Psalm 71.4, 82.4), although not in the sickness contexts common in Akkadian texts. Whereas most references use יָד, Psalm 77.10[11] specifically highlights the right hand (יְמִינִי), used for holding weapons, and symbolising power and strength, while Psalm 71.4 uses the palm (כַּף) in parallel to hand. This elaboration shows the entrenchment of this conceptual metaphor.

יָד-אֱלֹהִים נִגְעָה בִּי:

Job 19.21: The hand of God has touched me!

וְאָמַר חֲלוּתִי הִיא שָׁנוֹת יָמִין עָלָיוֹן:

Psalm 77.10[11]: And I say, 'It is my grief that the right hand of the Most High has changed.'

אֱלֹהֵי פִלְטָנִי מִיַּד רָשָׁע מִכַּף מְעֹל וְחוֹמֵץ:

Psalm 71.4: Rescue me, O my God, from the hand of the wicked, from the grasp of the unjust and cruel.

פִּלְטוּ-דָּל וְאֶבְיוֹן מִיַּד רָשָׁעִים הַצִּילוּ:

Psalm 82.4: Rescue the weak and the needy; deliver them from the hand of the wicked.

Sometimes, this image evokes the particular script of hand-to-hand combat, as in Psalm 39.10[11], using נָגַע to demonstrate consistent conceptualisation of distress as divine touch.

Job 19.21 (above) also links יָד and נָגַע.

הָסֵר מֵעָלַי נִנְעָךְ מִתְנַרְת יָדְךָ אֲנִי כָלִיתִי:

Psalms 39.10[11]: Take away from me your scourge, from the blow of your hand I perish.⁸⁴⁰

The Akkadian parallels have sickness or plague as normal results of being touched by a divine hand.⁸⁴¹ Similarly, in Hebrew, with God as agent, the expression most commonly designates ‘the “disastrous manifestation of the supernatural power” especially in sickness or plague’.⁸⁴²

Several texts elaborate this image to express intensity. In Job 30.21, the hand’s might (עֲצָם) is emphasised, in Lamentations 3.3, repeated attacks evoke intensity (יָשָׁב, כָּל־הַיּוֹם), and in Psalm 38.2[3], repeating נָחַת for both penetrating arrows and the hand coming down increases the intensity of the description.

בְּעֲצָם יָדְךָ תִּשְׁטַמְּנִי:

Job 30.21: With the might of your hand you persecute me.

אֵךְ בִּי יָשָׁב יִתְפַּךְ יָדוֹ כָּל־הַיּוֹם:

Lamentations 3.3: Against me alone he turns his hand, again and again, all day long.

כִּי־חָצִיף נָחַתוּ בִּי וַתִּנְחַת עָלַי יָדְךָ:

Psalms 38.2[3]: For your arrows have sunk into me, and your hand has come down on me.

1QH 10.34-35 again emphasises the strength of the hand (אֲדִירִים, חֲזָק מִמֶּנּוּ), whereas in Psalm 32.4 and Job 23.2 the hand’s weight (כֶּבֶד) expresses intensity. These various syntactic frameworks demonstrate how entrenched this conceptualisation is, and how freely it can be elaborated to portray distress.

⁸⁴⁰ Alter, *Psalms*, 139.

⁸⁴¹ J. J. M. Roberts, ‘The Hand of Yahweh’ in J. J. M. Roberts (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 95-101, 96.

⁸⁴² Roberts, ‘Hand’, 99.

ואתה 164 עזרתה נפש עני ורש 35 מיד חזק ממנו וחפך נפשי מיד אדירים

1QH 10.34-35: But you my God have freed the soul of the poor and needy from the hand of someone stronger than him: from the hand of the powerful you have saved my soul.

כי יומם ולילה תִּכְבֵּד עָלַי יָדְךָ

Psalm 32.4: For day and night your hand was heavy upon me.

יָדִי כְבֵדָה עַל־אֲנַחְתִּי:

Job 23.2: The heavy hand upon me is because of my groaning!⁸⁴³

As in Mesopotamia, relief is achievable by removing God's hand and ending this forceful contact, as in Job 13.21, but by prayer rather than other rites.

כִּפְךָ מֵעָלַי תִּרְחַק וְאַמְתָּךְ אֶל־תִּבְעַתִּי:

Job 13.21: Withdraw your hand far from me, and do not let dread of you terrify me.

d) Other Hand-to-hand Combat

Other examples evoke unarmed combat without mentioning the hand. The sufferer is fighting God or another opponent. Job 30.18-19 is especially vivid, and must, despite difficult Hebrew, describe a physical attack, with God grabbing Job by his clothes and throwing him into the mud. Job 16.14 pictures God more generally as a warrior, expressing intensity by the threefold repetition of the root פָּרַץ. Jeremiah 14.17, 19 also has the people struck by forceful blows.

בְּרִבְכָּה יִתְחַפֵּשׂ לְבוּשִׁי כִּפִּי כְתָנֹתַי יֹאזְרֵנִי: הֲרָנִי לַחֲמֹר וְאַתְּמִשָּׁל כְּעֶפֶר וְאַפֵּר:

Job 30.18-19: With great power he grasps my garment, he holds me tight by the collar of my tunic. He has hurled me into the mire, and I have become dust and ashes.⁸⁴⁴

יִפְרֹצֵנִי פָּרִץ עַל־פְּנֵי־פָּרִץ יָרֵץ עָלַי כְּגִבּוֹר:

Job 16.14: He bursts upon me again and again; he rushes at me like a warrior.

כִּי שָׁבַר נָדוּל נִשְׁבְּרָה בְּתוֹלֵת בִּתְעָמִי מִכָּה נִחֲלָה מָאֵד:

⁸⁴³ Wolfers, *Deep*, 346. The owner of the hand here is difficult to ascertain.

⁸⁴⁴ Gordis, *Job*, 326.

מדוע הכיתנו ואין לנו מרפא

Jeremiah 14.17,19: For the virgin daughter - my people - is broken by a crushing blow, by a very grievous blow ... Why have you struck us down so that there is no healing for us?⁸⁴⁵

Elsewhere, the opponent's blows and their effect are emphasised, particularly using **נכה**, prototypically evoking hitting an object with one non-fatal strike.⁸⁴⁶ In 1QH 10.5 the 'blows' probably refer to the comforters' words, given the next verbs are about them 'announcing' and 'proclaiming'. Similarly, in Psalm 42.9-10[10-11], the 'murderous blows to my bones' (**בְּרִצָּח בְּעֲצָמוֹתַי**) represent the enemies' words. Psalm 62.3[4] also uses **רצח** for the enemies' battering (alongside **הוֹת**), again implying verbal attack by the subsequent switch to the issue of speech.

מחץ מכ[ת]י [מנחמי ...]

1QH 10.5: [...] smitten by bl[ows of the comforters ...]

לְמַה־קָּדַר אֵלַי בְּלִחְץ אוֹיֵב: בְּרִצָּח בְּעֲצָמוֹתַי חֲרַפּוֹנִי צוֹרְרִי בְּאֶמְרָם אֵלַי
כָּל־הַיּוֹם אֵינִי אֵלֶּהֶּיךָ:

Psalm 42.9-10[10-11]: 'Why must I walk about mournfully because the enemy oppresses me?' With a murderous blow to my bones, my adversaries taunt me, while they say to me continually, "Where is your God?"⁸⁴⁷

עַד־אֵנָּה תְּהוֹתֵתוּ עַל אִישׁ תִּרְצָחוּ כְּלָכֶם

Psalm 62.3[4]: How long will you assail a person, will you batter your victim, all of you.

In Jeremiah 14.17-19 (above), enemy attack and famine are being 'struck' by God (**הַכִּיתֵנוּ**), and thus totally 'broken' (**נִשְׁבְּרָה**). **נכה** is also used (without referring to words) in Psalm 69.26[27] (where the author is 'struck' (**הַכִּיתָ**) by God), in Psalm 102.4[5],

⁸⁴⁵ Author's translation.

⁸⁴⁶ M. R. Wilson, 'נכה' TWOT.

⁸⁴⁷ Author's translation.

in Jeremiah 15.18, in 1QH. 17.27 (these three all hiding the agent by using a noun or passive), and in Lamentations 3.30. The root in Lamentations 3.16 (גרס) also likely evokes a physical fight.

כִּי־אַתָּה אֲשֶׁר־הִכִּיתָ רִדְפוּ

Psalms 69.26[27]: For you – whom you struck they pursued.⁸⁴⁸

לָמָּה הָיָה כְּאֹבִי נֹצֵחַ וּמִכָּתִי אֲנוּשָׁה מֵאַנְהָה הָרָפָא

Jeremiah 15.18: Why is my pain unceasing, my wound incurable, refusing to be healed?

הוֹפֶכֶה־כְּעֹשֶׁב וַיִּבֶשׂ לִבִּי כִי־שָׁכַחְתִּי מֵאֲכֹל לֶחֶמִי:

Psalms 102.4[5]: My heart is stricken and withers like grass, so I forget to eat my bread.⁸⁴⁹

[... מח] זְ מַכְתִּי וּלְמַכְשׁוּלֵי גְבוּרַת פֶּלֶא

1QH 17.27: [... the wound inflicted on me, my weakness to wonderful force.

וַתֵּן לְמַכְהוֹ לְחִי יִשְׁבַּע בְּחֶרְפָּה:

Lamentations 3.30: To give one's cheek to the smiter, and be filled with insults.

וַיִּגְרַס בְּחֶצֶץ שְׁנֵי הַכִּפִּישָׁנִי בְּאַפֶּר:

Lamentations 3.16: He has made my teeth grind on gravel, and made me cower in ashes;

Two inferences from this script are used. In Lamentations 1.13, a person struck by God, sees himself consequently ‘stunned’ (שִׁמְמָה) and ‘faint’ (דָּוָה) all day long. Elsewhere, relief is conceptualised as the opponent looking away from the sufferer so that he is no longer the target for his blows (as in Job 7.19-20) or as the opponent ceasing the attack (as in Job 9.34).

הָשִׁיבֵנִי אַחֲזֹר נִתְּנִי שִׁמְמָה כָּל־הַיּוֹם דָּוָה:

Lamentations 1.13: He turned me back; he has left me stunned, faint all day long.

כִּמָּה לֹא־תִשָּׁעָה מִמֶּנִּי לֹא־תִרְפְּנִי עַד־בִּלְעִי רֶקִי: חָטָאתִי מָה אֶפְעַל לִּי נֹצֵר

⁸⁴⁸ Alter, *Psalms*, 240.

⁸⁴⁹ Alter, *Psalms*, 353.

הָאָדָם לְמָה שְׁמַתְנִי לְמַפְנֵעַ לָךְ

Job 7.19-20: Will you not look away from me for a while, let me alone until I swallow my spittle? If I sin, what do I do to you, you watcher of humanity? Why have you made me your target?

יָסֵר מִעָלַי שִׁבְטוֹ

Job 9.34: If he would take his rod away from me...

e) Bows and Arrows

Armed conflict most frequently involves bow and arrow, used in warfare or for hunting animals. Archers (particularly Assyrians with powerful composite bows) were the most important infantry in ancient Near Eastern armies, alongside spearmen and slingers.⁸⁵⁰ Bows and arrows were also salient in art, a salience possibly reflected in Hebrew distress language. Specifically, bows symbolise kingship, emphasising the ‘immediate and potential power fit for gods and kings’.⁸⁵¹ Some reliefs explicitly link the bow with divine ordination of kingship, the god giving the king a bow, assuring his victory, or riding beside him in his chariot helping him to draw the bow.⁸⁵²

More practically, bows and arrows allow the separation of attacker and victim (impossible for sword or mace) thus it was possible ‘to surprise the enemy and attack him from beyond his range of retaliation, of hearing, and, on occasion, of vision’.⁸⁵³ The bow’s range means hidden assailants can surprise their enemy without any danger of harm themselves.⁸⁵⁴ This implication is used in Psalm 64.2-4[3-5], conceiving the enemies’ words as arrows.

תִּסְתִּירֵנִי מִסּוּד מְרַעִים מִרְנֶשֶׁת פֶּעַלִּי אֲנִי: אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנוּ כִּחְרָב לְשׁוֹנָם דְּרָכּוֹ חֲצָצִים
דְּבַר מָר: לִירוֹת בְּמִסְתָּרִים תָּם פִּתְאֹם יִרְהוּ וְלֹא יִירָאוּ:

⁸⁵⁰ Yadin, *Warfare*, 293-297.

⁸⁵¹ R. H. Wilkinson, ‘The Representation of the Bow in the Art of Egypt and the Ancient Near East’, *JNES* 20 (1991) 83-99, 83.

⁸⁵² I. Cornelius, ‘The Iconography of Divine War in the Pre-Islamic Near East: A Survey’, *JNSL* 21 (1995) 15-36, 16-18. Egyptian reliefs also show a scimitar sword being given by the gods as a victory symbol, O. Keel, ‘Powerful Symbols of Victory: The Parts Stay the Same, the Actors Change’, *JNSL* 25 (1999) 205-240.

⁸⁵³ Yadin, *Warfare*, 8.

⁸⁵⁴ Yadin, *Warfare*, 6.

Psalm 64.2-4[3-5]: Hide me from the secret plots of the wicked, from the scheming of evildoers, who whet their tongues like swords, who aim bitter words like arrows, shooting from ambush at the blameless; they shoot suddenly and without fear.

Distress here is always caused by a deliberate agent, usually God (Lamentations 3.13) or human enemies (Psalm 64.2-4[3-5], above), although in 1QH 11.17 the construct formation **חצי שחת** suggests a more abstract enemy.

הביא בכלי־יָדָי בְּנִי אֲשַׁפֶּתוֹ:

Lamentations 3.13: He shot into my kidneys the arrows of his quiver.⁸⁵⁵

בהתעופף כול חצי שחת לאין השב ויודו לאין תקוה

1QH 11.17: When all the arrows of the pit fly forth without return then they rend beyond hope.⁸⁵⁶

Several verses highlight the agent's premeditated, secret preparation. Psalm 11.2[3], Psalm 37.13[14], Lamentations 2.4 and 3.12 describe the agent 'bending the bow' (**דָּרַךְ**), holding the bow with the foot to attach the cord and prime it for action.⁸⁵⁷ Other preparations include fitting the arrow to the string (Psalm 11.2[3]) or deliberately setting up the petitioner as a target (Job 16.12-13), showing significant elaboration of this part of the script.

חֲרָבוֹ יִלְטֹשׁ קִשְׁתּוֹ דָּרַךְ וַיְכַוְנֶנָּה: וְלוֹ הָכִין כָּל־מִוֹת חֲצָיו לְדֹלָקִים יַפְעֵל:

Psalm 7.12-13[13-14]: He⁸⁵⁸ sharpens his sword; he has bent his bow and prepared it, and for it he has made ready instruments of death. He will make his arrows fiery shafts.⁸⁵⁹

כִּי הִנֵּה הָרָשָׁעִים יִדְרְכוּן קִשֶׁת כּוֹנְנֵי חֲצֵם עַל־יָתֶר לִירוֹת בְּמוֹ-אֶפֶל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:

Psalm 11.2[3]: For look, the wicked bend the bow, they have fitted their arrow to the string, to shoot in the dark at the upright in heart.

⁸⁵⁵ Author's translation.

⁸⁵⁶ Kittel, *Hymns*, 59.

⁸⁵⁷ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 99.

⁸⁵⁸ It is unclear whether the antecedent of this pronoun is God, the righteous judge of verse 11[12], or the unrepentant wicked person of verses 12a[13a] and 14[15].

⁸⁵⁹ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 97.

חָרַב פָּתְחוּ רִשְׁעִים וְדָרְכוּ קִשְׁתָּם לְהַפִּיל עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן לְטָבוּחַ יִשְׂרָאֵל דָּרָךְ:

Psalm 37.14: The wicked draw the sword and bend their bows to bring down the poor and needy, to kill those who walk uprightly.

דָּרָךְ קִשְׁתּוֹ כְּאוֹיֵב

Lamentations 2.4: He has bent his bow like an enemy

דָּרָךְ קִשְׁתּוֹ וַיַּצִּיבֵנִי כַּמִּטָּרָא לְחֵץ:

Lamentations 3.12: He bent his bow and set me as a mark for his arrow.

וַיִּקְיַמֵּנִי לוֹ לְמִטָּרָה: יָסִבּוּ עָלַי רַבִּיּוֹ

Job 16.12-13: He set me up as his target; his archers surround me.

Distressing situations are then described as arrows striking. Separation of archer and opponent may allow retreat once struck and before possible death (as in Ahab's demise in 1 Kings 22.34-35), making being pierced by an arrow suitable for lingering, potentially terminal, illness. In Psalm 38.2[3], arrows have 'gone down' (נָחֲתוּ) into the sufferer, whereas in Job 6.4 they are 'with' him, both implying a serious attack, but recovery may yet be possible. Arrows penetrating the kidneys (כְּלִיֹּתַי) in Lamentations 3.13 (above) imply a more hopeless predicament. The modifying phrase 'without cure' (לֹאִין מִרְפָּא) in 1 QH 10.26, also emphasises severity, using arrows to conceptualise verbal attacks.

כִּי־חֲצִיךְ נָחֲתוּ בִּי

Psalm 38.2[3]: For your arrows have sunk into me.

כִּי חֲצִי חַדִּי עִמָּדֵי אֲשֶׁר חֲמָתָם שָׁתָה רוּחִי

Job 6.4: For the arrows of the Almighty are in me; my spirit drinks their poison.

וַיִּפְרוּ חֲצִים לֹאִין מִרְפָּא

1QH 10.26: They loose off arrows without any cure.

Thus, various methods map intensity to the distressing situation. Further, this source domain maps to a broad target domain including illness and verbal attack.

Finally, distress problematised as enemies firing arrows is solved by destroying the weapons of war, as in Psalm 37.15.

חֶרֶבָם תִּבּוֹא בְּלִבָּם וְקִשְׁתֹּתָם תִּשְׁבְּרֶנָּה:

Psalm 37.15: Their sword shall enter their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.

f) Swords

Elsewhere, swords appear in the attack part of the script, often paralleled with arrows (as in Psalm 7.12[13] and 37.14). However, some distinctives of sword metaphors utilise the Hebrew cognitive and cultural background.

Two types of swords were used, one with a curved blade for slashing at the enemy, the other being a shorter double-edged sword for stabbing, but both referenced by חֶרֶב.⁸⁶⁰ In most verses, swords conceptualise oppressors' words, fitting the use of swords when both assailant and victim are within arm's reach of each other. There is less surprise than for bow and arrow.

Again premeditation is emphasised. Psalm 7.12[13] pictures the enemy 'sharpening' (יִלְטֹשׁ) a sword in preparation for attack, whereas in Psalm 64.2-3[3-4] and 1QH 13.13-15 a different verb describes the tongue being sharpened (שָׁנַן) like a sword.

חֶרְבוֹ יִלְטֹשׁ קִשְׁתּוֹ דֶּרֶךְ וַיְכַוְנֶנָּה:

Psalm 7.12-13[13-14]: He sharpens his sword; he has bent his bow and prepared it.⁸⁶¹

תַּסְתִּירֵנִי מִסּוֹד מְרַעִים מִרְגֵּשֶׁת פִּעְלֵי אֹן: אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנוּ כַּחֶרֶב לְשׁוֹנָם דְּרָכּוֹ חֲצָם
דְּבַר מָר:

Psalm 64.2-3[3-4]: Hide me from the secret plots of the wicked, from the scheming of evildoers, who whet their tongues like swords, who aim bitter words like arrows.

⁸⁶⁰ O. Kaiser, 'חֶרֶב', *TDOT* V:155-165, 155.

⁸⁶¹ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 97.

ותצל נפש עני במעון אריות אשר שגנו כחרב לשונם 14 ואתה אלי
סגרתה בעד שניהם פן יטרפו נפש עני ורש ותוסף לשונם 15 כחרב אל תערה
בלוא כר[תה נפש עבדכה

1QH 13.13-15: And you rescued the life of the afflicted in the den of lions, whose tongue is like a sharpened sword. And you, O my God, you shut their teeth, lest they tear apart the life of the poor afflicted. And their tongue was drawn back like a sword to its sheath, lest it [dest]roy the life of your servant.⁸⁶²

Elsewhere, distress itself is an encounter with the opponent's sword. In Psalm 144.11[10-11] the attacking sword is explicitly 'evil' (רָעָה), and in Psalm 55.21[22] the hapax legomenon פְּתָחוֹת presumably refers to a drawn sword or knife.⁸⁶³

מִחֶרֶב רָעָה: פָּצְנִי וְהַצִּילֵנִי מִיַּד בְּנֵי־נָכָר אֲשֶׁר פִּיהֶם דְּבַר־שָׁוְא וַיְמִינֵם יָמִין שֶׁקֶר

Psalm 144.11[10-11]: Rescue me from the cruel sword, and deliver me from the hand of aliens, whose mouths speak lies, and whose right hands are false.

רַבּוֹ דְּבָרָיו מְשָׁמֵן וְהֵמָּה פְּתָחוֹת:

Psalm 55.21[22]: His words were softer than oil, but in fact were drawn swords.

Two verses resolve the sword attack problematisation of distress. In 1QH 13.15 (cited above), the tongue is withdrawn like a sword into its sheath. In Psalm 37.15 (cited above), the enemies' swords more dramatically pierce their own hearts.

g) Military Battle

Sometimes distress is being beset by a more comprehensive attack force than a single individual. Job, especially, conceptualises the intensity and duration of his suffering as a whole army attacking. Elsewhere, this image conceptualises several people causing distress (Psalm 3.1[2], 69.4[5] and 27.1). The number and strength of these foes are highlighted.

יְהוָה מִה־רַבּוֹ צָרִי רַבִּים קָמִים עָלַי:

⁸⁶² Kittel, *Hymns*, 85.

⁸⁶³ Tate, *Psalms*, 54.

Psalm 3.1[2]: O LORD, how many are my foes! Many are rising against me;

רַבּוֹ מִשְׁעָרוֹת רֹאשֵׁי שָׁנָאִי חָנָם עֲצָמוֹ מִצְמִיתִי אִיבֵי שָׁקָר

Psalm 69.4[5]: More in number than the hairs of my head are those who hate me without cause; many are those who would destroy me, my enemies who accuse me falsely.

בְּקָרֵב עָלַי מְרַעִים לֶאֱכֹל אֶת־בְּשָׁרִי צָרִי וְאִיבֵי לִי הֵמָּה כְּשִׁלּוֹ וְנִפְּלוּ:

Psalm 27.2: When evildoers assail me to devour my flesh—my adversaries and foes—they shall stumble and fall.

The battle script's first stage has the army preparing by encamping around the petitioner (Job 19.12, 1QH 10.25-26 and Psalm 27.3), with a whole army ready to attack evoking both premeditating agents and intense anticipated distress.

יִחַד יָבֹאוּ גִדּוּדָיו וַיִּסְלּוּ עָלַי דֶּרֶכָם וַיַּחֲנוּ סָבִיב לְאַהֲלִי:

Job 19.12: His troops come forth all together. They have paved their road against me and have encamped around my tent.⁸⁶⁴

וְאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי חָנוּ עָלַי גִּבּוֹרִים סִבְבִּים בְּכָל 26 כָּלִי מִלַּחְמוֹתָם

1QH 10.25-26: I thought: heroes have set up camp against me, surrounding with all their weapons of war.

אִם־תִּתְּחַנֶּה עָלַי מִתְּחִנָּה לֹא־יִירָא לִבִּי אִם־תִּקְוִים עָלַי מִלְּחָמָה בְּזֹאת אֲנִי בּוֹטֵחַ:

Psalm 27.3: Though an army encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war rise up against me, yet I will be confident.

When the army attacks, this conceptualisation can highlight intensity (through the multiplicity of enemies), or the opponents' perceived co-ordination. In Job 16.10-13, God violently attacks Job, with the ungodly as an accompanying army. In Job 10.17 and 30.12-14 the multiplicity of foes conveys the intensity of suffering, inflicted by God through repeated changes of the troops (תְּחִיפוֹת וְצָבָא), or as a storm noisily 'rolling on' (תַּחַת שָׂאָה) (הַתְּנִלָּנָלוּ).

⁸⁶⁴ Gordis, *Job*, 196.

פָּעְרוּ עָלַי בְּפִיָּהֶם בְּחֶרֶף הִכּוּ לִחְיִי יַחַד עָלַי יִתְמָלְאוּן: יִסְגִּירֵנִי אֶל אֵל עוֹיֵל
וְעַל-יָדַי רָשָׁעִים יִרְטֵנִי: שָׁלוּ הַיָּיְתִי וַיִּפְרְפְּרֵנִי וְאַחֲזוּ בְּעַרְפִּי וַיַּפְצֹּצֵנִי וַיִּקְיֵמֵנִי לוֹ
לְמַטָּרָה: יָסֹבּוּ עָלַי רַבִּיו וַיַּפְלֹחַ כְּלִיּוֹתַי וְלֹא יַחֲמוּל יִשְׁפֹּךְ לְאַרְץ מִרְרָתִי:

Job 16.10-13: They have gaped at me with their mouths; they have struck me insolently on the cheek; they mass themselves together against me. God gives me up to the ungodly, and casts me into the hands of the wicked. I was at ease, and he broke me in two; he seized me by the neck and dashed me to pieces; he set me up as his target; his archers surround me. He slashes open my kidneys, and shows no mercy; he pours out my gall on the ground.

תַּחֲדָשׁ עֲרִידָה נִגְדִי וְתָרַב כַּעֲשָׂךְ עֲמָדֵי חֲלִיפּוֹת וְצָבָא עָמִי:

Job 10.17: You constantly send new witnesses against me and increase your hostility toward me; wave after wave of foes assails me.⁸⁶⁵

עַל-יָמִין פָּרַחַח יָקוּמוּ רַגְלֵי שְׁלַחוּ וַיִּסְלּוּ עָלַי אֲרָחוֹת אֵידָם: נָתַסּוּ נְתִיבָתִי לְהִנָּתִי
יַעֲיִלוּ לֹא עֶזֶר לָמוֹ: כְּפָרָץ רָחַב יֵאָתִיו תַּחַת שְׂאֵה הַתַּנְלָנָלוּ:

Job 30.12-14: On my right the young rabble rises, sending me sprawling and casting up against me their destructive ways. They hedge my path with thorns, they promote my calamity with no-one to restrain them. Like a wide torrent they rush in, like a storm they roll on.⁸⁶⁶

Psalm 109.2-3 pictures the opponents together attacking (וַיִּלְחַמוּנִי) with words, with חֲנָם again emphasising the unjustified nature. Lamentation 3.62 also highlights forceful words, as does Psalm 55 where the recurring theme of speech suggests that the 'battle' (קָרָב) in verse 18[19] is a verbal war.

כִּי בִי רָשָׁע וּפִי-מִרְמָה עָלַי פָּתְחוּ דְּבָרוֹ אֶתִּי לְשׁוֹן שֶׁקֶר: וְדִבְרֵי שִׁנְאָה סָבְבוּנִי
וַיִּלְחַמוּנִי חֲנָם:

⁸⁶⁵ Gordis, *Job*, 100.

⁸⁶⁶ Gordis, *Job*, 326.

Psalms 109.2-3: For wicked mouths, deceitful mouths have they opened against me, they have spoken to me with lying tongues, and surrounded me with hateful talk and attacked me without reason.⁸⁶⁷

שִׁפְתֵי קָמִי וְהִגִּינוּ עָלַי כָּל-הַיּוֹם:

Lamentations 3.62: The whispers and murmurs of my assailants are against me all day long.

פָּדָה בְּשָׁלוֹם נַפְשִׁי מִקֶּרֶב-לִי כִי-בָרְבִּים הָיוּ עֲמָדָי:

Psalms 55.18[19]: He will redeem me unharmed from the battle that I wage, for many are arrayed against me.

h) Summary

These mappings from the domain of conflict are summarised in the following table.

⁸⁶⁷ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 70.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Unarmed person</i> To go on living in peace	<i>Opponent</i> To attack, harm and possibly kill, by hand, sword or arrow	Deliberate premeditated attack	Serious harm and potential death
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To continue living in safety and security	<i>Enemies</i> To harm the self with words, and possibly more seriously, for their own benefit	Deliberate premeditated action	Serious harm and potentially complete destruction
Other Entailments: Greater number of attackers → Greater intensity of distress Pursuit of attackers → Deliberate actions of those causing distress to harm the self Deliberate actions taken to prepare to fight (bending the bow, drawing the sword) → Actions taken to prepare to cause distress Unsuspected nature of attack (for example, from ambush) → Unsuspected nature of distress Unjustified nature of attack → Unjustified nature of distress Being struck by arrows, blows or swords → Being accused by the words of others Cessation of attack (through broken bow or attacker turning away) → Relief from distress				

7.4.8. BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING THE FORCES OF NATURE

Next, distress is sometimes experiencing the powerful 'natural' forces of water, sea and wind. The cause of distress may be either the natural forces themselves (1QH 10.12), or extend further to God who owns and controls the natural phenomena (Psalm 42.7[8]) or puts the petitioner in their path (Job 30.22).

ועלי קהלת רשעים תתרגש ויהמו כנחשולי ימים בהרגש גליהם רפש 13 ושיט
יגרושו

1QH 10.12-13: And the assembly of the wicked is roused against me; they roar like the breakers of the seas: when their waves beat they spew out slime and mud.

תְּהוֹם-אֶל-תְּהוֹם קוֹרָא לְקוֹל צְנוּרֵיךָ כָּל-מִשְׁבְּרֵיךָ וְגִלְיָךְ עָלַי עָבְרוּ:

Psalm 42.7[8]: Deep calls to deep at the thunder of your cataracts; all your waves and your billows have gone over me.

תִּשְׂאֵנִי אֶל-רוּחַ תִּרְכִּיבֵנִי וּתְמַגְגֵּנִי תִשְׁנֶה:

Job 30.22: You snatch me up and make me ride on the wind, you dissolve me with a downpour.⁸⁶⁸

a) Torrents

Many references highlight the power of water, especially dry wadis (נַחַל) transforming into surging torrents following heavy rain. שֹׁטֶף describes these torrents surging and overflowing, sweeping everything away. It is normally used with water in a negative sense in the Bible.⁸⁶⁹ In Job 14.18-19, this and other powerful natural forces that transform the environment picture how powerfully God wears away human hopes.

וְאוֹלָם הָרֶ-נוֹפֵל יִבּוֹל וְצוּר יַעֲתֹק מִמָּקוֹמוֹ: אֲבָנִים שֹׁחֲקוּ מִיָּם תִּשְׁטֹף-סִפִּיחֶיהָ
עַפְר־אֶרֶץ וְתִקְנֹת אֲנוֹשׁ הָאֶבֶדָּה:

Job 14.18-19: Yet as a mountain slips away and erodes, and a cliff is dislodged from its place, as water wears away stone and torrents scour the soil from the land – so you destroy man's hope.⁸⁷⁰

In Psalm 124.4-5 the enemies' anger potentially drowns the petitioners in its flooding, syntactically emphasising intensity by repeating that the waters would pass over the 'neck' (נֶפֶשׁ), a life-threatening situation. 'Raging torrents' in 1QH 16.14-15 are probably those who verbally opposed the author's teaching. In Psalm 69, the image may evoke someone stuck in a muddy wadi, vulnerable to the rising rushing torrent. In Psalm 18.4[5] and the more apocalyptic sounding 1QH 11.29-30, the torrents of Belial exert a terrifying force.

⁸⁶⁸ Clines, *Job 21-37*, 931, following most other translations in finding a word for noisy water that fits the Ketiv, rather than trying to use the Qere.

⁸⁶⁹ V. P. Hamilton, 'שֹׁטֶף' TWOT.

⁸⁷⁰ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 278.

אָזִי הַמַּיִם שֶׁטְפוּנוּ נַחֲלָה עָבַר עַל־נַפְשֵׁנוּ: אָזִי עָבַר עַל־נַפְשֵׁנוּ הַמַּיִם
הַזֵּירוֹנִים:

Psalm 124.4-5: Then the waters would have swept us up, the torrent come up past our necks. Then it would have come up past our necks - the raging waters.⁸⁷¹

וַאֲנִי הֵייתִי לְ[ב]זִאֵי יְהִירוֹת 15 שׁוֹטְפִים כִּי גִרְשׁוּ עָלַי רַפְשִׁם

1QH 16.14-15: But I had become the mockery of the raging torrents for they threw their mire over me.

טָבַעְתִּי בִּינוֹן מְצוּלָה וְאֵין מַעֲמָד בְּאֶתִּי בְּמַעַמְקֵי־מַיִם וְשִׁבְלֶת שֶׁטְפָתִנִּי:

Psalm 69.2[3]: I am sinking in a deep swamp - and there is no foothold. I have reached the watery depths, and the current has swept me away.⁸⁷²

אַל־תִּשְׁטָפְנִי שִׁבְלֶת מַיִם וְאַל־תִּבְלַעְנִי מְצוּלָה

Psalm 69.15[16]: Let the waters' current not sweep me away and let not the deep swallow me.⁸⁷³

וְנַחֲלִי בְלִיעַל יִבְעֲתוּנִי:

Psalm 18.4[5]: The torrents of perdition assailed me.

וַיִּלְכּוּ נַחֲלֵי בְלִיעַל עַל כּוֹל אֲנָפִי רוּם כֹּאשׁ אוֹכֵלֶת בְּכוֹל שְׁנֹאבֵיהֶם לַהֲתֵם כּוֹל
עַץ לַח 30 וַיִּבֶשׁ מִפְּלִגֵּיהֶם

1QH 11.29-30: And the torrents of Belial will overflow all the high banks like a devouring fire in all their watering channels, destroying every tree, green or dry, from their canals.

b) Waves

Elsewhere, מְשַׁבֵּר ('breakers'), accesses the power of water, presumably prototypically the waves of the Mediterranean or Sea of Galilee. Explicit comparison with God's power in Psalm 93.4 shows these typically evoke powerful force. In Jonah 2.3[4], the literal waves passing over Jonah aptly symbolise his distress. The cause is clear as he emphasises they are

⁸⁷¹ Alter, *Psalms*, 444.

⁸⁷² Based on Tate, *Psalms*, 186 and Alter, *Psalms*, 236.

⁸⁷³ Alter, *Psalms*, 238.

God's breakers. Psalm 42.7[8] (cited above) is identical, though the context is much less specific. The phrase highlights the intensity of the psalmist's distress. In Psalm 88.7[8], the waves are powerfully 'squashing' the petitioner (עֲנִיתָ).⁸⁷⁴

וַתִּשְׁלִיכֵנִי מִצִּוְלָה בְּלִבְּב יָמִים וְנָהָר יִסְבְּבֵנִי כָּל־מִשְׁבְּרֶיךָ וְנִלְיָךְ עָלַי עָבְרוּ:

Jonah 2.3[4]: You cast me into the deep, into the heart of the seas, and the flood surrounded me; all your waves and your billows passed over me.

וְכָל־מִשְׁבְּרֶיךָ עֲנִיתָ סָלָה:

Psalm 88.7[8]: You have squashed (me) with all your waves.⁸⁷⁵

The Hodayot are even more vivid. In 1QH 14.22-24, waves (the enemies' opposition) are part of the extended conceptualisation of the sufferer as in a storm-tossed boat. In 1QH 16.31, the author's ailments are waves 'flying' against him, whereas in 1QH 17.3-4 the more serious waves of death surround the petitioner.

[והי]תי כמלח באוניה בזעף 23 ימים גליהם וכול משבריהם עלי המו רוח
עועיים] לאין] דממה להשיב נפש ואין 24 נתיבת לישר דרך על פני מים

1QH 14.22-24: I [have become] like a sailor in a ship in the raging seas: their waves and all their breakers roar over me, a whirlwind [without a] lull for taking breath, without a track to take a straight path over the surface of the water.

ויתעופפו עלי משברים

1QH 16.31: Breakers rush against me.

[...אפפוני] 4 משברי מות

1QH 17.3-4: The breakers of death [surround me].

The most prolific use of מִשְׁבְּרִים is in 1QH 11.7-18, uniting labour, sea travel and death or Sheol. Again they symbolise powerful forces, in childbirth and the more eschatological

⁸⁷⁴ Taking the 'press down' sense, following Tate, *Psalms*, 397.

⁸⁷⁵ Tate, *Psalms*, 394.

forces restraining the ‘wonderful counsellor’ and accompanying ‘deeds of terror’. 1QH 10.12-13 (cited above) does not use מְשַׁבְּרִים, but still conceptualises the opponents’ words as waves spewing mud.

אחיה בצוקה כמו אשת לדה מבכרית ... 8 ... כיא באו בנים עד משברי מות 9
והרית גבר הצרה בחבליה כיא במשברי מות תמליט זכר ובחבלי שאול יגית
10 מכור הריה פלא יועץ עם גבורתו ויפלט גבר ממשברים בהריתו החישו כול
11 משברים וחבל (נ)מרץ מולדיהם ופלצות להורותם ובמולדיו יהפכו כול
צירים 12 בכור הריה והרית אפעה לחבל נמרץ ומשברי שחת לכול מעשי
פלצות וירועו 13 אושי קיר כאוניה על פני מים ויהמו שחקים בקול המון ויושבי
עפר 14 כיורדי ימים נבעתים המון מים וחכמיהם למו כמלחים במצולות כי
תתבלע 15 כול חכמתם בהמות ימים ברתות תהומות על נבוכי מים ויתרגשו
לרום גלים 16 ומשבתי מים בהמון

1QH 11.7-18: I was in distress like a woman giving birth the first time ... For children come through the breakers of death and the woman expectant with a boy is racked by her pangs, for through the breakers of death she gives birth to a male, and through the pangs of Sheol there emerges, from the <<crucible>> of the pregnant woman a wonderful counsellor with his strength, and the boy is freed from the breakers. In the woman expectant with him rush all the contractions and the racking pain at their birth; terror (seizes) those expectant with them, and at his birth all the labour-pains come suddenly, in the <<crucible>> of the pregnant woman. And she who is pregnant with a serpent is with a racking pang; and the breakers of the pit result in all deeds of terror. The foundations of the wall shake like a ship on the surface of the sea, and the clouds thunder with a roar. Those who live on the dust, as well as those who sail upon the sea are terrified by the din of the water. For them their wise men are like sailors on the deeps, for swallowed up is all their wisdom by the roar of the seas. When the deep boils over the springs of water, they rush forth to form huge waves, 16 and breakers of water, with clamorous sound.

c) Storms

The force of storms (סַעַר), either at sea (as in Jonah) or as tempestuous winds on land (like the one that carried Elijah away), indicate ‘a danger deriving from something unstable,

something from which people want to save themselves'.⁸⁷⁶ Job 9.17 conceptualises Job as wounded by a stormy force, using **שׁוּף** and **פָּצַע** for the physical impact, whereas in Psalm 55.8-9 the enemies' speech is a stormy onslaught, intensified by the parallelism and the modifier **סַעָה** highlighting the wind's speed.

אֲשֶׁר־בְּשַׁעֲרָה יְשׁוּפָנִי וְהִרְבָּה פָּצַעַי חָנָם:

Job 9.17: For he crushes me with a tempest, and multiplies my wounds without cause.

אֲחִישָׁה מִפֶּלֶט לִי מְרוּחַ סַעָה מְסַעֵר:

Psalm 55.8[9]: I would hurry to find a shelter for myself from the raging wind and tempest.

In 1QH 21.6 the threat is a stormy wind, and 1QH 15.4-5 conceptualises internal distress as experiencing strong stormy forces (**רוּחַ עוֹעִיִּים** and **בּוּעָף חֲרִישִׁית**). Job 30.14-15 is difficult to interpret, but again portrays Job's distress as being impacted by various stormy forces. Finally, in 1QH 10.27-28, a sea storm conceptualises the author's opponents, with their words compared to a 'hurricane storm' (**נִפְץ זֶרֶם**) and upward heaving waves.

אִיכָה אַעֲמוּד לִפְנֵי רוּחַ סוּעַ[רָה וְאֲנִי יְכוֹנְנִי ב]

1QH 21.6: How can I stand firm before the hurric[ane? But me, he establishes me in ...]

וּתְכַמִּי עָלוּ כְּאֵנִיָּה בּוּעָף 5 חֲרִישִׁית וִיהֵם לְבִי לְכֹלָה וְרוּחַ עוֹעִיִּים תִּבְלַעֲנִי מִהוּוֹת
פִּשְׁעֵם

1QH 15.4-5: My entrails heave like a boat in the rage of the storm, my heart pulsates to destruction, a whirlwind swallows me, due to the destruction of their offence.

כְּפָרִץ רָחֵב יֵאָתִיו תַּחַת שְׁאָה הַתִּנְלָנְלוּ: הָהִפֵּךְ עָלַי בְּלָהוֹת תִּרְדֶּךָ כְּרוּחַ נִדְבָתִי
וּכְעָב עֲבָרָה יִשְׁעָתִי:

⁸⁷⁶ H.-J. Fabry, 'סַעָר', *TDOT* X:291-296, 294.

Job 30.14-15: Like a wide torrent they rush in, like a storm they roll on, terrors are turned loose upon me, my lofty rank is driven off like a wind, my high position passing like a cloud.⁸⁷⁷

וכהמון מים רבים שאון קולם נפץ זרם להשחית רבים למזורות יבקעו 28
אפעה ושוא בהתרומם גליהם

1QH 10.27-28: Like the din of turbulent water is the roar of their voices, like a hurricane storm which destroys many. Right up to the stars burst emptiness and deceit when their waves heave upwards.

1QH 13.18 solves this problematisation of distress as a storm by God restoring calm. Other ways of surviving such distress include finding shelter (Psalm 55.8[9], above) or standing firm by God's help (1QH 21.6, above).

ואתה אלי תשיב סערה לדממה

1QH 13.18: But you, my God, have changed the storm to a calm.

d) Wind

Other images of strong winds include Job as a windblown leaf (Job 13.25) or where he complains God made him ride the wind in Job 30.22 (cited above).

הַעֲלֵה נֶדֶף תַּעְרוֹץ וְאֶת־קֶשׁ יָבֵשׁ תִּרְדֵּף:

Job 13.25: Will you frighten a windblown leaf and pursue dry chaff?

These mappings can be summarised as follows:

⁸⁷⁷ Gordis, *Job*, 326.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Entity in the natural environment</i> To remain fixed in one place	<i>Water / Wind / Storm</i> To violently wash or blow away everything in its path	God is sometimes considered explicitly as the controller of wind and waves	Entity is damaged and swept away
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> To remain firm and in control	<i>Distressing experiences</i> To move the self against his/her will	May be God or more general causation	Self is damaged and no longer in control of life events
Other Entailments: Easing of the storm → Relief from distress Shelter or help to stand upright → Protection during distress				

7.4.11. BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPOSURE TO HEAT / FIRE

As well as Antagonist forces moving a restful Agonist, others try to cause a change of state for the Agonist. As in Mesopotamia, exposure to heat commonly conceptualises distress. Considering only physical symptoms in the Psalms, Van der Toorn notes that ‘most of the descriptions group themselves around the theme of heat and aridity’, linking them to feverish conditions’.⁸⁷⁸ Within the wider category of distress language, heat is no longer the most common image, but still significant.

First, internal heat may typify distress. Psalm 39.3[4], frames the petitioner’s distress as both heart-heat and burning fire. The context of pain (כָּאֵבִי) in verse 2[3] suggests the heart-heat here is not just building pressure to speak but emotional or physical distress.⁸⁷⁹ In Psalm 38.7[8] the sufferer’s ‘loins’ (כִּסְלִי) experience heat (נִקְלָה), and in Job 30.30 it is his ‘bones’ (perhaps his ‘core’) that burn. 1QH 16.30-31 also apparently describes sickness,

⁸⁷⁸ Van der Toorn, *Sin*, 63.

⁸⁷⁹ The same expression describes the emotional reaction on hearing of the death of a loved one (Deuteronomy 19.6).

elaborating the burning fire within the bones by modifying the fire with **בוער** to heighten the intensity, and utilising the ability of fire to spread (**ויפרח**) and consume (**תואכל**) greater areas.

חם-לבי בקרבי בהיני תבער-אש דברתי בלשוני:

Psalm 39.3[4]: My heart became hot within me. While I mused, the fire burned; then I spoke with my tongue.

כי-כסלי מלאו נקלה

Psalm 38.7[8]: For my loins are filled with burning.

ועצמי-חרה מני-חרב:

Job 30.30: My bones burn with heat.

**ויפרח כאש בוער עצור בע[צמי] עד ימימה תואכל של(ה) בתה 31 להתם כוח
לקצים ולכלות בשר עד מועדים**

1QH 16.30-31: And it grows like a searing fire enclosed in [my] bo[nes] whose flame consumes for days without end, devouring my strength by periods, and destroying (my) flesh by seasons.

Lamentations 1.13 explicitly links internal heat to an external heating force.

ממרום שלח-אש בעצמתי וירדנה

From on high he sent fire; it went deep into my bones;

Conceptualising distress as exposure to heat thus complements anger conceptualised as fire (Job 19.11, Psalm 89.46[47] and Lamentations 2.4).

ויחר עלי אפו

Job 19.11: He has kindled his wrath against me.

לנצח תבער כמו-אש חמתך:

Psalm 89.46[47]: How long will your wrath burn like fire?

שָׁפַךְ כָּאֵשׁ חֲמָתוֹ:

Lamentations 2.4: He has poured out his fury like fire.

Elsewhere the fiery force is not linked to anger. In Psalm 118.12 the surrounding enemies are a fire of thorns (a particularly intense, though short-lived fire),⁸⁸⁰ whereas in Psalm 66.12, fire is a general metaphor, linked to refining in verse 10.

סְבוּנֵי כְּדִבּוּרִים דִּעְכוּ כָּאֵשׁ קוֹצִים

Psalm 118.12: They surrounded me like bees, they were extinguished like a fire of thorns.⁸⁸¹

בָּאֲנִי-בָאֵשׁ וּבַמַּיִם וַתּוֹצִיאֵנוּ לְרִנָּה:

Psalm 66.12: We went through fire and water, but you brought us out to abundance.⁸⁸²

The behaviour of heated substances frequently maps to internal physiological behaviour, especially in descriptions of ‘melting hearts’, prototypically compared to wax. Thus, **מֹסַס** is prototypically framed against a usually solid substance, changing it to an abnormal state. By contrast, English *melt* is prototypically framed against the ice-water transition, reverting to normality from an abnormal state. Thus, if someone’s heart *melts* in English it is viewed positively, but in Hebrew this transition is negative. Psalm 22.14[15] exemplifies this conceptualisation, describing both the self poured out like water, and the internal melted heart. 1QH 12.33 adds that the melting is like wax ‘in front of’ (**מִלְפָּנֵי**) the fire, and in 1QH 22.14 it is prompted by the prevalence of sin.

כַּמַּיִם נִשְׁפָּכְתִּי וְהַתְפָּרְדּוּ כָּל-עֲצָמוֹתַי הָיָה לִבִּי כְּדֹוֹנָנִי נֶמֶס בְּתוֹךְ מַעֵי:

Psalm 22.14[15]: I have been poured out like water, and all my bones have become disjointed; my heart was like wax; it melted within my innards.⁸⁸³

וַיִּמַּס לִבִּי כְּדֹוֹנָנִי מִפְּנֵי אֵשׁ

1QH 12.33: My heart has melted like wax in front of the fire.

⁸⁸⁰ Deist, *Culture*, 148.

⁸⁸¹ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 119.

⁸⁸² Tate, *Psalms*, 145.

⁸⁸³ Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, 195.

ולבבי כדונג ימס על פשע וחטאה

1QH 22.14: And my heart melts like wax on account of offence and sin.

1QH 16.32-33 alternatively has the heart (לִבִּי) poured out and the flesh (בְּשָׂרִי) melting like wax. In Psalm 107.26, the life-breath (נִפְשִׁי) melts on stormy seas. These similar images with various melting elements show this conceptualisation is well entrenched, being elaborated differently in different contexts, rather than just being copied. Psalm 119.28 may also be related, with דִּלְחִי suggesting the dripping of liquid, here applied to the melted נִפְשִׁי.

כי נשבת מעוזי מגוייתי וינגר כמים לבי וימס 33 כדונג בשרי ומעוז מותני היה
לבהלה

1QH 16.32-33: For my vitality has left my body, my heart pours out like water, my flesh melts like wax, the vitality of my loins turns into listlessness.⁸⁸⁴

נִפְשִׁי בְּרָעָה תִּתְמוּנָה:

Psalm 107.26: Their life-breath melted away in their calamity.⁸⁸⁵

דִּלְפָּה נִפְשִׁי

Psalm 119.28: My being dissolves in anguish.

This idiom may reflect a particular cultural image. At least three activities involved wax ‘in front of the fire’: separating wax from honey,⁸⁸⁶ heating wax to cover writing tablets; and the ‘lost wax’ process to create moulds for metallic objects,⁸⁸⁷ known as early as the 4th millennium B.C.E. in Palestine.⁸⁸⁸ ‘Lost wax’ casting involves making a wax model of a desired object, covering it with fine clay and placing in the fire. The clay bakes into a hard mould, but the wax inside melts and pours out, leaving space for the molten metal. The solid

⁸⁸⁴ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, 183.

⁸⁸⁵ Based on NRSV and Alter, *Psalms*, 386.

⁸⁸⁶ E. Neufeld, ‘Apiculture in Ancient Palestine (Early and Middle Iron Age) Within the Framework of the Ancient Near East’, *UF* 10 (1978) 219-247, 238.

⁸⁸⁷ Petty, ‘So Work the Honey Bees: The Introduction of Apiculture as an Assertion of Royal Legitimacy’ presented at ASOR Annual Meeting (held in Boulder, 2001), 4.

⁸⁸⁸ Roaf, *Atlas*, 126.

wax melting within another object exposed to heat, and then pouring out, coheres closely with these metaphors.

This becomes a conventional idiom for apprehension in battle, as in Joshua 2.11, 5.1 and 7.5, 2 Samuel 17.10, Deuteronomy 1.28 and 20.8, or for response to a theophany, as in Ezekiel 21.7[12], Isaiah 13.7 or Nahum 2.10[11]. The War Scroll also refers to melting hearts several times (1 QM 1.14, 8.10 and 14.5-6). **מִסָּס** and **מִוִּיג** may thus have originated as semi-technical holy war vocabulary.⁸⁸⁹ Nevertheless, they do help make sense of battle experiences, describing ‘the subjective side of things, the interior feeling of fear created by panic from outside’.⁸⁹⁰

וְדַגְלֵי הַבָּנִים יִהְיֶה לְהַמֵּס לִבָּב וְגִבּוֹרֶת אֶל מֵאֲמִצַּת לְ[בָב בְּנֵי אֹר]

1QM 1.14: There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God's might will strengthen the heart of the sons of light].

קוֹל אֶחָד תְּרוּעַת מִלְחָמָה גְּדוֹלָה לְהַמֵּס לִב אֹיֵב

1QM 8.10: a single blast, a deafening war alarm, to melt the heart of the enemy.

וּלְהָרִים בְּמִשְׁפַּט 6 לִב נִמָּס

1QM 14.5-6: in order to raise up in justice the melting heart.

This mapping is summarised in the following table:

⁸⁸⁹ D. J. McCarthy, ‘Some Holy War Vocabulary in Joshua 2’, *CBQ* 33 (1971) 228-230.

⁸⁹⁰ McCarthy, ‘Vocabulary’, 230.

Domain	Agonist's Force Tendency	Antagonist's Force Tendency	Causation	Resultant Action
<i>Source</i>	<i>Wax / combustible entity</i> to remain solid or intact	<i>Fire</i> to burn, melt and destroy anything it contacts	Sometimes deliberate, but usually not explicit	The entity's structure is dissolved or destroyed
<i>Target</i>	<i>Self</i> to remain firm and emotionally stable	<i>Distressing experiences</i> to gradually consume the person until he or she is destroyed	Can be caused by an agent	The self is eventually consumed or dissolved by the distressing experiences
Other Entailments: Heat is a response to fire → Internal heat is a response to another's anger The fire spreads and consumes more of the entity → The distressing experiences consume more of the person The melted substance drains away, destroying the entity's integrity → The melted insides drain away removing the self's vitality				

7.4.12. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING TRAMPLED

The Agonist also changes state as a result of forceful impact when trampled underfoot, either in battle or as grapes in a winepress. In Psalm 7.5[6], רַמֵּס evokes the image of horses or people trampling someone into the ground. In Psalm 57.3[4] and 56.1-2[2-3], שָׁאֵף is traditionally rendered 'trample' because of cognate roots,⁸⁹¹ but possibly just means 'pant after'.⁸⁹² In Psalm 36.11[12], the foot (רֶגֶל) of the arrogant 'coming' to the sufferer potentially evokes trampling. In all these cases the agent is human. Lamentations 1.15 more specifically has being trodden in a winepress (גִּת דִּרְדָּה), with God as the agent.

יִרְדֹּף אֹיִב נַפְשִׁי וַיִּשָּׁג וַיִּרְמֹס לְאַרְצִי חַיִּי וּכְבוֹדִי לְעָפָר יִשְׁכֵּן

⁸⁹¹ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 983.

⁸⁹² P. Maiberger, 'שָׁאֵף' *TDOT* XIV:268-270, 269.

Psalm 7.5[6]: May the enemy pursue and overtake me, trample to earth my life, and make my glory dwell in the dust.⁸⁹³

חֶרֶף שְׁאָפִי

Psalm 57.3[4]: He will put to shame those who trample on me.

חָנְנִי אֱלֹהִים כִּי־שְׁאָפְנִי אֲנוּשׁ כָּל־הַיּוֹם לֶחֶם יִלְחָצְנִי: שְׁאָפּוּ שׂוֹרְרֵי כָּל־הַיּוֹם
כִּי־רַבִּים לִחְמִים לִי

Psalm 56.1-2[2-3]: Be gracious to me, O God, for people trample on me; all day long foes oppress me; my enemies trample on me all day long, for many fight against me.

אֶל־תְּבוֹאֲנִי רֶגֶל גָּאֹנָה

Psalm 36.11[12]: Do not let the foot of the arrogant tread on me.

גַּת דְּרֶךְ אֲדֹנִי לְבִתּוּלַת בַּת־יְהוּדָה:

Lamentations 1.15: The Lord has trodden as in a wine press the virgin daughter Judah.

Here, distress is a force which also evokes the VERTICALITY schema. The sufferer is both down and experiencing a violent force.

7.4.13. BEING IN DISTRESS IS CARRYING A WEIGHT

Finally, the opposing force may be something heavy, weighing down the petitioner. In Psalm 38.4[5] and Lamentations 1.14 the petitioner's own sins (פְּשָׁעִי / עֲוֹנֹתִי) are heavy, causing an emotional response, a rare occasion where something internal causes distress. Conversely, in Job 6.2-3 it is his 'vexation' and 'calamity' (כָּעֲשִׁי וְהָוֹתִי), originating externally from God, that is weightier than he can bear.

כִּי עֲוֹנֹתַי עָבְרוּ רֹאשִׁי כַּמָּשָׂא כָבֵד יִכָּבְדּוּ מִמֶּנִּי:

Psalm 38.4[5]: For my iniquities have gone over my head; they weigh like a burden too heavy for me.

נִשְׁקַד עַל פְּשָׁעֵי בִידּוֹ יִשְׁתָּרְגּוּ עָלָיו עַל־צָוָאֲרֵי הַכְּשִׁיל כָּחִי

⁸⁹³ Alter, *Psalms*, 19.

Lamentations 1.14: My transgressions were bound into a yoke; by his hand they were fastened together; they weigh on my neck, sapping my strength.

לֹא שָׁקוֹל יִשְׁקַל כְּעֵשִׂי וְחֻמֵּי יִשְׁאוּ-יָחַד: כִּי-עָתָה מְחוּל יָמַי
יִכְבֵּד

Job 6.2-3: “O that my vexation were weighed, and all my calamity laid in the balances! For then it would be heavier than the sand of the sea.

Lamentations 3.7 explicitly highlights the heaviness of the chains holding the petitioner. Similarly Psalm 32.4 and Job 23.2 (cited in section 6.4.7.c) highlight the ‘heaviness’ of God’s hand in descriptions of distress.

הַכְבִּיד נְחֻשְׁתִּי:

Lamentations 3.7: He has put heavy chains on me;

Less clearly, Psalm 88.7[8] has God’s wrath squashing the petitioner, and Psalm 55.4[5] has ‘terrors of death’ falling on the petitioner, suggesting an unexpected weight. Finally, Psalm 66.11 also suggests something heavy weighing on the person through the use of מוֹעֲקָה, a hapax legomenon but presumably linked to יַעַק, ‘press’.⁸⁹⁴

עָלֵי סִמְכָה חֲמַתְךָ וְכָל-מִשְׁפָּרֶיךָ עָנִיתָ

Psalm 88.7[8]: Your wrath has come down on me, you have squashed (me) with all your waves.⁸⁹⁵

וְאִימוֹת מָוֶת נָפְלוּ עָלַי:

Psalm 55.4[5]: The terrors of death have fallen upon me.

שָׁמַת מוֹעֲקָה בְּמַתְגִּינוּ:

Psalm 66.11: You put affliction on our backs.⁸⁹⁶

⁸⁹⁴ Tate, *Psalms*, 146.

⁸⁹⁵ Tate, *Psalms*, 394.

⁸⁹⁶ Tate, *Psalms*, 145.

These examples show the common conceptualisation of distress as experiencing weight, but several different abstract entities exert the weight (sin, calamity, wrath, affliction, or terrors), showing the degree to which this conceptualisation is entrenched and thus available to be elaborated.

7.5. Further Evidence

This FORCE schema is clearly a significant conceptual framework for understanding distress, uniting several metaphors, including fragmenting forces, gripping forces, moving forces that may come towards or forcefully move the Agonist, the force of aggressive animals, the force of attack from enemy opponents, heating forces, the force of water or wind, the force of heavy weights and the force of being trampled underfoot. The following sections use Lakoff and Johnson's criteria to quantify this significance.

7.5.1. Generalisations over Polysemy

The primary evidence for a structured conceptual metaphor are generalisations over polysemy. Here, the diverse roots evoking forceful interaction and the experience of physical, social, psychological or emotional distress give good examples. These generalisations are sufficiently entrenched to highlight different perspectives on the distress experience, to cover several different parts of the scenario, and to be embedded throughout different parts of speech.

First, the schema's entrenchment is seen in the different *perspectives* afforded by polysemous forceful roots. Several focus on experiencing a violent physical force (נכה 'to strike', סער 'to storm', טרף 'to tear with teeth', דחה 'to push violently' or אחז 'to grip'). Another group emphasises the petitioner's resultant state (שבר 'to break', רכא 'to crush', מוס 'to melt' or פרק 'to tear apart'). Still others focus on the trajectory of the force (בוא 'to come', שלך 'to throw', נהג 'to lead', נדה 'to drive', נשא 'to lift'). These various perspectives enable sufferers to highlight different aspects of their distress, such as the perceived cause and strength of the distress or on the feelings it has aroused. Further, these roots evoke different manners of forceful interaction, whether violent, sudden, prolonged,

intense, destructive, personal or impersonal, enabling sufferers to give nuanced perspectives on their own circumstances.

Second, various *parts* of the distress scenario are highlighted across many images. For example, preparation to cause distress is understood as preparation to exert a force, whether hunting, pursuing, sharpening a sword, drawing a bow or gnashing teeth. That all these words fit physical domains and the distress domain again shows a generalisation over polysemy, and demonstrates the entrenchment of the metaphor. Another striking example is the number of ways that words are conceptualised as forceful entities, being something that can ‘crush’ (Job 19.2) or ‘break’ (Psalm 69.20[21]), and pictured as physical blows (Psalm 42.10[11]), the impact of an arrow (Psalm 64.3[4]) or sharpened sword (1QH 13.13), the tearing teeth of a lion (Palm 35.16), a torrent of rushing water (1QH 16.14-15) or powerful breakers spewing mud (1QH 10.12-13).

Finally, entrenchment is demonstrated by generalisations over polysemy across different parts of speech. As well as across verb roots, many prototypical force-exerting agents map onto agents of distress, including **אַרִי** ‘lion’, **נַחַל** ‘torrent’, **סַעַר** ‘storm’, **אֵשׁ** ‘fire’, and **אֹיִב** ‘enemy’. Nouns for implements that prototypically exert a violent force are also common, including **חֶרֶב** ‘sword’, **חֵץ** ‘arrow’, **שֵׁן** ‘tooth’ or **רֶגֶל** ‘foot’.

These generalisations over polysemy pervading the linguistic system, and covering much of the target scenario, give good evidence that the FORCE schema is both important and well entrenched in Hebrew for conceptualising distress.

7.5.2. Generalisations over Inference Patterns

Next, generalisations over inference patterns show that a conceptual metaphor maps inferential structure from physical domains to more abstract ones, demonstrating knowledge of forces being used to reason about distressing situations. Using Johnson’s gestalt structure for the FORCE schema (section 7.2.1), some inference patterns can be highlighted.

First, every force experience involves interaction. Conceptualising distress as force interaction, it is given external causation, usually by a personal agent, whether enemy, lion,

crusher, breaker or, more indirectly, God controlling the natural elements. Thus, sufferers do not just ‘become sick’. Rather, conceptualising illness as being ‘touched’ or ‘gripped’ highlights life as something experienced in interaction with other entities, divine and human. Thus, distress conceptualised as a force constrains the inference that there must be something or someone interacting with the sufferer.

Second and third, forces involve movement or direction, making entities follow a path of motion. Section 7.4.4 showed distress ‘coming’ towards someone, drawing ‘near’ and then ‘meeting’ or even ‘penetrating’ the person, conceptualising distress at varying distances away from the sufferer. The force quality constrains the inference that it will continue this trajectory until it reaches the sufferer. Similarly, when the Agonist is moved by a force, whether ‘driven’, ‘led’, ‘hurled’ or ‘swept away’, the motion trajectory of the distress-causing force impacts the sufferer, causing him or her to follow the same trajectory to new locations, an enforced movement evoking an externally caused scenario.

Fourth, forces have origins and can be directed by agents at targets. Usually, God or the petitioner’s opponents deliberately direct a force at the sufferer as target. The sufferer is rarely impacted by ‘random’ forces. Sometimes, agents use implements or direct other forces, as when the enemies’ words are arrows shot at the sufferer, or God’s breakers are the crushing element. The clearest examples of this inference are when the petitioner perceives himself as a ‘target’ (as in Lamentations 3.12 or Job 16.12-13, both with God as agent), inferring that his distress results from a rational entity’s deliberate choice to target him and cause harm.

As a corollary, agents may choose against directing forces at a target, or be restrained from doing so, as in descriptions of rescue or petitions for relief. Thus, God ended distress by shutting the lions’ mouths (1QH 13.14), or turning the storm to a calm (1QH 13.18), a greater force restraining a lesser one. Elsewhere, Job pleads for God to look away (Job 7.19, 9.34), asking God to redirect his force and end his distress.

Fifth, forces have degrees of intensity. This scalar property conceptualises distress through three different linguistic methods: modifying words or clauses; verb forms; and lexical variation. Sometimes intensity is expressed by a simple intensity modifier or modifying

clause, as in Psalm 38.3[9] (וַיִּנְדְּבִיתִי עַד־מָאֹד), or a clause giving the duration of the forceful interaction as in 1QH 13.17 (כּוֹל הַיּוֹם יִדְכָּאוּ נַפְשִׁי). Other modifiers express intensity by highlighting the size or extent of the force (גָּדוֹל כִּיָּם שִׁבְרֶךָ, Lamentations 2.14, or כָּל־מִשְׁבָּרֶיךָ וְנִלְיָךְ עָלַי עָבְרוּ, Psalm 42.7[8]) or showing that the force was exerted to the limit, as in Psalm 143.3 (דָּכָא לָאֶרֶץ חֵיתַי). Second, the infinitive absolute verb form may show intensity, as in Psalm 118.13 (יִדְחֶה יְדִחִיתִנִּי) or Lamentations 3.52 (צָרוֹנִי צוֹד). Finally, some roots evoke more intense interaction than others. Thus, רָצַח prototypically evokes more intense contact than נָגַע, and דָּכָא evokes more intense fragmentation than שָׁבַר. This lexical variation enables petitioners to choose roots that match the perceived intensity of their distress.

The sixth aspect is a possible sequence of causality. Inferences based on this can be seen, for example, in verses like Psalm 42.7[8] where the psalmist refers to ‘God’s waves’ passing over him. The immediate understanding of the distressing situation is as caused by the pounding of waves, but this pounding is itself caused by God who directs the waves.

Thus, all six aspects of force gestalt structure constrain inferences about distressing situations conceptualised via the FORCE schema, showing the importance of this schema for thinking about distressing situations.

7.5.3. Novel Metaphor

The FORCE schema is instantiated both in conventional and novel distress expressions, again showing how entrenched the conceptual metaphor is. Indeed, forceful physical contact is the most common way to conceptualise God interacting with humans to cause harm throughout Classical Hebrew narrative. Thus, God struck (נָכַח) the inhabitants of Sodom (Genesis 19.11) and Syrian invaders (2 Kings 6.18) with blindness, and the Egyptians with his ‘plagues’ (Exodus 3.20 and elsewhere).

נָנַע and שָׁבַר are both conventional nominal instances of the schema, used for illnesses and wounds in the corpus and other texts (as in Genesis 12.17 and 1 Kings 8.37 for נָנַע and Proverbs 16.18 and Nahum 3.19 for שָׁבַר). Both access the domain of physical contact ('touching' and 'breaking'). Among the verbs, אָחַז takes several different abstract agents (such as 'shuddering', 'affliction' or 'dread'), showing how conventional this word is for conceptualising distress.

At the other end of the conventional-novel scale, Job conceptualises himself as someone gripped by an aggressive agent and flung into the mud (Job 30.18-19), using highly poetic language, but accessing similar prototypical experiences of being gripped by a hostile entity. Here, the author creatively elaborates new expressions which can be understood because of the conventional mappings.

The forceful conceptualisation of words also occurs across the conventionality spectrum. 'Crushing' words (דָּכָא, Job 19.2) are at the conventional end, using a relatively common root in a simple syntactic frame. Conversely, mocking words as lions tearing and gnashing their teeth in Psalm 35.15-17 uses a vivid image, rare words and less standard syntax, demonstrating a more creative, novel use of the FORCE schema for a similar scenario.

7.5.4. Larger Scale Metaphorical Systems

Other evidence for conceptual metaphor comes from coherence with larger scale metaphorical systems. Here, at a larger scale, God's involvement with the world (whether for good or bad) is frequently understood as force interaction. God positively rescues distressed people by forcefully 'lifting' them to a positively-valued high destination. Similarly, in narrative, Exodus 19.4 describes the Exodus as being forcefully 'carried' (נָשָׂא) on eagles' wings. In 1 Kings 18.46, without a vertical sense, the hand of Yahweh is described as being forcefully on (אָחַז) Elijah, positively giving him supernatural strength, rather than causing distress as above.

Thus, God's relationship with humans is frequently characterised as force interaction. The examples in this chapter are understood negatively because of the choices of roots (often

those for violent actions), the aggressive agents exerting the forces, and the destinations to which enforced movement carries the subject.

7.5.5. Non-verbal Realisations

The fifth kind of evidence comes from non-verbal realisations. No clear examples of this have been found for the FORCE schema. Certainly there is no Israelite iconography showing sick humans in the hands of demons, as there is in Assyria. Neither are there rituals to remove God's hand as in the Akkadian texts.

7.6. Universality and Variation

7.6.1. Variation within Source and Target Domain

The most obvious observation here is the preference for the FORCE schema for conceptualising distress in each of English (shown by Kövecses' study of emotional distress), Akkadian (seen in section 7.3.2) and Hebrew (presented above). As well as this universal preference, there is both overlap and variation in the target domains conceptualised and in the specific source domains instantiating the FORCE schema.

First, the target domains introduced in this chapter are English illness, stress and emotion, Akkadian distress and Hebrew distress. Some life scenarios could fit all these target domains (such as an anxious emotional state). However, the prototypes differ. For English stress, psychological and emotional distress is prototypical; for illness, distress is prototypically physical, as it is for the Akkadian data; for Hebrew, prototypical distress is physical or social; whereas for Kövecses' data it is specifically emotional distress. Thus, lists of source domains do not exactly compare like with like, although they do indicate commonalities in language and thought. For example, the social force of words is significant in Hebrew, being elaborated by several different linguistic expressions in different source domains. However, such powerful words are outside the target domains for Kövecses and Helman.

With this caveat, the Hebrew source domains can be compared to those for English *stress* and emotions,⁸⁹⁷ as follows:

⁸⁹⁷ Kövecses himself does not distinguish metaphors for positive or negative emotions.

Hebrew distress	English stress (Helman)	English negative emotions (Kövecses)
Fragmenting force	Fragmenting force	
Wild animal		Wild animal
Opponent	Interpersonal force	Opponent
Heat		Heat
Wind and water		Natural force
Crushing force		(Opponent)
Heavy weight	Heavy weight	Burden
Gripping force		(Opponent)
Moving force / enforced movement		
	Wire or line	
	Chaos causing force	
	Malfunctioning machine	
	Inner explosion	Internal pressure
		Social force
		Mental force
		Insanity

Thus, several similar source domains instantiating the FORCE schema describe psychophysical experiences in Hebrew and English. Specifically, heavy weights and opponents conceptualise all three targets, whereas fragmentation, heat, wild animals and natural forces occur in Hebrew and one other list. Further, gripping and crushing forces are both subsumed under Kövecses' 'opponent'. The main source domain only found in Hebrew is distress as an approaching force, and indeed, these examples seem unusual to a native English speaker.

Helman noted that stress metaphors were based on artefacts and technology of everyday life: ‘machines, cars, batteries, electrical wires, strings, rubber bands, kettles, crockery and pottery’.⁸⁹⁸ Although wires, machines and kettles are (unsurprisingly) not used in Hebrew, the texts do use corresponding ‘artefacts and technology of everyday life’, such as grape presses, swords, arrows, and rods.

Even within overlapping source domains, this simple list hides differences. For example, both Hebrew and English conceptualise emotional distress using wild animals, with the self experiencing the force of a wild animal directed towards him or her. However, in English, the emotion itself is the wild animal, a force the subject can ‘rein in’ or ‘unleash’. In Hebrew, other people are wild animals, forcefully hunting and tearing the sufferer, reflecting the social emphasis in Hebrew, as opposed to the emotional and physiological focus of the English target domain. Similarly, in English, emotions themselves are opponents, natural forces or heat, whereas in Hebrew these forces map to external agents or situations.

The source domains also have different prototypes. Whereas Kövecses’ heat domain is prototypically structured around boiling water in a container, the prototypical heat in Hebrew is a fire. Further, since wax is the prototypical melting solid (compared to ice in English), entailments differ. In English, heat can positively generate ‘warm’ emotions and a heart ‘melting’ towards you, like ice returning to normality. However, with wax being normally solid, a Hebrew heating force that causes melting is unequivocally negative.

Different entailments of a ‘broken heart’ in English and Hebrew also reflect different prototypes. The English *heart* prototypically stands for feelings, so fragmentation affects these alone. In Hebrew, **לֵב** stands for feelings, thoughts, desires and will, so fragmentation is more serious, forcefully affecting feeling, thinking, deciding and controlling one’s life. Similarly, a ‘melting heart’ represents more comprehensive distress in Hebrew than English.

Comparing to Akkadian, domains again overlap. Source domains of fragmentation, gripping, heat, and opponents were all found. The key difference is the prototypical agent directing the

⁸⁹⁸ Helman, *Culture*, 314.

forces. In Hebrew, only God or other humans direct forces, whereas in Akkadian many more personal deliberate agents (demons and deities) can direct such forces.

The prototypical agents also differ between English and Hebrew. Helman noted a few English stress conceptualisations where other humans direct a force at the subject,⁸⁹⁹ however these are not prototypical, with either passives (*being churned up* or *under pressure*) or adjectives (*taut*, *tense*, *burnt out*) that minimise agency being much more common. For the Hebrew examples, the situation is reversed, with some passives (as in נִשְׁבָּרֵי לֵב or נָנִיעַ) and others with non-rational agents (including ‘days of affliction’, the ‘night’, ‘trouble’, ‘trembling’ or ‘dismay’), but prototypically an agent exerts the force, as in the large cluster of metaphors involving wild animals and opponents.

Thus, all three languages conceptualise distress as experiencing forces, but most significantly, what exerts the force differs. In English, prototypically the emotion or illness exerts force, in Akkadian it is the demon or deity responsible for the disease, whereas in Hebrew it is other people or God himself.

7.6.2. Variation in Linguistic Expression

Conceptual metaphors may also vary across languages in the linguistic expressions used, including the degree of elaboration of different parts of the metaphor, the conventionalisation of the linguistic expressions, and the syntactic expressions used.

First, the FORCE schema is elaborated more than the other schemas, having the largest number of different linguistic expressions. For example, the variety of roots evoking manner, resultant state or direction of the force is much greater than for the VERTICALITY schema or CONSTRAINT schema. The FORCE schema is also well-elaborated for stress and emotions in English, as shown by Kövecses’ and Helman’s data.

Comparing with Akkadian, a similarly elaborate set of verbs for physical contact are used in distress discourse, including touching, seizing, striking and gripping, and both languages fairly frequently use the expression ‘hand of ...’. In Akkadian these entail a personal agent

⁸⁹⁹ Helman, *Culture*, 315-316.

inflicting the force, and impel sufferers to find out which one it is. This entailment is not elaborated at all in the Hebrew texts, it is always clear who the perpetrator is.

The control of forces is also absent from Hebrew. Kövecses' study showed metaphors for controlling forces for almost every domain conceptualising English emotion. By contrast, in Hebrew there are only occasional pleas to God to shut the mouths of the lions or remove the rod, since the Hebrew forces are external and outside the petitioner's control. The elaboration in English also reflects the importance of controlling emotions in Western thought, for which there is little evidence in Hebrew.

Second, regarding conventionalisation, some of the most conventionalised Hebrew linguistic expressions use **אָדָּו** (shown by the various forceful subjects it collocates with), **נָנַע** (used both as a verb and a noun) and **שָׁבַר** (again both as verb and noun). In English, *stress* is one of the 'most pervasive – and multi-dimensional – folk illnesses of contemporary Western society',⁹⁰⁰ suggesting *stress* itself is a very conventional expression of this FORCE schema. This word also occurs as both verb and noun. Thus, both English and Hebrew have very conventional expressions of this schema. However, the Hebrew roots prototypically evoke a personal agent, whereas the word *stress* prototypically evokes mechanical systems and certainly does not need a personal agent. This suggests that while instantiations of the FORCE schema in English with personal agents are understandable, they are stylistically marked, and not as conventional as those with a hidden agent. For example, the English translation of Job 19.2 'you crush me with words' (with an explicit personal agent) is more stylistically marked than the more conventional phrase 'I felt totally crushed by what you said', which uses a very similar conceptualisation.

Third, the FORCE schema in Hebrew is cognitively accessed through various syntactic expressions, whether a single root like **אָדָּו** or **נָנַע** in a sentence with no other links to the schema or in longer multi-word phrases, using combinations of forceful verbs, prototypically powerful nouns and intensity modifiers, as in Psalm 124.4, **אֲזִי הַיָּמִים שֶׁטָּפוּנוּ נַחֲלָה עָבַר**

⁹⁰⁰ Helman, *Culture*, 314.

עַל-נִפְשִׁי. Similarly the single word *stress* accesses the force schema in English, as do longer phrases like *I felt like I had been run over by a truck*.

Contrasts occur in the syntactic expression of intensity. In English, intensity is often expressed through an adverb giving the extent to which the force is exerted: ‘thoroughly crushed’; ‘totally shattered’; or ‘completely stressed-out’. In Hebrew, this level of intensity is expressed through longer syntactic expressions, as in *עַד הַיּוֹם, כָּל הַיּוֹם*, or *עַד נִפְשִׁי*, or through other syntactic forms, like the infinitive absolute construction used in *יָחַד* *יָחַד*.

Thus, although Hebrew, English and Akkadian all conceptualise distress (whether physical, psychological, emotional, or social) with the FORCE schema, and share several individual source domains instantiating this schema, there are nevertheless several differences. Variations in the prototypical structure of source domains and target domains, in the different entailments, and in the different linguistic expressions, have confirmed Kövecses’ parameters of variation. More importantly, they show how inferences from conceptual metaphors can differ even when similar source and target domains are mapped.

7.7. Summary

This chapter established the FORCE schema as the most significant schema for conceptualising distress in the specific corpus. It is well entrenched, from simple verbs through to much more complex expressions, and is used to infer the cause of distressing situations, particularly their origin in a deliberate agent, and the intensity of distress. This conceptualisation of distress shares many similarities with the discourse of stress or emotions in English, and Akkadian illness discourse, but also many differences. Although each language conceptualises the subjective experience of various kinds of distress as experiencing force, the prototypical agents directing the force varies from language to language, and corpus to corpus. This understanding of the agency behind distressing situations, directing force at the experiencer, is one of the key variations between the languages considered, leading to different solutions for distress problematised linguistically in this way. In Akkadian, a multiplicity of personal agents coheres with the search for the true agent and a method to remove their touch. In English internal or non-specific agents (such as our own emotions) leads to solutions in terms of self-control or self-help. Finally, in

Hebrew, seeing God as the ultimate director of forces leads to solutions where he is asked to control his forces, or overpower other agents who are inflicting the sufferer.

In the next chapter, discussion turns from image schemas to primary metaphors, beginning with those based on sight, and especially darkness as a metaphor for distress.

Chapter 8: Distress and DARKNESS

'I go about in sunless gloom', Job 30.28

8.1. Introduction

The final two chapters concern primary metaphors rather than image schemas. A primary metaphor is 'grounded in the everyday experience that links our sensory-motor experience to the domain of our subjective judgments',⁹⁰¹ mapping different sense modalities to language. This chapter considers mappings from the sense of sight and begins by discussing the universal and cultural factors influencing vision, light and darkness, since even perception is influenced by language.⁹⁰²

8.2. Establishing the Source Domain

8.2.1. Physiological / Universal Factors

Lakoff and Johnson argue that 'many primary metaphors are universal because everybody has basically the same kinds of bodies and brains and lives in basically the same kinds of environments'.⁹⁰³ At least three universal factors are important here: visual physiology; environmental experience of night and day; and a possible physiological connection between darkness and negative emotion. Conversely, universal correlations between darkness and distress in early infancy are unlikely.

First, human visual physiology has universal effects on language and cognition.⁹⁰⁴ Vision differs from other senses in several ways, potentially affecting inferences when used in conceptual mappings. First, sight (and hearing) are 'distant' senses, enabling perception without direct contact, or even proximity, to the perceived entity.⁹⁰⁵ Second, vision can voluntarily focus on one stimulus within a multitude of input stimuli.⁹⁰⁶ Third, since light does not bend (as sound does), the visual field is often limited, potentially mapping to

⁹⁰¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 255.

⁹⁰² Recall section 2.2.3 and the following discussion.

⁹⁰³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 257.

⁹⁰⁴ As in colour term research, summarised in C. Goddard, *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 111-135.

⁹⁰⁵ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 39.

⁹⁰⁶ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 32.

‘control’ in a target domain, since entities within the limited visual field can often be controlled, whereas things outside are unknown and thus uncontrollable.⁹⁰⁷

Second, environmentally, both sunlight and lack of sunlight are universal experiences. Goddard suggests this diurnal experience is prototypical for understanding all experiences of light and dark. Thus, the darkness inside a cave is ‘like’ situations where the sun is not shining.⁹⁰⁸ Although such night-time darkness may be prototypical for *dark* in English, it is not prototypical for the darkness used for English emotional distress (*gloomy* is more common), nor are words for prototypically ‘night-time’ darkness used in distress metaphors in the other languages considered below.

Even the daily experience of sunlight differs across the globe, affecting how this domain is structured. Day-length varies little in tropical regions, and daylight relatively quickly transitions to darkness. Conversely, polar regions experience winter days with no sunlight and summer days with no darkness. In between, long evenings have gradually decreasing light. This is reflected in language. Finnish *kaamos* refers specifically to the long midwinter darkness, and several words describe gradations of light. Further, words refer to the time of day without implying light levels. Thus *ilta* refers to roughly 6.00 – 9.00 p.m. without reference to darkness. Conversely, in Papua New Guinea, words for ‘night’ as a time period are rarely distinguished from more abstract ‘darkness’, so that in Gadsup (a non-Austronesian language of the Eastern Highlands) both are *ayafum*,⁹⁰⁹ and there is also no clear intensity scale for darkness. Thus, night and day are not conceptualised identically across the globe, despite the universal experience of its rotation.

Third, lack of sunlight and emotional distress are potentially physiologically related. Seasonal Affective Disorder (SAD) describes a depressive condition found in higher-latitude regions during winter months. The human brain produces melatonin during dark periods, with the level depending on the darkness’s duration,⁹¹⁰ perhaps contributing to negative emotional responses during dark periods. Certainly, light therapy works as effectively as

⁹⁰⁷ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 33.

⁹⁰⁸ Goddard, *Analysis*, 128.

⁹⁰⁹ N. Bokawa, 2009

⁹¹⁰ S. H. Snyder, J. Borjigen and P. Sassone-Corsi, ‘Discovering Light Effects on the Brain’, *American Journal of Psychiatry* 163 (2006) 771.

drugs in treating this negative emotional condition,⁹¹¹ so a universal physiological link between darkness and emotional experience is possible.

Fourth, primary metaphor research focuses on correlations of experience in early infancy as conceptual networks form in the brain and neurons ‘wire together’ as they fire simultaneously. This suggests investigating universal correlations between darkness and distressing emotions in this timeframe. However, the very situations motivating the posited universal primary metaphor AFFECTION IS WARMTH (being in the womb or held close to parents) are also dark, suggesting that any universal correlations between darkness and distress come from later cognitive development, from physiology or from cultural correlations passed on from generation to generation.

8.2.2. Culture-specific factors

Considering Hebrew specifics, this section focuses on ‘darkness’, investigating its role in the ancient Near East, places and entities prototypically associated with darkness in Hebrew, and then whether it is a scalar concept.

a) Darkness in the Ancient Near East

First, in Egypt, with the sun worshipped as the source of life, darkness opposes its power. Creation came from the darkness of the primeval ocean, and the daily cycle re-enacted the initial struggle of light against darkness, with light victorious at sunrise.⁹¹² In the Hymn to Aten, when the sun is absent, ‘darkness is a shroud, and the earth is in stillness, for he who made them rests in his horizon’.⁹¹³ The absence of the creator sun is like death, and his victory over death is celebrated in morning worship.⁹¹⁴ At death, consigning bodies to dark graves further consolidated the link between darkness and the underworld. Thus, darkness is negatively evaluated in Egypt, opposing the strongest divine power, and associated with death and the underworld.

⁹¹¹ R. W. Lam et al., ‘The Can-SAD Study: A Randomized Controlled Trial of the Effectiveness of Light Therapy and Fluoxetine in Patients With Winter Seasonal Affective Disorder’, *American Journal of Psychiatry* 163 (2006) 805-812, 810.

⁹¹² H. Ringgren, L. A. Mitchel and H. Lutzmann, ‘חֹשֶׁךְ’ *TDOT* V:245-259, 246.

⁹¹³ Pritchard, *ANET*, 370.

⁹¹⁴ C. J. Bleeker, ‘Some Remarks on the Religious Significance of Light’, *JANESCU* 5 (1973) 23-34, 26.

In Mesopotamia, darkness is similarly threatening, and opposed to the sun god. It is always viewed negatively. Darkness is the natural habitat for demons, who even bring darkness during daytime. The netherworld is called the ‘house of darkness’,⁹¹⁵ so darkness is again negatively valued and associated with death and harmful spiritual forces.

In Hebrew too, darkness is ‘uniformly negative in its import’.⁹¹⁶ Darkness is present from creation (Genesis 1.2), but there is no suggestion of conflict with God,⁹¹⁷ nor that this darkness is an attribute of God himself.⁹¹⁸ Rather, God demonstrated control by ordering the darkness, naming it, and putting it under the moon’s governance.⁹¹⁹ Throughout the Bible, darkness is always under God’s control.⁹²⁰

Several scholars see Hebrew ‘darkness’ (חֹשֶׁךְ) as a cosmic substance,⁹²¹ more than the absence of light.⁹²² Some verbs do conceptualise it as acting independently: ‘falling’ (נָפַל) on people; ‘covering’ (כָּסָה) them; or ‘destroying / silencing’ (צִמַּת) them; and ‘created’ by God in Isaiah 45.7 (בִּרְאָה חֹשֶׁךְ). This conceptualisation may affect inferences from the darkness domain, since a substance is not gradable in the same way as absence of light.

b) Prototypical Associations for Darkness

Several prototypical scenarios or locations are associated with Hebrew darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ), thus potentially evoked when darkness occurs in distress metaphors. First, darkness is associated

⁹¹⁵ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, ‘חֹשֶׁךְ’, 247.

⁹¹⁶ Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman, *Dictionary*, 191.

⁹¹⁷ Contra O. A. Piper, ‘Light, Light and Darkness’ in G. A. Buttrick (ed.), *The Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 130-132, 130, Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman, *Dictionary*, 191.

⁹¹⁸ Contra N. Wyatt, ‘The Darkness of Genesis 1.2’ in N. Wyatt (ed.), *The Mythic Mind: Essays on Cosmology and Religion in Ugaritic and Old Testament Literature* (London: Equinox Publishing, 2005), 92-101.

⁹¹⁹ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, ‘חֹשֶׁךְ’, 249.

⁹²⁰ Ryken, Wilhoit and Longman, *Dictionary*, 193.

⁹²¹ S. Aalen, ‘אֹר’ *TDOT* I:147-167, 156.

⁹²² Piper, ‘Light’, 130; Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, ‘חֹשֶׁךְ’, 248.

with Sheol, using several different words, including **חֹשֶׁךְ**, **אֶפֶל** and **צִלְמוֹת**.⁹²³ The netherworld association is thus common to Egypt, Mesopotamia and Hebrew. Second, darkness is associated with theophany, including God's covenant ceremony with Abraham (Genesis 15), at Sinai, and in the poetry of Psalm 18. Often, **עֲרַפֶּל** describes this kind of darkness. Third, darkness is the sphere of the wicked, who act at night. For example, Job 24.13-17, describes murderers and adulterers as 'friends with the terrors of deep darkness' (**יָכִיר בְּלִהוֹת צִלְמוֹת**). Fourth, darkness is prototypically associated with captivity and imprisonment. Fifth, blindness is understood as darkness, as in Isaiah 29.18, **וּמֵאֶפֶל** **וּמִחֹשֶׁךְ** **עֵינֵי עִוְרִים תִּרְאֶינָה** 'from gloom and from darkness, the eyes of the blind will see'. Finally, Job 28.3 refers to a mine's darkness.

All of these prototypes fit **חֹשֶׁךְ**, but **אֶפֶל** has near identical associations, including the night-time domain of the wicked, the netherworld, blindness and the mine. The adjectives **אֶפֶלָה** and **אֶפֶלִּי** more specifically evoke darkness as judgment.⁹²⁴ There is little evidence that **אֶפֶל** is associated with different situations, or with a greater intensity of darkness.

Three further metaphorical situations are understood as darkness: ignorance, evil and affliction. Ecclesiastes 2.14, for example, describes the wise as having eyes, but the fool 'walks in darkness' (**בְּחֹשֶׁךְ הוֹלֵךְ**). Evil and darkness contrast with good and light in Isaiah 5.20, and darkness as affliction is discussed below. These three metaphorical targets are not distinct, since a fool may experience the evil of affliction from the ignorant choices he makes, conceptualised as 'walking in darkness'. However, the three English domains show the breadth of this source domain in Hebrew.

⁹²³ Even if **צִלְמוֹת** does not derive from the folk etymology 'shadow of death', H. Niehr, 'צִלְמוֹת' *TDOT* XII:396-399, 397.

⁹²⁴ J. D. Price, 'אֶפֶל' *NIDOTTE* 1:479-481, 480.

c) Intensity of Darkness

Is darkness gradable in Hebrew? If so, it may conceptualise distress intensity. One approach is to investigate the words for degrees of darkness throughout the daily cycle. In Palestine ‘the light does not fade gradually after twilight. ... Within an hour, sunset has given way to the darkness of night’,⁹²⁵ suggesting few words for shades of darkness. However, as well as **יום** ‘day’ and **לילה** ‘night’, **ערב** describes the time as the sun prepares to set,⁹²⁶ contrasting with **בוקר** for the start of daylight. The light quality at dusk and dawn is described by **נֶשֶׁךְ עֲלֻטָה**.⁹²⁷ gives another perspective, and, though glossed by BDB as ‘thick darkness’,⁹²⁸ more accurately describes the ‘darkness that follows the setting of the sun’.⁹²⁹

ערפל is also glossed as ‘deep darkness’, but is unconnected to the daily cycle. Since cognates describe ‘thick clouds’,⁹³⁰ it likely evokes the darkness of stormy clouds. Mulder argues it evokes intensity because it describes the temple’s lightless interior (1 Kings 8.20).⁹³¹ However, the point may rather be that God’s dark cloudy dwelling is now in this thoroughly dark place. Price also claims it reflects ‘deep’ darkness,⁹³² but all his examples could equally reflect ‘cloudy’ or ‘obscuring’ darkness, an explanation fitting a possible derivation from **ערף**, ‘drop’ or ‘drip’.⁹³³

A possible intensity scale for darkness might also be entailed through modifiers, as for English *very dark*, or *thick*, *deep* or *pitch* darkness. However, verbs from **חשך** never have a modifier like **מאד**, nor do nouns have an intensifying modifier like **רב** or **גדול**. Only two

⁹²⁵ C. L. Feinberg, **אפל**, TWOT.

⁹²⁶ H. Niehr, **ערב**, TDOT XI:335-341, 335.

⁹²⁷ R. Wakely, **נֶשֶׁךְ**, NIDOTTE 3:191-196.

⁹²⁸ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 759.

⁹²⁹ J. D. Price, **עֲלֻטָה**, NIDOTTE 3:421.

⁹³⁰ H.-P. Mulder, **ערפל**, TDOT XI:371-375, 371.

⁹³¹ Mulder, **ערפל**, 373.

⁹³² J. D. Price, **ערפל**, NIDOTTE 3:421.

⁹³³ R. B. Allen, **ערף**, TWOT.

verses potentially suggest more intense darkness through a modifier. First, in Proverbs 20.20, someone is destined for חָשֵׁן חָשֵׁן (Kativ) or חָשֵׁן חָשֵׁן (Qere). The Kativ could suggest the ‘middle’ of the darkness,⁹³⁴ or darkness as of the pupil, whereas the Qere may mean something like ‘blackest’,⁹³⁵ or just the ‘approach of’ night.⁹³⁶ Thus, any potential evocation of intensity is far from certain.

Second, Exodus 10.22 describes the ninth plague as חָשֵׁן-חָשֵׁן. The syntax is unusual compared to Joel 2.2 and Zephaniah 1.15, both describing the day of Yahweh as חָשֵׁן וְחָשֵׁן (with a conjunction). Further, no other examples of חָשֵׁן, חָשֵׁן or חָשֵׁן clearly suggest increased intensity of darkness. חָשֵׁן may rather evoke a quality of darkness (other than its intensity), such as the fear it induces, or the punitive cause. Nevertheless, the Exodus text is important, since in 10.21 the phrase וַיִּמָּשׁ חָשֵׁן ‘and they feel darkness’ is the clearest biblical evocation of intense darkness, with the root מָשַׁשׁ also used for Isaac ‘touching’ Jacob to identify him.

Thus, although several Hebrew words describe daily gradations of darkness, there are no clear examples using modifiers to evoke intensity. Thus, if this source domain expresses distress intensity, it is more likely to be by lexical variation than through modifiers.

8.3. Comparative data

8.3.1. Contemporary Cross-Linguistic Comparisons

The contemporary comparisons focus on English, Finnish, Japanese (originating from high latitudes) and Bamu (from Papua New Guinea). First, in English, intellection is the most significant target domain conceptualised through the domain of vision,⁹³⁷ though not directly related to distress. Here, being *in the dark* conceptualises lacking knowledge, solved by

⁹³⁴ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 36.

⁹³⁵ *NET Bible* Second Beta edn. (Dallas: Biblical Studies Press, 1996-2003), 1074.

⁹³⁶ R. Wakely, ‘חָשֵׁן’ *NIDOTTE* 1:549-550, 549.

⁹³⁷ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 32-34.

shedding light or a *bright* person *illuminating* the situation.⁹³⁸ Thus, ideas are light-sources and discourse is a light-medium (which can be *opaque* or *clear*).⁹³⁹

Within distress language, several conventional expressions fit the conceptual metaphor DEPRESSION IS DARKNESS.⁹⁴⁰ General expressions include feeling *dark* or *blue*, but others liken depression to rainy or cloudy weather, as when experiences are *black clouds*, a cloud sitting over someone, or a *rainy day*. McMullen and Conway saw here ‘not only the sense of decreased clarity of consciousness and pervasively negative attitude and affect that are two hallmarks of depression, but also the not uncommon way of talking about depression as if it autonomously descends upon a person, that is, occurs independently of one’s will’.⁹⁴¹ Thus, in English, darkness again implies an external cause for depression, even though the domain might not suggest that at first sight.

Further, different ‘darkness’ words describe different negative emotional experiences. When someone looks at another *blackly*, angry sentiment is implied, and if they looked *darkly* there may also be an intent to ‘get even’. Conversely, if someone looks at another *gloomily*, they are sad or depressed, demonstrating that (fairly subtle) lexical variation in the source domain constrains different inferences in the target domain. *Gloomy* prototypically associates with dark, overcast clouds, dark forests or a night of particularly low visibility. The abnormality of gloominess (as for clouds darkening the sun’s light) may make it appropriate for sadness rather than anger. Alternatively, *gloomy* may link to the sad feelings prototypically evoked by an overcast sky (for English people at least).

Second, in Finnish,⁹⁴² many words describe darkness, especially *musta* ‘black’ and *pimeä* ‘dark’. *Pimeä* collocates with specific modifiers to express intensity: *sysipimeä* ‘coal black’; *säkipimeä* ‘black like inside a sack’; and *pilkkopimeä* (meaning inaccessible). Several words describe shades of darkness, including *hämäryys* ‘dusk, twilight’, *himmeä* ‘dim’, *harmaa* ‘grey’, *hämy* ‘gloom’, *hämärä* ‘dusky’ and *hämyinen* ‘shadowy, darkish’. *Kaamos*

⁹³⁸ Sweetser, *Etymology*, 40.

⁹³⁹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 48.

⁹⁴⁰ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’.

⁹⁴¹ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’, 170.

⁹⁴² Finnish language information provided by S. Meinander, 2009, P. Laihia and M. Laihia, 2009, and K. Sinnemäki, 2009.

describes the long winter darkness, and *synkkä* evokes the darkness of a stormy autumn night (*synkkä yö*), a forest of tall trees (*synkkä metsä*), or very thick clouds (*synkkä taivas*). Both *kaamos* and *synkkä* describe emotional distress. *Kaamosmesennus*, ‘kaamos depression’ was described as SAD above. *Synkkä* is more general, so that someone with a *synkkä mieli* ‘blue mood’ is unhappy or hopeless, they may be having *synkät ajatukset* ‘depressing thoughts’, experiencing a *synkkä hetki* ‘dark moment’, and so may *kulkea synkän näköisenä* ‘mope around’. More intense emotion is expressible with a standard modifier, as in *hyvin synkkä mieli*, a ‘very’ hopeless mood. Thus, as in English, a word prototypically linked to dark weather maps onto an emotion similar to ‘sadness’. A mind that is *musta* (‘black’) may also be hopeless, but also suggests someone holding a grudge. Again this parallels English, with a more general dark word having overtones of resentment.

Third, Japanese *kurai* prototypically evokes night-time darkness, that of a cloudy day, or in a cave.⁹⁴³ *Yami* refers to more intense darkness, and the compound *kurayami* to the greatest intensity. Another quality is given by the Chinese character pronounced *in* in *inki* (‘dark spirit’), describing shadows, or sunless places, as in a cave or closed cupboard where something is kept hidden from sight. When applied to people, *kurai* ‘dark’ conventionally describes an emotional state similar to English ‘sad’, ‘depressed’, ‘anxious’ or ‘worrying’, so that ‘*kurai yo?*’ is a normal way of asking someone if they are anxious. Describing someone as having *inki* ‘shadowy spirit’ means they have an anxious character, or are ‘sad’ or ‘gloomy’. The opposite is *youki*, someone with a bright or sunny character (*taiyou* refers to the sun). A longer idiomatic phrase cohering with these conventional linguistic descriptions, is *an-un ga tachikomeru* ‘it is crowded with dark clouds’, describing a depressing situation affecting an area, creating uncertainty and anxiety. Again, specifically words for dark weather phenomena describe emotions of ‘sadness’.

Fourth, to provide a tropical contrast, in Bamu, the word *duwo* means ‘night’, and more abstract darkness (as under the shade of a tree) is a reduplicated form *duwoduwo*. Unusually intense blackness, often associated with a supernatural cause is *sisibo*. There is no distinct word for twilight, just ‘morning’ *duwoduwo* and ‘afternoon’ *duwoduwo*. Intensity can be marked by the clitic *-ia*, so that *duwoduwoya* describes intense darkness. Dark objects are described as *gare’e* or *garegare*, as for the speakers’ dark skin. Interestingly, these speakers do not use light and darkness for moral qualities at all, at odds with Bleeker’s typology of

⁹⁴³ Japanese language information provided by K. Fukunaga, 2009.

light in world religions.⁹⁴⁴ Where these words apply to people in any way, they can only refer to physical appearance.⁹⁴⁵

Though selective, these contemporary comparisons from four unrelated language families illustrate several features to compare with Hebrew. First, all three languages from high latitudes (Japanese, Finnish and English) have a well-entrenched, conventional expression of sadness related to darkness, each using a word more prototypically evoking dark weather than night-time darkness. Does Hebrew have a similar expression? Second, these three languages map intensity of darkness to emotional discourse, using the scalarity of the darkness source domain to structure the emotional target domain. Is this possible in Hebrew? Finally, in English and Japanese at least, both conventional words and more syntactically complex idioms cohere with the same conceptual mapping from darkness to negative emotion. Do the Hebrew texts also show this variation?

8.3.2. Ancient Near Eastern Comparisons

Many ancient Near Eastern cultures also conceptualise distress through darkness, with examples in Egypt, Mesopotamia and Greece, showing different entailments of the metaphorical mappings depending on other aspects of the culture.

In Egypt, darkness signified disaster,⁹⁴⁶ as in the three-day plague of darkness (Exodus 10.21-23), a very serious omen for a country where the sun god demonstrated his supremacy over creation by bringing daylight every morning. Further, darkness ‘served as a metaphor for affliction and separation from the gods’,⁹⁴⁷ with light and darkness signifying health or suffering, corresponding to the sun-god’s bestowal, or otherwise, of light and life.

In Mesopotamia, darkness is associated with demons, whose grip caused most sickness, making it a natural source domain for sickness metaphors. Darkness surrounds a sick person, or afflicts his body. As an entailment, the sick person can ask a god to ‘pluck out his

⁹⁴⁴ Bleeker, ‘Remarks’, 27.

⁹⁴⁵ Bamu language information from P. Carr, 2009.

⁹⁴⁶ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, ‘**אֲשֶׁר**’, 246.

⁹⁴⁷ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, ‘**אֲשֶׁר**’, 247.

darkness', when asking for relief.⁹⁴⁸ Further, greater risk (from demon attack, and thus sickness) is inferred during darkness. The moon kept demons at bay during the night, and Shamash banishes them during daytime. However, new moons and eclipses, when light is very limited, are very dangerous. Anyone might be vulnerable to the unimpeded arbitrary attack of demons, against which there is no magical incantation.⁹⁴⁹

Mesopotamian body idioms also associate distress and darkness. Gruber cites Akkadian expressions of the 'sad person's gloomy countenance',⁹⁵⁰ including *pānū ukkulū* 'the face is darkened', *zīmī ukkuliš šūwū* 'change the countenance to darkness', and *būnū uttū* 'darken the face'. However, these may not be best described as English 'sadness'. The first describes Enkidu's assailant in a dream,⁹⁵¹ with no evidence this being is 'sad'. The second is the friend's description of the sufferer in the Babylonian theodicy,⁹⁵² who has described his predicament as 'anguish' and 'trouble' rather than 'sadness'. The third comes from a boundary stone, in context reading, 'May Sin, the lord of the crown, darken for him his shining face'.⁹⁵³ Thus, both the latter examples do conceptualise distress as a darkened face, if not specifically 'sadness'. Mitchel more accurately asserts that, in Mesopotamia, faces are said to darken in threatening situations.⁹⁵⁴

Blackness in the internal organs is also a Mesopotamian concern, indicating fatal illness. However, in contrast to Greek humoral theories, this blackness is a result of an external (usually supernatural) cause, rather than the cause of the problem itself.⁹⁵⁵

In ancient Greece, blackness conceptualises illness in discussion of 'melancholia'. Humoural theory linked melancholia to excess black bile (as the etymology suggests), which threw a shadow over one's thoughts, impairing the ability to think. In terms of productivity, this

⁹⁴⁸ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, '𒍪𒍪𒍪', 247.

⁹⁴⁹ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, '𒍪𒍪𒍪', 248.

⁹⁵⁰ Gruber, *Aspects*, 364.

⁹⁵¹ Gilgamesh, VII iv, 17-18, in Dalley, *Myths*, 88.

⁹⁵² Line 15, Arnold and Beyer, *Readings*, 180.

⁹⁵³ Gruber, *Aspects*, 364.

⁹⁵⁴ Ringgren, Mitchel and Lutzmann, '𒍪𒍪𒍪', 247.

⁹⁵⁵ M. J. Geller, 'Phlegm and Breath - Babylonian Contributions to Hippocratic Medicine' in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Disease in Babylonia* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 187-199, 192.

metaphor ‘captured not only the sense of darkness-induced fear, gloom, or dejection experienced by sufferers of melancholia, but also the clouding of thought, consciousness, and judgment that was a dominant characteristic’.⁹⁵⁶

This well-entrenched conventional use of darkness was used to reason about melancholia. For example, the medicinal remedy of black hellebore was suitable because of the colouring.⁹⁵⁷ However, black bile does not actually exist, with the origin maybe traceable to the idea that “‘black” or “dark” intestines conveyed a feeling of depression’, found in Homer and other ancient Greek texts.⁹⁵⁸ This example shows how a simple conceptual mapping can have a profound impact on thought and practice for a long time, even when not based in reality.

Thus, there are two important ancient motivations for a conceptual metaphor linking darkness and physical, mental or emotional distress. One is the cultural association of darkness with spiritual powers opposed to those of light and life. The other is an embodied motivation associating darkness in body parts with emotional or physical distress. These motivations may also be evident in the Hebrew texts.

8.4. Presentation and Analysis of Hebrew Mappings

8.4.1. BEING IN DISTRESS IS DARKNESS IN PART OF THE BODY

Metonymic mappings are considered first, where a physiological aspect of distress (such as a ‘dark face’) stands for the distress scenario itself. These may motivate more metaphorical expressions, such as ‘sitting in darkness’.

Most frequently, eyes are darkened in distress. Sometimes, the darkness is evoked by impaired vision, without a word for darkness. Several different roots and syntactic constructions express this aspect, showing its entrenchment within the language. Although outside the specific corpus, Psalm 69.23[24] associates darkened eyes (using חָשַׁךְ) with distress desired for the enemies.

⁹⁵⁶ McMullen and Conway, ‘Depression’, 168.

⁹⁵⁷ Stol, *Epilepsy*, 27.

⁹⁵⁸ Stol, *Epilepsy*, 31.

תְּחַשְׁכְּנָה עֵינֵיהֶם מִרְאוֹת

Psalms 69.23[24]: Let their eyes be darkened so that they cannot see.

Psalms 38.10[11] evokes darkness through losing the ‘light of my eyes’ (אֹרֶרְעִי) in an illness context. Such loss is also implicit in Psalm 13.3[4], where light must be returned to the eyes to avoid death. 1QH 15.2-3 claims impairment to both vision and hearing from experiencing distressing evil, with שָׁעַע evoking something ‘smeared over’ or ‘closed up’.⁹⁵⁹

There is no suggestion in any of these verses that this visual impairment results from tears.

לִבִּי סָחָרָתָר עֲזָבָנִי כִחִי וְאֹרֶרְעִי נִסְתָּהֵם אֵין אִתִּי:

Psalms 38.10[11]: My heart throbs, my strength fails me; as for the light of my eyes – it also has gone from me.

הָאִירָה עֵינִי בְּאִשָּׁן הַמָּוֶת:

Psalms 13.3[4]: Give light to my eyes, or I will sleep the sleep of death,

שָׁעַע עֵינֵי מִרְאוֹת 3 רַע אֲזוֹנִי מִשְׁמוֹעַ דְּמִים

1QH 15.2-3: My eyes are blind from having seen evil, my ears, through hearing the shedding of blood.

English translations of Psalm 88.9[10] and Job 17.7 suggest darkened or ‘dim’ eyes. כָּהָה in Job 17.7 describes the dimly burning flame of Isaiah 42.3 and the condition of Isaac’s eyes in Genesis 27.1, as well as the cursed eyes of the worthless shepherd in Zechariah 11.17. It certainly suggests weakened vision. In Psalm 88.9[10], דָּאֵב may be more accurately ‘fainting’ or ‘wearying’,⁹⁶⁰ describing eyes that have been watching too long for God’s salvation and seeing no response.⁹⁶¹ However, it again suggests difficulty in vision during distress. 1QH 13.34 and Psalm 6.7[8] both use עָשָׂשׁ for the eyes’ condition as a result of grief (כָּעַס). Although translated as ‘blinded’ or ‘wasted away’, the collocation with עֵצָמִי

⁹⁵⁹ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 1044.

⁹⁶⁰ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 178.

⁹⁶¹ J. Goldingay, *Psalms: Volume 2, Psalms 42-89* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 651.

in Psalm 31.10 shows it is more general than just blindness. These four verses all show impairment to vision resulting from emotional distress, and all explicitly attribute the eyes' problems to sorrow or affliction using מֵן. These verses possibly conceptualise tears draining away the body's life force and thus weakening the eyes,⁹⁶² but only Psalm 6.7[8] mentions tears in the context. It is equally likely that these verses should be processed along with those above as references to the eyes' diminishing power or light in distress.

וַתִּכְהַ מִכְעַשׁ עֵינַי וַיִּצְרֵי כָצֵל כָּלָם:

Job 17.7: My eye has grown dim from grief, and all my members are like a shadow.

עֵינַי דָּאֲבָה מִנִּי עָנִי

Psalm 88.9[10]: My eye grows dim through sorrow.

כִּי עָשָׂשׁוּ מִכְעַס עֵינַי וּנְפָשִׁי בַמְרוֹרֵי יוֹם

1QH 13.34: For my eyes are blinded by the grief and my soul by the bitterness of the day.

עָשְׂשָׂה מִכְעַס עֵינַי עֲתָקָה בְּכָל-צוֹרָי:

Psalm 6.7[8]: My eyes waste away because of grief; they grow weak because of all my foes.

In 1QH 13.32, the face (פָּנִי) rather than the eyes is darkened, using the verb חָשַׁךְ and nouns אַפְלָה and מִשְׁחֹרַר to comprehensively describe the darkness. This supports also reading darkness of the eyes in line 34 (above).

וַיִּחְשַׁךְ מְאוֹר פָּנַי לְאַפְלָה וְהוֹדִי נֶהֱפַךְ לְמִשְׁחֹרַר

1QH 13.32: The light of my face has become gloomy with deep darkness, my countenance has changed to gloom.⁹⁶³

Other verses use קָדַר. According to Schmoldt, 'the main meaning is "be dark, gloomy, dirty"',⁹⁶⁴ prototypically describing the sky or the stars, as in the sky darkened by clouds and

⁹⁶² Collins, 'Physiology'.

⁹⁶³ Martínez and Tigchelaar, *Scrolls*, 173.

⁹⁶⁴ H. Schmoldt, 'קָדַר', *TDOT* XII:518-520, 518.

wind in 1 Kings 18.45. When predicated of people, it is usually translated ‘mourn’ in English, although used for more situations than English mourning (prototypically linked to grief following someone’s death). This extension to ‘mourning’ may be motivated by the blackening by ashes used in penitential rites,⁹⁶⁵ or a mourner’s black (or dirty) clothes,⁹⁶⁶ but equally could be based on a ‘gloomy’ facial expression,⁹⁶⁷ or the ‘darkened eyes’ metonymy described above. The physiological association of dark weather with negative emotion could also be a motivation. Clines claims that gloominess ‘cannot be substantiated’, preferring to see a literal description of black clothes,⁹⁶⁸ but his reasoning uses the verses listed below which can equally be understood as an emotional disposition. Further, the cross-cultural comparisons suggest a word like this for negative emotions.

Frequently, the root occurs as a participle with הָלַךְ, describing the petitioner’s condition as he ‘walks’ (Psalms 38.6[7], 42.9[10] and 43.2). Job 30.28 has identical syntax to Psalm 38.6[7], but the additional modifier that there is no ‘sun’ (חֲמָה) leads the NRSV to translate as walking in ‘sunless gloom’ rather than ‘mournfully’. Each verse could describe walking around with a countenance or emotional state like a dark sky, with Job 30.28 reaffirming this state by denying the opposite. His emotional frame is like a darkened sky, not a sunny one.

כָּל־הַיּוֹם קָדַר הִלַּכְתִּי:

Psalm 38.6[7]: All day long I go around gloomily.⁹⁶⁹

לָמָּה־קָדַר אֵלַי בְּלַחַץ אוֹיֵב:

Psalm 42.9[10]: Why must I walk about gloomily because the enemy oppresses me?”

לָמָּה־קָדַר אֶתְהַלֵּךְ בְּלַחַץ אוֹיֵב:

Psalm 43.2: Why must I walk about gloomily because of the oppression of the enemy?

קָדַר הִלַּכְתִּי בְּלֹא חֲמָה

Job 30.28: I go about in sunless gloom.

⁹⁶⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, 394.

⁹⁶⁶ Brown, Driver and Briggs, *Lexicon*, 871.

⁹⁶⁷ Schmoldt, ‘קָדַר’, 519.

⁹⁶⁸ Clines, *Job 21-37*, 959.

⁹⁶⁹ *Mournfully* is changed to *gloomily* in each verse.

In 1QH 13.31, the phrase **קדרות לבשתי** ‘I am clothed in darkness / dressed in black’ apparently more clearly refers to donning dark mourning clothes. However, the immediately preceding physiological context of a heart in turmoil and subsequent physiological reference to the tongue sticking to the palate, suggests even this is not literal. **לבש** actually describes several emotional experiences: being clothed in desolation (**יִלְבֹּשׁ שְׁמָמָה**, Ezekiel 7.27); shame (**יִלְבֹּשׁ בִּשְׁת**, Job 8.22, Psalm 35.26); trembling fear (**יִלְבֹּשׁ חֲרָדוֹת**, Ezekiel 26.16); or humiliation (**יִלְבֹּשׁ כְּלָמָה**, Psalm 109.29), all using qal forms of the verb and the emotion noun without any preposition. The Qumran verse has nearly identical syntax, so could easily express the author’s emotional state (something like ‘clothed with gloominess’) rather than his apparel. Jeremiah 8.21 again uses a qal perfect of **קדר** in a context suggesting a distressed emotional state.

ויהם עלי לבי קדרות לבשתי ולשוני לחרך תדבק וסבבוני בהוות לבם

1QH 13.31: My heart is in turmoil within me. I am clothed in gloominess and my tongue sticks to (my) palate, because they surrounded me with the calamity of their heart.⁹⁷⁰

על־שֶׁבַר בַּת־עַמִּי הַשְּׁבַרְתִּי קִדְרַתִּי שְׁמָה הִחַזְקַתִּנִּי:

Jeremiah 8.21: For the hurt of my people I am hurt, I am gloomy, and dismay has taken hold of me.

This section has demonstrated three possible embodied motivations for darkness distress metaphors, showing responses to distress described as a darkened face, impaired (or darkened) vision, or darkness of the person himself or herself.

8.4.2. BEING IN DISTRESS IS PROTOTYPICALLY SUFFERING IN THE DARK

Other texts make night-time or evening suffering particularly salient. Again this is a metonymic conceptual mapping, where distress suffered in the dark stands for the more general experience of distress.

⁹⁷⁰ Author’s translation.

In Psalm 59.6[7], enemies attack at evening, and in Psalm 11.2[3] the wicked shoot in the dark (אָפֶל). It is also the ‘evening’ (עֶרֶב) that continues until dawn twilight (נֶשֶׁךְ) that gives the ‘nights of misery’ (לַיְלֹת עֲמָל) Job complains of in Job 7.3-4. A similar sleepless night is highlighted in Psalm 77.6[7], during which the author is troubled (verse 4[5]) and meditates on how God has spurned him (verse 7[8]). In Job 30.17, the night is a more active aggressor, piercing Job’s bones (עֲצָמֵי נֶקֶר).

יָשׁוּבוּ לְעֶרֶב יִהְיוּ כְּכֶלֶב וְיִסּוּבּוּ עִיר:

Psalm 59.6[7]: Each evening they come back, howling like dogs and prowling about the city.

כִּי הִנֵּה הָרָשָׁעִים יִדְרֹכּוּן קֶשֶׁת כּוֹנֵנוּ חֲצֵם עַל-יָתֵד לִירוֹת בְּמוֹ-אֶפֶל לִישְׁרֵי-לֵב:

Psalm 11.2[3]: For look, the wicked bend the bow, they have fitted their arrow to the string, to shoot in the dark at the upright in heart.

כֵּן הִנַּחֲלֹתִי לִי יְרַחֵי-שָׁוָא וְלַיְלֹת עֲמָל מִגֹּד־לִי: אִם-שָׁכַבְתִּי וְאָמַרְתִּי מָתִי אָקוּם
וּמִדֶּד-עֶרֶב וְשָׁבַעְתִּי נְדָדִים עַד־נֶשֶׁךְ:

Job 7.3-4: So I am allotted months of emptiness, and nights of misery are apportioned to me. When I lie down I say, ‘When shall I rise?’ But the night is long, and I am full of tossing until dawn.

אֲזַכֶּרָה נִגִּינָתִי בַלַּיְלָה עִם-לִבִּי אֲשִׁיחָה וַיִּחַפֵּשׁ רוּחִי:

Psalm 77.6[7]: At night I remember my songs, I ponder in my heart, and my spirit seeks an answer.⁹⁷¹

לַיְלָה עֲצָמֵי נֶקֶר מַעֲלֵי וְעַרְקֵי לֹא יִשְׁכָּבוּן:

Job 30.17: The night pierces my bones, and those who gnaw me take no rest.⁹⁷²

Night-time suffering is mentioned elsewhere, but explicit parallels with daytime suffering suggest these evoke continual suffering rather than giving particular salience to the night. Examples are in Isaiah 38.12 and Psalm 77.2[3].

⁹⁷¹ Tate, *Psalms*, 268.

⁹⁷² Clines, *Job 21-37*, 931.

מִיּוֹם עַד-לַיְלָה תִּשְׁלִימֵנִי:

Isaiah 38.12: From day to night you bring me to an end;

בְּיוֹם צָרָתִי אֶדְנִי דָרַשְׁתִּי יְדִי לַיְלָה נִגְרָה וְלֹא תַפּוּיג מֵאַנְהָה הַנַּחֲחִם נַפְשִׁי:

Psalms 77.2[3]: In the day of my trouble I seek the Lord; in the night my hand is stretched out without wearying; my soul refuses to be comforted.

Darkness is also mentioned when the sufferer considers death, suggesting again the cognitive salience of darkness during distress. In Job 10.21-22, descriptions of netherworld darkness are piled up, culminating with even the light there being darkness. Job 17.13 is a simpler parallelism of Sheol with darkness.

בְּטָרָם אֵלַי וְלֹא אָשׁוּב אֶל-אֶרֶץ חֹשֶׁךְ וְצִלְמוֹת: אֶרֶץ עִיפָתָה כָּמוֹ אִפְל צִלְמוֹת
וְלֹא סְדָרִים וְחַפֵּעַ כָּמוֹ-אִפְל:

Job 10.21-22: Before I go – I shall not return! – to the land of darkness and deep shadow, the land of gloom like blackness, of deep shadow without order, where the light is as darkness.⁹⁷³

אִם-אֶקְוֶה שְׂאוּל בֵּיתִי בַחֹשֶׁךְ רַפְּתִי יְצוּעִי

Job 17.13: If I look for Sheol as my house, if I spread my couch in darkness.

All these verses show a metonymic mapping in which suffering in darkness is a salient part of the author's distressing experience.

8.4.3. BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING IN A DARK PLACE

Moving to conceptual metaphors, the main metaphor is that being in distress is being located in a dark place. First, Psalm 107 depicts those dwelling in darkness (צִלְמוֹת, חֹשֶׁךְ) as one of four prototypes of distress elaborated in the Psalm.

יֹשְׁבֵי חֹשֶׁךְ וְצִלְמוֹת אֲסִירֵי עֲנִי וּבְרָזָל:

Psalms 107.10: Some sat in darkness and in gloom, prisoners in misery and in irons,

⁹⁷³ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 216.

יוֹצִיאֵם מִחֹשֶׁךְ וּצְלָמוֹת וּמוֹסְרוֹתֵיהֶם יִנָּתֵק

Psalms 107.14: He brought them out of darkness and gloom, and broke their bonds asunder.

A dark location is also often ascribed to the wicked or desired for the authors' enemies. Job's friends frequently locate the wicked in darkness, implicitly suggesting that 'darkness' appropriately conceptualises Job's current condition. In Job 15.20-35, Eliphaz uses darkness (verses 22, 23 and 30) for the destination of the wicked in this life (given the context of living in reduced circumstances) and at death. The 'day of darkness' (יּוֹם־חֹשֶׁךְ) in verse 23 may connote death, causing present anxiety,⁹⁷⁴ but if taken with verse 24, the terrifying effect of the day of darkness parallels being overwhelmed by distress (צָר) and anguish (מְצוֹקָה),⁹⁷⁵ suggesting a day of darkness before death.

לֹא־יֵאֱמִין שׁוֹב מִנִּי־חֹשֶׁךְ וְצָפוּי הוּא אֶל־חֶרֶב:

Job 15.22: He cannot hope to escape the darkness; he is marked down for the sword.⁹⁷⁶

נִדְרָהּ הוּא לְלֶחֶם אֵיזָה יָדַע כִּי־נִכּוֹן בְּיָדוֹ יוֹם־חֹשֶׁךְ:

Job 15.23: They wander abroad for bread, saying, 'Where is it?' They know that a day of darkness is ready at hand.

לֹא־יִסּוּר מִנִּי־חֹשֶׁךְ יִנָּקֵתוּ תְּנִיבֵשׁ שְׁלֵהֶבֶת וְיִסּוּר בְּרוּחַ פִּי:

Job 15.30: They will not escape from darkness; the flame will dry up their shoots and their blossom will be swept away by the wind.

In Job 18.5-6 and 18, Bildad's references to darkness more clearly evoke death, especially the end of the family line, with verse 19 suggesting that the darkness of verse 18 is partly about having no descendants to go on giving light in the world. In Job 12.24, Job says God strips leaders of understanding, so that in verse 25 their 'groping in the darkness'

⁹⁷⁴ Gordis, *Job*, 164.

⁹⁷⁵ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 341.

⁹⁷⁶ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 341.

(יִמְשְׁשׁוּ-חֹשֶׁךְ) expresses both their inability to plan wisely and the consequent distress that befalls them. In each verse darkness is evoked by the most general term, חֹשֶׁךְ.

גַּם אוֹר רְשָׁעִים יִדְעֶךָ וְלֹא-יִנָּה שְׂבִיב אֲשׁוּ: אוֹר חֹשֶׁךְ בְּאֶהְלִי וְנִרְו עָלָיו יִדְעֶךָ:

Job 18.5-6: Surely the light of the wicked is put out, and the flame of their fire does not shine. The light is dark in their tent, and the lamp above them is put out.

יִהְדָּפוּ מֵאוֹר אֶל-חֹשֶׁךְ וּמִתֵּבֵל יִנָּדְחוּ:

Job 18.18: They are thrust from light into darkness, and driven out of the world.

יִמְשְׁשׁוּ-חֹשֶׁךְ וְלֹא-אוֹר נִיתָעַם כְּשֹׁכָר:

Job 12.25: They grope in the dark without light; he makes them stagger like a drunkard.

Considering the specific corpus, darkness is sometimes conceived as an independent agent of distress, sometimes as an entity used by other agents. First, sometimes darkness exists without referring to external agents or causes, as in 1QH 17.26-28, paralleling a dark situation (חֹשֶׁךְ) with a constricted soul and inflicted wound. Similarly, Eliphaz describes Job as overwhelmed by darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ) in Job 22.11. Psalm 88.18[19] concludes the psalm with the word מְחֹשֶׁךְ, summarising the whole plight as 'darkness'. In Job 30.26, the darkness (אֶפֶל) is even given some agency of its own, 'coming' (בָּא) towards Job. This verse gives context for verse 28 (cited above) in which Job is walking 'darkly' (קִלְרָ) without sun, demonstrating further that the meaning is not about being dressed in black.

כִּי מֵאוֹר מְחוּשָׁךְ 27 הָאִירוּתָהּ לִי ... מִחַן מַכְתִּי וּלְמַכְשׁוּלֵי גְבוּרַת פֶּלֶא וּרְחוּב
28 עוֹלָם בְּצֶרֶת נַפְשִׁי

1QH 17.26-28: For from darkness you make a light shine for [me, ... the wound] inflicted on me, my weakness to wonderful force, the constriction of [my] soul to everlasting expanse.

אֶל-חֹשֶׁךְ לֹא-תִרְאֶה

Job 22.11: (Sudden terror overwhelms you) or darkness so that you cannot see

הִרְחַקְתָּ מִמֶּנִּי אֱהָב וְרַע מִיָּדַעִי מִחֹשֶׁךְ:

Psalms 88.18[19]: You have caused lover and companion to stay away from me; my close friends - darkness!⁹⁷⁷

כִּי טוֹב קִוִּיתִי וַיָּבֹא רָע וַאֲחִלָּה לְאוֹר וַיָּבֹא אֶפֶל:

Job 30.26: But when I looked for good, evil came; and when I waited for light, darkness came.

Job 23.17 also has darkness as an independent entity, using both אֶפֶל and חֹשֶׁךְ. The Hebrew text is difficult, because of the apparent contradiction between being both not destroyed by the darkness and having darkness covering Job's face. However, the first colon may mean Job has been destroyed by darkness, whether by giving an emphatic meaning for לֹא,⁹⁷⁸ or omitting it altogether.⁹⁷⁹ Although neither is totally satisfactory, it makes more sense if the darkness annihilating (נִצְמָתִי) Job conceptualises his distress, further described as gloom (אֶפֶל) in front of his face. This verse thus gives the greatest agency to darkness.

כִּי־לֹא נִצְמָתִי מִפְּנֵי־חֹשֶׁךְ וּמִפְּנֵי כֶסֶה־אֶפֶל:

Job 23.17: For I am annihilated by darkness and thick darkness covers my face.⁹⁸⁰

More frequently, the sufferer's dark location results from a premeditating agent. Thus, in Psalm 44.19[20], God covered the community in 'deathly darkness' (בְּצִלְמוֹת), whereas in 1QH 13.33 it is the author's enemies wrapping him in the same darkness (וַיִּשְׁכּוּ בְעֵדִי). In both, darkness has been brought to the petitioner's location.

כִּי דָבִיתָנוּ בַּמָּקוֹם תַּנִּים וַתִּכַּס עָלֵינוּ בְּצִלְמוֹת:

Psalms 44.19[20]: Yet you crushed us in the place of jackals and covered us with deathly darkness.⁹⁸¹

⁹⁷⁷ Tate, *Psalms*, 394.

⁹⁷⁸ Gordis, *Job*, 263.

⁹⁷⁹ Clines, *Job 21-37*, 581.

⁹⁸⁰ Clines, *Job 21-37*, 573.

⁹⁸¹ Basson, *Divine*, 162.

ויוספוה לצוקה וישוכו בערי בצלמות

1QH 13.33: But they have increased the narrowness and have wrapped me in darkness.

In Lamentations 3.2, the lamenter has been more aggressively forced against his will by God and driven (נהג) into darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ), taken to a new 'dark' location. Similarly, in Psalm 88.6[7], God has put the petitioner in a different, dark place. The plural form מַחְשָׁכִים is sometimes taken as an 'intensive plural' translated as 'great' or 'utter' darkness,⁹⁸² but the combination with plural מְצֻלוֹת, consistently translated as 'deep places' (rather than great depths) makes the identification as 'dark places' more likely. The same word in Psalm 143.3 and Lamentations 3.6 has the enemy or God making the petitioner sit in a dark place. Finally, Job 19.8 has God again as agent, bringing darkness (חֹשֶׁךְ) to Job's paths, obstructing his life journey. Thus, being in a dark place is frequently considered to be the result of an external agent (whether God or enemy), either bringing darkness to the sufferer or taking him to a dark place.

אוֹתִי נָהַג נִילָךְ חֹשֶׁךְ וְלֹא-אֹרֶךְ:

Lamentations 3.2: He has driven and brought me into darkness without any light.

שִׁתְנִי בְּבוֹר תַּחְתִּיּוֹת בְּמַחְשָׁכִים בְּמַצְלוֹת:

Psalm 88.6[7]: You have put me in the depths of the Pit, in the regions dark and deep.

כִּי רָדַף אוֹיֵב נַפְשִׁי וְדָפָא לְאַרְצָן חִתִּי הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי בְּמַחְשָׁכִים כְּמַתִּי עוֹלָם:

Psalm 143.3: For the enemy has pursued me, crushing my life to the ground, making me sit in darkness like those long dead.

בְּמַחְשָׁכִים הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי כְּמַתִּי עוֹלָם:

Lamentations 3.6: He has made me sit in darkness like the dead of long ago.

אֶרְחִי נָדַר וְלֹא אֶעְבּוֹר וְעַל נְתִיבוֹתֵי חֹשֶׁךְ יָשִׁים:

Job 19.8: He has walled up my way so that I cannot pass, and he has set darkness upon my paths.

⁹⁸² Tate, *Psalms*, 398, Goldingay, *Psalms II*, 649-650, Keel, *Symbolism*, 65.

The two words used most commonly are **חֹשֶׁךְ** and **צִלְמוֹת**, and there is no clear evidence of the intensity of darkness describing the situation's seriousness.

However, various other entailments are highlighted. First, distress conceptualised as darkness coheres tightly with relief conceived as receiving light, as in Psalm 18.28[29]. Psalm 43.3 also frames the plea for relief as a request for God to send his light and show the way out from the dark situation of distress and Psalm 56.13[14] describes rescue from distress as returning to a state of walking in the light. In Job 11.17, Zophar conceptualises Job's current distress as darkness, which on his restoration will appear only as morning light, compared to the 'midday' light of his renewed life. 1QH 17.26-28 (cited above) also shows relief as light.

כִּי־אַתָּה תֹאמִיר נְרִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יְגִיָּה חֹשֶׁךְ:

Psalm 18.28[29]: It is you who light my lamp; the LORD, my God, lights up my darkness.

שְׁלַח־אוֹרְךָ וְאַמְתֵּךְ הַמָּוֶה יִנְחֹנֵנִי יְבִיאֵנִי אֶל־הַר־קֹדֶשְׁךָ וְאֶל־מִשְׁכְּנוֹתֶיךָ:

Psalm 43.3: O send out your light and your truth; let them lead me; let them bring me to your holy hill and to your dwelling.

וּמִצְהָרִים יָקִים חֹלֶד תַּעֲפֶה כַּבָּקָר תִּהְיֶה:

Job 11.17: Then your life will be brighter than the noonday; its darkness will be as morning.⁹⁸³

כִּי הִצַּלְתָּ נַפְשִׁי מִמָּוֶת הָלֹא רִגְלִי מִדָּחִי לְהִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהִים בְּאוֹר הַחַיִּים:

Psalm 56.13[14]: For you have delivered my soul from death, and my feet from falling, so that I may walk before God in the light of life.

Another entailment is the inability to see in the darkness. In Job 22.11 (cited above) the darkness specifically stops Job from seeing (**לֹא־תִרְאֶה**). In Psalm 40.12[13], again the psalmist cannot see, as a result of 'evils' and 'iniquities' (**עֲוֹנוֹתִי**).

⁹⁸³ Clines, *Job 1-20*, 253, revocalising **תַּעֲפֶה** to the noun **תַּעֲפָה**.

כִּי אֶפְפוּ-עָלַי רָעוֹת עַד-אֵין מִסְפָּר הַשִּׁיגוֹנִי עֲוֹנֹתִי וְלֹא-יָכֹלְתִּי לִרְאוֹת

Psalm 40.12[13]: For evils have encompassed me without number; my iniquities have overtaken me, until I cannot see.

Such inability to ‘see’ could evoke lack of understanding, as in English. However, a better interpretation comes through the general event-structure metaphor introduced in section 7.4.5, where voluntary movement maps onto purposeful action. The inability to see hinders voluntary movement, and thus prevents purposeful action. This interpretation is supported by Job 19.8 where darkness covers Job’s ‘paths’, hindering movement, and Psalm 43.3 where the light shows the path out of distress. Further, darkness ‘wrapping’ (וַיִּשְׁכּוּ בַעֲרִי, 1QH 13.33) or ‘covering’ (וַתִּכְסֵּם עָלָיו, Psalm 44.19[20]) the petitioner, also evoke restricted movement as well as sight. Darkness is also part of a restriction to purposeful movement where the petitioner is forced to ‘sit’ (יָשָׁב) in darkness (Psalms 143.3, 107.10) or contained in a dark pit (Psalm 88.6[7]). Thus, darkness metaphors cohere closely with metaphors of constraint and restriction (chapter six), suggesting the inability to see is closely linked to the inability to move, and explaining the salience of imprisonment as a prototypical place of darkness, where both these experiences occur together.

These mappings can be summarised as follows:

Person in dark place	→	Person in distressing situation
Agent causing the darkness (either making the place dark, or putting the person in a dark place)	→	Agent causing distress
Inability to see	→	Inability to act purposefully
Provision of light	→	Relief from distress, ability to see and act freely again

8.5. Further Evidence

8.5.1. Generalisations over Polysemy

The primary evidence that this conceptual metaphor is significant for understanding distress comes from generalisations over polysemy. First, several words describe both darkness and distressing experiences. For nouns, חֹשֶׁךְ and צִלְמוֹת are most common, but מַשְׁחוֹר, אֶפֶל and קִרְרוֹת also occur. For verbs, קָרַר occurs frequently, but the widest variety is words for impaired vision, including כָּהָה, עָשַׁשׁ, חָשַׁךְ, שָׁעַע and רָאָב, and longer phrases evoking a similar idea: לֹא־תִרְאֶה and וְאֹרֶעֱיִנִי גַם־הֵם אֵין אִתִּי. These various nouns, verbs and phrases all related to impaired vision or darkness demonstrate that this conceptual metaphor is well entrenched in the linguistic system.

8.5.2. Generalisations over Inference Patterns

Second, evidence of structure being mapped to the target domain may come from generalisations over inference patterns. Although this source domain is less structured than the preceding image schemas, it still constrains inferences in the target domain.

First, a ‘dark’ situation is inferred to be negative. Prototypical associations with death, evil, ignorance, imprisonment and the wicked make it clear that darkness is unequivocally ‘bad’ for the sufferer. No text suggests a possible redeeming value of darkness.

Second, this source domain gives external causation to distress. Often an external agent is responsible for the darkness, but even the darkness itself is outside the person, and thus outside of his or her control. There is no suggestion that the sufferer can do anything about it. This coheres with the prototypical association of darkness with imprisonment by an external agent.

Third, relief from distress is inferred to be light, whether light given to darkened eyes (Psalm 13.3[4]), or shining in the darkness surrounding the author (Psalm 43.3). This coheres with the associations of darkness with death and the underworld, and light with life. Just as the darkness is externally imposed, the light must come from outside (from God) to transform the situation.

Fourth, impaired vision hinders someone from seeing the way ahead, and thus from progressing along a desired path. When desired for the enemy in Psalm 69.23[24], the inability to see means they are unable to follow their plans to harm the petitioner. For the petitioner, however, inability to see and act is a salient feature of distress. The restoration of light would then enable them to see the way ahead.

Fifth, are there reasons why impaired sight is a more salient metaphor for distress than impaired hearing or other senses? References to deaf ears, numbness or inability to taste are rare. First, considering Sweetser's characteristics of sight (section 8.2.1), the ability to perceive at a distance may be significant. Sometimes the petitioner looks for help, but is unable to perceive it (most explicitly in Job 30.26). Even something on the horizon would bring hope, but with weakened eyes or darkness obscuring the view, potential relief cannot be seen. Second, the general ability to control what is within the visual field may be significant, with things outside that field uncontrollable and unknown (for other senses, we may be able to hear, smell or taste something and still not know what it is). With darkness blocking most of the field of vision there is very little the petitioner can see, and thus very little that he or she can control.

8.5.3. Novel Metaphor

The examples presented covered both conventional and creative expressions, showing that this conceptual metaphor is being actively used by authors.⁹⁸⁴ For example, the combination of קָרַר with הִלֵּךְ recurs in different contexts, demonstrating the conventionality of this idiom for 'gloomy' emotions. This expression is developed more creatively in Job 30.28, where בָּלָא תַמָּה intensifies the emotion. Even more innovatively, וּמִפְנֵי כְסֶה-אֶפֶל (Job 23.17) expresses a similar idea, with more marked syntax and a rarer word for darkness.

8.5.4. Larger Scale Metaphorical Systems

The most obvious larger scale metaphorical system here is the common ancient Near Eastern mapping from light to life and from darkness to death. The mapping is explicit in references

⁹⁸⁴ However, there are no conventional expressions in narrative texts.

to the ‘light of life’ (בְּאוֹר הַחַיִּים) in Psalm 56.13[14] and Job 33.30. Conversely, Ecclesiastes 6.4-5 equates going to darkness with death (וּבְחֹשֶׁךְ יִלָּךְ).

However, though darkness metaphors for distress cohere with this larger metaphorical system, it does not mean the biblical authors perceived their experiences of distress as real experiences of death when they position themselves in darkness,⁹⁸⁵ since Job 15.20-35 uses darkness for distress that is something other than death itself. Rather, inferences about death and inferences about distress are both constrained by embodied experiences of darkness.

Further, light specifically in the eyes signifies renewed energy, as when Jonathan’s eyes brighten (רָאִי-נָא כִּי-אֲרוּ עֵינַי, 1 Samuel 14.29), or accompanies joy, as in Proverbs 15.30 (מְאוֹר-עֵינַיִם יְשַׂמַּח-לֵב) ‘the light of the eyes rejoices the heart’. In the thanksgiving of Ezra 9.8, making the eyes light (לְהַאֲרִי עֵינַיִנו) again expresses renewed positive emotion. These verses give a larger metaphorical framework for the dimmed eyes of sorrow and negative emotion.

8.5.5. Non-verbal Realisations

Non-verbal realisations of a conceptual metaphor give further evidence of its entrenchment. Here, the actions of the distressed provide non-verbal realisations, with dark or dirty clothing or dust and ashes darkening the body also linking darkness to the experience of distress. For example, the king of Nineveh responds to impending disaster (Jonah 3.6) by covering (כִּסָּה) himself in sackcloth (שֵׂק) and sitting in ashes (אֶפֶר). Sackcloth was typically dark,⁹⁸⁶ being used as a simile for the darkened sun in Revelation 6.12. It is worn on hearing distressing news, often in mourning (Genesis 37.34), or in remorse and petition (1 Kings 21.27), but also in more general distress (as when Hezekiah hears Sennacherib’s threat in 2 Kings 19.1, or Mordecai hears of Haman’s plots in Esther 4.1). Thus, beyond mourning and penitence, it represents ‘the pain, grief, sorrow, or lack of or loss of hope, or the coming of tragedy’.⁹⁸⁷ Disfiguring oneself with ashes is also more than a mourning rite, being a reaction to more

⁹⁸⁵ As argued by Pedersen, *Israel*, 464-467.

⁹⁸⁶ G. G. Cohen, ‘שֵׂק’, *TWOT*.

⁹⁸⁷ E. Carpenter and M. A. Grisanti, ‘שֵׂק’, *NIDOTTE* 3:1270.

general tragedy, as when Tamar puts ashes on her head after being abused by Amnon (2 Samuel 13.19). Ezekiel 27.30 has even more comprehensive covering with dark materials, with dust (עָפָר) being put on the head and then ‘rolling’ (תִּפְלָשׁוּ) in ashes to lament over Tyre. All of these actions darken the sufferer, removing the colour that could be associated with glory, joy or honour.⁹⁸⁸ Although these expressions do not necessarily directly motivate the metaphorical language of distress, they certainly cohere with it, again linking darkness to grief or distress.

8.6. Universality and Variation

8.6.1. Variation within Source and Target Domain

There are several comparisons between the Hebrew use of the darkness source domain and the examples listed earlier. First, a word prototypically describing ‘bad weather’ consistently conceptualises the physiological and emotional aspects of distress, as in English *gloomy*, Finnish *synkkä*, Japanese *kurai* and Hebrew קָדַר. This conceptualisation occurs in both climates where the weather is frequently overcast and from a Palestinian climate where an overcast sky is far rarer, and may bring much needed rain. A possible explanation comes from the negative physiological response to daytime darkness, mentioned earlier. However, this mapping is not as elaborated in Hebrew as in English or Japanese. The petitioner never sits under dark clouds, nor are there other references to meteorological conditions.

Second, regarding prototypes and entailments, whereas in English the prototypical dark place of depression is under a dark or cloudy sky, the prototypical dark location in Hebrew is imprisonment. In English, the darkness of black clouds, even though beyond individual control, does not result from a premeditating agent. The best solution is waiting for sunny skies to return, mapped onto an attitude in depression of waiting for situations to change. In Hebrew, being in a dark prison is also beyond individual control, but is the result of a premeditating agent, and waiting will not bring improvement. Sufferers are thus more urgent to find a way out of the darkness. Using צְלִמּוֹת for darkness also increases the salience of the prototypical association with death, further increasing the seriousness of a predicament conceptualised this way.

⁹⁸⁸ Carpenter and Grisanti, ‘שֵׁק’.

Third, another difference relates to intensity. In the contemporary examples, darkness is understood as graded amounts of light, so an intensity scale maps to experiences of distress. Life can be ‘very gloomy’ or, in Finnish, *hyvin synkkä*. In Hebrew, possibly because darkness is understood as an entity, distinct to light, it does not have a natural scalar quality, and cannot easily express intensity of distress.

Fourth, the prototypical target domains differ between English and Hebrew. McMullen and Conway considered how darkness structured English depression. The target domain in Hebrew certainly overlaps with English depression, so that walking around gloomily (קָרָךְ) with (דָּלָךְ) could be considered a metaphor of depression. However, scenarios also include verbal attack (Psalms 42-43) and sickness (Psalm 38), atypical for English depression. Certainly, this target domain reflects a negative emotional state, but it is more general, and often more active, than the long term despondency of English *depression*.

Fifth, Hebrew and Mesopotamian examples have different entailments, despite superficial similarities. For example, both corpora describe being ‘wrapped’ or ‘covered’ in darkness. However, in the Akkadian texts, prototypical associations of darkness with demons means someone wrapped in darkness is particularly vulnerable to their attacks, and thus to sickness. There is no evidence of this association in Hebrew, with darkness firmly in God’s control. This difference also affects the solutions looked for. In the Hebrew corpus, God’s total control directs authors to complain to him for bringing darkness or to ask him to bring light into it, knowing that he is able to do this. In the Akkadian polytheistic context, where darkness is seen as the locus of forces in opposition to the gods associated with light, there is a need to resort to magic and other methods of resolving the problems of darkness.

8.6.2. Variation in Linguistic Expression

Alongside variation in the cognitive structure of a conceptual metaphor, linguistic expression may differ. As in previous chapters, different highlighted parts of the metaphor, different degrees of conventionalisation and differences in syntactic expression will all be considered.

First, the most highlighted part of the Hebrew metaphor is darkened eyes, potentially representing the inability to see a way out of a situation. Although this is well elaborated in

Hebrew, it is not used at all in English mappings from darkness to distress. From the opposite perspective, an important part of the English mapping is scalarity in the source domain. Situations of emotional distress can be understood as clouds getting ‘blackier’, or ‘thicker’, or a mental state becoming ‘increasingly gloomy’, but this conceptualisation of worsening distress is absent from Hebrew.

Second, conceptual metaphors differ cross-linguistically in the conventionalisation of the linguistic expressions based on them. Comparing the English expression of *feeling gloomy* with the Hebrew example of קָדַר with הָלַךְ, both are relatively conventional and motivate more creative phrases like ‘sitting under a black cloud’ (English) or having ‘darkness cover your face’ (Hebrew). However, whereas in English ‘feeling gloomy’ could be used in various registers of discourse, קָדַר is restricted to poetic texts. In fact, no examples of the darkness source domain have been found conceptualising distress in Hebrew narrative texts.⁹⁸⁹ Thus, this source domain is more conventional for structuring distress in English than Hebrew. This result also contrasts with the constraint and force metaphors considered in previous chapters and the taste metaphors in the next chapter, all of which have conventional realisations in narrative and poetic texts.

Third, regarding syntactic expression, English evokes darkness using adjectives and adverbs (‘gloomy’, ‘gloomily’) and more complex phrases with nouns prototypical of dark places (‘sitting under a dark cloud’). Intensity can be marked by quantifiers like ‘very’. Few examples use verbs. In Hebrew, קָדַר can be used as a participle or in the qal indicative (Jeremiah 8.21) to evoke the darkness source domain in a description of distress, so that verbal expression of this source domain is more common than in English. Where nouns are used they are usually general nouns for darkness (אֶפֶל, חֹשֶׁךְ) rather than words for dark places, although several verses do use צִלְמֹת, a darkness prototypically associated with death.

⁹⁸⁹ The closest examples are where the ‘brightness’ of the face changes (וַיִּזְדָּהֵי שִׁנָּיִן) in the Aramaic sections of Daniel (5.6, 9, 10b and 7.28), Gruber, *Aspects*, 360-361.

8.7. Summary

In summary, this chapter demonstrates a widespread tendency to map embodied experiences of darkness to situations of emotional, psychological or physical distress, resulting in conceptual metaphors in Akkadian, Egyptian, English, Finnish, Japanese and Hebrew. The counterexample of *Bamu* shows that this is not an absolute universal. In Hebrew, conceptual metaphors of being in a darkened location cohere with conceptual metonymies in which the lively ‘light of the eyes’ is darkened.

Although this metaphorical conceptualisation is not as well entrenched as those considered in other chapters (since there is no conventional expression used in narrative texts), there are nevertheless a significant number of both conventional and creative uses of this primary metaphor within the specific corpus. The metaphor is likely grounded in the culturally embodied experiences of bad things happening at night, of the darkness of physical graves, and in the physiology of the eyes during times of grief. It leads to inferences for the situation of distress regarding the deathly seriousness of the situation, the inability to control the situation, and the blockage for the experiencer in fulfilling his purposes.

Chapter 9: Distress and the BAD TASTE Primary Metaphor

'He has filled me with bitter herbs, he has sated me with wormwood', Lamentations 3.15

9.1. Introduction

This final chapter investigates the primary metaphor associating distress with 'bad' tastes, but also the wider domain of ingesting harmful food. Within Cognitive Linguistics, taste has received less attention than other senses, perhaps because (along with smell) the perceived objects disappear, making these senses 'incapable of giving knowledge in Western metaphysics'.⁹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, taste provides a productive source domain for understanding distress.

9.2. Establishing the Source Domain

9.2.1. Physiological / Universal Factors

First, three aspects of taste can be explored from a universal perspective: human physiology; differences from other senses; and the typology of language describing tastes.

a) Physiology

First, 'taste' physiology includes a complex interaction of perceptions. One aspect is the ability of taste cells to detect different chemicals, including the qualities called *salt* (sodium chloride), *sweet* (primarily glucose), *bitter* (many toxic substances, including quinine) and *sour* (acid). A fifth distinct 'taste' is also detectable,⁹⁹¹ characteristic of seaweed broth⁹⁹² and named *umami* (the best English term is *savoury*). The absence from conventional English shows that one cannot assume correlations between physiology and language, with even sense perception being culturally and linguistically channelled.

⁹⁹⁰ F. Borthwick, 'Olfaction and Taste: Invasive Odours and Disappearing Objects', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 11 (2000) 127-140, 127. Chinese, however, does use taste to understand cognition, Z. Ye, 'Taste as a Gateway to Chinese Cognition' in A. Schalley and D. Khlentzos (eds.), *Mental States: Language and Cognitive Structure* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2007).

⁹⁹¹ J. Chandrashekar et al., 'The Receptors and Cells for Mammalian Taste', *Nature* 444 (2006) 288-294, 288.

⁹⁹² K. Ikeda, 'New Seasonings', *Chemical Senses* 27 (2002 [1909, Japanese]) 847-849, 847.

The variety of compounds with specific tastes differs. *Salt* sensation depends specifically on sodium chloride, and *umami* on monosodium glutamate or aspartate. However, many different stimuli evoke a uniform *bitter* taste,⁹⁹³ warning the body of potentially harmful toxins and including structurally unrelated chemicals in citrus fruit, tea, red wine, coffee, dark chocolate, broccoli, cabbage, Brussels sprouts, cucumbers, almonds and apricots.⁹⁹⁴ Further, the concentrations required to perceive different tastes vary. Bitter compounds are detectable at concentrations a fraction that of detectable sucrose solutions, and their taste persists longer.⁹⁹⁵

Olfaction also contributes significantly to ‘taste’, as do non-chemical perceptions analogous to the sensory perception elsewhere on the skin of heat, cold and pain, made salient in English words like *hot* and *spicy*. All these sensations are relevant when considering any linguistic domain of taste vocabulary.

b) Difference from Other Senses

Backhouse lists four areas where taste perception differs from other senses,⁹⁹⁶ which may influence reasoning about distress. First, as noted above, the receptor systems are very *complex*, offering many different parameters that language could make salient.

Second, taste perception is *proximate*. Items need to contact the subject to be perceived. Further, this contact alters the object. An object cannot be tasted unless it dissolves and becomes part of the body.⁹⁹⁷ Thus, it cannot be tasted again, whereas one can look repeatedly at an object without changing it at all. Anthropologically, integrating the outside world into

⁹⁹³ Although the mechanism is debated, K. L. Mueller et al., ‘The Receptors and Coding Logic for Bitter Taste’, *Nature* 434 (2005) 225-229, 225, A. Caicedo and S. D. Roper, ‘Taste Receptor Cells that Discriminate Between Bitter Stimuli’, *Science* 291 1557-1560.

⁹⁹⁴ A. Drewnowski and C. Gomez-Carneros, ‘Bitter Taste, Phytonutrients and the Consumer: A Review’, *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition* 72 (2000) 1424-1435.

⁹⁹⁵ Drewnowski and Gomez-Carneros, ‘Phytonutrients’, 1425.

⁹⁹⁶ A. E. Backhouse, *The Lexical Field of Taste: A Semantic Study of Japanese Taste Terms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 12-14.

⁹⁹⁷ Borthwick, ‘Olfaction’, 130.

the body may be why emotional responses are integral to taste.⁹⁹⁸ Linguistically, ‘the agent in eating and drinking serves as a strong image of “internalisation”’.⁹⁹⁹

Third, ‘taste’ is more *cultural* than vision. Things that should be tasted, and whether they are ‘good’ or ‘bad’, reflect cultural norms. Cultural norms can be transmitted through ‘disgust’ faces, signalling to infants cultural aversion to specific foods.¹⁰⁰⁰

Fourth, taste inherently involves *evaluation*. Sweet and umami tastes are universally pleasant, alerting the body to nutritious foods, bitter taste is universally unpleasant, alerting the body to harmful substances.¹⁰⁰¹ This association is present from birth, depending on neural connections within the lower brain stem.¹⁰⁰² Further, the positive tastes (sweet and umami), share a common receptor repertoire, whereas the receptors for bitter taste are different.¹⁰⁰³ Thus even physiological differences distinguish unequivocally positive and negative tastes.

These characteristics of taste may constrain inferences in other domains. For example, the negative value of bitter taste is preserved in the English adverb *bitterly*. It functions as an intensifier, but only with verbs describing a negatively valued action, such as *attacked*, *criticised*, *jealous*, *resented* or *divided*.¹⁰⁰⁴

⁹⁹⁸ P. Rozin et al., ‘Disgust: Preadaptation and the Cultural Evolution of a Food-based Emotion’ in H. Macbeth (ed.), *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1997), 65-82, 68.

⁹⁹⁹ J. Newman, ‘A Cross-linguistic Overview of "Eat" and "Drink"' in J. Newman (ed.), *The Linguistics of Eating and Drinking* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), 1-26, 8.

¹⁰⁰⁰ W. Schiefenhövel, ‘Good Taste and Bad Taste: Preferences and Aversions as Biological Principles’ in H. Macbeth (ed.), *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change* (Oxford: Bergahn Books, 1997), 55-64, 62.

¹⁰⁰¹ Salt and sour tastes are more ambiguous. Small amounts are usually pleasant, but become unpleasant as concentration increases. However, some populations actually find sour tastes increasingly pleasant as concentration increases, H. W. Moskowitz et al., ‘Cross-cultural Differences in Simple Taste Preferences’, *Science* 190.4220 1217-1218.

¹⁰⁰² D. V. Smith and R. F. Margolskee, ‘Making Sense of Taste’, *Scientific American* 16.3 84-92.

¹⁰⁰³ Chandrashekar et al., ‘Receptors’, 289-290.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Y. Popova, ‘Image Schemas and Verbal Synaesthesia’ in B. Hampe (ed.), *From Perception to Meaning: Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2005), 395-420, 413.

c) Linguistic Typology

Given these universal physiological features, how universally are they reflected in language? For example, umami perception is not yet conventionalised in English. In general, taste words reflect prototypical substances and cultural uses, rather than just chemical composition,¹⁰⁰⁵ although the physiology explains some universal features.

First, research suggests ‘all languages possess at least two basic terms within the domain of tongue-taste, one having a denotational range which includes sweetness, the other taking in disagreeable taste qualities’.¹⁰⁰⁶ The division of tastes between these and other words varies cross-culturally. Several languages categorise the ‘good’ taste of sweet and salt together, and may have only one word for sour or bitter tastes, suggesting that the distinction between sour and bitter tastes is less salient than their unpalatability in these cultures.¹⁰⁰⁷ Conversely, some languages have three words for bitter and sour tastes. In Spanish, *amargo* prototypically describes black coffee, quinine and beer, *ácido* citric acid, limes, vinegar and unripe fruits, whereas *agrio* is linked with orange peel.¹⁰⁰⁸

Second, the relationship of words describing taste ‘quality’ (‘sourness’, ‘sweetness’ or ‘bitterness’) to those ‘evaluating’ taste (such as ‘good’, ‘bad’, ‘tasteless’) differs typologically. Backhouse suggests three systems: first, a generalised system, in which the same words describe good and sweet tastes versus words for bad and bitter tastes; second, a differentiated system, in which evaluative words (good, bad) are thoroughly distinct from descriptive words (bitter, sweet); and finally an intermediate system where good and sweet tastes may have the same word, but bad tastes and bitter tastes have different expressions.¹⁰⁰⁹ Whereas English officially has the second system, Section 9.2.2 shows Hebrew is more like the first system.

¹⁰⁰⁵ As in the functional (rather than chemical) definitions of ‘salt’ and ‘sugar’ in C. Goddard and A. Wierzbicka, ‘NSM Analyses of the Semantics of Physical Qualities: Sweet, Hot, Hard, Heavy, Rough, Sharp in Cross-Linguistic Perspective’, *Studies in Language* 31 (2007) 765-800, 771.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Backhouse, *Taste*, 166.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Backhouse, *Taste*, 6-7.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Backhouse, *Taste*, 12.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Backhouse, *Taste*, 168.

However, the English situation is different in conventional usage, often confusing the qualities ‘sour’ and ‘bitter’,¹⁰¹⁰ with citric acids commonly termed ‘bitter’ rather than ‘sour’. This suggests that even in English *bitter* commonly describes any unpleasant taste, as people do not experience enough of the specific scientific ‘bitter’ taste to recognise it.¹⁰¹¹

For Hebrew, this study shows typological comparisons for one, two or three terms for tastes in the ‘bitter’ and ‘sour’ area, and also alerts to the possibility of words meaning just ‘unpleasant’ taste, rather than a specific chemical taste description.

9.2.2. Culture-specific Factors

Next, which different tastes are recognised in Hebrew, what are their prototypes and how are they valued? Many foodstuffs were available. Specifically, sweet dates, figs and honey were all known. Mesopotamian shade gardens were used to grow cucumbers (which easily become bitter-tasting), turnips, peas, beans, chick peas, garlic, leeks, lettuces and melons, as well as more powerful herbs such as cumin, coriander, mustard, fennel, watercress, mint, rosemary and fenugreek.¹⁰¹² Walnuts and almonds were also cultivated, also having potentially bitter tastes.¹⁰¹³ Bread was fermented overnight to create sourdough leaven, and beer and wine were produced.¹⁰¹⁴ Sheep were kept for milk, which could be soured to make dairy products.¹⁰¹⁵ Salt was also a well-known commodity. Relevant roots for these tastes include **מתק**, **מלח**, **מרר** and **חמץ**.

מתק may imitate lips smacking in pleasure,¹⁰¹⁶ and is prototypically associated with **דִּבֶּשׁ**.

This may be a date jam,¹⁰¹⁷ but parallels suggest honey is more likely. Honey was the only

¹⁰¹⁰ J. O. Robinson, ‘The Misuse of Taste Names by Untrained Observers’, *British Journal of Psychology* 61 (1970) 375-378, M. O'Mahony et al., ‘Confusion in the Use of the Taste Adjectives "Sour" and "Bitter"’, *Chemical Senses* 4 (1979) 301-318.

¹⁰¹¹ Backhouse, *Taste*, 11.

¹⁰¹² J. M. Renfrew, ‘Vegetables in the Ancient Near Eastern Diet’ in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Volumes I and II* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 191-202, 192-193.

¹⁰¹³ Renfrew, ‘Vegetables’, 192.

¹⁰¹⁴ Renfrew, ‘Vegetables’, 195-197.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hesse, ‘Husbandry’, 212.

¹⁰¹⁶ B. Kedar-Kopfstein, ‘**מִתֵּק**’ *TDOT* IX:103-107, 103.

¹⁰¹⁷ M. I. Gruber, ‘Private Life in Canaan and Ancient Israel’ in J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Volumes I and II* (Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 633-648, 639.

available sweetener,¹⁰¹⁸ hence its importance. Alongside clearly sweet substances, מֶתֶקֶק describes generally pleasant, or palatable, tastes. Thus, the water at Marah changes from being ‘bitter’ (מָרִים) to ‘potable’ (יִמְתֵּקֶנּוּ). Similarly, in Proverbs 9.17, stolen waters are described with יִמְתֵּקֶנּוּ, more likely evoking a ‘good’ taste than a scientifically ‘sweet’ one. These suggest Hebrew has a general linguistic system, using the same word for a ‘good’ evaluation as well as the taste description ‘sweet’.

‘Salt’ is מֶלַח, with cognates across all the Semitic languages showing its significance in these cultures.¹⁰¹⁹ Job 6.6 shows it adding flavour to ‘tasteless’ food הַיָּאֵכֶל הַפֶּלֶא מִבְּלִי-מֶלַח, ‘is tasteless food eaten without salt?’). Salt has negative (making land barren, Jeremiah 17.6-8) and positive (rubbed on a newborn child, Ezekiel 16.4) associations, and is also mentioned in connection with sacrifice. However, aside from Job 6.6, salt is nowhere connected with food.

חֲמֵץ is similar to English ‘sour’, primarily describing leavened bread (made from sourdough).¹⁰²⁰ The noun חֲמֵץ further describes vinegar, made by fermenting wine or beer. This ‘vinegar’ made a tasty dip (Ruth 2.14), but the unpleasant effect on the teeth is also known (Proverbs 10.26). The prototypical association with sourdough and vinegar suggests fermentation is more salient here than for English ‘sour’.

Finally, the sensation evoked by מָרֵר is most significant, usually glossed as ‘bitter’.¹⁰²¹ The Akkadian cognate describes unpalatable breast milk, water, wine, seeds of some plants, dates and gall.¹⁰²² The noun *marratu* describes the sea, a body of undrinkable water, suggesting no distinction between ‘salt’ and ‘bitter’ taste. In Ugaritic, *mrr* describes the bitter taste of

¹⁰¹⁸ Fritz, *City*, 184.

¹⁰¹⁹ H. Eising, ‘מֶלַח’, *TDOT* VIII:331-333, 331.

¹⁰²⁰ D. Kellermann, ‘חֲמֵץ’, *TDOT* IV:487-493, 489.

¹⁰²¹ H. Ringgren and H.-J. Fabry, ‘מָרֵר’, *TDOT* IX:15-19, 16.

¹⁰²² D. Pardee, ‘The Semitic Root *mrr* and the Etymology of Ugaritic *mr(r) | brk*’, *UF* 10 (1978) 249-283, 252-253.

almonds,¹⁰²³ and *šmrr* snake venom, the form suggesting ‘causing bitterness’.¹⁰²⁴ In Hebrew, מֶרַר is opposite to מֶתוֹק in Isaiah 5.20, and in Proverbs 27.7 everything ‘bitter’ is sweet to the hungry (כָּל-מֶרַר מֶתוֹק). Deuteronomy 32.32 ascribes this taste to grape clusters produced by a rebellious Israel. At the Passover, the Israelites ate unleavened bread and מֶרְרִים and in Isaiah 24.9, strong drink becomes bitter to those tasting it (יֶמֶר שֶׁכָּר). Thus, מֶרַר covers prototypical substances overlapping with those having the scientific English taste ‘bitter’, including bad grapes, leafy vegetables, and fermented drink. These verses also show the changeability of taste judgments, with strong drink becoming bitter in Isaiah, and bitter things becoming sweet in Proverbs.

However, the adjective מְרִים describing Marah’s undrinkable waters suggests a more general taste evaluation as ‘bad’. This also helps interpret Numbers 5, where a wife drinks ‘bitter’ waters that bring a curse (מֵי הַמְּרִים הַמְּאָרְרִים), which when they enter her may be ‘bitter’ for her (וּבְאֵי בֶהַה הַמֵּיִם הַמְּאָרְרִים לְמֵרִים). This is more understandable if it means ‘harmful’ rather than merely ‘bitter’ tasting. These examples again suggest that Hebrew has a general system merging taste and evaluation together, so the word for something tasting ‘bitter’ also describes substances that are ‘bad’ or ‘harmful’.

The Ugaritic verb *mr* (parallel to *brk* ‘bless’) has confused analysis of Hebrew מֶרַר, suggesting it means ‘strong’ in places.¹⁰²⁵ However, Pardee’s comprehensive analysis shows the primary meaning of bad, ‘bitter’ taste throughout the Bible. When used with נִפְשׁ, no examples evoke ‘strength’ as a permanent state of enabling power, but only as a transitory, provoked state, where the ‘strength’ results from the frustration or ‘bitterness’ that מֶרַר is signalling.¹⁰²⁶ Similarly, when describing weapons or words, this root more likely evokes the

¹⁰²³ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 256.

¹⁰²⁴ D. Pardee, ‘m^c rōrāt-p^c tanîm ›Venom‹ in Job 20.14’, *ZAW* 91 (1979) 401-416, 408.

¹⁰²⁵ For example, L. Kutler, ‘A “Strong” Case for Hebrew Mar’, *UF* 16 (1984) 111-118, V. P. Hamilton, ‘מֶרַר’ *TWOT*.

¹⁰²⁶ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 259.

bad, harmful associations of ‘bitter’ taste, rather than being a separate homonym equivalent to English ‘strong’.

A final semantic link is to gall and venom, specifically through the nouns מִרְרָה and מְרוֹרָה (Job 16.13, 20.14 and 15). In Akkadian, these relate to the conceptualisation that vipers ‘spit gall’ (*martu*).¹⁰²⁷ Pardee concludes that gall, a corrosive and poisonous substance used to tip arrows, was identified with snakes’ poison, and so words for ‘gall’ became used for poison more generally.¹⁰²⁸ This association of venom and bitter taste through מִרְרָה motivates the inclusion of snakebite and poison below.

9.3. Comparative Data on Emotion Language and the BAD TASTE Metaphor

9.3.1. Contemporary Cross-Linguistic Comparisons

Contemporary comparisons come from English, Finnish, Hausa and Guhu-Samane, a non-Austronesian language from Papua New Guinea.

First, in English, tastes can describe people as *sweet*, *sour*, or *bitter*. A sweet person prototypically displays admirable qualities, such as kindness or thoughtfulness, whereas sour and bitter people are viewed negatively. A sour person is unpleasant to encounter, but usually describes a short-lived disposition. Being bitter is more commonly a long-term character trait, often attributed to perceived harm from others, so that *I’m not bitter*, means one is not allowing a grievance to have a lasting effect. A *bitter* person experiences a longer emotion that penetrates deeper into the character than someone *upset* or *angry*.

Several embodied experiences guide inferences here. First, nutritious foods can become unpleasant or toxic over time. Milk turns sour, cucumbers become bitter. Thus, somebody can *turn sour* or *become bitter*, but ‘becoming sweet’ is less conventional. Second, something turned sour may still be palatable (like yoghurt), whereas something that has become bitter is usually inedible. Thus a sour person may yet be redeemable, whereas a

¹⁰²⁷ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 254.

¹⁰²⁸ Pardee, ‘Venom’, 415-416.

bitter person's whole character has potentially irreversibly changed to something toxic. Other substances are naturally bitter, explaining why bitterness seems more intrinsic to someone's character than sourness, which often results from a process (like wine to vinegar or milk to yoghurt). Thus, the main meaning foci of English bitter taste are its negative connotations, its harmfulness, its persistence and its association with intrinsic properties.

Second, Finnish has several words for negative tastes.¹⁰²⁹ *Hapan* describes acidic substances including sour milk, lemons, wine, tart apples, and bread made from sourdough. *Karvas* describes gooseberries, bitter almonds, dark chocolate and Epsom salt. *Kirpeä* describes lemons, orange peel and other citrus fruit, but also things sensed as 'sharp' by smell, touch or hearing, including spicy food. *Kitkerä* and *katkera* evoke especially negative tastes, the former more for tastes of substances, prototypically linked to bitter liquor, but also quinine or very bitter (undrinkable) coffee, the latter for emotions and situations.

These words conceptualise emotions, dispositions and distressing situations. A *karvas* experience might include losing everything, a disappointment, or a grievous event. Such experiences may cause someone to become *katkera*. A *katkera* condition is also often caused by others perceived to have treated the subject badly. As with English *bitterness*, this is prototypically a long-term character disposition. *Hapan*, conversely, more often describes someone's facial expression. Thus, a generally happy person may sometimes have a *hapan* expression, whereas a generally *katkera* person would show greater outbursts of their bitterness. *Hapan* and *katkera* differ in intensity in the taste domain, so that something tasting *hapan* may still be edible whereas something *kitkerä* is really unpleasant. This intensity difference maps onto character, so that someone *hapan* is in a less serious condition than a *katkera* person.

Third, Hausa provides interesting comparisons for verbs of eating (*ci*) and drinking (*shaa*).¹⁰³⁰ Whereas eating conceptualises agentive roles of overcoming or controlling something (like winning a war), drinking expresses affected roles, undergoing experiences.

¹⁰²⁹ This Finnish language information comes from SIL colleagues Pekka and Maiju Laihia, Tomas Kolkka, Kaius Sinnemäki and Katri Linnasalo.

¹⁰³⁰ P. J. Jaggard and M. Buba, 'Metaphorical Extensions of "Eat" → [OVERCOME] and "Drink" → [UNDERGO] in Hausa' in J. Newman (ed.), *The Linguistics of Eating and Drinking* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), 229-252.

Thus it is natural to say ‘they are drinking trouble’, *sunàa shân wàhalàa*,¹⁰³¹ with this use further evoking frequency and regularity. These entailments of drinking as opposed to eating reflect the unbounded nature of substances like water, and the relatively unobstructed ingestion associated with drinking.¹⁰³² Thus, drinking maps particularly onto the experience of negative emotional states over which the experiencer has little control, since there is ‘minimal physical manipulation’ in the physical act of drinking.¹⁰³³

Finally, in Guhu Samane, two words evoke potentially negative tastes. *Qaa* describes the taste of citrus fruit and ginger, something like ‘powerful’ tastes in English. *Togo* describes the more specifically bitter taste of quinine or pawpaw seeds. Eating something *togo* may stimulate vomiting, whereas something *qaa* would not. Both of these words collocate with *qupa*, ‘heart’. *Qupa qaa* may describe someone going through difficulties, or someone with just a sore throat. By contrast, *qupa togo* only describes someone going through difficult life experiences, such as a spouse’s death. These also contrast with the more generic phrase, *qupa qanga*, a ‘bad’ heart, normally associated with an anger scenario.

These examples offer several features to compare with Hebrew. Are taste descriptions applied to body parts, as in Guhu Samane? Are words for distinct taste experiences used to describe different emotional or psychological states, as in English and Finnish, indicating the intensity, seriousness or harmfulness of the situation? Do verbs of eating and drinking suggest different perspectives on life experiences, as in Hausa?

9.3.2. Ancient Near Eastern Comparisons

Turning to ancient Near Eastern comparisons, similar expressions in both Egypt and Mesopotamia link negative experiences to tasting bitter substances.

In Egypt, the Shipwrecked Sailor states ‘how joyful is one who relates what he has tasted (*dp*) after the bitter things (*hwt mrw*) have passed’,¹⁰³⁴ with the ‘bitter’ things referring to his negative experiences. Similarly, a Coffin Text reads ‘I do not taste a bitter (that is,

¹⁰³¹ Jaggar and Buba, ‘Extensions’, 232.

¹⁰³² J. Newman (ed.), *The Linguistics of Eating and Drinking* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009), xi.

¹⁰³³ Jaggar and Buba, ‘Extensions’, 241.

¹⁰³⁴ ‘The Shipwrecked Sailor’, 124, cited in W. A. Ward, ‘Egypto-Semitic MR, “Be Bitter, Strong”’, *UF* 12 (1980) 356-360, 358.

unpleasant) thing'.¹⁰³⁵ Both use the expression *dp ht mr* in the idiomatic sense of “experience an unpleasant affair”.¹⁰³⁶ Significantly here, a verb for ‘taste’ (*dp*) is used for experiencing life events.

In Akkadian, the root *marāru*, cognate with Hebrew מָרַר, describes distressing experiences. In the vassal treaty of Esarhaddon, one line reads, ‘Just as (this) gall-bladder is bitter (*martu marratuun*), so may you, your wives, your sons, (and) your daughters be bitter (*marrakunu*) towards each other’.¹⁰³⁷ This links the gall-bladder and ‘bitter’ taste, and explicitly links both with negative family relationships in some kind of ritual. Another religious text states that ‘they (the demons) seized my mouth and made my tongue bitter (*úmariru*)’¹⁰³⁸ using bitterness to conceptualise sickness, and showing the potential agency of demons. Further, ‘illnesses like jaundice could also be caused by other external factors like *imtu* and *martu*, the poisonous saliva dripping from the mouths of angry gods and demons’.¹⁰³⁹ Finally, the statement, ‘You made mouths very bitter (*tumarriram*) toward / against me’¹⁰⁴⁰ shows people can be bitter towards others.

Again, these texts suggest comparisons with Hebrew. What agents can cause bitterness? Do verbs for eating conceptualise experiencing events, as in Egyptian? Is gall the prototypical bitter substance, or something else?

9.4. Presentation and Analysis of Hebrew Mappings

9.4.1. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING BITTERNESS IN THE BODY

This section investigates texts where tastes are localised within the person. Most commonly, מָרַר and נִפְּשׁ are associated, with various syntactic expressions showing it is more than just a fixed idiom.¹⁰⁴¹ In Job 7.11 and 10.1, Job insists he will still speak ‘in the bitterness of his

¹⁰³⁵ Cited in Ward, ‘MR’, 358.

¹⁰³⁶ Ward, ‘MR’, 358.

¹⁰³⁷ Cited in Pardee, ‘mrr’, 253.

¹⁰³⁸ Cited in Pardee, ‘mrr’, 253.

¹⁰³⁹ Van der Toorn, *Sin*, 68-69.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 253.

¹⁰⁴¹ Contra C. Westermann, ‘נִפְּשׁ’ in E. Jenni and C. Westermann (eds.), *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament, Vol. II* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 743-759, 752.

soul' (בְּמַר נֶפֶשׁ). In Job 3.20, he includes himself among those with bitter souls (מַרִּי נֶפֶשׁ). The parallels include having a 'constrained spirit' (בְּצַר רוּחִי) or being in 'misery' (נֶפֶשׁ), suggesting Job is goaded more by psychic torment than physical pain.¹⁰⁴² Job 21.25 has reversed syntax, for those dying with a bitter soul (בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה), never having 'eaten good things' (וְלֹא-אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה). In Job 27.2, the hiphil attributes Job's bitterness to God. Outside Job, 1QH 13.12 also attributes bitterness to the soul, with yet another syntactic variant (מַרְוִי נֶפֶשׁ). Finally, Hezekiah describes his bitter soul (מַר נֶפֶשׁ) in Isaiah 38.15, describing the 'negative physical and psychological state... occasioned by the threat of imminent death and by his afflictions'.¹⁰⁴³

אֲדַבֶּרֶה בְּצַר רוּחִי אֲשִׁיחָה בְּמַר נֶפֶשִׁי:

Job 7.11: I will speak in the anguish of my spirit; I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.

נִקְטָה נֶפֶשִׁי בְּחַיִּי אֶעֱזֹבָה עָלַי שִׁיחִי אֲדַבֶּרֶה בְּמַר נֶפֶשִׁי:

Job 10.1: I loathe my life; I will give free utterance to my complaint; I will speak in the bitterness of my soul.

לָמָּה יִתֵּן לְעַמִּל אוֹר וְחַיִּים לְמַרִּי נֶפֶשׁ:

Job 3.20: Why is light given to one in misery, and life to the bitter in soul?

זֶה יָמוּת בְּעֵצָם חָמוּ כָּלֹ שְׁלֹאֲנָן וְשָׁלִיו: עֲטִינוּ מִלֵּאֵל חֶלֶב וּמִחַ עֲצָמוֹתָיו יִשְׁקָה:

וְזֶה יָמוּת בְּנֶפֶשׁ מָרָה וְלֹא-אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה:

Job 21.23-25: One dies in full prosperity, being wholly at ease and secure, his loins full of milk and the marrow of his bones moist. Another dies in bitterness of soul, never having tasted of good.

וְשִׁדִּי הֵמַר נֶפֶשִׁי:

Job 27.2: ...and the Almighty, who has made my soul bitter.

כִּי בִצְרַת נֶפֶשִׁי לֹא עֲזַבְתָּנִי וְשׁוּעָתִי שָׁמַעְתָּה בְּמַרְוִי נֶפֶשִׁי

¹⁰⁴² Clines, *Job 1-20*, 188.

¹⁰⁴³ Barré, *Lord*, 152.

1QH 13.12: For in the distress of my soul you did not desert me, you heard my call in the bitterness of my soul.

אֲדִידָה כָּל־שָׁנוּתִי עַל־מֶר נִפְשִׁי:

Isaiah 38.15: Must I wander about all my years because of the bitterness of my soul?¹⁰⁴⁴

מֶר and נִפְשִׁי are also collocated in narrative, providing concrete instantiations. Hannah's barrenness and Peninnah's provocation made her soul bitter (הָיָא מֶרֶת נִפְשִׁי), driving her to cry to God (1 Samuel 1.10). After the Shunammite's son dies, Elisha recognises her soul is bitter 'to her' (נִפְשָׁהּ מֶרֶת־לָּהּ), 2 Kings 4.27). The men gathering around David in 1 Samuel 22.2 are 'under pressure' (כָּל־אִישׁ מִצּוֹק), those in debt, and those with a bitter soul (כָּל־אִישׁ מֶרֶת־נִפְשִׁי), with the parallels suggesting these men have experienced some external difficulty (similar to pressure or debt), rather than being 'strong' warriors.¹⁰⁴⁵ In 1 Samuel 30.6, מֶרֶת נִפְשִׁי describes those wanting to stone David after the Amalekites raided Ziklag and took their wives and children. Here a specific external distressing situation provokes a dangerous emotional and psychological state. Again, in 2 Samuel 17.8, David's men are מֶרֶי נִפְשִׁי after fleeing from Absalom. The previous word, גִּבּוֹרִים ('heroes') could suggest this phrase refers to strong warriors.¹⁰⁴⁶ However, the following phrase, כָּדֹב שָׂכוּל, בִּשְׂדֵה (like a bear robbed of her cubs in the field'), is more important, qualifying the description. Such a bear is not 'stronger' than others, but has been provoked (by stolen cubs), producing a dangerous, emotional state. David's men were similarly provoked by Absalom's rebellion, separation from family and taunting on the road.

Proverbs 31.6 recommends wine for bitter souls (מֶרֶי נִפְשִׁי), paralleled with those who are 'poor' (רֵישׁ) and need to forget their 'misery' (עֲמָלוֹ). Finally, Judges 18.25 describes the Danites who might attack Micah as אֲנָשִׁים מֶרֶי נִפְשִׁי. There is little contextual evidence to

¹⁰⁴⁴ Barré, *Lord*, 151-152.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Kutler claims this 'can only refer to warriors', Kutler, 'Case', 113.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Kutler, 'Case', 112-113.

clarify this description, possibly evoking strong ‘warriors’ as Kutler argues,¹⁰⁴⁷ but equally that they are in a dangerous emotional state, provoked either by their hardship of having no territory allotted to them (18.1), or more immediately by Micah and his neighbours (18.22). The comparisons above suggest this describes their emotional and psychological state, not their innate strength.

These scenarios outline a script for the condition designated by מַרָּר with נֶפֶשׁ. In each scenario, emotional, physical or psychological distress results from experiencing negatively viewed life events, usually at the hands of others (being mocked or hard pressed, living in poverty, having family taken away, the death of a loved one). Thus, it typically ‘depicts a provoked state of distress, frustration and anger’,¹⁰⁴⁸ expressing ‘the emotional response to a destructive, heart-crushing situation’.¹⁰⁴⁹ However, ‘anger’ is not always involved (neither Hannah nor Hezekiah are prototypically ‘angry’) and the destructive situation is almost always caused by others.

Almost always, this state leads to action, either physical or verbal. Hannah calls to God, Job speaks in bitterness, such people come to David, and the likelihood of violent action makes such men dangerous for Micah. Thus מַרָּר-נֶפֶשׁ is not typical despondency or depression,¹⁰⁵⁰ both characterised by inaction. This tendency to action may be inferred from the desire to eject bitter tasting substances from the mouth, or to eat something else to mask the taste. Giving alcohol to solve the problems of a ‘bitter soul’ in Proverbs 31.6 hints at masking the bitter taste, a non-verbal realisation of this inference.

As נֶפֶשׁ can refer to the throat, embodied motivation may come from bitter gastric acid rising into the throat, or possibly from the bitter taste of tears.¹⁰⁵¹ Further, the נֶפֶשׁ is associated with hunger and thirst, giving another relation to food.¹⁰⁵² However, in Psalm 106.33, bitter

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kutler, ‘Case’, 113.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 259.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Hamilton, ‘מַרָּר’.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Argued by Barré, *Lord*, 152.

¹⁰⁵¹ Pardee, ‘mrr’, 259.

¹⁰⁵² Seebass, ‘נֶפֶשׁ’, 505-506.

taste is attributed to Moses' spirit (רוּחַ), showing this is not restricted to the throat. The hiphil shows people as the agents causing bitterness, again describing a provoked emotional state causing Moses to speak strongly.

כִּי־הִמְרוּ אֶת־רוּחוֹ וַיִּבְטֹא בְשִׁפְתָיו:

Psalm 106.33: They had made him so bitter that he spoke with temerity.¹⁰⁵³

Esau's wives also provoke a 'bitter spirit' (וַתְּהִיֵּין מֵרַת רוּחַ), Genesis 26.35), presumably causing distress to his parents, as for מֵרַ נֶפֶשׁ above, rather than making them harbour resentment, as for an English 'bitter spirit'.

The 'heart' (לֵב) is a further locus of bad taste sensations. In Psalm 73.21, the heart is fermenting like vinegar (יִתְחַמֵּץ). As this use of חֲמֵץ is so rare, one cannot claim more than that this shows another word for bad taste applied to the interior during distress.

כִּי יִתְחַמֵּץ לִבִּי

Psalm 73.21: When my heart was as sour as vinegar...¹⁰⁵⁴

Elsewhere, references to toxic substances in a distressed person do not specify particular body parts. Most common is מֵרַר with the preposition לְ, to give מֵרַ לִי, for example. This occurs in Isaiah 38.17, and in Lamentations 1.4, attributed to Jerusalem, expressing that bad things have happened to the subject.

הִנֵּה לְשָׁלוֹם מֵרַ לִי מֵרַ

Isaiah 38.17: Surely it was for my welfare that I had great bitterness.

וְהִיא מֵרַ לָהּ:

Lamentations 1.4: ...and her lot is bitter.

¹⁰⁵³ Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 46.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Tate, *Psalms*, 227.

Lamentations 3.19 has an internal thought process generating an experience conceptualised as toxic substances (לַעֲנָה וְרָאֵשׁ). Finally, in 1QH 16.27-28 it is a disease or ‘stroke’ (נִנְעִי) that has ‘sprouted’ (פָּרַח) into something bitter (לְמִרְרוּרִים), with the verb and the use of the preposition לְ here suggesting that the ‘bitterness’ results from the disease.

זָכַר-עֲנִי וּמְרוּדִי לַעֲנָה וְרָאֵשׁ:

Lamentations 3.19: The thought of my affliction and my homelessness is wormwood and gall!

כִּי פָרַח נִנְעִי 28 לְמִרְרוּרִים וְכָאִיב אָנוּשׁ לֵאמֹר עֲצוּר

1QH 16.27-28: For my disease has sprouted into bitterness and an incurable pain which does not stop, [...]

Thus, bad tastes are attributed to the נֶפֶשׁ (most commonly), לֵב and רִיחַ, as well as to the distressed person in general. The various syntactic forms show this is a well-entrenched conceptualisation.

9.4.2. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS PRODUCES BITTERNESS

The corpus also uses taste language for sufferers expressing their distress. Job 23.2 possibly has Job giving a ‘bitter’ complaint (מֵרִי שְׁחִי).¹⁰⁵⁵ 1QH 19 refers first to a ‘source’ (מְקוֹר) of ‘bitter’ mourning (לְאֵבֶל מִרְרוּרִים), in verse 19), and then in verse 22 to ‘bitter’ wailing (מִסְפַּד מִרְרוּרִים). מְקוֹר describes springs or fountains, evoking a spring of ‘bad’ water opened up to pour out the mourning and wailing of distress. Perhaps internal bitterness results in bitterness ‘flowing’ from the person, as a spring which has bitterness at its source can only produce bitter water.

גַּם-הַיּוֹם מֵרִי שְׁחִי

¹⁰⁵⁵ Although a ‘rebellious’ complaint (from מִרְדּוּ) is perhaps better, Clines, *Job 21-37*, 572, Gordis, *Job*, 254.

Job 23.2: Today also my complaint is bitter.

ואני נפתח לי מקור לאבל מרורים

1QH 19.19: As for me, a spring of bitter mourning has opened for me.

ואנחה בכנור קינה לכול אבל יג[ו]ן ומספד מרורים

1QH 19.22: I have sighed on the harp of lament for every sorrow of anguish, with bitter wailing.

מר also occurs with verbs of expressing distress outside the corpus in Ezekiel 27.30 (וַיִּזְעַקוּ מְרָה) ‘and they will cry bitterly’), Genesis 27.34 (וַיִּזְעַק זָעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמְרָה) ‘and he cried a loud and bitter cry’), and in Esther 4.1 (וַיִּזְעַק זָעָקָה גְדֹלָה וּמְרָה) ‘and he cried a loud and bitter cry’).¹⁰⁵⁶ Zechariah 12.10 also links the expression of distress with bitterness, וְסִפְדוּ עָלָיו כְּמִסְפֵּד עַל-הַיָּחִיד וְהָמָר עָלָיו כְּהָמָר עַל-הַפְּכוֹר, ‘they will mourn over him as the mourning for an only child, and show bitterness over him as showing bitterness over a firstborn’.

Whereas in English, the adverb ‘bitterly’ intensifies verbs already construed negatively,¹⁰⁵⁷ in Hebrew it more narrowly collocates with verbal expressions of distress. Thus, it is more likely these expressions evoke the experience of a sufferer, so that ‘bitter’ cries are sounds typical of those with a ‘bitter’ soul, describing more the character of the person crying than the cry itself.

9.4.3. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS INGESTING AN UNPLEASANT SUBSTANCE

The mappings considered so far have been metonymic, highlighting parts of the distress experience using the ‘taste’ source domain. A complementary metaphorical mapping describes distress experiences as ingesting unpleasant or potentially harmful substances. Although some examples are outside the specific corpus, they give a helpful interpretive background. For example, in Psalm 75.8[9] Yahweh will force the wicked to drink a cup of

¹⁰⁵⁶ Showing זָעָק and זָעַק are ‘mere variants’, L. J. Wood, ‘זָעַק’ TWOT.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Popova, ‘Synaesthesia’, 413.

wine, conceptualising the distress that will come upon them. Similarly, Psalm 11.6 describes a cup containing a scorching wind, conceptualising distress for the wicked. In Job 20.23, Zophar conceptualises God giving the wicked his anger as food (לחם). Job's reply repeats the image of 'consuming' God's anger in 21.20, but returns to drinking (ישתה) harmful liquids.

כִּי כֹס בְּיַד־יְהוָה וַיִּין חֶמֶר מְלֵא מֶסֶךְ וַיִּגַּר מִזֶּה אֶף־שִׁמְרִיהָ יִמְצֹו יִשְׁתּוּ כָּל
רָשָׁעֵי־אֶרֶץ:

Psalm 75.8[9]: For in the hand of the LORD there is a cup with foaming wine, well mixed; he will pour a draught from it, and all the wicked of the earth shall drain it down to the dregs.

וְרוּחַ זֶלְעָפוֹת מִנֶּת כּוֹסָם:

Psalm 11.6: A scorching wind shall be the portion of their cup.

יְהִי לְמֵלֵא בִטְנוֹ יִשְׁלַח־בּוֹ חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ וַיִּמְטֵר עָלֵימוֹ בְּלַחוּמוֹ:

Job 20.23: To fill their belly to the full God will send his fierce anger into them, and rain it upon them as their food.

וּמִחֲמַת שָׂדֵי יִשְׁתָּה:

Job 21.20: Let them drink of the wrath of the Almighty.

Similarly, the specific corpus describes distress through eating and drinking. In Job 9.18, God has 'filled' (שָׂבַע) Job with 'bitter things' (מַמְרָרִים). שָׂבַע prototypically means 'to be satisfied with nourishment',¹⁰⁵⁸ an image reversed here, with Job fully satisfied not with good food but bad, bitter food. Lamentations 3.15 is similar, subsequently asserting that God has 'satiated' (or filled with liquid, הִרְוִי) the author with לֶעֱנָה. Although often translated 'wormwood', the referent is unclear. At least, it is a dangerous or poisonous herbal substance that can be eaten or taken in liquid form.¹⁰⁵⁹ Proverbs 5.3-4 ('bitter like

¹⁰⁵⁸ B. K. Waltke, 'שָׂבַע', TWOT.

¹⁰⁵⁹ K. Seybold, 'לֶעֱנָה', TDOT VIII:14-16, 15.

מֶרָה כְּלֶעֱנָה, 'לֶעֱנָה', shows it is a prototypical 'bitter' substance that can be masked by sweet tasting honey.

כִּי יִשְׁבְּעֵנִי מִמְרָרִים:

Job 9.18: He fills me with bitterness.

הַשְּׁבִיעֵנִי בַמְרָרִים הֶרְוֵנִי לֶעֱנָה:

Lamentations 3.15: He has filled me with bitter herbs, he has sated me with wormwood.¹⁰⁶⁰

References to being given 'poison' (רָאֵשׁ) for food and vinegar (חֹמֶץ) for drink in Psalm 69.21[22] are also likely metaphorical, expressing how the enemies harmful words have caused distress. רָאֵשׁ is another prototypically 'bitter' plant-derived poison (paralleled with מֶרָר in Deuteronomy 32.32) of uncertain identification,¹⁰⁶¹ but also describes snake venom. Job's spirit also drinks poison (חֲמָתָם שְׁתָּה רוּחִי) in Job 6.4. The source here is God's arrows, rather than oral consumption, yet שְׁתָּה still evokes drinking. Finally, 1QH 12.11 also describes people given vinegar (חֹמֶץ) to drink, to make them act like fools and enable enemies to 'catch them in their nets', emphasising the negative consequences of this drink.

וַיִּתְּנוּ בִּבְרוּתִי רָאֵשׁ וְלִצְמָאִי יִשְׁקִינִי חֹמֶץ:

Psalm 69.21[22]: They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink.

כִּי חֲצִי שְׁרִי עֲמָדֵי אֲשֶׁר חֲמָתָם שְׁתָּה רוּחִי

Job 6.4: For the arrows of the Almighty are in me; my spirit drinks their poison.

יעצורו משקה דעת מצמאים ולצמאים ישקום חומץ למע(ן) הבט אל 12 תעותם

במצודותם להתפש מ^(superscript)במועדיה להתהולל

¹⁰⁶⁰ Author's translation.

¹⁰⁶¹ G. Fleischer, 'רָאֵשׁ', *TDOT* XIII:262-264, 262.

1QH 12.11-12: They have denied the drink of knowledge to the thirsty, but for their thirst they have given them vinegar to drink, to consider their mistake, so they may act like fools in their feasts so they will be caught in their nets.

Sometimes it is inferred that the object sensed is incorporated into the body, passing the food's quality to the person ingesting it. In Job 20.23-25 (cited in section 9.4.1), the bitter soul is explicitly someone who 'never tasted anything good' (וְלֹא־אָכַל בְּטוֹבָה). Here, bad-tasting experiences produce a bitter soul, whereas good life experiences, conceptualised as good-tasting milk, result in a person wholly at ease. In 1QH 13.35, bread (לחמי) has turned into quarrel and drink (שקוי) into argument, but more significantly, they have entered into the bones and affected the whole person.

ויהפך לי לחמי לריב ושקוי לבעל מדנים ויבואני בעצמני 36 [להכשיל רוח
ולכלות כוח

1QH 13.35-36: My bread has turned into quarrel and my drink into argument. They have entered in [my] bones to make my spirit stagger and make an end of strength.

Other verses use the consequences of eating to highlight the effects of distressing life events. Thus, Psalm 60.3[5] conceptualises the suffering following enemy attacks as reeling after drinking the wine God has given them, as in references to the cup of wrath above. The parallelism explicitly links drinking wine with suffering 'hard things' (קשה).

הִרְאִיתָה עַמְּךָ קָשָׁה הִשְׁקִיתָנוּ יַיִן תִּרְעֵלָה:

Psalm 60.3[5]: You have made your people suffer hard things; you have given us wine to drink that made us reel.

A further set of verses describe experiences of distress as consuming tears, sighing or weeping, again non-nutritious food. Psalm 42.3[4] makes tears (דִּמְעָתִי) the psalmist's daily food (לֶחֶם). In Psalm 102.9[10] weeping (בִּכּוֹי) is consumed as drink (שִׁקְוִי), and ashes are food (לֶחֶם). In 1QH 13.33-34, 'sighing' (אנחה) is food, and tears (דמעות) are drink. Psalm 80.5[6] has tears (דִּמְעָה) as both food and drink. In each verse, the events the

sufferer is experiencing (crying, weeping, sighing, shedding tears) are conceptualised as food consumed. Where these are abstract nouns based on a fairly common verb (אָנַח, בכי), rather than concrete nouns (like דְּמָעָה), these cohere with the mappings in which bad life experiences are conceptualised as bad food that is eaten (as in Job 9.18). The difference here is that the foods eaten are events where the self is an agent, rather than an undergoer.

הִיָּתָה־לִּי דְמָעָתִי לֶחֶם יוֹמָם וּלְיָלָה

Psalm 42.3[4]: My tears have been my food day and night.

כִּי־אֶפֶר כָּלֶחֶם אֲכָלָתִי וְשָׁקְנִי בְּבִכִּי מִסִּכָּתִּי:

Psalm 102.9[10]: Ashes I eat for my food, with my drink I mix my weeping.¹⁰⁶²

וְאוֹכְלָה בִלְחֶם אֲנַחָה 34 וְשָׁקְנִי בְּדַמְעוֹת אֵין כֹּלָה

1QH 13.33-34: I am eating the food of sighing, my drink is tears without end.

הָאֲכָלָתָם לֶחֶם דְּמָעָה וְנִשְׁקְמוּ בְּדַמְעוֹת שְׁלִישׁ:

Psalm 80.5[6]: You have fed them [your people] with the food of tears, and given them tears to drink in full measure.

Outside the corpus, Isaiah 30.20-21 has וְנָתַן לָכֶם אֲדֹנָי לֶחֶם צָר וּמִים לַחֲץ, ‘and though the Lord gives you the food of distress and the water of adversity’. Here, food and drink are again bad life experiences. Similarly, Jeremiah 9.15[14] has God giving his people wormwood to eat and poison to drink (מֵאֲכִילֵם אֶת־הָעֵם הַזֶּה לַעֲנָה וְהַשְׁקִיתֵם) (מִי־רֹאשׁ). Carroll sees God here as ‘a *chef of death*, that is... one who serves food and drink to his creatures in order to punish and to destroy them’.¹⁰⁶³

This metaphor maps significant structure onto the experience of distress. First, *agency* is frequently highlighted, mapping the person offering ‘bad’ food or drink onto the agent responsible for distress. Sometimes, this is very deliberate (Psalm 75.8[9]), with God mixing

¹⁰⁶² Author’s translation.

¹⁰⁶³ R. P. Carroll, ‘YHWH’s Sour Grapes: Images of Food and Drink in the Prophetic Discourses of the Hebrew Bible’, *Semeia* 86 (1999) 113-131, 114.

and pouring a toxic drink. Elsewhere (Psalm 60.3[5], Lamentations 3.15 and Job 9.18), God is perceived more generally as responsible for what is consumed. In Psalm 80.5[6] even the food of tears is given by God. Rarely, other humans are agents, as in Psalm 69.21[22].

Second, this mapping can evoke *intensity*, sometimes by how much of a toxic substance has been ingested. Lamentations 3.15 and Job 9.18 highlight the severity of distress by claiming the authors are completely ‘filled’ (שָׂבַע) with bitterness. Similarly, Psalm 80.5[6] likely refers to a ‘full’, or ‘triple’, measure¹⁰⁶⁴ (שְׁלִישׁ) of tears given as drink. Intensity can also be evoked by the frequency of consuming ‘bad’ food. In Psalm 42.3[4], the repeated consumption of tears ‘day and night’ shows ongoing distress. In 1QH 13.34, the drinking tears ‘without end’ (אֵין כֶּלֶה), evokes both the amount of tears being ingested and the ongoing nature of the distress.

Third, *consequences* of consuming bad food map onto consequences of distress. Just as wine causes staggering, distress hinders purposeful movement, and thus the ability to carry out purposeful action. Another consequence of eating bad food is the lasting bad taste, seen explicitly in Job 21.23-25, but also implicitly in all the examples of מַרָּר with נֶפֶשׁ listed earlier. Ongoing bitterness in the person is a result of eating the bitter food of experience.

These mappings can be summarised as follows:

Person ingesting bad food	→	Person experiencing distress
Agent offering bad food	→	Agent responsible for distress (God or human enemies)
Premeditated preparation of noxious food	→	Premeditated action to cause distress
Amount of bad food ingested	→	Intensity of distress experienced
Frequency of consumption of bad food	→	Frequency of experiencing distress

¹⁰⁶⁴ Alter, *Psalms*, 285.

Negative results of eating bad food → Negative symptoms of distress
(reeling, staggering)

9.4.4. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS BEING EXPOSED TO POISON

The use of מִרְר for bile and thus for snake's venom (through the common ancient Near Eastern conceptualisation that snakes' venom consists of their bile), links venom (and general examples of being exposed to poison) conceptually to the other examples in this chapter.¹⁰⁶⁵ A toxic substance is still being incorporated into the person, though not necessarily administered orally.

1QH 13.26-29 offers a fairly full script. The petitioner's opponents have 'vipers' venom' (מַבְלָגוֹת) on their tongues, subsequently described as 'serpents' poison' (כַּחֲמַת תַּנִּינִים). The poison's spreading nature is highlighted, so that it infuses the person, going on to make the sufferer stagger, lose strength, and unable to stand in his place.

ואֲנִישִׁי בְּלִיעַל פִּתְחוֹ 27 לְשׁוֹן שִׁקָּר כַּחֲמַת תַּנִּינִים פּוֹרַחַת לְקִצִּים וְכוֹזַחֲלִי עֵפֶר
יִוְרוּ לַחֲתוֹן מַבְלָגוֹת 28 פִּתְנִים לֹאִין חֶבֶר וְתָהִי לְכֹאִיב אֲנוֹשׁ וְנִגַּע נִמְאָר בְּתַכְמִי
עֲבֹדְכָה לְהַכְשִׁיל רֹחַח 29 וְלִהְתֵּם כּוֹחַ לְבַלְתִּי חֲזֹק מֵעַמֹּד

1QH 13.26-29: M[en of Be]lial have opened a lying tongue, like vipers' venom that spreads to the extremities, like crawlers in the dust they shoot to gra[b], serpents' [poison], against which there is no incantation. It has become an incurable pain, a wasting disease in the innards of your servant, which makes [the spirit] stagger and makes an end of strength, so that he is unable to remain firm in his place.

The poison specifically describes the opponents' words both here and in Psalm 140.3[4], where the poison is under the enemies' lips (תַּחַת שְׁפָתֵימוֹ).

שִׁנְנוּ לְשׁוֹנָם כְּמוֹ-נֶחֱשׁ חֲמַת עֶכְשׁוֹב תַּחַת שְׁפָתֵימוֹ

Psalm 140.3[4]: They make their tongue sharp as a snake's, and under their lips is the venom of vipers.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Pardee, 'Venom'.

Elsewhere, poison is attributed to the thoughts and plans of the enemies. 1QH 12.14-15 locates poisonous taste in the enemies' thoughts, as a root that 'produces' (פורה) poisonous substances, evoking a plant growing in the enemies' minds which will cause harm to others later. 1QH 13.10 locates the venom in the enemies' schemes (מזמותם).

שורש פורה רוש ולענה במחשבותם

1QH 12.14: A root which produces poison and bitterness is on their thoughts.

חמת תנינים כול מזמותם לחתף

1QH 13.10: Vipers' venom is all their scheming to snatch away.

This mapping develops extra inferences related to the general conceptual mapping from toxic substances to distress. Toxic substances here are not just given by the enemy, but may have their very source in the enemy, as a snake produces its own poison. Further, there are extra inferences when the toxic substance reaches the petitioner. Just as a poison enters a person and then spreads within the body, so distress caused by an enemy (particularly through their words) can increase in severity and take over more of the person.

9.4.5. EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS OTHER EXPOSURE TO SOMETHING BITTER / NOXIOUS

Finally, sometimes the petitioner is exposed to something bitter or noxious in a more general way than ingesting it or being bitten by a snake.

First, some texts conceptualise something toxic outside the person. Lamentations 3.5 positions the petitioner as enveloped by poison (וַיִּקְרַח רָאֵשׁ), conflating the CONSTRAINT schema of chapter six with the danger of poison. Similarly, 1QH 13.31-32 uses both the surrounding schema and 'bitterness'. The enemies intend to create bitterness for the author, intending to act to harm him. In Psalm 64.3[4], the psalmist is exposed to 'bitter words' (דְּבַר מָר). As when the enemies' words were viper's venom, this highlights their power to harm when they make contact and are absorbed by the target. In Job 13.26, God's written words are 'bitter' (תִּכְתֹּב עָלַי מְרָרוֹת), rather than spoken words, causing harm to Job, just as a noxious substance would do. Finally, Psalm 71.4 uses the word חֹמֶץ to describe

the unjust ones persecuting the psalmist. Usually this is translated as ‘robbers’, based on the parallel with חמס, covering robbery in rabbinic Hebrew,¹⁰⁶⁶ but it could also provide cognitive access to the domain of taste. These men who are ‘sour’ could have an unpleasant effect on others just as vinegar does to the teeth.

בָּנָה עָלַי וַיִּקַּף רֹאשׁ וּתְלָאָה:

Lamentations 3.5: He has besieged and enveloped me with bitterness and tribulation.

וּסְבִיבוּנִי בַהֲוֹת לִבִּי וַיִּצְרֵם 32 הוֹפִיעַ לִי לַמְרוֹרוֹם

1QH 13.31-32: They surrounded me with the calamity of their heart; and their intention appeared to me for bitterness.

אֲשֶׁר שָׁנְנוּ כְּחֶרֶב לְשׁוֹנֵם דִּרְכוּ חֶצֶם דְּבַר מָוֶה

Psalm 64.3[4]: [Evildoers,] who whet their tongues like swords, who aim bitter words like arrows.

כִּי־תִכְתֹּב עָלַי מַרְרוֹת וְתוֹרִישֵׁנִי עֲוֹנוֹת נְעוּרָי:

Job 13.26: For you write bitter things against me, and make me reap the iniquities of my youth.

אֱלֹהֵי פִלְטָנִי מִיַּד רָשָׁע מִכַּף מַעֲוֹל וְחוֹמֵץ:

Psalm 71.4: Rescue me, O my God, from the hand of the wicked, from the grasp of the unjust and cruel (sour).

In these examples the main inference is the harmfulness of ‘bitter’ substances, the potential to cause damage being mapped to the words, thoughts or other aspects of the sufferer’s enemies to which he is exposed.

9.5. Further Evidence

9.5.1. Generalisations over Polysemy

Generalisations over polysemy can be seen both in the various roots used for ingesting substances and the various unpleasant or harmful substances that are ingested.

¹⁰⁶⁶ M. I. Gruber, *Rashi's Commentary on the Psalms* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2007), 469.

Roots used for ingesting substances (and also for experiencing distress) include general words like **אכל** ('eat'), **שתה** ('drink'), **שקה** ('cause to drink', in the hiphil), but also words indicating specific parts of the experience such as **שבע** ('fill with food'), **רוה** ('fill with drink'), and **מלא** ('fill'). Words for the substances taken into the body also include general words like **לֶחֶם** ('food'), **כוס** ('cup'), and **שָׁקִי / מִשְׁקָה** ('drink'), but also several specific unpleasant or toxic substances, such as **חֹמֶץ** ('vinegar'), **לֶעֱנָה** ('wormwood?'), **רָאשׁ** ('poison / gall'), **חֵמָה** ('venom'), **מְרוֹרִים** ('bitter herbs / foods'). Finally, roots describing tastes themselves (**מרר**, **חמץ**) occur both in the physical domain and to describe emotional or psychological states. The various words here, potentially allowing significant lexical variation, shows how elaborated this mapping is.

9.5.2. Generalisations over Inference Patterns

Generalisations over inference patterns include both inferences from the domain of taste (enumerated in section 9.2.1.b) and those from eating and drinking more generally.

First, of the complex taste receptors available, predominantly the chemical sense of potentially harmful, 'bitter' taste (**מרר**) is used, although **חמץ** 'sour' also occurs twice. Different concentrations of toxicity are not used, with no modifiers evoking intensity of a 'bitter' soul or spirit. Bitter tastes lingering beyond other tastes are used in Proverbs 5.4 and 2 Samuel 2.26, where something that seems good ends in bitterness, although less explicit in the specific corpus.

Second, taste's *proximate* nature allows several inferences. Food disappears when it is ingested, and similarly, when life events are conceptualised as ingested substances, they are experienced, their taste is perceived, but the events themselves cannot be experienced again. The taste of food lingers in the mouth, while it itself is internalised by the subject. Correspondingly, the bitterness of life events may be internalised by the subject, resulting in a **מר נפש**. Job 21.25 most clearly shows this inference, explicit linking what has been consumed and the condition of the **נפש**. Further, one may get rid of a persistent bitter taste

by eating something else or by actively ejecting the substance from the body. This motivation to action is mapped to those with a ‘bitter soul’.

Third, the *evaluative* aspect of taste is significant. מַרֵּר evokes ‘bad’ tastes, not just chemically ‘bitter’ ones, suiting it for negatively evaluating life experiences. Just as eating ‘bad’ tasting substances is unpleasant and harmful to the body, experiences conceived as ingesting or being exposed to bitterness are unpleasant and harmful.

Other inferences come from the broader domain of consumption. First, some inferences relate to *consequences*. Ingested food has an ongoing effect on the body. Wine tastes good, but as it is absorbed by the body causes staggering. Similarly, some life experiences or choices may seem good at the time, but result in distress, as in Psalm 60.3[5]. Consuming poison also has inferred harmful, or even fatal, consequences. Elsewhere, consequences are understood as a noxious substance spreading within the body (1QH 13.27). The active tendency of those with a ‘bitter’ soul fits again here. They acknowledge the ongoing consequences of tasting something harmful and seek to do things to get rid of it.

Second, embodied experiences of eating and drinking conceptualise *intensity* more than taste perception. The regularity of eating and the amount consumed map onto the intensity of suffering.

Finally, conceptualising distress as an ingested foodstuff again emphasises its external origin. It is something from the outside that enters a person, rather than a characteristic of people themselves. Even the ‘bitter’ soul is always a result of something negative and external affecting the person.

These various inferences show that this metaphor maps significant structure from the domain of taste to the domain of physical distress.

9.5.3. Novel Metaphor

Next, instantiations found in both very conventional idioms and in more poetic phrases, show the entrenchment of this mapping. First, associating מַרֵּר with נֶפֶשׁ is very

conventional, found within and outside the corpus. By contrast, God filling Job with bitterness (Job 9.18) is more poetic, with increased impact through extra entailments about who is causing the bitterness, and the implicit contrast with God's expected filling of the person with good food.

Second, the conceptualisation of life experiences as 'drinking a cup' is likely conventional (from the references considered here, the extended symbolism of Jeremiah 25.15-19, and even Jesus' reference to his suffering as a cup in Gethsemane in Matthew 25.39, 42). Psalm 75.8[9] then elaborates this conventional mapping, describing the type of wine and how God mixes and pours it. Understanding this novel expression relies on awareness of the common conventional mapping which understands life events as drinking a cup.

Thus, this conceptual mapping appears in conventional idioms in narrative and within the corpus, and also in highly creative instances, showing ongoing active use of this source domain to understand distress situations.

9.5.4. Larger Scale Metaphorical Systems

The mapping from negative life experiences to eating bitter food coheres with a larger scale metaphorical mapping in which various life events or actions are classified as food or drink.

Thus, the wife in Proverbs 31.27 does not 'eat the food of idleness' (וְלֶחֶם עֲצָלוּת לֹא) (תֹאכֵל). She does not act in a lazy way, but this is conceptualised through the domain of eating. In Proverbs 4.17, the wicked eat 'the food of wickedness' and drink 'the wine of violence' (כִּי לֶחֶמוֹ לֶחֶם רָשָׁע וַיֵּין חֲמָסִים יִשְׁתֶּה), where the wickedness and violence consumed describe the actions of the wicked. In Job 15.16, man drinks 'evil like water' (אִישׁ־שֹׁתָה כַּמַּיִם עוֹלָה), where what is ingested is the evil committed. Similarly, in Job 34.7, Job's complaints are 'drinking scoffing like water' (יִשְׁתָּה־לַעֲגוֹ כַּמַּיִם). In each case, a person's attitude and actions are understood as the food or drink they consume.¹⁰⁶⁷ This most closely coheres with the agentive examples of drinking or eating 'weeping' or 'sighing' given above. However, since elsewhere food conceptualises life experiences more generally

¹⁰⁶⁷ As in Hausa, the drinking examples may evoke repeated acts more than the eating examples.

(like the food of affliction and drink of adversity in Isaiah 30.20-21), this larger metaphorical system also coheres with metaphors of distress as drinking a cup of wrath or being filled with bitterness. Both eating and drinking can conceptualise either more agentive activities or more passive experiences that are ‘undergone’.

The proverb quoted in Jeremiah 31.29 and Ezekiel 18.2 also makes sense in this context, ‘the fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children’s teeth are set on edge’ (אָבוֹת אָכְלוּ בָסָר) (וְשֵׁנֵי בָנִים תִּקְהִינָה). The fathers’ sinful actions are conceptualised as eating bad-tasting food. The proverb then expands on the inferred consequences. Eating bad food affects the body, similarly bad actions result in negative consequences.

Job 20.12-15 also uses this larger metaphorical system, first describing how wicked actions are ‘sweet’ in the mouth of the wicked (אִם-תִּמְתִּיק בְּפִי רָעָה). The way they savour these actions is elaborated: hiding them under their tongues; not letting go; holding them in their mouths. Yet, in verse 14 this food turns within their stomachs (לְחֶמּוֹ בְּמִעְיוֹ נִהְפָּךְ) to the poisonous bitterness of snakes (מְרוֹרֶת פִּתְנִים בְּקֶרֶב), linking מָרָר with snake venom. Here again, something tasting sweet at first may become toxic inside the person. Further, the eating metaphor again highlights the consequences of actions.

Thus, life events are understood as food being consumed throughout several Hebrew texts. Positive events or experiences are good food, whereas events which have harmful consequences, are characterised as unpleasant or toxic food. The specific mapping from distressing events to eating toxic food fits coherently within this larger structure.

9.5.5. Non-verbal Realisations

Non-verbal realisations are found in the bitter herbs of the Passover celebration and the ordeal of Numbers 5.

The Passover regulations in Exodus 12.8 require eating ‘bitter herbs’ (עֵל-מָרָרִים) (יֹאכְלֶהוּ). Within Exodus this is verbally linked to the distress in Egypt, since Exodus 1.14

describes the Egyptian taskmasters making the Hebrews' lives 'bitter' with hard service (וַיִּמְרְרוּ אֶת־חַיֵּיהֶם בְּעִבְדָּה קָשָׁה). By the time the Haggadah was compiled (between 200 and 500 C.E.), the bitter herbs eaten at Passover were explicitly connected with the distress of Egyptian slavery through the words recited as these symbolic elements are eaten, 'a reminder of the bitter treatment to which the Jews were subjected in Egypt'.¹⁰⁶⁸

The 'bitter water' ordeal of Numbers 5.11-31 gives another non-verbal consolidation of the mapping from bitter-tasting substances to distress. A wife suspected of adultery must drink 'bitter water' (מֵי דִמְרִים), and if she is guilty, the water will cause internal distress and pain, whereas if she is innocent it has no effect. This non-verbal symbolism consolidates a link between eating and drinking and distress that comes as some kind of punishment.

Both situations link situations of distress with the consumption of bad-tasting food, though the Passover Seder would be most significant neurologically, cross-modally linking words and taste experiences, and repeated year after year.

9.6. Universality and Variation

9.6.1. Variation within Source and Target Domain

Comparing with other languages, the closest similarities are with the other ancient Near Eastern languages and Guhu Samane. English and Finnish have commonalities in the use of the same sensory source domain to conceptualise emotional, psychological and physical distress, but there are also significant variances. As in previous chapters, these differences can be described as differences in the target domain, in the prototypical structure of the source domain and in the entailments drawn from it.

First, this source domain conceptualises wider experiences in Hebrew than in European languages like English and Finnish. In Hebrew, the source domain conceptualises emotional and psychological dispositions common with English words like *bitter* or *sour*. However, the Hebrew target domain also encompasses physical distress, such as Hezekiah's illness.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hamilton, 'מֵי דִמְרִים'.

Within emotional discourse there is a further difference. The English emotion of *bitterness* is a long-lasting state similar to *anger* or *resentment*. Similarly, a *katkera* Finnish person would likely display angry behaviour. Hebrew scenarios and actions are closer to English *grief* than *anger* (for example, Hannah's childlessness or Naomi's and Job's loss of family members). Guhu-Samane is more similar, linking a 'bitter' heart to grief rather than anger (which is referred to as *qupa qanga*, 'bad' heart).

Second, the source domain's prototypical structure differs. For example, in English, *bitter* taste is prototypically associated with orange peel, certain vegetables, and (for some) quinine. In Hebrew, מרר is prototypically associated with undrinkable water, certain leaves, bad grapes, bile and snake venom, as well as לענה and ראש. Such substances are more harmful than prototypical English *bitter* tasting substances, thus entailing a more dangerous situation described with מרר than one conceptualised through *bitterness*, and a greater need to act to remedy the situation.

Third, entailments from the domain of experiencing bad tastes differ between Hebrew and English. In Hebrew, applying the root מרר to someone entails something bad has happened to them, conceptualised as eating something bad, an entailment not significantly utilised with English *bitterness*. An English *bitter* person is prototypically compared to a bitter substance, with the bitterness belonging to the nature of the substance. This internal origin means a bitter person would be held (at least partially) responsible for their bitterness, so that solutions should be found internally, by the person finding a way to get over it or change their character. This individual control is seen in phrases like, *I'm not bitter*. By contrast, in Hebrew, the entailment that 'bitterness' is caused by an external toxic substance entering the body means that the person is not prototypically responsible for the bitterness, nor able to control it. Attempts to solve such a situation thus revolve around changing external circumstances, for example by pleading for God to change the situation.

Fourth, compared with Hausa, there are few obviously different entailments between eating and drinking as ways of consuming bad food in distress. Whereas in Hausa eating suggested agentive control over a situation and drinking an undergoer type of passivity, in Hebrew both

express either agency or passivity. As well as mappings similar to Hausa where drinking is passive (as in the cup of God's wrath) and eating active (as in the bread of tears), drinking sometimes emphasises agency (as in drinking 'scoffing') and eating sometimes emphasises passivity (as in eating the food of affliction). The context defines whether the source domain maps to an agentive or passive experience, rather than specific features of the embodied experiences.

Finally, comparing with the Akkadian examples, the target domains and prototypical substances are fairly similar. However, the agents feeding with harmful food differ. In Hebrew, the only agents are God or occasionally other people. In the Akkadian texts there are many more spiritual beings, particularly demons, who could be feeding poison to the sufferer. Thus the polytheistic context is able to be incorporated in a very similar embodied conceptualisation, by multiplying the possible agents who could offer food or drink.

9.6.2. Variation in Linguistic Expression

The linguistic expression of this conceptual metaphor also varies. Differences can be seen in the parts of the experience of taste or eating that are highlighted across different cultures, in the degree of conventionalisation of the mapping across cultures and in the syntactic expressions used.

First, Hebrew and English differ in the elaboration of the 'eating' part of the mapping. Eating 'tears', 'scorn' or 'the food of affliction' sound unusual in English, yet the variety of similar Hebrew expressions suggests this is fairly conventional. Thus, Hebrew highlights the part of an 'ingestion' script where food is actually eaten (as a way of conceptualising activities carried out in life). When people are described as becoming 'sour' or 'bitter' in English, this part of the script is not used. The Hebrew highlighting of this aspect highlights both the relationship between action and consequence, and the external cause of emotional and psychological symptoms of distress.

Second, degrees of conventionalisation across languages may vary. Since expressions using מרר to conceptualise distress occur relatively frequently throughout narrative and poetic genres in the limited Classical Hebrew corpus, it is likely a fairly conventional expression.

Descriptions of ‘bitter’ people or experiences are also fairly conventional in English. Noticeably, these metaphors of distress are more conventionalised in Hebrew than either the VERTICALITY schema or the DARKNESS primary metaphor (as these are very rarely used in narrative texts, if at all) even though there are fewer tokens in the specific corpus.

Finally, syntactic expression differs. For example, it is more common in English to talk of someone being bitter or sour than to use these as an adjective combined with a body part. In Guhu Samane, ‘bitter’ emotions are commonly referred to with the adjective-noun combination *qupa togo*. In the Classical Hebrew texts, the most common syntax is also an adjective-noun combination, associating מָרָר with the נֶפֶשׁ. In English, the most common use of the source domain of ‘bitterness’ is in the description of verbs through the adverb ‘bitterly’. Hebrew does not have this kind of adverbial construction, with the source domain being used much more frequently to describe nouns than verbs.

9.7. Summary

The universal physiology of taste receptors that tell us when a ‘bad’ substance is being ingested provides a useful source domain in several languages for conceptualising negatively valued situations. Whereas in English negative character disposition or verbal ideas are expressed with this source domain, in Classical Hebrew, it is particularly negatively valued life events that are conceptualised this way, so that the users of the language ‘expressed tragic, unpleasant experiences in terms of the sense of taste, the bitter’.¹⁰⁶⁹ This chapter has shown the significant parts of this structured mapping, in which negative, harmful experiences are conceptualised as toxic substances being ingested, and the resulting emotional and psychological state as the persisting toxicity or bitterness in the body. The high degree of entrenchment has also been demonstrated through the conventional and poetic uses of the same conceptual mappings.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Hamilton, ‘מָרָר’.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

This conclusion summarises the results of this thesis, offers some implications for linguistics, Biblical Studies and translation, and finally suggests some directions for future research.

10.2. Summary of Results

This thesis investigated the five most significant source domains and image schemas used to conceptualise situations of physical, emotional and psychological distress in the first person statements of distress found in a corpus of Classical Hebrew texts, concentrated in lament psalms, Job, Lamentations and the Hodayot from Qumran. It was shown that these embodied experiences consisted of the VERTICALITY schema, the CONSTRAINT schema, the FORCE schema, and the source domains of DARKNESS and BAD TASTE.

It was possible to identify which domains were preferred most for conceptualising distress. The most frequently occurring is the FORCE schema, then the CONSTRAINT schema, then VERTICALITY, DARKNESS and BAD TASTE. The overwhelming significance of the FORCE schema is revealed in the frequency of instantiations and the variety of images and mixture of conventional and novel linguistic expressions which illustrate it. The CONSTRAINT schema is also surprisingly significant, especially when compared to conceptualisations of distress in English, instantiated by many different images, and again being reflected in both very conventional and more creative expressions.

As claimed in chapter three, these metaphors together conceptualise a gestalt experience of distress, including a prototypical scenario with participants, parts, stages, causes, and results. This prototypical scenario, with its different elements structured by these different conceptual metaphors, is summarised in the following table and then discussed below.¹⁰⁷⁰ As the scenario is prototypical, not all experiences of distress follow every aspect, but these elements are most frequently highlighted in the metaphorical conceptualisations.¹⁰⁷¹

¹⁰⁷⁰ For comparable summaries, see Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 80-81, Lakoff, *Women*, 397-409.

¹⁰⁷¹ The prototypical scenario may also differ in other corpora.

	Distress Scenario	Source Domain Scenarios
<i>Participants</i>	Person suffering distress (S)	Hunted animal, person under attack, eating bad food or in darkness
	Agent(s) causing distress (A)	Hunter, enemy opponent, lion, snake, military commander, 'chef' or archer
	Other hostile persons in the community	Enemies, animals
<i>Causation</i>	Deliberate, premeditated	A baits traps, hunts prey, plots, sets ambushes, mixes wine, prepares food, guides to bad place
	Unjustified	S is innocent prey or innocent victim
	Unsuspected	A uses traps or ambushes
<i>Stage 1: Distress approaches</i>	S becomes aware that A intends to cause distress and cries for help	S detects ambush, senses traps, sees surrounding animals
<i>Stage 2: Distress</i>	S experiences distress as a forceful impact	S is struck, crushed, broken, gripped, seized, moved, pushed, pierced, or torn
	S experiences physiological symptoms	S experiences constrained, melted or broken heart, bowed soul, crushed spirit, broken 'bones', weakened eyes or bitter throat/soul

	S is harmed by words of others	S impacted by tearing teeth of animals, ocean waves, arrows and swords, or poison
<i>Stage 3:</i> <i>Distress continues</i>	Distress continues, constraining S and preventing from fulfilling life purposes	S is tied, held in a net, besieged, imprisoned, walled in, gripped, surrounded, blocked by darkness, feels toxic substances spreading within
	S is unable to do anything physical to alleviate the situation	S is imprisoned in a cistern, a helpless prey in a net, besieged by an enemy, ingested substances are no longer controllable
	Increased duration of distress intensifies the experience	Gravity pulls S closer to Sheol, the siege progresses, toxins spread in S's body
<i>Stage 4: Relief</i>	External agent causes relief from distress	S is lifted up, set free from a net or trap, the wild animals' power is defeated

Alongside this prototypical scenario, there are other atypical situations, varying at one or more points from this scenario. For example:

Unrelieved distress: Stage 4 does not happen, and the metaphors are carried to their inferred conclusions, as in Psalm 88 where the author is now situated in the deepest possible location, and darkness has overcome everything.

Non-specific agent of distress: Prototypically, the agents causing distress are deliberate and personal, but occasional metaphors conceptualise a more generic, though still external, cause. Such causes might be conceptualised as gravity bringing the person to a low place, or the buffeting of water and the waves that are not explicitly in anyone's control.

Interrupted preparations: Sometimes the scenario is evoked through a script that has an inferred sequence of increasingly desperate situations (such as bird trapping or lion attack).

However, God's actions at an early stage prevent the script continuing and the actual distress occurring. Thus, hunters may be caught in their own traps or the lions' teeth are broken.

For the prototypical scenario, the agent causing distress may be either God or human enemies. Noticeably, the same metaphors conceptualise either God or enemies acting in the same way towards the distressed petitioner, such as a hunting lion. This gives further validity to framing the prototypical distress scenario from the perspective of the sufferer. The first person experience is similarly conceived whether the agent causing the suffering is human or divine. This is also comparable to English and Mesopotamian examples which have similar verbs of forceful interaction to conceptualise sufferers' experiences, but different agents causing them, such as demons or objectified emotions.

This highlighting of external agents in all the metaphorical conceptualisations is very significant. Causes of distress are almost always external to the sufferer, predominantly problematising the situation as being in the control of some other rational entity. This problematisation within each image schema or primary metaphor constrains the petitioner's inferences so that only external solutions are sought. The only potential relief can come from an external source, so all the sufferer can do to affect change is utter a petition to God, pleading for help. This helplessness is especially emphasised in the significant CONSTRAINT schema conceptualisations, highlighting the powerlessness of the petitioner to act as he or she desires. Significantly, this metaphorical problematisation prompts different courses of action to conceptualisations of similar target domains in English and other languages, even when similar source domains are used. As has been shown, English metaphors of distress place much more emphasis on the distressed individual acting to resolve the situation: to climb out of the pit, to keep a leash on emotions or hold it together when under stress.

This culture-specific, structured, prototypical conceptualisation of distress and the atypical variants show the importance of metaphorical thinking for understanding, problematising and acting to resolve situations of distress. The differences from English show that language, and in particular metaphorical conceptualisation, prototypes and conventional inferences, is important for constraining how people think about situations, and thus how they choose to act upon them. Thus, this research confirms linguistic relativity, as described in chapter two. Different groups of people can be guided to think and act differently by the linguistic conceptualisations their community gives to life experiences.

These results, and the broader methodological considerations of the thesis have a number of implications for the fields of Biblical Studies, Cognitive Linguistics, and translation.

10.3. Implications

10.3.1. Implications for Biblical Studies

Within the field of Biblical Studies the most significant contributions relate to the controversial area of claims about Hebrew thought based on linguistic texts. The thesis has endeavoured to navigate a way past James Barr's minimalist conclusions that a language can tell us very little about the mental processes of its users. Rather, words can provide points of access to structures of encyclopaedic knowledge including experiential gestalts, scripts and cognitive scenarios, which might constrain inferences about causation, purposes or results in non-trivial ways.

The contribution of this thesis has been the presentation of new strands of evidence that can be used to argue that words might provide access to these structures, especially where words have been metaphorically transferred to a more abstract domain of use. The methodology has introduced at least four analytical concepts that can argue for the influence of a root meaning on Hebrew thought, beyond mere assertion.

First, *elaboration* describes the extent to which a source domain or image schema is used in many different linguistic examples, being revealed in generalisations over polysemy. As Sawyer noted, several words used in each of two domains provide greater evidence that there is a mapping cognitively linking these domains for at least some users of the language, than if there is only an isolated example. For example, the variety of individual words and longer expressions using the domain of surrounding or constraining to conceptualise distress suggests that צַר still provides cognitive access to this domain when it too is used in descriptions of distress.

Second, *entrenchment* describes the variety of linguistic expressions based on a possible conceptual metaphor. When these linguistic expressions include both highly conventional idioms and creative novel language usage, it shows speakers actively accessing the source

domain to creatively elaborate set forms of language. Conversely, it suggests novel utterances are processed and understood through the internalisation of more conventional expressions. Thus, the existence of both the conventional expression *מֵר נֶפֶשׁ* ('bitter soul'), found throughout the Classical Hebrew texts, and the more creative *יִשְׁבְּעֵנִי מִמְרָרִים* ('he fills me with bitter things', Job 9.18), suggests that the domain of bad taste is still evoked by the conventional description, and that the more novel use is processed and understood because of the familiarity of the mapping established in part by the conventional idiom. Entrenchment can also be seen when a conceptual metaphor is not just realised linguistically but also in non-verbal expressions.

Third, texts may show *inferential structure* from an embodied source domain constraining inferences in a more abstract target domain (such as distressing circumstances). Thus, when the author of Psalm 88 describes his plight as being in the deepest pit (using a modifier specifically from the domain of vertical position), the more basic domain of vertical position is being used to understand the intensity of a situation that is more abstract (his experience of feeling close to death). Further, this embodied prototypical situation constrains the inference that he is not able to help himself. Elsewhere, metaphors of distressing situations as consuming bitter substances constrain inferences regarding the external cause of distress.

Fourth, *coherence* describes the way in which a particular proposed metaphorical mapping coheres with other larger scale conceptual metaphors in the language. Where a proposed metaphorical extension fits in with larger scale metaphorical systems, it is more likely that people may think in line with the metaphor.

All of these kinds of evidence together give powerful support to a claim that an embodied source domain affects the way people thought about and acted upon more abstract situations. Conversely, where some or all of these strands are absent, it is hard to claim that an embodied domain still affected thinking.

Finally, alongside these methodological implications, the actual results of this thesis have implications for Hebrew semantics for those who are studying emotions or conceptual metaphors in Hebrew. In particular, the data collected here questions the assertion that 'being down' is the major metaphor for depression in the Hebrew scriptures. By seeking to take a

comprehensive approach, both to the possible emotional, physical and psychological states in the target domain and to the possible source domains that could be being accessed, the thesis has shown that ‘depression’ as conceived in English is rarely (if ever) evidenced in the Hebrew texts, and that FORCE and CONSTRAINT schemas are more significant for conceptualisation of the most similar conditions to depression than the VERTICALITY schema.

10.3.2. Implications for Cognitive Linguistics

Within Cognitive Linguistics, this research gives further data for those investigating emotion language, by applying the theory to Hebrew in new ways. Specifically, Lakoff’s methodology for demonstrating evidence of conceptual metaphor has been tested, as have Kövecses’ criteria for cross-cultural variation in conceptual metaphor. As such, it gives useful data for discussion of universals and cultural variation in the conceptualisation of emotions across languages.

A specific focus of this thesis has been to develop a methodology that recognises both the importance of conceptual metaphors and the universal domains they may use (in the tradition of Lakoff and Kövecses) and the importance of culture-specific conceptualisations (in the tradition of Wierzbicka). Kimmel’s concept of compound image schema was significant here¹⁰⁷² in directing attention not just to the canonical universal image schema but also to the way they have been specifically consolidated in the Hebrew language (seen especially for the CONSTRAINT schema). Similarly, the decision to focus on general distress language (defined by form criticism) rather than any specific emotion defined by Anglo ethnopsychology has attempted to avoid imposing Anglo categories onto other cultural data.¹⁰⁷³ The methodology used here thus provides guidelines for future Cognitive Linguistics research seeking to avoid the dangers of ethnopsychology. However, it also highlights the difficulties of doing such research for an ancient language where native intuition is inaccessible.

10.3.3. Implications for Translation

Finally, there are implications here for translation, although this has not been a focus in the research. Since words, and in particular metaphors, are not understood in isolation but in the context of wider cognitive structures based on conceptual mappings, gestalt experiences and cultural prototypes, literal translations can lead to unexpected and misleading inferences.

¹⁰⁷² See section 4.5.1.

¹⁰⁷³ See section 3.3.1.

For example, when Job says he will continue to speak in the bitterness of his soul in an English translation of **בְּמַר נִפְשִׁי**, the most relevant interpretation by English speakers (and thus the one arrived at first) is that Job is talking about his long-standing resentment against God, as this is what the source domain of bitterness maps onto in English. Within the wider Hebrew conceptual system, however, this bitterness is prototypically the result of suffering bad experiences (conceptualised as eating bad food) which is harming Job's very insides. Thus, his drive to go on speaking comes from what he has suffered and the desire to do something about it, rather than his frustration and resentment towards God. A literal translation would have more similar entailments in a language such as Guhu Samane in Papua New Guinea, for example. In each culture, translators need to be aware of the prototypical ways such basic embodied experiences as tasting bad food are structured in order to meaningfully translate conventional metaphors.

To avoid incorrect inferences, translations can remove active links to the embodied source domains, for example, translating the Job passage as 'in the desperation of my soul' or the NET Bible translation of the 'bowed soul' in Psalm 42.5[6] as '*Why are you depressed?*' However, this impoverishes the potential conceptual links to other passages making use of the same domain such as those of eating and drinking tears in distress, or of having an otherwise low posture. Alternatively, maintaining source domain terminology keeps these links but allows possible false inferences where the embodied domain is construed differently. In this case, the context of surrounding passages, footnotes and church teaching may be needed to help avoid miscommunication. These choices need to be made for individual translation projects, but the significance of this research is the way metaphorical expressions cohere with one another in a structure that pervades many texts, so that such decisions cannot be made on a text-by-text basis without the danger of removing or confusing wider conceptual links.

10.4. Future Directions

Finally, this research could be taken in various directions by subsequent studies. First, the cross-cultural comparisons within each chapter have only been illustrative, suggestive of what may be found in the Hebrew texts. Any of the source domains covered in this thesis could be examined further from a typological perspective. Thus, for example, it would be helpful to devote a full study to taste terminology across languages (following Backhouse's

initial work)¹⁰⁷⁴ and to the way this domain is mapped onto the domain of positive and negative life experience. This would give a much stronger set of data with which to compare the Hebrew examples and investigate in more detail linguistic universals and areas of variation.

Second, it would be possible to compare the findings of this thesis with the results produced by an analysis of further ancient Near Eastern texts. This would bring the common heritage into clearer focus, and enable a better perspective on how the different theological worldviews interact with the common embodied domains to give the similarity and variety in the inferences that have been shown in this thesis.

Third, the methodology established in this thesis would be applicable to any area of metaphor research within Biblical Studies. The most natural direction to pursue would be to look at the conceptualisations of positively valued experiences (whether emotional, psychological or physical).

Fourth, this thesis kept a deliberately broad target domain, covering all the experiences of distress occasioning the use of lament or complaint style genres. A further study could endeavour to narrow down the target domain and see if any of the conceptual metaphors are particularly related to one category of emotion. This was avoided within the thesis because of the inherent difficulties, particularly the use of an ethnopsychology alien to the world of the text, but it may be possible to find a way around this, especially as research progresses in the cross-cultural study of emotion.

Nevertheless, this thesis has taken the first step in showing how the writers and users of the Classical Hebrew texts organised, problematised and reasoned about the 'kaleidoscope flux of impressions' they encountered as they perceived themselves in situations of distress. As they perceived themselves in the depths, hemmed in, struck down, wrapped in darkness, and surrounded by poison, they looked outside themselves to the God who alone could bring them relief. And it is precisely this cultural solution to the problems they perceived which has left us the rich treasury of texts on which this thesis is based.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Backhouse, *Taste*.

Appendix

The following table lists all the verses considered within the specific corpus for this thesis and how they were categorised according to canonical image-schemas and primary metaphors, as detailed in section 4.4.

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 3.20				X	X		
Job 3.21							
Job 3.22			X				
Job 3.23		X				X	
Job 3.24							
Job 3.25	X						
Job 3.26	X						
Job 6.2-3	X						
Job 6.4	X				X		
Job 6.9							
Job 6.10	X						
Job 6.11-12						X	
Job 6.13	X						
Job 6.15-17							
Job 6.30					X		
Job 7.3				X			
Job 7.4				X			
Job 7.5							
Job 7.6						X	

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 7.8-10			X				
Job 7.11		X			X		
Job 7.12		X					
Job 7.13-14							
Job 7.15							
Job 7.16							
Job 7.19-20	X	X					
Job 9.11-12	X						
Job 9.17	X						
Job 9.18					X		
Job 9.19	X						
Job 9.21							
Job 9.25-26							
Job 9.30-31							
Job 9.34	X						
Job 10.1					X		
Job 10.8	X	X					
Job 10.15							
Job 10.16	X						
Job 10.20	X						
Job 10.21-22				X		X	
Job 12.5						X	
Job 12.14	X	X					
Job 12.19							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 12.22			X	X			
Job 12.24						X	
Job 12.25				X	X		
Job 13.21	X						X
Job 13.24	X						
Job 13.25	X						
Job 13.26					X		
Job 13.27		X				X	
Job 13.28							
Job 14.1-2		X		X			
Job 14.3							
Job 14.5							
Job 14.6							
Job 14.10							
Job 14.11-12			X				
Job 14.13			X				
Job 14.16							
Job 14.18-19	X						
Job 14.20	X						
Job 14.21							
Job 14.22							
Job 16.6	X						
Job 16.7							
Job 16.8	X						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 16.9	x						
Job 16.10-11	x						
Job 16.12-13	x	x					
Job 16.14	x						
Job 16.15			x				
Job 16.16							
Job 16.20							
Job 17.1	x	x	x				
Job 17.2		x					
Job 17.7				x			
Job 17.11	x						
Job 17.12				x			
Job 17.13-14			x	x			
Job 17.15-16		x	x				
Job 19.2	x						
Job 19.6	x	x					
Job 19.8		x		x		x	
Job 19.9	x						
Job 19.10	x	x					
Job 19.11	x						
Job 19.12	x	x					
Job 19.20							
Job 19.21	x						
Job 19.27							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 21.6	x						
Job 21.17	x	x		x			
Job 21.18	x						
Job 21.20					x		
Job 21.21							
Job 21.23-25					x		
Job 21.26			x				
Job 23.2	x				x		
Job 23.8-10						x	x
Job 23.15-16							
Job 23.17	x			x			
Job 26.2							
Job 27.2					x		
Job 30.11							
Job 30.13	x					x	
Job 30.14	x						
Job 30.15	x						
Job 30.16	x						
Job 30.17	x			x			
Job 30.18	x						
Job 30.19	x		x				
Job 30.20							
Job 30.21	x						
Job 30.22	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Job 30.26				X			
Job 30.27	X						
Job 30.29				X		X	
Job 30.30	X			X			
Job 30.31							
Psalms 3.1[2]	X		X				
Psalms 3.6[7]		X					
Psalms 4.1[2]		X					
Psalms 4.4[5]							
Psalms 6.2[3]							
Psalms 6.3[4]							
Psalms 6.6[7]							
Psalms 6.7[8]							
Psalms 7.1-2[2-3]	X					X	
Psalms 7.5[6]	X		X				
Psalms 9.13[14]			X				
Psalms 11.2[3]	X			X			
Psalms 12.8[9]		X					
Psalms 13.1[2]							
Psalms 13.2[3]							
Psalms 13.3[4]				X			
Psalms 13.4[5]							
Psalms 17.9	X	X					
Psalms 17.11	X	X	X				

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR / FAR
Psalms 17.12	x						
Psalms 18.4[5]	x	x					
Psalms 18.5[6]		x	x				
Psalms 18.6[7]		x					
Psalms 18.16[17]		x	x				
Psalms 18.17[18]	x						
Psalms 18.19[20]		x					
Psalms 18.28[29]				x			
Psalms 18.29[30]		x					
Psalms 18.36[37]		x					
Psalms 22.1-2[2-3]							x
Psalms 22.6[7]							
Psalms 22.11[12]	x	x					x
Psalms 22.12-13[13-14]	x	x					
Psalms 22.14[15]	x						
Psalms 22.15[16]	x		x				
Psalms 22.16-17[17-18]		x					
Psalms 22.19-21[20-22]	x						x
Psalms 25.15		x					
Psalms 25.16	x						
Psalms 25.17		x					
Psalms 25.18							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalms 25.22							
Psalms 27.2	x				x	x	
Psalms 27.3	x						
Psalms 28.1		x	x				
Psalms 28.3	x						
Psalms 30.1[2]			x				
Psalms 30.2[3]							
Psalms 30.3[4]			x				
Psalms 30.7[8]							
Psalms 30.9[10]			x				
Psalms 30.10[11]							
Psalms 31.4[5]		x					
Psalms 31.7-8[8-9]		x					
Psalms 31.9[10]		x					
Psalms 31.11[12]							
Psalms 31.12[13]							
Psalms 31.13[14]		x					
Psalms 31.21[22]		x					
Psalms 32.3-4	x						
Psalms 32.10							
Psalms 34.6[7]		x					
Psalms 35.7-8		x	x				
Psalms 35.17	x						
Psalms 38.3[4]							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR / FAR
Psalm 38.4[5]	x						
Psalm 38.5[6]	x	x					
Psalm 38.6[7]			x	x			
Psalm 38.7[8]	x						
Psalm 38.8[9]	x						
Psalm 38.9[10]							
Psalm 38.10[11]				x			
Psalm 38.11[12]	x						
Psalm 38.12[13]		x					
Psalm 38.13- 14[14-15]							
Psalm 38.16- 17[17-18]			x			x	
Psalm 39.2-3[3- 4]	x						
Psalm 39.4-5[5- 6]							
Psalm 39.6[7]							
Psalm 39.9[10]							
Psalm 39.10[11]	x						
Psalm 39.11[12]	x						
Psalm 39.13[14]						x	
Psalm 40.2[3]		x	x			x	
Psalm 40.12[13]	x	x		x			
Psalm 40.17[18]							
Psalm 41.4[5]							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 41.8[9]	x		x				
Psalm 41.9[10]							
Psalm 42.3[4]					x		
Psalm 42.4[5]							
Psalm 42.5[6]			x				
Psalm 42.6[7]			x				
Psalm 42.7[8]	x		x				
Psalm 42.9[10]	x			x			
Psalm 42.10[11]	x						
Psalm 43.2	x			x			
Psalm 44.9[10]							
Psalm 44.19[20]	x			x			
Psalm 44.25[26]			x				
Psalm 49.5[6]		x					
Psalm 51.8[10]	x						
Psalm 54.3[4]							
Psalm 55.2-3[3-4]	x						
Psalm 55.4[5]	x						
Psalm 55.5[6]	x	x					
Psalm 55.8[9]	x						
Psalm 55.10[11]		x					
Psalm 55.17-18[18-19]	x						
Psalm 55.21[22]	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 56.1-2[2-3]	x						
Psalm 56.5-7[6-8]						x	
Psalm 56.8[9]							
Psalm 56.13[14]			x	x			
Psalm 57.1[2]	x						
Psalm 57.3[4]	x						
Psalm 57.4[5]	x						
Psalm 57.6[7]	x	x	x				
Psalm 59.1-3[2-4]	x						
Psalm 59.6-7[7-8]		x		x			
Psalm 61.2[3]							x
Psalm 62.3[4]	x						
Psalm 62.4[5]			x				
Psalm 63.1[2]					x		
Psalm 64.2-4[3-5]	x				x		
Psalm 64.5[6]		x					
Psalm 66.10	x						
Psalm 66.11	x	x					
Psalm 69.1-2[2-3]	x	x	x				
Psalm 69.3[4]	x	x					
Psalm 69.4[5]	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 69.7-8[8-9]							
Psalm 69.14-15[15-16]	x	x	x				
Psalm 69.17[18]		x					
Psalm 69.18[19]							
Psalm 69.20[21]	x						
Psalm 69.21[22]					x		
Psalm 69.26[27]	x						
Psalm 69.29[30]	x						
Psalm 69.33[34]		x					
Psalm 71.4	x				x		
Psalm 71.9							x
Psalm 71.10-11	x						
Psalm 71.12							x
Psalm 71.20		x	x				
Psalm 73.2						x	
Psalm 73.14	x						
Psalm 73.21	x				x		
Psalm 73.22							
Psalm 73.26							
Psalm 77.2[3]		x		x			
Psalm 77.3[4]							
Psalm 77.4[5]	x						
Psalm 77.6[7]				x			

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 77.10[11]	x						
Psalm 86.1							
Psalm 86.7		x					
Psalm 86.13			x				
Psalm 86.14	x						
Psalm 86.16							x
Psalm 88.3[4]			x			x	x
Psalm 88.4[5]			x				
Psalm 88.5[6]	x		x				
Psalm 88.6[7]		x	x	x			
Psalm 88.7[8]	x						
Psalm 88.8[9]		x					x
Psalm 88.9[10]				x			
Psalm 88.14[15]	x						x
Psalm 88.15[16]	x						
Psalm 88.16[17]	x						
Psalm 88.17[18]		x					
Psalm 88.18[19]				x			x
Psalm 94.17							
Psalm 94.18						x	
Psalm 94.19							
Psalm 102.0[1]							
Psalm 102.2[3]		x					
Psalm 102.3[4]							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalms 102.4[5]	x				x		
Psalms 102.5[6]							
Psalms 102.6[7]							
Psalms 102.7[8]							
Psalms 102.8[9]							
Psalms 102.9[10]					x		
Psalms 102.10[11]	x						
Psalms 102.11[12]				x			
Psalms 102.23-24[24-25]							
Psalms 109.2-3	x	x					
Psalms 109.22	x						
Psalms 109.23	x			x			
Psalms 109.24							
Psalms 116.3	x	x	x				
Psalms 116.6			x				
Psalms 116.8						x	
Psalms 116.9	x						
Psalms 116.16		x					
Psalms 118.5		x					
Psalms 118.10-12	x	x					
Psalms 118.13	x					x	
Psalms 118.18	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 119.25			x				
Psalm 119.28	x		x				
Psalm 119.50							
Psalm 119.61	x	x					
Psalm 119.78							
Psalm 119.81							
Psalm 119.82							
Psalm 119.83	x			x			
Psalm 119.85	x	x	x				
Psalm 119.92							
Psalm 119.107							
Psalm 119.109							
Psalm 119.110	x	x					
Psalm 119.120							
Psalm 119.123							
Psalm 119.134	x						
Psalm 119.136							
Psalm 119.141							
Psalm 119.143	x	x					
Psalm 119.150	x						
Psalm 119.153							
Psalm 123.4							
Psalm 129.3	x						
Psalm 129.4	x	x					

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Psalm 130.1			x				
Psalm 140.1- 3[2-4]	x				x		
Psalm 140.5[6]							
Psalm 140.9- 11[10-12]	x	x	x				
Psalm 141.8- 10[8-10]		x					
Psalm 142.2- 3[3-4]		x				x	
Psalm 142.4[5]							
Psalm 142.6[7]			x				
Psalm 142.7[8]		x					
Psalm 143.3	x		x	x			
Psalm 143.4	x						
Psalm 143.6					x		
Psalm 143.7		x	x				
Psalm 143.11		x					
Psalm 144.7	x	x	x				
Psalm 144.11	x						
Isaiah 38.10		x	x			x	
Isaiah 38.11				x			
Isaiah 38.12	x			x			
Isaiah 38.13	x						
Isaiah 38.14			x				
Isaiah 38.15	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Isaiah 38.16							
Isaiah 38.17-18	x		x		x		
Jeremiah 8.21	x			x			
Jeremiah 9.1[8.23]							
Jeremiah 10.19	x						
Jeremiah 10.20	x						
Jeremiah 10.24							
Jeremiah 15.18	x						
Jeremiah 18.20		x	x				
Jeremiah 18.22		x	x				
Jeremiah 20.7	x						
Jeremiah 20.9		x					
Jeremiah 20.18						x	
Lamentations 1.13	x	x	x				
Lamentations 3.1	x						
Lamentations 3.2	x			x			
Lamentations 3.3	x						
Lamentations 3.4	x						
Lamentations 3.5		x			x		

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Lamentations 3.6				X			
Lamentations 3.7	X	X					
Lamentations 3.8		X					
Lamentations 3.9		X				X	
Lamentations 3.10	X						
Lamentations 3.11	X	X				X	
Lamentations 3.12	X						
Lamentations 3.13	X						
Lamentations 3.14							
Lamentations 3.15					X		
Lamentations 3.16	X		X				
Lamentations 3.17							
Lamentations 3.18							
Lamentations 3.19	X				X		
Lamentations 3.20			X				

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Lamentations 3.27	x						
Lamentations 3.28			x				
Lamentations 3.29			x				
Lamentations 3.30	x						
Lamentations 3.48	x						
Lamentations 3.49							
Lamentations 3.51							
Lamentations 3.53	x	x					
Lamentations 3.54		x					
Lamentations 3.55		x	x				
Lamentations 3.57							x
Lamentations 3.58							
Lamentations 3.62	x						
Jonah 2.2[3]		x	x				
Jonah 2.3[4]	x	x	x				
Jonah 2.4[5]	x						x

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
Jonah 2.5[6]		x	x				
Jonah 2.6[7]		x	x				
Jonah 2.7[8]							
1QH 10.5	x						
1QH 10.5-6							
1QH 10.6							
1QH 10.7-8		x				x	
1QH 10.12-13	x						
1QH 10.16-17	x						
1QH 10.17							
1QH 10.20-21		x	x				
1QH 10.23-24	x						
1QH 10.25-26	x	x					
1QH 10.27-28	x		x				
1QH 10.28							
1QH 10.32-33	x						
1QH 10.34-35	x						
1QH 11.6		x	x				
1QH 11.7		x					
1QH 11.7-18	x	x	x				
1QH 11.19-20		x	x				
1QH 11.23-25		x					
1QH 11.25						x	
1QH 11.38							

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
1QH 12.8-9	x						
1QH 12.33-34	x						
1QH 12.35-36	x						
1QH 13.6		x					
1QH 13.9-10	x				x		
1QH 13.12		x			x		
1QH 13.13-15	x						
1QH 13.17	x						
1QH 13.18	x						
1QH 13.18-19	x						
1QH 13.26-29	x				x	x	
1QH 13.29-30	x	x					
1QH 13.30-31	x	x					
1QH 13.31-32		x		x	x		
1QH 13.32				x			
1QH 13.32-33		x		x			
1QH 13.33-34				x	x		
1QH 13.34-36		x			x		
1QH 13.36-39		x	x				
1QH 14.22-24	x	x	x			x	
1QH 14.24-25		x					
1QH 15.1							
1QH 15.2-3	x	x	x	x			
1QH 15.4-5	x						

Reference	FORCE	CONTAINMENT	VERTICALITY	DARKNESS	BAD TASTE	SOURCE / PATH / GOAL	NEAR /FAR
1QH 16.14-15	x						
1QH 16.26-28					x		
1QH 16.28-29			x				
1QH 16.30-31	x						
1QH 16.31-32	x						
1QH 16.32-33	x						
1QH 16.33-34	x	x				x	
1QH 16.35		x				x	
1QH 17.3-4	x	x	x				
1QH 17.5-6							x
1QH 17.8-9	x		x				
1QH 17.24-28	x	x		x			
1QH 18.33-34		x	x				
1QH 19.19-20		x			x		
1QH 19.21-22	x				x		
1QH 19. 31-32	x	x					
1QH 21.4		x				x	
1QH 21.6	x						
1QH 21.8		x					
1QH 22.14	x						
4Q381 Frag 31.2		x					
11Q6 (Plea for Deliverance) 19.9-11			x				

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