

# A Cognitive Analysis of Similes

in the Book of Hosea

by

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## Declaration

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

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## ABSTRACT

This study accounts for the forms and functions of the similes in the Book of Hosea. It proposes new tools for textual criticism, biblical interpretation, and understanding Biblical Hebrew (BH) worldview.

Chapter One presents the task we have chosen for ourselves, its nature, some obstacles from other areas of scholarship, and the foundational notions of embodiment and Prototype Theory.

Chapter Two presents principles drawn from Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Syntax. A weakened version of the Lakoff-Johnson conceptual metaphor theory is adopted, and the key notions of embodiment and judgments of prototypicality are presented. Elements of Conceptual Blending are presented and adapted for simile analysis. Finally, text-based differences between metaphors and similes are discussed.

Chapter Three presents cognitive cultural constructs of Strauss and Quinn: cultural schemas, cultural exemplars, cultural models, and cultural themes. Strauss and Quinn's conclusions about metaphors' use in everyday speech are shown to agree with our postulation of speaker assessment of the hearer's ability to process utterances before they are produced. This postulation allows us to erect one part of a theory of simile.

Chapter Three then integrates metaphor with the Strauss-Quinn cultural meaning model, and then with Boroditsky's Weak Structuring view of metaphor. The effect is to provide a reasonable basis, amenable to empirical investigation, for the investigation of both metaphor and simile. Finally, the notions of embodiment and prototypicality are applied to the Strauss-Quinn model.

Chapter Four presents various assumptions and conclusions that are later used to analyze Hosea's similes. These include: (1) elements of Floor's (2004a) model of Information Structure for BH narrative, with modifications and additions for poetry; (2) three cognitive types of similes in Hosea, posited for working purposes; (3) an adaptation of the conceptual blending apparatus to similes; (4) hypotheses to account for the distribution of similes versus that of metaphors in BH poetry, and to account for patterned differences in how various kinds of concepts are combined and manipulated; (5) an integration of these patterns with the three simile types; and (6) correlation of the cultural constructs of cultural schema, cultural theme, and cultural model with Hosea's similes and metaphors.

Chapter Five presents a number of scholarly views of the Book of Hosea, and characterizes the principal authorities cited in the next chapter.

Chapter Six deductively applies all the foregoing theory to an examination of Hosea's similes. Other observations are made inductively: (1) kinaesthetic image schemas' role in Hosea's poetry; (2) systematic difference in the use of similes versus metaphors in image elaboration; and (3) Information Structure's role in simile analysis.

Chapter Seven summarizes this study's research and conclusions concerning, e.g., (1) the criteria for accounting for the embodiment and judgments of prototypicality characterizing Hosea's similes; (2) the dependence of Hosea and his audience upon knowledge of themselves and their environment for their view of YHWH; and (3) the aid brought by a cognitive theory of similes in the task of textual criticism.

Chapter Eight discusses prospects for further research and possible implications for translating Hosea's similes and metaphors.

## **OPSOMMING**

Hierdie studie gee rekenskap van die vorme en funksies van die vergelykings in Hosea. Nuwe instrumente vir tekskritiek, bybelse interpretasie en die verstaan van die Bybelse Hebreeuse (BH) wêreldbeeld word hierin voorgestel.

Hoofstuk Een spel die essensie van hierdie ondersoek uit, die aard daarvan, 'n aantal struikelblokke vanuit ander vakkundige areas, asook die fundamentele begrippe van beliggaming ("embodiment") en prototipikaliteit.

Hoofstuk Twee formuleer die beginsels wat uit kognitiewe semantiek en kognitiewe sintaksis ontleen is. 'n Verswakde vorm van die Lakoff-Johnson konseptuele metafoorteorie word oorgeneem, en die sleutelbegrippe van beliggaming en oordele van prototipikaliteit word verduidelik. Elemente van konseptuele vermenging ("conceptual blending") word aan die orde gestel en aangepas vir die vergelykingsanalise. Laastens word teksgebaseerde verskille tussen metafore en vergelykings bespreek.

Hoofstuk Drie stel die kognitiewe kulturele konstrunkte van Strauss en Quinn aan die orde: kulturele skemas, kulturele voorbeelde, kulturele modelle, en kulturele temas. Daar word aangetoon dat Strauss en Quinn se gevolgtrekkings oor die gebruik van metafore in alledaagse taal, ooreenstem met ons postulasie oor sprekers se evaluering van hoorders se vermoë om uitsprake te verwerk nog voordat dit geproduseer is. Hierdie postulasie stel ons in staat om een gedeelte van die vergelykingsteorie te formuleer. Hoofstuk Drie integreer verder die interpretasie van metafore, eers met die Strauss-Quinn se kulturele betekenismodel, en dan met Boroditsky se swak struktureringsbeskouing van metafoer. Die doel is om 'n redelike basis, verantwoordbaar aan empiriese navorsing, vir die ondersoek van beide metafoer en vergelyking daar te stel. Laastens word die begrippe van beliggaming en prototipikaliteit by die Strauss-Quinn model aangepas.

In Hoofstuk Vier word die volgende aannames en gevolgtrekkings wat gebruik word om Hosea se vergelykings te analiseer beskryf: (1) elemente van Floor (2004a) se model van informasiestruktuur vir BH narratiewe, met aanpassings vir die analise van poësie; (2) drie kognitiewe tipes vergelykings in Hosea wat as werksipotese gebruik word; (3) 'n aanpassing van die konseptuele vermengings apparaat tot vergelykings; (4) hipoteses om vir die verspreiding van vergelykings in teenstelling met metafore in BH poësie verantwoording te doen, asook vir die verskillende patrone in hoe verskeie tipes konsepte gekombineer en gemanipuleer word; (5) 'n integrasie van hierdie patrone met die drie vergelykingstipes; en (6) 'n korrelasie van die kulturele konstrunkte van kulturele skema, kulturele tema, en kulturele model met Hosea se vergelykings en metafore.

Hoofstuk Vyf stel 'n aantal wetenskaplike beskouings oor die Boek van Hosea aan die orde. Besondere aandag word gewy aan geleerdes wie se standpunte in Hoofstuk Ses te berde gebring word.

Hoofstuk Ses pas die voorafgaande teoriese model deduktief aan 'n ondersoek van Hosea se vergelykings toe. Ander waarnemings word induktief gemaak: (1) kinestetiese beeldskemas se rol in Hosea se poësie; (2) sistematiese verskille in die gebruik van vergelykings teenoor metafore in die verruiming van beelde; en (3) informasiestruktuur se rol in vergelykingsanalise.

Hoofstuk Sewe som hierdie studie se bevindinge ten opsigte van die volgende op: (1) die kriteria vir verantwoording van die beliggaming, asook oordele van prototipikaliteit, wat Hosea se vergelykings karakteriseer; (2) die afhanklikheid van Hosea en sy gehoor van kennis van hulleself en hulle omgewing vir hulle beskouing van JHWH; en (3) die hulp wat deur 'n kognitiewe teorie van vergelykings toegevoeg is in die taak van tekskritiek.

Hoofstuk Agt bespreek die moontlikhede vir verdere navorsing en moontlike implikasies daarvan vir die vertaling van Hosea se vergelykings en metafore.

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## Abbreviations

<i>ANE</i>	Ancient Near East, Ancient Near Eastern
<i>BDB</i>	<i>The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon.</i>
<i>BH</i>	Biblical Hebrew
<i>HAO</i>	Humanization, Animalization, Objectification
<i>InfStr</i>	Information Structure
<i>INTENS</i>	Intensifier
<i>KB</i>	Koehler, L. and Baumgartner, W. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
<i>LXX</i>	The Septuagint
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text
<i>NP</i>	Noun phrase
<i>P</i>	Plural
<i>PP</i>	Prepositional phrase
<i>S</i>	Singular
<i>T</i>	Tenor
<i>TWOT</i>	<i>Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
<i>V</i>	Vehicle
<i>Vb</i>	Verb
<i>v.</i>	Verse
<i>vv.</i>	Verses

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<sup>1</sup> See Mathiessen (2005).

My four children, Sarah, Adam, Helen Marie, and Charlotte have been very tolerant of my preoccupation when at home and of my absences from home, even when understanding, sometimes only very imperfectly, the reason for them (Adam remarked once to his mother after I had discussed at length an issue arising from my research, “It is very boring, having a linguist for a father”). On the other hand, Sarah is now enjoying an Introduction to Linguistics course at university, so there is hope that some of my interests have rubbed off onto her. To all my children go my very deep thanks and love.

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## Chapter One

### THE TASK AND ITS THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

#### *1.1 Establishing the task*

This study aims to develop a framework within Cognitive Linguistics for discovering how similes work in the Hebrew Bible, the Book of Hosea being examined for this purpose. Besides a concern for the advancement of knowledge for its own sake, this study also has in view the needs of biblical interpretation, to which is linked Bible translation, for which there is a ceaseless imperative to better understand the functions of figures of speech and to develop better ways of translating them. Within the subject of biblical interpretation there is, of course, a large variety of needs, ranging from the need to establish the Hebrew text of the Hebrew Bible, the need to determine its inner discourse-unit boundaries, the need to determine ever more solidly the referential sense of the text, to the need to determine its relevance for its intended audiences.

The phrase “how similes work” could be understood in several ways. One could take the phrase to refer to the **distribution** of similes in discourse (written discourse, in the case of Hosea<sup>2</sup>) vis-à-vis other language features, such as metaphors, other tropes, and more literal language; or to the distribution of similes vis-à-vis discourse structures, such as discourse-unit boundaries, and vis-à-vis discourse notions, such as introduction, development, peak, and so forth. Again, one could understand the phrase “how similes work” to refer to similes’ **inner mechanisms**: the variety of forms exhibited in Hosea’s similes, how his similes combine various concepts, the word order that characterizes his similes, his similes’ inner logic, and his similes’ communicative goals on a conceptual level. Thirdly, one could take “how similes work” to refer to any possible preferences they might display as to the **kind of conceptual combinations** they effect.

This study will consider all of the understandings given above of “how similes work.” It will proceed along cognitive lines, so we shall be asking questions such as: Are some similes more “simile-like” than other similes? If so, what can be our basis for judging this? Are some effects of the similes more characteristic of the most “simile-like” similes, with other effects being more

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<sup>2</sup> By “Hosea,” we mean in this study, for purposes of convenience, both the prophet and the book bearing this name. The diachronic development of the book not being in focus for us, we shall not consider questions of redactions and multiple authorship. It is possible that these issues could shape to some extent the application of the model of simile as we develop it, but we have at present no principles to apply in this regard.

marginal? Are some combinations of concepts more likely to be treated by similes than others? Also, are some discourse-level functions more likely than others to be filled by similes?

But we cannot examine a phenomenon by itself without taking into account contrastive phenomena. In particular, we shall take **metaphor** into account. In fact, this study was inspired by the thought, can we account for the distribution of similes vis-à-vis metaphors in Hosea?

### *1.2 Justifying the task*

Much attention has been paid to understanding Biblical figures of speech, but the ability that has been developed to do linguistics within cognitive frameworks has only very recently been applied to the Biblical languages and documents. Here we must survey some of the needs for this application, which for our purposes shall be construed quite widely so as to embrace the concerns of both metaphor and simile.

Application of Cognitive Linguistics to Old Testament Hebrew has been scant. Mandelblit has shown the way in some respects, having analyzed the Modern Hebrew verb in construction grammar terms (Mandelblit 2000). As for semantics, Brettler (1989), Hermanson (1995, 1996), and Stienstra (1993) have identified and discussed various conceptual metaphors. There has been no attempt, so far as we know, to apply the mechanisms of conceptual blending to the Hebrew Bible in respect either to speech figures. Cognitive semanticists have recently begun paying attention to speech figures other than metaphors, and there are intriguing hypotheses about the relationship of metaphor to simile. These initiatives are too new to have been applied extensively to Old Testament Hebrew, but there are several reasons to attempt an application.

First, it is desirable to apply the insights of conceptual blending and metaphor typology to a non-living language. The cognitive semanticist has traditionally relied to a very great extent on native speaker intuition and idealized utterances. Investigation has normally proceeded on the basis of a well-known culture and a well-known language. But how would the application of these same insights fare in the case of a culture and a language very much less known? Is it possible at all to work backwards, from language to culture, in an attempt to recover cultural insights? This is, of course, the approach of Brettler, Hermanson, and Stienstra, and it must be part of our approach, also. But it is one thing to adduce, as they have done, certain Hebrew conceptual metaphors and their actual realizations in Biblical texts. It is another thing to apply conceptual blending insights to metaphors and similes, for this may require a considerably greater knowledge of the Biblical culture in general, knowledge which may be lacking.

Secondly, it is desirable to apply conceptual blending theory to the study of similes. The model and apparatus of conceptual blending were developed initially with reference to metaphor theory in a cognitive framework. One of the unlooked-for results of this application will be the demonstration that conceptual blending analysis becomes an indispensable tool for achieving a profound understanding of the simile in question.

Thirdly, if any kind of relation, whether one of content or function, between metaphor and simile can be identified, it should be done. This would be very desirable on a universal level, as well as in BH. If such relationships can be shown to be language-specific, they should be so shown. And one should then ask, what does this mean for Bible translation theory and practice?

Fourthly, in addressing the need to understand similes, it is desirable to come to terms with the theoretical claims of the model of metaphor developed by George Lakoff and others. It is not enough to adopt some pieces of the model, as Brettler, Hermanson, and Stienstra have done with the conceptual metaphor construct, without addressing the theoretical stance looming behind these pieces. Once that stance, however, is addressed and carefully considered, especially in the light of the pertinent disciplines of cognitive anthropology and cognitive psychology, we shall find good reason to seek out a less daring and more defensible approach to Biblical language and Biblical culture.

This volume actually wishes to contribute to a much larger goal than the previous points suggest: if we might crudely summarize those points by saying that we wish to “get inside the heads” of the ancient Hebrews, to see the world as they saw it, then it is not enough to learn their worldview(s) and accompanying concepts, as daunting a goal as this appears to be. We also desire to see how these concepts are mixed and manipulated; we want to work toward defining, so to speak, a **grammar of conceptualization**. What preferred ways for presenting and blending concepts does BH have? How many of these ways can we identify? Once identified, can these patterns of conceptualizations aid us in the age-old problems of Biblical textual criticism and the interpretation of BH lexemes and phrases?

In our stated purpose of this volume, then, to discover by examining the book of Hosea the principles of “Embodiment and Judgments of Prototypicality in Forms, Functions, and Conceptualizations,” we hope to contribute towards an over-arching goal of defining a BH grammar of conceptualization.

### ***1.3 Taking measure of the opposition to this task***

Opposition is always valuable: it keeps one from presuming to account for all data. Moreover, it compels one to reckon with the force of tradition and to weigh the insights of those who have gone before. Finally, opposition can drive the investigator to firmer ground for his own work than he otherwise might have bothered to search for. Let us look below at three kinds of opposition to various aspects of the task outlined in the previous section.

#### **1.2.1 Opposition from the code model of communication**

From linguists dedicated to the code model of communication, including a strong view that communication is mainly effected propositionally, would come opposition to a Cognitive Semantics framework. The modern Bible translation field, for example, appears to be dominated by a rather Lockian view that concrete language is the honest tool to use in communication and that, if figurative language need not always be condemned for “stirring the passions,” it is at least optional and may be dispensed with in translation. Certainly Beekman and Callow (1978), judging by their proposed solutions to translation problems posed by metaphor and simile, appear to be in agreement with the view that figures of speech tend to be incidental to the weighty, concrete substance of language. Their view of metaphor and simile<sup>3</sup> as essentially comparisons between two domains (“source” and “target”), their view that the “target’s” relevance to the metaphor may almost always be reduced to a single component of meaning, and their frequent willingness to dispense entirely with a speech figure in translation—all of these factors suggest a view that metaphor and simile are at best secondary in a mainly propositionally-driven model of communication.

#### **1.2.2 Opposition from some quarters of anthropology**

From many anthropologists might come opposition to the concept of worldview, or indeed, the construct upon which it depends, the concept of culture itself. The very concept of culture has lost much support in the discipline of anthropology during the past ten or fifteen years. Contributing factors seem to have included the realization that, if it exists, culture is not monolithic, but varies among every class of person; that history belongs to the strong and is normally written by the dominant; that ethnic representatives often relay as truth what they wish to be told; and that even if one relays what one believes, it may be contradicted by a more real state of affairs (Strauss and Quinn 1997:3).

From certain anthropologists might also come disdain for the topic of figures of speech. Ohnuki-Tierney (1991:160) identifies a strain of anthropology that viewed such a study as proper only for

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<sup>3</sup> See chapters 8 and 9 of Beekman and Callow (1978).

students of great literature. This is in spite of the great tradition of trope studies<sup>4</sup> in anthropology, some of which are mentioned in a convenient summary by Fernandez (1991:3–4); he cites as particularly formative in this regard the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, including *The Savage Mind*, but also more recent work of Stanley Tambiah, James Fox, and Michelle Rosaldo.

### 1.2.3 Opposition from within Cognitive Semantics itself

From those following in the immediate tradition of the most prominent studies within a Cognitive Semantics framework,<sup>5</sup> studies which have largely been restricted to treating metaphor, there might come surprise that other figures of speech might need to be treated in order to understand worldview. It is as if the immense strides taken in metaphor study of the recently opened area of Cognitive Linguistics have been taken so fast, that there has been little time to examine other figures of speech in the same light. One might cite as another reason for this omission the venerable tradition, extending back to Aristotle, that metaphor is the strongest of the speech figures, and that simile is its weaker sister (Soskice 1985:58).

### 1.4 Situating the task: cognition and embodiment

In this study, we shall approach Hosea's similes from a cognitive perspective. A notion of cognition can have various aspects built in, e.g., **prototypicality**, **entities irreducible to smaller parts**, and **embodiment**. While we shall pay attention to all of these and more, we shall encourage the reader at this point: if one leaves this chapter with a single idea, let it be that embodiment will be the most crucial notion for our view of similes, as it will surface at strategic times in our discussion.

We understand embodiment as the ultimate grounding of concepts or their categories in human experience or ability. Lakoff (1987:12) writes:

[Conceptual embodiment is] the idea that properties of certain categories are a consequence of the nature of human biological capacities and of the experience of functioning in a physical and social environment. It is contrasted with the idea that concepts exist independent of the bodily nature of any thinking beings and independent of their experience.

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<sup>4</sup> "Tropes" as used by Ohnuki-Tierney (1991:162) is a general term for several kinds of metaphor which have been of interest to anthropologists: Ohnuki-Tierney lists as tropes metaphor (in a narrow sense), metonymy, synecdoche, and irony. Polytypy is, then, the phenomenon of cultural symbols functioning in more than one of these ways, either synchronically or diachronically. A point arising from Ohnuki-Tierney (1991:186) and filled with potential implications in the study of texts is that one can never with certainty fully distinguish a pure referential meaning of a lexical item from a poetic meaning, or, from, ultimately, even a cosmological meaning. It is also noteworthy that the phenomenon of polytypy challenges the traditional notion of metaphor as the "master" trope, i.e., "the most creative and powerful and all tropes" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1991:184).

<sup>5</sup> We include in this category works that have become standard in the development of Cognitive Semantics and the Lakoff-Johnson model, e.g., Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Lakoff (1987), Johnson (1987), Lakoff and Johnson (1999).

We understand prototypical categorization, where categories are said to have central and noncentral members, as being linked to embodiment; embodiment also accounts for the fact that some experiences and their structures are given to us as humans ever before we adopt a conceptualization of them—the process which Lakoff (1987:302) calls “preconceptual structuring.”<sup>6</sup> Moreover, embodiment appears to us to explain gradations in concreteness that characterize various linguistic phenomena, ranging from prototype effects among English nouns (see Section 2.1.5); to certain characteristics of our posited Major Simile Type (see Section 4.3.3), such as our term **Imaged State of Being** and the Major Similes’ tendency to project strong semantic properties to following text; and to the gradation of prototypicality that we shall hypothesize exists among simile types (see Section 4.9). In summary, the notion of embodiment shall repeatedly offer satisfying explanations in the course of this study.

### ***1.5 Outlining this study***

Chapter One (*Introduction: The Task and its theoretical background*) presents our task—that of accounting for Hosea’s similes from a Cognitive Linguistic standpoint; the chapter also presents some obstacles it faces from other areas of scholarship, as well as the broad notions on which it rests: embodiment and Prototype Theory.

In Chapter Two (*A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Similes*), principles of this study are established within the realm of Cognitive Semantics and Cognitive Syntax. As for Cognitive Semantics, a weakened version of the Lakoff-Johnson conceptual metaphor theory (often referred to as the Contemporary Theory of Metaphor) is adopted. The notions of embodiment and judgments of prototypicality are then presented and discussed.

Basic elements of conceptual blending are also presented in Chapter Two. Conceptual blending is shown to be a very widespread process, applicable to syntax as well as to semantics. This observation is meant to prepare us to follow in detail (in Chapter Six) the blending of concepts in selected similes of Hosea.

From the normal application of the basic Lakoff-Johnson model and conceptual blending to conceptual metaphors and image metaphors, Chapter Two advances to the study of similes. We argue that, besides considering the semantic and conceptual structure of similes, one must also consider the essential differences between metaphor and simile on the basis of usage in text.

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<sup>6</sup> Lakoff (1987:302) suggests that preconceptual structure is found in basic-level categories and kinaesthetic image schemas (see Section 2.1.6.2).

Finally, we apply the theory and apparatus of conceptual blending to similes. The nature of simile requires us to add an apparatus accounting for the syntactic structure of similes.

Seeking to establish a basis to relate similes to culture, Chapter Three (*A Cultural Approach to Similes*) uses the cognitive anthropology of Strauss and Quinn in the area of cultural meaning to present several cultural constructs: cultural schemas, cultural exemplars, cultural models, and cultural themes. Strauss and Quinn's conclusions about how metaphors are used in everyday speech are shown to be in accord with our postulation that speaker assessment of the hearer usually includes an assessment of the hearer's ability to process language in general and, in particular, to process every utterance, usually before it is produced by the speaker. The necessity for this assessment by the speaker provides us with a text-based platform for erecting one part of a theory of simile. Another part of the theory concerns a generally-held view of relative strength of simile and metaphor: that metaphor is "stronger" than simile. We are able to qualify this view and give it precision in a way that turns out to be counter-intuitive, yet consistent with various data.

Chapter Three then presents a model for the integration of metaphor with a theory of meaning in culture, following the work of Strauss and Quinn, and proposes to integrate the Strauss-Quinn cultural meaning model with Boroditsky's Weak Structuring view of metaphor. The effect is to provide a reasonable basis, amenable to empirical investigation, for the investigation of both metaphor and simile. Finally, Chapter Three applies the notions of embodiment and prototypicality to the cultural constructs of Strauss and Quinn.

Chapter Four (*Toward a Prototypical view of Hosea's Similes: model and methodology*) presents a wide range of assumptions and conclusions that are later used to analyze Hosea's similes. Chief among these are the following: the basics of Floor's (2004a) model of Information Structure for Biblical Hebrew narrative, with modifications and additions for BH poetry—some from Floor and some from us (including the notion of macro frame), are adopted for this study; we hypothesize for working purposes three cognitive types of similes in Hosea; and we adapt the metaphoric conceptual blending apparatus to similes.

Perhaps the most striking impression that conceptual blending diagrams, introduced in Chapter Two, leave with the analyst is the portrayal of some of the immense conceptual complexity that often exists in metaphors and similes—complexity that is mastered by the human mind without very much awareness of doing it. This complexity proves, in our analysis, to be complemented by regular patterning among types of conceptual associations, which we call conceptual manipulations. It is this patterning, justified by principles of embodiment, that we hypothesize to account for the

much of the distribution of similes versus that of metaphors in BH poetry. We then find that we can integrate these patterns with the three simile types already established for working purposes; and we correlate the cultural constructs of cultural schema, cultural theme, and cultural model, drawn from Strauss and Quinn's anthropology, with the notion of embodiment and with Hosea's similes and metaphors.

Chapter Five (*A Brief Survey of the Book of Hosea*) briefly presents our assessment of the dating and political situation of Hosea; we also discuss issues concerning the textual integrity of the book, agreeing with a scholarly consensus that sees signs of sophisticated editing of the Hosean material. At the same time, we see many marks of the orality that we presume to be at the basis of Hos. 4–14. We come to the conclusion that, regardless of the editorial overlay or overlays that may be represented in Hosea as we know the book to be, we must, for our purposes, analyze the text as we have it, insofar as we can reasonably do so, and not attempt to strip away the redactor's work. This is one principle that we use to characterize the principal authorities whom we cite in our examination of Hosea's simile in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six (*A cognitive examination of Hosea's similes for prototypicality*) deductively applies all the foregoing theory to an examination of Hosea's similes. In this way, we show our theory of similes to be coherent. However, this examination of Hosea's similes is also inductive in that it makes other observations leading to additional conclusions pertinent to our cognitive study of similes in Hosea: (1) kinaesthetic image schemas, one kind of cognitive linguistic construct, are shown to contribute to some similes' conceptual blending and to be the basis of a number of poetic chiasms—something that we would not have predicted from our cognitive theorizing in Chapter Two; (2) the distribution of similes vis-à-vis metaphors for the purpose of image elaboration is systematic; and (3) similes participate in Information Structure, in that their Vehicles function like the more “standard” verbal arguments, since they may occur in marked or unmarked position.

Chapter Seven (*A Summary of Embodiment and Judgments of Prototypicality in Forms, Functions, and Conceptualizations in Hosea's Similes*) summarizes this study's research and conclusions. Prominent among the conclusions is our final decision to “abolish” the three cognitive simile types that we had established for working purposes, having no further use for them; their help is no longer needed for us to recognize and account for the embodiment and judgments of prototypicality that characterize Hosea's similes. A second prominent conclusion is that for Hosea and his audience, their view of YHWH, although proclaiming him as transcendent and wholly “other,” nevertheless depended in a profound way upon knowledge of themselves and their environment. A third major

conclusion is the effects of this study upon interpretation of the Book of Hosea and, by extension, on the rest of the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter Eight (*Further Directions*) discusses prospects for further research and possible implications for translating Hosea's similes and metaphors. A study of this kind cannot help but create a "wish list" for the advancement of theory; here we present our wishes for a cognitive approach to Information Structure and for a cognitive approach to the distinction, held so intuitively by people, between literal and figurative language.

## Chapter Two

### A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO SIMILES

#### *2.1 The framework of this chapter and the 1987 Lakoff-Johnson model*<sup>1</sup>

This chapter will develop an approach to metaphor and simile that is grounded in linguistics, raising certain issues which, in our judgement, cannot be resolved without an appeal to cultural anthropology, which we shall make in Chapter Three.

Cognitive literature discusses in general metaphor far more than simile or, indeed, any other trope. The linguistic approach laid in this chapter will often appear to discuss metaphor only, but we shall show that the principles developed early in this chapter can be applied to many linguistic structures besides metaphor. The fact that simile is not mentioned much at first is attributable mainly, in our view, to simile's lack of treatment in general in the literature. Beginning in Section 2.6, however, we shall treat simile explicitly.

The general linguistic framework of this study will be Cognitive Linguistics, in the fields of both Syntax and Semantics. In contrast to formalistic approaches, this school of study sees language as part of general human cognition. It tends to be cross disciplinarian in nature, drawing in particular from every kind of study of human perception, and it consequently tends to project results and theories across disciplines as well. Anthropology, pedagogy, and theology are several fields which it has affected (Saeed 1998:300–302). We begin below the exposition of this approach by describing what we shall call the 1987 Lakoff-Johnson model.

The mature, working Cognitive Semantics model as developed over the years by Lakoff, Johnson, and others is usually taken to be the model presented in Lakoff (1987). The heart of this model's apparatus is the **Idealized Cognitive Model** (ICM), which Lakoff (1987:68) terms "a complex structured whole, a gestalt." The ICM corresponds to a great degree to what people would call a

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<sup>1</sup> This model builds most immediately upon Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Johnson (1987), Fillmore (1982), Langacker (1986), and Fauconnier (1985). Its philosophical ramifications are notably expounded in Lakoff and Johnson (1999). Although a number of scholars gave important and primary input to the model over some years, the names of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson are certainly the most closely associated with it, and it is for that reason that we call it the Lakoff-Johnson model. The appellation in common usage is "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor" (CTM), drawn from the title of Lakoff (1993), but a term which some might find rather presumptuous.

commonsense view of reality, and as such is a folk theory (Lakoff 1987), or a cultural model (Quinn 1991). An ICM may very well be far from any scientifically held or attested theory.

### 2.1.1 Frames

Lakoff (1987) bases the notion of ICM partly upon the frame semantics of Charles Fillmore. Fillmore (e.g., Fillmore 1982) building upon work of John Austin (e.g., as in Austin 1961) claimed that, contrary to the impression given by dictionaries, word senses cannot be so neatly and succinctly defined, but that in reality they imply, and therefore depend upon, entire gestalts. For example, an account of the concept of a restaurant waiter cannot be complete without the presentation of the institution of restaurants, the habits and expectations of diners, the place of restaurants and their workers in the economy, etc. Each of these aspects of restaurants' existence comprises a gestalt, or, in Fillmore's terms, a **frame**. It is clear that frames are connected in various ways to other frames, and that some are embedded in others. Frame connectivity is in a sense matched by lexical connectivity: Fillmore pointed out that some words typically evoke identical frames, while focusing upon different aspects of the same frames. Thus, *restaurant*, *waiter*, *chef*, and *diner* refer to various aspects of one frame. Coulson (2001:18) gives a helpful summary statement about Fillmore's frames:

Fillmore defines a frame as a system of categories whose structure is rooted in some motivating context. Words are defined with respect to a frame and perform a categorization that takes the frame for granted.

In cognitive models of language, the idea that word senses evoke frames instead of definitions accounts for the intuition that when someone hears even a "simple," "literal" utterance, much more than a "simple" meaning is normally constructed. Instead, a large amount of background and often explanatory information is accessed as well.

It was M. Minsky (1975) who in 1975 proposed the notion of frames, thinking of them as familiar events, conditions, and situations. An important feature to the theory was **slots** and **fillers**, which were tightly associated together. Slots were expected occasions for elements and relations in frames, and fillers were the expected, typical elements and relations, etc. As an example, consider the frame of a criminal trial. Among the typical slots of this frame are certain officials, certain groups of people, certain roles to be filled, and certain spatial relationships. The fillers of these slots are judge, defendant, prosecuting and defense attorneys, the jury, spectators, the press reporters, and the bailiff. Roles to be filled in the roles of moderating and keeping order, prosecuting and defending the defendant, and coming to a verdict.

Much of the power of frames lies in their prototypicality. Each slot-filler combination has a **default value**; any failure to specify a value results in the presumption of the default value, and any deviation from the default value can be easily noted.

### 2.1.2 The idealized quality of Idealized Cognitive Models

Lakoff characterizes ICMs as **idealized**: they receive their structures from a small number of situations that are considered to be typical or most representative. *Waiter*, for example, evokes the notion of a restaurant with a waiter staff distinct from the cooking personnel. One assumes also an eating establishment with places to sit down. Indeed, the term *restaurant* itself is likely to be imagined in such a way as well. One is not likely to speak of waiters in the context of a fast-food restaurant, and, in America at least, the term *fast-food restaurant* is normally considered to be distinct from *restaurant*. The fast-food restaurant is a less prototypical restaurant than the establishment referenced by the term *restaurant*.

### 2.1.3 Mental spaces

The immediate function of ICMs is to organize people's knowledge, beliefs, and impressions. They do so by structuring **mental spaces** (Fauconnier 1985), which are purely conceptual, existing only in the mind but not in reality, having no rapport to any theory linking symbols to the real world. ICMs have also a transcendent function: that of structuring and channeling much of the reasoning process, this being one of the ICM model's most telling claims.

### 2.1.4 The structure of Idealized Cognitive Models

ICMs are built upon and are structured according to four kinds of principles: **propositional structure**; **kinaesthetic image schemas**; **metaphoric mappings**; and **metonymic mappings**. Abstract ICMs are usually structured according to kinaesthetic image schemas (see below).

### 2.1.5 Prototype effects and prototypical scenarios

ICMs are the source of **prototype effects**. In fact, ICMs represent **prototypical scenarios** (Lakoff 1987:68–74), which is one reason they are called idealized. ICMs vary as to how well they actually fit people's knowledge or belief about the world. Lakoff points out, for example, that one would hesitate to call either the Pope or Tarzan of the Apes a bachelor, even though neither is married. This is because *bachelor* belongs to the ICM of unmarried men whose circumstances are normal enough to allow them to marry. The Pope has made himself ineligible, and Tarzan is unable to marry for reasons beyond his control, so neither really fits the *bachelor* ICM.

Prototype Theory stands in contrast to Set Theory, the classical theory of categorisation. In the latter, every defining feature of a category must, at least in theory, apply equally well to all category members. Category boundaries are thought of as sharp and distinct.

In Prototype Theory, category defining features apply to category members to various degrees, such that some members are considered to be more representative of their class than others, and some may be thought to be best representatives. Thus Lakoff writes of “asymmetries”—differences in the cognitive standing among various members of a category, which account for the prototype effects. These concern the notion of markedness. Thus, for example, English nouns in their singular number are said to be unmarked for the category of number, while plural nouns are said to be marked. The unmarked state has a cognitive significance; Lakoff (1987:59–60) comments:

The intuition...is that singular is, somehow, cognitively simpler than plural and that its cognitive simplicity is reflected in its shorter form..., in simplicity of form. Zero-marking for a morpheme is one kind of simplicity.

Lakoff (1987:60–67) adduces other examples in Linguistics of the link between the notions of markedness and cognitive simplicity. For example, in phonology, unmarked consonants are frequently considered to be easier to articulate than marked. In semantics, he remarks that a speaker, in asking *How tall is Harry?*, makes no implication about his height; whereas if he asks, *How short is Harry?*, he implies that Harry is not tall. Thus it is said that the potential contrast between *tall* and *short* for the feature of giving implications is neutralised; *tall* is unmarked for implications, and is cognitively simpler than *short*.

<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>Parallel expressions</b>	<b>Passive expression</b>	<b>Gapping</b>	<b>Pluralisation</b>
<i>To stub one's toe</i>	<i>A stubbed toe</i>	<i>I stubbed my toe, and she hers.</i>	<i>They stubbed their toes.</i> <i>*They stubbed their toe.</i>
<i>To hold one's breath</i>	<i>*Held breath</i>	<i>*I held my breath, and she hers.</i>	<i>They held their breaths.</i> <i>They held their breath.</i>
<i>To lose one's way</i>	<i>*A lost way</i>	<i>*I lost my way, and she hers.</i>	<i>*They lost their ways.</i> <i>They lost their way.</i>
<i>To take one's time</i>	<i>*Taken time</i>	<i>*I took my time, and she hers.</i>	<i>*They took their times.</i> <i>They took their time.</i>

**Figure 2.1.5**  
*Prototype effects in English nouns*

We wish to pay more attention to a syntactic example, where Lakoff cites Ross (1972, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1981); Ross attributes to “normal” English nouns the full set of grammatical manipulations possible in English (e.g., pluralisation, use in passive sentences, and use in gapped sentences). Ross (1981) begins with the parallel expressions, displayed below in column 1 of Figure 2.1.5:

Lakoff calls *toe* “nounier” (i.e., more prototypical a noun) than *breath*, which in turn is “nounier” than *way*, etc. It is only the “nouniest” nouns that qualify for the full range of syntactic manipulation available in English. We would add to Lakoff’s analysis by observing here that the “nouniest” noun in this list also happens to be the cognitively simplest; that is, we judge *toe* to be the simplest and most concrete, *breath* to be the next simplest and concrete, and *time* to be the least simple and concrete. The correlation among concreteness, cognitive simplicity, and prototypicality lies at the heart of this present study and will loom very large when we hypothesize and describe in Section 4.4.3 our three cognitive types of BH similes and the “Imaged State of Being.”

### **2.1.6 The ontology of Idealized Cognitive Models and Prototype Theory**

ICMs are said to be composed of entities, predicates, and events (Lakoff 1987:399–400). These elements are expressed by constitutive metaphors, e.g., “anger is an entity,” “anger is a force.” The semantic domains of these constitutive metaphors are usually highly abstract, superordinate level concepts.

#### **2.1.6.1 Conceptual metaphors**

ICMs are represented in everyday language by conceptual metaphors. These map the constitutive metaphors onto language, e.g., the constitutive metaphor “anger is an entity” accounts for the conceptual metaphor phraseology ANGER IS A.... The effect of this constitutive metaphor is that people are convinced that anger exists as an entity. The constitutive metaphor “anger is a force” accounts for possibility, in turn, that the conceptual metaphors ANGER IS PRESSURE and ANGER IS A STRUGGLE can exist in English. Other conceptual metaphors of anger are ANGER IS A HOT FLUID, ANGER IS A FIRE, ANGER IS INSANITY, and ANGER IS A BURDEN.<sup>2</sup> It can therefore be said that, whereas constitutive metaphors express the ontology itself, conceptual metaphors and metonymies describe its functioning.

It should be noted that a conceptual metaphor is not a metaphor at all in the popular sense. It is instead extra-linguistic, having only a conceptual existence, actually representing “a mode of thought” (Lakoff 1993:210). Evidence for the existence of a conceptual metaphor is the ensemble of

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<sup>2</sup> It is normal in this model to employ small capital letters to denote conceptual metaphors and metonymies.

metaphorical expressions which are licensed by it. Thus, for example, the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS A FIRE licenses expressions such as *Joe's anger blazed up*, *Cool down!*, *Don't get so hot under the collar!*, and *His anger smoldered for days*.

The motivation of a conceptual metaphor lies in its mapping of semantic structure from source to target domains. The mapping proceeds according to shared knowledge about both domains. The mapping is effected by embodied kinaesthetic image schemas (see Section 2.1.6.2).

One of the strongest claims about conceptual metaphors is that they tend to define the parameters and nature of our thinking about a certain subject and that, as a result, they tend to be the lenses through which we view and reason about that subject. They allow us to comprehend the subject and to make inferences about it. The importance of conceptual metaphors is illustrated by the fact that it can be very difficult to talk about a subject, e.g., anger, without using them. Lakoff has in fact been read by some as holding that all of the human reasoning process is directed by conceptual metaphors, but he himself has told cognitive anthropologist Naomi Quinn (Quinn 1991:59 footnote) that he never intended to be understood to that extreme. Lakoff would rather hold that metaphor partially constitutes understanding.

One common way in which a central conceptual metaphor is productive is to give rise to an elaboration of itself. Consider the expressions *to stew* and *to simmer* as metaphors for enduring anger. These cooking terms have been borrowed to express the central conceptual metaphor ANGER IS THE HEAT OF FLUID IN A CONTAINER (Lakoff 1987:384).

### ***2.1.6.2 Embodiment and Prototype Theory***

Lakoff and Johnson claim that constitutive metaphors and conceptual metaphors are **grounded in human interaction with oneself and one's environment**. Thus human reason, which can be very abstract indeed, hangs upon this interaction. The tighter the links between any segment of reasoning and human physical interaction with oneself and the environment, the more **embodied** that reasoning is said to be. Human physical interaction with oneself and the environment is, at heart:

- (a) preconceptual in nature: we began to engage in this interaction even before being born, and it continues for the most part to be "aconceptual," since it includes physical sensations and motor activities, generating neuron pathways in the brain; and is
- (b) structured in a way that allows us to generalize it and treat it abstractly in our minds. In this interaction we recognize two kinds of structures: **basic-level structures** and **kinaesthetic image schemas**.

We shall find that **embodiment** is the golden thread that runs through our analysis of Hosea's similes. It is the theory of embodiment that accounts for Prototype Theory and that lies at the heart of this volume.

Following the work of Eleanor Rosch (e.g., Rosch 1973, 1977), Lakoff and Johnson adduce the following levels of a taxonomic hierarchy characteristic of Prototype Theory, with examples from Lakoff (1987:46) added:

<b>Superordinate level</b>	<i>animal</i>	<i>furniture</i>
<b>Basic Level</b>	<i>dog</i>	<i>chair</i>
<b>Subordinate Level</b>	<i>retriever</i>	<i>rocker</i>

**Figure 2.1.6.2**  
*Taxonomic levels characteristic of Prototype Theory*

The **basic level** is termed thus for many reasons: it is the highest level on which its members are perceived of as irreducible gestalts and as possessing similar shapes (e.g., all dogs have crucially similar shapes); it is the level learned by children first (e.g., children learn *dog* before they learn *retriever*); and it is the highest level whose members call for nearly identical interaction from humans (e.g., we interact with nearly all dogs in a similar way). In summary, basic-level categories merit being called “basic” by virtue of their perception, function, communication, and organization in human knowledge. Because of all the characteristics of basic-level phenomena listed above, basic-level concepts can be said to be rooted in physical experience.

To finish describing the taxonomic hierarchy, let us note that the superordinate level tends toward abstractness. This is the level on which most conceptual metaphors seem to exist (Lakoff 1993:211). The subordinate level tends toward the technical, often including elements that are rather unknown or even unfamiliar to people. Some might find it difficult, for example, to distinguish a beagle from a terrier.

Thus, we claim that of these levels, it is the **basic level that displays the most embodiment**, i.e., the closest links with human physical interaction with oneself and the environment.

There are what we shall call subconceptual elements as well, phenomena that can be viewed as contributing to the structure of a discrete concept. Johnson (1987:29) describes a **kinaesthetic image schema** as “a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities,” such activities being “our actions, perceptions, and conceptions.” It is these schemas which give motor coherence to our body's spatial movements and to our manipulative and ultimately perceptual interaction with ourselves and our environment. Image schemas have a very

small number of parts and relations among them. Examples are the FRONT-BACK schema, the LINEAR ORDER schema, the CONTAINER-CONTAINED schema, the IN-OUT schema, the FORCE schema, the CENTER-PERIPHERY schema, and the BALANCE schema. We begin to perceive reality and to interact with it in terms of these schemas presumably even before leaving our mother's womb. Thus, for example, we learn that things can contain other things; we then learn various entailments of this principle, e.g., that containment can be embedded within containment, and that removal of an object from the embedded containment does not necessarily entail its removal from all containment. We learn that force can be applied against force, or against inert stationary objects. We learn that force can be augmented, diminished, or interrupted. With these elementary lessons is laid much of the foundation of our perceptual and reasoning capacity.

Lakoff (1987:444–145) makes the point that “image” in this context is not necessarily to be taken literally as always involving the faculty of sight. Kinaesthetic image schemas such as SOFT-LOUD and FORCE may only obliquely involve sight. Certainly sensorily-handicapped persons may move in and perform manipulations with the environment often as well as others. This leads Lakoff (1987:446) to conclude that

much of mental imagery is kinesthetic—that is, it is independent of sensory modality and concerns awareness of many aspects of functioning in space: orientation, motion, balance, shape judgments, etc.

Kinaesthetic image schemas have a certain, fundamental logic, reflecting their utterly embodied nature. They all:

- (a) have structure, e.g., the CONTAINER schema has a boundary, which separates an interior from an exterior. The body is viewed as a container, but so are many other items, as well as activities and abstract concepts, these last of which make even more metaphorical the entire process (Lakoff 1987:271), e.g., one comes out of a stupor (Lakoff 1987:272).
- (b) are gestalts, cognitive wholes, whose parts make no sense without the whole.
- (c) are considered meaningful by people because of their own physical experience.
- (d) enable us to assign structures to perceived objects and events, thus allowing meaning to arise (Johnson 1987:29). When this logic is extended to other domains, including abstract domains, a metaphor results.

For us, embodiment is the heart of our study of Hosea's similes; embodiment provides the most penetrating angle from which we shall assess the Biblical metaphor studies which follow.

### ***2.1.6.3 Judgments of prototypicality***

Although Prototype Theory involves the notion of "better fits" and "worse fits" of category members, Rosch abandoned her once-held position that research could definitively show "best fit" members. Lakoff (1987:44) cites (Rosch 1978:40–41):

To speak of a prototype at all is simply a convenient grammatical fiction; what is really referred to are judgments of degree of prototypicality...For natural-language categories, to speak of a single entity that is the prototype is either a gross misunderstanding of the empirical data or a covert theory of mental representation.

Instead of trying to show, for example, that the robin or the blue jay is the prototype of "birdness" in the thinking of North Americans, we do better to identify various judgments of prototypicality so as to understand what, for North Americans, constitutes essential "birdness."

Having presented this caution against misunderstanding the term "prototype," Lakoff still points out that categories are somehow structured within themselves so as to permit judgments of prototypicality to be made. He writes (1987:45) of why certain birds are considered better fits for the category of bird than others: "...[The] internal structure [of the category] must be part of our concept of what a bird is, since it results in asymmetric inferences [i.e., effects reflecting judgments of better and worse fits of category members]."

Following the lead of Rosch and Lakoff, we shall not attempt to point to any simile in Hosea as being a prototypical simile, but rather to deduce from various clues the features that must have signaled to Hosea and his audience the degree of prototypicality of discrete similes. That is, we wish to deduce the "internal structure" of the category called BH simile. It is for this reason that the notion *judgments of prototypicality* figures so prominently in our thinking.

We do not mean, of course, that Hosea and his contemporaries necessarily thought about the category of simile. They may have done so to some extent, but the great bulk of language forms itself into models quite without the aid of conscious reflection. It is therefore the **unconscious internal structure** of the category simile with which we shall work.

## ***2.2 Recent Biblical studies effected within the Lakoff-Johnson framework***

Several recent Biblical studies have been performed in the general Lakoff-Johnson conceptual metaphor model. They are presented and discussed in this section.

### 2.2.1 Brettler (1989)

Brettler identifies GOD IS KING as a central Biblical Hebrew metaphor and considers various aspects arising from it, including God depicted as judge. Brettler assumes that understanding God as king arises from the Israelites' projecting to him the characteristics of human kingship. In this way, he adopts Lakoff and Johnson's claim that metaphorization is at the heart of how one perceptually structures his world.

Brettler exercises some caution, however, in that he declines to believe that all features of human kinship were attributed to YHWH; he writes (Brettler 1989:49):

The biblical authors were aware that even these full-fledged royal appellations fail to describe God properly.... These discontinuities are central to a proper understanding of God as King for they show precisely where he fails to be bound by the metaphor.... The use of particular royal appellations offers general boundaries for understanding God, but through morphological, syntactic and contextual modifications, the biblical authors clarify that God's Kingship is qualitatively different from human kingship.

We may reformulate Brettler's caution by saying that the conceptual metaphor exhibits selective projection of semantic structure. This insight is basic to conceptual blending, for we may equally well say that *all* metaphors exhibit selective semantic projection. But if selective semantic projection exists in GOD IS KING, upon what basis are the semantic attributes selected? We argue that the basis must be the **discontinuities** between the Hebrew view of God and the Hebrew model of kingship, from which the conceptual metaphor arises. We conclude that the strong Lakoffian view of conceptual metaphor as essentially constitutive of reasoning cannot be sustained.

Brettler references Lakoff and Johnson's methodology in determining the English conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (by noting semantically related expressions, e.g., *indefensible claims*, or *your argument has been shot down*). Brettler follows suite by noting expressions instantiating GOD IS KING, e.g., *the throne of God* and *the sons of God* (YHWH's heavenly entourage).

Brettler also notes that the precise meaning of the conceptual metaphor GOD IS KING depends upon the context of its use, i.e., the pragmatic "utterance situation" (Brettler 1989:24). And sometimes the conceptual metaphor is understood literally. So, for example, GOD IS KING was sometimes taken by Hebrews to preclude the possibility of an earthly kingship in Israel (Judges 8:22–23; 1 Sam. 8:4–9; 10:19).

A final note: we doubt that the expression GOD IS KING is actually a conceptual metaphor, for conceptual metaphors are normally so conceptually-based that they are expressed only indirectly, by means of instantiations, and not in direct language. Thus, for example, *Petrol has gone up* and *The stock market tumbled* are instantiations of the conceptual metaphor UP IS MORE; but everyday speech is a stranger to the phrase *Up is more*. Since the OT directly proclaims YHWH to be king, we view this expression as arising from a religious-cultural model of YHWH, rather than as a conceptual metaphor.

### 2.2.2 Hermanson (1995, 1996)

Hermanson (1995) examines the BH metaphors in the Book of Amos and relates them to metaphors in Zulu by means of inferring the relevant conceptual metaphors in both languages. He employs the conceptual metaphors to recover worldview, pointing out that a cognitive approach allows for a number of investigative manipulations: “[This approach] reveals source and target domains favoured by the language and indicates how the one maps upon the another [sic] so as to suggest possible entailments and extensions within one context or another” (1995:35). Hermanson also gives a timely warning for Bible translators: like other elements, conceptual metaphors may be borrowed from one language into another, but this does not ensure the same interpretation of such metaphors.

In Hermanson (1996), some of the same concerns are revisited, but, in addition, Hermanson here invokes the old notion of incongruity as one principle means for recognising metaphors. The relationship in Amos 1:2, for example, of יהוה YHWH to שׁאן *roar* is supposed to signal a semantic incongruity, “as the subject יהוה is personal, whereas the verb שׁאן is not” (1996:75). The incongruity in turn is said to signal a metaphor.

But the notion of metaphoric incongruence is itself incongruent with the thought of Lakoff-Johnson. Conceptual metaphors are held by Lakoff-Johnson to be generally very entrenched in language and therefore to be usually unnoticed. The reason for this is the highly embodied nature of conceptual metaphors. Thus, for example, the expression *the road goes from New York to L.A.* (given by Jackendoff and Aaron 1991:329) passes by unrecognised as a metaphor according to Lakoff-Johnson. The implication is that metaphors in speech or in writing which are instantiations (i.e., realisations) of conceptual metaphors *are themselves unremarked by native speakers for incongruity*. Therefore, in the Lakoff-Johnson model, Hermanson should not be allowed to use incongruity as a tool for recognising instantiations of conceptual metaphors.

It might be a different situation if Hermanson cared to distinguish between instantiations of conceptual metaphors on the one hand, and on the other hand, **image** (i.e., creative or innovative) **metaphors**. As we shall see, this distinction is certainly drawn by others in cognitive semantics; one might indeed succeed in attributing incongruence to image metaphors. But Hermanson himself does not make this distinction; he mainly concerns himself with treating instantiations of conceptual metaphors.

Hermanson (1996:76) helpfully points out that conceptual metaphor can function on a meta-textual level, affecting the organisation of portions of a document or even of a complete document. He finds that the prophet Amos invokes the conceptual metaphors SEVEN IS INCOMPLETE and MOST IMPORTANT IS LAST when treating various nations in turn and ending with Israel. In addition, Amos's order follows the idea of opposite directions, according to an implied metaphor COMPLETENESS IS PAIRED OPPOSITES.

### **2.2.3 Stienstra (1993)**

Stienstra presents the conceptual metaphor referenced in the title of her work (YHWH IS THE HUSBAND OF HIS PEOPLE) and then examines many of its instantiations in Hosea, Ezekiel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other prophetic books. Like Brettler, Stienstra sees metaphor as often serving as a crucial means of interpretation and understanding. Certainly her reviewer Tony W. Cartledge (1996) agrees with this view, writing, "Stienstra promotes an awareness that biblical metaphors function not only as primitive rhetorical devices but also as crucial cognitive keys for interpretation." Stienstra, however, never appears to reflect seriously on the theoretical consequences of attributing to conceptual metaphor a crucial role in cognition.

### **2.2.4 Martin (1992)**

Martin develops a method of literary analysis of 1 Peter, grappling with the problem of how to distinguish literal language from metaphorical. For example, he attributes a major fallacy to John Elliot's analysis of 1 Peter, due to Elliot's literal reading of "strangers and aliens," where Martin maintains that this expression is metaphorical, linked to Peter's "controlling metaphor" of dispersion (Martin 1992:142, 144). Although not appearing to be oriented toward Lakoff-Johnson, Martin does work with the idea of "metaphor cluster," "a series of metaphors connected in ancient thought" (Martin 1992:143). The analyst can see transition from one section to another in the epistle by noting the movement from one metaphor cluster to another (Martin 1992:144).

### **2.2.5 Conclusions about cognitive semantic Biblical studies**

We can draw several conclusions about the few Biblical studies, examined above, which have been effected in the framework of cognitive semantics. In general, they have helpfully seen Lakoffian conceptual metaphor as a notion that is valuable for the identification and grouping of metaphors and for worldview comparison between two languages. However, the studies have avoided addressing the most radical Lakoffian claim for conceptual metaphor, that human logic is heavily driven and constrained by conceptual metaphor. In fact, there is a willingness, at least in Brettler, to implicitly contradict this claim, and to grant that conceptual metaphors engage in very selective projection of semantic features.

Another conflict with Lakoff-Johnson has been noted as well: the traditional notion of metaphoric incongruence has been retained in one study, that of Hermanson, even though the Lakoff-Johnson model within which he is working does not allow its application to conceptual metaphor or to the instantiations arising from it.

These studies also illustrate how easy it is to confuse instantiations of conceptual metaphors with image metaphors. The Biblical scholar may indeed hesitate between the two when analysing an expression in BH or in Greek, but he must never lose sight of the distinction.

These studies also illustrate the confusion that can arise between conceptual metaphors and cultural models. Conceptual metaphors are virtually never expressed in direct language, but only indirectly by means of instantiations; models, however, may very well be expressed directly.

Some problems that have been attributed to Lakoff-Johnson are discussed in the next section. It will become apparent that some of these problems may well adhere to these Biblical studies as well.

### ***2.3 Problems with Lakoff-Johnson metaphor***

Some find Lakoff and Johnson's understanding of metaphor to be exaggerated and the reasons for their position to be occasionally extreme. Following are two of the problems with the Lakoff-Johnson model that have been raised.

#### **2.3.1 Quinn's critique of Lakoff**

When Lakoff claims that ICMs constitute the basis for the metaphors associated with them, and that an ICM "underlies and gives coherence to the various metaphors" for it, Naomi Quinn, a cognitive anthropologist, considers him as matching her own view of metaphor and culture (Quinn 1991:63). But Strauss and Quinn (1997) diverge from Lakoff-Johnson in what might be called the status of metaphor debate.

Lakoff (1987) can easily be read as saying that conceptual metaphors actually constitute our understanding. Quinn reports that Lakoff told her that, in fact, he meant to say that metaphor partially constitutes the ontology of an ICM. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1999:65) reiterate in strong terms that conceptual metaphors are used as reasoning tool. Thus, for example, the LOVE IS A JOURNEY mapping does not merely permit the use of travel words to speak of love. That mapping also allows forms of reasoning about travel to be used in reasoning about love. It functions so as to map inferences about travel into inferences about love, enriching the concept of love and extending it to love-as-journey.

Lakoff appears to have admitted for a long time that “cultural models”<sup>3</sup> (a term used often by Quinn) could exist without metaphor, but that they would be poor things, inadequate for all the demands that people would place upon them (Quinn 1991:72). So the models receive the input of metaphor treatment; inferences and additional points of view are added to them by means of metaphor. Moreover, Turner and Fauconnier (1998:1) claim that conceptual integration in the metaphor building process creates new mental spaces, which serve “as an important locus of cognitive activity.” With this understanding, it is hard to conceive of cognitive activity taking place without conceptual blending.

Quinn does not view metaphors as normally structuring, or contributing to, understanding. On the contrary, she concludes from her work on metaphors of American marriage that speakers select certain metaphors because they agree with the speakers’ understanding, which is really based mostly upon the cultural schemas they share. This heavily suggests that the speakers already had in mind the principles before they selected the metaphors to express them, and that the principles are themselves expressible without metaphor (Quinn 1991:76). The fact that lastingness in marriage is imaged by widely different metaphors, e.g., marriage as a solid building, marriage as a journey, and as a possession, is taken by Quinn to indicate that these metaphors do not project entailments of logic onto the concept of marriage, but that the entailments are inherent in the concept itself (Quinn (1991:71–72).

From her text-based study (1991) of metaphors used by Americans in talking about marriage, Quinn comes to the following three conclusions:

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<sup>3</sup> By “cultural model,” Quinn means “a complex cultural schema” which organizes “domains of experience of all kinds.” In them is “an interrelated set of elements.” They “serve as working models for entire domains of activity in the world” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:139–140). These models have a quality of “shared cognition” in the speech community (Strauss and Quinn 1997:140). Cultural models are founded upon “shared experience,” which produces “shared understanding.” Shared experience comes about from two kinds of event: performing “recurrent cognitive tasks” and being impacted by intense events and conditions, e.g., the birth process (Strauss and Quinn 1997:140). Quinn’s “cultural model” is similar in some respects to Lakoff and Johnson’s Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM), or to their “cluster model” of interconnected ICMs.

(a) A speaker can employ chains of metaphors in the reasoning process as a tool in going in the desired logical direction. “Overlapping entailments” often result, in which metaphor (a) stands for metaphor (b), and the two of them then stand for a given concept (Quinn 1991:85).

An example of this comes from one Americans’ account of experience in marriage (Quinn 1991:84):

But it could be that situation when we got married, that it was such that we had lots of room to adjust. Because we didn’t have any idea what we were getting into. That gave us a lot of room to adjust. And by the time we had been through the first year we realized, you know, there would have to be some adjustments made. And a few years afterwards when things got really serious we were—you know, when the marriage was strong, it was very strong because it was made as we went along—it was sort of a do-it-yourself project.

Quinn remarks that the first metaphor is *room to adjust*, to which the second metaphor *it was made as we went along* refers. Both metaphors mean to express marriage compatibility. Quinn (1991:86) explains that the absence of planning ahead might well be assumed to be a disadvantage to marriage, but that the speaker makes the first metaphor *room to adjust* have the entailment of an advantage, cast as the metaphor *it was made as we went along*, which in turn is given the entailment of marital strength.

(b) The phenomenon of metaphorical chains of reasoning suggests that the speaker’s logic was determined before the metaphors for expressing that logic were selected (Quinn 1991:87), as shown in the previous example: the speaker added a second metaphor when it became clear that the first metaphor was insufficient to explain why the marriage became strong.

(c) The speaker often leaves gaps in the expressed argument, confident that the audience will supply the missing steps of logic. Quinn (1991:90) views this fact as another indication that the speaker’s logic usually exists independent of the selected metaphors. A second deduction is that the speaker never intends for the metaphors to carry the full burden of logical process. Quinn sees “the small number of metaphor classes [as suggesting] widespread sharing” of a basic model among the population. But she sees the hundreds of recorded metaphors based on those classes as indicating that “the metaphors themselves cannot be the basis of this shared understanding” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:143).

Quinn seems to overlook the possibility that since conceptual metaphors are very closely related to their cultural models, the models' quality of sharedness could be said to apply to the conceptual metaphors as well. One could say that the conceptual metaphors are, in addition to the cultural models themselves, part of the overall basis of shared understanding.

Indeed, this possibility approaches Lakoff's own view, in which metaphors are seen as bearing great burdens of explicating and elaborating cultural models, and of bringing many inferences (i.e., entailments) to the models. ICMs would be greatly "impoverished" if they were not fleshed out by metaphor. Quinn makes an important point when she observes that, in Lakoff's model, much of the shared quality of cognitively organized knowledge in the speech community must be held to exist on the level of the conceptual metaphor.

Quinn, on the other hand, believes that Lakoff seriously underestimates the power of cultural models to organize and extend knowledge. She also posits that what appear to be inference-producing entailments would genuinely be such only if the speaker's choice of metaphor were unconstrained. But if, as she believes, the speakers carefully choose which metaphors to employ, it is clear that the criterion for choice will be an optimal mapping of source features onto the target domain. That is, the metaphor is chosen for its entailments, not the other way around (Quinn 1991:77–78).

We believe Quinn to be correct in positing that cultural models have priority over metaphors. However, Quinn does not care to distinguish between conceptual metaphors and image metaphors. As a result, she and Lakoff seem to talk past each other. We believe that conceptual metaphors are generally much closer in nature to their relevant cultural models than are image metaphors, which are freely constructed.

It is probable, however, that no one conceptual metaphor can fully represent a cultural model. Therefore, while a conceptual metaphor might drive a small amount of reasoning on a given subject, it is far more likely that the bulk of the reasoning is driven by the model itself.

### **2.3.2 Lera Boroditsky and the need for empirical testing**

Boroditsky (2001:4–5) proposes a view of metaphor that allows for empirical testing of the importance of conceptual metaphors for the reasoning process. Considering her Metaphoric Structuring view to be a derivation of some parts of the Lakoff-Johnson model, she offers a model meant to be more acceptable to cognitive psychology in that it allows for experimentation. In this view, conceptual metaphors do not constitute understanding; they instead serve to structure abstractions by organizing their domains. Boroditsky writes:

Just like analogies, metaphors import the relational structure and not the surface features of the base domain to the target domain. When considering the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor, for example, we are not fooled into thinking that fried ideas are especially tasty or that thinking too much makes one fat. We can, however, infer that taking in a good idea can satisfy our intellectual appetite. In this case, the metaphor uses the relationship between food and hunger to describe the relationship between ideas and intellectual needs.

Conceptual metaphors become useful when people need help in conceptualizing relations in abstract domains. Those elements of such domains, however, which can be immediately (and presumably often physically) experienced stand in need of less aid. For example, the stock market is a fairly abstract conceptual domain. The notions of buying and selling stock, probably because buying and selling are quite concrete, can easily be expressed with these very verbs; when describing the quite abstract behavior of the stock market, however, one quickly resorts to metaphors such as *rise*, *fall*, *strengthen*, *weaken*, and the like.

Boroditsky examines specifically the claim that spatial concepts are used by English speakers in reasoning about time. This claim goes beyond any recognition that space and time are talked about in similar ways, or even that these two domains share a similar vocabulary. Boroditsky reasons that if this claim is true, then one should be able to obtain appropriate results of experiments in which various groups of people would be primed in various ways to think in spatial terms.

Her first experiment primed participants by inducing them to think about objects spatially related to each other in a series of pictures. One group considered, and answered questions about, objects depicted in such a way to imply that the viewer (“ego”) was moving toward them. A second group considered pictures that depicted objects themselves as moving. Then both groups were asked to interpret temporally ambiguous sentences, such as, “Next Wednesday’s meeting has been move forward two days.” Out of the first (ego-moving) group, 73.3% interpreted the sentence to mean that the meeting had been rescheduled for Friday, two days later. Out of the second (object-moving) group, 69.2% interpreted the meeting as rescheduled for Monday, two days earlier. Participants were also asked to rate their confidence in their interpretation on a scale of 1 to 5. Tabulations of the confidence scores was solidly consistent with each group’s bias. This first experiment was taken to verify the idea that space and time domains are indeed structured in a similar manner.

Boroditsky points out that her Metaphoric Structuring view could have different versions. A Strong view would hold that spatial concepts are of necessity accessed whenever one reasons about time. A

Weak Metaphorical Structuring prediction, on the other hand, would allow, but not require, spatial concepts to be employed in reasoning about time.

Boroditsky performed other experiments which employed, as the first one described above, some groups of participants primed for spatial thinking and others unprimed. Three of the experiments explored differences between native English speakers and native Mandarin speakers, exploiting the fact that in Mandarin, unlike in English, it is very common to conceive of time in terms of a vertical spatial dimension. Thus the Mandarin speaker often speaks of earlier events as being higher than later events: up is anterior time, while down is posterior time. This Mandarin property was observable even when native Mandarin speakers who were bilingual in English were considering English sentences. As a whole, the results constitute solid evidence that at least Boroditsky's Weak Metaphorical Structuring prediction is valid.

But they do not rule out the possibility that the Strong view might be valid. If the Strong view turns out to be invalid, it might be the case that spatial schemas have become part of the time domain conceptualizing inventory. This case would then be analogous to a metaphor becoming accepted as a secondary sense of a lexical item, e.g., *chair leg*.

A growing amount of research shows that spatial schemas underlie much of natural language. From Richardson et al. (2001), for example, comes intriguing evidence that image schemas generally underlie verbs, both concrete and abstract. This study produced results from two experiments supporting the hypothesis that verbs tend to have spatial aspects which would be consistently revealed across a sizable group of English speakers. In the first experiment, respondents were given a forced choice task, in which they were to match various verbs with one of four schemas, signaled by an arrow pointing either up, down, left, or right.

For the experiment, fifteen verbs were selected for a "high concreteness" class, and fifteen other verbs for a "low concreteness" class. Very significant consistency was found among respondents in their matches. For example, 80.9% of the respondents matched *fled* with Left, 88% matched *pushed* with Right, 68.3% matched *hunted* with Right, and 66.5% matched *smashed* with Down. These were high concreteness verbs. Among low concreteness verbs, *argued* with was matched with Right by 62.3%, *tempted* was matched with Left by 45.5%, and *hoped* was matched with Up by 45.5%.

A second experiment asked for free drawings of schemas representing various verbs. The results were analyzed for the angles drawn, since the respondents in this task were not limited to vertical and horizontal lines. Considerable agreement was discovered among the respondents. The study's

authors see the results as predictors of the effects of spatial priming on the comprehension of natural, “online” language.

Other studies cited by these same researches also suggest that spatial components adhere to language processing. There are spatial characteristics of mental images and models (Denis and Cocude 1992); some of these characteristics are reflected in eye movements of respondents (Spivey, Tyler, Richardson, and Young 2000). Spatial qualities associated with various words were presumed to determine whether the words, when displayed before respondents, were perceived to be at eye level or not. In order to be perceived as being at eye level, words with an upward component (e.g., *climbing*, *raising*) had to be displayed lower than words with a downward component (e.g., *falling*, *plunging*) (Kaden, Wapner, and Wemer 1955).

A theory like Boroditsky’s Weak Structuring view, then, is entirely reasonable in the light of findings from cognitive psychology, avoiding what many would regard as the excesses of the pure Lakoff-Johnson model, while allowing for ongoing non-linguistic psychological experimentation.

### **2.3.3 Remaining questions about conceptual metaphor theory**

On the linguistic side, however, there remain some questions. One of these is the debate of metaphoric incongruence. In response, we suggest a cline of congruence to incongruence. The congruence side would characterize conceptual metaphors (e.g., UP IS MORE) and their instantiations (e.g., *Petrol is going up*). But image metaphors based upon these instantiations would veer toward incongruence, and image metaphors not based at all upon them would be highly incongruent.

Therefore, in the process of identifying Biblical Hebrew conceptual metaphor, the analyst must beware of relying upon a notion of incongruence. We have introduced in Sections 1.1 and 2.0 the challenge of applying cognitive semantic theory to Biblical Hebrew texts. We remarked that the methodology in the Lakoff-Johnson model tends to rely heavily upon idealized speaker utterances and native speaker intuition. Neither of these factors exists for the BH analyst. How then is the analyst to judge the congruence or incongruence of a BH expression? Extreme caution must be taken, as Hermanson (1996:75) himself says in regard to Amos 1:1, where the expression **דברי אשר-חזה עמוס** has often been taken by commentators to indicate that Amos metaphorically “saw” words. Hermanson points out that **חזה** can indicate the experiencing of a vision, and that **דבר** can denote concrete as well as abstract notions. Thus the seeming incongruence can be explained by an adequately enlarged lexical characterization of **דבר**.

Hermanson does suggest other possible indicators of metaphor in Biblical Hebrew. For example, he discusses metonymy, which he appears to consider as a type of metaphor, but which others would regard as separate from metaphor. What he does not say, but what becomes clear in the arena of conceptual blending (see Section 2.7.4), is that metonymy frequently appears as an element in a larger metaphoric blend. When the analyst discovers metonymy in a text, he should therefore be watchful for the possibility of associated metaphor.

#### ***2.4 Towards integrating conceptual metaphor with a theory of cultural meaning***

It would be prudent to listen to the voices warning against a too-sweeping adoption of the entire Lakoff-Johnson position. As has been seen, some of these voices belong to cognitive psychology: these voices insist on the need for solid experimental evidence for the linguists' claims. For these researchers, purely linguistic evidence is insufficient. Others of these voices speak from cognitive anthropology. They complain of too heavy explanatory burdens placed upon the shoulders of Linguistics, of too ambitious roles assigned to language, and of cultural constructs being given short explanatory shrift. Still other voices are those of linguists themselves, even some committed to the study of human cognition. These complain of a considerable number of failings, among which figures the willingness to dispense with the notion of incongruence in metaphor, which seems indeed a very radical step to take.

We have at our disposal, however, the elements of a powerful theoretical linguistic-cultural model combination that preserves the notion of conceptual metaphor, but that at the same time is more reasonable in its claims for conceptual metaphor than the Lakoff-Johnson model, and that is less open to the charge of linguistic favoritism than the Lakoff-Johnson model. This combination consists of a merging of the Strauss-Quinn cultural model (Strauss and Quinn 1997) and Boroditsky's version of conceptual metaphor. This proposed combination will be discussed in Section 3.5.

#### ***2.5 Conceptual blending***

Metaphor was viewed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1987) as mapping semantic structures from source domain to target domain, either by using semantic structure common to both, or by using semantic structure projected from the source upon the target. Fauconnier and Turner (2001) and Coulson (2001:201) characterize these mappings based upon conceptual metaphors as "entrenched" in the language; i.e., these mappings are semantic projections so well established that they are generally employed in language without any new creative thought whatsoever on the speaker's or hearer's part. To say, for example, *Petrol is going up in price*, or, *John produced a*

*devastating argument against my proposal*, requires no conscious recognition of the conceptual metaphors (respectively, UP IS MORE and ARGUMENT IS WAR) involved.

The mechanisms of conceptual blending have come to be seen as “a central process of grammar,” to quote the title of Fauconnier and Turner (2001a). These mechanisms are “central” because they are seen to characterize many diverse phenomena in language: besides metaphor, conceptual blending is typically found in syntactic constructions, counterfactual statements, analogies, and nominal compounds. Conceptual blending can create new conceptual structures, with the blending mechanisms themselves taking the form of “conceptual integration networks” (Coulson 2001:171). The Lakoff-Johnson conceptual metaphors can be easily employed in all of these language phenomena. The result is often the creation of new figures or “projections” (when the new figures involved metaphors, these figures are frequently termed “on-line metaphors”). If, for example, a comedian says, *That woman has enough mouth for an extra row of teeth*, the conceptual metaphor (MOUTH IS SPEECH) appears as a backwards kind of grounding for the image of three rows of teeth, i.e., *speech* points backwards to the organ *mouth*, which then becomes the site of the fantastical idea of *a third row of teeth*.

Closely related to the phenomenon of conceptual blending is that of event integration, where a sequence of events is presented as a single event. Fauconnier and Turner (2001b:4) give as an example, *Jack sneezed the napkin off the table*.<sup>5</sup> Here two actions are represented: “Jack sneezed” and, implicitly, “the napkin moved.” It is worth noting that several states are also represented here: “the napkin was on the table,” “the napkin was off the table,” and “the napkin was on the floor.”

Although conceptual blending is a widespread mechanism in language, we shall limit to metaphor analysis the following presentation of basic blending formations.

### 2.5.1 Basic scenario of conceptual blending

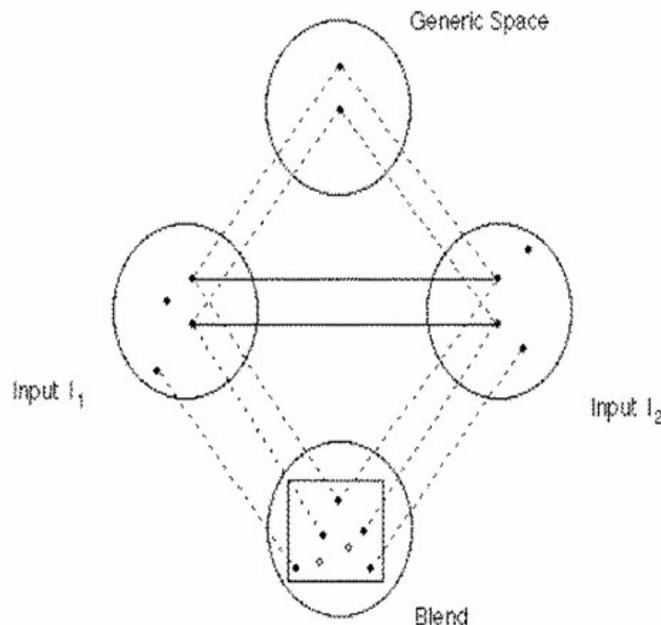
The most basic scenario generally envisioned in conceptual blending is schematized below in Figure 2.5.1 (taken from Fauconnier and Turner 2001a:11). Each circle represents a **mental space**, which is characterized by Fauconnier (1985) as a small ensemble of concepts that is basic in the language and culture. Mental spaces are represented, for example, by “John said...,” “a cricket

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<sup>5</sup> This is an example of the English caused-motion construction: *NP Vb NP PP*, a syntactic form which integrates two events. This construction has been studied especially by Goldberg (1995). See Section 2.5.3.3 for a blending analysis of an example of this construction.

match,” and “a rainy day.” Mental spaces gain their structure from cognitive models and frames (Fauconnier and Turner 2001:5).

One **input space** represents the source domain of the metaphor, and the other the target domain. While the terms ‘source’ and ‘target’ belong to traditional views of metaphor, their significance often becomes muted in the light of blending dynamics described later.



**Figure 2.5.1**  
*Basic scenario of conceptual blending*

The **generic space** represents semantic or frame structure that is common to both input spaces. Sometimes the generic space plays a prominent role in metaphor dynamics.

**Cross-space mapping** is represented by the dotted lines. These stand for conceptual correspondences between various elements (represented by dots in the diagram above) in the input spaces and the **blend**. Many potential links are entirely filtered out, and the surviving links are usually partial in many ways, since various aspects of the connected elements are usually suppressed.

The blend is the mental space created from the joint effects of the cross-space mapping. The blend houses **conceptual structure** that is taken from the generic space, but also **emergent structure**, i.e., structure that is newly developed as a result of the interaction of the cross-space mapping. It is in particular the emergent structure which becomes a critical tool in much of the reasoning process. The manipulations of the semantic and conceptual structure in the blend are sometimes termed “online” (Coulson 2001:201; Turner and Fauconnier 1998:1), as opposed to the generally much less

conscious status of metaphors that are based on conceptual metaphors and which could by analogy be called “offline.”

Fauconnier and Turner (2001a) classify and discuss a wide variety of blending configurations, generally called **conceptual networks**. Many of the differences among blending configurations depend on whether, and to what extent, the same semantic topology (i.e., the relations—logical, spatial, etc.—among the various elements in a given frame) characterises all the frames of the network: the input frames, the generic frame, and the blend itself. We shall not pursue any details of this analysis, but only content ourselves by noting the possibility that various kinds of BH similes might be characterised by different kinds of conceptual networks.

### 2.5.2 An example of a metaphoric conceptual blend

Here we offer an example of a metaphoric conceptual blend, considering the metaphor: *It is clear that there are loopholes in U.S. immigration law big enough to drive a jet plane through.* This metaphor was heard on a National Public Radio news analysis program about October 1, 2001; it refers to the use of three large passenger airplanes, hijacked by terrorists, in massive attacks on New York City and on the Pentagon near Washington, D.C., September 11, 2001. Some of the terrorists had apparently entered the U.S.A. on visitors visas and then illegally remained after the visas’ expiration.

In this metaphor, the two primary input spaces each is a widely different frame: Input 1 involves the flight of an airplane through a certain space, and Input 2 involves defects in U.S. immigration law. Each of these frames, however, contributes some relations to the blend. This network is therefore termed a two-sided shared topology network.

This analysis (see Figure 2.5.2 below) assumes that the primary sense of *loophole* is as it appears in Input 1 (entitled *Loophole for jet plane*) of the embedded network. If, however, the primary sense of *loophole* is seen as “a small hole in a wall,” then *loophole for jet plane* would have to be regarded as a secondary sense, and *loophole* as given in Input 2 (entitled *Inadequacy in Immigration Law*) as a tertiary sense. In that case, the analysis would have to include a preliminary metaphor generated by the two inputs *Loophole in wall* and *Passage through a physical obstacle*. This analysis would in turn suggest that many words extend their senses by means of two-sided metaphoric networks.

The communicative motivation of the principal blend is to suggest a negative evaluation of U.S. immigration law: that it is dangerously defective. This communicative goal is signaled by the very heavy arrow leading backwards from the bottom conceptual blend to *Inadequacy in Immigration Law*. This arrow is labeled *Negative judgment about immigration law*.

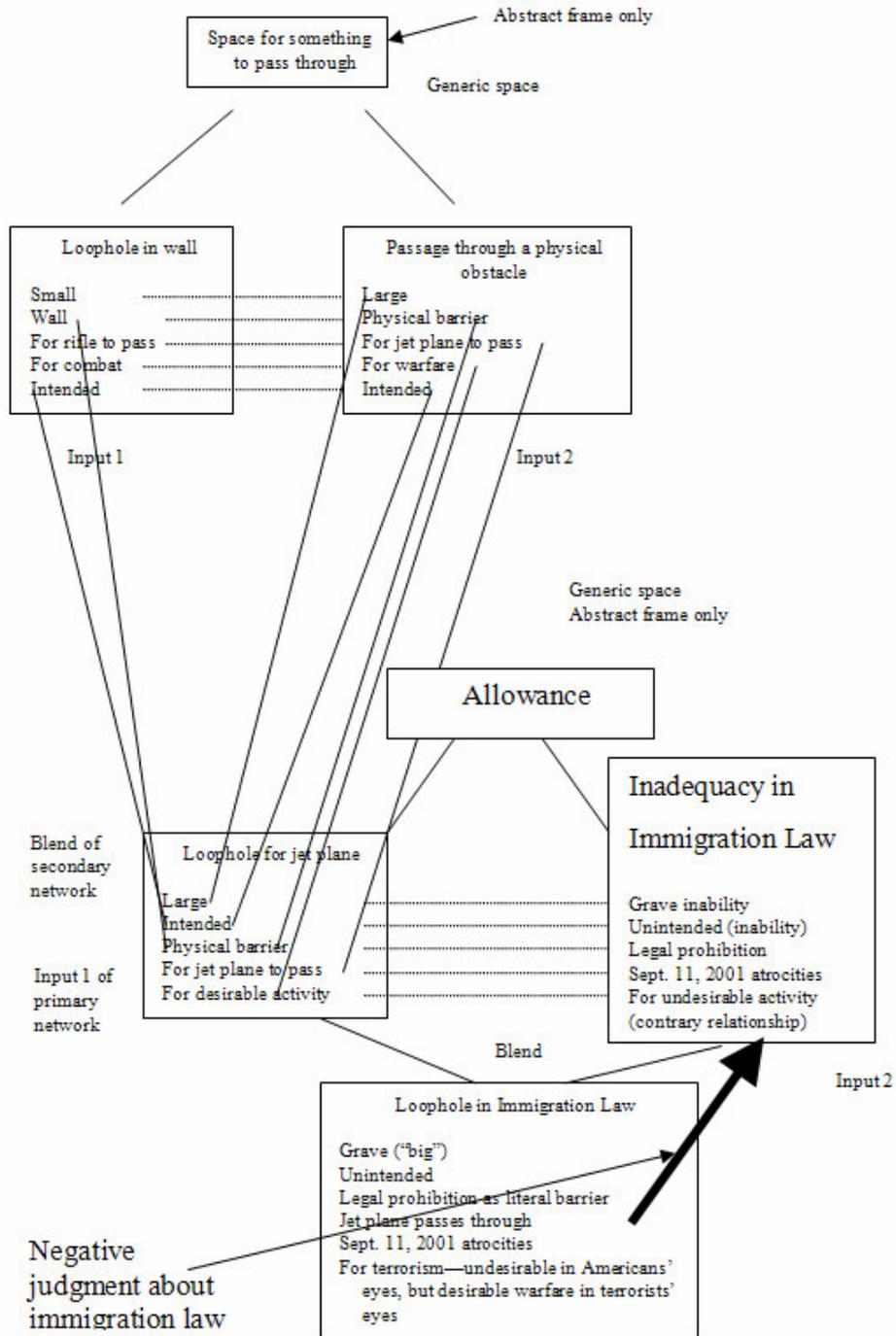


Figure 2.5.2

*It is clear that there are loopholes in U.S. immigration law big enough to drive a jet plane through.*

***Two-sided network***

**2.5.3 Conceptual blending contrasted with a traditional view of metaphor**

We should at this point turn from examining a cognitive account of conceptual blending to contrast all that has been presented on this subject with a traditional view of metaphor. We are interested in particular in a view that has become widely known among Bible translators, which is found in Beekman and Callow (1978:127):

A metaphor is an implicit comparison in which one item of the comparison (the “image”) carries a number of components of meaning of which usually only one is contextually relevant to and shared by the second item (the “tenor”).

First, it is clear that conceptual blending as developed by Fauconnier and Turner and others provides for a large variety of networks, most of which can in no way be adequately accounted for by a notion of comparison between source and target domains (or “image,” as termed by Beekman and Callow). The conceptual blending mechanism in metaphors such as in Figure 2.5.2 often makes it difficult to speak of source and target in metaphor, because of the large amount of frame topology contributed by each input to the blend. For this reason, Fauconnier and Turner prefer to speak of Input 1 and Input 2, and of a blend instead of a resulting comparison.

Secondly, the idea that only one “component of meaning,” i.e., semantic attribute, of the “image” is usually relevant to the metaphor is certainly too limited. Consider, for example, the following metaphor, *We had to get the telephone surgically removed from our daughter’s ear*. One intentionally holds the telephone to one’s ear, but in this metaphor this intension is transformed into unintension that characterizes an abnormal growth on one’s body. The significance of this intension transformation is to make the exaggerated implicit claim that too much contact with the telephone will result in an unintended, cancer-like, physiological growth. This fantastical claim, which is certainly contrary to actual experience, is employed by the speaker for the rhetorical purpose of making a negative evaluation of his daughter’s habits of prolonged telephone conversations.

Thirdly, the traditional view of metaphor espoused by Beekman and Callow appears to all too conveniently fit a general view that communication is based on the conveyance of propositions. If an “image” is usually relevant to its metaphor in respect to only one of its components of meaning, then it becomes not too difficult to propositionalize that information and to dispense with the metaphor entirely.

#### **2.5.4 Further ramifications of conceptual blending for speech figure studies**

Although the best-known and most spectacular application of conceptual blending has probably been to the study of metaphor structure, cognitivists recognize that conceptual blending offers a very powerful account of many linguistic phenomena. It is also recognized, however, that conceptual blending is in fact only one aspect of constructivist models of language. Traditional models apply varieties of set theory to the lexicon, addressing the problem of how speakers access lexemes and the senses required by the utterance context. The correct lexemes must then appear in the correct syntactic positions in the utterance.

The constructivist, on the other hand, considers frames to be the basis of language. Coulson (2001:17–20) makes the point that in a cognitive frame model, meaning resides in frames, which are blended and manipulated in various ways—or, more precisely, that meaning resides in the elements of, and in the relations in, frames. This statement implies that word sense accesses of course an element or relation, but also, crucially, the relevant frame. Many frames thus accessed are organizing frames; these come with participants, props, events, relations, etc. When a speaker accesses a frame via the appropriate lexeme, all of that frame’s structural elements are at the speaker’s disposal for blending manipulation.

### **2.5.5 Conceptual blending and the literal-nonliteral debate in language**

In Section 2.5.4, we effectively suggested that a distinction between literal and nonliteral language is fairly unproductive for the study of conceptual blending dynamics, since these dynamics are found to function in a wide variety of language operations. Gibbs (1993:257) remarks that truth conditional quality has been proposed by some as the criterion for distinguish literal language from nonliteral. Language, in this view, is considered nonliteral if it does not refer to a thing or condition in actual existence. It is also according to truth conditional views that many have approached the study of metaphor: if a statement is seen to violate a truth condition, then try to consider the statement as a metaphor. It may be that as a metaphor, the statement’s unusual quality will be pleasing or even artistic.

As Coulson (2001:197–198) points out, however, the criterion of truth conditions for metaphor fails to account for the ubiquity of conceptual blending dynamics, as well as for the entire system of conceptual metaphors and the relations between them and their metaphoric realizations.

## ***2.6 Accounting for simile***

In this section, we turn from a general cognitive discussion of metaphor and other linguistic structures to a specific discussion of simile. Here we must examine traditional notions of simile and put them into contrast with what cognitive semantics can offer. A much-trodden path in this regard is to identify the difference between simile and metaphor. In general, the differences that are explored are differences of a conceptual nature. As we shall see, however, it is also possible to explore another kind of difference—those differences based upon varieties of usage within texts.

### **2.6.1 The need for discovering text-based characteristics of similes**

Simile studies have not seemed very concerned with adopting a text-based approach, and, indeed, such an approach is sometimes explicitly avoided. In commenting on a proposed interpretation of Shakespeare’s line from *Rome and Juliet*, “Juliet is the sun”—that Romeo begins his day with

Juliet, as he does with the sun, Searle (1997:96) remarks: "...Apart from the special context of the play, that reading would never occur to me. I would look for other properties of the sun...." But why be surprised at the idea that attention to text is necessary for metaphor and simile interpretation? And why consider textual context as something "special" for interpreting a figure of speech?

### 2.6.1.1 A first consideration of simile syntax

The first text-based aspect of similes to consider is what we shall call **simile syntax**. Here we mean the syntactic shape itself of the simile—its surface or linguistic structure, as opposed to its conceptual structure, which we argued can be presented using the conceptual blending apparatus. Goatly (1997:184–187) does indeed look at two simile shapes:

(a) "premodified" similes, where an element of the Vehicle<sup>6</sup> is preposed ahead of the simile particle, as in *Here the ravens floated below them like black scraps from a fire* (the preposed vehicle element is underlined); and

(b) similes, often scalar in nature, employing explicit analogies, as in *He was as fitted to survive in the modern world as a tape worm in an intestine*.

Goatly's notion of premodified similes can be generalized into a search for principles governing all kinds of simile shapes. We could, for example, inquire into the variations of the order of topic and vehicle. In English, similes can take the following orders:

(a) Tenor—Vehicle, as in *The horse ran along like a railroad car*.

(b) Vehicle —Tenor, as in *Like stars at night, so did her eyes shine*.

(c) Tenor—Vehicle—Tenor, as in *Fred tenderly carried, just like an experienced father, his first-born child into the house*. Here the Tenor is discontinuous, being interrupted by the Vehicle, *just like an experienced father*.

We will inquire in this volume into Tenor—Vehicle orders in the Biblical Hebrew of Hosea, and we will find these three orders, but a fourth order as well: Tenor—Vehicle —Tenor— Vehicle.

### 2.6.1.2 Moder and simile-introducers as mental space builders

C.L. Moder (personal communication) has studied transcripts of American English radio newscasts for several purposes, including that of identifying the various syntactic compositions of metaphors,

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<sup>6</sup> From this point forward in this study, we shall employ the terms *Tenor* and *Vehicle* for the normally recognised parts of metaphors and similes. The term *Topic*, which is preferred by many instead of *Tenor*, is reserved by us for Information Structure concerns.

and of looking for patterns in the distribution of metaphors and similes. She concludes thus far that an essential difference between metaphor and simile concerns the speaker's assessment of the difficulty which the intended audience is likely to have in processing the speech figure. More difficult figures tend to be cast as similes, for the reason that their introductory particles (*like, as, etc.*, which act as mental space builders in the spirit of Fauconnier—see Section 2.1.3) are intended to function as warnings of imminent difficulty for the audience. We may reasonably add to this function of simile particles a second function, that of hedging, which would appear to be a good fit with the first function. The speaker, then, is implying by using such a particle one or both of the following thoughts: “The figure I am introducing will be more difficult to process than many others; furthermore, do not hold me responsible for all of this figure's possible implications.”

### ***2.6.1.3 Towards a text-based hypothesis of simile and metaphor***

We are now in a position to present a hypothesis about the relation between simile and metaphor from a textual point of view: if the speaker expects the audience to have difficulty in processing or comprehending the figure of speech—i.e., in identifying the intended semantic projections, he will tend to employ a simile.

Two questions arise at this point:

- (a) what does it mean to process or comprehend a figure of speech—or any other utterance, for that matter? And,
- (b) what model of language allows, or, ideally, encourages us to account for speaker expectation and assumptions?

We believe that the proper answer to the first question must have an intensionalistic nature: a speaker understands his utterance to be adequately comprehended when he believes that his intended effect upon the speaker has occurred—whether that effect be a change of knowledge, of belief, of sentiment, a motivation for an action, etc. Note that this view of comprehension does not always necessitate that the *referential* meaning of the speaker's utterance be actually known by the addressee. There is the story of a young man who left home and emigrated to the old American West to find a new life. He “went wrong,” committed a murder, and was tried, convicted, and hanged in the public square for his crime. An acquaintance felt he had to let the young man's mother back East know somehow that her son was deceased, so he wrote the following letter to her: “Dear Madam, I regret to inform you of the decease of your son. He lost his life at a public ceremony when the platform on which he was standing gave way.” Here the letter writer's actual reference to the hanging was not meant to be explicitly understood, and yet his intention was presumably met.

The second question—what model of language allows, or, ideally, encourages us to account for speaker expectation and assumptions?—requires a lengthy answer, which follows.

Let us reason in the following manner: if Tom and Jerry are conversing, each has a view of himself, and each has an intention to present only a certain portion of that self-view to the other. Moreover, he may choose the degree of authenticity to which he will present that portion.

In addition, each has a certain view of the other, of which, again, only a portion is typically presented to the other—and that presentation may be, again, effected to varying degrees of authenticity. The interplay of these various views will to a very considerable extent dictate each person's assumptions of the other's mental state (e.g., what is going through his mind at the moment) and of what thought, word, and actions he is capable.

But to Tom's view of Jerry's knowledge and beliefs we must also add his view of Jerry's capabilities—and his view must account, not only for what appears to be Jerry's ontology, wishes, and intentions, but also even for Jerry's abilities to process language. An extreme example of this would occur if Tom believed Jerry to be mentally handicapped. This belief would heavily influence the conceptual content of Tom's speech; but it could also influence the linguistic means and mechanisms selected by Tom in speaking to Jerry. In more common conditions, Tom's views of Jerry's abilities to process language are probably almost identical to his views of the abilities of anyone else of the same maturity, linguistic background, etc., to process language.

It is in the arena of these beliefs and others like them that we should locate speaker expectation of the other's difficulty in comprehending his meaning. Note that we do not have to *prove* the hearer's actual ease or difficulty of comprehension. It is enough that we demonstrate speaker expectation or assumption of such.

When does the speaker expect audience processing difficulty? We will briefly identify here and discuss three postulated situations, noting that this list might not be exhaustive. But first a brief discursus.

**Discursus:** are metaphors harder to process than literal language? Here we wish to embark on a short discursus concerning experimental psycholinguistic evidence about the difficulty of metaphor processing. Glucksberg (2001) discusses a variety of experimental results. One experiment, conducted by Ortony and colleagues (Ortony, Schaller, Reynolds, and Anots 1978), measured the time required by readers to understand literal sentences versus metaphorical sentences. There were two different texts, each consisting of one paragraph, and a concluding sentence that was identical

for the two texts. This final sentence had to be taken literally in one context and metaphorically in the other.

It was found that when each paragraph was abbreviated, a significantly longer time was required to process the metaphorical occurrence of the final sentence. However, when the full contexts, i.e., the full paragraphs, were provided, the metaphorical sentence was understood in the same time as the literal sentence.

Another study, conducted by Blasko and Connine (1993), asked whether people adduce metaphorical meanings of words as quickly as literal meanings. Their method was to semantically prime the participants by speaking to them a metaphorical phrase set in a sentence, e.g., *Jerry first knew that loneliness was a desert\* when he was very young.\*\** Immediately after the metaphorical phrase (here marked with \*), they would then flash on a screen a string of letters, which sometimes spelled a word that in the context of the sentence was metaphorical, sometimes a word that in the context had a literal sense, and sometimes a control word—a neutral word that could not be related in any way to the context. The subjects' task was to tell as quickly as possible whether the string of letters was a word in English. Likewise, other strings of letters would be flashed on the screen after a non-metaphorical part of the spoken sentence (here marked with \*\*). Again, the subjects had to decide whether the string spelled an English word.

It was found that in both the metaphorical and literal contexts, literal words were recognized as English words faster than the control words. Metaphorical words were recognized at the same speed as English words in both contexts, provided that the metaphors were considered apt, even when the metaphors were unfamiliar.

Other experiments also heavily support the hypothesis that apt metaphors are processed as quickly as literal language (see Glucksberg 2001:22–28).

The significance of these studies is to suggest that the speaker might well expect his metaphorical speech to be as easy for the hearer to process as literal language—regardless of what Aristotle and rhetoricians following him believed; if the speaker has this expectation, he might, if he is fortunate, discover that experimental data suggest that he is correct. But what about the speaker's expectation of similes? We contend that he generally expects his use of similes to present more difficulty to his hearer. It is for this reason that he will employ a simile particle to explicitly build a mental space of similitude, and it is also for this reason that he will often use hedging devices, among them simile particles.

**First expected difficulty:** simile's wide range of possible semantic projections. Brandt (2000) notices that similes tend towards freer semantic projections than do metaphors. For example, Brandt's birthday greeting simile *Birthdays are like eating chocolate creams* cannot work as a metaphor: *\*Birthdays are eating chocolate creams*. Note that this fact seems germane even to very conventional similes. In *Ted's face was as red as a beet*, the topic may involve sunburn, or perhaps a deep blushing from embarrassment. A corresponding metaphor, *Ted's face was a beet*, would be unusual and probably not very successful. The simile *red as a beet* has certainly become conventionalized, but it seems clear that at the time of its inception, *beet* had no property that was considered to be easily transferable to a target in a metaphor. Because of this fact, the transfer came to be effected with the particle *as* functioning as a mental space builder, i.e., the transfer was effected with a freely constructed simile, which over time became conventional.

Sam Glucksberg (2001:33) observes that a similar simile but without the grounds is also acceptable: *John's face was like a beet*, and that this form is judged by people as being more metaphorical than *John's face was as red as a beet*, which is considered more literal. It may well be that metaphoricity is increased if the grounds are omitted. We hypothesize that the grounds-omitted version succeeds because the full (grounds-included) version is in the audience's linguistic inventory, and that this version exploits beets' salient property of redness. But it is true that novel similes enjoy a great freedom of constructibility, and that along with this freedom there would appear to go great ambiguity of grounds.

**Second expected difficulty:** when a clash or a series of conceptualizations exists. A clash is seen to occur when a certain conceptualization of a target is interrupted or closely followed by another. An example is found in Hos. 2.4–5, where the prophet begins the strophe in v. 4 by imaging the nation of Israel as a woman; he addresses the people:

<sup>4</sup> Accuse your mother, accuse her! For she is not my wife, and I am not her husband.  
May she remove her fornications from her face and her adulteries from between her breasts;

<sup>5</sup> lest I strip her naked and make her as on the day of her birth, and make her like the wilderness, and make her like arid land, and I kill her with thirst.

<sup>6</sup> And on her children I will have no mercy, for they are children of adultery.

Here the image of ISRAEL AS WOMAN, effected by metaphor, is interrupted by the image of ISRAEL AS GEOGRAPHY, which is effected by a series of similes. The image then reverts to ISRAEL AS

WOMAN in the last clause of v. 5, again effected by metaphor. The result is a clash of images. Again, a mental space viewpoint would expect to find simile favoured as a means for presenting such conceptualizations, because simile particles such as *like* and *as* provide overt warning of the processing difficulty.

When a series of different conceptualizations is presented, it becomes natural to explicitly signal the resulting processing difficulties. The usual method of signaling is by the simile particles.

Often one finds similes introducing series of metaphors with identical or related input domains. Goatly (1997:184–185) regards such similes as “metaphorical frameworks.” Following are several examples:

I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view, hopping like a raven in a black feathered hat from one gallery to another.

Here the simile particle *like* introduces the use of *a raven* as a way of conceptualizing the lady under discussion. The verb *hopping* belongs to the simile, as it characterizes ravens; *hopping* does not, however, literally characterize the lady, as one does not hop from picture to picture in an art gallery. *Hopping* can characterize the lady, therefore, only metaphorically. As no raven wears a *black feathered hat*, it must be that the lady is wearing the hat. But the proximity of *in a black feathered hat* to *raven* induces the reader to imagine a raven wearing such a hat. Moreover, the link to the raven is strengthened by the attribute *feathered*.

Goatly points out that the stated grounds of this simile are partial, consisting of the verb *hopping*. The other grounds are really metaphorical in nature. So the simile particle *like* opens the door, not only to simile, but also to metaphorical elements—which is why Goatly calls this a simile functioning as a “metaphorical framework.”

Here is another example:

He chased the little boys about and made noises like a dog tormenting cows. The little boys responded with mooing and shrieks of laughter.

Here the simile introduces a domain of a dog barking at cattle. This domain is extended in the next sentence, but with a metaphor (*with mooing*) instead of a simile.

**Third expected difficulty:** speaker non-recognition of conceptual metaphors. Lakoff (1987) warns that native speakers cannot rely upon a recognition of incongruity in order to identify conceptual metaphors. In fact, it is extremely rare—if it may be said to occur at all—that realizations of

conceptual metaphors are recognized as anything but fairly literal language. Thus, a native English speaker never goes around saying UP IS MORE or DOWN IS LESS, although these are implied by saying, for example, *The price of petrol is going up* or *The stock market took a tumble*. Conceptual metaphors, being only implicit, cannot usually work if they are cast into the form of explicit image metaphors; in this form, they do not generally result in acceptable utterances; one cannot transform, for example, the conceptual metaphors (these are given by Goatly 1997:41–81) SPEAKING IS A BALL GAME, IDEAS ARE LIQUIDS, SPEAKING IS WALKING, and IDEAS ARE FOOD into the linguistic metaphors *\*speaking is a ball game*, *\*ideas are liquids*, *\*speaking is walking*, *\*ideas are food*.

If for some reason the speaker wishes to explicitly state the content of a conceptual metaphor, there is no theoretical obstacle to creating a simile that is analogous to one—if one specifies the semantic element that is projected to the conceptual blend. In the spirit of Brandt (see Section 2.2.3.1), we can say that these similes amount to “freely constructible” similes. So we can say, in contrast to the unacceptable linguistic metaphors given above, *Speaking is like a ball game: you should follow certain rules of play*; *Ideas are like liquids: you want them to flow easily*; or *Speaking is like walking: sometimes you have to retrace your steps*.

Relating speaker expectation of hearer processing difficulty to the strength of semantic projection in metaphor and simile: we have postulated and explored a generalization about similes: similes are expected by the speaker to be harder for his hearer to process than either metaphors or literal speech. Moreover, we accept the generally held view that metaphor usually effects stronger projection of properties than does simile.

Now one might argue that our postulated generalization about speaker expectation that similes are more difficult than usual to process would be correct only if it is *not* true that similes effect a weaker projection of properties than do metaphors. After all, the most traditional view of metaphor and similes includes the assumption that the stronger the projection of properties, the more difficult the figure of speech is to process.

Yet experimentation repeatedly sustains the counter-intuitive view that metaphor is processed as easily as literal speech. Is it nevertheless true that metaphor produces in general a stronger projection of properties than does simile? Consider the following invented but wholly plausible conversation:

*Tom:* Your sister treated me horribly at the party last night. She’s like acid flung in someone’s face!

*Jerry:* Like acid?! She is acid!

This exchange exhibits the well-known phenomenon of image strengthening—in this case a novel image—from what we might call simile strength to metaphor strength. We may certainly take this example as demonstrating an strengthening of association between the two inputs, *your sister* and *acid*.

But let us consider this example a little further, in the light of our postulated generalization that the speaker expects the hearer to have difficulty in processing similes. Tom has presented a novel image consisting of a novel association between *acid* and *your sister*. He knows, perhaps even—although probably not—consciously, that this association is novel. Will Jerry accept this image, given (a) that the association is novel, and (b) that it puts his own sister in a pejorative light? In his uncertainty over the difficult processing, Tom presents the association as a simile. Jerry thereupon accepts the association and strengthens it, turning it into a metaphor.

Jerry could have accepted the association without adding strength to it, responding, “Yes, she is like acid.” Or he could have hedged the association: he could have accepted the similaic association and intensified it, all the while retaining it as a simile: “Yes, she *is* like acid” or “Yes, she *really* is like acid,” etc. On the other hand, he could have accepted the association while providing a weakening hedge, e.g., “Well, she’s a *little* like acid.”

Note that the following inversion of the simile-metaphor order is unacceptable:

*Tom:* She is acid flung in someone’s face!

*Jerry:* \*She’s acid? She’s *like* acid!

**We conclude, therefore, that speaker expectation of hearer processing difficulty tends to be inversely proportional to the strength of property projection in similes and metaphors.** We shall argue later that this counter-intuitive formulation can explain much of the relative distribution of simile and metaphor in Hosea. In the meantime, we ask the reader to consider again the second of our postulated locations of speaker expectation of hearer processing difficulty when confronted by an image: “when a clash or a series of conceptualizations exists.” What does our formulation above imply in the light of this postulated speaker expectation? One might answer, the clash of conceptions leads the speaker to expect hearer difficulty and to produce a simile. This does not imply that the speaker is at the same time wishing to effect weak projection of properties. But weak projection of properties will tend to be the result.

It is not hard to see that more literal language has analogues to the use of the simile particle as a reflex of speaker expectation of hearer processing difficulty. Consider these examples:

(a) A mother returns home after a children’s football match with her young daughter, who is not distinguished for her ability as a member of her team. She says to her ten-year-old son: “Believe it or not, your little sister kicked the winning goal!”

(b) You are describing a World Cup match to your neighbor: \**“Believe it or not, Pelé [the celebrated Brazilian footballer] kicked the winning goal!”*

The reported speech in (a) is very acceptable if we think that no one expected the little girl to kick a goal. We view *believe it or not* as a mental space builder, preparing the hearer to process difficult information—difficult in this case because unexpected. However, the reported speech in (b) cannot be accepted, given our reasonable assumption that everyone knows who the great Pelé is. For this reason, the hearer needs no help in processing the information, and *believe it or not* is thus inappropriate.

### 2.6.2 Application of conceptual blending to similes

It is difficult to find conceptual blending techniques that have been applied to simile. Perhaps they have been thought to be an academic exercise, of little interest compared to conceptual blending in the more “robust” metaphor. But if we do not try to apply conceptual blending to simile, we will never know for sure whether it can be done, nor whether any adaptations from the conceptual blending apparatus for metaphor are necessary.

We select for this exercise in Figure 2.6.2a below the simile: *I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view, hopping like a raven in a black feathered hat from one gallery to another.*

Goatly does not seem to consider this simile to have a premodified vehicle, for he views *hopping* as part of the Tenor *her* (the lady), but it seems more reasonable to consider it as a vehicle premodifying term, since people do not literally hop from one museum exhibit to another; if one wishes to consider this notion of hopping as a dictionary secondary sense of the verb, one still must concede that *hopping*, in so close proximity to *raven*, must exert, first, an effect that invokes the verb’s primary sense and, secondly, then a metaphorical effect by extension. We find it worth adding to the conceptual blending diagram below a bottom apparatus that can present this premodification. and related matters.

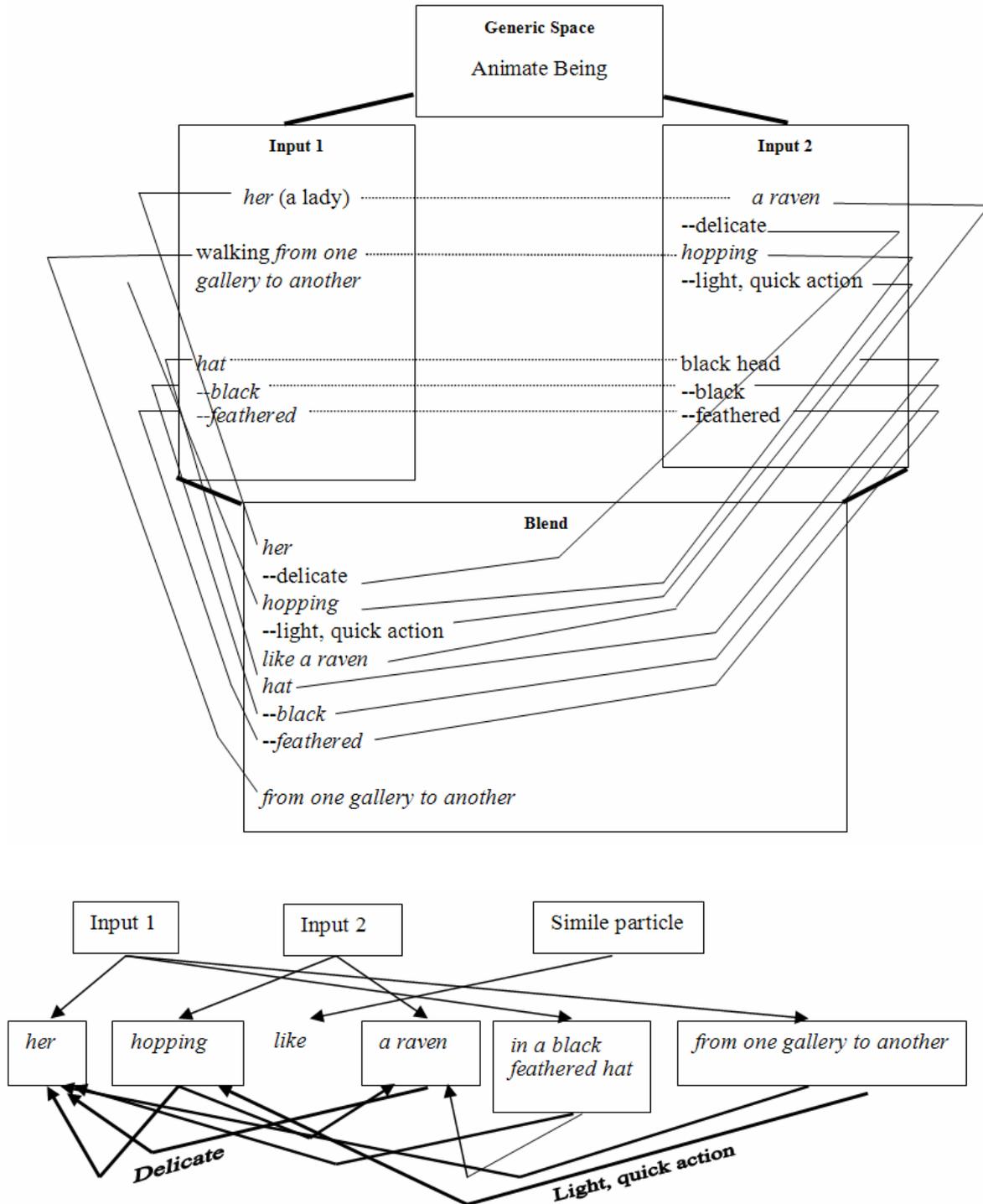


Figure 2.6.2a

*I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view,  
hopping like a raven in a black feathered hat from one gallery to another.*

**Premodified Simile**

This added apparatus can be said to exist on the syntactic level of the simile, as opposed to the higher apparatus, which belongs, of course, to the simile’s conceptual level. In addition to displaying the concepts explicitly represented by the simile’s lexical items, the bottom apparatus can represent also concepts that are only implied, i.e., “delicate” and “light, quick action.”

As we have seen in conceptual blending diagrams of metaphors, such diagramming makes possible an analysis of the simile that is likely to be far more complete than its omission would allow. Let us note several useful points brought into relief by this diagram:

(a) it is important to note concepts that are implied but are not explicitly represented by the simile's lexical items. In this diagram we have the attribute of delicate, suggested by raven, and light, quick action, suggested by the raven's hopping. In each case, these elements are metaphorically projected to their targets: delicate is projected to the lady in question, and light, quick action is projected to the lady's hopping.

(b) The bottom apparatus allows us to present the simile's syntax, i.e., the order of lexical constituents, in a way that maps the constituents onto Input 1 and Input 2. We find that this mapping highlights for us something which our recognition of Vehicle premodification alone could not have predicted: that both topic and vehicle are discontinuous, in the order Tenor–Vehicle-Simile particle–Vehicle–Tenor.

We treat first the phenomenon of the vehicle premodification. Its effect can be assessed by examining what the same simile would look like if it had an unpremodified-vehicle construction. Contrast the simile as it is:

I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view, hopping like a raven in  
a black feathered hat from one gallery to another

with an unpremodified vehicle version:

\*I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view, like a raven hopping  
in a black feathered hat from one gallery to another.

Here we find that the unpremodified Vehicle version is in fact infelicitous and ambiguous. This fact allows us to postulate at least one motivation for vehicle premodification in English similes: to avoid ambiguous and perhaps even ungrammatical simile constructions.

The bottom apparatus is also able to distinguish between the presentation of literal projections and that of metaphorical projections, by using bold arrows for literal and lighter arrows for metaphorical. So, for example, *hopping* is projected, by means of an explicit statement of premodified grounds, from input 2 to the blend. The projection must be considered metaphorical, because a literal hopping (up and down) is not applicable to a visitor in an art gallery. If one were unhappy with this view, he would be forced to postulate a different sense of hopping in the lady's

case—as in *We went bar-hopping last night*, but we are on fairly safe ground in calling it metaphorical, or at the very least, in recognizing that the simile plays with two senses of *hopping*, the literal sense and a metaphorically derived secondary sense.

Now when Goatly identifies one use of similes as providing “metaphorical frameworks,” one may first suppose him to mean the use of a simile to introduce an image destined for further metaphorical elaboration, for similes often have this function, as can be shown in the book of Hosea. But in fact what he means is that simile grounds are often themselves metaphorical, as in the case of *hopping*.

The function of the expression *in a black, feathered hat* is not simple. It collocates in a mostly literal manner with the lady of Input 1, but *black* and *feathered* are evocative of ravens as well, because they are literal attributes of ravens. In this case they literally qualify *hat* as well, so the entire phrase *in a black, feathered hat* must be considered part of Input 1. At the same time, there is an ambidextrous quality to the phrase because of the literal collocation to raven of *black* and *feathered*.

The preposition *in* is intriguing in its position. The stated relationship of containment between *lady* and *hat* is unexpected and cannot be considered literal. It appears that the expression *her in a black feathered hat* is itself a metaphor; its effect is to create of the lady an image of blackness and “featheredness” that goes far beyond the simple notion of a black feathered hat. If this is true, then the similitic association of *raven* with *her* is all the more strengthened.

Goatly (1997:185) presents another simile that we will consider here: *This morning he glowered down like an avenging acid drop*. Here Goatly remarks: “The verb is anomalous: acid drops certainly cannot ‘glower’! We need to find further Grounds or Pseudo-grounds: the ‘acidity’ of his feelings.” So in the ostensible grounds (*he glowered down*), there is a distant metaphorical relationship that is in play. A diagram of this simile in Figure 2.6.2b below may be instructive.

The heavy arrows leading in the blend from *glowered* and its entailments to *glowers* and its entailments represent the conceptual elements donated to Input 2 by Input 1 via the elliptical syntax of the blend. The projection of these elements is effected by the simile’s syntax, and the projection’s nature is metaphorical. It is this metaphorical projection that leads Goatly to call this simile a “metaphorizing” simile.

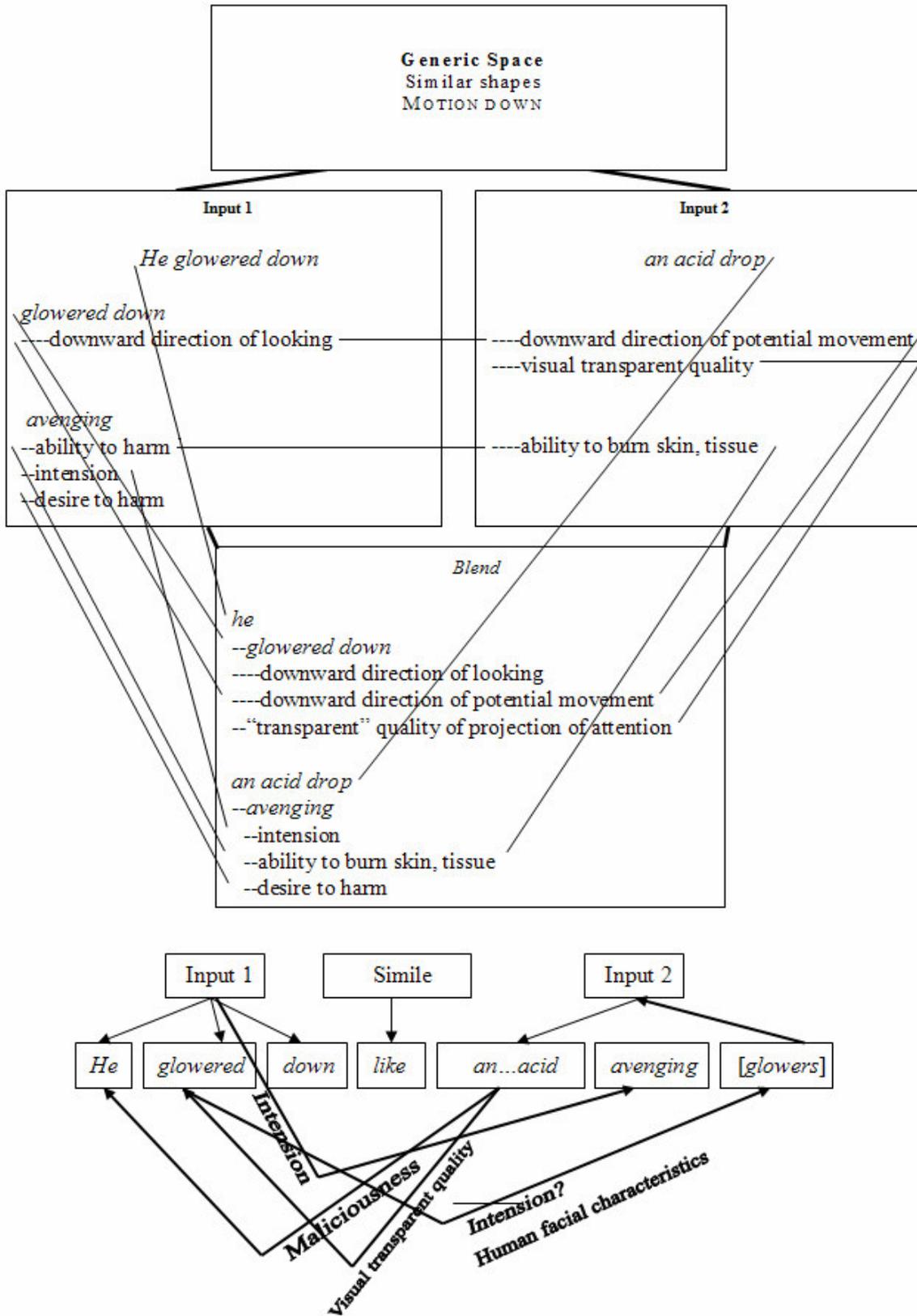


Figure 2.6.2b

*He glowered down like an avenging acid drop.*  
**Metaphorizing Simile**

As in the previous conceptual blending diagram, the bottom apparatus (on the following page) can distinguish literal projections from metaphorical projections. Sometimes the metaphorical projections reinforce the literal projections, as in the case of the property of ability to harm: *he* possesses an intensional ability to harm; but *an acid drop* possesses an unintentional ability to harm by means of burning skin or other tissue. We have, in effect, a bidirectional projection here: *he* projects the property of intension that is implicit in *avenging* to an acid drop; and *an acid drop* projects back to *he* a property of maliciousness, probably associated with the particularly noxious kind of harm done by acid, but also perhaps with a fainter association of the malicious act of throwing acid into someone's face.

The simile implies the following syntax: *he glowered down like an avenging acid drop [glowers]*. But [*glowers*] is much more than an implied syntactic constituent of the sentence; it actually projects onto *an acid drop* a property of intension like *avenging* does, but also of human facial characteristics.

We view the generic space as comprised of two cognitive elements: the similar shapes of a human face and a drop of liquid, and, secondarily, the same kinaesthetic image schema of MOTION DOWN belonging to the notions *he glowered down* and *an acid drop*.

The property “visual transparent quality” refers to the transparent or translucent, even luminous, quality that drops of acid would typically possess. We see this quality as being metaphorically projected onto the predication *glowered*, resulting in the attribution to *glowered* of a “transparent” quality, i.e., the quality of an action (glowering) which is quite transitive in a way, for it certainly produces a great effect on its object of resentment—but without engaging in physical force.

Thus we find that this “metaphorizing simile, “ to use Goatly's term, in fact employs metaphor extensively, and in both directions between the two inputs, unlike the raven simile of Figure 2.6.2a, where the metaphorizing proceeded from Input 2 to Input 1. The ascription of the flavour of a human face to *an avenging acid drop* of Input 2 amounts to a remarkable image. Examples like this one certainly call into question the simple view of simile as *X* explicitly compared to *Y*.

Our exercises of diagramming similes lead to a conclusion: like metaphors, similes' conceptual dynamics tend to be more appreciated when the similes are diagrammed as conceptual blending networks.

We have also discovered that it is very useful, when diagramming similes, to include the bottom apparatus, which permits us another way to display the projection of implied concepts. In practice

we are using the bottom apparatus as a means of focusing on certain interesting property projections. This apparatus could be made more sophisticated by attempting, with a greater variety in the boldness or lightness of arrows, to rank the strength of the various projections. Certainly the apparatus also achieves a very clear presentation of the relation of the simile word order to the two inputs. Moreover, we will find in Chapter Six that the bottom apparatus will help us to account for the word order of BH similes.

## Chapter Three

### A CULTURAL APPROACH TO SIMILES

#### *3.1 Cultural meaning in the Strauss-Quinn cultural model*

We believe that it is necessary, if we wish to come to a cognitive account of similes, to appeal to cultural anthropology for a much needed counter-balance to the enormous explanatory burden that is placed upon language by the strong claim of the Lakoff-Johnson model of conceptual metaphor. That is, we must look to anthropology to gain a more holistic view of the relation between language and culture than we can obtain from linguistics alone. Another way to gain a holistic view is to consider anthropology as providing—not a perspective that is **complementary** to the linguistic one, but—an **alternative** perspective.

In Chapter Four we shall find a heavy correlation between simile form and function, on the one hand, and degrees of embodiment in their Vehicle concepts, on the other hand. It is worthy inquiring as to whether an such correlation exists between similes and any possibly relevant cultural constructs. To do that, we shall have to classify various cultural constructs according to their own degrees of embodiment.

From anthropologists Naomi Quinn and Claudia Strauss comes a treatment of metaphor which is very much cognitive, but which is not fully compatible with the Lakoff-Johnson model of conceptual metaphor. Quinn (1991:56) acknowledges a great debt to Lakoff *et al.* for developing a major approach to metaphor. Strauss and Quinn (1997), however, aim to develop a theory of meaning grounded in culture and, as such, place much emphasis upon cultural constructs.

Quinn and Strauss (1997:4) address the question of whether a concept of culture is in fact any longer valid. In this vein, Clifford (1988:273) comments: “The concept of culture used by anthropologists was, of course, invented by European theorists to account for the collective articulations of human diversity. Rejecting both evolutionism and the overly broad entities of race and civilization, the idea of culture posited the existence of local, functionally integrated units.” As it is this functional fitness, this “organic” quality (using Clifford’s term), which is called into

question, the result is, for Clifford (1988:10), that “culture is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without.”

For Strauss and Quinn, cultural meaning is a relatively stable interpretation characterizing a community and resulting from the application of a cultural schema to similar situations, usually situations in real life. As such, cultural meaning is the generalization to a community of meaning in general, which in turn is “the interpretation evoked in a person by an object or event at a given time” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:6). Strauss and Quinn understand culture as a useful cover term for this entire process and perhaps for the process’s result as well. That is to say, the term “culture” may be generally used, both for shared schemas and for the shared interpretations resulting from the application of those schemas to specific objects, situations, events, or conditions. Such interpretations are properly viewed as cultural when they tend toward consistency over a period of time (Strauss and Quinn 1997:7).

Following are basic elements of this cognitive-based model of culture.

### **3.1.1 Interpretation**

To interpret something can mean to identify it and to harbor expectations and feelings concerning it and a motivation because of it.

### **3.1.2 Cultural schemas**

A cultural schema is a “network of strongly connected cognitive elements that represent the generic concepts stored in memory” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:6). These schemas are, along with other understanding and assumptions, fundamentally “intrapersonal” in nature, i.e., they are held by persons and are as such psychological. Schemas (and especially complex schemas) usually amount to cultural models (see Section 3.2). The term “schema” has a long tradition in cognitive studies as referring to general knowledge. Strauss and Quinn (1997:49–50) give as an example a schema of lumberjacks, which includes a schema of beer drinking and a schema of flannel shirts.

### **3.1.3 Characteristics of cultural meaning**

Cultural meaning is psychological and relatively stable. It possesses at the same time a public character, by virtue of its being shared. It is not, however, monolithic or held to the same degree of firmness in all public quarters. Instead, it is open to an infinite number of variations within the community. Far from remaining only theoretical, culture also motivates toward action. Finally, culture often has a thematic quality to it. Each of these constructs will be presented below.

**3.1.3.1 Psychological quality**

Cultural meaning is real to each person who holds it (Strauss and Quinn 1997:5). As such it has both a cognitive quality and an emotional quality. The psychological (hence, personal) quality stands in contrast but also in complementation to the public quality of cultural meaning. But the boundary between these two arenas is taken to be permeable and not as strong as some theorists would see it

**3.1.3.2 Stability**

Cultural meaning is the result of repeated application of schemas to life situations, with similar, self-reinforcing interpretative results. Because the schemas themselves are durable, cultural meaning tends also toward stability. This tendency toward stability is a characteristic of both generalized, public culture and of the individual's personal hold on it. Strauss and Quinn (1997:5) think of stability mostly as "historical durability," i.e., stability over time. It may also be useful to add a dimension of stability in the face of stress or obstacles.

**3.1.3.3 Public character**

Cultural meaning is shared meaning. The mechanisms of sharing meaning have been much debated, even as the concept of sharing has been debated.

**3.1.3.4 Shared quality**

Strauss and Quinn (1997) adduce three specific modes of culture sharing, but take care not to assume this to be a closed list. These, and presumably other sharing mechanisms as well, produce in no sense either a uniform or a static cultural model; it would be consonant with Strauss and Quinn's thought to posit resulting cultural models which are held to a greater or lesser degree by certain populations within a society. Quinn writes (Strauss and Quinn 1997:139):

In what was perhaps an all too monolithic view of culture, I long spoke and thought of what I was uncovering in my analysis [of American views on marriage] as the cultural model of American marriage—as if it were the one and only such model. I now think of it as a cultural model that has arisen from specific experiences US Americans have had in common—although it is certainly one that, due to these common experiences, most of these Americans share. Even further, I have come to see the shared understanding implied in the term "cultural model" as a product of variable tendencies toward different degrees of sharedness, differentially endowed with motivating force. My imagining of the sharedness, the motivational force, and the other properties of this cultural model I owe to developing theory from cognitive

science about schemas, and a recasting of these shared schemas in connectionist terms.

These three modes of culture sharing are presented below:

**Cultural exemplars:** cultural exemplar is an object to which speakers often refer as a prototype of an idea. After the American presidential election debacle of 2000, the center of which seemed to be in the city of Palm Beach, Florida, *Palm Beach* became an exemplar for the idea of unmanageable confusion. One motivation for using exemplars is efficiency of reference: one can say a lot with little effort.

**Cultural templates:** a cultural template is a shared, coherent set of ideas which allow one to reason about a subject. The template is internalized, i.e., it does not have to consciously accessed by the mind in order for it to be used in reasoning. Templates may depend upon or include schemas. For example, the template for marriage shared by most of Quinn's interviewees included the schema of working hard to overcome obstacles standing in the way of successful marriages (Strauss and Quinn 1997:139).

**Shared goals:** communities are known to share goals. This fact is one of Strauss and Quinn's three adduced modes of culture sharing. For example, in "face to face" societies, where interpersonal interaction occurs much more intensively than in many Western societies, the goal of living in peace with one's neighbours becomes extremely important. In such societies, complex social obligations may be fulfilled in ways that would be unexpected to Westerners, e.g., in greetings.

#### **3.1.3.5 Motivational quality**

Cultural schemas provide tremendous motivational force, both for the individual and for the community. Shared understandings lead to action, either positive action of acquiring, creating, etc., or negative action of avoiding, destroying, etc.

#### **3.1.3.6 Thematic quality**

A schema achieves thematic status when it characterizes disparate domains in a culture, or even in distinct subcultures at the same time. Strauss and Quinn (1997:118) cite well-known examples of **cultural themes**: the honor-shame theme characterizing many Mediterranean societies, the self-reliance theme in the USA, and the theme of rivalry among the Sherpas.

#### **3.1.4 Centripetal and centrifugal cultural forces**

Shared understandings and resulting interpretations of a public nature have unifying, binding forces, but also fragmenting forces, which pull against the society's commonalities. Strauss and Quinn

(1997:4) credit Mikhail Bakhtin (as in Bakhtin 1981) with creating the term “centrifugal force” in culture, comprised of those dynamics tending to fragment society: cultural change, cultural variation, and cultural inconsistency. Today these notions need no justification; vast sectors of the anthropological enterprise have sprung to the defense of minority and marginalized ethnic groups, who once had and too often still have little voice in their nations. Bakhtin also treats what he calls the centripetal forces of culture—forces tending to hold society together. Strauss and Quinn (1997:4) identify them as “cultural reproduction [the fact that cultural values and norms tend to be long-lasting], thematicity [the fact that cultural schemas show up in a wide range of contexts in society], and force [i.e., the fact that these norms, values, and schemas exert motivate people to act in various ways].” These forces are seen in the light of Strauss and Quinn’s own view of culture, which they describe as the sum of “people’s (more-or-less) shared experiences and the schemas they acquire on the basis of those experiences” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:7).

The goal of Strauss and Quinn (1997) is to show how culture is the locus of both centrifugal and centripetal forces, and to show that it is by no means nonsense to speak of both kinds of forces at the same time.

### ***3.2 Cultural models***

By “cultural model,” Strauss and Quinn mean “a complex cultural schema” which organizes domains of experience of all kinds. In them is “an interrelated set of elements.” They “serve as working models for entire domains of activity in the world” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:139–140). These models have a quality of “shared cognition” in the speech community (Strauss and Quinn 1997:140). Cultural models are founded upon “shared experience,” which produces “shared understanding.” Shared experience comes about from two kinds of event: performing “recurrent cognitive tasks” and being impacted by intense events and conditions, e.g., the birth process (Strauss and Quinn 1997:140). Strauss and Quinn’s cultural model is similar in some respects to Lakoff and Johnson’s Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM), and to their cluster model of interconnected ICMs. A point about terminology: Strauss and Quinn draw no hard and fast distinction between *cultural schema* and *cultural model*, but only point out that models tend toward complexity in their schemas.

### ***3.3 Connectionism as the basis for the Strauss-Quinn model***

The Strauss-Quinn model is explicitly called cognitive: like all cognitive anthropologists, Strauss and Quinn seek to understand the issues raised in cultural inquiry in ways which are grounded in

known and theorized cognitive processes, motivations, and results. These issues and problems include:

- (a) how do understandings become shared across a community?
- (b) what accounts for the varying degrees of sharedness?
- (c) if cultural understandings are shared understandings, how can they be regarded at the same time as psychological? Can meaning have private as well as public aspects?

These questions summarize a good deal of the difficulty which the discipline of anthropology has experienced over the last thirty years or so. There had been, of course, some recognition of this problem long before that—and not only on the part of anthropologists. Nida (1964:48) recognized that even individuals differ in their use of the same language, and that in a related phenomenon, boundaries between word senses tend to be fuzzy. And pointing out that Leonard Bloomfield knew the same problem, Nida cites him: “Every utterance of a speech form involves a minute semantic innovation.”<sup>1</sup> Nida (1964:49) adds:

...It is remarkable that people understand one another as well as they do. Understanding is possible only because people have the capacity of adjusting the grid of their own linguistic usage to that of someone else. Where there is sympathetic or empathetic motivation, understanding can be readily achieved, but where there is no such motivation, arguments can arise from the slightest linguistic provocation.

Strauss and Quinn find that the general approach to modeling schemas of Connectionism offers great potential for understanding the relation of meaning to cognition. A large literature corpus has developed around Connectionism, and many connectionist models have been devised. Some scholars (e.g., Segalowitz and Bernstein 1997, Strauss and Quinn 1997) have sounded cautions, which seem very appropriate, against assuming that connectionist models can actually demonstrate or prove how the human brain works. If nothing else, the large number of neurons in the brain would appear to preclude the possibility of producing a model on any realistic scale. Moreover, Segalowitz and Bernstein (1997:214) point out that even successful simulations do not constitute proof of the nature of the brain’s functioning. However, connectionist models do allow general principles to become clear; they also stimulate one to imagine something of how the brain processes and modulates the factors influencing the production of shared understandings.

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard Bloomfield (1933:407). *Language*. New York: Holt. Cited in Nida (1964:48).

Although they exist on an extraordinarily smaller scale than the human brain, connectionist models bear a rough similarity to what is known about brain neurons: somewhat like neurons, which occur in many layers and which operate in massively parallel arrays, connectionist models feature input nodes, output nodes, and, in between them, “hidden nodes” which combine, channel, and redirect impulses. Knowledge and impulses leading to action are seen in this model, not as constructs depending on sentential logic, but as the results of various combinations of nodes. Relatively stable combinations produce relatively stable patterns which simulate the learning which occurs in the brain. Schemas are another result of relatively stable neural patterns: one tends to see the world in consistent ways. But variations—usually minor although sometimes major—are not uncommon and are explained, not by some variation in sentential or propositional logic, but by slight variances in the force or “weight” of various of the combinatory hidden nodes. Of course, the combinatory force in brain neurons—that which results in neurons being either stimulated or inhibited to greater or lesser degrees—is chemical, whereas the same force in connectionism is modeled by numerical “weights.” When one or more schemas are confronted by a particular situation, that situation is interpreted in a certain fashion, resulting in meaning. Again, such meaning is learned, i.e., certain neural combinations are created with a capacity for being retained for a greater or lesser length of time.

Again, learning in connectionist models concerns the creation of associations of nodes, somewhat similar to what must happen among brain neurons. These associations, in turn, model the phenomenon of ensembles of neurons acting together; the result is a more global or general processing; information is handled in large chunks, often in the form of schemas.

Connectionist models are often contrasted with symbolic processing models, but Strauss and Quinn make it clear that they regard symbolic processing as among the capabilities of connectionism. Symbolic processing, of course, remains important for understanding the human mind, because people in fact often do reason in this way as well. “Go straight ahead, and then turn left at the second street. Our house will be the fourth on the left.” Obviously this scenario will require symbolic processing.

Connectionism allows us to imagine how a dynamic process, based on cognition, might work. It is a kind of model which is open to the slightest variational influence, and it fulfills symbolic processing requirements as well as the imperative to handle gestalts. It easily accounts for environmental and contextual change. Clark (1997) sees these abilities as accounting for the importance and value of connectionism.

### ***3.4 Metaphor and kinaesthetic image schemas in Strauss-Quinn***

A strength of the Strauss-Quinn cultural model is that it allows for the exploration of culture from any number of perspectives. A linguistic perspective is very possible, given that one may predicate of language all the qualities that Strauss and Quinn attribute to the construct of culture itself. And if one wishes to research metaphor, this can be done within an empirical context of culture. Strauss and Quinn (1997) examine metaphor from a text-based perspective: couples were interviewed and encouraged to talk about their ideas of marriage. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed for what light they could shed on the use and interaction of metaphors and cultural models. Their views presented below are based on their findings.

#### **3.4.1 Criterion for metaphor selection**

Whereas Johnson (1987:106–107) views new, inventive metaphors as being selected according to the criterion of their entailments agreeing with the entailments of well known, “conventional” metaphors, Quinn believes that the entailments of any new metaphor must conform to the logic of the cultural model that is expressed by the metaphor (Quinn 1991:79).

Strauss and Quinn see metaphors as also selected or created according to the shared quality imputed to them by the speaker. They are assumed to be shared because either they are based upon cultural exemplars, or they belong to a well-recognized and shared metaphor class, e.g., to one of the eight classes into which all the hundreds of marriage metaphors fell (Strauss and Quinn 1997:144)

#### **3.4.2 Motivation for the use of metaphor in the Strauss(Quinn model**

Unlike Lakoff, Johnson, Strauss and Quinn do not see metaphor as motivated by any impoverishment in cultural models themselves. Rather, they adduce the motivations presented below.

##### ***3.4.2.1 Metaphor as a reasoning tool***

For Strauss and Quinn, one value of metaphors is that they provide a tool with which to mentally manipulate the various elements in the cultural model under discussion. They are only one means of aiding “the reasoner to follow out the chain of entailments to these inferences” arising from the cultural model itself. The general process of reasoning is seen to revolve around the cultural models themselves, not the metaphors.

The conclusion that reasoning is more driven by cultural models than by metaphors can be seen as congruent with Coulson’s remark that a speaker may choose a source concept for a metaphor on the basis of the nature of the desired construal of the target. For Strauss and Quinn, there are of course

exceptional times when metaphor produces crucial, even spectacular entailments. Such occasions have been attested, for example, by scientists in searching for new models (Quinn 1991:77).

### **3.4.2.2 Metaphor as clarification**

Metaphors are also a means for clarifying the speaker's meaning (Strauss and Quinn 1997:141). The drive to clarify is so strong that after using a metaphor to describe an aspect of the speaker's meaning, the speaker will often comment on the metaphor itself by way of clarification (Quinn 1991:75).<sup>2</sup> Quinn gives as an example an American's reflections on personal experience in marriage:

And then I see marriages where it's just like they are brother and sister, they cross paths occasionally. They don't have anything in common or they don't ever do anything together.

Quinn (1991:76) writes: "The commentary on the heels of the metaphor ['they don't have anything in common...'] shows quite unmistakably that the speaker has adopted this metaphor to make a point already in mind, rather than being led to this point by a previously unrealized entailment of the metaphor."

### **3.4.2.3 Multiple metaphors**

Quinn observes that people often show a preference for using multiple metaphors at the same time. Those metaphors are favored that capture two or more related elements in the cultural model.

Favorite metaphors...are ones that combine...two concepts—for example, by casting marriage in terms of some durable link between spouses, such as... 'That just kind of cements the bond' or the similar 'We're more tied to each other now than we were then' (Quinn 1991:78).

Why are multiple metaphors so often employed? One motivation is that multiple metaphors are found to be excellent means of expressing multiple facets of complex cultural models at the same time, such model being the "experiential gestalts" that Lakoff and Johnson (1980:77–86) take them to be (Quinn 1991:80). A second motivation is that, although the use of metaphor does not typically advance one's understanding of a cultural model, it may indeed make easier the task of reasoning about the complex elements of that model, or about some of them (Quinn 1991:80–81). That this could be so is easy to see when one recalls that most metaphors employ physical or concrete source

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<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that this conclusion is text-based, i.e., based upon a study of lengthy texts, and that Lakoff's idealized speaker approach would not have been able to reach the same conclusion.

domains. The structures of such, and changes in their structures, are usually far easier to conceptualize than the structures of abstract models. Causation is easier to conceptualize in such cases as well.

Quinn would have difficulty in accepting a prominent premise of conceptual integration, which is that the integration of metaphors creates new conceptual space, which then creates new capacity—or new arenas—for the process of reasoning. Again, Quinn would carefully distinguish between general understanding of a cultural model and facilitated reasoning about the model: for her, the use of metaphor and multiple metaphors may well accomplish the latter goal, but not typically the former goal.

### **3.4.3 Understanding kinaesthetic image schemas**

The Lakoff-Johnson model posits a small number of kinaesthetic image schemas. Quinn (1991:69), however, sees no end to the necessary proliferation of such image schemas.<sup>3</sup> She thinks it much more useful to posit simply four kinaesthetic image schemas: ENTITY, TRAJECTORY, RELATION, and CONTAINER. These schemas would be themselves metaphoric extensions of patterns of physical experience and sensory perception, but would be more abstract: the TRAJECTORY schema, for example, would characterize marriage as “an ongoing journey,” while the RELATION schema would characterize metaphors such as “inseparable objects,” “unbreakable bond,” and “covenant with God.”

### ***3.5 A solid linguistic-cultural account: Strauss-Quinn and Boroditsky***

We have presented the Strauss-Quinn model of cultural meaning as having a solid cognitive base. In regard to metaphor, the model views conceptual metaphors, not as primitives in themselves, but rather as based upon internalized and shared cultural models. Although conceptual metaphors are capable of producing crucial and sometimes even spectacular logical entailments, more often than not, conceptual metaphors are themselves driven by the logic of the cultural models upon which they are based.

In its attitude to metaphor, this model is very similar to Lera Boroditsky’s Metaphoric Structuring view, especially its weak version (see Section 2.5.7). Recall that this view regards conceptual metaphor as providing structure to already existing cultural models. Instead of constituting understanding, conceptual metaphors serve to structure abstractions by organizing abstract domains.

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<sup>3</sup> From the examination of the texts of her interviews with people on the subject of marriage, Quinn (1991:69 footnote) would feel compelled to propose additional image schemas such as JOINT ACTION, ISOLATED DYAD, SEPARATENESS, and MUTUAL ORIENTATION TOWARD.

Regardless of whether one wishes to be very conservative like Strauss and Quinn and posit only a few kinaesthetic image schemas, or to be more daring and posit considerably more, like Lakoff and Johnson, both Boroditsky and Strauss-Quinn agree on the basic notion of image schemas. They are together able to profit from the experimental approach taken by Richardson *et al.* (2001) and others.

The value that Boroditsky's view brings to Strauss and Quinn is two-fold. First, Boroditsky provides an explicitly distinct view of conceptual metaphor, where Strauss and Quinn appear to have treated conceptual metaphor and creative metaphor as being the same kind of construct. In so doing, Boroditsky is able to benefit from the valuable insights brought to conceptual metaphor by Lakoff-Johnson. Secondly, Boroditsky's approach makes it possible for nonlinguistic psychological research on conceptual metaphor to proceed. This saves the model from depending exclusively on linguistic evidence.

At the same time, Strauss and Quinn have a heavy textual emphasis in their work. They are therefore open to insights not available to those who concentrate on nonlinguistic experimentation.

In regard to cultural study, Strauss and Quinn bring an emphasis on recovering broad cultural themes. Quinn identifies, for example a metaphor in America, MARRIAGE IS A MANUFACTURED PRODUCT. She observes that a similar metaphor exists across a wide spectrum of domains in American English. "...[This kind of metaphor] captures a set of American preoccupations about mastery of the natural and social worlds and redirection of natural phenomena and social institutions, as Lakoff and Johnson put it, to purposeful ends" (Quinn 1991:79). Such cultural themes may underlie not only conceptual metaphors and also cultural models. Indeed, Quinn surmises that if a similar metaphor is found in a wide variety of domains, it might well indicate a broad cultural theme.

For all these reasons, we conclude that a merger of Boroditsky Metaphoric Structuring view with the model of cultural meaning of Strauss and Quinn provides firm and fertile ground for a study of Biblical Hebrew metaphors.

### ***3.6 Applying Strauss and Quinn to simile studies***

We have postulated that speaker assessment of the hearer's abilities to process language in general and, in particular, the hearer's ability to process every utterance that he is about to produce, is part of a larger speaker ensemble of total assumptions and beliefs about the hearer. To Strauss and Quinn's accompanying general understanding of metaphor, we have examined the reinforcement brought by Boroditsky.

In this light, we have postulated and conceived of a text-based hypothesis of the employment of simile and metaphor. We have postulated that speaker expectation of the degree of the hearer's difficulty in processing image-based language tends to be inversely proportional to the strength of conceptual properties or predications that are to be projected.

In Chapter Two we examined some similes, noting, among other characteristics, how metaphor so often plays important roles in the conceptual mechanisms of similes, such that it can be difficult to draw a definite line between the manipulations of concepts in metaphor versus simile. We conclude that if the Strauss-Quinn (and Boroditsky) understanding of metaphor is correct, then that understanding must also apply to the metaphors and metaphorization that occur in the conceptual mechanisms of simile. This statement applies, we maintain, to both conceptual metaphors and image metaphors.

### ***3.7 Embodiment, cognitive complexity, and Strauss and Quinn***

We suggest that there are features of embodiment discernable among certain elements in the Strauss-Quinn account of culture. Let us consider four kinds of elements: cultural schemas, cultural models, cultural themes, and cultural exemplars. We shall here try to characterise them in terms of embodiment and cognitive simplicity.

We find that **cultural schemas** are the most cognitively simple among them, even though they are cognitively complex in comparison, for example, to our assessment of Lakoff's "nouniest nouns" such as *toe*. Recall Strauss-Quinn's characterisation of cultural schema as a "network of strongly connected cognitive elements that represent the generic concepts stored in memory." Strauss and Quinn gave the example of the generic concept of lumberjacks: some of their "strongly connected cognitive elements" are their flannel shirts, heavy clothing and boots for work, their predilection for eating hearty breakfasts, etc. There is, of course, great cognitive complexity here, consisting of many embodied elements.

But we find even more cognitive complexity—and correspondingly, we hypothesize, less embodiment—in the notion of **cultural model**, which, in Strauss-Quinn's understanding, consists of "a complex cultural schema" which organizes domains of experience of all kinds. Cultural models usually comprise a large set of "interrelated set of elements." Thus, for example, the American model of marriage includes at least the cultural schema of permanent union of husband and wife, the cultural schema of a task—that of "making the marriage work"—that can be achieved through great effort, and the cultural schema of a journey—a marriage is said to be "going

somewhere” or is said to be “on the rocks,” i.e., “shipwrecked.” We must clearly consider cultural models to be more cognitively complex than cultural schemas.

There is also another route that leads to cognitive complexity, that of applying a single cultural schema to multiple areas of life. This repeated application is what Strauss-Quinn call a **cultural theme**. Thus the cultural schema that great effort “pays off” is seen to result in the cultural theme of **hard work bringing success** when applied to domains as diverse, for example, as one’s schooling, one’s employment, one’s marriage, one’s athletic pursuits, and one’s gardening. As with cultural models, we regard the multiple application of a cultural schema to diverse areas of life as less embodied than the cultural schema itself.

Finally, **cultural exemplars** are prototypes or “best fits” of ideas, we believe, of cultural schemas. Jesse James, one of the most celebrated robbers of the old American Wild West, can be said today to be a cultural exemplar or “best example” of the bank robber cultural schema. There is probably more cognitive complexity in a cultural exemplar than in a cultural schema, since a “best fit” must stand in at least implicit comparison to other candidates which are less than best fits.

### ***3.8 Conclusions for this study***

In Chapters Two and Three, we have examined five principal areas of study—all of them falling squarely under the cognitive label. Let us list them below, but doing so in an order somewhat different from that of their presentation in this chapter.

First, important elements of the Lakoff-Johnson cognitive semantic model have been presented: conceptual metaphors and kinaesthetic image schemas. Prototype theory has also been presented as a model of categorization crucial to Lakoff-Johnson and, indeed, to cognitive theory in general. Various objections to the Lakoff-Johnson model have been presented and discussed. Out of some of these objections has emerged the imperative to confine ourselves to theoretical positions that are amenable to empirical investigation.

Secondly, principles of conceptual blending have been presented. Conceptual blending has been shown to be a very widespread phenomenon, applicable to many diverse areas of language. One of these areas is semantics, and it is particularly in connection with metaphor that the basic elements of conceptual blending have been presented.

Thirdly, we have narrowed the focus of study to the phenomenon of the simile. In this regard, we have examined theories of simile, all of which, of course, must address the relation of simile to metaphor. We have noted that the theories present in the literature are heavily based on semantics

and conceptual structure, but that they do not consider the metaphor-simile question from text-based points of view. We have indicated an avenue for remedying this lack, postulating that speaker assessment of the hearer must include an assessment of the hearer's ability to process language in general and, in particular, to process every utterance, usually before it is produced by the speaker. The necessity for this assessment by the speaker provides us with a text-based platform for erecting one part of a theory of simile, while acknowledging a generally-held view of relative strength of simile and metaphor as the platform for the other part of the theory. Finally, we have shown how the theory and apparatus of conceptual blending can be applied to similes. The nature of simile requires us to add an apparatus accounting for the syntactic structure of similes, and we have found it possible to note varying kinds of semantic projections among the simile's constituent phrases and lexical items.

Fourthly, a model for the integration of metaphor with a theory of meaning in culture has been presented—that of Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn (1997). It has been shown why such a model is desirable for the task of recovering Biblical worldview from Old Testament documents: first, since worldview is more than just a linguistic phenomenon, it is necessary to ground metaphor, simile, and ultimately all of language in a theory of culture; and secondly, if cognitive tools are being used by the analyst, such a theory of culture must be able to stand on a cognitive basis.

Fifthly, an integration of the Strauss-Quinn cultural meaning model with Boroditsky's Weak Structuring view of metaphor has been proposed. This integration provides a reasonable basis, amenable to empirical investigation, for the chapters that follow.

Sixthly, we have hypothesized that various elements of the Strauss-Quinn cultural model are characterised by systematic differences in embodiment and cognitive complexity. These differences will prove to be an important step toward achieving a holistic linguistic-cultural view of similes in Hosea.

## Chapter Four

### TOWARD A PROTOTYPICAL VIEW OF HOSEA'S SIMILES: MODEL AND METHODOLOGY

#### *4.1 The model: assumptions and methodology*

In this chapter are laid out the assumptions of this study, as well as the methodology and principles of analysis that we shall employ in developing a prototypical view of Hosea's similes. The ultimate aim of this study is to contribute to what we might call a **grammar of BH conceptualization** in an attempt to answer the question, how are concepts manipulated in BH. In Section 4.1.1 below we will preview the dimensions of analysis that we shall use. Then in Section 4.1.2 we will preview several other considerations that will be pertinent to our understanding of Hosea's similes.

#### **4.1.1 Dimensions of analysis**

In this chapter's presentation of the topics previewed below, we propose features of Hosea's similes against which we may bring judgments of prototypicality relating to the individual similes. That is, we will posit various qualities of prototypical BH "simile-hood" that will allow us to evaluate Hosea's similes as to how well each simile fits that notion. As a result, we will achieve a clear idea of the gradience of the similes' fit.

We see these features of "simile-hood" as existing in different dimensions, which we outline as follows.

First, concepts may be said to be manipulated—i.e., associated with each other with resulting modification to themselves—in various dimensions; when we engage in analysis, it is helpful to specify which dimension we are addressing at any given point in time. In the deepest dimension, we recognise that conceptual manipulations exist on the purely **conceptual dimension**. But since concepts remain unknown if they are not linguistically expressed, it is usually in the **lexical dimension** that conceptual manipulations are revealed. Malul (2002) provides a fine example of inquiry on these two dimensions: in examining semantic overlap in BH verbs, he follows the lead of

others in positing conceptual connections in BH thought. For example, Malul posits that BH notions of knowledge and epistemology are expressed in terms of “light,”<sup>1</sup> “eating,”<sup>2</sup> and so forth.

Going further, we claim that concepts are modified merely by virtue of being in association with other concepts; this is just as true in so-called literal language as in so-called figurative language. The notion *cutting down a tree*, for example, is quite different from that of *cutting down a shrub*. The former is effected with an axe or a saw; the latter with a knife or perhaps a small saw. The agent’s exertion is different, as are the end results: a felled tree normally yields wood that may be usable for building or other constructive purposes, while a felled shrub is not usually good for anything. Yet the expression of both notions is regarded as literal by a native speaker of English.

In the dimension of what we shall call **humanization, animalization, and objectification (HAO) manipulations** (associations of concepts that are effected by conceptual metaphor, image metaphor, or by simile), we shall postulate that entities are accorded the identity or selected attributes of other classes of entities: God, animals, or objects are accorded the identity or selected attributes of humans (**humanization**); God, humans, or objects are accorded the identity or selected attributes of an animal (**animalization**); and God, humans, or animals are accorded the identity or selected attributes of objects (**objectification**). All this occurs in a way that is, in popular thought although not in conceptual blending, distinct from the conceptual modification that results from “more literal” conceptual association; in the former kind of association, language proceeds as if the identity or selected attributes of one entity were taken over by another entity—or as if two entities mingled their identities or selected attributes. We want to know if there are any principles tending to govern the HAO manipulations that occur in Hosea. Are there patterns in how these manipulations occur? If so, what can account for these patterns?

In Chapter Two, we discussed speaker expectation of audience difficulty in processing the message. Here we further develop the criteria we presented for such speaker expectation, examining in Hosea, Micah, and Amos our notion of HAO Manipulations. On the basis of speaker expectation of audience processing difficulty, we will be able to characterize the various HAO Manipulations as either prototypical or non-prototypical of Hosea’s thought.

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<sup>1</sup> Malul (2002:117) notes, for example, that in Ps. 19.9, the expression **מְשַׂמְחֵי לֵב** *the ones giving joy to the heart* is parallel to **מְאִירַת עֵינַיִם** *giving light to the eyes*, and that these expressions are both parallel to v. 8’s **מַחְכִּימַת פְּתֵי** *making wise the simple*. In this and many other pieces of analysis, Malul works by noting BH expressions that exist in parallelism to each other.

<sup>2</sup> Malul (2002:131) notes, for example, how God’s message is sweeter to Ezekiel’s taste than honey (Ezek. 2.8–3.3); and that eating is associated with knowledge (*they [the ordinances of YHWH] are sweeter than honey*, Ps. 19.8).

On the level of text grammar, we will look for patterns in the distribution of similes, metaphors, and more literal language. Our reason for this is that our purposes will not be satisfied by simply noting the kinds of conceptual manipulations that occur; we will also want to know how these conceptual manipulations, once effected, are combined on a higher level, that of the BH texts. How does their employment contribute to the communicative purpose of the text?

Some of the elements treated in this chapter are based, of course, on our findings in Chapter Two; others, however, are presented here for the first time in their entirety.

#### 4.1.2 Other pertinent considerations

Following is a preview of other considerations that we will use to understand Hosea's similes.

The relatively recently developing discipline of Information Structure (InfStr) within the field of Linguistics, one understanding of which is sketched out below, promises to shed light on many questions relating to the interface between BH syntax and meaning. We hope to demonstrate the relevance of InfStr as a tool for understanding the textual form of similes. Here we think primarily of the relative ordering of Tenor and Vehicle terms, which we call **simile order**. We shall also have occasion to try out InfStr principles as tools for engaging in textual criticism and interpretation, including the task of evaluating commentators' proposed emendations.

We shall therefore present as analytical tools the InfStr notions of topic and focus, as well as what are termed pragmatic overlays of deictic orientation, contrastiveness, focus peaking, and quantification. In addition, a notion of communicative function is presented and adopted, with resulting implications for the importance of the idea of theme and associated elements.

For our understanding of InfStr, we take as our principal guide Sebastiaan Floor (2004a), who proposed a model of InfStr for BH narrative text. We ourselves propose in the course of this chapter several modest modifications to his model, employing as well some of his thoughts concerning the application of his model to BH poetry.

In this chapter we shall also posit for working purposes of analysis various **simile types**, which we conceive of as being irreducibly complex cognitive structures, in the tradition of construction grammar (see Section 2.7.6). These simile types will be identified by various textual signals in the similes themselves and will be found to differ among themselves in various ways, e.g., as to their capacity to project images to further text beyond themselves.

In this chapter we shall also adapt for simile analysis the procedures and apparatus of conceptual blending as presented in Section 2.7. We wish to demonstrate that conceptual blend charting is

useful in showing something of the enormous amount of cognitive operations that occur with similes.

How similes as language constructs are connected to extra-linguistic behavior is another of our concerns. It is in this domain that we will situate cultural schemas, exemplars, and models that appear to lie behind the similes.

## ***4.2 Assumptions about Information Structure in Biblical Hebrew***

For the purposes of this study, we are accepting the essentials of Floor's (2004b) elements of InfStr theory for Biblical Hebrew narration, much of which is drawn from Lambrecht (1994). These conclusions comprise an account of topicality and topic elements, of focality and focal elements, and of certain kinds of overlay. There follows here the briefest of summaries of these conclusions.

### **4.2.1 Four kinds of topic elements**

Floor proposes the following topic elements of InfStr in BH.

**Primary topic:** this is presupposed and active in the discourse. It is unique in that it is what the rest of the sentence is *about*; it is thus **informationally separate** from the rest. In narrative text, the primary topic normally provides cohesion to a string of clauses.

**Secondary topic:** this is also presupposed and active in the discourse, but it possesses less saliency than a primary topic. It is part of the **focus** construction and occurs uniquely in **Predicate-Focus** sentences. Consider the following illustration:

It was an exciting end to the [American] football game: with three minutes remaining in the fourth quarter, John caught the ball in a forty-yard pass; he then ran it thirty yards for a touchdown.

*John* and *he* belong to a single referent and are the primary topic in their respective clauses. *Ball* and *it* belong to another referent and are the secondary topic in their respective clauses. *Ball* is presupposed by the first clause's reference to a football game.

**Tail topic:** this element stands after the clause proper; having the same referent as the primary topic, it gives elaborates somehow on it. It can have one of the following functions: (1) providing added information about the primary topic, but always information that is less salient than what is given in the clause proper; (2) making explicit some implicit information about the primary topic; or (3) making any information about the primary topic less ambiguous. Floor (2004a:115) gives the following example of tail topic, which here is underlined, from Gen. 20.7:

...Know that you will surely die, you and all who belong to you.

**Topic frame:** this element is presupposed and functions by creating a frame for a clause having a primary topic, which cannot have as its referent that of the topic frame. In the example below, the topic frame comprises the first three words.

As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is worth seeing.

#### 4.2.2 The device of topic fronting

Floor accepts pre-verbal fronting of elements for topic purposes: topic promotion, topic shifting, and topic frame-setting.

#### 4.2.3 Topic-associated pragmatic overlays

Floor (2004a:100–107) also adduces two kinds of overlays that occur in connection with topics: **deictic orientation** and **contrastive topic**. They are both presupposed. The former can be said to orient in time or space, or, we should think, in some logical vein, the topic. An example follows from Gen. 12.11, in which the deictic orientation is underlined (normally, as in this example, the deictic orientation is fronted in BH):

When he was about to enter Egypt, he said to his wife Sarai, “I know well that you are a woman beautiful in appearance.”

The notion of contrastive topics has long been under debate; some reserve contrast for focality, but Floor (2004:106–107) accepts that topics can be under contrast, even though most cases of contrast are probably focal. But when applied to topics, contrast can project either comparison or identity-confirmation of a topic. An example is in Gen. 3.15, where *he* and *you* stand in contrast:

I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers;  
he will strike your head, and you will strike his heel.

#### 4.2.4 Focus structures and elements

Floor relies heavily upon Lambrecht (1994:206–207), who understands focality as that quality of an assertion by which is stated something about the assertion’s topic. The focus element provides something that is unpredicted and unrecoverable from the sentence’s pragmatics. Floor proposes the following focus structures for BH:

**Predicate focus structure:** this structure is found in topic-comment sentences. It furnishes the material that is *about* the sentence’s topic. In the following sentence, the focus constituent, which is underlined, spans the entire predicate.

He ran with the ball thirty yards for a touchdown.

Predicate focus structures may be divided into **broad predicate focus**, in which, as Floor (2004a:155) writes, “both the predicate and the predicate complement(s) (or argument(s)) are asserted or new information,” *all* verbal arguments together with the verb being part of the broad focus. More precisely than what Floor writes, it is when the *relationship* between the Topic and its predication, including the verb and all verbal arguments, is asserted, that we have broad predicate focus.

**Narrow predicate focus** occurs when the asserted relationship between Topic and its predication involves only the verb. In this case, either the verb has no arguments, or the arguments and accessory phrases are presupposed, thus lacking informational saliency. In the dialog (where the underlining indicates heightened stress and pitch), “with it” is presupposed, leaving only the verb in focus, producing narrow predicate focus.

What did John do with the ball?

He ran with it.

**Argument focus structure:** this structure occurs in focus-presupposition sentences, where Floor (2004a:166–167) allows one of virtually any constituent sentence part except the verbal predicate to stand in focus to the exclusion of all the other constituents, which are presupposed. Usually marked word order accompanies argument focus structures. Thus, the statement

*I* belled the cat.

harbors the presupposition that someone belled the cat, and the focal element of *I* that identifies that person. For this reason argument focus structures are also called **identificational sentences**.

Most, if not all, simile Vehicles should probably be regarded as arguments attached to the main verb of the sentence. If a simile Vehicle is in focus, Floor (2004b:16) treats it as any other verbal argument in focus, as in Prov. 7.22 (Floor’s translation):

הוֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֶיהָ פְּתָאִים	<i>He goes after her blithely</i>
כְּשׁוֹר אֶל-טֶבַח יָבוֹא	<i>Like an ox to the slaughter he comes,</i>
וּכְעֵקֶס אֶל-מוֹסֵר אֵייל:	<i>And like a fool off to the stocks he trots.</i>

Floor sees argument focus in the two simile Vehicles of v. 22b (*like an ox to the slaughter*) and v. 22c (*and like a fool*).

**Event/State Reporting/Presentational structure:** this structure occurs in sentence focus sentences. Here the entire sentence is said to be in focus, and no topic can be determined. Such structures always appear in BH narrative to mark some kind of discourse discontinuity. Sentence focus structures can be grouped into **event-reporting**, **state-reporting**, and **presentational sentences**.

An example of event-reporting in 2 Kings 1.1, drawn from Floor (2004a:162) is as follows:

And Moab rebelled against Israel after the death of Ahab.

Floor points out that this sentence established the background of the narrative that it introduces.

A state-reporting sentence presents a condition, or often a negated event, which amounts to a state. The following example in Gen. 16.1 is drawn from Floor (2004a:162):

Now Sarai, Abram's wife, had borne him no children.

We have found that similes, too, may comprise a state-reporting sentence. We propose as an example Hos. 10.3–4 (the simile is underlined):

<sup>3</sup> *For they will now say, We have no king,  
For we do not fear YHWH,  
and a king, what would he do for us?*  
<sup>4</sup> *They spoke mere words, swearing vainly and making covenants.  
And there springs up like poisonous weeds justice in the furrows of the field.*

Here we find a state-reporting sentence functioning as a textual unit-final evaluation. The simile is clearly related in spirit to the preceding material, but it enlarges upon that material and generalizes it.

A presentational sentence introduces a participating agent or thing; it also tends to begin a new unit of narrative. An example follows in 2 Kings 1.6 (Floor 2004a:163); the presentational clause is underlined:

There came a man to meet us, who said to us, "Go back to the king."

**Theme frame:** Floor (2004a:172) accepts this element as "a subfunction of identification in argument focus structures," when such focus introduces thematically salient words. Floor sees Theme Frames as occurring fronted before the verb. Being focal in nature, they assert new

information, just as an argument focus structure does. But having a thematic function, Theme Frames naturally project their effect over more than a single clause. Also, Theme Frames do not necessarily require that the elements of the rest of the sentence be presupposed and already active in the text. An example follows, drawn from Floor (2004a:172):

וְאֵיבָה אֲשִׁית בֵּינְךָ וּבֵין הָאִשָּׁה	<i>Enmity I will put between you and the woman</i>
וּבֵין זַרְעֶךָ וּבֵין זַרְעָהּ	<i>And between your offspring and hers;</i>
הוּא יִשׁוּפֶךָ רֹאשׁ	<i>He will strike your head,</i>
וְאַתָּה תִּשׁוּפֶנּוּ עֲקֵב	<i>And you will strike his heel.</i>

Gen. 3.15

Here the Theme Frame is *enmity*, preposed to the verb; it becomes the theme of the verse.

#### 4.2.5 The device of focus fronting

As in the BH pre-verbal fronting of an element for topic purposes, Floor accepts pre-verbal fronting as very common for focus purposes. Such fronting is found in all three kinds of focus constructions: Predicate Focus, Argument Focus, and Sentence Focus. If double fronting occurs, the first element is topic, the second being a focus element.

#### 4.2.6 Focus-associated pragmatic overlay

Floor (2004a:179) associates with focus the pragmatic overlay of **focus peaking**. The optional pragmatic overlay of focus peaking is the selection of some part of a Predicate-Focus structure or an Argument-Focus structure as the most informationally salient part. In the following dialogue,

What did you do last night?

We went to the movies.

The reply lies in a Topic-Comment construction, where *the movies* is the Focus Peak within the Predicate-Focus constituent, *went to the movies*. This is easily seen in the following variant of the same dialogue:

Where did you go last night?

The movies.

The reply employs only the Focus Peak of the whole Predicate Focus constituent, but manages to communicate very well anyway.

For Floor, the activation of new elements in the discourse is an extremely common function of focus peaking; such activation very often occurs in structures of either **end-weight** or **fronting**.

**End-weight:** this term describes the phenomenon in which informationally-salient elements are put at the end of the clause. End-weight is also a favorite strategy for showing contrastiveness, and the two functions, activation and contrastiveness, can occur simultaneously. That languages tend to place long syntactic units clause-finally does not, of course, diminish the import of end-weight as a strategy of contrast or activation.

Floor (2004a:183) gives Gen. 3.24 as an example of end-weight:

וַיִּגְרֶשׁ אֶת-הָאָדָם	<i>He drove out the man;</i>
וַיִּשָּׂבֵן מִקֶּדֶם לְגִן-עֵדֶן אֶת-הַכְּרֻבִים	<i>and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden <b>the cherubim,</b></i>
וְאֵת לְהִטּוֹת הַחֶרֶב הַמִּתְהַפֶּכֶת	<i>and a sword flaming and turning</i>
לְשָׁמֵר אֶת-דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים	<i>to guard the way to the tree of life.</i>

Here the bolded elements comprise a very long two-part exhibition of focus-peaking in end-weight.

**Fronting:** under this term one finds elements preposed before the BH verb. In his treatment of focus-peaking (Floor 2004a:182–183), Floor does not explore focus-peaking in fronted elements, but it is well known that in BH, fronted elements often display the salient argument in Argument-Focus structures. These elements are then said to display Focus Peaking.

#### 4.2.7 Focus-like pragmatic operations

Floor (2004a:183–186) accepts two pragmatic operations linked to focus: **contrastiveness** and **quantification**.

**Contrastiveness:** a contrastive feature can attach to any focus element in any of the three structures: predicate focus, argument focus, or sentence focus. Floor gives the example of Jer. 12.13a:

זָרְעוּ חִטִּים	<i>they have sown wheat,</i>
וְקָצְרוּ קַצְרוֹ	<i>but/and thorns they have reaped.</i>

We agree with Floor that the second line is a case of argument focus, with *thorns* being the focus peak. For this line to be argument focus, the rest of the clause must be presupposed, as indeed we can take it to be, since the action of sowing, presented in the first line, seems to entail the expectation of reaping in the second. The wheat of the first line is put into contrast with the thorns of the second, so we may indeed view *thorns* as bearing pragmatic contrast.

**Quantification (intensification)** is understood by Floor (2004a:185–186) as any device that raises a focus expression to the status of focus peak. Such devices include in BH the infinitive absolute constructions, כֹּל *all*, and the adverb מְאֹד *very*.

#### 4.2.8 Prominence

We understand the term **prominence** to carry two different senses. These are:

**Relating to thematic import:** one expression is more prominent than another if it carries along the thread of discourse more cogently than the other. Accordingly, some expressions possess **thematic prominence** vis-à-vis the entire discourse, while others possess only more **local thematic prominence**, carrying along the thread of discourse for merely a short distance; still others have no such prominence at all. As we shall see, very often BH chiasms exert thematic prominence in one of these two ways, or even in both ways at once.

**Relating to contrastiveness:** Floor (2004a:62) establishes four kinds of contrastiveness. With the first two, he follows the work of Vallduvi and Vilkuna (1998). These four kinds are:

**Identificational contrastiveness** (*It was X, not Y, that did Z.*)

**Exhaustiveness contrastiveness** (*It was only X that did Z.*)

**Confirmative contrastiveness** (*It really was X that did Z.*)

**Comparing contrastiveness** (*It was X that did Z more than Y.*)

Contrastiveness is carried out by pragmatic operations that are said to “overlay” topic and focus expressions; hence, they are said to be **pragmatic overlays**.

In Sections 8.6.7, 8.9.1, and 8.13.3, we shall propose an additional pragmatic **overlay of accumulation** in BH, which is carried out by fronted Argument Focus.

In speaking, therefore, of prominence, we shall try to specify what kind of prominence is meant.

#### 4.3 Theme and thematic trace considerations: communicative function in view

It is particularly vis-à-vis the task of identifying themes and thematic traces that Floor speaks of defining communicative function, theme, and elements associated with theme. We shall therefore present these notions as Floor understands them.

#### 4.3.1 Communicative function, theme, thematic units, and theme shifts

Floor (2004a:243) defines “theme” as “the developing and coherent core or thread of a discourse in the mind of the speaker-author and hearer-reader, functioning as the prominent macrostructure of the discourse.” For Floor, this “macrostructure” is a cognitive construct, certainly *reducible* to propositions, but very possibly *not residing* in any discrete set of propositions in the text; it is above all else something that is progressively inferred. Floor (2004a:247) says that essentially thematic coherence is provided by “macro-words.”

In other words, Floor (2004a:243) sees theme as

the developing thread [that] is basically information that is flowing and unfolding in a particularly prominent way. Information flow is the key. The spreading activation..., also called the conscious focus..., in the process of the unfolding sequences holds the key to theme and the signals of theme. Different pieces of information form the successive ‘building blocks’ of the theme. Some pieces are recurring, and thus...are being strengthened cognitively because of the repetition.

“Communicative function” for Floor, then, consists of the work of the text to signal that “developing and coherent...thread of...discourse.” There are, of course, local themes and macro-themes in discourse.

Floor (2004a:243–246) posits for BH narrative a hierarchy of **thematic units**. From top to bottom they are:

—the **narrative**, with a hypertopic in which coheres all of its parts. The narrative is the arena of any number of topical frameworks

—the **episode** can have only one topical framework, but is capable of more than one “spatial and temporal setting,” even though comment can be made in the episode on just one pair of primary and secondary topics.

—the **scene**, usually comprising more than one proposition.

—the **thematic paragraph**, comprising at least “one sentence with one primary topic or a topicless sentence focus structure.” One expects in a thematic paragraph there to be minimally two propositions, featuring but one primary topic. Floor goes on to remark that the chunks of off-line material in BH narrative, e.g., background comments, setting, summaries and evaluations, are comprised by thematic paragraphs.

For Floor (2004a:246), **theme shifts** occur between thematic units, being normally the more noticeable the higher in the thematic unit hierarchy one goes. Often marked syntax will signal such boundaries.

Floor (2004a:246) also posits a distinction between theme shifts and **topic shifts**: a topic shift necessitates a theme shift, but the inverse is not true: “It is possible for the theme to shift in terms of space, time, and goal, but [with] the primary (and secondary) topic[s] [remaining] the same.” Floor goes on to reference Levinsohn (2000), who remarks that when a BH subject is relexicalised, topic remains constant, although the theme shifts. Another occasion of theme shifting without topic shifting is the introduction of direct speech, which effects a new cognitive frame.

### 4.3.2 Theme traces

Floor (2004a:247) points out that since efforts to determine the theme of a discourse often seem so subjective, it would be an enormous help if one could objectively identify a potential set of overt markers in the discourse. Floor terms such markers **theme traces**; they very often, although not exclusively so, are found in marked structures, such as marked word order, marked lexicalization, focus particles, and so forth.<sup>3</sup>

What is it that theme traces actually indicate for Floor? He answers (2004a:247), “The basic discourse function of such...theme traces is to mark macro-words, which in turn provide the coherence of the thematic thread.” It is then the “thematic thread” that comprises the “cognitive macrostructure” of the discourse.

There are said to be two kind of theme traces: marked syntactic features, and the InfStr-based categories that have been described above in Section 4.2.1–4.2.4 (Floor 2004a:247).

Of marked syntactic features, the following are noted for BH narrative:

- (a) word order and marked syntactic constructions, e.g., fronting and left-dislocation;
- (b) the occurrence of pronouns where they do not seem necessary;

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<sup>3</sup> It is important to add that even unmarked structures, such as topic-comment structures with unmarked word order, and display theme traces as well. In this connection, Floor (2004a: Section 6.1.1.2) invokes van Dijk’s “macro-rules” that are meant to identify thematic elements among unmarked structures. These rules are (Van Dijk 1980):

- (1) “Selection: Given a sequence of propositions, propositions that are not an interpretation condition for another proposition may be deleted.”
- (2) “Generalization: A proposition that is entailed by each of a sequence of propositions may be substituted for that sequence.”
- (3) “Construction: A proposition that is entailed by the joint set of a sequence of propositions may be substituted for that sequence.”

(c) the relexicalization of referents.

(d) Certain discourse markers and particles, e.g., **כִּי** and **הִנֵּה**.

### 4.3.3 Information Structure theory and Biblical Hebrew poetry

Floor (2004a) dealt with InfStr only in an attempt to apply it to BH narration. Hosea, being for the most part poetry, compels us to examine the differences that BH poetry may exhibit in contrast to prose. Floor (2004b:1) reports finding in Gen. 40–45, which is narrative material, one to five cases of preverbal fronting for every 20 verses, “and mostly in direct speech.” He reports, however, a much higher incidence of fronting in BH poetry. He queries whether this difference can be assigned simply to stylistic preferences, or whether InfStr theory can contribute to its explanation. He writes, “Information Structure analysis allows the analyst to explain word-order variation in terms of the interaction between topic and focus, and how the poet uses topics and focus structures for specific thematic purposes.”

In examining the poetry of Proverbs 7, Floor argues that fronted argument focus is used in BH poetry for two main reasons: (1) to effect theme shifts by providing Theme Frames, or (2) to highlight the principal point of two parallel clauses or sentences. He illustrates the first function—that of theme shifting—by Prov. 7.6:

כִּי בַחֲלוֹן בֵּיתִי     *It is like this: in the window of my house,*  
 בָּעֵד אֲשַׁנְבִּי נִשְׁקַפְתִּי     *through my lattice I peered...*

This verse begins a section giving an instance of the need for wisdom in young people. The conjunction **כִּי** is seen as cataphoric, and the remainder of the first colon is seen as giving a frame that provides a “locative point of departure.” In the second colon, the fronted *through my lattice* extends the frame by adding *through my lattice*. The macro-theme, that of the necessity for wisdom in the young, has not changed, but this verse effects a discontinuity by introducing a concrete situation.

	a	b	c	
בְּנֵי שֹׁמֵר אִמְרֵי				<i>My son, keep my-sayings</i>
		c'	b'	a'
וּבְמִצְוֹתַי תִּצְפֶּן אֶתְךָ				<i>And-my-precepts store.up with-you</i>

**Figure 4.3.3a**  
*The chiastic structure of Prov. 7.1 (from Floor 2004b)*

In regard to the second function, Floor finds chiasms where the hinge consists of two parallel phrases, the final element of the first phrase also appearing in a fronted position in the second phrase; as in Prov. 7.1, where *my precepts* of the second colon is functionally equivalent to *my sayings* of the first colon:

Floor points out that the “hinge words,” *my sayings* and *my precepts*, are also the most salient words. He also discusses the InfStr status of the second colon, calling it an argument focus structure, where “everything in [the colon] is actually presupposed in its totality by means of inference from [the first colon].”

We can see three possible views that one could take of Floor’s analysis here. (1) One could posit that somehow argument focus structures are different in BH poetry than in prose: that, unlike in prose, in poetry the arguments in focus themselves are not obliged to give new information. Or (2) one could take the view that, in fact, the second colon displayed above, presenting an argument in focus, fills an important communicative function of reinforcing the first colon (as Floor correctly states), and that informational reinforcement is itself a specialised kind of information function that can govern InfStr patterns. Finally, (3) one could posit a **tendency** for the second colon to exhibit argument focus. We believe that this third position is the most reasonable to adopt, in the light of our findings in Hosea, as discussed in Chapter Six to come. In this interpretation, the structure of the chiasm has greatest importance; whether or not argument focus occurs is of secondary importance.

Floor also finds what he calls “frame hinges:” in Proverbs 7.14 is a fronted temporal frame (*today*) in the second colon:

זָבַחַי שְׁלָמִים עָלַי      “I had to make peace-sacrifices,  
 הַיּוֹם שִׁלְמֹתַי נִדְרָי      today I fulfilled my vows.”

Floor claims that here the temporal frame applies to both cola.

Another example occurs in Prov. 7.18:

לִכְּהַ נִרְוֶה דְרִים      “Let’s drink our fill of loves;  
 עַד־הַבֶּקֶר נַחְעֲלֹסָה בְּאַהֲבִים      Till dawn let us revel in love’s delights.”

Again the fronted element *till dawn* sets a temporal frame for the bicolon.

We shall meet in Hosea some of the same uses of argument focus that Floor describes in Prov. 7. But this is not to say that all BH poetic chiasms feature marked word order at their centres. In fact,

an examination of various chiasms in Hosea suggests that, while many chiasms exhibit in their “hinges” no particular word order or syntactic structure, other chiasms do. A survey of 11 chiasms closely associated with similes in Hosea shows special structures characterizing the chiasmic hinges in four of them.

Now it is easy to posit all kinds of BH poetic structures. The question could be asked, how is the analyst to judge the authenticity of such structures? Are they all “really in” the text, or are some merely “accidental,” in the mind of the analyst?

One viewpoint would suggest: assuming that most BH parallelisms, chiasms, and other poetic structures were produced quite spontaneously by the prophet-artist—that is to say, assuming that the prophet did not spend deliberate effort in devising most of these structures, it is a moot point to try to distinguish between poetic structures that are “really there” and those that are merely the analyst’s fancy.

Another viewpoint would respond: since the cognitive enterprise tries to “get into the minds” of both prophet and original audience, what we should really desire is to gauge the prophet’s intentions in producing these structures and their effects upon the audience.

We embrace the second viewpoint. Since we must have data in order to progress in this direction, we are interested to know whether various chiasmic structures motivate marked word order and certain InfStr phenomena, as Floor discusses.

This question is not so severe in the case of poetic structures that are based upon lexical or near-lexical identities, similarities, and contrasts, as in the case of Prov. 7.1 as analysed by Floor (Figure 4.3.3a above). In that passage, **בְּנִי** *my son* corresponds with **אִתְּךָ** *with you*, **שָׁמֹר** *keep* corresponds with **תִּצְפֶּן** *store up*, and so forth. The corresponding lexemes are easy to identify.

However, many posited poetic structures, especially chiasms, are based, not on lexical correspondences, but on ideational correspondences—the correspondence of similar or opposing concepts or ideas, or even on (as we shall claim in Chapter Four) the patterning of kinaesthetic image schemas. In these cases, we find it especially noteworthy when we can identify special syntax or word order that seems to be motivated by these chiasms. Consider, for example, Figure 4.3.3b below.

MT	English	IDEATION	
אֶל-חֶכְךָ שָׁפַר כַּנְשֹׁר עַל-בַּיִת יְהוָה	<i>To-your-palate [put] trumpet as.when-the-vulture [is] on-(the-)house(-of) YHWH</i>	WARNING OF ENEMY	<i>a</i>
יָעַן עָבְרוּ בְרִיתִי	<i>because they-passed.by my-covenant</i>	REJECTION OF GOD	<i>b</i>
וְעַל-תּוֹרָתִי פָשְׁעוּ:	<i>and- against my-teaching they-transgressed.</i>	LACK OF AFFECTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF YHWH	<i>c</i>
לִי יִזְעֻקוּ	<i>To-me they-cry.out:</i>	FAKE AFFECTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF YHWH	<i>c'</i>
אֵלֵינוּ יִדְעֶנּוּהָ יִשְׂרָאֵל:	<i>My-God, we-know/acknowledge-you, [we] Israel.</i>		
זָנְחָ יִשְׂרָאֵל טוֹב	<i>Has-rejected Israel [what is] good;</i>	REJECTION OF THE GOOD	<i>b'</i>
אוֹיֵב יִרְדְּפוּ:	<i>[The] enemy will.pursue [him].</i>	WARNING OF ENEMY	<i>a'</i>

**Figure 4.3.3b**  
**Conceptual chiasm in Hos. 8.1–3**

This chiasm is based on ideations; there are very few lexical correspondances between lines. Note that in v. 1c, *and-against my-teaching they-transgressed*, the prepositional phrase is a fronted argument, highlighting the expression in v. 1b, *because they-passed.by my-covenant*, which is in normal word order. This small chiasm is itself ideational in nature, but it depends on identical lexical domains: *my-covenant* shares a domain with *my-teaching*, while *they-passed.by* shares a domain with *they-transgressed*.

וְכָשַׁלְתָּ הַיּוֹם	<i>and-youS<sup>4</sup>-stumble the-day</i>	MOTION DOWN
וְכָשַׁל גַּם-נְבִיא עַמּוֹךְ לַיְלָה	<i>and- stumble also-prophet with-youS night,</i>	MOTION DOWN
וְדָמִיתִי אִמּוֹךְ:	<i>and-I-will-destroy yourS-mother.</i>	FORCEFUL MOTION DOWN
נִדְמָו עַמִּי מִבְּלִי הַדַּעַת	<i>Are-destroyed my-people from-lack-of knowledge</i>	FORCEFUL MOTION DOWN
כִּי-אַתָּה הַדַּעַת מֵאַסַּתָּ	<i>for-youS the-knowledge youS-rejected,</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
וְאִמְאַסְאֲךָ מִכֹּהֵן לִי	<i>and-I-have-rejected-youS from-priest to-me</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
וַתִּשְׁכַּח תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ	<i>and-youS-forgot instruction-of yourS-God</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
אֲשַׁכַּח בְּנֵיךָ גַם-אֲנִי:	<i>I-will-forget yourS-sons also-I.</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM

**Figure 4.3.3c**  
**Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Hos. 4.5–6**

However, the hinge of the greater chiasm is *c* and *c'*, which themselves exhibit marked word order; they are parallel to each other in that each has a fronted argument: *and-against my-teaching they-*

<sup>4</sup> The abbreviation *S* in the semi-literal display stands for the singular number.

*transgressed* is parallel to *To-me they-cry.out*. We regard this word order behaviour as a variation of what Floor describes in treating Prov. 7.

If we consider Hos. 4.5–6, displayed above in Figure 4.3.3c, we find, not a chiasm, but a block arrangement of kinaesthetic image schemas. At the “joint” between FORCEFUL MOTION DOWN and MOTION AWAY FROM, which is analogous to a chiastic “hinge,” we find marked word order: v. 6a features normal word order, but v. 6b features two fronted arguments, *you* and *knowledge* (in bold type). The joint in v. 6b corresponds to the beginning of the grounds, introduced by the particle כִּי, offered for the pitiful condition of the priests in vv. 5–6a.

a	b	c
<i>Are-destroyed my-people from-lack-of knowledge</i>		
b'	c'	a'
<i>for-youS the-knowledge youS-rejected</i>		

**Figure 4.3.3d**  
*The quasi-chiastic hinge in Hos. 4.6ab*

We shall propose in Section 6.4.4 that in some situations of two fronted arguments, the first argument is in focus on the clause level, while the second argument functions as Floor’s Theme Frame, setting a theme for following text. In Hos. 4.6b, displayed in Figure 4.3.3d above, we suggest that *you* is the argument in focus; this is because a series of parties is named as suffering the consequences of sin: v. 5a references the priests, the referents of *you*; v. 5b references the prophets; v. 5c references what we take to be the priesthood (*your mother*); and v. 6a references the people as a whole. In v. 6b, it is clear that someone has rejected the knowledge of YHWH, and it turns out to be the priests, the referent of *you*. Therefore *you* is the argument in focus.

וַיְהִי אֶפְרַיִם כִּינֹה פוֹתָהּ אֵין לֵב <sup>11</sup>	<i>And-is Ephraim like-dove silly without sense.</i>	EXPLICIT BIRD IMAGE	<i>a</i>
מִצְרַיִם קָרְאוּ אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ:	<i>Egypt they called, to Assyria they went.</i>	NOTION OF MOVEMENT	<i>b</i>
כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ אֶפְרוֹשׁ עֲלֵיהֶם רְשֹׁתַי <sup>12</sup>	<i>When they go, I will spread over them my net;</i>	NOTION OF MOVEMENT	<i>b'</i>
כְּעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲוִירֵיהֶם	<i>like-bird(-of) the-skies I-will.bring.down-them;</i>	EXPLICIT BIRD IMAGE	<i>a'</i>
אִסְרֵם כְּשָׁמַע לְעִדְתָּם:	<i>I-will.chastize-them when-report [comes] to-their-assembly.</i>	OUTSIDE OF CHIASM	---

**Figure 4.3.3e**  
*Structure of the strophe of Hos. 7.11–12*

The term *knowledge*, also fronted, serves as a Theme Frame, setting the frame for the rest of v. 6; this knowledge, of course, is “affective,” relational and interpersonal, subject to being *rejected* (vv. 6bc) and *forgotten* (vv. 6de). Although Hos. 4.5–6 does not comprise a chiasm but instead two blocks of kinaesthetic image schemas, the effect of vv. 6ab is to provide a quasi-chiastic—or imperfect chiastic—hinge at the middle of the structure, as displayed in Figure 4.3.3c above. The quasi-chiasm does not depend for its correspondences on lexical similarities or oppositions, but instead on the clausal functions of the various expressions: the verbs in question are *are destroyed* and *you-rejected*, and clausal subjects are *my-people* and *you*; while the complementary arguments are *from lack of knowledge* and *the-knowledge*.

Macro Chiasm	Masoretic Text	Micro Chiasm
<i>THE PEOPLES</i>	<i>Do not rejoice, Israel, <sup>1</sup></i>	
	<i>to-exultation like-the-peoples,</i>	
<i>INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL</i>	<i>for youS-have-committed-adultery from yourS-God</i>	OFFENSE “FROM”
	<i>YouS-have-<u>loved</u> harlot’s.hire on every-<u>threshing.floor-of grain</u></i>	<u>AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT</u> <u>MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION</u>
<i>PUNISHMENT OF ISRAEL</i>	<i><u>Threshing.floor and-wine.vat</u> not will-befriend-them, <sup>2</sup></i>	<u>MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION</u> <u>AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT</u>
	<i>and-new.wine will-deceive against-her.</i>	OFFENSE “TOWARD”
<i>THE PEOPLES</i>	<i>Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH; <sup>3</sup></i>	
	<i>will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt,</i>	
	<i>and-in-Assyria uncleanliness they-will-eat.</i>	

Figure 4.3.3f  
Two ideational chiasms in MT of Hos. 9.1–3

Let us consider another chiasm, that of Hos. 7.11–12 (displayed above in Figure 4.3.3e), which is based on ideations. The middle of this chiasm has marked word order, consisting in v. 11b of the fronted *Egypt* and *Assyria* in their respective short clauses. In v. 12a, the verb **הָלַךְ** *go* is replicated

from the previous clause; this replication forms the core of the chiastic hinge. The phrase כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ *when they go* functions as a Theme Frame, short and fronted to the main clause following.

Hos. 9.1–3 comprises two chiasms: the smaller chiasm is contained in the larger, as displayed above in Figure 4.3.3f. The basis of both chiasms is emphatically ideational. Verses 1d and 2a provide the chiastic hinge; in light of our hypothesis that the second part of the hinge, when exhibiting fronted material, tends to feature fronted argument focus, we should say that in v. 2a, *shall not befriend them* is new information, but that it is very reminiscent of v. 1d: both cola use the same lexeme גֶּרֶן *threshing floor* and very much the same lexical domains from which come אָהַבְתָּ *you have loved* and לֹא יִרְעֶם *shall not befriend them*. We observe in passing that InfStr theory, if thrown into the light of Prototype Theory, would establish gradients of membership in categories such as argument focus, predicate focus, and the like. Verse 2a might be a case in point.

וְלֹא־זָעְקוּ אֵלַי בְּלִבָּם <sup>14</sup>	<i>They-have-cried not to-me with-their-hearts.</i>	<i>a</i>
כִּי יִלְלוּ עַל־מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם	<i>For they-wail on their-beds.</i>	<i>b</i>
עַל־דָּגָן וְתִירוֹשׁ יִתְגַּדְּרוּ	<i>Because.of-grain and-new.wine they-gash themselves;</i>	<i>b'</i>
יִסְרוּ בִּי:	<i>They-turn against-me.</i>	<i>a'</i>

**Figure 4.3.3g**  
**Chiasm and hinge fronting in Hos. 7.14**

If we examine nine other chiasms adduced by Garrett (1997) in Hosea, we find that one chiasm exhibits fronting in its hinge, as displayed above in Figure 4.3.3g above. Line *b'* in Hos. 7.14 exhibits fronting, which we characterize as Floor’s fronted frame hinge, since the lack of grain and wine seems to provide the occasion for Israelites’ wailing.

In this section, we have taken Floor (2004b) as a point of departure for saying that the hinges of a considerable number of BH poetic chiasms are characterised, as he observed, by marked focus structures; we ourselves have added a variety of other marked structures, most of which bear some resemblance to those focus structures, specifically, parallel lines each featuring fronted arguments and a short clause dependent on a main clause following. In addition, we have found blocks of contrastive kinaesthetic image schemas where the “joint” between them is characterised by a quasi or imperfect chiasm.

Floor’s observation that Hebrew poetry exhibits far more fronting than does narrative text, as does also embedded direct speech, suggests to us that written narrative material is among the most artificially contrived of all language genres. If we assume two-person oral dialogue to be the most original and basic of language genres, then it is easy to infer that natural narration arose within the

dialogue genre, with plenty of interpersonal give-and-take, comments and asides, etc., punctuating the narration. Indeed, the natural, real-life narration of traditional folklore often exhibits these very characteristics between story-teller and audience. We should expect, therefore, in most other language genres much less of the informational regularity that appears in written narration, and much more topic and focus manipulation. From this point of view, Floor's (2004a) study of InfStr in Hebrew written narration, although certainly valuable, appears to be an exercise in a very specialised—one might even say contrived—language genre.

Having presented the model and its manipulations of InfStr that we shall be applying to Hosea's similes, we turn now to postulating various basic cognitive forms of similes in Hosea.

#### ***4.4 Basic working cognitive forms of similes in Hosea: posited simile types***

In this section we examine patterns in Hosea's similes, from which we postulate, for working purposes of analysis, a variety of simile forms. These postulated forms stand in the tradition of construction grammar.

Various syntactic structures in a language, considered cognitively, may be postulated to possess prototypicality. Often these syntactic structures are transformed metaphorically, as was shown in Chapter Two with the English caused-motion construction: instead of the syntactic structure of *NP Vb NP PP* being blended with concrete semantic concepts in order to denote literal caused motion (e.g., *John sneezed the napkin off the table*), the structure is blended with concepts so as to produce metaphorical caused motion (e.g., *Sally sang her baby to sleep*).

Frequently, however, syntactic structures are transformed into marked forms, leaving their default, that is to say, prototypical, form. Such is the case, for example, in word order of the BH clause, which we accept to be in its prototypical (or default) form as *Verb—Subject—Object*. Variations on this order then indicate a marked effect.

One caveat is in order here: it is important to understand that default forms bear just as much informational load as do marked forms. For example, the unmarked BH word order *Verb—Subject—Object* plays a very important and common role in presenting new information about the Primary Topic—already discourse-active and thus presupposed—which is usually represented by the sentence subject. The term “marked,” therefore, in no way implies more value, but merely a different value.

#### 4.4.1 A view of simile orders and simile types in Hosea

An examination of simile forms in Hosea reveals some patterns. If we consider Tenor—Vehicle order of the similes, we find that about  $\frac{4}{7}$  of all the c. 71 similes<sup>5</sup> have the order Tenor—Vehicle (TV). We might thus hypothesize that TV is the default **simile order** for Hosea. Of the 71 similes, 10–12 have TVT simile order; and 10–11 have VT order. One simile has TVTV order, and there are two miscellaneous similes, one having solely a Vehicle with an implied Tenor, and one simile having TT order (in what we call a coordinative simile).

In chart form, the same information appears as follows:

Simile order	TV	VT	TVT	V	TT	TVTV
Frequency <sup>6</sup>	c. 44	c. 10	10	1	1	1

Figure 4.4.1a  
*Simile orders in Hosea's similes*

We can, however, go farther. Let us hypothesize for the sake of our analysis, in the tradition of construction grammar (see above the first paragraph of this section), that there are cognitively distinct syntactic structures, which we may call **simile types**, as presented below:

(a) **similes with הָיָה**: in these similes, the copula *hāyāh* is employed, e.g., Hos. 2.1:

וְהָיָה מִסְפַּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּחֹל הַיָּם  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמָּדָד וְלֹא יִסְפָּר  
*And the number of the people of Israel shall be  
like the sand of the sea, which can not be counted or measured.*

(b) **verbless similes**: these similes feature no verb, neither the copula, e.g., Hos. 5.12, in which there are effectively two similes packed together with the Tenor אֲנִי *I* doing duty for both:

וְאֲנִי כַעֲשׂ לְאֶפְרַיִם  
וְכַרְקָב לְבֵית יְהוּדָה  
*And I [am] like a moth to Ephraim  
and like rot to the house of Judah.*

(c) **similes employing an expression signifying ‘make’ or ‘place’**: these similes may choose among several Hebrew verbs: שִׁים *to place*, שִׁית *to place*, נָתַן *to make*, and יָצַג *to place*, e.g., Hos. 2.5:

וְשָׂמְתִיָּה כַּמִּדְבָּר  
...[Lest] *I make you as a wilderness...*

<sup>5</sup> In several passages, the presence of a simile is uncertain, due to questions of textual reading or of syntactic interpretation.

<sup>6</sup> Note that the bottom numbers do not quite add up to 71, which is the approximate number of Hosea's similes given previously. There is some indeterminacy regarding how to classify the simile orders of a few similes. In any case, approximate numbers are as adequate for our purposes as exact numbers.

(d) **similes employing an expression similar to “on the day of”**: these similes use Hebrew expressions such as *כִּימֵי* *as in the days of...*, and *כִּיּוֹם* *as on the day of...*, e.g., Hos. 2.17:

וְעֲנֶתָהּ שָׁמָּה      *she will respond*  
 כִּימֵי נְעוּרֶיהָ      *as in the days of her youth*  
 וְכִיּוֹם עֲלֹתָהּ מֵאֶרֶץ-מִצְרָיִם:      *and as on the day of her coming up from the land of Egypt*

(e) **scalar similes**: these similes are scalar in nature, denoting a quality to the extent of something else, e.g., Hos. 4.7:

כָּרַבְתֶּם כֵּן הִטְאוּ-לִי      *As they [the priests] multiplied, so they sinned against me....*

(f) **coordinative similes**: these similes, of which only one is found in Hosea, puts two formal topics together in coordination using a *kə...kə...* coordinative construction; see Hos. 4.9:

וְהָיָה כְּעַם כַּכֹּהֲנִים      *And it shall be like people like priests.*

(g) **congruity of circumstance similes**: these similes feature, like the tenor-predication similes presented below, a tenor term that could be said to comprise by itself a complete predication; however, this class of simile focuses upon similarity of circumstance much more than upon a short, compact Vehicle term. The three examples identified in Hosea are as follow:

Hos. 3.1	עוֹד לֵךְ אֲהַב-אִשָּׁה אֲדַבַּת רָע וּמִנְאֻפֶּת כְּאֲהַבַּת יְהוָה אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>Go love a woman..., as YHWH has loved the sons of Israel</i>
Hos. 7.12	אִיסְרָם כְּשִׁמְעוּ לְעִדְתָּם:	<i>I will catch them at the report of their assembling together</i>
Hos. 8.1	אֶל-חֻכְךָ שֹׁפָר כְּנֹשֵׂר עַל-בַּיִת יְהוָה	<i>To your mouth a trumpet as when a vulture is on the house of YHWH</i>

(h) **tenor-predication similes**: in these similes, the tenor can be said to at least syntactically if not semantically comprise in and of itself a predication, e.g., Hos. 6.7:

וְהִמָּה כְּאָדָם עָבְרוּ בְרִית      *They, like Adam, transgress the covenant.*

That is, one could imagine the sentence, *They transgress the covenant*. This is in contrast, for example, to verbless similes or similes with the copula *hāyāh*: one could not imagine a predication of the form, *\*And the number of the people of Israel shall be*. Neither could one imagine a predication such as, *\*I will make you*. We therefore conceive of tenor-predication similes as similes in which the tenor itself can at least theoretically constitute a coherent predication.

Let us now chart the distribution of simile orders among our proposed simile types. The findings are displayed in Figure 4.4.1 (marginally-important findings are displayed in the grey section):

Simile type	Frequency	Simile orders					
		TV	TVT	VT	V	TT	TVT <sup>7</sup>
<i>hāyāh</i>	14	12	2				
verbless	12	7	2	2	1		
<i>make</i>	5	5					
<i>day-of</i>	4	4					
scalar	5	1	1	3			
coord	1					1	
congruity of circumstance	3	3					
tenor-predication	27	15+2 tv or tv <sup>7</sup>	5	5+1			1

Figure 4.4.1b  
*Simile types and orders in Hosea*

We can, on the basis of simile order distribution, hypothesize preferred simile structures for the various simile types, as follows:

- (a) Both the *hāyāh* and the verbless types prefer TV simile order but allow other orders.
- (b) The *make* type shows an absolute preference for TV simile order.
- (c) The *day-of* type shows an absolute preference for TV simile order.
- (d) The scalar type shows a preference for VT simile order, but allows other orders.
- (e) We omit comments on the coordination type.
- (f) The congruity of circumstance similes show an absolute preference for TV simile order.
- (g) The Tenor-Predication type, which comprises almost half of all the similes, shows a preference for TV simile order, but allows other orders.

The preferred simile orders should be seen as the prototypical forms of these simile structures.

#### 4.4.2 Enlarging the sampling: a look at similes in Micah and Amos

It is reasonable to hope that any view of simile structure in Hosea might be improved by comparing similes in other OT documents, especially prophets of the same era. Let us therefore look briefly at Micah and Amos, contemporaries of Hosea. By doing a rough count of similes in these other two books and comparing them to the number of verses contained in each book, we come to, for Micah,

<sup>7</sup> Two similes appear to be either TV or TVT, depending on how their syntax is interpreted.

24 similes in 105 verses, and for Amos, 18 similes in 146 verses. Hosea has roughly 71 similes in 197 verses. Comparing then the frequency of similes in the three books, we find:

Hosea	Micah	Amos
<i>0.36 simile / verse</i>	<i>0.29 simile / verse</i>	<i>0.12 simile / verse</i>

**Figure 4.4.2a**  
*Simile frequency in Hosea, Micah, and Amos*

The numbers confirm the impression one receives in reading through the three books: Hosea employs similes at a rate significantly higher than Amos, and at about the same rate as Micah.

Simile type	Frequency	Simile orders					
		<i>TV</i>	<i>TVT</i>	<i>VT</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>TT</i>	<i>TVTV</i>
<i>hāyāh</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>					
verbless	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>					
<i>make</i>	<i>0</i>						
<i>day-of</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>			
scalar	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>					
coord	<i>0</i>						
cong. of circ.	<i>0</i>						
Tenor-Predication	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>			

**Figure 4.4.2b**  
*Simile types and orders in Micah*

Simile type	Frequency	Simile orders					
		<i>TV</i>	<i>TVT</i>	<i>VT</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>TT</i>	<i>TVTV</i>
<i>hāyāh</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>					
verbless	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>		<i>2</i>			
<i>make</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>					
<i>day-of</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>					
scalar	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>					
coord	<i>0</i>						
cong. of circ.	<i>0</i>						
Tenor-Predication	<i>17</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>			

**Figure 4.4.2c**  
*Simile types and orders in Amos*

These ratios say nothing about what can account for their disparity. We shall later postulate that patterning in the area of what kinds of concepts are associated with each other can account for much simile use, but also that patterning in discourse motivates simile use. Consequently, one would have

to closely compare these three prophets with each other on the basis of these two areas in order to account for the difference in their ratios.

Let us now examine Micah and Amos for their simile structures. The same simile types given for Hosea in Figure 4.4.1 appear above for Micah and Amos in Figure 4.4.2b and 4.4.2c.

We may make several observations and conclusions based on these tables:

- (a) Micah and Amos give more evidence for our hypothesis that TV is in general the preferred simile order.
- (b) The simile orders V, TT, and TVTV are rather miscellaneous: they occur nowhere in Micah and Amos, and only once each in Hosea. This is not to say that they do not carry communicative functions in Hosea, only that they are very marginal in terms of occurrence.
- (c) As in Hosea, the *make* similes, although comprising a small sampling, again show an absolute preference for TV simile order. In general among the three prophets, the *day-of* similes show a preference for TV simile order, but the sampling, again, is small.
- (d) While Hosea shows 3 scalar similes possessing VT simile order, 1 with TV, and 1 with TVT, Micah and Amos each show 1 with TV. The sampling is small.
- (e) Not only does Hosea employ significantly more similes than does Amos; he is also much more liberal than both the other prophets in using less preferred simile orders. Consider the following ratios:

	Hosea	Micah	Amos
<b>Ratio of TVT similes to TV similes</b>	0.23	0.05	0.04
<b>Ratio of VT similes to TV similes</b>	0.23	0.15	0.07

**Figure 4.4.2d**

***Ratios of less-preferred simile orders to TV order in Hosea, Micah, and Amos***

The ratios in Figure 4.4.2d depend, of course, on small samplings and may be entirely trivial, however suggestive they appear to be. Similarly, the samplings shown for some simile types impose caution upon our conclusions. The fact that the 7 scalar similes feature 3 different simile orders emphasizes their small sampling. That the 7 *day-of* similes prefer TV simile order by 6–1 may be more significant; again, however, the total sampling is small. Among the three prophets, however, there is a total of 8 *make* similes, and they all have TV simile order; this fact, when compared to these other simile types and their divided preferences, does indeed suggest a trend.

Of course, the much larger samplings for the *hāyāh* simile type (16 among the three prophets, of which 14 have TV simile order), the verbless simile type (18 among the three prophets, of which 13 have TV simile order), and the tenor-predication simile type (61 among the three prophets, of which 43 have TV simile order) put us on firmer ground for these three simile types.

If we had to rely solely upon simile order evidence, we would find it difficult to sustain many of these simile types without recourse to a far larger sampling. By themselves, the figures for the less frequent simile types do no more than suggest possible conclusions.

#### 4.4.3 The Major Simile Type, the Minor Simile Type, and *make* similes

We are now in a position to reappraise our seven simile types posited in Section 4.4.1. We propose, **again for working purposes of analysis**, to abandon the distinctions among our posited *hāyāh*, verbless, and Tenor-Predication simile types, in order to combine them into one working type that we shall call the **Major Simile Type**. Four other of our earlier simile types (*day-of* similes, scalar similes, coordinative similes, and congruity of circumstance similes) we shall call **Minor Simile Types**. The remaining simile type, the *make* similes accounting for 5 similes in Hosea, we will now regard as a simile type intermediate between the Major and Minor Simile Types.

Our reasons for doing so are based on a tendency in each of these three new types toward common features, which we give below. The common features do indeed include simile orders to some extent, but also other kinds of considerations.

A tabulation of Hosea's similes reveals the following counts: the Major Type accounts for 50 similes, the Minor Types for 14 similes, and the *make* simile class has 5 similes. The differences and similarities among these types that have motivated us to establish them are presented below.

Both Major and Minor Simile Types readily begin discourse units. Six Major Similes begin poetic strophes in Hosea, as do 6 Minor Similes. Three strophes are ended by a Major Simile, and one strophe ends with a Minor Simile—but that simile (Hos. 7.12) signals congruity of circumstance. We shall make several inferences below from these data.

We have characterized the primary dynamism of similes—as well as of metaphors—as consisting of the projection of various selected semantic properties from both inputs to the blend. Returning to the discussion of Sections 2.7.1–2.7.3.7 on various kind of conceptual blending networks, we can say that the typical simile would appear to comprise a fairly balanced two-sided network, where the Vehicle term contributes substantially to the organization of the simile blend.

We believe, however, that there is more to the conceptual blend of similes than the selected projected semantic properties of both inputs. There is so very often, beyond these elements, a cognitive image of the Vehicle term, a reflection of our notion of embodiment.

This cognitive quality of the Vehicle term we will call an **Imaged State of Being**; we find that this tends to be cognitively simple and powerful in Major Similes. Cognitively simple Imaged States of Being tend to be conveyed via semantic objects in the form of concrete nouns and noun phrases. In conceptual network terms, such Imaged States of Being suggest Vehicle terms that exert a powerful organising force in the conceptual blend. We can say, therefore, that Major Similes tend to be strongly two-sided conceptual networks.

For example, in Hos. 11.10 (*After YHWH they [his dispersed people] will go; like a lion he will roar, he will certainly roar, and the sons will come trembling from the sea*), we posit that something of a lion's ferocity and strength is projected to the simile's blend, as is also the power of YHWH to summon (a lion will drive one away in fright, but never summon in fright). But above and beyond these projected semantic properties, we posit that a cognitive image of a lion is also projected to the blend—and that this Imaged State of Being is cognitively simple and very powerful.

What, let us ask, is the status of this cognitive lion image? We metaphorically suggest that it has the nature of a hologram lurking in the background of the projected semantic attributes, which have pride of place in the simile blend. The blend could therefore be displayed as below.

Blend
--Strength
--Ferocity
--Untamedness
--Power to summon

**Figure 4.4.3a**  
***Projected Semantic Properties and Imaged State of Being in Hos. 11.10***

*Like a lion he will roar.*

Beyond the blended semantic properties, the mind actually images a lion, the extent of which we do not feel obliged to specify.

Other examples of similes with relatively cognitively simple and therefore powerful Imaged States of Being are given below:

	<b>Some Major Similes in Hosea</b>	<b>Imaged State of Being</b>
<b>Hos. 4.4c</b>	<i>Your people are like accusers of priests</i>	<i>accusers of priests</i>
<b>Hos. 4.16a</b>	<i>For like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn</i>	<i>stubborn heifer</i>
<b>Hos. 4.16b</b>	<i>Now can YHWH pasture them like a lamb in a broad pasture?</i>	<i>lamb</i>
<b>Hos. 5.10a</b>	<i>The leaders of Judah are like those who move boundary stones</i>	<i>those who move boundary stones</i>
<b>Hos. 5.10b</b>	<i>Upon them I will pour out my wrath like water</i>	<i>water</i>
<b>Hos. 6.3c</b>	<i>As the dawn is sure, so is [YHWH's] going forth</i>	<i>dawn</i>
<b>Hos. 6.3d</b>	<i>and he will come like the rain to us</i>	<i>rain</i>

**Figure 4.4.3b**  
*Imaged States of Being in some Major Similes of Hosea*

We suggest that it is actually the strongly embodied representation of the Vehicle terms in these cases that encourages a relatively wide projection of semantic properties to the blend. It is the same strong embodiment that encourages projection of semantic properties to the following text, and that facilitates the creation of a macro frame establishing an image destined for further elaboration in following text (see Section 4.4.4). This is true, even though this wider projection is at the same time a weaker projection than the principal projected properties, some of which are often explicitly stated. For example, in Hos. 6.3c (*As the dawn is sure, so is [YHWH's] going forth*), the Imaged State of Being—the dawn—lurks behind the principal projected and overtly specified property, that of sureness, and casts a beneficent—although weaker—property upon YHWH: not only will he surely go forth, but his going forth is to bring benefits, as is hinted at in v. 6ab (*Let us know, let us pursue knowledge of, YHWH*).

We posit that the clearest and usually most powerful Imaged States of Being are those that are cognitively the simplest; these tend to consist of concrete noun phrases. But what of verb phrases, such as found in the simile of Hos. 10.14 (*and all your stronghold will be destroyed, as Shalman destroyed Beth Arbel on the day of battle: mothers upon their children were dashed in pieces*)? While the depiction of the battle violence is vivid, it is far more cognitively complex and strung out than the cognitively simple Imaged State of Being constituted by, say, *a lion* or *the dew*. From our viewpoint, the fact that Hosea seemed obliged to explain the simile of Hos. 10.14 argues that it possesses far less cognitive simplicity and inherent power than are found in the lion simile or the dew simile.

<b>Hos. 2.1</b>	<i>And the number of the sons of Israel will be like the sands of the sea...</i>
<b>Hos. 2.17c</b>	<i>And she will respond there as in the days of her youth</i>
<b>Hos. 2.17d</b>	<i>and as in the days of her coming up from the land of Egypt.</i>
<b>Hos. 3.1</b>	<i>Go love a woman..., as YHWH has loved the sons of Israel</i>

<b>Hos. 4.7</b>	<i>As their multiplication, so they sinned against me.</i>
<b>Hos. 4.9</b>	<i>And it will be like people, like priesthood.</i>
<b>Hos. 7.12</b>	<i>I will catch them at the report of their assembling together</i>
<b>Hos. 8.1</b>	<i>To your mouth a trumpet as when a vulture is on the house of YHWH</i>
<b>Hos. 9.10</b>	<i>And they became as shameful as their beloved [idol].</i>
<b>Hos. 10.1c</b>	<i>As increase happened to [Israel's] fruit, he increased in respect to the altars.</i>
<b>Hos. 10.1d</b>	<i>As improvement happened to his land, they improved standing stones.</i>
<b>Hos. 10.14</b>	<i>And all your strongholds will be destroyed, as Shalman destroyed Betharbel on the day of battle.</i>
<b>Hos. 12.10b</b>	<i>I will again return you to the tents, as in the days of the appointed feasts.</i>
<b>Hos. 13.2b</b>	<i>And they make for themselves molten images, images from their silver according to their skill.</i>

**Figure 4.4.3c**  
***The Minor Similes of Hosea***

We find that Minor Similes (presented in Figure 4.4.3c) normally exhibit more cognitively complex Imaged States of Being than do Major Similes. In conceptual network terms, the conceptual blend tends to be more asymmetric than in Major Similes; it is usually the Tenor term that provides the bulk of the organization to the conceptual topology of the blend.

For example, we class Hos. 2.1 as a scalar simile, thus regarding it as a Minor Simile. But, unusually, this simile could be said to have a cognitively simple Imaged State of Being in the expression *the sands of the sea*. Yet the simile at first glance projects only limited significant properties to the following text; instead of an image for further elaboration, it establishes only a principle of uncountability (the simile is bolded):

***The number of the people of Israel will be like the sands of the seashore,  
which can be neither measured nor counted.***  
*It will happen that where it is now said to them, "You are not my people,"  
it will be said, "The people of the living God."  
The people of Judah and Israel will be gathered together;  
they will put over themselves one leader;  
they will go up from the land,  
for great will be the day of Jezreel. (Hos. 2.1–2)*

In conceptual network terms, the image of *the sands of the sea* exerts very little organising force in the blend.

Other Minor Similes suggest the same general behavior. For example, in Hos. 2.16–18, the two parallel similes (in bold type), while meaningful in bringing to mind the love for YHWH felt by the

woman Israel in her youth, establish no image for elaboration, but rather add only an overlay of meaning to the last sentence without changing its essential quality:

*Therefore I am about to entice her and bring her to the wilderness;  
I will speak to her heart. I will give her back her vineyards there,  
and the Valley of Achor as a door of hope.  
**She will respond there as in the days of her youth  
and in the days of her ascent from Egypt.**  
It will be in that day, say YHWH, that you will call to me “My husband,”  
and you will never again call me “My baal.” (Hos. 2. 16–18).*

Minor Similes exhibiting congruity of circumstance feature the same nature: in Hos. 3.1, 7.12, and 8.1, the Imaged States of Being, if they can be said to exist, are cognitively very complex in comparison to Major Simile Vehicles such as *lion*, *pus*, and *dew*.

In embodiment terms, we regard Minor Similes as exhibiting far less embodiment than Major Similes, for cognitively complex Vehicles tend toward abstraction. We shall find in Chapter Six that such similes usually project few semantic properties to the following text and that they prefer not to establish macro frames destined for further elaboration. Similarly, unlike major Similes, Minor Similes are not used to make summary, evaluative statements.

As for the *make* similes (presented in Figure 4.4.3d), these, like the Major Similes, tend to feature cognitively simple Imaged States of Being. The Imaged States of Being in these *make* similes exhibit a range of qualities: while they may all be said to be concrete in some way, some (*the wilderness*, *a dry land*) are cognitively more simple than others. *The day of her birth* simile of Hos. 2.5b presents Israel (already imaged as a grown woman) under an image overlay: Israel is still imaged as a human female, but this time as a baby girl. The image is concrete but not nearly so cognitively simple as *a lion* or *the dew* of Major Similes. We conclude that in respect to Imaged States of Being, *make* similes lie between the Major and Minor Similes.

	<b>The Make Similes of Hosea</b>	<b>Imaged State of Being</b>
<b>Hos. 2.5b</b>	<i>Lest I place her as on the day of her birth</i>	<i>A naked baby</i>
<b>Hos. 2.5c</b>	<i>And I make her like the wilderness</i>	<i>wilderness</i>
<b>Hos. 2.5d</b>	<i>And I make her like a dry land</i>	<i>dry land</i>
<b>Hos. 11.8c</b>	<i>How can I make you like Admah?</i>	<i>Admah</i>
<b>Hos. 11.8d</b>	<i>How can I make you like Zeboiim?</i>	<i>Zeboiim</i>

**Figure 4.4.3d**  
***Imaged States of Being in the Make Similes of Hosea***

In conceptual network terms, *make* similes tend to exhibit asymmetric two-sided networks, where one input (usually, perhaps, the Tenor term) organises the blend, but where some conceptual input from the Vehicle term is added. The result is two-sided, but asymmetrical. In *the day of her birth* simile of Hos. 2.5b, for example, the ontology of Israel the grown woman remains fundamentally unchanged: she is imaged neither as animal nor object, but only as a female of younger age. The two inputs are asymmetrical in their relative force.

In Section 4.7.1 to follow, we shall have recourse to the common distinction among four semantic categories: semantic objects, states and processes, events, and relations. Another way to characterize a difference between Major and Minor Similes is to point out that Major Similes tend to employ semantic objects, while Minor Similes tend to employ states and processes, events, and relations.

All similes exhibit blends of semantic properties. However, we find that the employment of these blends typically differs between the two Simile Types. Of Hosea's 52 Major Similes and 4 *Make* Similes, 14 may be said to constitute a macro frame, presenting an image for further elaboration. Of Hosea's 11 Minor Similes, several come close to providing something like a macro frame, but with qualitative differences. We examine these Minor Similes in the following paragraphs.

We shall argue in Section 6.2.1 that the simile in Hos. 2.1a (displayed below) projects to two following clauses (vv. 2.1b and 2.2a) a kinaesthetic image schema of linear distance.

<sup>1.19</sup> *And he said,*

*"Call his name Not My People, for you are not my people,  
and as for me, I am not 'I Am' to you.*

<sup>2.1a</sup> ***And-will.be number(-of) sons(-of) Israel like-sands(-of) the-sea,  
which not is-measured and-not is-counted;***

<sup>2.1b</sup> *and it will be in the place where it is said of them, 'You are not my  
people,'*

*it will be said of them, 'People of the living God.'"*

<sup>2.2a</sup> *The people of Judah and of Israel will be gathered together,  
and they will put over themselves one leader,*

*and they will go up from the land, for great will be the day of Jezreel.*

In Hos. 9.1, displayed below, a Minor Simile begins the strophe. Here the simile indeed creates no image for further elaboration, but, as we shall argue in Section 6.9.1, it does create a kinaesthetic image schema that runs through the entire strophe, the schema of LESS THAN.

<sup>1</sup> *Do- not -rejoice, Israel to-rejoicing like-the-peoples  
for youS<sup>8</sup>-have-committed-adultery from-on yourS-God  
YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing.floor-of grain  
<sup>2</sup> Threshing.floor and-wine.vat not will- befriend-them  
and-new.wine will-deceive against-her  
<sup>3</sup> Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH  
and-will-return Ephraim [to] Egypt  
and-in-Assyria uncleanliness they-will-eat*

Now kinaesthetic images schemas are by definition full of embodiment; however, the projection of one to further text must be regarded as featuring less embodiment than if a concrete, cognitively simple image such as *lion* or *dew* were projected.

Another example of a Minor Simile Type is found in Hos. 9.10e (treated in Section 6.9.10):

<sup>10</sup> *Like grapes in the desert I found Israel,  
Like early figs on a fig tree in the first of the season I saw your fathers.  
But they came to Baal Peor  
And consecrated themselves to the shameful thing,  
**And became as shameful as their beloved [idol].**  
<sup>11</sup> Ephraim is like a senseless dove:  
To Egypt they called, to Assyria they went.  
<sup>12</sup> When they go, I will throw over them my net;  
Like birds of the sky, I will pull them down.  
I will catch them at the report of their assembling together.*

Here a Scalar simile projects no semantic properties any further.

In Hos. 10.14 (treated in Section 6.10.14), the Minor *day-of* simile presents the local theme of cruelty by invaders, but it presents no image for elaboration; it therefore does not constitute a macro frame. The image is cognitively complex.

<sup>14</sup> *And-will-arise tumult against-yourS-people  
**And-all yourS-strongholds will-be-destroyed.**  
**As-destruction-of Shalman Betharbel on-day-of battle**  
Mother upon-children was-dashed-in-pieces.  
<sup>15</sup> Thus will-happen to-youP Bethel  
Because-of evil-of yourP-evil*

---

<sup>8</sup> The abbreviation *S* in the semi-literal display stands for the singular number, while *P* stands for the plural number.

<sup>10</sup> The prevalence of conceptual blending in all language tends to give the view, which we have espoused, that no line can be drawn between “literal” and “figurative” language. We suspect, however, that a cognitive approach to language might very well achieve an analysis of prototypical literal versus prototypical figurative language. However, we are not aware of any such attempt.

*In-the-dawn to-be-cut-off has-been-cut-off the-king-of Israel.*

In contrast to these Minor Similes, Hos. 7.11a is a typical example of a Major Simile acting as a macro frame:

<sup>11</sup> ***Ephraim is like a senseless dove:***

*To Egypt they called, to Assyria they went.*

<sup>12</sup> *When they go, I will throw over them my net;*

*Like birds of the sky, I will pull them down.*

*I will catch them at the report of their assembling together.*

The simile in v. 11a establishes the association between the Northern Kingdom and a dove, an association that is developed in the following clauses by means of elaborating metaphors.

In our treatment of Hosea's similes, we will often have occasion to remark that Minor Similes, featuring cognitively complex images, typically add an **image overlay** without really affecting too much the basic image that may have already been established. In Hos. 9.10e above we see this: the image of Israel's ancestors is not fundamentally altered by the Scalar simile. In Hos. 2.5, above still further, the three similes do not fundamentally erase the image of ISRAEL AS WOMAN, for the image appears again in v. 5e. The most that can be said is that these similes temporarily interrupt the basic image.

Turning to *make* similes, we find two of them in Hos. 2.5cd:

<sup>5</sup> *Lest I strip her naked*

*And place her as on the day of her birth,*

***And make her like the wilderness,***

***And make her like a dry land,***

*And kill her with thirst.*

These two similes (we are regarding v. 2b as a *day-of* simile) certainly move YHWH's warning along, but they do not actually establish an image for further elaboration; instead, they re-image Israel in a series of different images. And even if one wished to consider this passage as a single elaborated image, we would in that case note yet another difference from the Major Simile Type, that it is very rare for Major Similes to elaborate images, this function being consigned almost always to metaphors. Here, however, these two *make* similes must be considered to be elaborating an extended image.

Four Major Similes function to evaluate the strophes that they end, as in Hos. 10.4, *And justice springs up like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the fields.* This simile ends a strophe, introducing

nothing, but evaluates the corruption of Israel's leaders depicted in the three preceding verses. Among the Minor Simile, however, we find no simile that exercises an evaluative function.

In our discussion of simile orders in Section 4.4.2, our findings imply that marked simile orders (in contrast to the unmarked order of TV) would not be characteristic of the Minor Similes if the scalar similes (which show, for Hosea, Amos, and Micah 4 cases of marked simile order among all 7 scalar similes) were considered apart from the rest of them. We do not wish, however, to make too much of simile order considerations in general, since we would like a larger sampling of Minor Similes in general in order to make a more confident statement. There is therefore a certain tentativeness in our adding simile order considerations vis-à-vis the Minor Similes to the list of features distinguishing our three working simile types. On the other hand, we are certain that, while the Major Similes prefer the unmarked TV simile order, they are quite willing to adopt the marked simile orders of TVT and VT as well. This is so, because among Hosea, Amos, and Micah, out of 97 Major Similes, 70 have the unmarked TV simile order.

We have argued in this section that it is useful, for analytical working purposes, to divide Hosea's similes into three types: the Major Similes, which are designed to introduce images for metaphorical elaboration and which are also capable of ending discourse units by evaluating the previous material; the Minor Similes, which are able to introduce new images, but usually not for metaphorical elaboration, and which, when occurring in the context of a pre-existing image, consistently fail to significantly alter that image, preferring instead to add an image overlay; and the *make* similes, which lie between Major and Minor Similes, in that they may feature Imaged States of Being, yet without introducing images for further elaboration. We have also characterised these differences in terms of embodiment: the Major Similes on the whole feature Vehicles and exhibit qualities that reflect quite immediate human interaction with the environment, the *make* similes less so, and the Minor Similes least so. **We shall therefore from this point forward pursue our investigation of Hosea's similes on the working basis of these three posited simile types.**

#### **4.4.4 Similes in structural relation to their surrounding text**

From our examination of the similes of Hosea, Amos, and Micah, we reach a general hypothesis regarding communicative functions of similes. We suggest that similes may:

- (a) provide a frame, which we call a **macro frame**, typically consisting of an image, that serves as the basis for the ensuing developing local theme.
- (b) push along the developing logic of the exposition.

(c) help mark discourse peaks.

In Amos 9.7–10 (see the English display in Figure 4.4.4a below), we observe two rhetorical questions in v. 7 that form a kind of frame—we call it a **macro frame**—for the purpose of providing a setting of logic for YHWH’s verdict of condemnation in v. 8. This macro frame associates Israel with the peoples of Cush, Philistia, and Aram. Again, in v. 9, another image is created, that of a sieve sifting grain. This image provides a basis for YHWH’s condemnation in v. 10.

<b>Floor’s Topic Frame</b>	<b>Floor’s Theme Frame</b>	<b>Our Macro Frame</b>
<i>Part of a clause</i>	<i>Part of a clause</i>	<i>An entire clause, sentence, or group of sentences</i>
<i>Presupposed</i>	<i>Nonpresupposed</i>	<i>Either</i>
<i>Provides setting for the clause following</i>	<i>Provides thematic element for a group of clauses or sentences</i>	<i>Provides setting for a group of following clauses or sentences</i>
<u>As for Paris</u> , the Eiffel Tower is worth seeing.	<u>Enmity</u> I will put between you and the woman And between your offspring and hers; He will strike your head, And you will strike his heel. (Gen. 3.15)	<sup>7</sup> <b><u>Are not as the people of the Cushites you to me, people of Israel? Oracle of YHWH.</u></b> <b><u>Is it not Israel that I brought up from the land of Egypt, the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?</u></b> <sup>8</sup> The eyes of the Lord YHWH are on the sinful kingdom; I will destroy her from the face of the earth, yet I will not totally destroy the house of Jacob. Oracle of YHWH. <sup>9</sup> <b><u>For I am about to give the command, and I will shake the house of Israel among all the nations, as grain is shaken in a sieve, but not a pebble will reach to the ground.</u></b> <sup>10</sup> All the sinners among my people will die by the sword, all those who say, Disaster will not overtake or meet us. (Amos 9.7–10)

**Figure 4.4.4a**  
**Comparisons and contrasts among our Macro Frame**  
**And Floor’s Topic Frame and Theme Frame**

We find our macro frame to be analogous both to Floor’s **topic frame** and to his **Theme Frame**, both explained in Section 4.2.1. Recall that his topic frame provides a setting or the parameters for a following topic expression, as in As for Paris, the Eiffel Tower is worth seeing, where the topic frame is underlined; recall also that the topic frame must be in some sense presupposed. As for

Floor's Theme Frame, this is a fronted expression, usually focal, which provides a kind of thematic frame for following text. Our macro frame, however, requires no fronting, as it can be presented in a topic-comment sentence. We display comparisons and contrasts among these three frames in Figure 4.4.4a above.

The two rhetorical questions in Amos 9.7 can be said to introduce the logic for the entire four-verse-long sub-unit, the logic necessitating the important inference that Israel should not consider herself special merely because that she experienced a divinely-wrought Exodus, for even the Cushites, Philistines, and Aramites had their own exoduses. It is in regard to the logic frame-setting function of these rhetorical questions that we can call them a macro frame.

Note that, similar to the phenomenon that similes often precede metaphors which act to elaborate the similes, in v. 7 we find a simile in a rhetorical question that is followed by a second rhetorical question.

At the same time, two simultaneous structures are apparent in Amos 9.7–10. There is a nuance of parallelism: vv. 7–8 stand somewhat parallel to vv. 9–10, for v. 7 provides a rationale for the action promised in v. 8, while v. 9 provides in figurative language the action that will lead to the result expressed in v. 10. In both v. 7 and v. 9, similes are employed to introduce the two somewhat parallel sub-structures. The elements in vv. 7 and 9 that are underlined are those elements, then, that lead on into the statements of promised action.

At the same time, the relationship of vv. 9–10 to vv. 7–8 appears, by virtue of the conjunction **וְ** that begins v. 9, to provide in some sense an explanation of the somewhat curtailed destruction promised in v. 8 (*I will destroy..., yet I will not totally destroy*).

As displayed in Figure 4.4.4a, our macro frame exists, not as a small part of a sentence like Floor's topic and Theme Frames, but instead at least as a clause, or as a sentence or even a group of sentences.

But like Floor's topic frame, our macro frame in Amos 9.7 provides a setting of rationale for what follows. This function is very similar to that of some topic frames we could imagine, e.g., *In view of the situation, you should remain at home*, where the underlined topic frame provides the rationale for the topic-comment articulation that follows.

For Floor, it is required that the topic frame be presupposed; one could believe this requirement to be similar to the two rhetorical questions of Amos. 9.7, whose answers are certainly presupposed as

well. But the macro frame comprising Amos 9.9 is certainly not presupposed. We posit, therefore, that the presence or absence of presupposition is irrelevant for macro frames.

In Hosea, macro frames consisting of similes often occur for the purpose of introducing images for further elaboration. We cite, for example, Hos. 5.12–13, where the two similes (bolded) comprising v. 12 furnish the macro frame for the next verse:

*I am like pus to Ephraim,  
And like bone rot to the house of Judah.  
When Ephraim saw his sickness,  
And Judah his sore,  
Then Ephraim went to Assyria  
And sent to the great king,  
But he was unable to heal you  
And did not cure you of your wound.*

In this passage, a local medical theme mixed with a theme of international politics elaborates the imagery introduced by the two similes.

Similes may also function to push along the development of the exposition in an incremental fashion. In this role, similes can be seen as joining the other means at the prophet's disposal for this purpose. Consider the textual sub-unit of Hos. 14.6–8, as displayed below (similes are bolded):

Hos. 14.5	אַרְפֵּא מְשׁוּבָתָם	Summary A <i>WHAT YHWH WILL DO</i>	<i>I-will.heal their-waywardness</i>
	אֲהַבֶּם נְדָבָה	Summary B <i>WHAT YHWH WILL DO</i>	<i>I-will.love-them freely</i>
	כִּי שָׁב אִפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ:	Grounds for v. 5ab	<i>for turns.back my-anger from-them</i>
Hos. 14.6	אֲהִיָּה כַפֵּל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל	Reason	<b><i>I-will.be like-the-dew to-Israel</i></b>
	יִפְרַח כַּשְׁוֹשְׁנָה	Result	<b><i>he-shall.sprout like-the-crocus</i></b>
	וְגֵד שָׁרְשָׁיו כַּלְבָּנוֹן:	Result	<b><i>and-he-will.strike his-roots like-the-Lebanon</i></b>
Hos. 14.7	יֵלְכוּ וְיִנְקוּתָיו	Reason	<i>Will-go.forth his-shoots</i>
	וְיִהְיֶה כַּצֵּית הוֹדוֹ	Result	<b><i>and-will.be like-the-olive.tree his-splendour</i></b>
	וְרִיחַ לּוֹ כַּלְבָּנוֹן:	Result	<b><i>and-odour to-him like-the-Lebanon</i></b>
Hos. 14.8	יָשְׁבוּ יֹשְׁבֵי בְצֵלוֹ	Reason	<i>Will-return dwellers(-of) in-his-shade</i>
	יַחֲיֵי דָגְנוֹ	Result	<b><i>They-will-cause-to-live [them] [as]</i></b>

			<i>grain</i>
	וַיִּזְרְעוּ כִנְּוֹן	<i>Result</i>	<i>and-they-shall sprout as-the-vine</i>
	זָכְרוּ כִּי־יָזַן לְבָנוֹן׃	<i>End Result:</i> <i>WHAT YHWH WILL</i> <i>EXPERIENCE</i>	<i>his-recollection [shall be] as-</i> <i>(the)wine(-of) Lebanon</i>

**Figure 4.4.4b**  
*Simile as element of incremental exposition in Hos. 14.6–8*

Both Stuart (1987:214–217) and Garrett (1997:273) recognise that this strophe is cast into four sets of triplet clauses followed by a final single clause. The display has been set up to display this structure. What they do not say is that in vv. 6, 7, and 8, focusing upon Israel, the first clause of each triplet presents a reason, and the second and third clause in each of these verses presents results. The final single line (v. 8d) provides an end result, not for Israel, but this time for YHWH. Verse 8d, in focusing on YHWH, is thus in balance with v. 5, which does the same.

This sub-unit is remarkable for the large number of its similes. That every clause but two in the last three of the unit's four triplets consists of a simile argues strongly for the prophet's capacity to use simile to push forward incrementally the exposition in this predictive text. Similes are able to fill the role of Reason, as in vv. 6a, 7a, and 8a; they are also used extensively to fill the role of Result. A simile serves as well to express the End Result in v. 8d.

Let us note that Hos. 14.6–8 employs similes to mark a discourse peak. After the *Sturm und Drang* of the bulk of the book, the massive buildup of similes in this sub-unit is very expressive of the final prosperity of YHWH's people, promised after their experience of so much sin, judgement, and salvation.

In Section 4.2.6 was presented Floor's notion of focus peaking, which he defined as a pragmatic overlay of focality consisting "of some part of a Predicate-Focus structure or an Argument-Focus structure as the most informationally salient part." Focus peaking is often realised by end-weight or by fronting. If we think of discourse uses of similes as analogous to sentence-level InfStr phenomena, then it becomes reasonable to expect to find some similes that are "fronted" to the rest of the discourse (as in Amos 9.7 in Figure 4.4.4a above), while other similes may be expected to provide "end-weight" to the discourse. Consider in this regard Hos. 10.4, which in the analysis of Wendland (1995:128) ends a strophe (the entire strophe is displayed below):

**Hos. 10.3**

כִּי עַתָּה יֹאמְרוּ      *For now they will say,*  
אֵין מֶלֶךְ לָנוּ      *"We have no king.*  
כִּי לֹא יִרְאֵנוּ אֶת־יְהוָה      *For we do not fear YHWH,*

Hos. 10.4	וְהַמֶּלֶךְ מִהַיְעֵשֶׂה לָנוּ: דְּבַרְיֵי דְבָרִים אֲלוֹת שׁוֹא פְּרַת בְּרִית וּפְרַח קָרָאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תְּלֵמֵי שָׂדֵי:	<i>and a king, what could he do for us?"</i> <i>[Mere] words they spoke,</i> <i>swearing vainly [while] making covenants.</i> <i>And "justice" sprouts like poisonous weeds</i> <i>in the furrows of the fields.</i>
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With the simile in v. 4c (displayed here in bold type), the prophet evaluates his earlier statements in this strophe. Note that the simile employs none of what one might have considered until this point to be the strophe's key words—neither king, covenant, YHWH, nor swearing. Yet the simile, while employing a completely different vocabulary, captures very well the strophe's essence and spirit, filling nicely the function of an evaluative summary. It clearly provides “end-weight” to the strophe.

A noteworthy conclusion to be drawn from this section's analysis is that Hosea can be said to employ similes to fill functions on widely different levels: thematic (**simile as Theme Frame**), sentential (**simile as element of incremental exposition**), and discourse (**simile as a discourse peak marker**).

#### ***4.5 Conceptual considerations of similes: conceptual blending in similes***

Thus far in this chapter we have considered aspects of similes' types, forms, and functions in their textual environments. As we suggested, however, in Chapter Two, the entire conceptual aspect of similes must also be addressed, and then we must also consider their interface with simile form.

##### **4.5.1 Conceptual blending as applied to similes**

In Section 2.6.2, we found it possible to import the notions and apparatus of metaphor conceptual blending into that of similes. These notions are those of generic space, two inputs, the possibility of embedded inputs, cross-domain mapping of semantic attributes, restricted selection of the attributes destined for the blend, and the two-way interpretability of the blend.

##### **4.5.2 The interface between simile syntax and conceptual blending**

In Chapter Two, we also found that conceptual blending charts of similes would become even more informative if they included an apparatus allowing the analysis of word order, what we called *simile syntax*. On this latter point, recall that it is possible to hypothesize various effects exerted by the particular word order of a simile. Let us look at Figure 4.5.2 below.

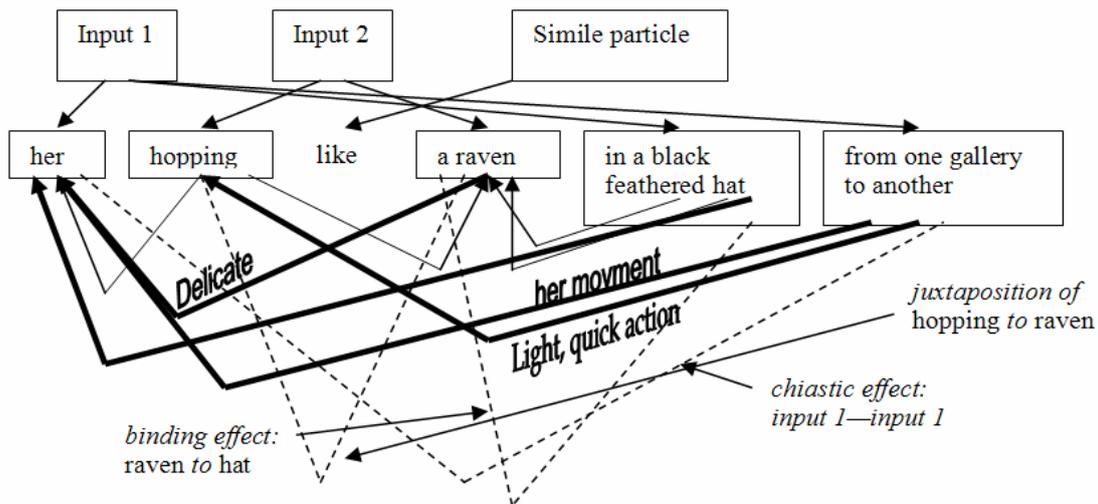


Figure 4.5.2

*I had seen her once before at a Royal Academy private view,  
hopping like a raven in a black feathered hat from one gallery to another.*

**Simile syntax**

The syntactic apparatus reveals the criss-crossing effect (showing which expression comes from which input) that produces the specialized word order in this simile. There are two kinds of blending effects: the first kind is indicated by the bottom arrows that denote semantic projections, of any degree of literalness and metaphoricity, exerted by the expressions on each other. (Heavy lines represent fairly literal projections, and light lines represent more metaphorical ones.)

But we also note in Figure 4.5.2 another kind of effect: that of what we will call **conceptual binding** in the simile, achieved by the specialized word order. The conceptual binding is indicated by means of dashed lines. Note that the conceptual binding includes notions both of chiasm (*her...from one gallery to another* forms the two boundaries of the simile) and juxtaposition for effect, e.g., *in a black feathered hat* is placed next to *raven*. These simile binding effects must be said to be the motivation for the specialized word order in the simile.

**4.6 Cultural elements and logical simile relations**

As was presented in Section 3.0 and following, Strauss and Quinn include as elements of culture the notions of cultural schemas, cultural models, cultural themes, and cultural exemplars. In Sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4 we discussed overall patterning in embodiment among the three simile types that we posited for working purposes—the Major Similes, *make* similes, and Minor Similes. We hypothesized that embodiment is generally greatest in Major Similes, less in the *make* similes, and the least in the Minor Similes.

Now one might guess that, on the cultural side of our developing analysis, if we used the cultural model of Strauss-Quinn, we might find analogous patterning between similes and various elements of this cognitive cultural model. That is to say, if, as we posited in Section 3.7, cultural schemas, for example, are less cognitively complex than cultural models, it might be the case that similes as a whole interface with cultural elements in a way such that the Major Similes, being on the whole very embodied, would prefer for their Vehicle terms to access cultural schemas, while Minor Simile would prefer cultural models, since they are more cognitively complex.

However, an examination of Hosea's similes heavily suggests that all three simile types access principally cultural schemas, and that their second choice is to access cultural exemplars (which are most often, we believe, the "best examples" of cultural schemas). A count of 51 Major Similes showed 42 unambiguously accessing cultural schemas (e.g., *the bread of mourners, dove, lion, leopard, the dew*), and 7 unambiguously accessing cultural exemplars (e.g., *the city of Adam, the Lebanon, olive trees, and grapevines*).

Among the 5 *make* similes, 3 accessed cultural schemas, and 2 accessed cultural exemplars. Among the 15 Minor Similes, 10 unambiguously accessed cultural schemas and 1 unambiguously accessed a cultural exemplar.

No simile accesses cultural themes (e.g., *X is like hard work bringing success*) or cultural models (e.g., *X is like marriage*).

We make the following observations and conclusions: all three of our posited simile types "interface" with Strauss-Quinn cultural elements in the same way, preferring cultural schemas and, in second place to them, cultural exemplars. We can account for this fact by remembering that similes prefer for their Vehicle terms to feature more embodiment than their Tenor terms. Thus, for example, *YHWH will come like the rain to us* is more preferred as a simile than a hypothetical *The rain will come like YHWH to us*. Similarly, it is the most embodied cultural elements—i.e., cultural schemas and (we presume also) cultural exemplars—that prefer to be accessed by simile Vehicle terms.

We conclude from our observations that on the cultural side of our analysis, all three of our posited simile types behave in the same way, preferring to access the same cultural elements. Going further, we deduce that the different degrees of embodiment observable among our three simile types must reside, not in any preferences of cultural "interface," but instead among differences in the similes' logics.

We hypothesize, for example, that similes of the type *X is like Y* (e.g., *I will be like a lion to Ephraim*) and of the type *X does Y like Z* (e.g., *I will pour out like wrath my water*) exhibit **logical simile relations** of equation and action, and that these relations tend to be considered very well embodied indeed. It is these simile relations that characterise most Major Similes.

*Make* similes, on the other hand, all exhibit the added cognitive complexity of causation, e.g., *lest I make her like the wilderness*. It is this added cognitive complexity that seems very correlated with the other behaviour observable of the *make* similes (e.g., their dislike of simile orders other than TV, and their non-employment as introducers of macro frames). Nevertheless, *make* similes do all feature an equative relation, e.g., *lest I make her like the wilderness* really means *lest I cause her to be like the wilderness*. We posit that it is this logical similarity with Major Similes that puts *make* similes halfway between them and the Minor Similes.

As for the Minor Similes, these exhibit a variety of other logical simile relations, all of which are quite cognitively complex. Congruity of circumstance covers, of course, a wide variety of possible relations; *days-of* similes feature a logical relation of past chronology with accompanying evocation of past conditions or events; and scalar similes feature a complex relation, that of degree, as in *As they multiplied, so they sinned against me*.

We conclude, therefore, that the most profound differences among our three posited simile types lie on the level of logical simile relations—that it is these relations that motivate the other differences we have observed among the simile types.

#### ***4.7 Cultural elements in relation to simile and image metaphor***

There remains, however, a question as to whether we can find any systematic differences between similes and image metaphors regarding the cultural constructs that each treat. We have already concluded that the three simile types which we have posited for working purposes all prefer to access in the Vehicle terms either cultural schemas or cultural exemplars.

As for metaphors, an examination of Hosea suggests that these figures of speech prefer to deal with cultural models and, to a lesser extent, cultural exemplars.

Among all image metaphors of Hosea, we find 6 that are employed to animalize or objectify. Here we wish to briefly remark on them:

Hos. 5.1e	כִּי־פַח הָיִיתֶם לְמִצְפָּה	<i>For you have been a snare at Mizpah*</i>
Hos. 5.1f	וְרֶשֶׁת פְּרוּשָׁה עַל־תַּבּוֹר:	<i>and a net spread out on Tabor</i>
Hos. 5.2a	וְשַׁחֲמָה שְׂטִימִים הָעֲמִיקוּ	<i>and a pit in Shittim dug deep,**</i>
Hos. 5.2b	וְאֲנִי מוֹסֵר לְכֻלָּם:	<i>but I (am) discipline for them all.</i>
Hos. 7.8	אֶפְרַיִם בְּעַמִּים הוּא יִתְבּוֹלֵל אֶפְרַיִם הִנֵּה עֵגֶה בְּלֵי הַפּוֹכָה:	<i>Ephraim mixes with the nations; Ephraim is an unturned cake.</i>
Hos. 10.1	גִּפְנוֹ בּוֹקֵק יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּרִי יִשְׁוֶה־לּוֹ	<i>A spreading vine (is) Israel; fruit he brings forth for himself.</i>
Hos. 10.11	וְאֶפְרַיִם עֵגֶלָה מִלְמַדָּה אֶתְבַּתִּי לְדֹשׁ	<i>Ephraim is a trained heifer that loves to thresh.</i>

**Figure 4.7**  
*Animalizing and objectifying image metaphors in Hosea*

\* The addressees are the priests, Israelites, and the royal house.

\*\*This line represents an emendation proposed by Wolff (1974:94); it is supported in essence by Garrett (1997:142), McComiskey (1992:74), and Stuart (1987:88). Andersen and Freedman (1980:386) regard the MT as very difficult but still retain it, translating *The rebels are deep in slaughter*.

Hos. 10.1 expresses the image of vineyard and vine; since it appears in Isa. 5.1–7 with reference to Israel, and since vines and vineyards were common in Israel, we posit this image to actually reflect a religious-cultural model. Eidevall (1996:163–16) sees this verse and many other agricultural references in Hos. 9 as probably accessing the YHWH-Israel relationship modelled as YHWH the farmer and Israel the farm.

We proposed in Section 3.7 to correlate degrees of embodiment with certain Strauss-Quinn cultural constructs, positing that cultural schemes and cultural exemplars exhibit in general more embodiment and less cognitive complexity than cultural models and cultural themes. Here we note that the model of Israel as vine in Hos. 10.1 may well be matched in Figure 4.7 by other cultural models: *snare*, *net*, and *pit* of Hos. 5.1–2 seem to participate in a model of treachery that pervades the Hebrew Bible.

The apparent image metaphor of Hos. 5.2b (*but I am discipline for them all*) is disputed. We note with interest that Wolff (1974:94) objects to a common proposal that would read *I am fetters for them all*, explaining, “Hosea introduces such imagery with פ (cf. 5:13f; 13:8f).” We regard Wolff’s instinct here as very accurate; our view of HAO conceptual manipulations in Hosea says the same thing.

The image metaphors of Hos. 10.11 (*Ephraim is a trained heifer (עֵגֶלָה) that loves to thresh*) and Hos. 7.8 (*Ephraim mixes with the nations; Ephraim is an unturned cake*) are more difficult to analyze. The first metaphor is perhaps a reversal of the simile in Hos. 4.16, *Israel is like a stubborn*

*heifer* (פָּרָה); but the status of these two metaphors, whether or not these metaphors reflect cultural models, is difficult to identify.

To sum up, we have good reason for believing that one principal reason for Hosea to employ animalizing or objectifying image metaphors is to express cultural models.

Here, then, is progress toward a systematic view of how similes may differ from metaphors on a cultural level: both similes and metaphors engage cultural exemplars on occasion, but similes tend to engage cultural schemas, while metaphors tend to engage cultural models. We can account for this difference on the basis of our understanding of simile and metaphor: similes tend to be used when the speaker judges that the audience will incur greater than normal processing effort. A cultural schema, when accessed by a simile, may remain merely a cultural schema by virtue of the limited projection of semantic attributes to the Tenor term. Metaphors, on the other hand, tend to be employed when the speaker does not anticipate greater than normal audience processing effort; the wholesale projection of semantic attributes is usually effected by metaphors, and in particular extended, elaborated metaphors.

#### 4.8 *The question of distinguishing between literal comparisons and similes*

Eidevall and others distinguish between literal comparisons and similes. For them, *round like a ball* is only a literal comparison operating within one sole semantic domain, whereas similes, like metaphors, must engage at least two semantic domains.

We do not believe that this notion can be sustained. Conceptual blending, since it occurs constantly in language, has been shown in Chapter One to occur in so-called literal language as well, and it would be difficult to set theoretical limits to the scope of the blending. Consider, for example, Hos. 2.1–2:

<p>וְהָיָה מִסְפֵּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>1</sup></p> <p>כְּחֹל הַיָּם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִסְפָּר</p> <p>וְהָיָה בְּמָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יֹאמַר לָהֶם לֹא־עַמִּי אַתֶּם</p> <p>יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי:</p> <p>וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְּנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו<sup>2</sup></p> <p>וְשָׂמוּ לָהֶם רֹאשׁ אֶחָד</p> <p>וְעָלוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ כִּי גְדוֹל יוֹם יִזְרְעֵאל:</p>	<p><i>The number of the people of Israel shall be like the sands of the sea, unmeasurable, uncountable;</i></p> <p><i>and it will be in the place where it is said of them, “You are not my people,”</i></p> <p><i>it is said of them, “People of the living God.”</i></p> <p><i>The people of Judah and of Israel will be gathered together,</i></p> <p><i>and they will put over themselves one leader,</i></p> <p><i>and they will go up from the land, for great will be the day of Jezreel.</i></p>
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The literal comparison viewpoint would take v. 1 as an example of literal comparison: the people of Israel will be literally as uncountable as the sands of the seashore. But a cognitivist might pause to ask, “What concepts are in play here in terms of the entire passage? What attributes of the sands of the seashore are being accessed and blended here?”

It is true, as the literal comparison view would say, that the sands are considered uncountable and that this relates directly to the expression *the number of the people of Israel*. But is any other attribute of the sands of the seashore being accessed as well? We would say yes: the attribute of vastness, of limitless expanse. Consider first the expression in v. 2: *it will be in the place where it is said of them....* The term **בְּמִקוֹם** *in the place* accesses a notion of location, even though here that notion is metaphorically extended into a kind of particle function of BH: an English speaker would translate, “instead of.” But the weak notion of circumscribed location accessed by **בְּמִקוֹם** is immediately strengthened by the following line, *The people of Judah and the people of Israel will be gathered together*, in contrast to the sands of the sea, which are certainly not “gathered together,” but which extend along the shore, seemingly forever.

The so-called “literal comparison,” of v. 1, viewed in this light, assumes much more the *nature*—and, may we say, also a *primary function*—of simile: the *nature* of simile, in that the semantic attributes of *sands of the seashore* are poured into a dynamism of a conceptual blend that far outweighs that of a supposed literal comparison; and a *primary function* of simile, in that similes often introduce material that is judged difficult for the hearer to process, notably metaphorical material, but also, we may hypothesize, any sort of material.

The moral of Hos. 2.1–2 is that the notion of literal comparison can be treacherous and is best avoided.

#### ***4.9 Humanization, animalization, and objectification manipulations***

In this section we shall present our view of the varietal nature of similes and their place vis-à-vis image metaphors and conceptual metaphors in relation to certain kinds of imagery in Hosea, which we shall call **HAO** (humanization, animalization, objectification) **manipulations**.

##### **4.9.1 “Literal” and “figurative” language**

In our understanding, the very terms “literal” and “figurative” are misleading, since they imply that a dividing line can be clearly drawn between what they stand for. Speaking of “more literal” and “more figurative language” would be better.<sup>10</sup>

Our project of working toward a grammar of conceptualization includes an attempt to account for the relative distribution of more literal versus less literal language. A very **traditional view** is that texts consist of literal language interspersed with decorative figurative language. **Our view** is that literal qualities and figurative qualities exist in a continuum, from most literal to most figurative.

A **traditional view** holds that images generally proceed sequentially and with roughly a corresponding prominence. Thus it has been traditionally held that metaphor is stronger than simile, in that it tends to effect stronger projection of semantic attributes from Vehicle term to Tenor term. **Our view**, however, while allowing some validity to that notion, holds that images occur kaleidoscopically in an ever-shifting fashion and are evoked with a wide range of strength. Some are only briefly and weakly referenced, while others are so strong as to be thematic. More literal language is often mixed in. Conceptual metaphors (instantiations of which are sometimes mistaken for image metaphors) fall near the literal end of the continuum, but can be subjected to image elaboration, by metaphor or similes, often depending on the form of the conceptual metaphor's instantiation. To complicate matters, similes frequently contain metaphors, and many are pre-metaphorized. We should add that the traditional view that metaphor effects stronger projection of semantic properties than simile tends to break down when one considers that many similes incorporate metaphor in them. Similes do not, however, incorporate other similes; we know of no attempt to explain this fact.

A **traditional view** tends to regard similes as fairly monolithic phenomena, roughly sharing the same characteristics with each other. In **our view**, similes cover a wide range of conceptual blending dynamics. At one end of the scale we find similes using the *kaph-veritatis*, a device for achieving very forceful statements of practical identity. Some BH simile types, like scalar similes and *day-of* similes, seem to generally add fairly literal overlays without affecting the image currently in play, but may add sub-concepts (e.g., kinaesthetic image schemas) in order to project them further in the text.

We are able to establish a continuum of Easy-Difficult associations of concepts, in the speaker's evaluation, for the audience to process, as displayed in Figure 4.9.1a below. The continuum features two parameters that are independent of each other: **Easy versus Difficult selection of semantic properties to be projected from Vehicle Term to Tenor Term**, and **Most likely versus least likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor**. The second parameter is determined by factors such as audience comprehension of the speaker's lexical items, phrases, etc.;

by the degree of knowledge shared between speaker and audience; and by the audience’s bias toward or against the speaker’s message.

<b>Easy Conceptual Leap</b>		<b>Difficult Conceptual Leap</b>	
<i>Easy selectivity of properties*</i>		<i>Hard selectivity of properties</i>	
<i>Most likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor*</i>		<i>Least likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor</i>	
<i>Conceptual Metaphor</i>	<i>Image Metaphor</i>	<i>Simile</i>	
<i>YHWH draws his bow at his enemies.</i>	<i>YHWH is a warrior.</i>	<i>YHWH is like pus.</i>	
<i>(Instantiation of the conceptual metaphor GOD IS A HUMAN BEING.)</i>			

*\*These two parameters do not imply each other.*

**Figure 4.9.1a**

***Easy-Difficult continuum of speaker assessment of audience processing ability***

Figures of speech on the easy end of the continuum—instantiations of conceptual metaphor—are assumed by the speaker as being perfectly understandable to the audience. They do not, of course, always cater to the audience’s bias.

<i>THE PATH OF AN ARGUMENT IS A SURFACE (from Lakoff and Johnson 1980:91)</i>	
You’re getting off the subject.	<i>Neutral instantiation of conceptual metaphor.</i>
You’re getting way off the subject.	<i>Intense instantiation.</i>
You’re getting a little off the subject.	<i>Mild instantiation. Hedging device in use.</i>
It’s like you’re getting off the subject.	<i>Mild instantiation. Hedging device in use.</i>
You’re kind of getting off the subject.	<i>Mild instantiation. Hedging device in use.</i>
You’re as off the subject as a derailed train.	<i>Intense instantiation.</i>

**Figure 4.9.1b**

***Modification of a regular instantiation of a conceptual metaphor***

When the speaker expects audience bias against his message, he may try to weaken the force of the conceptual metaphor’s instantiation. But, unlike his ability to turn an image metaphor into a simile in order to effect a weaker projection of semantic properties, he is usually unable to weaken the force of a conceptual metaphor via simile. He may indeed weaken the instantiation, but with a hedging device. Consider, for example, the conceptual metaphor THE PATH OF AN ARGUMENT IS A SURFACE and modes of its instantiation, displayed in Figure 4.9.1b above.

In contrast, the use of a full-fledged simile to modify the instantiation of a conceptual metaphor seems, curiously enough, to intensify the expression, as shown in the figure above: “You’re as off the subject as a derailed train.”

A metaphor may feature a very easy selection of projected properties, but still may be refused by the audience. If, for example, an acquaintance said, “Your sister is a wallflower,” one would understand him perfectly, but still probably not accept his metaphor, for reasons of bias, i.e., loyalty to one’s sister.

In other words, the two conditions associated with easy conceptual leaps—easy selection of projected semantic properties, and ready acceptance of the image association—are independent of each other and do not imply one another.

We are now able to observe certain patterns, not only in Hosea, but also in Micah and Amos at the same time, of what we shall call **HAO Manipulations**:<sup>11</sup> **humanization** (our term: projecting human properties or identity to the Deity, animals, objects, or abstractions);<sup>12</sup> **animalization** (our term: projecting animal properties or identity to humans, the Deity, objects, or abstractions); and **objectification** (our term: projecting object properties or identity to the Deity, humans, or abstractions, e.g., justice, righteousness, faithfulness, lying, and murder). We call this set of interconceptual manipulations by the acronym *HAO*.

It is common in semantics to distinguish among the following semantic categories: objects, states and processes, events, and relations. For example, *God*, *man*, *lion*, and *sheaves of grain* are all semantic objects; *smallness* and *to become heavy* are semantic states and processes; *the dawn* and *to write* are semantic events; and *to* and *from* are semantic relations. Our scheme named HAO mainly involves semantic objects: God, humans, animals, and inanimate objects. It also concerns, however, what we shall call **abstractions**, our cover term for all states and processes, events, and relations *when any instance of these semantic categories is conceived of as an object*. The dawn, for

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<sup>11</sup> In our view, all combinations of concepts constitute conceptual manipulations. In *John kicked the football*, for instance, the concept *to kick* is modified by the presence of *John* as a particular kind of agent (a human agent), and by the direct object *football* as well, since the notion of kicking a football is different from that, say, of kicking a stone. In traditional terminology, these conceptual modifications or differences would not be called figurative, and our terms “humanization,” “animalization,” and “objectification” would be. But in our view, no dividing line can be drawn between figurative and non-figurative (i.e., so-called literal) language; we therefore speak of more figurative and less figurative, more literal and less literal language; we are happy to speak simply of HAO manipulations and to consider them as a small subset of all possible conceptual manipulations.

<sup>12</sup> Our term *humanization* is meant to replace the traditional term *anthropomorphism* vis-à-vis God, and *personification* vis-à-vis animals, objects, and abstractions.

example, is a semantic event that is conceived of as an entity, i.e., as an object. We therefore regard the noun *dawn* for our purposes as an abstraction.<sup>13</sup>

We go on to posit five categories of conceptual entities, the manipulations of which we shall be interested in: among the semantic objects, the Deity; human beings; animals; and inanimate objects; and then what we have termed the abstractions, which comprise the semantic states and processes, events, and relations.

We shall argue later that in Hosea, Micah, and Amos, the devices of conceptual metaphor, image metaphor, and simile are preferred on the basis of the kind of HAO Manipulation that is in play in any given moment. But for this argument to have any rigour at all, we must develop a reliable method for identifying which two of our five posited categories of conceptual entities happen to be interacting with each other in the metaphor or simile under consideration. Without such a single, reliable method, we could easily reach different analyses on the whim of the moment.

We shall choose a formula that uses intuition to isolate the two relevant elements. For example, in Hos. 6.3a (*As-the-dawn is.sure, [so] his-going.forth*), intuition says that *he* (YHWH) is being associated with the sun by virtue of some similarity in the going forth. Here we introduce a formula that may be helpful: *X is like Y in that...*: YHWH is like the sun in that they both go forth, and in that the going forth of both is sure. As for Hos. 10.4, this formula gives us, *justice is like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the fields in that both spring up*.

This approach presents certain considerations for attention. On the surface level, two semantic events are being associated with each other: the *going forth* of the sun, and YHWH's *going forth*. In Section 4.9.2 to follow, we shall look at the association of like categories in the HAO scheme. There we will posit that simile is the preferred device for effecting such associations.

But our intuitive approach also invokes a deeper level: in Hos. 6.3a, it is YHWH and the sun that are really being associated with each other—in HAO terms, a case of the objectification of God. It is because of this deeper level, triggered, we might say, by the similarity between the two *going forths*, that other semantic properties are projected to the simile blend besides the certainty of

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<sup>13</sup> This use of the term *abstraction* is, of course, quite different than the normal use, which concerns the quality that is opposite to *concrete*. For example, concrete verbs such as *to write*, *to call*, and *to fall down* denote physical actions or events. *To think*, *to resemble*, and *to exist* are more abstract. We posit, however, that a cognitively irreducible **semantic object** such as *dog* is simpler and more concrete than even a concrete verb such as *to write*, for semantic objects are in general more concrete than concrete verbs. Relations are, of course, complex, since they involve at least two different phenomena that are in relation to each other. Qualities tend to be conceptually complex also, since there is involved at least one phenomenon that must “possess” the particular quality under discussion. Therefore, we regard semantic objects as generally the most concrete of all semantic categories.

YHWH's going forth: the sun's beneficial qualities, its splendour, etc. Any analysis that associates only the sun's going forth with YHWH's going forth will miss these other semantic properties.

How would the formula *X is like Y in that...* work for conceptual metaphors? Consider Hos. 7.2, *Now their deeds surround them*, which we consider to be an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE. Applying the formula, we obtain, *Their deeds are like objects in that they [the people] can be (metaphorically) surrounded by them*. Note that the noun *deeds* is really a semantic event, an abstraction in our terms. Note also that our formula applies not only to similes, but also to metaphors, both conceptual and image.

Again, consider Hos. 7.10, *Israel's arrogance testifies against him*. Applying the formula, we obtain, *Israel's arrogance is like a person in that it can (metaphorically) testify against him*. Here we identify the HAO Manipulation of humanization, the assignment of human semantic properties to the semantic state of *arrogance*, an abstraction in our terms, since it is a semantic state.

It is true that this formula will from time to time appear at first glance to allow indeterminate results. Consider Hos. 3.1bc:

<p>עֹדֵר לְךָ אֶהְבֵּ-אִשָּׁה אֲהַבְתָּ רַע וּמְנַאֲפֶת כְּאֲהַבְתָּ יְהוָה אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל</p>	<p><i>Go love-woman, lover-of another and-adulteress As-to-love-of YHWH OBJ-sons-of Israel.</i></p>
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Intuition says that our formula should be applied as follows: (a) *Hosea's loving a woman is like YHWH's loving the people of Israel in that...* It could, however, be applied as follows: (b) *A woman is like the people of Israel in that...* Closer inspection, though, shows that the second result is really a mere permutation of the first result—that if a woman is like the people of Israel, it is because she is loved by Hosea as Israel is loved by YHWH. We conclude that in both the Tenor and Vehicle terms, this simile features abstractions in the form of semantic events.

We conclude that this method, that coupling intuition together with the formula *X is like Y in that...*, is likely to give the rigor necessary to definitively identify HAO Manipulations.

As an example of **humanization of God**, we cite Hos. 2.18: *In that day, declares YHWH, you will call me "my husband."* As an example of **humanization of animals**, we cite Hos. 2.20: *In that day I [YHWH] will make a covenant for them with the beasts of the field and the birds of the air and the crawling creatures of the ground.* As an example of **humanization of objects**, we cite Hos. 9.2: *Threshing floor and wine vat will not feed them [the Israelites].*

As an example of **animalization of God**, we cite Hos. 11.10: *Like a lion [YHWH] will roar.* As an example of **animalization of humans**, we cite Hos. 4.16: *Like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn.*

As an example of **objectification of God**, we cite Hos. 14.6: *I [YHWH] will be like the dew to Israel*. As an example of **objectification of humans**, we cite Hos. 8.8: *Now they [Israel] are among the nations like a useless vessel*. As examples of **objectification of abstractions**, we cite Hos. 7.2, *Now their deeds surround them*, where *deeds* is a semantic event—in our terms, an abstraction—that is assigned properties of objects.

We will find that in counting the occurrences of these conceptual manipulations, we include **instantiations of conceptual metaphors**. This criterion obliges us, of course, to try to identify such instantiations. Here Hermanson (1995) is a help, since he posits a good number of BH conceptual metaphors in his treatment of Amos. Only very occasionally do we disagree with him. Instantiations of conceptual metaphors are conceptually different from image metaphors in that they are inherently regarded as quite literal by the native speakers.

Along with conceptual metaphors, we count the conceptual manipulations effected by **image metaphors**, i.e., non-conceptual metaphors that introduce images, but we avoid counting metaphors that function to extend images further, because they do not actually establish the image in the first place.

We emphasize that the cases of the three HAO Manipulations listed above—humanization, animalization, and objectification—do not by any means exhaust all the image metaphors, conceptual metaphors, and similes of Hosea, Micah, and Amos. They do, however, represent a significant proportion of them.

In Figure 4.9.1c below, each of these three manipulations is awarded three columns, whose labels proceed from expected ease of audience processing to expected difficulty, in the speaker's assessment. If great ease is expected, we hold that the speaker will, all other factors being equal, tend to employ **Conceptual Metaphor** in the manner of uncontroversially literal language; if medium difficulty is expected, **Image Metaphor**; and if great difficulty is expected, **Simile**.

These data authorize the following observations and conclusions: Hosea, Micah, and Amos humanize **animals**, **objects**, and **abstractions** using conceptual metaphors only, never image metaphors or similes. It is objects that are humanized the most often, but animals are as well. Even abstractions are on occasion humanized (the same humanization occurs in Hos. 5.5 and 7.10; we have adduced for these two passages a conceptual metaphor, following Hermanson (1995, Section 7.5.2.4), of ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE).

Hosea

Semantic properties projected to...	Humanization			Animalization			Objectification		
	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile
<i>God</i>	<b>Many</b>	4	1	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	7	<i>None</i>	1 (?)	6
<i>Humans</i>				<i>None</i>	1 + 1(?)	4	<i>None</i>	3	17
<i>Animals</i>	3	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>						
<i>Objects</i>	7	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>			
<i>Abstractions</i>	1	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	1	<b>Many</b>	<i>None</i>	6

Micah

Semantic properties projected to...	Humanization			Animalization			Objectification		
	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile
<i>God</i>	<b>Many</b>	2	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	1	<i>None</i>
<i>Humans</i>				<i>None</i>	1	9	1 (?)	<i>None</i>	7
<i>Animals</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>						
<i>Objects</i>	5	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>			
<i>Abstractions</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<b>Many</b>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>

Amos

Semantic properties projected to...	Humanization			Animalization			Objectification		
	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile	Conceptual Metaphor	Image Metaphor	Simile
<i>God</i>	<b>Many</b>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	1
<i>Humans</i>				<i>None</i>	1	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	5
<i>Animals</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>						
<i>Objects</i>	4	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>			
<i>Abstractions</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>	<b>Many</b>	<i>None</i>	<i>None</i>

Figure 4.9.1c  
*Humanization, Animalization, and Objectification (HAO)  
in Hosea, Micah, and Amos\**

\*Bold type in various cells indicates agreement among all three books..

**We conclude that Hosea, Micah, and Amos expect no audience difficulty in processing language that humanizes animals, objects, or abstractions.**

Innumerable conceptual metaphors humanize **God**; we have identified only 4 image metaphors in Hosea that do so;<sup>14</sup> in Micah, we have identified 2,<sup>15</sup> and in Amos, none. Hosea presents one simile that humanizes God. All of the image metaphors humanizing God, however, invoke human roles: king, husband, maker, etc. That is to say, **image metaphorical** identification of God with humanity always invokes a very restricted set of human properties to be projected to him. This salient fact gives these particular instances of image metaphor the effect, in fact, of simile. **We conclude that Hosea, Micah, and Amos expect their audiences to have no trouble processing language that humanizes God, so long as restricted human properties are to be projected to him, either by conceptual metaphor or by image metaphor.**

While abstractions as well as God and humans can be **animalized**, only one animalized abstraction has been found. Similes are greatly preferred for animalization (21 cases have been identified). Four animalizing image metaphors have been noted, but no animalizing conceptual metaphors. In other words, Hosea, Micah, and Amos prefer the harder end of the Easy-Difficult Continuum for animalization. **We conclude that these prophets expect their audiences to experience difficulty in processing animalizing expressions.**

For **objectifying God** and **humans**, 36 similes have been identified. It is clear that similes are vastly preferred among all three prophets for objectifying most entities. However, in regard to the **objectification of abstractions**, we found 8 such cases in the form of similes on the one hand, and many others in the form of **conceptual metaphors** on the other. Of course, the

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<sup>14</sup> These four image metaphors in Hosea are the following:

Hos. 2.9	אֶלְכָה וְאֶשׁוּבָה אֶל-אִשִּׁי הָרִאשׁוֹן	<i>I will return to my first husband</i>
Hos. 2.18	תִּקְרָא אִשִּׁי	<i>You will call me [YHWH] 'my husband'.</i>
Hos. 2.18	וְלֹא-תִקְרָאֵנִי עוֹד בַּעֲלִי	<i>You will no more call me 'my master'.</i>
Hos. 8.14	וַיִּשְׁכַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-עֹשֶׂהוּ	<i>Israel has forgotten his maker.</i>

<sup>15</sup> These two image metaphors in Micah are the following:

Micah 1.2	וַיְהִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה בְּכֶם לְעֵד	<i>And let the Lord YHWH be a witness against them.</i>
Micah 2.13	וַיַּעֲבֹר מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וַיְהִי בְּרֹאשָׁם	<i>Their king goes on before them, and YHWH at their head.</i>

generic conceptual metaphor covering all cases of objectified abstractions is ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE. Some instantiations are given in Figure 4.9.1d below.

Hos. 7.2	עָתָה סָבְבוּם מֵעַל־לֵיהֶם	<i>Now their deeds surround them</i>
Hos. 7.2	נִגַּד פְּנֵי הָיוּ:	<i>They [their deeds] are before my face</i>
Hos. 9.8	מִשְׂטֵמָה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו:	<i>Hostility is in the house of his [the prophet's] God</i>
Hos. 12.1	סָבְבוּנִי כִכְחַשׁ אֶפְרַיִם	<i>Ephraim has surrounded me with lies</i>
Hos. 12.7	חֲסֵד וּמִשְׁפָּט שָׁמֵר	<i>Observe loyalty and love</i>
Hos. 12.9	לֹא יִמְצְאוּ לִי עֲוֹן אֲשֶׁר־חָטָא:	<i>They will not find in me any iniquity or sin</i>
Hos. 13.12	צָרוּר עֲוֹן אֶפְרַיִם	<i>The guilt of Ephraim is stored up.</i>

Figure 4.9.1d

***Instantiations in Hosea of the conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE***

We have also identified 3 cases of similes objectifying abstractions in Hosea, displayed below:

Hos. 6. 4a	וְחֲסֵדְכֶם כַּעֲנַן־בֹּקֵר	<i>Your loyalty is like the mist of morning,</i>
Hos. 6. 4b	וְכַטְל מִשְׁקִים הַלֵּךְ:	<i>and like the dew that goes away early.</i>
Hos. 7.6	כְּתֵנּוֹר לֵבָם בְּאֶרְבָּם	<i>Like a bake oven are their hearts in their intrigues.</i>

Figure 4.9.1e

***Similes objectifying abstractions in Hosea***

Some similes that would appear to objectify abstractions are actually cases of objectifying God, as displayed below:

Hos. 6.3a	כְּשֶׁחַר נִכּוֹן מוֹצֵאֵא	<i>As the dawn is sure, [so] his coming forth.</i>
Hos. 6.3b	וַיָּבֹא כַגֶּשֶׁם לָנוּ	<i>And he will come as the rain to us,</i>
Hos. 6.3c	כַּמַּלְקוֹשׁ יוֹרֵה אֶרֶץ:	<i>and like the spring rains watering the earth.</i>

Figure 4.9.1f

***Similes objectifying God***

In Hos.6.3a, *YHWH* is associated with *the sun*. In Hos. 6.3bc, he is associated with *the rain*.

It is worth considering the relationship of conceptual metaphors to image metaphors and similes. Conceptual metaphors are normally considered by native speakers to be fairly literal, as in, for example, *The price of petrol is going up*. Since conceptual metaphors are considered to fall on the literal end of the Easy-Difficult Continuum, there is virtually never any question as to whether an instantiation of a conceptual metaphor will be understood, for the construction is not even considered by native speakers to be figurative.

	INSTANTIATION		POSITED CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR
5.15	וּבִקְשׁוּ פָנַי	<i>And they will seek my face</i>	<i>FACE IS PRESENCE</i>
7.7	כָּל־מַלְכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ	<i>All their kings fell.</i>	<i>DOWN IS DESTRUCTION</i>
8.7	כִּי רִיחַ יִזְרְעוּ	<i>They sow the wind</i>	<i>WIND IS FUTILITY. MORAL BEHAVIOUR IS A PLANT</i>
10.12	זִרְעוּ לָכֶם לְצַדִּיקָה	<i>Sow for yourselves in accordance with righteousness</i>	<i>MORAL BEHAVIOUR IS A PLANT</i>
10.13	חָרַשְׁתֶּם־רָשָׁע	<i>But you have ploughed evil</i>	<i>MORAL BEHAVIOUR IS A PLANT</i>
14.5	אֲרַפֵּא מְשׁוּבָתָם	<i>I will heal their waywardness.</i>	<i>SIN IS SICKNESS</i>
7.12	אֶפְרֹשׂ עֲלֵיהֶם רְשָׁתִי	<i>I will throw my net over them.</i>	<i>GOD IS A HUMAN BEING</i>
2.20	וּכְרַתִּי לָהֶם בְּרִית בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא עִם־חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וְעִם־עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְרֶמֶשׂ הָאֲדָמָה	<i>And I will make for them a covenant in those days with the wild beasts and with the birds of the skies and the creatures of the ground.</i>	<i>ANIMALS ARE HUMANS</i>
7.10	וְעִנְיָה גְאוֹן־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּפָנָיו	<i>Israel's arrogance testifies against him</i>	<i>ABSTRACTIONS ARE HUMAN</i>

**Figure 4.9.1g**  
*Instantiations of conceptual metaphors in Hosea*

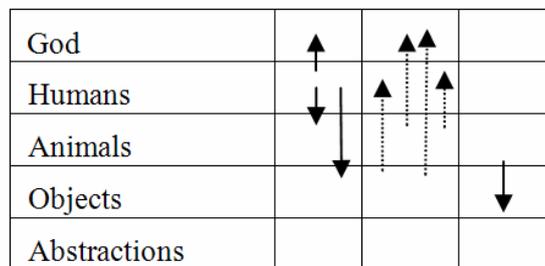
When a conceptual metaphor is elaborated, it is usually by means of a simile, as in *The price of petrol went up like a rocket*. Attempts at image metaphORIZATION of conceptual metaphors seem suspect at best, e.g., *The price of petrol went up, a rocket soaring out of sight* (?). We explain this fact by supposing that, although conceptual metaphors occur toward the literal end of the Easy-Difficult Continuum, the native speaker retains an unconscious feeling that these constructions are a bit less literal than many other expressions, and that if he is going to elaborate on a conceptual metaphor, he should use a device that signals that a large audience processing effort will be required. We find in Hosea that conceptual metaphors are indeed often elaborated on by means of simile, e.g., *He will sprout like a crocus* (Hos. 14.6), in which the conceptual metaphor MAN IS A PLANT is elaborated on with a simile.

Another connection of conceptual metaphors with similes is that they can be very readily re-expressed by means of similes, e.g., *The price of petrol was like a rocket soaring out of sight*, and in Ps. 1, *He will be like a tree planted*.... Metaphors seem much less used than similes to

re-express conceptual metaphors, e.g., *The price of petrol was a rocket soaring out of sight*, which is of doubtful acceptability.

We might schematically represent the ease and difficulty of the various conceptual leaps we have described by the following display. We note that these conceptual manipulations are executed, some with conceptual metaphors by preference, and some with similes by preference.

In Figure 4.9.1h below, the solid arrows represent ease of projection of semantic properties from the human sphere to the divine, animal and object spheres, as well as from the object sphere to the abstraction sphere. The dotted arrows represent difficulty of projection of animal and object semantic properties to the human and divine spheres.



**Figure 4.9.1h**  
*Ease and Difficulty of projecting semantic properties in Hosea’s thought*

We can draw more encompassing generalizations, as given below:

- a. Hosea, Micah, and Amos happily and easily project human semantic properties both “upward” to God and “downward” to animals and objects. We find only once case of the humanization of an abstraction, in Hos. 5.5 (repeated in Hos. 7.10), which suggests that humanization of abstractions may be just as easy for these prophets—although it is not practiced as much. **In embodiment terms**, God, animals, and objects are very readily viewed in terms of human interaction with oneself and one’s environment.
- b. These prophets also very happily and easily project object properties “downward” to abstractions. **In embodiment terms**, abstractions, with which humans cannot bodily interact, are readily viewed instead as objects, with which humans do indeed interact constantly.
- c. Hosea, Micah, and Amos project semantic properties of both objects and animals “upward” to both humans and God, but anticipate greater processing difficulty on the audience’s part. They prefer similes for this function. **In embodiment terms**, this is going “against the tide,”

contrary to the thrust of human interaction, to which we ascribe the quality, among others, of intension. For although both objects and animals may be said to “interact” with humans, their initiative is not seen on the same level. A rotten tree branch may fall on my head, but I do not attribute intension to that action, whereas my throwing that branch into a fire is full of intension. Again, we often attribute intension to animals, but this depends on the species: we think of a dog as having more intension than an insect, which is viewed as having only instinct. All this is to say that in our interaction with the environment, the bulk of intension is seen to be on our side. This is one reason that the projection of object or animal semantic properties to humans or to God is indeed “going against the tide.” Such projection can, of course, be effected—because the human mind is capable of the most extended imagination; however, it goes against the thrust of embodiment.

e. It is from the human sphere that semantic properties projected to other spheres are assumed by the speaker to be understood the easiest.

We find it reassuring to note that some preferences signaled in our study appear as we should expect them: for example, we should expect concrete entities to project semantic properties to concepts that are less concrete. We find this in human semantic properties being projected “up” to the divine sphere, and in objects projecting their semantic properties “downward” to abstractions. At the same time, we would not have necessarily predicted easier projection of human semantic properties to God than the projection of animal or object properties to God, but this is what appears. Similarly, after noting the prevalence of the projection of human semantic properties to other entities, we should have perhaps expected them to be projected as well to abstractions, but such is not the case. Only the semantic properties of **objects** are projected to abstractions in Hosea, Micah, and Amos.

Our study permits us also to note two characteristics of Hosea that put him in contrast with his contemporaries Micah and Amos. First, Hosea has 7 cases in which God is animalized, while Micah and Amos have none. Secondly, Hosea has 6 cases of objectifying God, where Micah and Amos have only one case between them.

Some of these expressions are instantiations of conceptual metaphors elaborated by means of simile, viz., *a*, *d*, and *e*. The other expressions seem to be similes based on free images.

Significantly, we find no clear cases of abstractions in Hosea, Micah, or Amos that are objectified by means of image metaphors. We conclude that abstractions in these prophets are either fairly unconsciously objectified by means of conceptual metaphors, or that they require

a considerable conceptual leap (by means of simile) in order to be put into free association with concrete images.

a	Hos. 5.10	עֲלֵיהֶם אֲשַׁפֵּן כַּמַּיִם עֲבָרְתֵי:	<i>Upon them I will pour out like water my wrath</i>
b	Hos. 6.4	וְחֶסְדְּכֶם כַּעֲנַן־בֹּקֵר	<i>Your loyalty is like the mists of morning</i>
c	Hos. 6.4	וְכַטֵּל מִשְׁקִים הַלֵּךְ:	<i>And [your loyalty is] like the dew going away early.</i>
d	Hos. 7.6	כִּי־קָרְבוּ כַּתְנֹנִיר לָבָם בְּאַרְבָּם	<i>For they approached; like an oven [were] their hearts in their ambush.</i>
e	Hos. 10.4	וַפָּרַח כְּרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תְּלֵמֵי שָׂדֵי:	<i>And justice springs up like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the fields.</i>

**Figure 4.9.1i**  
*Objectification of abstractions in Hosea by means of similes*

Hosea has one case of an apparent humanization of an abstraction—Hos. 5.5 (repeated in Hos. 7.10):

וַעֲנָה גְאוֹן־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּפָנָיו *The arrogance of Israel speaks out against him.*

By way of contrast, we find cases of objectification of abstractions in Hosea by means of similes, as displayed in Figure 4.9.1i above.

#### 4.9.2 Like categories in HAO

We also wish to examine the preferences of Hosea, Micah, and Amos when they create associations of like categories, e.g., HUMAN-HUMAN or OBJECT-OBJECT. Such associations do not occur very frequently. In Hosea we find the following OBJECT-OBJECT associations:

Hos. 9.4                      כְּלֶחֶם אוֹנִים לָהֶם *[Such sacrifices will be] like mourners' food to them.*  
Hos. 12.12                גַּם מִזְבְּחוֹתָם כַּנְּגָלִים עַל תְּלֵמֵי שָׂדֵי *Their altars will be like piles of stones in the furrows of a field.*

Hosea also gives us the following HUMAN-HUMAN associations:

Hos. 4.4                      וְעַמֶּךָ כַּמְרִיבֵי כַהֵן: *And your people are like accusers of priests.*  
Hos. 5.10                הֵיוּ שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה כַּמְסִינֵי גְבוּל *Judah's leaders are like those who move boundary markers.*  
Hos. 6.7                      וְהָמָּה כַּאֲדָם עָבְרוּ בְרִית *And they, like at Adam, transgressed the covenant.*  
Hos. 6.9                      וְכַחֲפֵי אִישׁ גְּרוּדִים חָבֵר פְּהָלִים *Like lurking bandits is the association of priests.*

We regard Hos. 6.7 above as furnishing in abbreviated manner a HUMAN-HUMAN association, since *Adam* (understood here as a place name) stands for “the inhabitants of Adam.”

Micah gives us the following HUMAN-HUMAN association:

**Micah 4.10** חוֹי וְגַחִי בַת־צִיּוֹן כַּיּוֹלֶדֶת *Writhe, daughter of Zion, like a woman in labour.*

We can class as special similes constructions that express **congruity of circumstance**, as in the following:

**Hos. 8.1** אֶל־חֲכֹךְ שֹׁפָר כַּנְּשָׂר עַל־בַּיִת יְהוָה *To your palate a trumpet, as when vultures are on top of the house of YHWH!*

**Hos. 7.12** אִסְרָם כְּשִׁמְעַ לְעֲדָתָם *I will catch them at the report of their assembling together.*

These constructions express congruity of circumstance and are, in our view, fully qualified to have their place among other expressions that others would perhaps more happily call similes.

Among these simile we can also place *day-of* similes:

**Hos. 2.17** וְעִנְתָּה שָׁמָּה כִּימֵי נְעוּרֶיךָ *And she will respond from there as in the days of her youth*

**Hos. 2.17** וּכְיוֹם עֲלֹתָהּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם *and in the days when she came up from the land of Egypt.*

**Hos. 10.14** וְכָל־מְבָצְרֶיךָ יוֹשֵׁד כְּשֵׁד שְׁלֹמֹן *And-all yourS-strongholds will-be-destroyed, as Shalman destroyed Betharbel on the day of battle.*

**Hos. 12.10** עַד אוֹשִׁיבְךָ בְּאֹהֲלַיִם כִּימֵי מוֹעֵד *I will again return you to your tents, as in the days of the appointed feasts.*

#### 4.9.3 Humanization, animalization, and objectification: further directions

Hypothesizing the BH speaker or writer's estimation of audience processing difficulty might be a catalyst for studies going in many different directions.

For example, there is the possibility that the various simile types which we have hypothesized may feature characteristics not only in the realm of simile order and InfStr preferences, but also in the realm of HAO. In Hosea, four of the five *make* similes objectify humans (Hos. 2.5c; 2.5d; 11.8c; 11.8d).

We contrast this fact with the fact that Hosea has two (ostensibly non-simile) expressions on the order of *I will turn X into Y*, or *I will make X into Y*, where both X and Y are objects, and where the preposition לְ is used.

Consider Hos 2.14:

וְשָׂמְתָם לְיַעַר *And I will turn them [vineyards] into thickets.*

And Hos. 2.17:

וְאֶת־עֵמֶק עֶכּוֹר לְפֶתַח תְּקוּנָה *And [I will make] the Valley of Achor a door of hope.*

In each of these passages, OBJECT is turned into OBJECT.

Easy Conceptual Leap	↔	Difficult Conceptual Leap
Easy selection of properties	↔	Hard selection of properties
Most likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor		Least likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor
<i>Conceptual Metaphor</i> <i>YHWH draws his bow at his enemies</i>	<i>Image Metaphor</i> <i>YHWH is a warrior.</i>	<i>Simile</i> <i>YHWH is like a moth/pus.</i>

**Figure 4.9.3a**  
*Continuum of assumed audience ease and difficulty of message processing*

Again, Micah gives us two passages (Mic. 1.6 and 6.16) of the same *I will make X into Y* structure. The former has OBJECT turned into OBJECT (*I will make Samaria into a heap of rubble of the fields*); the latter, a set of two expressions in parallel, is particularly worth displaying:

לְמַעַן תִּתִּי אֶתְךָ לְשָׂמָה	<i>Therefore I will make<sup>16</sup> you [the wicked city of Mic. 6.9] into a ruin</i>	<i>OBJECT turned into OBJECT</i>
וְיִשְׁבִּיחַ לְשִׂרְקָה	<i>And your people into derision</i>	<i>HUMANS turned into ABSTRACTION</i>

Here Mic. 6.16a features the objectification of people, and v. 16b associates an abstraction (*derision*) with the people of the city.

Amos gives four cases of OBJECT turned into OBJECT, again using the preposition לְ :

Amos 5.7	הַדּוֹפְכִים לְלַעֲנָה מְשַׁפֵּט	<i>[You who] turn justice into wormwood</i>
Amos 5.8	וְהַיּוֹדֵף לְבֹקֵר צְלִמּוֹת	<i>He who turns darkness into morning</i>
Amos 8.10	וְהַפְכֹתִי חַגֵּיכֶם לְאֵבֶל	<i>I will turn your feasts into mourning</i>

<sup>16</sup> We understand the verb נָתַן here in its sense of *to put, place*.

Another question to be explored is how concepts relating to God are manipulated. It has long been noted that YHWH is never directly called a lion by means of metaphor in BH. We are now able to situate this observation in a larger context of reasoning. Recall our continuum of assumed audience ease and difficulty of message processing, displayed in Figure 4.9.3a below.

We have already related the ease of audience processing to that of audience selection of Vehicle properties to be projected to the Tenor. If the task of selection is considered difficult by the speaker, then simile is more likely to be used. If the task is considered very easy, then conceptual metaphor is likely to be used. Image metaphor is, we hypothesize, likely to be used when the task is considered medium in difficulty. These ranges of ease to difficulty correspond to easy and difficult conceptual leaps. We have therefore added to the diagram in Figure 4.9.3a the continuum of easy selection vs. hard selection.

In the same way, we have added to the figure a continuum of assumed ease or difficulty of audience acceptance of the association of Tenor and Vehicle proposed by the speaker.

We have observed that in Hosea, Micah, and Amos, YHWH is humanized many times by both conceptual and image metaphor, and only once by simile. By contrast, he is animalized 7 times (all in Hosea), always by simile. We have already concluded that human properties are happily projected to God, with easy audience acceptance of such anticipated by the speaker; and that, on the other hand, animal properties, when they are projected to God, appear to be thought much more problematic by Hosea, since he employs similes for this purpose.

But we are able to further refine our observations and assumptions: we assume from our knowledge of BH that YHWH is readily assigned human activities by means of conceptual metaphor: he rules, judges, wages war, destroys, etc. He is also readily given human roles by means of image metaphor: *Great King, judge, warrior*, etc. But he is never—or almost never—directly depicted as human or a man by means of image metaphor of the type *\*YHWH is a man* or *\*YHWH is a strong man*. We can situate these observations and assumptions as in Figure 4.9.3b below:

As noted in the figure above, no human or animal **identity** is assigned to YHWH by means of image metaphor. We conclude, then, that the prophets Hosea, Micah, and Amos prefer not to

assign **unrestricted human semantic properties** to God. Note that human roles, assigned to God by means of image metaphor, inherently consist of restricted properties. This characteristic moves human roles towards the left of the Figure 4.9.3b by virtue of their tightly selected qualities.

Easy Conceptual Leap	←————→	Difficult Conceptual Leap
Easy selectivity of properties	←————→	Hard selectivity of properties
Most likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor	←————→	Least likely acceptance of proposed association of Vehicle with Tenor
<b>Conceptual Metaphor</b>	<b>Image Metaphor*</b>	<b>Simile</b>
<i>Human activities projected to YHWH</i>	<i>Human roles projected to YHWH</i>	<i>Animal activities projected to YHWH</i>
<i>*No human identity or animal identity is assigned to YHWH by means of image metaphor.</i>		

**Figure 4.9.3b**  
***Manipulation of concepts relating to YHWH as observed in Hosea, Micah, and Amos and as assumed in the Hebrew Bible***

In other words, we propose that YHWH is normally humanized by means of the conceptual metaphor YHWH IS HUMAN. This formulation may be offensive to some people. However, recall that while instantiations of conceptual metaphors are generally held to be quite literal language, the conceptual metaphors themselves are quite subconscious, such that the conscious mind is very often surprised when made aware of them.

We would say that much more work is called for in order to completely elucidate BH's preferences for the manipulation of concepts relating to God.

Another unknown arising in this regard is the HAO nature of scalar similes and *day-of* similes. These similes seem to add a conceptual overlay to any other image, without destroying that original image. This hypothesis should be explored further in more BH texts.

#### **4.9.4 More about audience difficulty in processing the message**

We recapitulate here our view that speakers anticipate various forms of audience difficulty in processing their message. One difficulty is a possible wide range of semantic projections from one concept to a second, associated concept. It is sometimes for this reason that a simile particle is employed to explicitly build a mental space of similitude, preparing the audience for a restriction in the number or range of the projected semantic properties.

Another difficulty arises from a clash of two different conceptualizations. This clash may occur in a series of conceptualizations also. We also find variations of this difficulty: (a) the abandoning of one image cluster for another may be effected by a simile (Hos. 8.8); and (b) image modification may be effected, changing an image from realis to irrealis (Hos. 7.7).

Yet a third difficulty is audience non-recognition of conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphors, being only implicit, cannot usually work if they are cast into the form of explicit image metaphors; in this form, they do not generally result in acceptable utterances. Similes are preferred for the task of elaborating a conceptual metaphor.

Similes tend to be preferred over metaphors for projecting weak semantic properties from one concept to another. Counter-intuitively, we say that similes therefore present, in general, more challenge for audience processing than do metaphors, because the audience must be more selective in choosing which semantic properties of the Vehicle term to access. We also say that speaker expectation of hearer processing difficulty tends to be inversely proportional to the strength of semantic property projection in similes and metaphors.

We are able now to hypothesize a fourth criterion that the BH speaker used for assessing audience processing difficulty of the message: it is likely that the animalization or objectification of God and humans would be considered to pose difficulty for the audience. In these situations, similes are therefore likely to be used instead of metaphors.

#### **4.9.5 Prototypicality and embodiment in conceptual manipulations**

In considering the HAO manipulations of personification, animalization, humanization, and objectification, we find that we can characterize them in term of prototypicality. (1) We hypothesize that it is most prototypical of the thought of Hosea, Micah, and Amos—and of that of their audience—that they should project human attributes to semantic objects: God, animals, and true objects (humanization). (2) It is most prototypical that abstractions (the semantic categories other than semantic objects) are accorded semantic properties of true objects (objectification of abstractions). (These prototypical HAO manipulations are carried out for the most part by means of conceptual metaphor.)

By contrast, it is unprototypical of these prophets' thought to project animal or true object semantic properties to God or to humans. These unprototypical manipulations are carried out for the most part by **similes**. We display in Figure 4.9.5 below the essence of these conclusions.

The projection to...	of the Semantic Properties of...	Status of the Conceptual Manipulation
God Animals True Objects	Humans	Prototypical
Abstractions	True Objects	Prototypical
God Humans	Animals or True Objects	Unprototypical

**Figure 4.9.5**  
*Prototypicality and nonprototypicality of HAO manipulations*

We also find statement (1) above to line up with our understanding of embodiment: when God, animals, and true objects are **humanized**, it is characteristics of a person’s interaction with himself and his environment that are being projected to these entities. Statement (2) does not, however, appear to be immediately explainable in terms of embodiment: why should abstractions be more readily viewed in terms of objects than in human terms? We might hypothesize there to be more psychological distance between humans and abstractions than between humans and objects, animals, and God.

#### ***4.10 Conclusion to Chapter Four***

We have covered much ground in this chapter, all of it essential preparation for our treatment of Hosea’s similes in Chapter Six. We have adopted in essence Floor’s model of InfStr, with added considerations for BH poetry. We have posited for the working purpose of analysis three simile types, based on observed features, and have awarded cognitive status to them—thus implicitly claiming that these simile types must exist on some sort of gradient of prototypicality, i.e., that “similehood” must have some properties, in relation to which certain similes are more “simile-like” than other similes.

We have also considered similes in structural relation to the surrounding text, and have considered the inner workings of similes from the standpoint of conceptual blending and simile syntax—the actual word order that is displayed in similes.

We found it desirable to consider again what interplay there may be between similes and cultural constructs, concluding that all three of our simile types engage the same cultural

constructs, and that the differences among our simile types must therefore be motivated by some inner simile logic.

We then turned to differences in patterns of conceptualization among conceptual metaphors, image metaphors, and similes, creating for our purpose the idea of HAO manipulations. We posited that various HAO manipulations tend to prefer to be effected by various figures of speech; we were able to account for the observed patterns by our audience effort processing theory, and then to characterise these patterns in terms of prototypicality in BH thought.

We are now ready, after a brief survey of the Book of Hosea in Chapter Five, to launch into an examination of Hosea's similes in Chapter Six, in order to find how well this mass of theory works out.

## Chapter Five

### A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE BOOK OF HOSEA

#### *5.1 Date and setting of Hosea*

This section will present our view of Hosea regarding both the book's historical setting and its compositional integrity. We judge these perspectives to be necessary for an appreciation of the similes of Hosea to be examined in the next chapter, and also for our particular interests in Hosea's similes.

It seems certain that the prophet Hosea worked during the reigns of the kings mentioned in the introduction (Hos. 1.1): Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, all kings of Judah; and Jeroboam II of Israel. Given that Jeroboam reigned 793–753 B.C., there is uncertainty about Hosea's exact period. If, however, one takes into account the references in Hos. 2 to economic prosperity (2.7, 10, 13–14), it may be that a period is indicated beginning with the last years of Jeroboam's reign (Stuart 1987:9; Wolff 1974:xxi) and continuing for at least a little while into Hezekiah's reign (starting in 716/15). Hosea's regular use of "Ephraim" to indicate the northern kingdom, in contrast to Amos, who never uses this term, suggests that by Hosea's time the northern kingdom was reduced to the confines of that tribe's traditional homeland, the result of civil war and depredations by the Assyrians. This scenario accords well with a proposed revision of Amos' dates from the later reign of Jeroboam II to early in the Eighth Century, since the book of Amos does not mention the Assyrians, and since the nations surrounding Israel are referred to as if they were still independent. Certainly Hos. 4–14 seems to represent a period of continuously deteriorating social, political and religious conditions, and so to fit a time approaching the fall of the northern kingdom in 722 B.C.

Wolff (1974:xxi) lists some of the political events that may well be referred to in Hos. 4–14: war between Syria and Ephraim (Hos. 5.8–11), the seizure of much territory of the northern kingdom by Tiglath-pileser III (Hos. 5.14; 7.8–9), a string of palace coups in Samaria (Hos. 7.7; 8.4), the indiscriminate search for political alliances with Egypt and Assyria (Hos. 7.11), sometimes with the payment of tribute (Hos. 8.9).

If it were possible to identify Hosea's original audiences for his oracles, we would make much progress in determining the book's setting. Unfortunately, his audience is quite indeterminate: both

the northern kingdom and Judah are addressed in the book, but, as Stuart (1987:12) remarks, this fact does not confirm any idea of the prophet's actual place of ministry.

## ***5.2 The integrity of the Book of Hosea***

Whether any or much material was added in the redaction or editing process has been much debated.<sup>1</sup> Surely a significant body of material is of the Eighth Century. There are convincing arguments for the integrity of Hos. 4–14 as a transmitted unit of text. This section shows signs of having been reworked in a very literary manner, either in the exilic or post-exilic era. Some of these signs concern the intricate discourse-level structures adduced by Wendland (1995). Ong (1982) argues that purely oral discourse is marked by much less intricate discourse structure than is written material. Even allowing for the Hebrew oral affinity for chiasm, inversion, and other rhetorical structures, it seems clear that the book of Hosea in today's form bears the heavy marks of literary working. Moreover, Eidevall (1996), while he approaches Hosea differently than Wendland, claims that there is a considerable unity of the metaphors in chs. 4–14, thus giving another argument for the integrity of this transmitted section of the book. Eidevall (1996:10) is worth quoting at this point:

...This discourse [Hos. 4–14] deserves to be read as a composition of high complexity, and not merely as a compilation of more or less disparate oracles. The individual sayings may have originated at different times and different places. On several occasions, the reader may register disconcerting inconsistencies and discontinuities. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that the oracular discourse in Hosea 4–14 presents us with a single, coherent and sophisticated work of art. The various parts are connected and interwoven by means of lexical, thematic, and metaphorical links.

As for Hos. 1–3, these chapters are characterized by the parable of Hosea's marriage to Gomer, themes of marital fidelity and infidelity, and the accusations of YHWH against Israel as an unfaithful wife. There is a kind of *inclusio* in this material: Hos. 1 narrates YHWH's instructions to Hosea and to the prophet's subsequent obedience and naming of his children as they are born. Again, Hos. 3 narrates YHWH's command that Hosea take an unfaithful woman or prostitute for a wife—this is perhaps the same Gomer, or perhaps, as Stuart (1987:64) views it, another woman. What is certain is that, as Stuart points out, this *inclusio* does not happen by accident, for some

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<sup>1</sup> Stuart (1987:14–15), for example, argues that most of the material is of the Eighth Century. Wolff (1974:xxix–xxxii) and Jeremias (1983:18–20) argue fairly similarly. Yee (1985) views the redaction process as having provided the bulk of the material.

elements in Hos. 3 depend upon elements in Hos. 2, which consists of oracular material. Andersen and Freedman (1980:122–141) demonstrate a network of recursive structures in Hos. 1–3, supporting the contention that these chapters are a literarily worked whole.

### ***5.3 The form and style of Hosea***

In this section we consider briefly some aspects of the oral and literary nature of Hosea. Did the oracular material of Hosea have an oral origin or a written origin? Stuart (1987:8) thinks that an oral origin must be assumed, although it remains unproved. It would appear likely, however, that the narrative of Hos. 1 might well have had a literary origin, as the prophet Hosea is referred to in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. The oracle of YHWH to the prophet in Hos. 1 might be the editor's summation of Hosea's prophetic hearing from YHWH in this chapter.

Stuart (1987:8) and Wendland (1995:132–142) both comment on the longstanding disagreement over the textual boundaries of many of the oracles. Stuart attributes the ambiguity to either a “skillful” or a “nonchalant” redactor or editor! But Wendland holds out more hope of reaching an informed view of the matter, presenting an array of literary devices of textual cohesion and segmenting, i.e., of textual “bonding” and “bounding.” A literary hand is also revealed in the narrative of Hos. 1, inasmuch as the references to the prophet in Hos. 1.2–3 are in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In Chapter Six we shall find upon occasion that our view of similes contributes to the debate over textual boundaries.

#### **5.3.1 Oral text forms in Hosea**

Walter Brueggemann (1968:56–90) gives a good presentation of oral prophetic forms discernable in Hosea, following for the most part the work of Claus Westermann (1967). He finds the following forms in the book:

(a) A **Speech of Judgment**, comprised of an indictment and a sentence awarded the guilty party. The indictment is best seen in Hos. 4.1–2, where its constituent elements are explicitly laid out: the imperative to hear the indictment, the identification of accused and accuser, the announcement of the hearing, a summary of the charges, and the detailed charges.

(b) An **Oracle of Promise** or **Salvation Oracle**, in which a restored covenant relationship, together with attending blessings, is foretold. This form is best seen in Hos. 14.4–7, where appear the constituent elements: the announcement of restored relationship, and the portrayal of the following blessings.

(c) A **Summons to Repentance**, comprised of imperatives to return to YHWH, thus ending the covenant disloyalty, and frequently a set of deductions. This form is best exemplified in Hos. 10.12.

We shall not explore the many details of these forms; they are found in Brueggemann (1968) and in Westermann. For our purposes, however, we should note that the expression in BH of these forms and their constituent elements follows conventional formulas, and that the legal basis of their contents is the Yahwistic covenant, with its stipulations, blessings, and curses.

### 5.3.2 Reminders of the legal process of the רִיב in Hosea

In Hos. 2.4, we find a reminder of the ancient רִיב, a form of legal proceedings against covenant breakers that was generally known throughout the ancient Near East:

רִיבוּ בְּאִמְכֶם רִיבוּ     *Accuse your mother, accuse her,*  
כִּי־הִיא לֹא אִשְׁתִּי וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא אִשָּׁה     *for she is not my wife, and I am not her husband.*

Considerable consensus, however, declines to see in Hos. 2 the process of an official רִיב lawsuit or action of judgment against the adulterous wife. Andersen and Freedman (1980:219–223), for example, point out that רִיב can denote a simple controversy or rebuke; in the case of Hos. 2.4, they see the children bidden to accuse or denounce their mother, apparently in their father's stead. Garrett (1997:75) agrees, writing:

The word is at most quasi judicial here. Hosea is not calling upon the children to testify against their mother in a trial; rather, they are to repudiate her behavior... In saying that the children must denounce their mother, Hosea is not calling on them to testify formally. He is saying that they must set themselves apart from their mother lest they suffer the same fate she does.

In contrast, Stuart (1987:45) and Wolff (1974:33) find a formal courtroom scene being enacted in Hos. 2. What is certain is that the drama between Hosea and his wife Gomer, whether it is a matter of history, parable, or history-made-parable, acquires larger dimensions as the book progresses.

In Hos. 4.1, we find the same language:

שְׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל     *Hear the word of YHWH, sons of Israel,*  
כִּי רִיב לַיהוָה עִם־יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ     *for YHWH has a rîb with the inhabitants of the land.*

And again, in Hos. 12.3:

We can compare these textual phenomena to the work of O'Brien (1990:61–62), who draws on Harvey (1967), who in turn applied the discourse form of the רִיב to Mal. 1.6–2.9; she goes beyond Harvey in concluding that the רִיב form is employed throughout the book of Malachi. Following Harvey, she lists the typical elements of the רִיב as below:

1. Preliminaries
2. The interrogation of the judge, in which the judge asks abrupt questions that expect no response;
3. The indictment, during which in historical terms the accused is charged with disobeying the stipulations of the covenant—especially with following strange gods;
4. A declaration of guilt (usually in this section, the accused is reminded that ritual acts cannot compensate for guilt);
5. Threats and condemnations, associated with the curses invoked when the covenant was made;
6. A declaration of war or an ultimatum threatening punishment if covenant violations are not redressed.

One must not, of course, imagine here the judicial arm of a government with a modern separation of powers. The typical setting for an international רִיב is a rebellious vassal hauled in before the throne of his overlord (the “Great King,” in Assyrian terms), who himself wields the powers of monarch, legislator, and judge.

Susan Niditch (1996:19 and elsewhere) speaks of “metonymic or traditional referentiality” in the biblical documents: culturally-known literary forms can often be evoked by an author by means of only partially representing the forms. Thus, although it is impossible to discern an orderly matching of the six elements given above with corresponding elements in any single locus in Hosea, one can recognize their evocation: for example, in Hos. 2.5, the **preliminaries** and the **interrogation** are missing, but the **indictment** is present, with the refinement that the “mother’s children” are told to bring charges against her (see also Wolff 1974:32). Hos. 2.5–15 essentially comprises **threats and condemnations** of YHWH against Israel, with accusations mixed in among them and **declarations of guilt**. Standard curses associated with the Yawhistic covenant are threatened, e.g., rejection by YHWH, agricultural failure, desolation, and dishonor. The pronouncement of an ultimatum is not so clear as is the unconditional pronouncement of punishment.

That Israel's prophets should evoke the **בְּרִית** does not come as a surprise to those who share the viewpoint of Brueggemann (1968:23–24); he writes that the essence of ancient Israel's cult was to express YHWH's covenant with her. The ancient Near Eastern suzerainty covenant had typical elements in a typical order (here we reproduce Brueggemann's list):

- (a) The naming of the great king, the one who grants the treaty to the lesser party, including titles and attributes which do honor to him.
- (b) The recitation of past deeds of graciousness by the king directed toward the lesser party.
- (c) The covenant stipulations in which the greater member of the treaty gives the conditions upon which the relation will exist, i.e., the obligations imposed upon the lesser member.
- (d) The oath of loyalty by the lesser member which includes an acceptance of the conditions just pronounced.
- (e) A recital of the blessings and curses which will result from honoring or dishonoring the treaty.

Similarly, the cultic liturgy of Israel reproduced these same elements, often with some variations. In Brueggemann's view, it is this political expression of her faith that enabled Israel, in her better moments, to realize that her obligation was to obey the divine will, rather than, as the surrounding nations understood it, to manipulate the deities and the cosmos. It was the work of the prophets to continually call and hold Israel to the covenant loyalty expressed in her cult, always keeping account, of course, of whatever was the current situation in the life and affairs of the nation.

### **5.3.3 The primacy of the oral or performative aspect of Hosea**

Niditch follows the inspiration of Ong in postulating a continuum stretching between complete orality in language on the one hand, to extreme literacy in language on the other. She argues strongly that it is misleading to simply speak of the Ancient Near East cultures of Hosea's time as possessing literacy; it is equally wrong to suppose that the minority of population that were literate were so in the same terms as much of 21<sup>st</sup>-Century humankind. Scribes were not nearly so much authors as they were technicians at writing or engraving phrases. Hosea's literacy was heavily weighted toward the oral pole of the continuum. Moreover, what Niditch does not clearly point out, is that reading in ancient times and well toward our modern era was almost always carried on by speaking aloud, and that writing was effected by means of dictation to a scribe. We are on very safe ground, therefore, in saying that access to the Book of Hosea, whether we are referring to the presumed primitive written *Quellen*, or to the finished literary product of a later epoch, was always on oral terms—that which Niditch calls performative.

Moreover, in relation to cultures that are more heavily weighted toward the oral pole of her continuum, Niditch ascribes to writing large functions of iconicity, symbolism, and monumentalism (Niditch 1996:58). The purpose of actually transmitting information—the goal of writing as we moderns normally envision—very often, and perhaps more often than not, ranks relatively low in such cultures. To be sure, as Niditch says, we have extant some letters from biblical times, mostly commercial or military in nature. The celebrated Siloam inscription, elegantly describing the two parties of workmen hacking away at rock as they approached each other underground, is, as she says, in fact completely monumental in nature. Hidden away in the dark tunnel, the inscription cannot have been meant to inform anyone of the engineering feat. It is instead a monument.

There are implications of this for the Book of Hosea: beginning with Torah, all the Hebrew biblical writings certainly shared characteristics of symbols, icons, and monuments; at the same time, however, they came to constitute a developing library of sacred works. We assume, therefore, that the prophetic oracles of Hosea were originally oral, performative in nature, and that this is therefore completely true of Hos. 4–14. The first three chapters, however, appear to be a mixture of oracular and written narrative material.

#### ***5.4 On the commentators used in Chapter Six***

The reason for our special attention to the previous topics in this chapter is connected to the commentators that we have chosen to primarily work with in the next. It is one thing to assume, as we do for the previously-given reasons in the former sections, the oral primacy of most of Hosea's material (and of the consequent probability of its heavy literary reworking), but it is quite another thing to assume that the current document called Hosea represents widespread textual corruption or loss.

Our view has influenced the selection of commentators to whom we most often refer in Chapter Six. From the beginning of this project, we wanted of course to extensively use the highly respected commentary of Hans Walter Wolff; an added bonus is that he brings in his views much reflection on the work of Rudolph.

Very often, however, we draw back from Wolff's many proposed textual emendations—and even more often from the wholesale emendations put forward by Andersen and Freedman (who, however, are very useful for other purposes). Every researcher must weigh his own purposes: ours center on accounting, insofar as is reasonably possible, for Hosea's similes as they exist today. None of the similes is, of course, sacred in a profane sense; indeed, in Chapter Six we advance Information Structure-based arguments for *not* viewing Hos. 6.5c (*and my judgment like light goes*

*forth*) as the simile which it is traditionally held to be. We have not, therefore, retained similes for their own sakes.

But the general thrust of our attention must be, in our view, toward accounting for similes and their distribution vis-à-vis metaphors in Hosea as fully as possible. This calls for a mostly conservative attitude toward the MT. Such an attitude we find in Mays, Stuart, and even more so in Garrett.

Garrett is especially attractive, since he is highly interested in Hosea's poetic structures. He lavishes attention on chiasms, parallelisms, and inclusios. We feel strongly that merely determining the appearance of a given poetic structure does not usually prove one's argument for any certain textual reading or chunking, for poetic structures are notoriously easy to imagine. Such structures, are, however, suggestive, and they admittedly gain force when one can show BH word order variation that seems to be motivated by them. This Garrett does not do; yet his work attracts us because of his interest in the structures.

Wendland is not a traditional commentator, but it is his work in chunking Hosea, carefully thought out on the basis of discourse considerations, that we follow as a rule of thumb. Some such guide was found to be necessary, so that we could determine practical limits for providing the textual context for each of Hosea's similes to be treated in turn. As a result, we normally situate each simile in the poetic strophe as determined by Wendland. There is no doubt that this practice is attended by a certain risk—that of “putting all eggs into one basket;” yet the alternative, that of engaging in wholesale *ad hoc* determinations of textual boundaries, was unthinkable to us.

Finally, our use of Eidevall should be explained as well. His work is an identification of metaphors, models, and themes in Hos 4–14. He has thought through many of the same textual issues that confronted us. His insistence on treating the images produced by similes exactly the same as those produced by metaphors was, in our view, exactly the right place to start, both for him and for us. We hope that our work may stand well upon his shoulders, as indeed upon those of all these commentators and specialists.

## Chapter Six

### A COGNITIVE EXAMINATION OF HOSEA'S SIMILES FOR PROTOTYPICALITY

#### 6.1 Introduction: rationale, plan, and Methodology

In this chapter, we shall apply the model and methodology presented in Chapter Four, which are in turn based on the understandings developed in Chapters Two and Three. We shall be interested in the **semantic features** in similes that point to cultural-religious schemas, cultural-religious models, cultural-religious themes, and cultural-religious exemplars. But we shall be equally interested in **syntactic features**—we mean those features relating to the forms of similes. We shall also concern ourselves with **conceptual manipulations**—how concepts are blended together, yielding results that are traditionally called figurative. Finally and crucially, we shall be interested in relating all this inquiry to means and goals of **communicative function**—this being the point that explains our deep concern with InfStr theory.

We shall treat Hosea's similes in their order of appearance in the book. Many of the similes are grouped together in discourse units; similes that occur together in the same unit—usually a poetic strophe as posited by Wendland (1995) for Hosea—will be treated in the same section.

We shall construct all sections in roughly the same way. Let us provide below a brief description of our conventions.

They begin with a display of the Masoretic Text, accompanied by a semi-literal English translation. The latter's goal is to preserve in translation the basic BH word order, to signal fairly consistently BH word affixes that may be significant for the English reader, and to signal important BH morphological information. Thus, for example, in the display of Hos. 1.9, we find:

וַיֹּאמֶר <sup>1.9</sup>	<i>He-said,</i>
קְרֹא שְׁמוֹ לֹא עַמִּי	<i>“Call his-name not my-people,</i>
כִּי אַתֶּם לֹא עַמִּי	<i>for youP (are) not my- people,</i>
וְאֲנִי לֹא-אֶהְיֶה לְכֶם:	<i>And-I (am) not ‘I-Am’ to-youP.</i>

Here v. 1.9a is rendered as *he-said*, the English signaling two morphemes in one BH word<sup>1</sup> (but this is not meant to imply that the BH word necessarily has only two morphemes). In v. 1.9b, the English *Call his-name not my-people* signals that the Hebrew has four words here. In v. 1.9c, the English *for youP (are) not my-people* again signals four words in Hebrew, with the expression *(are)* added to signal an equative expression; the pronoun *you* is plural. In v. 2.1, the BH expression םוֹיִן׃ is rendered as *will.be*, where the period is meant to separate two English morphemes necessary for rendering one BH morpheme.

When a lexicalized subject is associated with a verb, we have not felt obliged to indicate the pronoun bound to the verb. Thus, in Hos. 5.13, we gloss the verb simply as *saw*, since the lexicalized subject *Ephraim* implies the presence of the bound pronoun.

וַיֵּרָא אֶפְרַיִם אֶת־חֲלָיו<sup>13</sup> *Saw Ephraim his-sickness*

When it does not seem important to represent BH morphemes by means of a semi-literal English translation, we are happy to provide a translation in more standard English.

The display is followed by a **Preview of this section**, which is meant to whet the reader’s appetite for the argumentation to come. The preview is recapitulated at the end of the entire section with a **Conclusion**. If the reader does not care to wade through the mostly inductive argumentation that is supported by what may all too often appear to be a wearisome mass of detail drawn from commentaries and other resources, much understanding can be salvaged by skipping to the conclusion.

The Masoretic Text is presented in the displays of the similes and their surrounding text; various textual emendations proposed by commentators are displayed in boxes. Emendations and interpretations accepted by us are displayed in heavily-outlined boxes. If no such “heavy” box appears, then we mean to signal our acceptance of the MT.

We shall treat in our exposition only those emendations that appear to bear directly on our understanding of the various similes. Moreover, we do not feel obliged to propose a solution for every textual problem that appears. We will, however, propose solutions to the problems that are crucial for simile interpretation, as well as to the problems found in textual material that follows similes and that appear to depend in some way upon them.

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<sup>1</sup> We regard the *wayyiqtol* form (of which םוֹיִן׃ is an example) and *weqatal* form as expressions in which the BH *waw* was historically frozen, and consequently in which it does not signal an additive relationship; it would therefore be incorrect to translate it as *and*....

For the analysis of Hosea’s similes, the following discovery procedure shall be our general guide. For the purposes of this study, we shall consider each simile in order of its occurrence in Hosea. Similes found in the same discourse unit (usually a poetic strophe) will be treated together.

For each simile:

—We note the form and word order of the simile; is it marked or unmarked in word order and simile type?

—We note the type of simile, whether it belongs to the Major Simile Type, the *make* similes, or the Minor Simile Type.

—We note the prototypicality characteristics in the HAO scheme of interconceptual manipulation.

—We note the constituent concepts and their blending dynamics. This process may involved the producing of conceptual blending charts.

—We note the syntactic features of each simile and their production of the “interface” between simile syntax and conceptual blending dynamics.

—We note the communicative functions of the simile. These include the following functions, as presented in Section 4.3.4: provision of a macro frame, advancing incrementally the logic of the exposition, helping to mark the peak of a discourse, **and any other function arising from the simile’s role in the poetic structure.**

We shall be looking for patterns of functioning (in terms of communicative functioning and role in poetic structure) of the Major Simile Type as distinct from the functioning of the Minor Simile Type.

### 6.1.1 *The sands of the seashore, Hos. 2.1*

The first simile of Hosea begins the small textual unit of Hos. 2.1–3 (1.10–2.1 English and the LXX). It is displayed below, preceded by Hos. 1.19.

וַיֹּאמֶר	1.9	<i>He-said,</i>
קְרָא שְׁמוֹ לֹא עַמִּי		<i>“Call his-name not my-people,</i>
כִּי אַתֶּם לֹא עַמִּי		<i>for you (are) not my- people,</i>
וְאֲנִכִּי לֹא־אֶהְיֶה לָכֶם:		<i>And-I (am) not ‘I Am’ to-you.</i>
וְהָיָה מִסְפֵּר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל	2.1	<i>Will.be number-of sons-of Israel</i>
כְּחֹל הַיָּם		<i>like-sands-of the-sea,</i>
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִמָּדַד וְלֹא יִסָּפֵר		<i>which not is-measured and-not is-counted;</i>
וְהָיָה בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־יֹאמַר לָהֶם לֹא־עַמִּי אַתֶּם		<i>it will be in the place where it is said of them, ‘You are not my people,’</i>

<p>יֹאמַר לָהֶם בְּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי:  וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו<sup>2</sup>  וְשָׂמוּ לָהֶם רֹאשׁ אֶחָד  וְעָלוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ כִּי גָדוֹל יוֹם יִזְרְעֵאל:</p>	<p><i>it will be said of them, 'People of the living God.'</i>"</p> <p><i>The people of Judah and of Israel will be gathered together;</i></p> <p><i>they will put over themselves one leader;</i></p> <p><i>they will go up from the land, for great will be the day of Jezreel.</i></p>
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**Preview of this section** In this section, we shall argue that, if one cares to distinguish between simile and putative literal comparison, at least extreme caution should be used before identifying any given expression as a literal comparison, and that Hos. 2.1 is a case in point. We shall also argue that similes may exert influence upon following text other than that of a macro frame.

**Sitz im Leben** The section preceding this simile is an oracle of YHWH's judgment against the Northern Kingdom. This present section, however, contains an oracle of salvation, addressed to a nation that will be reunified and restored. Stuart (1987:37–38) estimates that Israel had perhaps 400,000 population, with 60,000 of them landowners. Judah to the south had perhaps half that population. But against the enormous might of the Assyrian Empire, these numbers were small.

**Hos. 2.1: form, markedness, and communicative function** Let us consider the information flow from Hos. 1.9 to the following textual unit begun by the next verse. In Hos. 1.9, *you* (the people of Israel are addressed here) is the Topic, and the Secondary Topic *my* refers to YHWH. The following clause switches the InfStr roles of these referents, exhibiting a pragmatic overlay of contrast at the same time. Beginning with the new textual unit in Hos. 2.1, a similar switch occurs, in which the Israelites again become the topic, which they remain for the entire unit. The display below begins with Hos. 1.9, the final verse of the preceding textual unit. However, the simile of Hos. 2.1 begins the textual unit of Hos. 2.1–2 (Wendland 1995).

This simile follows the unmarked TV simile order of *hāyāh* similes. In an InfStr view, we may expect to find the unmarked form of a topic-comment sentence (see Section 4.1.4) when the exposition advances in commenting on the same topic, as in the underlined clause:

John received the football with ease; he then ran it to score a touchdown.

In a similar vein, the textual unit of Hos. 2.1–2 begins with a simile that is cast as a Predicate Focus structure. The expression *number-of sons-of Israel* represents in our analysis the activation of a certain attribute of Israel, which was a key reference in the previous unit. The *number-of sons-of Israel* is then a marked topic in a Topic-Comment sentence. We argue below that the simile's

association of the number of Israelites with the sands of the sea is thematic for this textual unit, and that it qualifies in our analysis to be a **macro frame** (see Section 4.3.4).

We hypothesize that *The sands of the seashore* simile falls into the Minor Simile Type of **scalar similes**, which express notions of comparative number, weight, volume, etc. Noteworthy about scalar similes is their decided tendency to express grounds of comparison. Here the expressed grounds are those of limitless numbers and linear distance (see below).

**Hos. 2.1: HAO status, constituent concepts and blending dynamics**

In its surface construction, the simile of Hos. 2.1 associates an abstraction (*number*) with an object (*the sands of the sea*). As we said in Section 4.6.1, however, we apply intuition to the analysis, which leads us to conclude that it is humans (*the sons of Israel*) that are associated with the object *the sands of the sea*. The formula *X is like Y in that...* yields the result, “the sons of Israel are like the sands of the sea in that their number shall be as great.” We have also posited that simile is the preferred device for objectifying humans.

The image of sand is used most frequently in the Hebrew Bible to convey the notion of limitless, uncountable numbers (often of people) and sometimes of limitless weight, as in Job 6.3. In examining all the BH loci employing the image of sand in this context, it is striking that all except one (Hab. 1.9) include grounds in some form, usually on the order of uncountability. The other loci are: Gen. 22.17, Gen. 41.49, Josh. 11.4, Judg. 7.12, I Sam. 13.5, 2 Sam. 17.11, 1 Kings 4.20, 1 Kings 5.9, Hos. 2.1, Isa. 10.22, Isa. 48.19, Jer. 33.22, Ps. 78.27, Jer. 15.8, Ps. 139.18, Job 6.3, and Prov. 27.3. It is understandable that this simile is seen, in Stuart’s (1987:38) view, as “a cliché for innumerability.” And yet, if it were a true “cliché,” the overwhelming need to state the grounds would presumably not be felt by the writers of the Hebrew Bible. We presume that the Hebrews were felt to be unacquainted with the coastal area along the sea.

In the simile, the sense of counting people as one might attempt to count the grains of sand, suggested by the verb ספּר, seems plain enough. But what is the specific sense of מִדָּר ? For McComiskey (1992:29), it concerns imaging the number of the people of Israel in terms of “dry measure rather than linear measure for מִדָּר [measure] because its object is sand.” Yet מִדָּר is able to express linear measurement as well, as in Num. 35.5, Deut. 21.2, and 2 Sam. 8.2; the Niphal stem of the verb, which occurs in Hos. 2.1, also expresses linear measurement in Jer. 31:37. Perhaps the key to the use of מִדָּר in this passage lies in our evaluation of Eidevall’s and others’ distinction between literal comparisons and similes, as was presented in Section 4.5.

**Hos. 2.1: not just a literal comparison**

In that same section, we pointed out that if *The sands of the seashore* simile is considered in the context of the textual unit which it begins, it is easily regarded from a cognitive standpoint as projecting semantic force beyond itself, and that this force is that of a kinaesthetic image schema. To summarize from our treatment in Section 4.5, one outstanding cognitive attribute of the sands of the seashore must be their apparently limitless linear extent. It is this kinaesthetic attribute that seems contrasted by two expressions that follow:

Hos. 2.1d	בְּמִקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־	<i>in the place where</i>
Hos. 2.2	וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו	<i>the sons of Judah and the sons of Israel will be gathered together</i>

**Figure 6.1.1**  
*Exploitation of a Kinaesthetic Image Schema Projected from Hos. 2.1*

As for the first expression, Wolff (1974:27) regards it as denoting *instead of*. Stuart (1987:35) regards it as denoting a literal place, referring “to new people in locations or contexts to which God’s people did not extend in Hosea’s day.” Garrett (1997:71) is of like mind. For our purposes, this debate makes no difference to our proposal that *the sands of the seashore* projects semantic attributes beyond itself, for even a metaphorical view of בְּמִקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־ as *instead of* rests on a concrete notion of מִקוֹם *place* as the conceptual point of departure.

The expression בְּמִקוֹם אֲשֶׁר־ *instead of* or *in the place where* would offer by itself an admittedly very tenuous connection to the simile of Hos. 2.1, but when another expression (in Hos. 2.2) is also considered (see below), the semantic projection of *the sands of the seashore* becomes much more evident. We suggest that Hos. 2.2 also plays on the attribute of limitless distance, implying that, unlike the limitless *sands of the seashore*, YHWH’s people will be gathered in one place.

וְנִקְבְּצוּ בְנֵי־יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל יַחְדָּו *The people of Judah and of Israel will be gathered together*

One might object to this view, claiming that if Hos. 2.2 is *unlike* the projected attribute of *the sands of the seashore*, then we are dealing, not with a similitude, but with a *dissimilitude*. However, the mapping of corresponding semantic attributes between Input 1 and Input 2 of a conceptual blend can proceed on the basis of inverse quality as well as of the more usual positive correspondence of qualities. In other words, a metaphor or simile can project an attribute that effects a negative correspondence to another concept’s attribute just as well as a positive correspondence. In any event, we are dealing here, not with projection of a semantic attribute *within* the simile, i.e., from Vehicle to Tenor, but from the simile as a whole to elsewhere in the textual unit.

**Hos. 2.1: conclusion**

We have made a case for considering Hos. 2.1 to comprise a true simile instead of a literal comparison, and also for considering it dangerous to assume that any such figure of speech constitutes merely a literal comparison. The underlying fallacy of the literal comparison theory appears to be a failure to appreciate that conceptual blending occurs in all language, even that which is considered to be the most literal, and also that subconceptual kinaesthetic image schemas can be projected as easily as other semantic attributes of images.

We shall refrain from positing that *the sands of the seashore* represents in BH a prototypical image of uncountability or immeasurability. We do so because all instances of this image in the Hebrew Bible but one explicitly state that the sands are uncountable or immeasurable.

We will see in this chapter many instances of Hosea employing similes as a **macro frame** (introduced in Chapter Four) to introduce an extended image. Here we witness that he is just as adept in using a simile to introduce a textual unit consisting otherwise of fairly literal language. The simile's effectiveness in Hos. 2.1 lies in its ability to project, not an image, but a kinaesthetic image schema—that of LINEAR DISTANCE—beyond itself. It is remarkable that the first simile of Hosea should turn out to be rather exceptional, in that it exercises a macro frame-like function, yet without projecting a veritable image to the following text.

### 6.1.2 *Lest I place her as the day of her birth, Hos. 2.5b; and I make her like the wilderness, Hos. 2.5c; and I make her like a dry land, Hos. 2.5d*

These three similes occur in the strophe of Hos. 2.4–7, as displayed below in Figure 6.1.2. They are given together with our analysis of the conceptualizations of Israel found in the strophe, along with an ideational description of certain key clauses.

MT	Translation	Conceptualization of Israel	Ideational Description
רִיבוּ בְּאִמְכֶם רִיבוּ <sup>4</sup>	<i>Accuse P against-your P-mother, accuse</i>	WOMAN	
כִּי־הִיא לֹא אִשְׁתִּי	<i>for she (is) not my-wife</i>	WOMAN	
וְאֲנֹכִי לֹא אִישָׁהּ	<i>and-I (am) not her-husband</i>	WOMAN	
וְהִסֵּר זְנוּנֶיהָ מִפְּנֶיהָ	<i>may-she-remove her-fornications from-her-face</i>	WOMAN	
וְנִאֲפֹפֶיהָ מִבֵּין שָׁדָיהָ:	<i>and-her-adulteries from-between her-breasts.</i>	WOMAN	
פֶּן־אֶפְשֵׁטְנָה עֲרֹמָהּ <sup>5</sup>	<i>Lest I-strip-her naked</i>	WOMAN	DISENFRANCHISEMENT
וְהִצַּגְתִּיהָ כְּיוֹם הַיּוֹלָדָהּ	<i>I-place.her as-day-of her-birth</i>	WOMAN	DISENFRANCHISEMENT

וְשַׁמְתִּיהָ כַּמִּדְבָּר	<i>I-make-her as-the-wilderness</i>	REGION	DISENFRANCHISEMENT
וְשַׁתְּהָ כְּאַרְץ צָדָה	<i>I-make-her as-land dry</i>	REGION	RESTATEMENT IN TERMS OF ARIDITY
וְהַמְתִּיהָ בְּצָמָא:	<i>I-kill-her with-the-thirst</i>	WOMAN	DEATH BY THIRST
וְאֶת־בְּנֵיהָ לֹא אֲרַחֵם <sup>6</sup>	<i>And-(lest)OBJ on-her-sons I- not have.mercy,</i>	WOMAN	DEATH OF HER CHILDREN
כִּי־בָנֵי זְנוּנִים הֵמָּה:	<i>For sons-of adulteries (are) they.</i>	WOMAN	JUSTIFICATION OF THREAT
כִּי זָנְתָה אִמָּם <sup>7</sup>	<i>For has.fornicated their-mother;</i>	WOMAN	
הַבִּישָׁה הַזֹּרְתָם	<i>She-has.acted.shamefully conceiving-them,</i>	WOMAN	
כִּי אָמְרָה	<i>For she-(had??).said,</i>	WOMAN	
אֲלֶכָה אַחֲרַי מְאַהֲבֵי	<i>"I-will.go after my-lovers,</i>	WOMAN	LEGAL CLAIM TO GO TO HER LOVERS
נָתַנִּי לְחֶמְי וּמִימֵי	<i>Givers-of my-food and-my-water,</i>	WOMAN	JUSTIFICATION
צֹמְרֵי וּפְשָׁתַי	<i>My-wool and-my-linen,</i>	WOMAN	JUSTIFICATION
שִׁמְנֵי וְשִׁקְוֵי:	<i>My-oil and-my-drink."</i>	WOMAN	JUSTIFICATION

**Figure 6.1.2**  
**Conceptualization shifts in the strophe of Hos. 2.4–7**

**Preview of this section** In this section we see for the first time a simile used to associate a different Vehicle term with a discourse-active Tenor. We postulate that these dynamics of image shift work synergistically with other dynamics, that of HAO manipulations, such that the device of simile is preferred by both dynamics for expressing the figure of speech.

**Hos. 2.4–7: interpretation** This strophe presents Israel conceptualized as a woman, and place in correspondance to the unfaithful Gomer of Hos. 1. McComiskey (1992:32) sees here the children of Gomer addressed by YHWH and told to plead with the nation of Israel, their “mother,” to acknowledge his accusation against her and to give up her idolatry. Israel is to return to YHWH her “husband.” She is to give up her “lovers,” whom McComiskey and Wolff (1977:34–35) see as the pagan gods whom she has credited with providing for her needs.

**Hos. 2.4–7: HAO status, form, markedness, communicative function, and blending** This strophe has three similes; the first, that of v. 5b, can be viewed as both a Minor Simile (a *day-of* simile) and a *make* simile; the second and third are *make* similes. From the viewpoint of them all being *make* similes, we find that they all feature TV simile order, thus being consistent with the other two *make* similes to be examined later in Hos. 11.8. This fact should not weigh too heavily with us, given our very limited sampling of *make* similes.

For HAO analysis, we cite here our understanding, developed in Chapter Four, that **humanization of non-human entities** and **objectification of abstractions** both prefer to be effected by means of conceptual metaphor in Hosea, Amos, and Micah, and that the other HAO Manipulations employ simile as the unmarked device. Therefore, if the figure of speech in question does not involve either of the two manipulations referenced above, it is sufficient to label that figure of speech as [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], in order to signal that simile is the unmarked device for that Tenor-Vehicle association.

Let us then consider each of v. 5's three similes in turn:

(v. 5b) *Lest I place her as on the day of her birth* (Israel, already having been imaged as a woman, is here imaged as a female newborn child. Humanization (the imaging of Israel as a woman) has already occurred, so it does not take place here a second time. We may therefore label this figure as [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], and conclude that simile is the unmarked, preferred device for effecting this HAO manipulation.

(v. 5c) *and I make her as desolate as the wilderness* (Israel, imaged here as a woman, is being further imaged as a region, i.e., as an object). Thus, we also characterize this image as [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; again, we conclude that simile is the unmarked device for effecting this HAO manipulation of the objectification of a human.

(v. 5d) *and I make her as a dry land*. Same analysis as above.

We have postulated that for these HAO Manipulations encountered here, simile is the default device; it is used in all three of these figures of speech.

We have already remarked that Israel is conceptualized as a woman in this strophe. We add here that this is her principal conceptualization. A glance at Figure 6.1.2, however, shows another passing conceptualization of Israel, that of a region, in Hos. 2.5cd. Of this passage, McComiskey (1992:33) writes,

The nation is to become *like* an arid land in that she will be stripped of all she has. But she is to be killed by thirst, something we should expect to happen *in* an arid land. The comparison is not rigid, for there is a dynamism in the metaphor that seems to reflect a greater interest on the part of the prophet in the expression of the intensity of his emotion than in precise analogical relationships.

Our own analysis, however, offers two principled reasons for the apparent lack of McComiskey’s “analogical relationships.” The first is that Hosea tends to employ simile to make the transition from one image to another—and all the more so when the transition has the nature of an interruption. The second reason is that, as we have discussed, since Israel is in this strophe conceptualized as a woman, a further association of her with *wilderness* and *dry land* uses simile as the default HAO device for objectifying humans.

The region conceptualization certainly begins in Hos. 2.5c, and with a simile, as we have noted. If, however, we consider the simile of the previous clause (Hos. 2.5b), *and-I-place-her as-day-of-her-birth*, we find that this seems to provide a lead-in to this change in conceptualization: the simile is of the same simile type, yet of a different type; i.e., it is of the *make* simile type as the next two simile, yet, unlike them, it is a *day-of* simile—one that retains the conceptualization of Israel as a woman.

In order to effect a transition from the region conceptualization of Israel back to the woman conceptualization, Hosea is content to employ a metaphor in Hos. 2.5e. One could argue that there is a notion of bareness that is common to vv. 5abcde, that there is a connection between the concepts of the woman being stripped naked (vv. 5ab) and the state of wilderness (v. 5c). The English word “bareness” may provide a sufficiently common notion to satisfy us as English speakers, but Malul provides an approach that is, we believe, much more consonant with BH.

Malul (2002:167ff) connects in ancient Hebrew conceptualization the concept of desolate places with that of chaos, the abode of wild animals and no human inhabitants. This is the “anti-structure,” that which is against human order and civilization. The people described as thus (e.g., 2 Sam. 13.20) are

desolate, forlorn,...**disenfranchised**....cast to a position not acknowledged by the classificatory rules of structured society; she [Tamar] would be relegated to a statusless position, something typical of other outcast and disenfranchised entities,...more of a legal-social load than merely psychological.

Tamar is therefore called *šômēmâ* (*devastated*, thrust into the social anti-structure) [Malul 2002:273]. The fate of Tamar is in fact similar to that which is threatened of Israel in Hos. 2.4–7: relegated to the “anti-structure” of nations, with no god, no divine husband.

<b>Hos. 2.4–7: Elements constitutive of worldview</b>
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There is a wealth of image associations in this strophe. First of all, the strophe may be said to depend on the old Canaanite myth of the female

land being married to her god-husband, the Baal. For the land to abandon her divine husband is to forfeit all the provisions that come from him—the necessities and luxuries of life, as detailed in v. 7. To abandon her husband is to commit adultery with other, foreign, gods. Connected with this scenario is the list of rights and duties of the husband toward his wife, one of which is to clothe her. By implication, if the wife is repudiated, the husband has the right to strip her finery off her, as in v. 5.

To be reduced to nakedness *as on the day of her birth* evokes the history of Israel’s beginnings, her Exodus from Egypt and her passage through the wilderness. Her infancy, as it were, was passed in the desert, where she was miraculously kept alive by the divine provision of food and water. But of more importance is the threatened relegation of the woman Israel to the “anti-structure” of the wilderness, the place outside of any human control or society, the place of chaos, terror, and death.

Finally, there appears to be a prototypical expectation of the fate awaiting the children of the woman fornicator (v. 6). The association that comes to mind is Hagar being driven into the wilderness to die, together with her son Ishmael. Garrett (1997:79) has considerable doubts even as to the legitimate paternity of Israel’s *children of adultery* (v. 6c). It may well be that they were conceived as Israel *went after her lovers*, for in v. 7d, she says, *I will go after (אָחַרְתִּי) my lovers*. Malul (2002:174) implies a clear bid on the woman’s part to affirm a legal connection with her lovers, in using the expression *to go after*—and she claims in the following clauses that her lovers are also accepting the legality of the contract by providing for her.

**Hos. 2.4–7: conclusion** In this section we have seen two different dynamics merge in the same direction: (a) the use of simile to effect a different association of image with the referent *Israel*, achieving the interruption of one image in order to establish another, if every so briefly; and (b) the use of simile as the preferred device for the kinds of HAO Manipulations involved in these three similes.

### 6.1.3 *And she will respond there as in the days of her youth, Hos. 2.17c; and as on the day of her coming up from the land of Egypt, Hos. 2.17d*

These two Minor Type similes, in the *days-of* class, occur in parallel at the end of the strophe of Hos. 2.16–17, as displayed below, together with v. 18 of the next strophe. We note again that Minor Type similes do not usually alter an image, but rather add an image overlay. It is so in v. 17, where the conceptualization of ISRAEL AS A WOMAN is not fundamentally altered, but only elaborated.

לָכֵן הִנֵּה אֲנִי מִפְתִּיחַ 16      *Therefore behold I (am) about-to-entice-her*  
וְהִלַּכְתִּיהָ הַמִּדְבָּר      *I-will-bring-her (to) the-wilderness*

וְדַבַּרְתִּי עַל־לִבָּהּ:	<i>I-will-speak to-her-heart.</i>
וְנָתַתִּי לָהּ אֶת־כַּרְמֶיהָ מִשָּׁם <sup>17</sup>	<i>I-will-give to-her her-vineyards from-there</i>
וְאֶת־עֵמֶק עֶכּוֹר לְפֶתַח תְּקוּהָ	<i>and-Valley-of Achor for-door-of hope</i>
וְעֲנֶתָהּ שָׁמָּה כַּיָּמֵי נְעוּרֶיהָ	<i>she-will-answer there as-days-of her-youth</i>
וּכְיוֹם עֲלֹתָהּ מֵאֶרֶץ־מִצְרָיִם:	<i>and-days-of her-coming.up from-land-of Egypt.</i>
וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם־הַהוּא נְאֻם־יְהוָה <sup>18</sup> <small>New Strophe</small>	<i>It-will-be in-day the-that, oracle-of YHWH,</i>
תִּקְרָא אִישׁ	<i>youS-will-call-me my-husband</i>
וְלֹא־תִקְרָאֵי־לִי עוֹד בְּעָלָי:	<i>and-not you-will-call to-me again my-baal</i>

**Preview of this section** Here we examine behaviour typical of Minor Similes, finding that when similes elaborate already established images, it is usually Minor Similes that do so, as here. In this section, we also explore posited conceptual overlap between the BH verbs I ענה *to answer* and the Piel stem of II ענה *to oppress, humiliate*, in order to establish a conceptual connection between Hos. 2.16–17 and 2. 23–24.

**HAO status and conceptual blending** The figures of v. 17cd are characterized as [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], since no change in the essential image of Israel is being effected here; simile is therefore the default device for these conceptual manipulations.

The conceptual blending found in these similes involves an evocation of Israel’s past behaviour; if it may be said to establish a different **Imaged State of Being** for Israel (i.e., the past state of her youth), we would point out that this new Imaged State of Being is a only chronological modification of the previous one and not completely distinct. We believe that this partial difference is characteristic of Minor Similes and of the simile classes within this group. No essential change of image occurs here.

**Hos. 2.16–17: Interpretation** The significance of the wilderness looms large among commentators on this passage. For Malul (2002:189), the wilderness is the home of the “anti-structure” and chaos—whatever is outside of society’s control; it is also, curiously, the site of promised prosperity, in, e.g., Isa. 32.14ff, Ps. 107.33ff, Joel 2.22, and Ezek. 47.1ff. (Garrett 1997:89). It can be a place of sanctuary from one’s fellow man, and a place of encountering God. Indeed, in this passage the Valley of Achor, the wilderness scene of Achan’s punishment, is transformed into good for Israel.

Wolff (1977:43) sees in v. 17c the verb *answer* followed by the adverb *there* as implying motion and a “following after” YHWH. Malul (2000:189–190), however, adduces for I ענה *to answer* a nuance of control, assuming a semantic connection between the verbs I ענה and the Piel stem (ענה)

of II ענה, all the while admitting that the lexicons assume the two distinct roots I ענה and II ענה. The latter root, the Qal stem of which is glossed by BK as *to be wretched, emaciated; to cringe,...to be crouched, hunched up, wretched, suffering*, is glossed in its Piel stem as *to oppress; to humiliate (a woman by an enforced marriage); to do violence to (i.e., to violate)*. Malul writes,

Despite the common view that these verbs are not related, the very semantic relation between the fields of speech and sex on the one hand, and between the latter and the field of knowledge on the other suggest that the tying together of *‘ānâ* and *‘innâ* might not be far-fetched after all. Also, one should not ignore the fact that a few more verbs of speech also connote the concept of control. Finally, there seems to be some occurrences of *‘ānâ* itself which might connote the meaning of control, even in the legal sense, in which case the suggested connection of *‘ānâ* and *‘innâ* might be strengthened. Note first the syntagm *‘ānâ b<sup>e</sup>* in the following verses: Gen. 30:33; 1 Sam. 12:3; 2 Sam. 1:16; Isa. 3:9; 59:12; Jer. 14:7; Mic. 6:3; Job 15:6... Note, finally, the interesting context in Eccl. 1:13; 3:10 where *‘ānâ b<sup>e</sup>* seems to connote the idea of to be occupied with something, and thus to keep it all the time in one’s mind—in one’s control!

The implications for Hos. 2.16–25 are as follows: in v. 17, Israel is said to *respond* to YHWH. We suggest that here I ענה should be understood, following Wolff, as accepting and following after YHWH, keeping in mind Malul’s insight that “following after” often connotes a legal claim—here, that Israel is legally accepting the overture of YHWH to her, that she should once again become his wife.

The occurrences of I ענה in Hos. 2.23–25 are very supportive of Malul’s position regarding the conceptual underpinnings of this verb. In this passage there is certainly the notion of a chain of control: YHWH controls the heavens, the heavens, by sending their rain, control what grows on the earth, and the earth “controls,” i.e., yields, her produce. The produce “controls” what happens to Jezreel by enabling the return of that city’s population from its Assyrian exile (thus we interpret Wolff 1977:54). The cryptic v. 25a is seen by Wolff as a restatement of the previous clause: YHWH will sow again the people of Jezreel in the land.

Malul advances the possibility that in Hos. 2.23–25 there is a resumption of the old Canaanite myth of the male divinity impregnating the female earth (see also Hos. 14.9, where I ענה is found in association with Ephraim’s fruitfulness coming from YHWH).

**Hos. 2.16–17: HAO status, form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

The two similes of v. 17 relate the already established image of ISRAEL AS WOMAN to previous chronology, but still with Israel pictured as a woman. The conceptual manipulation is [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; the default manipulation device is therefore simile.

**Hos. 2.16–18: Conclusion**

This section features two Minor Similes elaborating on an established image (ISRAEL AS A WOMAN), an unusual employment for any simile at all; if, however, we find a simile with this function, as in this passage, it is reasonable that it should be a Minor Simile, since such similes prefer not to establish images for further elaboration.

#### 6.1.4 Go love a woman..., as YHWH has loved the sons of Israel, Hos. 3.1

The simile of Hos. 3.1 occurs virtually paragraph-initially in a paragraph comprised of Hos. 3.1–3, as displayed below.

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי <sup>1</sup>	Said YHWH to-me again,
עוֹד לִךְ אֶהְבֵּ-אִשָּׁה אֲהַבְתָּ רַע וּמִנְאֻפֹת	“Go love-woman, lover-of another and-adulteress
כְּאֲהַבְתָּ יְהוָה אֶת-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	As-to-love-of YHWH OBJ-sons-of Israel.
וְהֵם פְּנִים אֵל-אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים	Although-they (are) ones-turning to-gods other
וְאֲהָבֵי אֲשֵׁי עֵנָבִים:	And-lovers-of cakes-of raisins.”
וְאֶכְרַתָּ לִי בַחֲמֹשֶׁה עָשָׂר כֶּסֶף <sup>2</sup>	So-I-bought-her for-myself for-five ten silver
וְחֹמֶר שְׂעָרִים וְלֶתֶד שְׂעָרִים:	and homer-of barley and lethek-of barley.
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלֶיהָ יָמִים רַבִּים תִּשְׁבִּי לִי <sup>3</sup>	I-said to-her, “Many days you-will.stay/wait for me;
לֹא תִזְנִי וְלֹא תִהְיִי לְאִישׁ	you-will not be a prostitute and you will not be with a man,
וְגַם-אֲנִי אֶלְיָךְ:	and-also I with-you.”

**Preview of this section**

We find in this section a congruity of circumstance simile, a variety of Minor Simile. As such, if it presents an Imaged State of Being, it is one that is at best ambiguous and complex, not an image destined for further metaphorical elaboration; it does, however, create a certain logic for the rest of vv. 1–3.

**HAO status, markedness, communicative function, and conceptual blending**

The figure of v. 1bc is [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; simile is therefore the preferred device for conceptual manipulation.

We class this figure as a Minor Simile expressing **congruity of circumstance** between YHWH’s love for Israel and Hosea’s love for his wife. It establishes no concise and easily grasped Imaged

State of Being—or at best offers a variety of possibilities for different Imaged States of Being; instead, a certain logic is established for the rest of the strophe.

Although the simile particle in v. 1 could well be regarded as signaling no true simile at all, but rather as introducing a literal similarity, let us, however, for the sake of argument treat this congruity as a simile. We note then that there is default TV simile order; moreover, that the Vehicle (*as YHWH loves the sons of Israel*) receives an extended elaboration in vv. 1de. Verses 2–3 could be considered further elaboration in narrative form. Verse 3a, **יָמִים רַבִּים תִּשְׁבֵּי לִי**, is construed by McComiskey (1992:53) as an imperative to Gomer that she will belong to Hosea in the full status of a wife but without full privileges. Stuart (1987:65–66) adds that the sense, in spite of textual problems, must be that Hosea intends not to have marital relations with her: his wife will have a lengthy time of probation and restriction for her own good. Her past as a prostitute is now terminated.

Given this interpretation, v. 1b’s injunction from YHWH to Hosea to love this woman must imply that **אָהַב** *to love* exhibits here a very heavy weight of covenantal loyalty and faithfulness, and very little romantic attachment. In fact, it is this sense of covenantal loyalty and faithfulness that is exhibited when **אָהַב** functions as a technical term in ANE political terminology.

**Hos. 3.1–3: conclusion** We find here a Major Simile that is less than typical for its type, in that it does not present a clear Imaged State of Being; neither does it establish an image for further metaphorical elaboration. It does, however, establish a logic for the rest of the discourse section; in this respect, this simile acts true to its Major Simile Type.

**6.1.5 Your people are like accusers of the priesthood, Hos. 4.4c; As their multiplication, so they sinned against me, Hos. 4.7; Like people like priests, Hos. 4.9**

These three similes fall in Wendland’s strophes of Hos. 4.4–6 and 4.7–10, as displayed below, together with the preceding strophe of Hos. 4.1–3.<sup>2</sup>

<p>שָׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל          כִּי רִיב לִיהוָה עִם־יוֹשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ</p>	<p><sup>1</sup> (New Strophe)          HearP word-of YHWH, sons-of Israel,          for dispute (is) to-YHWH with inhabitants-of the-          land.</p>
<p>כִּי אֵין־אֱמֶת וְאֵין־חֶסֶד          וְאֵין־דַּעַת אֱלֹהִים בְּאֶרֶץ:          אֲלֹהִים וְכַחַשׁ וְרָצַח וְנָגַב וְנָאֵף פְּרִצִי [בְּאֶרֶץ]:<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>For there.is.no honesty and-there.is.no loyalty          and-there.is.no acknowledge-of God in-the-land.          False.swearing and lying and murder and          stealing and adultery have.erupted (in the land),</p>

<sup>2</sup> We begin here our convention of inserting into boxes selected textual emendations proposed by various commentators, and into heavily-outlined boxes emendations and interpretations adopted by ourselves.

וְדָמִים בְּדָמִים נִגְעוּ: *and bloodshed upon-bloodshed follows.*  
 עַל־כֵּן הִתְאַבֵּל הָאָרֶץ <sup>3</sup> *Therefore shall.dry.up the-land,*  
 וְאָמְלַל כָּל־יֹשֵׁב בָּהּ *And withered every inhabitant in-her.*  
 בַּחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְגַם־דְּגַי תֵּימִם יֵאָסְפוּ: *With-beast(s)-of the-field and-with-bird(s)-of the-skies; and-even fish(es)-of the-sea they-shall.be.swept.away.*

אֵךְ אִישׁ אֶל־יָרֵב <sup>4a</sup> (New Strophe) *INTENS man not let-accuse (another)*

אֵךְ אִישׁ אֶל־יָרֵב	Wolff	<i>Let not a man be accused,</i>
אֵךְ אִישׁ אֶל יָרֵב	Stuart	<i>Surely God has an accusation against a particular person</i>

וְאַל־יֹכַח אִישׁ <sup>4b</sup> *and-not-reprove man (another)*

וְאַל־יֹכַח אִישׁ	Wolff	<i>And let not a man be reproved.</i>
וְאַל יֹכַח אִישׁ	Stuart	<i>God intends to reprove an individual.</i>

וְעַמְּךָ כַּמְרִיבֵי כֹהֵן: <sup>4c</sup> *and-your-people (are) like-accusers-of priest*

וְעַמְּךָ רִיבֵי כֹהֵן	Wolff	<i>But with-you (is) my-dispute, O priest.</i>
וְעַמְּךָ כִּימֵה רִיבֵי כֹהֵן	Stuart	<i>And-with-you, yes you!, my-dispute, priest.</i>

Our interpretation of v. 4c: the people are so like those who accuse the priests, so that they themselves may be said to accuse them (*kaph-veritatis*).

Our interpretation: of v. 4: the common people should not blame each other for the nation's plight, but instead the priests, for it is them that God accuses.

וְכַשְׁלַת הַיּוֹם <sup>5a</sup> *youS-stumble the-day*

וְכַשְׁל גַּם־נְבִיא עַמְּךָ לַיְלָה <sup>5b</sup> *stumbles also-prophet with-youS night*

[Omits] Wolff Omits as redactor's gloss

וְדָמִיתִי אִמְךָ: <sup>5c</sup> *I-will-destroy yourS-mother*

וְנִדְמִיתָ אִמְךָ <sup>Wolff</sup> *Shall.perish your-mother*

נִדְמִו עַמִּי מִבְּלִי הַדַּעַת <sup>6</sup> *Are-destroyed my-people from-lack-of knowledge.*

כִּי־אַתָּה הִדַּעַת מְאֹסָתָּ *Because-youS the-knowledge youS-rejected,*

וְאִמְאַסְתָּ מִכִּתְּנֵי לִי *I-have-rejected-youS from-being.priest to-me.*

וַתִּשְׁכַּח תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ *and-youS-forgot instruction-of yourS-God*

אֲשַׁכַּח בְּנֵיךָ גַם־אֲנִי: *I-will-forget yourS-sons also-I*

כָּרְבָם בֵּן חַטָּאוֹ לִי <sup>7</sup> (New Strophe) *As-their-multiplication, so they-sinned against-me*

כְּבוֹדָם בְּקָלוֹן אָמִיר: *their-glory for-dishonour they-have.exchanged*

כְּבוֹדִי בְּקָלוֹן הִמִּירוּ	<i>My-glory for-dishonour they-have.exchanged</i>
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We emend from Tiqqune Sopherim

חַטָּאת עַמִּי יֹאכְלוּ <sup>8</sup> *Sin-of my-people they-eat*

<i>My people feed on</i>	McComiskey
<i>sin</i>	

<i>The priests feed on</i>	Wolff
<i>the sins of my people</i>	

וְאַל־עֹנָם יִשְׂאוּ נַפְשׁוֹ: *and-to their-guilt they-lift.up (their)-soul*

נַפְשָׁם<sup>Wolff</sup> *Their soul*

We also adopt this change also.

וְהָיָה כָּעַם כְּכֹהֵן<sup>9</sup> *and-will-be like-the-people like-the priesthood*  
HINGE

וּפְקַדְתִּי עָלָיו דְּרָכָיו *I-will-punish upon-him his-ways*

וּמַעַלְלָיו אָשִׁיב לּוֹ: *and-his-deeds I-will-repay to-him*

וְאָכְלוּ<sup>10</sup> *they-will.eat*

וְלֹא יִשְׂבְּעוּ *and-not be.satisfied.*

הִזְנוּ *They-will.fornicate*

וְלֹא יִפְרְצוּ *but-they-will- not –increase,*

כִּי־אֶת־יְהוָה עָזְבוּ *For OBJ-YHWH they-have.abandoned.*

#### Preview of this section

In our quest to adapt to BH poetry Floor's InfStr model of narrative BH, we propose a scheme of double fronting, in which the first fronted element is a verbal argument in focus, and the second is a Theme Frame. We shall also note kinaesthetic image schemas occurring in a regular block pattern. We shall employ InfStr principles in an attempt to evaluate an emendation of v. 4a, and we shall propose **evaluation** as another possible function of Sentence Focus.

These verses begin the great second section of Hosea (4.1–14.10), starting with the proclamation formula in Hos. 4.1a. The simile of v. 4c (*and your people are like the accusers of priests*) is a Major Simile, that of v. 7a is a Minor scalar simile (*as they multiplied, so they sinned against me*), and that of v. 9a (*and it shall be like people, like priesthood*) is a Minor coordinative simile.

#### Hos. 4.4: text

Verse 4 is unclear. The literal reading *let not one accuse, let not one reprove* is obscure. Verse 4c, however, clearly seems to focus on the priesthood or perhaps on one certain priest. Wolff (1974:70) revocalizes the MT verbs of v. 4a and v. 4b respectively to read *יִרָב* *be accused* and *יִכָּח* *be reproved*. He also does away with the simile of v. 4c, emending to read, *וְעַמִּי* *but with you (is) my dispute, priest*. This emendation leads nicely into v. 5, since here it is the priesthood, as Wolff says, that seems to be addressed. However, he leaves unresolved how the extra consonants *כמ* became added to the text. The LXX retains the simile.

Stuart (1987:70) prefers to emend the two instances of the negative particle *אֵל* in vv. 4a and 4b to *אֱלֹהִים* *God*, yielding the sense, *Surely God has an accusation against a particular person; God intends to reprove an individual*. In v. 4c, he reaches essentially the same interpretation as does Wolff, but he retains the troublesome consonants *כמ* by revocalizing v. 4b to *וְעַמִּי כִימָה רִיבִי כִהֵן* *but with you EMPH (is) my dispute, priest*. However, he is obliged to add a *י* and a *ה*. (See Kuhnigk 1974:30–31.)

An InfStr view of Stuart's emendation shows a rather bizarre situation. In focus in v. 4a would have to be the argument  $\text{וְיָסֵד}$  *a certain person*, which Stuart understands as representing collectively the entire priesthood. But *God* is also fronted in respect to the verb, a fact which would go unaccounted for. Verse 4b would then present *God* as an argument in focus, fronted before the verb. But *God* would in no sense provide in v. 4b any new information. Besides, Floor accepts double fronting only when the first fronted element is topical and the second a focus element—a situation that definitely would not obtain here, where the second fronted element (*God*) would be topical. We conclude that Stuart's proposed emendation presents an impossible InfStr situation and that it should therefore be declined.

Regarding proposed emendations of this passage in general, it is a problem for them that no ancient versions suggest that any emendation at all. In this light, McComiskey, Garrett and Mays each proposes an understanding of the MT of v. 4 as it stands.

McComiskey (1992:60) proposes the following interpretation: *Let no one contend (against YHWH's accusations), and let no one dispute (him). Your people (in that they dispute with God) are like those who dispute with a priest*, whereas everyone was warned (Deut. 17.8–13) to comply with the decisions made by priests and judges. Verses 5abc then pronounce God's coming punishment.

Our quarrel with McComiskey's interpretation is that it presumes too much implicit information: it is too much to assume that *God* is implicitly understood here. Moreover, McComiskey's interpretation does not lead at all into the notion of God disputing with the priesthood in v. 5.

Similar to McComiskey, Mays (1969:66) views the prophet as trying to ward off popular criticism against himself, since the true complainant in this case is YHWH: *let no one dispute with me (Hosea)*. Our objection here proceeds on the same lines: understanding the prophet here is too conjectural.

Garrett views the MT as discouraging the people from blaming each other for the sorry condition of the nation, because YHWH's real complaint is in fact with the priests.

We prefer Garrett's view. Our reason is that vv. 1–3 describe the moral condition of the people in general; we see Hosea as introducing in v. 4 an unexpected development in his injunction to the people not to blame themselves, for he goes on in v. 5 to levy a still more serious charge—that the people are accusing (and correctly so) the priesthood itself for the nation's plight.

Mays says that v. 5's address to the priests makes it likely that v. 4c should read, *My complaint is against you, O priest*, similar to Wolff's and Stuart's emendation, thus obviating the apparent simile

in v. 4c. But Garrett (1997:116) retains the simile, viewing it, although he does not say so explicitly, as a result of the so-called *kaph-veritatis*: *Your people are exactly congruent with those who bring accusations against their own priesthood, i.e., your people are accusing their own priests of having led them astray.* The *kaph-veritatis*, the use of which may from time to time in our opinion be recognized, denotes what we may call an extreme congruency between Tenor and Vehicle, so much so that referential identity between them is achieved.<sup>3</sup> We believe v. 4c to be such a case: the people are in fact accusing their own priests, as Hos. 4.6–9 bears out. Garrett (1997:116–117) remarks, “This interpretation agrees with what we have already seen in Hosea, that the culture and institutions [including the priesthood] of Israel (metaphorically, the mother) are the greatest impediment to spiritual integrity in the people (metaphorically, the children).”

**Hos. 4.7–8: interpretation** One’s reading of vv. 4–5 affects that of vv. 7–8. For commentators such as Wolff, v. 7, displayed below, refers to the priests; for McComiskey, it refers to the people at large.

כְּרַבְּם כִּן חֲטָאוּ-לִי <sup>7</sup> *as-their-multiplication, so they-sinned  
against-me*  
: כְּבוֹדָם בְּקִלְוֹן אָמִיר *their-glory for-dishonour I-will.exchange*

Similarly, in Hos. 4.8a:

חֲטָאת עַמִּי יֹאכְלוּ <sup>8</sup> *sin-of my-people they-eat*

McComiskey takes *my people* as the subject of the verb, but does not actually specify the meaning he finds in the phrase *My people feed on sin*. Wolff (1974:81), on the other hand, understands the priests to be the implied subject: *(the priests) feed on the sin of my people*, meaning that the priests yearn for the people to sin, because increased sin means more animal offerings for sins, portions of which go to the priests. The expression *the sin of my people* could also have the secondary sense of sin offerings, Wolff allows.

We maintain that v. 4c references the Priesthood, and that vv. 5a–6e are addressed to that metaphorical individual who stands for the Institution of the Priesthood. The referent of *your mother* (v. 5c) is the Nation, its culture, and its institutions. Verse 6b constitutes the strongest

<sup>3</sup> Although Gesenius (1910: § 118x) does not accept the *kaph-veritatis* use of the BH preposition כִּן, it is spoken of in Waltke and O’Connor (1990:Section 11.2.9b) where Neh 7.2 is cited in this regard: כִּי־הוּא כֹּאִישׁ אֱמֶת *for he is in every way an honest guy*. In Joüon-Muraoka (1991:490), the existence of the *kaph-veritatis* is assumed, again in connection with this same passage: a “nuance of equality” is here attributed to כִּן. It should come as no surprise that a particle indicating congruence should be employed over a whole range of congruence, from small to very great, and going on to what amounts to complete identity between Tenor and Vehicle.

possible indictment of the Priesthood for having led the people astray. Verse 6c, in this interpretation, amounts to an entire rejection of the institution of the Priesthood—a rejection that turns out to be not at all metaphorical, for after the destruction of the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C., and then during the 70-year exile of the Southern Kingdom, there was no functioning priesthood that we know of. The term *your sons* (v. 6e) refers to all the individual priests, the “sons” of the institution of the Priesthood. This is evident in v. 7a, where the Priesthood cannot be said to *multiply*, but the priests do (in the plural number of the verb). The Priesthood cannot be said to *eat the sins of my people* (v. 8a), but the priests (again in the plural number) can be said to do so. Once again, in v. 9, the subject reverts to the Priesthood, and again in the singular number. The resumption of the plural number in v. 10 indicates reference to the individual priests, the *sons of the priesthood*.

**Hos. 4.1–10: InfStr** Let us make a note on the InfStr of v. 6b: we hypothesize that *knowledge*, fronted to the verb, is a newly-introduced Theme Frame, and that *you*, fronted before both *knowledge* and the verb, is an argument in focus. In Section 6.1.12 to come, we shall have occasion to posit the same combination of Theme Frame and argument focus. To preview that argument, we display here Hos. 6.7:

וְהִמָּה פָאָדָם עֲבָרוּ בְרִית *And-they like-(at)Adam transgressed covenant*

As in Hos. 4.6b, in Hos. 6.7 there is an argument in focus (וְהִמָּה *they*) fronted before the simile Vehicle term, which functions as a Theme Frame for at least the rest of that verse and perhaps for Hos. 6.8-9 as well.

We propose that v. 4.7b, displayed in English here, is a case of Sentence Focus functioning as evaluation of the preceding colon. We shall meet other cases of this proposed use of Sentence Focus.

<sup>4.7a</sup> *As-their-multiplication, so they-sinned against-me*

<sup>7b</sup> *their-glory for-dishonour they-have.exchanged*

**Hos. 4.1–10: form, markedness, communicative function, blending, and kinaesthetic image schemas**

It is instructive to note that after the simile and its grounds, there is launched a progression of kinaesthetic image schemas featuring what we take to be a downward direction and motion away from. We find that the first four clauses feature a schema of MOTION DOWN, followed by four clauses featuring a MOTION AWAY from schema, as is displayed in Figure 6.1.5c below.

וְכָשַׁלְתָּ הַיּוֹם <sup>5</sup>	<i>youS-stumble the-day</i>	MOTION DOWN
וְכָשַׁל גַּם-נְבִיא עִמָּךָ לַיְלָה	<i>stumbles also-prophet with-youS night,</i>	MOTION DOWN
וְדָמִיתִי אֶמֶךָ :	<i>I-will-destroy yourS-mother.</i>	FORCEFUL MOTION DOWN
נִדְמָו עַמִּי מִבְּלִי הַדַּעַת <sup>6</sup>	<i>Are.destroyed my-people from-lack-of knowledge</i>	FORCEFUL MOTION DOWN
כִּי-אַתָּה הַדַּעַת מָאַסְתָּ	<i>for-youS the-knowledge youS-rejected,</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
וְאֶמְאַסְאֶךָ מִכֹּהֵן לִי	<i>I-have-rejected-youS from-priest to-me</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
וַתִּשְׁכַּח תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֶיךָ	<i>youS-forgot instruction-of yourS-God</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM
אֲשַׁכַּח בְּנֵיךָ גַם-אֲנִי :	<i>I-will-forget youR-sons also-I.</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM

Figure 6.1.5c  
Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Hos. 4.5–6

That kinaesthetic image schemas should fall into such a pattern is a revelation of the cognitive power they can exert, for it was undoubtedly purely subconsciously that the prophet arranged them thus.

<b>Hos. 4.1–10: HAO status and the discourse use of the similes</b>	<p>The first simile, a Major Simile (<i>and your people are like the accusers of priests</i>, v. 4c), effectively introduces the second strophe and the accusations against the priesthood and the priests, the “sons of the priesthood.” We take this function, incidentally, as a good indication that this simile employs the <i>kaph-veritatis</i>, for with this simile the addressee changes from the nation’s people to the priesthood. Since this Tenor-Vehicle association is [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], simile is the default device for it. At the same time, the sentence is a topic-comment construction, with עַמֶּיךָ <i>your people</i> as the presupposed Topic.</p>
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כָּרְבָם כִּן חֲטָאוּ-לִי <sup>7</sup>	MULTIPLICATION	<i>a</i>	<i>As-their-multiplication, so they-sinned against-me</i> כְּבוֹדִי בְּקִלּוֹן אָמִיר : <i>their-glory for-dishonour they-have.exchanged</i>
כְּבוֹדִי בְּקִלּוֹן הַמִּירוֹ <i>My-glory for-dishonour they-have.exchanged</i> We emend from Tiqqune Sopherim			
חֲטָאת עַמִּי יֹאכְלוּ <sup>8</sup>	EATING	<i>b</i>	Sin-of my-people they-eat My people feed on sin <span style="float: right; font-size: small;">McComiskey</span> The priests feed on the sins of my people <span style="float: right; font-size: small;">Wolff</span> וְאֶל-עֹנֶם יִשְׂאוּ נַפְשׁוֹ : <i>and-to their-guilt they-lift.up (their)-soul</i>
נַפְשָׁם <sup>Wolff</sup> <i>Their soul</i> Our interpretation: we adopt this change also.			
וְהָיָה כָעָם כְּכֹהֵן <sup>9</sup>	CHIASTIC HINGE	<i>Will-be like-the-people like-the priesthood</i>	

			<i>HINGE</i>
		וּפְקַדְתִּי עָלָיו דְּרָכָיו וּבְמַעֲלָיו אָשִׁיב לוֹ:	<i>-I-will-punish upon-him his-ways and-his-deeds I-will-repay to-him</i>
וְאָכְלוּ <sup>10</sup>	EATING	b'	<i>they-will.eat</i>
		וְלֹא יִשְׂבְּעוּ	<i>And-not be.satisfied.</i>
וְהִנֵּי	MULTIPLICATION	a'	<i>They-will.fornicate</i>
		וְלֹא יִפְרְצוּ	<i>but-they-will- not -increase,</i>
כִּי־אֶת־יְהוָה עָזְבוּ	OUTSIDE THE CHIASM AND PROMINENT		<i>For OBJ-YHWH they-have.abandoned.</i>

**Figure 6.1.5d**  
***Ideational chiasm in Hos. 4.7–10***

The second simile (*as their multiplication, so they sinned against me*, v. 7a) is a Minor scalar simile, with fronted Vehicle term, indicating that the Vehicle argument is in focus, and the Tenor is presupposed. This simile, in a manner typical of Minor Similes, exhibits no Imaged State of Being. Introducing the strophe of vv. 7–10, it begins an ideational chiasm, one based on semantic notions, that spans the strophe, as is displayed below.

The simile of v. 9a (*and-will-be like-the-people like-the priesthood*) is the hinge of this chiasm. We call this simile **coordinative**, in that, strictly speaking, it consists of two Vehicle terms and no Tenor term. The effect is to suggest that whatever happens (the impersonal וְהָיָה *it will be*) to one will happen to the other.

All three of these similes are employed in place that are very strategic: the effective beginning of the second strophe, the beginning of an ideational chiasm, and the hinge of that same chiasm.

**Hos. 4.1–10: conclusion** In this section we have made several points: (a) we have hypothesized that a Theme Frame in BH may occur as the second of two fronted elements, the first being a verbal argument in focus. One pertinent passage is v. 6b (*for-youS the-knowledge youS-rejected*), where we take *you* to be the focal argument, and *the knowledge*, also fronted, serves to set the focal Theme Frame for vv. 6cde. A second pertinent passage is Hos. 6.7. (b) We have identified regular patterning of kinaesthetic image schemas in vv. 4–5, such that they fall into blocks. (c) We have employed InfStr principles to evaluate a proposed emendation, in this case, proposed by Stuart for Hos. 4.4a. (d) Finally, we have proposed a possible function of Sentence Focus structures to be evaluation, as in Hos. 4.7b.

**6.1.6 *For as a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn, Hos. 4.16a; now can YHWH pasture them like a lamb in a broad pasture?, Hos. 4.16b***

These similes occur in Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 4.15–19, as displayed below.

אם־זנה אתה ישראל	<i>If-committing-adultery youS, Israel</i>
אל־יאשם יהודה	<i>not-let-become-guilty Judah</i>
ואל־תבאוי הגלגל	<i>and-not let-youP-go (to) Gilgal</i>
ואל־תעלוי בית און	<i>and-not youP-go-up (to) Beth Aven.</i>
ואל־תשבועו חי־יהוה:	<i>and-not youP-swear (by) living YHWH</i>
16 כי כפורה סררה סרה ישראל	<i>Indeed/for as-heifer stubborn is-stubborn Israel</i>
עתה ירעם יהוה ככבש במרחב:	<i>Now can-pasture-them YHWH as-lamb in-broad.expanse?</i>
17 חבור עצבים אפרים	<i>Is.joined.to idols Ephraim.</i>
	Garrett <i>Ephraim is entranced by idols.</i>
תנח־לו:	<i>Leave-him-alone.</i>
18 סר סבאם	<i>(After) is.gone their-drink</i>
תזנה הזנ	<i>certainly they-commit-prostitution</i>
אהבו־הבו קלון מגניה:	<i>They-love—give disgrace!—her- shields.</i>
19 צרר רוח אותה בכנפיה	<i>Has-bound wind her with-her-wings.</i>
ויבשו מזבחותם:	<i>Will.be.ashamed their-sacrifices.</i>

**Preview of this section** In this section we shall note how different preferences involving the employment of similes (preferences regarding HAO status and regarding devices to shift images) yield converging results. We shall also discuss the status of sexually loaded covenantal language, in connection with two models: ISRAEL AS THE WIFE OF YHWH and ISRAEL AS THE VASSAL OF YHWH THE OVERLORD. Finally, we shall note how a single simile can comprise two distinct HAO manipulations, in this case animalization of humans and humanization of God.

**Hos. 4.15–19: interpretation** This passage has had innumerable attempts at interpretation, usually including proposals for textual emendation. Any interpretation must remain conjectural. Even the reference to Judah in v. 15 has been disputed, although the LXX retains it (Andersen and Freedman 1980:371, who point out that Hosea seems to regularly associate in his mind the two kingdoms together as comprising all of YHWH’s people). If we accept the reference to Judah, then it seems safe to say that, indeed, this strophe seems addressed to the southern kingdom, which is enjoined not to follow the idolatrous example of the northern kingdom.

What images lie in the buildup to this strophe? Eidevall (1996:55–67) argues that Hos. 4.10–19 as a whole features language of sexual misbehaviour, but that it is difficult to decide on the status of this language. Is it completely metaphorical, or is there literal language mixed in with the metaphorical? As for the clearly metaphorical language, what cultural model does it incorporate? The model of ISRAEL AS THE WIFE OF YHWH, or the model of ISRAEL AS THE VASSAL OF YHWH THE OVERLORD? It was to the first model that we will point in our treatment of Hos. 8.7–10 (Section 6.1.17).

Eidevall (1996:61) also invokes a distinct difference between the ISRAEL AS THE WIFE OF YHWH model and the ISRAEL AS THE VASSAL OF YHWH, THE OVERLORD model. However, he writes, “...It needs to be pointed out that the use of language drawn from the domain of sexuality need not imply that the nation is conceived of as the wife of YHWH.” Instead, Eidevall points to the impressive accumulation of arguments adduced by various scholars<sup>4</sup> to the effect that ANE texts metaphorize the vassal-overlord relationship in terms of a husband-wife relationship, or, more precisely, that they metaphorize the **revolt** of a vassal in terms of a woman gone a-whoring. These arguments include close conceptual resemblance between ANE Assyrian treaties of vassalage and various passages in Hosea, as well as close resemblance between the two in form.<sup>5</sup>

Moreover, the promiscuity is whoredom with a lucrative objective in mind, the selling of oneself for profit. Hosea has in fact charged Israel and Judah with nationally allying themselves with foreign nations (evidently in exchange for national security) and with their populations worshipping foreign gods (in exchange for fertility, good harvests, carnal pleasure, etc.). But the Vehicle fields—that of foreign alliances and pagan worship—become blurred together, both because some of the political covenantal vocabulary is sexually loaded, and because, in our judgment, the foreign nations were closely identified with their patron gods.

To complicate matters, as Eidevall points out, some of the sexual language in Hos. 4. 1–19 may well have literal force as well. Hos. 4.9–11 is a case in point:

*And it will be: Like people, like priests.  
I will punish both of them for their ways  
and repay them for their deeds.  
They will eat but not have enough;  
they will engage in prostitution but not increase,  
because they have deserted the LORD to give themselves  
to prostitution, to old wine and new,  
which take away the understanding of my people. (NIV)*

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<sup>4</sup> E.g., Hendricks (1975), who argues that the BH verb זָנָה *to commit fornication*, when used as a covenantal term, was not always based on a marriage model of covenant; Moran (1963), who argues that language of love for God in Deuteronomy came from the same ANE stock metaphors that appear in Assyrian treaties that require vassals’ loyalty in terms of giving love; Lohfink (1963); and Thompson (1977).

<sup>5</sup> The formal resemblances concern the repetition of certain key words that is found in treaties; in Hos. 4.6 for example, accusation of rebelliousness on the part of the “vassal” and statement of retaliation on the part of YHWH each employ the BH verbs נָסָה *to reject* and שָׁכַח *to forget*: “My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge; because you **rejected** knowledge, I will **reject** you from being priest to me; because you **forgot** the teaching of your God, I will **forget** your children, I also.” Moreover, Hos. 4.10a can be seen as featuring a futility curse, as do treaties (Hillers 1964): “They will eat but not have enough; they will engage in prostitution but not increase.”

We suggest that this seems to be a reference to literal sexual promiscuity for personal pleasure: the preceding v. 8, *They [the priests] feed on the sins of my people and relish their wickedness*, appears to allude to animal sin offerings that are presented, not for the offense of having participated in the cult of idols, but for the offense of having engaged in rampant fornication entirely for the sake of personal pleasure.

To sum up, we find that from a charge of literal fornication for personal pleasure in Hos. 4.9–11, Hosea progresses to charging the people with another kind of literal prostitution (vv. 12–14), a kind that is part of a larger thing, viz., cultic sex in the service of idols. Gilgal and Beth Aven (i.e., Bethel) of v. 15 are examples of prominent shrines of YHWH that were turned into pagan shrines. Going even further, Hosea also takes Israel and Judah to task for having appealed to Assyria for protection (Hos. 5.13; see also Hos. 8.9, where there is a strong sexual nuance to the appeal to Assyria).

It is in the Hosean context of this complex of cognitive frames, then, that we find the reference to prostitution in v. 18ab, which might be rendered as follows:

*Even after their drinks are gone,  
they indeed commit prostitution*

**Hos. 4. 18c: interpretation** This line (אָהֲבֵי הַבַּי קָלֹן קָמְנִיָּה) is generally regarded as corrupt, many emendations having been proposed. A literal reading yields, *They love—give disgrace!—her shields*, which is considered an impossible reading. *Shields* could possibly refer to accessories of the pagan cults, or to the pagan gods themselves, even as YHWH is sometimes referred to as a shield (Gen. 15.1,2; Ps. 3.3, etc.). The pronoun *her* is problematic; Garrett (1997:139) believes that perhaps it refers to a goddess. If so, then the fem. sing. direct object in v. 19 has the same referent.

**Hos. 4. 19: interpretation** The verb צָרַר *to bind up, restrict* is often taken here as *to sweep away*, but Wolff (1974:73) understands the sense as *a wind shall wrap (them) with its wings*. In any case, as Garrett (1997:139–140) says, the essential idea of the verse is surely one of punishment. It could be the punishment of the female idol indicated: a whirlwind of YHWH’s punishment will bind and sweep away the idol, with the result that the sacrifices will be frustrated (*ashamed*).

**Hos. 4.15–19: HAO status of simile, form, markedness, communicative function, blending, and InfStr** The two similes in v. 16 exhibit a chiasm by means of their InfStr forms: v. 16a is in VT simile order; i.e., the Vehicle argument is fronted, whereas the simile of v. 16b has the Vehicle argument in its default position following the clausal subject, as displayed below.

16a	<i>Indeed/for as-heifer stubborn is-stubborn Israel</i>	VT
16b	<i>Now can-pasture-them YHWH as-lamb in-broad.pasture?</i>	TV

**Figure 6.1.6**  
***Simile order chiasm in Hos. 4.16***

As we have said before, the chiasmic structure can be regarded as being justified by the textual cohesion that it achieves: the first simile leads on to the second in a very satisfying manner. We recall in passing our hypothesis from Chapter Four, that when chiasmic hinges exhibit marked word order, they will tend to create argument focus. Here we view the expression as a stubborn heifer as an argument in focus, and the following expression *Israel is stubborn* as presupposed; what is new information is Israel’s association with the image of a heifer.

So far, so good. But then Hosea shifts in v. 16b to associating Israel with sheep, while maintaining an overall pastoral image. In completing the Information Structure chiasm by means of v. 16b, Hosea introduces the lamb image as part of the Predicate Focus structure. Yet we can ascribe to the Vehicle term *as-lamb in-broad.pasture* the status of Focus Peak, both because the Tenor term *now can-pasture-them YHWH* is inferable from v. 16a (if you own a heifer, you must pasture her), and because with the Vehicle term, the image association changes, from heifer to lamb.

Both similes are Major Similes, exhibiting strong Imaged States of Being. For HAO analysis, we cite here our understanding that **humanization of non-human entities** and **objectification of abstractions** prefer to proceed by way of conceptual metaphor, and that the other HAO Manipulations employ simile as the unmarked device, as in the two figures of v. 16. Both similes involve animalization of humans.

Eidevall (1996:65) remarks that these similes project different images of YHWH as well: v. 16a portrays him as a farmer trying to fit a yoke onto balky Israel,<sup>6</sup> while v.16b portrays him as a shepherd caring for a flock of lambs. If v. 16b is construed as a question, then the “caring” must be a benevolent pasturing and watering of the flock; if, however, v. 16b is construed as a statement, then we should probably take the “caring” to indicate a punitive rule of YHWH over his flock. The verb רעה can denote either benevolence or punishment. In either case, this couplet of similes offers once again an example of how Hosea prefers to shift images by means of similes instead of metaphors.

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<sup>6</sup> Note in Hos. 10.11 (“Ephraim was a trained heifer (עֵזְרָה) that loved to thresh”), that although this verse seems laudatory of Ephraim, the notion of a heifer is still joined to that of servitude, being “under the yoke.”

We note in passing that the depictions in these similes of YHWH as farmer and then as shepherd are effected by means of instantiating our posited conceptual metaphor YHWH IS HUMAN (see Section 4.6.3). Thus we may say that conceptual metaphors are embedded in these similes.

**Hos. 4.15–19: conclusion** We have noted in this section how distinct preferences involving similes give results that converge in the same direction: (a) Hosea’s preference to shift images by means of simile, and (b) his preference to use simile as the device for effecting HAO manipulations other than humanization of non-human entities and the objectification of abstractions. We have also noted how two distinct conceptualizations, in this case animalization of humans and humanization of God, can be effected by a single simile, when metaphor is employed in the Tenor term.

### 6.1.7 Movers of boundary stones and like water my wrath, Hos. 5.10

A pair of similes occurs in mid-strophe. We display the entire strophe below.

<p>תִּקְעוּ שׁוֹפָר בְּגִבְעָה חֲצֹצְרָה בְּרָמָה        הֲרִיעוּ בֵּית אֶזְרָיָה בְּבִנְיָמִן:</p>	<p><sup>8</sup> <i>Blow a trumpet in the Gibeah! The clarion in Ramah!        Shout/blast in the House of Wickedness! After you,        Benjamin!</i></p>
<p>אֶפְרַיִם לְשֹׁמֵה תִהְיֶה בְּיוֹם תּוֹכַחַתָּה        בְּשִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הוֹדַעְתִּי נְאֻמָּה:</p>	<p><sup>9</sup> <i>Ephraim, to desolation you will be on the day of        punishment.        Among the tribes of Israel I will make known what is        certain.</i></p>
<p>הֲיוּ שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה כְּמַסִּינֵי גְבוּל        עֲלֵיהֶם אֲשַׁפּוֹךְ כַּמַּיִם עַבְרַתִּי:        עֲשׂוּק אֶפְרַיִם רְצוּץ מִשֶּׁשֶׁט        כִּי הוֹאִיל הָלַךְ אַחֲרֵי צָו:</p>	<p><sup>10</sup> <i>Are (the) leaders-of Judah like-movers-of boundary        stones;        upon-them I-will.pour.out like-the-water my-wrath.        Ephraim is oppressed, justice is crushed;        for he was determined to go after foolishness.</i></p>

**Preview of this section** In this section, we hypothesize a certain BH conceptual metaphor (SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE SUBSTANCES). We also posit a certain tendency in parallel BH similes toward having a certain InfStr configuration.

**Hos. 5.10ab: form, markedness, and communicative function of two similes** The simile of v. 10a (*the leaders of Judah are like movers of boundary stones*) has default TV simile order, and the word order of the Tenor is also the BH default *verb—subject* order. We analyze v. 10a as a Topic-Comment sentence. The prophet is in the mode of regularly alternating reference between the Northern Kingdom and Judah; in v. 10 he switches to Judah and activates the inferable presupposed entities of Judah’s leaders.

The simile of v. 10b (*upon them I will pour out like water my wrath*) has a fronted argument (*upon them*). We take the fronted argument to signify Argument Focus, as we have posited is the tendency in chiastic hinges featuring marked word order; the rest of the sentence, *...I will pour out like water my wrath*, can be taken as presupposed, since the entire strophe and its surrounding strophes present YHWH as meting out punishment upon his people. This particular verse focuses on the leaders of Judah; it is likely they who were ultimately responsible for the aggression against Benjamin, whether that aggression amounted to petty land grabs or to military invasion, as seems suggested in v. 8.

The strophe gives a chopped up feeling: the northern kingdom is addressed and is promised destruction, then the southern kingdom, and then the northern again. But this pattern continues all the way to Hos. 6.10, and then in Hos. 6.11 and 7.1, restoration is promised to both.

We note the simile order of v. 10b's simile: the last element of the Tenor, *my wrath*, being postposed after the Vehicle *like the water*. The default form of this simile would have been, *\*I-will.pour.out my-wrath like-water upon-them*. The fronted argument achieves two things: (a) it becomes an argument in focus, as has been discussed above; and (b) the postposed *my-wrath* achieves end-weight, not only by virtue of unexpectedly coming simile-finally, but also in becoming the odd constituent out of the simile order parallelism that is thereby created with the simile of v. 10a, as is shown below, where the effect is TV//TVT. Thus the lexical item *wrath* is given prominence in the couplet. Together the similes should be viewed as moving forward the exposition in an incremental fashion.

Tenor	Vehicle
<sup>10a</sup> <i>Are (the)leaders-of Judah like-movers-of boundary stones.</i>	
Tenor	Vehicle Tenor
<sup>10b</sup> <i>Upon-them I-will.pour.out like-the-water my-wrath.</i>	

**Figure 6.1.7a**  
***Simile forms in Hos. 5.10ab***

**Hos. 5.10: constituent concepts and blending dynamics**

Stuart (1987:101) follows Wolff in taking the Syro-Ephraimite War as the situation described in Hos. 5.8–14. Syria and the Northern Kingdom formed a defensive alliance against threatening Assyria; upon King Jotham of Judah's refusal to join them, they attacked him. Jotham's successor, Ahaz, called upon Assyria for help, whereupon Tiglath-Pileser attacked and overran Syria and then the Northern Kingdom. Stuart (1987:101) comments:

The presence of Ephraim and Judah together centrally in the passage indicates a new situation. In most or all of the oracles from 1:2 through 5:7, the setting was the prosperous, complacent, indulgent period the latter years of Jeroboam's reign (i.e., up to 753 b.c.). Now we hear a cry of alarm to prepare for war (5:8). Yahweh is tearing apart his people (5:12–14), and both north and south are suffering.

It is in this hypothesized historical setting that we consider the concepts of the two similes in Hos. 5.10. The expression *movers of boundary stones* is often taken here, as already stated, to indicate either underhanded encroachment on Benjamin's land by Judah, or armed aggression. Eidevall (1996:81) mentions an alternative treatment that would see this phrase as an exemplar of mean, grasping behaviour, in violation of the Mosaic stricture against the movement of boundary stones (Deut. 19.14; 27.17).

The second simile is remarkable, as Eidevall (1996:81) says, as being the only BH simile to liken YHWH's pouring out of anger as the pouring out of water: the other passages that provide an explicit vehicle do so in terms of fire (e.g., Jer. 7.20; 44.6; Lam. 2.4). Eidevall sees in the water image a possible suggestion of sorrow, as in Lam. 2.19: *Pour out your heart like water*. Another possibility is to see an inverse correlation between the water of Hos. 5.10 and that of Hos. 6.3, where it is an image of divine blessing.

**HAO status of similes** The two similes of v. 10 are [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; we characterize the first simile as HUMANS IMAGED AS HUMANS (the default device for which is simile), and the second simile as OBJECTIFICATION OF AN ABSTRACTION. Now abstractions are very readily objectified by means of conceptual metaphor, as in *He pours contempt on the nobles* (Job 12.21); however, *explicit* objectification prefers the device of simile.

**Proposed Conceptual Metaphor: Sentiments are pourable substances** The verb שָׁפַךְ *to pour* collocates concretely with water and loose material such as earth. From the many instances in which anger is said to be poured—and similar sentiments, e.g., contempt, or entities harboring such sentiments, e.g., one's own heart—we might hypothesize a conceptual metaphor on the order of SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE SUBSTANCES. We might therefore see in Hos. 5.10b an invocation of the core semantics of the conceptual metaphor, in which anger is poured out as water instead of as fire.

We note that when it appears in instantiations of our hypothesized conceptual metaphor, שָׁפַךְ *to pour out* does not require to be associated with an image via a simile, even though it has one in

water in Hos. 5.10b—just as we would expect no conceptual metaphor to require such a thing. The passages in Figure 6.1.7b below all involve in some way either a sentiment or a sentiment-harboring or sentiment-producing entity. All of these passages employ the verb **שָׁפַךְ** *to pour out*, save Jer. 7.20 and Jer. 44.6, which use **נָתַךְ** *to pour out*. Note that out of the sixteen passages, only Job 3.24, Lam. 2.19, and Hos. 5.10b **explicitly** associate water with the action of pouring out—and do so by means of a simile. This strongly reinforces our hypothesis that we are indeed dealing with a conceptual metaphor here—since it seems rare for a conceptual metaphor to be explicitly associated with an image by means of simile.

<b>Job 3.24</b>	<i>My groans (שִׁאֲנֹתַי) pour out (נִתְחַכְּוּ) like water</i>
<b>Job 12.21</b>	<i>He pours (שׁוֹפֵךְ) contempt on the nobles and disarms the belts of the mighty.</i>
<b>Ps. 62.9</b>	<i>Pour out (שִׁפְכוּ) before him your heart (לְבַבְכֶם).</i>
<b>Isa. 42.25</b>	<i>And so he poured out (נִשְׁפָּךְ) on him wrath, his anger (אָפוֹ) and violence of war.</i>
<b>Jer. 7.20</b>	<i>Behold my anger and my wrath (וְחַמְתִּי) being poured out (נִתְחַכְּוּ) on this place</i>
<b>Jer. 10.25</b>	<i>Pour out your wrath (שִׁפְךָ) on the nations that do not acknowledge you.</i>
<b>Jer. 14.16</b>	<i>I will pour out on them their disaster (רַעְתָּם) [i.e., the calamity they deserve].</i>
<b>Jer. 44.6</b>	<i>There was poured out (וְנִתְחַכְּוּ) my anger and my wrath, and it burned (וְנִתְחַכְּוּ) against the cities of Judah</i>
<b>Lam. 2.4</b>	<i>He poured out (שִׁפְךָ) like fire (כְּאֵשׁ) his wrath (חַמְתּוֹ)</i>
<b>Lam. 2.11</b>	<i>My liver (כִּזְעִי) is poured out (נִשְׁפָּךְ) on the ground.</i>
<b>Lam. 2.19</b>	<i>Pour out (שִׁפְכוּ) like the water your heart (לְבַבְךָ) before, in the presence of, the Lord.</i>
<b>Ezek. 39.29</b>	<i>I will pour out (שִׁפְכֵתִי) my spirit (רוּחִי) on the house of Israel.</i>
<b>Ezek. 16.15</b>	<i>You poured out your fornications (וְהַתְּשַׁפְּכִי) on every passerby.</i>
<b>Ezek. 14.19</b>	<i>If I pour out my wrath (וְשִׁפְכֵתִי) upon her through bloodshed....</i>
<b>Ezek. 21.36</b>	<i>I will pour out (וְשִׁפְכֵתִי) on you my indignation (זַעְמִי), with the fire of my anger (עֵבֶרְתִּי) I will breathe out (אֶפְיֵחַ) against you.</i>
<b>Hos. 5.10b</b>	<i>Upon them I will pour out (אֶשְׁפֹּךְ) like water (כַּמַּיִם) my wrath (עֵבֶרְתִּי)</i>

**Figure 6.1.7b**  
**Collocations of notions of to pour out with sentiments and sentiment-harboring and sentiment-producing entities**

We find in Figure 6.1.7b a variety of collocations with *to pour out*, whether **שָׁפַךְ** or **נָתַךְ**: anger, wrath, wickedness, indignation, liver, heart, spirit, and fornications. We consider that **שָׁפַךְ** and **נָתַךְ** provide instantiations of a conceptual metaphor on the order of SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE

SUBSTANCES. This explains why no passage in Figure 6.1.7b specifies grounds, for no grounds are normally allowed in the case of a conceptual metaphor.

Conceptual metaphors are often, however, elaborated by similes, as in *The price of petrol soared like a rocket*. The fact, therefore, that instantiations of SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE SUBSTANCES do sometimes appear in similes does not militate against our analysis that we are here dealing with a conceptual metaphor. Eidevall (1996:81) writes,

a closer inspection of possible inter-texts reveals that in those texts where the vehicle field is explicitly stated, the wrath is always likened to burning fire. Only here [in Hos. 5.10b] is YHWH's anger pictured as flowing water instead of fire, possibly as a flood that is let loose, threatening to drown the evil-doers.

He also points out in a footnote that Ps. 42.8 associates ocean waves with YHWH's anger.

We note that both water and fire are pourable substances, if we understand *fire* to include cinders and burning coals. Eidevall's observation that a fire image associated by simile with *pour out wrath* is the norm is certainly valid. Let us add that this is not hard to explain: **הָקַדַּח** *wrath* is associated by BDB with the root **הָקַדַּח** glossed as *be hot*; in fact, this verb is used exclusively of sexual passion, whether in man or in animals. However, the root **הָקַדַּח** *be or become warm* (which appears to be the source of **הָקַדַּח**) would seem a much better source of **הָקַדַּח** *wrath*, since this root is also the source of **הָקַדַּח** *heat of the sun* and **הָקַדַּח** *ambient heat*. It would be therefore entirely natural for **הָקַדַּח** *wrath* to be associated by simile with fire.

As for **נָאָץ**, glossed by KB as *nose, nostrils, face, anger*, the denominative verb **נָאָץ** *be angry* is regarded by BDB as a back formation from it<sup>1</sup>, but neither can the root **נָאָץ** *to bake*, in our opinion, be discounted as an associated concept. The notion of heat, therefore, seems as much a part of the root conception of **נָאָץ** *nostril* as of **הָקַדַּח** *wrath*; we conclude that the association of fire by simile with **נָאָץ** is completely understandable.

In looking at the imagery of water in Hos. 5.10b from an intertextual viewpoint, Eidevall notes Lam. 2.19 *Pour out your heart like water* in connection with the possibility that sorrow may be mixed in with YHWH's wrath in Hosea's simile. Since Hos. 6.3 features water in a positive manner

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Harris et al. (1980:58) comment, "The double pe in the plural [of **נָאָץ**] shows its derivation from *ʾānēp*." KB hold open the possibility that **נָאָץ** is a denominative verb, but state its root sense as *wheeze*.

(YHWH will come as rain to us, as spring rains watering the earth), Eidevall sees this latter passage as a possible reversal of Hos. 5.10b.

Water, however, also images irresistible force, as in Isa. 28.2, 17 (*and water will overflow (ישטפו) your hiding place*). Let us point out that water collocates very closely, not only with the notion of pouring out, but also with עברה *anger*, a nominal formation from the root עבר, glossed as *pass over, pass by*. The noun, used in Hos. 5.10b, bears a strong concept of overflow, as in overflowing anger.

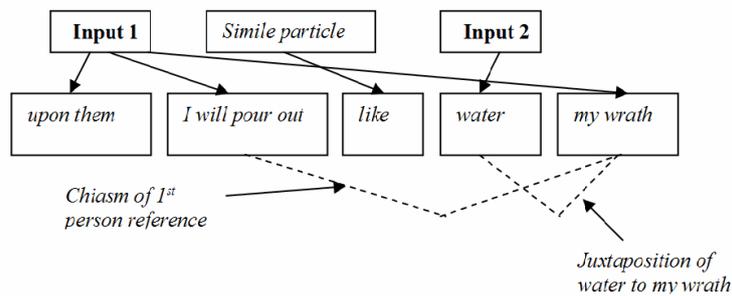
Job 6.15	אחי בגדו כמו־נחל כאַפִּיק נְחָלִים יַעֲבְרוּ	<i>My brothers are as faithless as a mountain torrent, as a channel of a wady it sweeps along.</i>
Job 11.16	כִּי־אַתָּה עָמַל תִּשְׁכַּח כָּמִים עָבְרוּ תִּזְכֹּר	<i>For you will forget your troubles; (only) as waters gone by will you recall them.</i>
Hab. 3.10	זָרַם מַיִם עָבַר	<i>Torrents of water swept by.</i>

Figure 6.1.7c  
*Collocations of עבר to pass over with notions of water*

Notions of water collocate very closely with עבר *pass over*, as is shown in Figure 6.1.7c. We conclude that, contrary to Eidevall, it is by no means anomalous that notions of pouring out and of water should associate with עברה *anger*.

**Conceptual binding** We have already given an InfStr account of the word order in Hos. 5.10b, saying that this sentence features argument focus: YHWH’s punishment is already very active in the local discourse, and it is *upon them*, the *leaders of Judah*, that it will now fall. It is possible also to give a conceptual binding account of the word order, as it is summarized in Figure 6.1.7d below.

Again, by **conceptual binding** we mean the heightened effect of semantic cohesion among the constituent elements of a simile that is achieved by syntactic means within that simile. The word “heightened” is intended to imply that there would be general semantic cohesion even without the means of conceptual binding, but that with it additional cohesion is effected. The syntactic means in question are simile order and word order. This simile is a very simple but good example of how the two can cooperate for the desired effect.



**Figure 6.1.7d**  
**Conceptual Binding in Hos. 5.10b**

*Upon them I will pour out my wrath like water.*

We begin by describing the simile order, which is TVT. Although the expression *to-them* here is fronted, *my wrath* as a constituent of the Tenor follows the Vehicle, yielding TVT simile order. Because the first part of the Tenor contains a first person reference (*I will pour out*), as does the second part of the Tenor (*my wrath*), the effect is one of chiasm, the middle part being the Vehicle. The TVT simile order also effects a juxtaposition of the Vehicle *water* with the second Tenor constituent *my wrath*. Since the latter is being imaged here in terms of the former, it is clearly a powerful device to put them into close proximity to each other.

Let us now consider word order, which works hand in hand with simile order. The fronted element *upon them* is the sole sentence constituent outside of the first person chiasm; any element standing outside a chiasm is very prominent—and the prominence of *upon them* is precisely the prominence of an argument in focus.

**Hos. 5.10: Elements constitutive of worldview**

No cultural models or themes are identified in these two similes. However, we have hypothesized a conceptual metaphor: SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE SUBSTANCES.

In examining the two similes in this verse (*Are (the)leaders-of Judah like-movers-of boundary stones; upon-them I-will.pour.out like-the-water my-wrath*), we have found that they function in parallelism, the first as a Topic-Comment sentence that leads to the second simile, which is an Argument Focus structure.

**Hos. 5.10: conclusion**

We have hypothesized a conceptual metaphor on the order of SENTIMENTS ARE POURABLE SUBSTANCES and have accounted for the association of the noun עִבְרָה *anger* with the image of overpowering water. While the intertextual associations of Hos. 5.10b with water that are referenced by Eidevall remain possibilities, they are not required to account for this association.

We have also examined the syntax of the simile *Upon them I will pour out like water my wrath*, positing that the marked simile order achieves a close binding of the Vehicle term *water* and the Tenor term *my wrath*.

### 6.1.8 *As pus to Ephraim, Hos. 5.12a; as putrefaction to the house of Judah, Hos. 5. 12b*

These conjoined similes occur at the beginning of Wendland's strophe of Hos. 5.12–13, as is displayed below:

<p>וְאֲנִי כַעֲשׂ לְאַפְרַיִם <sup>12</sup></p>	<p><i>But-I (am) as- pus to-Ephraim</i></p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">Wolff, Driver</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>pus</i></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding: 2px;">Garrett</td> <td style="padding: 2px;"><i>maggots</i></td> </tr> </table>	Wolff, Driver	<i>pus</i>	Garrett	<i>maggots</i>
Wolff, Driver	<i>pus</i>					
Garrett	<i>maggots</i>					
<p>וְכָרַקְבִּי לְבַיִת יְהוּדָה:  וַיֵּרָא אֶפְרַיִם אֶת־חֲלָיו <sup>13</sup>  וַיְהוּדָה אֶת־מִזְרוֹ  וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶפְרַיִם אֶל־אַשּׁוּר  וַיִּשְׁלַח אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב  וְהוּא לֹא יוּכַל לְרַפֵּא לְכֶם  וְלֹא־יִנְהַיָּה מִכֶּם מִזֹּר:</p>	<p><i>and-as-rottenness to-house-of Judah</i>  <i>Saw Ephraim his-sickness,</i>  <i>and-Judah his-wound</i>  <i>went Ephraim to Assyria</i>  <i>sent to the great king</i>  <i>but-he not able to-heal youP</i>  <i>and-not heal from-youP wound.</i></p>					

**Preview of this section** In this section we meet a pair of conjoined similes that behave very typically: they objectify YHWH, and they introduce an extended image that is elaborated via metaphor.

**Hos. 5.12a: text** The noun עֵשׂ is traditionally rendered *moth* here, but if it is II עֵשׂ, then Wolff (1974:104) would appear correct in following Driver, understanding it as *pus*, the product of putrefying flesh; this view is strengthened by the language of sicknesses and wounds in v. 13, as well as by the common knowledge that moths can destroy woolen clothing, but never people. Garrett (1997:153) and others view עֵשׂ as able to refer to maggots as well as moths; here the sense would be maggots infesting rotting flesh. In any case, YHWH is imaged, as Garrett says, as making Ephraim's wounds worse instead of better. We will follow Wolff in understanding *pus* here.

The noun רִקְבִי, rendered here as *rottenness*, is spoken of as affecting bones (Hab. 3.16; Prov. 12.4; 14.30), as Wolff (1974:115) remarks. We may have in v. 12, then, references to both outward and inward injury.

**Hos. 5.12ab: form, markedness, communicative function, blending, and HAO status** The strophe of Hos. 5.12–13 should be considered in the light of the preceding strophe, Hos. 5.8–11, in which the prophet announces the

coming terror upon the Northern Kingdom. Verse 10 in that strophe promises YHWH’s wrath to come upon the leaders of Judah as well. Verse 11 comments again on the state of the Northern Kingdom (*Ephraim is oppressed, justice is crushed*); Wolff (1974:114) identifies the “oppression” suffered by Ephraim with Assyria’s armed incursions into parts of the Northern Kingdom. Finally, the prophet specifies the cause of Ephraim’s pitiable condition: the nation has pursued something negative (אֶת־רֵי-צָוֹ)—whether צָוֹ is to emended to אֶת־רֵי צָוֹ *worthlessness* (as Wolff 1974:114), or understood as a metaphor for idols (as the NIV), or understood as the *policy* of the Assyrians (so Garrett 1997:152).

The parallel similes of v. 12 are verbless similes. We would suggest, however, that they are to be understood as implying “past tenseness”: v. 11 certainly does, and so does v. 13.

In these similes, YHWH is the topic referent, and the two Vehicle terms are the only other arguments in each clause. The similes are formally in TVT simile order: the expressions *to Ephraim* and *to the house of Judah* are respectively the second Tenor terms; that is, YHWH is like *maggots* and *putrefaction*, and this *to Ephraim* and *to the house of Judah*. However, the fuller implied syntax must read something like *YHWH is to Ephraim as maggots would be to Ephraim*, and *YHWH is to the house of Judah like putrefaction would be to the house of Judah*. Recognizing the implied fuller syntax of these similes makes it clear that, as is so common in Hosea, metaphorization occurs in these similes as well: maggots cannot affect Ephraim except in a metaphorical manner, and neither can putrefaction the “house” of Judah.

The unbound first person sing. pronoun אֲנִי *I* in v. 12 establishes YHWH as the new Topic referent. As happens so often in Hosea, *Ephraim* and *Judah* alternate in vv. 12–13, first as Secondary Topics, and then as primary Topics. Curiously, in v. 13ef, these two referents, becoming here Secondary Topics, are changed to second person plural designations.

We have again here similes—in this case a pair of parallel similes<sup>2</sup>—that introduce a new image in v. 12, which is in turn elaborated by means of metaphor throughout this strophe. To understand this imagery, however, we must first consider vv. 10–11:

<p>הָיוּ שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה כְּמַסִּינֵי גְבוּל עֲלֵיהֶם אֲשַׁפֵּן כַּמַּיִם עֲבָרָתִי:</p>	<p><sup>10</sup> <i>The leaders of Judah are like those who move boundary stones; upon them I will pour out like water my wrath.</i></p>
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<sup>2</sup> This pair of similes differs from the pair in Hos. 5.10: whereas that pair consisted of two similes with independent syntax, this section’s pair consists of two conjoined similes, possessing one explicitly-stated subject doing duty for both similes. The similes otherwise have the same InfStr.

עֲשׂוּק אֶפְרַיִם <sup>11</sup> *Oppressed is Ephraim,*  
 רָצוּץ מִשֶּׁפֶט *crushed in justice,*  
 כִּי הוֹאִיל הַלֵּךְ אַחֲרֵי-צָוֹ: *for he is determined to walk after what is worthless.*

Eidevall (1996:83) remarks that because v. 11c accuses Ephraim, the nation’s oppression is most likely the result of divine judgment, although there is more than a mere suggestion that the prophet is alluding as well to injustice experienced by the nation. We find that this double understanding provides, in fact, the basis on which the prophet can present YHWH in v. 12 as an aggravator of his people’s sickness and wound.

YHWH is indeed aggravator, but by implication of v. 13 (*then Ephraim went to Assyria and sent to the great king*), he is also the true healer, in contrast to the king of Assyria, who *was not able to heal you*.

The expression הֵלֵךְ אַחֲרֵי-צָוֹ *to follow after* is difficult. Is צָוֹ a corruption of עֲוָה *emptiness, vanity*, or it is a nonsense syllable? Eidevall remarks that in either case, the short expression *to follow after what is worthless*, is the metaphorical invoking of the failure to follow YHWH, the true shepherd; as a result, the transition of YHWH from would-be shepherd of his people in v. 11 to aggravator of his people’s sickness and wound in v. 12 comes as a shock.

In v. 13, the noun חֲלִי *sickness* is normally concrete in the OT. Here, however, in BDB’s words, it appears metaphorically as “distress of land.” It seems to be similarly used of general distress in Ecc. 5.16: “All his days he eats in darkness, with great frustration, affliction (וְחֲלִי) and anger.” The noun מַזּוּר *wound*, on the other hand, is used apparently exclusively in a figurative manner in the OT.

The images of the deity as shepherd and of the king as healer are widespread in ANE literature.<sup>3</sup> In the strophe of vv. 12–13 we find the latter image, and in the preceding strophe we find by implication the former image.

In respect to the two similes of v. 12, *But-I (am) as- pus to-Ephraim and-as-rottenness to-house-of Judah*, since these Tenor-Vehicle association are [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], we find simile to be the default device for them. Informally stated, these figures effect an objectification of YHWH, for which simile is the preferred device.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., “[I sing of the son of] the king of all populated lands, creator of the world, of Hendursanga, Ellil’s heir, holder of the lofty scepter, herder of the black-headed people, shepherd of [populations],” *Erra and Ishum* (an Akkadian composition) (Hallo 2003:405).

**Hos. 5. 12ab: conclusion** This pair of conjoined similes is found to introduce, concisely and rapidly, a series of images dealing with sicknesses and injuries. Metaphor is then used for the elaboration. These figures are typical examples of the objectification of God by means of simile, the preferred device for this task.

**6.1.9 For I will be like a lion to Ephraim, Hos. 5.14a; and like a lion to the house of Judah, Hos. 5.14b**

In majestic contrast to the beginning of the preceding strophe, where YHWH is presented as pus, he is imaged at the start of this strophe, Hos. 5.14–15, as a lion (Eidevall 1996:86):

<p>כִּי אֲנֹכִי כַשְׁחַל לְאַפְרַיִם<sup>14</sup>          וְכַפְּיִר לְבַיִת יְהוּדָה          אֲנִי אֲנִי אֶטְרֶף וְאֵלֶּךְ          אֲשָׂא וְאֵין מַצִּיל:          אֵלֶּךְ אֲשׁוּבָה אֶל־מְקוֹמִי<sup>15</sup>          עַד אֲשֶׁר־יֵאָשְׁמוּ          וּבְקִשׁוּ פָנַי          בְּצַר לָהֶם יִשְׁחַרְגֵנִי:</p>	<p><i>For I (will be) like-the-lion to-Ephraim          and-like-the-young.lion to-house(of-) Judah.          I, I I-will.tear and-I-will.go.away          I-will.carry.off, and-there.will.be.no deliverer.          I-will.go.away, I-will.return to-my-place          until they-admit.their.guilt.          Wolff until they become punishable          They-will.seek my-face,          in-the-misery to-them they-will.seek-me.earnestly.</i></p>
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**Preview of this section** This strophe features an inclusio based on kinaesthetic image schemas. It also provides yet another example of similes being typically employed to introduce images for further elaboration.

**Hos. 5.14: lexical question about שְׁחַל lion, כְּפִיר lion, and יֵאָשְׁמוּ they admit their guilt** The sense differences among these terms for lions, two of the four terms used in Hosea, have been largely lost (Garrett 1997:154). BDB claims that כְּפִיר denotes especially a young, strong lion; KB follows suite, adding “looking for food for himself and distinguishable by his mane.” The verb יֵאָשְׁמוּ, glossed as *they admit their guilt*, is actually uncertain in its sense. Some ancient versions give the idea of doing penance (Wolff 1974:105), while the LXX reads *they are annihilated*. Wolff sees the sense here as *to become punishable*, but we see no problem with supposing *until they admit their guilt* here.

**Hos. 5.14–15: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending** Like the preceding strophe, this strophe begins with a pair of conjoined verbless similes in v. 14. They function as the means of introducing another image that will be elaborated in this strophe.

McComiskey (1992:86) views כִּי in v. 14a as introducing the cause of the Assyrians’ failure to heal (v. 13): the sickness and wound come directly from God (v. 14).

Garrett (1997:154) writes, “The Hebrew here strongly emphasizes the pronoun “I.” It does this to contrast the power of Assyria to deliver with the power of Yahweh to destroy (this itself is an ironic reversal of what one would expect).”

From an InfStr viewpoint, we would say that the pronoun *I* in v. 14a must signal a pragmatic overlay of contrast with the Assyrians of v. 13. Verse 14a has then a topic-comment structure. Verse 14c (*I, I will tear and go away*) exhibits, in parallel fashion, the same contrastive overlay in a topic-comment structure.

Of course, an attack from a lion does not lead to reconciliation of the victim with his attacker, as is hoped for in v. 15. Garrett (1997:155) comments, “Hosea, however, is not bound by convention.” It would be closer to the mark to say that no metaphor or simile needs to be bound by convention. Eidevall (1996:89) views v. 15 as invoking the ANE theme of the “disappearing deity,” the gods who, by means of their withdrawal, deprive land and people of their blessing. But this disappearance, seemingly at first that of a lion that has just devoured its prey, and then of the deity making a punitive withdrawal from his people, is seen in the end to be meant for the people’s welfare: Eidevall writes, “what appeared at first sight to be a description of the lion’s withdrawal, turned out to be a withdrawal of an altogether different kind, ...part of a divine strategy to provoke repentance.”

These conceptualizations advance and recede very quickly in the space of two verses, one flowing into the next. And yet, because YHWH is not *explicitly* re-imaged in v. 15, the lion image from the preceding verse still has some effect: this is a most unusual lion, for after devouring his prey, he desires reconciliation!

Distinct from, but related to, the progression of these conceptualizations in this strophe is the series of kinaesthetic image schemas. It is true that Eidevall (1996:89) notes in this passage various themes of motion that relate to YHWH: “coming and going,” “returning,” seeking and (not) finding”—but we find that we can cast a far wider net if we consider these in the light of cognitive theory. We note, therefore, the kinaesthetic image schemas of this strophe in Figure 6. 1.9 below.

The general progression of the kinaesthetic image schemas is clear. We find MOTION TOWARD in v. 14ab by virtue of the expressions *to Ephraim* and *to the house of Judah*. We adduce MOTION AWAY FROM in v. 15a because of the verb *I will go away*, and then MOTION TOWARD in v. 15a because of the expression *I will return to my place*. Again, in v. 15b, *until they admit their guilt*, is seen as an

instantiation of MOTION TOWARD, because of the preposition עַד *until*, and because of the verb אָשָׁם, glossed by both KB and BDB as *be guilty*, which we presume to possess MOTION TOWARD as well.

<i>For I (will be) like-the-lion to-Ephraim</i> <sup>14</sup>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a</i>
<i>and-like-the-young.lion to-house(of-) Judah.</i>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a</i>
<i>I, I I-will.tear and-I-will.go.away</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM	<i>b</i>
<i>I-will.carry.off, and-there.will.be.no deliverer.</i>	MOTION AWAY FROM	<i>b</i>
<i>I-will.go.away,</i> <sup>15</sup>	MOTION AWAY FROM	<i>b</i>
<i>I-will.return to-my-place</i>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a'</i>
<i>until they-admit.their.guilt.</i>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a'</i>
<i>They-will.seek my-face;</i>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a'</i>
<i>in-the-misery to-them they-will.seek-me.earnestly.</i>	MOTION TOWARD	<i>a'</i>

**Figure 6. 1.9**  
***Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Hos. 5.14–15***

We find that there is an inclusio on the kinaesthetic image schema level: instantiations of MOTION AWAY FROM are enclosed by instantiations of MOTION TOWARD.

These two similes effect animalization of YHWH; simile is the preferred device for this task. In formal terms, since these Tenor-Vehicle associations are [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION], simile is the default device for them.

**Hos. 5.14–15 Elements constitutive of worldview** This strophe depends upon two ANE models: the deity imaged as a lion, and the model of the disappearing deity.

**Hos. 5.14–15: conclusion** This strophe stands in parallel with the preceding strophe of Hos. 5.12–13: they are both begun with a pair of conjoined similes, both pairs presenting YHWH as aggravator of his people's woes and as destroyer of his people. But there is progression in this strophe: YHWH's relationship to his people is presented in a manner that develops from that of devourer all the way to that of an implicit restorer. The progression of kinaesthetic image schemas in this strophe can be said to contribute to the progression of this YHWH-Israel relationship, as instantiations of the schema of MOTION TOWARD pile up in v. 15, characterizing the reconciliation that is the deepest purpose of YHWH, this most unusual lion.

#### **6.1.10 *As the dawn is sure, so his going forth, Hos. 6.3c; he will come as rain to us, Hos. 6.3d; like spring showers watering the earth, Hos. 6.3e***

These three similes occur at the end of the strophe comprised by Hos. 6.1–3.

לְכוּ וְנָשׁוּבָה אֶל־יְהוָה<sup>1</sup> *Come, let-us-return to-YHWH,*  
כִּי הוּא טָרַף וְיִרְפָּאנוּ *for he tore, but-he-will heal-us;*

יָד וְיָחַבְשָׁנוּ:	<i>he-will-wound, but-he-will-bind-us-up.</i>
יִחַנְנוּ מִיָּמִים <sup>2</sup>	<i>He-will.preserve-us after-two-days;</i>
בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי יִקְמְנוּ	<i>on-the- day third he-will.establish-us,</i>
וְנִחְיֶה לְפָנָיו:	<i>and-we-will.live in-his-presence</i>
וְנִדְעָה <sup>3</sup>	<i>Let-us-know,</i>
נִרְדְּפָה לְדַעַת אֶת־יְהוָה	<i>let-us-pursue to-know YHWH;</i>
כְּשֹׁחַר נִכּוֹן מוֹצֵאֵהוּ	<i>as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth;</i>
וְיָבֹא כַגֶּשֶׁם לָנוּ	<i>and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us,</i>
כַּמֶּלֶקֶשׁ יִזְרֶה אֶרֶץ:	<i>and-as-spring.rains water ground.</i>

**Preview of this section** In this section, we shall see that certain effects are achieved by a variety of dynamics: two similes in VT // TV chiasm, the presence of a Theme Frame supplied by part of a simile, and block association of kinaesthetic image schemas.

**Hos. 6.3: Sitz im Leben** Wolff (1974:117–119) sees the encouragement in vv. 1–3 to seek YHWH as reflecting the Canaanite myth of the “disappearing god;” the three similes reflect the connection of nature with the divine in Canaanite thought. He sees these lines as indicating “the Canaanization of the Yahweh cult.” Wolff sees in vv. 1–3 a sincere “penitential psalm” on the part of the priests.

Garrett (1997:156) sees these verses as Hosea’s own words, enjoining his own people to come to YHWH in repentance. These verses are therefore sincere, but in v. 4 (*What can I do with you, Ephraim? What can I do with you, Judah?*), YHWH’s answer reflects frustration over the question of whether the people will answer the prophet’s call to repentance.

**Hos. 6.3cde: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending** The three similes in v. 3cde, presented below, close this strophe, forming the naturalistic basis for the simile in the next strophe, Hos. 6.4 (*Your love is like the morning mist, like the early dew that disappears*).

Text	Kinaesthetic Image Schemas
<i>as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth;</i> <sup>3c</sup>	MOTION TOWARD
<i>and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us,</i> <sup>3d</sup>	MOTION TOWARD, MOTION DOWN
<i>and-as-spring.rains water ground.</i> <sup>3e</sup>	MOTION DOWN

**Figure 6.1.10a**  
*The similes of Hos. 6.1–3 and their kinaesthetic image schemas*

Verse 3c has VT simile order, with the Vehicle term (*as-dawn being-sure*) serving as a Theme Frame (a kind of focal element that introduces the idea of climactic and meteorological phenomena) for the rest of this verse and for the next verse. This analysis does not compel us to regard the simile Tenor, מוֹצֵאֵהוּ *his going forth*, as presupposed, since, according to Floor (2004a:195), a Theme

Frame, although regarded by him as a subtype of Argument Focus, does not, unlike normal Argument Focus, require any other part of the sentence to be presupposed in any way.

The second simile, that of v. 3d (*and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us*), is in TVT simile order. The effect of these two similes together is one of chiasmic simile form (VT // TV) between the two similes of v. 3c and v. 3d. But there is also an end-weight effect to this passage, given by the attenuated third simile of v. 3e, which is conjoined to the second. Thus the trio of similes features end-weight within itself, while the three similes together give end-weight to the entire strophe.

Let us note the accumulation of kinaesthetic image schemas among these similes: *his going forth* of v. 3c has a schema of directional motion, which we can take to be MOTION TOWARD. Verse 3d appears to afford both MOTION TOWARD (by virtue of *he will come*) and MOTION DOWN (by virtue of *rain*). Again, v. 3e features MOTION DOWN (by virtue of *spring rains*). As in Hos. 5.14–15 (see Section 6.1.9), we find here a block progression of kinaesthetic image schemas: MOTION TOWARD, MOTION TOWARD, MOTION DOWN, MOTION DOWN.

Eidevall (1996:93–97) finds several semantic domains accessed in this strophe of vv. 1–3:

1. The domain of recovery from illness. The formula in v. 2, *after two days, on the third day*, has been argued to characterize texts of medical diagnosis and to be language typical of that predicting a patient's recovery from illness.<sup>4</sup> This is relevant because of the imaging of the nation as sick in Hos. 5.13, and of the imaging of YHWH as a lion tearing its prey in Hos. 5.14.

2. The theme of theophany, accessed by the language of YHWH *going forth* (v. 3), and of the dawn as the opportune time for divine aid (see Ps. 46.6). This theme is strengthened by the word מִזְרֵחַ referring here to YHWH's *going forth* and also able to denote the sunrise.

3. The theme of monarchy, accessed by the association of the sun and of beneficial rain with the presence of a good king (as in 2 Sam. 23.3–4; Ps. 72.6). See also Prov. 16.15: “In the light of a king's face there is life, and his favour is like the clouds that bring the spring rain.”

Eidevall's identification of the presence of these semantic domains seems very solid. Certainly the language about a lion tearing its prey can be thought to play on the semantic domain of shepherding. As for Eidevall's theme of monarchy, we would agree that it also is present.

**Semantic overlap in Hos. 6.3** Malul (2002:117, 150) lays out extensive overlapping between the BH semantic fields of knowledge and light, the rationale being that the seen can be known, while the

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<sup>4</sup> (Eidevall citing Michael L. Barré, 1978, “New Light on the Interpretation of Hos vi 2.” In *Vetus Testamentum* 28, 129–41).

unseen remains unknown. Verse 3b's imperative, *Let us pursue to know YHWH*, then, becomes realizable only because he will go forth *as the dawn*, the coming of light.

Malul (2002:121) also references semantic overlap between the domains of knowledge and flowing water: consider Prov. 18.4,

נַחַל נֹבֵעַ מִקּוֹר הַחֵמָה *A spring of wisdom is a bubbling brook*

and Hab. 2.14,

כִּי תִמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ לְדַעַת אֶת־כְּבוֹד יְהוָה כַּמַּיִם יִכְסּוּ עַל־יָם *For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the glory of YHWH, like waters cover the sea.*

Malul (2002:121) cites Sh. Morag (1971/72, “*ūmit‘āreh k’ezrāḥ ra<sup>a</sup>nān*” (Ps. 27:35),” *Tarbiz* 41:1-23 (Hebrew), who links the two verb roots נהר I (*flow, stream* (BDB), *stream towards* (KB)) and נהר II (*shine, beam* (BDB), *shine, be radiant* (KB)), “notions of light and flow of water.” It is in this vein also that Morag links עַיִן *eye* with מַעְיָן *spring, fountain*; he also similarly links שׂוּר *to see* with שׂוּר *fountain* in Gen. 49.22.

Malul gives a conceptual rationale for this linkage: that water flowing out of a container renders the bottom of the container visible; what is visible is so because it is open to the light. We would add that water flowing from a spring becomes visible: the spring (מַעְיָן) renders the water visible to the eye (עַיִן).<sup>5</sup>

In v. 3, then we have the following semantic domains in linkage with each other, as given in the table below. Note that in this scheme of conceptualization, knowledge depends upon light, in the context of flowing water, depends upon it in the sense that flowing water brings things to light. As for our ability to identify the concept of flowing water with rain, we posit that rain and spring rains, besides denoting falling water drops, also imply in an arid country the rush of ground and subterranean water.

Text	Inter-Conceptual Level	Kinaesthetic Image Schemas
<i>Let-us-know,</i>	Knowledge	MOTION TOWARD
<i>let-us-pursue to-know YHWH;</i>	Knowledge	MOTION TOWARD
<i>as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth;</i>	Light (makes knowledge possible)	MOTION TOWARD
<i>and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us,</i>	Flowing water (brings to	MOTION TOWARD, MOTION

<sup>5</sup> Note that light and dark form together a kinaesthetic image schema.

	light)	DOWN
<i>and-as-spring.rains water ground.</i>	Flowing water	MOTION DOWN

**Figure 6.1.10b**

***Interconceptual Level (by virtue of overlapping semantic domains) and associated Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Hos. 6.3***

We call the Interconceptual Level in Figure 6.1.10b thus because on this level the ostensible referential concepts of the text, e.g., the concept of the *dawn* or of *going forth*, are not indicated; instead, this level exhibits the deeper level of conceptualization treated by Malul and Morag. It is on this level that we find overlap among semantic domains in BH. On this level, knowledge is made possible by light, and visible things, in the environment of water, are made possible by flowing water that uncovers and discloses. On this level, knowledge is the paramount value.

**HAO status of similes** We formally characterize the similes of v. 3 as [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; God is being imaged in terms of the sun and the rain, a case of objectification of God. The default device for effecting this kind of result is simile.

**Hos. 6.3cde: Elements constitutive of worldview** As we have seen before, there is a pattern to the occurrences of kinaesthetic image schemas among the three similes of Hos. 6.3; we identify these schemas as MOTION TOWARD and MOTION DOWN. As for common themes, we are happy to concur with Eidevall in identifying here the themes of recovery from illness, theophany, and monarchy.

We should not fail to comment on the semantic overlap among the semantic domains of knowledge, light, and flowing water that Malul and Morag have treated. We do not propose to accord to this semantic overlap itself prototypical status, but the fact that semantic domains can overlap accounts for much profound conceptualization in language. This deep inter-conceptualization allows verbalization in terms of the other domains, even though on the surface, inter-referentiality among these domains may appear almost non-existent. That is to say, for instance, BH does not ostensibly speak of a spring bringing water to light; there is no such surface inter-referentiality. But the underlying inter-conceptualization appears to exist.

**Hos. 6.3cde: conclusion** In the three similes of Hos. 6.3, we have found, as before, interplay among the various dynamics of similes: simile chiasm associated with end-weight, InfStr dynamics (here associated especially with a Theme Frame in v. 3c), and block association of kinaesthetic image schemas. In addition, we have adduced and discussed deep inter-conceptual relations characterizing overlapping semantic domains.

**6.1.11 Your loyalty is like the mists of morning, Hos. 6.4c; and like early dew that goes away, Hos. 6.4d; the question of the emended Hos. 6.5c**

Two conjoined similes occur just after the beginning of the strophe of Hos. 6.4–6, following a pair of rhetorical questions, as displayed below. In addition, we recognise that a third simile is often read in v. 5c, although the textual evidence is ambiguous.

<p>מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה לְךָ אֶפְרַיִם <sup>4</sup></p> <p>מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה לְךָ יְהוּדָה</p> <p>וְחֶסֶדְכֶם כַּעֲנַן־בֶּקָר</p> <p>וְכַטְל מִשְׁקִים הַלֶּקֶד :</p> <p>עַל־כֵּן חָצַבְתִּי בְּנְבִיאִים <sup>5</sup></p> <p>הַרְגִיתִים בְּאִמְרֵי־פִי</p> <p>וּמִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ אֹרֶךְ יֵצֵא :</p>	<p><i>What shall-I-do with-youS, Ephraim?</i></p> <p><i>What shall-I-do with-youS, Judah?</i></p> <p><i>And yourP-loyalty (is) like-the-mists-of morning,</i></p> <p><i>and-like-the-dew starting.early going.away.</i></p> <p><i>Therefore I-hewed (them) with-the-prophets,</i></p> <p><i>I-killed-them with-words-of my-mouth,</i></p> <p><i>and-your-judgments (are) light (that) goes.forth</i></p>
<p><b>וּמִשְׁפָּטֶי כְּאוֹר יֵצֵא</b> <sup>Wolff.</sup> <i>my judgment like light goes forth</i>  <i>Stuart, McComiskey</i></p>	
<p>כִּי חֶסֶד חִפְצָתִי וְלֹא־זָבַח <sup>6</sup></p> <p>וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים מֵעֹלֹת :</p>	<p><i>For loyalty pleases-me and-not sacrifice,</i></p> <p><i>and-knowledge-of God more.than-whole.burnt.offerings</i></p>

**Preview of this section** In this section we argue that the two similes of v. 4 are best regarded as novel conceptual associations and that they effect the reversal of two normal BH conceptual associations, one involving the morning and the other the verb הלך *to go away*. We shall also argue that, although v. 5c is often emended so as to furnish a simile, in reality the MT should be read.

**Hos. 6.5c: textual question regarding a frequent emendation leading to a simile** McComiskey (1992:91) remarks that the MT, taken as *Your judgments go forth as the light*, is suspicious because of the lack of number agreement between the plural subject and the singular verb. One could, however, plausibly understand the MT as *Your judgments are the light that goes forth*, where the relative pronoun is implied, as is often the case in BH poetry. This structure would parallel McComiskey’s own reading of v. 4d (*and like the dew [which] leaves early*). Compared to the various possible alternative readings, the more difficult reading appears to be the MT, which could nevertheless be understood as an exclamation of the prophet addressed to YHWH.

It is true that various ancient versions suggest the reading **וּמִשְׁפָּטֶי כְּאוֹר יֵצֵא** *my judgment like light goes forth*, which is adopted by Wolff (1974:105), Stuart (1987:99) and McComiskey ((1992:91). Stuart remarks that אור may also be rendered *the sun*, which would fit in with the naturalistic similes of the previous verses. United Bible Societies (1980:238) recommends this reading on eclectic text principles, although with considerable doubt, and many modern versions follow it.

**Hos. 6.4cd: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

Morning mists and dew are fleeting; this property is consistently invoked by commentators as relevant to the statement of the people's loyalty: their loyalty is said to exist, but it is very fleeting. The two conjoined similes of v. 4 occur in opposition to the three naturalistic similes of the previous strophe, Hos. 6.1–3, in which YHWH is imaged as going forth like the dawn and coming to his people like the rain. In v. 4, however, the morning mists and dew are presented in a negative light: they leave quickly, like the people's faithfulness. Note that the two similes are presented in natural order: the morning mists evaporate before the dew from the grass.

If these similes are read in the context of Hos. 6.1–3, then the correspondance between Hos. 6.3c,

כְּשַׁחַר נִכּוֹן מוֹצֵאֵי     *as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth*

and Hos. 6.4cd,

וְחֶסֶדְכֶם כְּעִנַּן־בֹּקֶר     *And yourP-loyalty (is) like-the-mists-of morning,*  
 וְכַטְל מִשְׁקִים הַלֵּיל:     *and-like-the-dew starting.early going.away.*

is immediately appreciated (as is suggested by Wolff 1974:119): as soon as the sun rises (i.e., as soon as YHWH comes forth to save his people), the morning mists and dews evaporate (i.e., the people lose their loyalty to him).

The simile of Hos. 6.4c has topic-comment structure, in default simile TV order. The simile of v. 4d has the same Topic as v. 4c, *your loyalty*, with its Vehicle term placed in parallel to that of v. 4c. The added verbiage following and qualifying טַל *dew* has the effect of adding end-weight to the second of the parallel similes.

The Tenor term חֶסֶדְכֶם *your loyalty* is a grammatical noun but a semantic state; it is thus an abstraction in our terms. We have posited that in Hosea, Micah, and Amos, abstractions prefer to be objectified by means of conceptual metaphor. If this strategy had been used in v. 4, Hosea might have written, *\*Your loyalty vanishes in the morning and dries up early in the day*. Of course, the pertinent conceptual metaphor must exist before an abstraction can be objectified by means of it.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This is true unless the speaker implicitly invokes the general conceptual metaphor ABSTRACT IS CONCRETE, as in, for example, *Their deeds surround them* (Hos. 7.2), where the context indicates no further immediate conceptual link. In the case of Hos. 6.4, however, חֶסֶדְכֶם *your loyalty* is conceptually linked to *the morning* and *the mists of morning*, allowing us to infer that חֶסֶדְכֶם *covenantal loyalty*, *the mists*, and *the dew* are associated together either by some sort of conceptual metaphor elaborated by simile—or by a novel conceptual association effected by simile.

But does such a conceptual metaphor exist? Was covenantal loyalty actually conceived of in terms of the morning mists and dew?

The Book of Hosea provides six cases of the objectification of abstractions by means of simile, of which v. 4 provides two. Simile is normally used when the speaker desires to make explicit the conceptual metaphor association between Tenor and Vehicle. But simile may, of course, also be employed in order to effect a novel association between two conceptual entities.

An examination of the Hebrew Bible yields little in the way of collocations between **חֶסֶד** *covenantal loyalty* and verbs expressing its cessation. Isa. 54.10 associates **חֶסֶד** as clausal subject with II **מוֹשׁ** *to depart*; Jer. 16.5 associates it as clausal object with **אָסַף** *to withdraw*, and Hos. 6.4, of course, associates it with **הָלַךְ** *to go*. Crucially, clouds (**עָנָן**) and the dew (**טֵל**) are said in BH to go away, as in Hos. 6.4; to vanish, as in Job 7.9 (**עָנָן וַיִּלָּךְ** *clouds vanish and are gone*); and to “go up,” (Exod. 16.14: **וַתַּעַל שְׁכַבַת הַטֵּל** *when the layer of dew went up, i.e., was gone*); but clouds and the dew are never said to “dry up” (**יָבַשׁ**), just as **חֶסֶד** *covenantal loyalty* is never said to dry up either.

It is possible that **חֶסֶד** *covenantal loyalty* was routinely imaged in BH as weather phenomena such as clouds and dew, bearing in mind that these phenomena were often seen as beneficent. But the data do not suggest this very strongly. In our view, it is safer to posit that the similes of Hos. 6.4 are in fact novel images. This conclusion is strengthened when we note that clouds and the dew are not widely used in BH as symbols of transitoriness. Only in Job 7.9 do we find clouds (**עָנָן**) used for this, apart from Hos. 6.4 and Hos. 13.3.

From an HAO standpoint, it seems likely that simile is the next preferred device after conceptual metaphor for objectifying abstractions; we find no cases of image metaphor doing so in Hosea. This finding conforms to our understanding that conceptual metaphor instantiations are usually considered to be quite literal by the native speakers; any **explicit** cases of objectified abstractions would thus be presumed to require much audience processing and would therefore demand the device of simile, as in Hos. 6.4.

Let us now explore two conceptual links that we find in Hos. 6.4, which the prophet succeeds, from our viewpoint, in reversing. There is in Lam. 3.22–23 an association of **רַחֲמִים** *loving mercies* and **אֱמוּנָה** *steadfastness, faithfulness* with *morning*:

חֲסָדֵי יְהוָה כִּי לֹא־תִמְנָנוּ כִּי לֹא־כָלוּ רַחֲמָיו *It is due to YHWH's loyalty that we are not consumed, for his loving mercies never fail;*  
 תְּרָשִׁים לְבַקָּרִים רַבָּה אֱמוּנָתְךָ *They are new every morning; great is your faithfulness.*

See also Ps. 130.6 (*I wait for the Lord more than watchmen wait for the morning*), where YHWH's salvation is associated with *morning*.

Now Malul (2002:174–5) postulates a heavy forensic or juridical use of the BH verb הֵלֵךְ *to go, walk*; this verb appears often with דֶּרֶךְ *path* to denote right behaviour vis-à-vis YHWH. הֵלֵךְ *to go* also appears in combination with the prepositions לְפָנַי *before*, אַחֲרַי *after*, עִמָּךְ *with*, and אֵת *with*, as well as with heavily freighted terms such as תָּם *guiltless*, צְדָקָה *righteous*, חֲסֵד *covenantal loyalty*, and שְׁלוֹם *right order*. In particular, the phrase אַחֲרַי הֵלֵךְ *to follow after*, occurs with God, foreign gods, and husbands as the object. Malul writes,

‘Following God/a person’ in the sense of attaching oneself legally to the person that is followed strongly recalls a frequent symbolic act attested in [Akkadian] documents, that of holding or grasping a person’s hem of garment which, in certain contexts (political treaties and the like), means accepting the rule of the person whose hem one grasps (cf. Zech. 8:23).

We thus have, in our estimation, the basis for recognizing two particular conceptual links in the similes of Hos. 6.4:

וְחֲסֵדְכֶם כְּעָנַן־בֹּקֵר *And your P-loyalty (is) like-the-mists-of morning,*  
 וְכַטָּל מִשְׁכִּים הֵלֵךְ *and-like-the-dew starting.early going.away.*

The first conceptual link is the notion of morning in v. 4c, which is replicated in v. 4d by the participle מִשְׁכִּים *going early*. The morning is associated elsewhere with God’s mercies, compassion, and salvation. In v. 4, however, Hosea effects a reversal of this association by linking the morning with YHWH’s betrayal by his people.

The second conceptual link in these similes again comprises a reversal, this time of the heavy association elsewhere of the verb הֵלֵךְ *to go* with legal assumption of loyalty and faithfulness toward a superior being, whether divine or human. Here, however, Hosea invokes הֵלֵךְ to help depict the people’s faithlessness to YHWH. The reversal of the normal conceptualization

surrounding הַלֵּל explains, we would say, the prophet's otherwise apparently superfluous statement that the dew *goes away early*.

**Hos. 6.5c: is there a simile here?**

The postulated simile of v. 5c, *and-my-judgment like light goes forth*, follows two clauses expressing YHWH's judgmental actions against his people. Most commentators and versions that adopt the reading of a simile here translate similarly to our rendering given here. But if we examine this rendering (*and-my-judgment like light goes forth*) for its InfStr, it emerges that one possible interpretation would read *my judgment* (inferable from the previous clauses' *I hewed them and I killed them*) as an argument in focus by virtue of its fronted position in relation to the verb, a scenario which, however, is untenable here, since the remainder of the sentence, *like light goes forth*, cannot be considered presupposed in any sense.

If we cannot accept the fronted *my judgment* as an argument in focus, an interpretation of the MT as it stands may be possible. Garrett (1977:160–161) proposes (although not in response to any InfStr issue) to understand וְיִשְׁפֹּטֶיךָ *and-your-judgments* (which he does not emend to *my judgment*) as an “accusative of respect.” He renders the clause, then, as *And as for your judgments, light shall go forth*, where *judgments* is seen, not as actual punishment inflicted by YHWH upon his people, but as the condemnatory pronouncements of his prophets against the nation, by which YHWH “verbally slays” his people.<sup>7</sup>

We understand Garrett's accusative of respect to amount here to a Topic Frame, in which *judgments*, having already been discourse-activated by virtue of vv. 5ab, sets the frame for the sentence's Primary Topic, *light*. But *light* is also fronted to the verb, giving the impression that it is an argument in focus.

But if *light* is an argument in focus, then *goes forth* must be presupposed in some way. We find it difficult to claim that it is presupposed.

Summing up so far, we conclude that our understanding of BH InfStr does not favour our reading of *light* in v. 5c as an argument in focus; we therefore do not accept Garrett's view that וְיִשְׁפֹּטֶיךָ *and-your-judgments* is an “accusative of respect.”

Suppose we simply read the MT here: *and-your-judgments (are) light (that) goes forth*. This is surely the more difficult reading, because it would represent an interjection of the prophet re-

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<sup>7</sup> Garrett also comments that the emendation favoured by many, *my judgments go forth like light*, is too ambiguous to be received, for the resulting simile fails to specify the grounds of the simile. Garrett's position here seems rather naive, for the biblical documents are full of similes whose grounds, i.e., whose projected semantic attributes, are open to question. We attempt below, however, to answer Garrett's objection in a more satisfying way.

sponding to the condemnatory pronouncements of YHWH upon his people. In HAO terms, it would be a very marked situation, in that an abstraction (*your judgments*) would be associated with a concretion (*light*) by means of a metaphor. What of the syntax? We would assume an implicit relative pronoun; this assumption is in accord with Watson (2001:57), who gives the omission or rarity of the relative pronoun, definite article, and object marker as characterizing BH poetry.

Alternatively, we could read in the MT a simile as follows: *and-my-judgment (is) (like) light (that) goes.forth*. In this case, the HAO situation is more normal: abstraction objectified by means of a simile. And in either case, we will have avoided the difficulties presented by InfStr, for the resulting structures in these two alternatives are very simple: in both cases, *your judgments* or *my judgment* would be the Primary Topic inferable from the previous two clauses, and *light* would be either the metaphor Vehicle or the simile Vehicle, which would in turn become the new Topic of the subordinate clause *...goes forth*. The relative pronoun is implied, as per Watson.

It is instructive to note that United Bible Societies (1980:238) regards the MT here as containing a scribal error, that of having interpreted the simile particle as a second person sing. suffix in *וּמִשְׁפָּטַי* and *your judgments*. However, although the ancient versional support for a simile here was doubtlessly considered in their evaluation, even then the emended reading of a simile was awarded only a “C” rating from the UBS committee, thus revealing their considerable doubts.

Garrett’s objection to a simile with the Vehicle containing *light* as being too ambiguous in its meaning could in fact be raised against Hosea’s reference to light regardless of the syntactic interpretation of the verse. As it turns out, however, Malul (2000:117, 150 note 98) documents the extensive conceptual correspondence in BH between light and knowledge. When light plays on an object, the object becomes known. Thus, for example, Ps. 119.105 (*A lamp for my feet is your word, and a light for my path*).

We suggest that the reference to *light* justifies itself in the following v. 6:

<p>כִּי חֶסֶד חִפְצָתִי וְלֹא־זָבַח וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים מֵעֹלֹת:</p>	<p><i>For loyalty pleases-me and-not sacrifice, and-knowledge-of God more.than- whole.burnt.offerings</i></p>
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Here is the explication (introduced by *כִּי*) of *light*: the truth of what God desires, and knowledge of him.

We conclude that in Hos. 6.5c the MT is feasible as it stands, and that this clause contains in fact no simile at all. We claim that the reference to light is to be understood on the basis of the overlap in the BH semantic domains between light and knowledge.

**Hos. 6.4–6: conclusion**

In this section, we have argued that the two similes of v. 4 should probably be regarded as novel conceptual associations of Hosea and that they effect the reversal of two common conceptual links in BH. We also argue that the very common emendation of Hos. 6.5c resulting in a simile should not in fact be made.

**6.1.12 And they like those at Adam transgressed the covenant, Hos. 6.7; as marauders lie in ambush for a man, so do bands of priests, Hos. 6.9**

These similes occur in the strophe of Hos. 6.7–9, as displayed below.

<p>וְהִמָּה כְּאַדָּם עָבְרוּ בְרִית שָׁם כָּגְדוּ בִי: גִלְעָד קְרִיַת פְּעֻלֵי אֲנֹן עֲקָבָה מַדָּם: וּכְחַפֵּי אִישׁ גְּדוּדִים חָכַר פְּהִנִּים דָּרָךְ יִרְצָחוּ שְׂכֵמָה כִּי זָמָה עָשׂוּ:</p>	<p><i>And-they like-(at)Adam transgressed covenant there they-were.faithless to-me Gilead (is) (a) city-of doers-of wickedness, foot-tracked (with) blood. And-as-to.wait.for man bands band-of priests they-slaughter (on) road to-Shechem for intentional.wickedness they-commit.</i></p>
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**Preview of this section**

In this section, we present our notion of a pragmatic **overlay of accumulation** that would be parallel to pragmatic overlays of contrastiveness and quantification in focus structures, in the InfStr model of Floor (2004a). We will also posit that fronted simile Vehicle terms are used in this strophe as Theme Frames.

**Interpreting Hos. 6.7**

Wolff (1974:105) remarks that “Adam” of v. 7 must be understood as a place rather than a man’s name, because of the locative adverb **שָׁם** *there* of the next line. Garrett (1997:162) adds that the ambiguous “Adam” of v. 7 becomes parallel to Gilead and Shechem of the next two verses if it is understood locatively. Andersen and Freedman (1980:438–439) also understand “Adam” locatively.

The covenant of v. 7 is evidently the Mosaic covenant, as is suggested by the preceding v. 6, in which YHWH says he values loyalty over sacrifices. Again, the referred-to covenantal transgression seems to have occurred contemporaneously with Hosea, judging from the parallelism with Gilead and Shechem (Wolff 1974:121).

An alternative view is presented by McComiskey (1992:95): he understands “Adam” to refer to the first man, and the particle **אָשָׁם** *there* to refer, not locatively, but to a particular state of affairs, in this case the breaking of the covenant.

Yet another view is espoused by Stuart (1987:99), who translates, *But look—they have walked on my covenant like it was dirt, see, they have betrayed me!* He regards the pronoun **הֵמָּה** as signifying “behold” here, and takes the verb **עָבְרוּ** to mean literally *they walk, tread*. The noun **אָרֶץ** is interpreted simply as *ground*. The particle **אָשָׁם** is seen to mean *behold*, as **הֵמָּה** is.

Unless one wishes to understand the pronoun **הֵמָּה** *they* in an unusual way, it will be necessary to account for the use of the pronoun and the marked word order in both clauses of v. 7. We view this pronoun as having the pragmatic function of signaling contrast between the referents of *they* (Ephraim and Judah from Hos. 6.4 in the previous strophe: see Section 6.1.11) and whoever practises *loyalty and knowledge of God* (Hos. 6.6).

The simile of v. 7a also features the Vehicle term in a fronted position; we consider the Vehicle term to be serving as a Theme Frame, establishing the first of a series of locations of sinning on the part of the nation. *Adam* is the first location, then *Gilead* (v. 8), then *the road...to Shechem* (v. 9) (this last expression we take as a construct relation made discontinuous by the intervening verb **יִרְצְחוּ** *they slaughter*. We take the rest of the Tenor (*they transgressed the covenant*) as presupposed, since the prophet has already been rebuking Ephraim and Judah for their faithlessness. The Theme Frame status of *like Adam* is reinforced in v. 7b by the fronted locative adverb **אָשָׁם** *there: there they were faithless to me*. Here the faithless activity of the inhabitants of the town of Adam is not cited as an example of comparison to the present faithlessness condemned by Hosea, but rather as a part of the present general faithlessness, for the perpetrators of the action referred to by *they* of v. 7b are the general referents Ephraim and Judah.

**Interpreting Hos. 6.9** Wolff (1974:106) and Andersen and Freedman (1980:441) both regard the text of v. 9 as very uncertain, citing many variations in ancient versions. Various lexical items in the verse are also irregular, but commentators generally agree that banditry is being associated with the priests; Andersen and Freedman see suggestions of collaboration between bandits from the Transjordan area of Gilead and the priests. The Information Status of v. 9a must remain rather murky; we may guess that it is a VT Major Simile on the order of, *Like lurking bandits is the association of priests*. If this is so, then we would view the fronted Vehicle term of this simile as a Theme Frame, setting a frame for vv. 9bc.

7 וְהֵמָּה כְּאָדָם עֲבָרוּ בְרִית	<i>And-they like-(at)Adam transgressed covenant</i>	<b>Argument Focus</b> , signaling pragmatic overlay of contrast between <i>Ephraim</i> and <i>Judah</i> and those who practice loyalty and knowledge of God.  <b>Theme Frame</b> : signaling a Theme Frame for vv. 7abc of locations of sinning.
שָׁם בְּגֵדוּ בִי:	<i>there they-were.faithless to-me</i>	<b>Argument Focus</b> , reiterating location theme.
8 גִּלְעָד קְרִית פְּעֻלִי אָנוּ עֲקָבָה מְדָם:	<i>Gilead (is) (a) city-of doers-of wickedness, foot-tracked (with) blood.</i>	Topic-Comment sentence, with an overlay of accumulation: <i>Gilead</i> is second in a series of locations of sinning.
9 וּכְחֹלֵי אִישׁ גְּדוּדִים חֶבֶר כְּהֹנִים	<i>And-as-to.wait.for man marauders (is) band-of priests</i>	<b>Theme Frame</b> setting the theme for this verse. <i>Priests</i> has been discourse-inactive but is presupposed
דֶּרֶךְ יִרְצָחוּ-שָׁכְמָה	<i>(on) road they-slaughter to-Shechem</i>	<b>Argument Focus</b> , establishing the third locality of sinning in this list (the construct phrase is discontinuous); <i>slaughter</i> is presupposed by virtue of the simile inf v. 9a
כִּי זָמָה עָשׂוּ:	<i>For intentional.wickedness they-commit.</i>	<b>Argument Focus</b>
10 בְּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל רָאִיתִי שַׁעֲרֵירִיָּה	<i>In-house-of Israel I-have.seen horrible.thing</i>	<b>Theme Frame</b> , setting a new theme for this verse, this time not of various locations of sinning, but of the very heart and core of the nation.
שָׁם זְנוּת לְאֶפְרַיִם	<i>there (is) adultery to-Ephraim</i>	<b>Argument Focus</b> , reiterating the heart and core theme.
נִטְמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל:	<i>is-defiled Israel</i>	Ostensible Predicate Focus, but we would argue implied <b>Argument Focus</b> , because of implied repetition of שָׁם there from v. 10b.
11 גַּם-יְהוּדָה שֶׁת קָצִיר לָדָּ	<i>Also-Judah, he-has.established harvest for-youS</i>	<b>Theme Frame</b> , acting as object of direct address.

Figure 6.1.12  
Focus structures in the strophes of Hos. 6.7–9, 10–11

(Theme Frames, a kind of focal element, are underlined.)

Verse 9b then treats the priests as primary Topic, and v. 9c (*Indeed, intentional wickedness they commit*) presents us with yet another Argument Focus clause, with זָמָה intentional wickedness in focus.

It is worth noting the distribution of the various focus structures in this strophe and the following strophe of Hos. 6.10–11. These structures are displayed above in Figure 6.1.12 (the arguments in focus are in bold type).

In vv. 7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 10b, and 11a, there is not a pragmatic overlay of contrastiveness, but rather what we propose to call a pragmatic overlay of accumulation: many illustrations of the people's faithlessness to YHWH are presented in a cumulative list fashion. Note that once the list has been started, it becomes self-propelling, as it were, with Argument Focus structures able to carry the list along. Theme Frames are neatly distributed at the start of vv. 7, 9, 10, and 11. The particle **וְ** reinforces the force of focus upon *Judah* as well.

**Hos. 6.7–9: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

We understand v. 7 as indulging in a double entendre: *Adam* we take as a place name, introducing the series *Adam—Gilead—Shechem* in this strophe. The verb **עָבַר**, glossed by KB as *move on one's way, move through; to go over, pass over; to overstep, contravene*, has on the basis of its concrete sense of geographical displacement a moral sense of going past the limit of acceptable behaviour (Malul 2002:454 dwells on this theme). We do not have to adopt Stuart's rendering of this verse to note that the sense of moral transgression comprised in the expression *they...transgressed the covenant* is not weakened by the fact that **אָרֶץ** has also the primary sense of *earth, ground*, which collocates literally with **עָבַר** *to pass through, over*.

The primary sense of **עָבַר** is present as an echo in v. 8 in the unusual phrase **עָקְבָהּ בְּדָמַיִם** *foottracked with bloodshed*. We also suggest that the kinaesthetic image schema of physical motion is also present in v. 9 (*on*) *road they-slaughter to-Shechem*.

Garrett (1997:163) discourses on the complex allusions to the patriarchs that are present in this strophe. The town of Adam brings to mind Adam, the first patriarch, and his fall into sin. Gilead (v. 8) was famous for its association with Jacob: Laban accusing him of faithlessness, and Jacob's confrontation with the angel before meeting Esau. Again, the unusual qualification of Gilead with the expression **עָקְבָהּ בְּדָמַיִם** *foottracked with bloodshed*, brings the name of Jacob to mind. The noun **אָוֶן** *wickedness* is associated with the sarcastic nickname for the town of Bethel, "Beth Aven," *house of wickedness*; Bethel was in a sense the starting place for Jacob's flight from Canaan. The reference to Shechem calls to mind the revenge exacted upon its inhabitants by two sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, in payment for the violation of their sister Dinah. In a word, the history of Jacob is accessed here; it is to be taken up again in Hos. 12.2–5. Moreover, the aspects of Jacob's story that come into focus here place him in a very negative light, implying that YHWH's people in the prophet's own day have not advanced at all in faithfulness to YHWH.

The list of locations of sinning is forcefully begun in v. 7a with a simile. The simile's fronted Vehicle term serves as a Theme Frame for the entire verse, the first time we have found this use for a Vehicle term. This simile thus establishes a Theme Frame, while at the same time projecting the kinaesthetic image schema of motion.

Eidevall (1996:124) sees the list of place names in this strophe as the start of a "geography of evil" extending from Hos. 6.7 to Hos. 7.16, in which the locations Adam, Gilead, and Shechem reference domestic sin within the nation; followed by Samaria, the capital, pointing to national sin; and ending with Assyria and Egypt, pointing to Israel's sin on an international scale.

From an HAO standpoint, we regard both similes in this strophe as being the unmarked devices for effecting their conceptual manipulations: they both effect HUMAN-HUMAN associations, for which we posited in Section 4.6.2 that simile is the default device.

**Hos. 6.7–9: Elements constitutive of worldview**

We have noted the expression *עָבְרוּ בְרִית* *they transgressed the covenant* as expression illicit behaviour, where legitimate behaviour is conceptualised as a circumscribed geographical area with boundaries that ought not to be crossed. We remark here that this conceptualization is similar to the well-known BH conceptualization of one's behaviour as a path in that both conceptualizations are geographical in nature: paths can be strayed from as easily as boundaries can be crossed. We take both conceptualizations to be basic in BH moral vocabulary. It is not surprising that the path conceptualization should be enshrined in the BH conceptual metaphor BEHAVIOUR IS A PATH.

What of the geographical area conceptualization? In BH, one is said to "go beyond" or "contravene" (I *עבר*) the law (*אֶת־תּוֹרַת־יְהוָה*, Dan. 9.11), decree of the length of one's life (*יָקִין*, Job. 14.5), and commands (*מִצְוֹת יְהוָה* Chron. 24.20). Since *עבר* in its basic conceptualization concerns geographical movement, it seems clear that in its moral usage it figures in a conceptual metaphor on the order of PASSING OVER AN IMPLIED BOUNDARY IS CONTRAVENING.

**Hos. 6.7–9: conclusion**

We have proposed in this section that to the inventory of pragmatic overlays (including that of contrast) there be added an **overlay of accumulation**, exemplified in Hos. 6.7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 10b, and 11a.

We have also noted something new for us: the use of a fronted simile Vehicle term for a Theme Frame.

**6.1.13 All of them are committing adultery like a burning oven, Hos. 7.4; for they approached like an oven their hearts, Hos. 7.6a; in the morning it burns like a fire, Hos. 7.6c; all of them grow hot like an oven, Hos. 7.7a**

This cluster of similes, together with image-elaborating metaphors, occurs in the strophe of Hos. 7.3–7; this strophe is displayed below, together with the preceding strophe of Hos. 6.11b–7.2.

6.11b	בְּשׁוּבֵי שְׁבוּת עַמִּי:	<i>In-my-turning captivity-of my-people,</i>
7.1	כִּרְפְּאֵי לְיִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>when-my-healing to-Israel</i>
	וּנְגִלָּה עֵזֶן אֶפְרַיִם וְרַעוּת שָׁמְרוֹן	<i>and-was-uncovered guilt-(of) Ephraim and-evil-(of) Samaria</i>
	כִּי פָעְלוּ שִׁקְרָה	<i>for they-have-committed lie(s)</i>
	וְגַנֵּב יָבֹוא	<i>and-thief comes</i>
	פָּשַׁט גִּדּוּד בַּחוּץ:	<i>has-robbed marauding-band in-the-street</i>
2	וּבַל-יֶאֱמְרוּ לְלִבָּבָם כָּל-רַעְתָּם זְכַרְתִּי	<i>And-not-they-think to-their-hearts (that) all-their-evil I-have-remembered</i>
	עַתָּה סָבְבוּם מֵעַלְלֵיהֶם	<i>now surround-them their-deeds</i>
	נִגַּד פָּנַי הָיוּ:	<i>before my-face they-are</i>
3	בְּרַעְתָּם יִשְׂמְחוּ מֶלֶךְ	<i>With-their-evil they-make-glad king</i>
	וּבִכְחֹשֵׁיהֶם שָׂרִים:	<i>and-with-their-deceit princes.</i>
4	כָּלֵם מְנַאֲפִים כְּמוֹ תַנּוּר בַּעֲרָה	<i>All-of-them (are) adulterers as the-oven burning</i>

כְּמוֹ תַנּוּר בַּעֲרָה [הֵם] מֵאִפָּה	Wolff	<i>they are like an oven burning without a baker</i>
כְּמוֹ תַנּוּר בַּעֲרָה [הֵם]	McComiskey	<i>they are like a burning oven</i>

מֵאִפָּה יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר מְלוּשׁ בָּצֶק  
 עַד-חֲמֻצָּתוֹ: *from-baker it-rests from-stirring from-kneading-of dough to-its-rising*

Corrupt MT?

... יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר	Wolff	<i>he ceases to stir (the fire)...</i>
אִפָּה יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר [...]	McComiskey	<i>the baker ceases to stir (the fire)</i>
מְלוּשׁ בָּצֶק עַד-חֲמֻצָּתוֹ		<i>from the kneading of the dough to its rising</i>

5 יוֹם מִלְּפָנָיו הִחֲלוּ שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיַּיִן  
*(On) day-of our-kings became-ill princes (from) heat-of wine,*

מִשְׁקֵי יָדוֹ אֶת-לִצְצָיִם:  
*(whose) power draws.in OBJ-mockers.*

Wolff *whose power enchants the mockers*

6 כִּי-קָרְבוּ כְּתַנּוּר לָבָם בְּאָרְבָּם  
*For-they-drew.near; like-the-oven their-heart in-their-ambush*

Garrett *for they brought (him) near—like an oven were their hearts*

כָּל-הַלַּיְלָה יִשָּׁן אִפָּהֶם  
*all-the-night sleeps their-baker*

anger Stuart, Wolff

בִּקְרָה הוּא כַּעֲרָה כְּאֵשׁ לְהַבָּה:  
*(in) morning it burns like-fire-of flame*

7 כָּלֵם יַחֲמוּ כְּתַנּוּר  
*All-of-them they-are-hot like-the-oven*

וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־שָׂפְטֵיהֶם *and-they-devoured OBJ-their-rulers.*  
 כָּל־מְלִכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ *all-their-kings fell.*  
 אֵין־קָרָא בָהֶם אֶלַּי: *There-is-no one-calling among-them to-me.*

**Preview of  
this section**

Although this collection of similes and elaborated images is difficult to interpret in various places, we shall find that the distribution of similes and metaphors is still explainable. We shall also find that InfStrs principles again prove helpful in evaluating commentators' proposed emendations.

**Hos. 7.4: text**

Commentators point out that תַּנּוּר *oven* is masculine and should not govern the feminine participial form בֹּעֵרָה *burning*. Because of this, Wolff (1974) takes the final ה to be the vestige of the masc. pl. pronoun הֵם, but supposes that the final ם was lost in copying. McComiskey sees the final ם as being found in the preposition attached to הַמֵּאִפֶּה *from the baker*, while Wolff, on the other hand, sees that preposition as privative: *like an oven burning without a baker*.

Wolff chunks this verse as follows:

כָּלֶם מְנַאֲפִים <sup>4</sup> *All-of-them (are) adulterers*  
 כִּמוֹ תַנּוּר בֹּעֵר [הֵם] מֵאִפֶּה *they are like an oven burning without a baker*  
 יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר *he ceases to stir (the fire)*  
 מִלּוֹשׁ בֶּצֶק עַד־חֲמֻצַּתוֹ *from the kneading of the dough to its rising*

We find Wolff's reading of v. 4b very improbable; that a Tenor consisting of a personal pronoun should interrupt the Vehicle term seems very unusual. It is instructive that the LXX makes no mention of a baker, reading instead:

Πάντες μοιχεύοντες ὡς κλίβανος *All-of-them (are) adulterers as a burning oven for*  
 καιόμενος εἰς πέψιν *baking*  
 κατακαύματος ἀπὸ τῆς φλογός, *glowing from the flame*  
 ἀπὸ φυράσεως στέατος, *from the kneading of the dough until its leavening.*  
 ἕως τοῦ ζυμωθῆναι αὐτό.

It is evident that the LXX corresponds very well with the MT in the beginning of the verse, but has reinterpreted *from the baker* to *for baking* (εἰς πέψιν). It seems that the translators either did not know how regard the agentive *baker*, or that the source text they followed did not. Note that the simile in Greek suggests default BH TV simile and word order.

The LXX then omits all mention of *ceasing to stir*, but achieves the same effect by speaking of *glowing from the flame*, which, however, seems to be an explanatory gloss.

McComiskey, on the other hand, chunks it as follows:

כָּלֶם מִנְאֲפִים<sup>4</sup> *All-of-them (are) adulterers*  
[ כִּמוֹ תַנּוּר בֹּעֵר ] הֵם *they are like a burning oven*  
[... ] אִפָּה יִשְׁבּוֹת מְעִיר *the baker ceases to stir (the fire)*  
מִלוֹשׁ בָּצֵק עַד־הִמָּצְתוֹ *from the kneading of the dough to its rising*

We do not find McComiskey's chunking convincing: why should *the baker* in v. 4c be fronted to the verb it governs? We expect no argument focus here; we expect instead that *the baker* should be presupposed because of the reference to an oven. Neither do we find it reasonable that any mention of the fire being left unstirred should be considered presupposed, as it would be in McComiskey's Argument Focus reading. In another InfStr scenario, the fronted expression *the baker* could lead us to expect that it functions as a topic frame, but this expectation is equally doomed to disappoint us; in reality, attention in the following discourse is given instead to the "heat" symbolizing the people's adultery.

Stuart (1987:114) chunks the text in the same way as McComiskey, but he emends אִפָּה *the baker* to אִפָּהּ, *its baker*, a course that seems unnecessary. His reading is liable to the same InfStr objection as McComiskey's.

Garrett (1997:167) leaves the MT as it stands, but associates the feminine participle בֹּעֵרָה *burning* with implicit adulterous passion, which he understands to be feminine in gender. The expression הַמֵּאָה he understands to be essentially partitive in nature: an oven *of the kind used by bakers*.

We conclude that no employment of *baker* in v. 4 is satisfactory from an InfStr standpoint. Perhaps the MT is corrupt. Perhaps the the LXX translators were the most fortunate of all, in either choosing not to face—or perhaps in not having to face—the agentive *baker*.

**Hos. 7.5a: text** The MT, reading יוֹם מִלְכֵנוּ הַחֲלוּ שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיָּיִן, has received many interpretations. Most commentators read *day of our king* or *our kings* in a temporal way: *on the day of...*; Wolff reads it as the object of an emended verb (hiphil of חָלַל *to begin* instead of hiphil of חָלָה *to make sick*). the LXX, however, displays a temporal expression, ἡμέραι τῶν βασιλέων ὑμῶν *on the days of our kings*. We consider it probable that kings in plural is meant, on the basis of v. 7 (*and-they-devoured OBJ-their-rulers; all-their-kings fell*). If this is so, then the employment of חָלַל *to begin* seems very unlikely, for חָלַל used in the sense of *to begin* must rarely, if ever, signal repetitive or customary action.

Garrett (1997:167) proposes an emendation, *By day the princes incapacitate our king from wine; he draws in mockers with his hand*. Garrett’s rendering could be possible if we allowed double fronting, consisting of the temporal expression *by day* (acting as a Theme Frame), followed by the direct object *our king*. We would expect the fronted *our king* to act as an argument in focus, but this does not seem justified by the context. Moreover, we have hypothesized that in this kind of double fronting, an argument in focus *precedes* a Theme Frame. These conditions do not obtain in this verse. In addition, when we look for the outworking of the putative Theme Frame of *by day*, we are disappointed, finding it irrelevant to the following material. It could exist in contrast to the expression כָּל-הַלַּיְלָה יָשָׁן אֲפֵקֵם of v. 6b (*all night sleeps their baker*), but this phrase is more naturally considered to be in contrast to the following v. 6c, בֶּקֶר הוּא בֵּעֵר כְּאֵשׁ לְהִבֵּה, *in the morning it burns like a flame of fire*.

We conclude that we must decline Garrett’s proposed emendation.

If we cannot have double fronting in v. 5a, then it seems clear that a construct relation is indicated there, so that we have only one single fronted element to deal with. We understand, therefore, יוֹם מִלְכֵנוּ to read *on the day of our kings*. Garrett’s view, however, that the Hiphil verb הִחֲלִינוּ denotes *they make sick the king* (or, as we would prefer, *kings*) could still stand, provided that we suppose that the verb governs an implied direct object *king* or *kings*.<sup>8</sup>

Wolff renders this passage, *The rulers begin the day of their king by becoming inflamed with wine*; the BH syntax does not support the idea that *day* is an object of the emended verb *begin*. But how is the verb חָלַל (ἤρξαντο οἱ ἄρχοντες θυμοῦσθαι ἐξ οἴνου of the LXX suggests this verb) actually used in BH in its sense of *to begin*? In all cases where we have examined its use, it appears to truly denote inceptive action—unlike the ability of *to begin* in English to metonymically denote a complete action. We find it unlikely that inceptive action fits the context of this passage, in which it would be much more natural for Hosea to say simply, *the leaders got drunk*.

We are left, therefore, with reading the unemended MT in v. 5a, either as, *In the day of our kings, the leaders became ill with the heat of the wine*, or, following Garrett, *In the day of our kings, the leaders made them ill with the heat of the wine*. We prefer to read *kings* in plural, because this agrees with *kings* in v. 7. We have then a reference to long years of debauchery at the Samarian court during the reigns of an increasingly unstable line of kings.

<sup>8</sup> The direct object is implied with the Hiphil stem of חָלַל *to make sick* in Isa. 53.10 (יְהוָה חָפֵץ נִכְאוּ הַחֲלִי ) *But YHWH willed to crush him and cause (him) to suffer* and in Mic. 6.13 (וְגַם-אֲנִי הִחֲלִיתִי הַכּוֹתֶךָ) *And also I have made (you) weak to destroy you*.

As for the InfStr of this passage, we explain the preverbal fronting of *on the day of our kings* or *king* as signaling a Topic Frame for this verse.

**Hos. 7.5b: text** The MT מִשְׁךְ יָדוֹ אֶת־לְצַצִּים is often seen as meaning, *he drew his hand with mockers*, i.e., he associated with mockers; Garrett (1997:167) turns the syntactic relations around, as sometimes seems to be justified in BH, to understand, *He draws in mockers with his hand*.

Wolff (1974:107) heavily emends this portion of v. 5, but makes one creative suggestion, which we accept, that involves no emendation at all: to treat the pronominal suffix attached to יָד *hand, power* as referring, not to *our king* of v. 5a, but to *wine*. In this case, his rendering of v. 5c would apply: *whose power enchants* [i.e., draws in] *the mockers*. One appeal of this interpretation is that it refrains from turning the king (or kings) into explicit agents of action: the focus remains on the influential Israelites who have played so large a role in corrupting their kings and leaders. A second appeal of Wolff's rendering is that it is very reasonable in InfStr terms: the main topic has temporarily become the wine, in reference to its ability to befuddle its drinkers.

**Hos. 7.6a: text** The MT כִּי־קָרְבוּ כְּתַנּוּר לָבָם בְּאַרְבָּם means, in Garrett's (1997:167) view, *for they brought (him) near—like an oven were their hearts—in their ambush*. Most other commentators emend the text, often following the LXX ἀνεκαύθησαν *they were inflamed*. Garrett's rendering establishes a reciprocal relation between the king and his courtiers: he drew them into his plotting, little knowing that they were enticing him so as to “ambush,” probably assassinate, him—such were the intrigues in the Samaritan court. Garrett's reading appears compatible with our view that Hosea is describing a long period of debauchery and instability in the court of Samaria.

Since, however, we adopt Wolff's rendering of v. 5b (*whose power enchants the mockers*), then it is difficult to accept Garrett in v. 6a. We therefore reject Garrett here.

McComiskey regards *their heart* as the verbal object: *for they bring their heart(s) like an oven into their treachery*. This view we regard as rather more likely than the others we have considered. For one thing, the Vehicle term *oven* has already been established, and so appears to make possible the association between *oven* and *their hearts*—and association that would otherwise seem unlikely. Secondly, this reading is compatible with Wolff's reading of v. 5b (*whose power enchants the mockers*).

It may be even more likely, however, that we should translate, as Eidevall (1996:112) *For they drew near; like an oven (are) their hearts in their treachery*. A motivation in this direction may be that there is a problem with the collocation in McComiskey's rendering of קָרְבוּ *bring or draw near*

with לב *inner man, heart*. It is not at all clear what it would mean to *bring near one's heart*; a search of parallel expressions in BH does not suggest much.

Going with Eidevall's view, then, we are left then with a VT simile: *like an oven (are) their hearts in their ambush*. Can this simile order be justified? We believe so, on the grounds that *like an oven* (כתנור) functions as another Theme Frame for vv. 6b–7b. As we present in Figure 6.1.13a, the oven image here assumes features of a counter-reality, as is frequently the case with metaphors and similes.

**Hos. 7.6b: text** The MT of v. 6b reads כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה יָשָׁן אַפְהָם *all night long slumbers their baker*; Wolff (1974:107), Stuart (1987:114–116), and others follow Syriac and the Targum in understanding as the clausal subject *their anger*. We consider it reasonable to emend the MT *baker* here to *anger*, provided that anger can be said to sleep in BH. We find no independent evidence of this, however.

**Hos. 7.3–7: our own view and interpretation** We display below our own view of the text and its interpretation. Our textual reading varies from the MT by only two emendations.

<p>בְּרַעְתֶּם יִשְׂמְחוּ-מִלֶּךָ<sup>3</sup>          וּבְכַחְשֵׁיהֶם שָׂרִים:          כָּלֶם מִנְּאֻפִים<sup>4</sup>          כְּמוֹ תַנּוּר בַּעֲרָה מֵאַפָּה          יִשְׁבּוֹת מֵעִיר מִלוֹשׁ בְּצֶק עַד־חֲמֻצָתוֹ:          יוֹם מִלִּפְנֵי הַחֵלֶל שָׂרִים חֲמַת מִיַּיִן<sup>5</sup>          מִשֵּׁף יָדוֹ אֶת־לִצְצִים:          כִּי־קָרְבוֹ<sup>6</sup>          כַּתְנֹר לֶפֶם בְּאָרְבָּם          כָּל־הַלַּיְלָה יָשָׁן [אַפְהָם]          בֶּקֶר הוּא בַעַר כְּאֵשׁ לְהִבָּה:          כָּלֶם יַחֲמוּ כַתְנֹר<sup>7</sup>          וְאָכְלוּ אֶת־שִׁפְטֵיהֶם          כָּל־מְלָכֵיהֶם נָפְלוּ          אִין־קִרָא בְהֶם אֵלַי:</p>	<p><i>With-their-evil they-make-glad king          and-with-their-deceit princes.          All-of-them (are) adulterers          as the-oven burning (are) they without-baker          (who) ceases to stir (the dough) from the kneading of the          dough to its rising          In the day of our kings, the leaders became ill with the heat          of the wine          whose power enchants the mockers          For-they-drew.near;          like-the-oven (was) their-heart in-their-ambush.          All-the-night sleeps their-anger;          (in) morning it burns like-fire-of flame.          All-of-them they-are-hot like-the-oven          and-they-devoured OBJ-their-rulers.          all-their-kings fell.          There-is-no one-calling among-them to-me.</i></p>
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**Figure 6.1.13a**  
*Our own reading and interpretation of Hos. 7.3–7*

Bracketed text represents an emendation

**Hos. 7.3–7: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

Assuming that bread dough was left to rise outside the oven before it was placed into the oven, then Wolff (1974:124–125) seems correct when he writes of “glowing embers of an ‘oven’ burning unattended.” He understands the reference to adultery, however, as standing for foreign appeals and alliances that are illicit in YHWH’s covenant with Israel. But Eidevall (1996:111) prefers a very literal understanding of *adulterers*, with which we agree, for there is nothing in the passage that recommends a metaphorical interpretation.

Who is the *baker* of v. 4b? Commentators have strained to identify him. Garrett (1997:169) identifies him with the king, who, contrary to what he presumes to be normal bakers’ working routines, sleeps all night, unconcerned with the drunken debauchery in his court (see v. 5), corresponding in some way to a baker who never stokes or tends the fire in his oven and never seems to be aware that, contrary to all expectation, the fire grows hotter all the time. Thus the imagery seems to go from what is expected in v. 4 to the unexpected in v. 6b.

However, this interpretation is based upon only one reading of the text, which commentators tend to agree is in very poor condition, with wide versional disparities. With Eidevall (1996:111), we prefer to view the *baker* of v. 4 as part of the oven metaphor, meriting no attention beyond his incidental mention. The apparent reference to a baker in v. 6 should be viewed as a reference to anger instead, as Wolff reads it. Perhaps the MT understood *baker* by analogy with v. 4.

Verse 4b associates humans with an object (*oven*); simile is the default device for this effect.

Upon leaving the wine metaphor, Hosea then invokes in v. 5b *mockers* (לִצְצִים). This term seems to have nothing to do in BH with heat, and neither with shame and disgrace as an English speaker might expect, but instead with opposition to knowledge, as exemplified in Hos. 4.10b–11:

כִּי־אֶת־יְהוָה עָזְבוּ לְשֹׁמֵר  
זְנוּת וַיִּזְן וְתִירוֹשׁ יִקַּח־לָב *For they have deserted YHWH to observe  
prostitution and wine and new wine, that takes away  
understanding.*

As for an intertextual link between wine and mockers, we think immediately of Prov. 20.1:

לֵץ חֲנִין הִמָּה שֹׁכֵר  
וְכָל־שֹׁגֵה בּוֹ לֹא יִחְכֶּם *A mocker is wine; a noise-maker is strong drink,  
and everyone who goes astray with it is not wise.*

Here again we find wine (יין) associated with mocking (לֵץ) and standing in opposition to wisdom (חֲכָמָה). It is at this point in our analysis that Wolff’s emendation begins to make sense from a cognitive viewpoint, when he renders v. 5 as *The rulers begin the day of (their) king by becoming*

*inflamed from wine, whose power enchants the mockers*. In this case we find a foreshadowing of the final verse of this strophe: the mockers leave the path of knowledge, with the result that *none of them calls on me* [YHWH] (v. 7).

Verse 6b features a second simile with *oven* in the Vehicle term. The MT term *ambush*, together with *their heart*, seems to apply the kinaesthetic image schema of heat to anger or perhaps envy directed against the king. This Tenor term stands in contrast to the passion that drives the adultery of v. 4a. If one rereads the word *ambush*, as Wolff does, as the expression *within them*, even then the concept of the Tenor is ultimately shown by v. 7 to be the same: anger or envy directed against the king and his administration. Thus even for Wolff the Vehicle term of *oven* is associated in the simile with a different Tenor than in v. 4.

The simile in v. 6b associates two objects together, *their heart* and *oven*. SAME-SAME associations are, we have hypothesized, effected in an unmarked manner by means of simile.

The simile in v. 6d (*in the morning it [their anger] burns like a flame of fire*) features, we would argue, something approaching a *kaph-veritatis* on a very low phrasal—almost lexical—level. *To burn like a flame of fire* means to burn with an open flame, as opposed to smoulder.

Verse 7a (*All of them are hot like an oven*) repeats at first glance the same image as in v. 6d (*like an oven was their heart in their ambush*); however, whereas the earlier image conforms to reality, the later image is unreal, for an oven does not devour people, as opposed to v. 7b (*and they devour their rulers*).

Bearing in mind the wide disparity of readings and interpretations of the strophe, can we nevertheless reach any general conclusions regarding this strophe's images that can be drawn based on the distribution of similes and metaphorical elaboration in this strophe? We are helped by Eidevall, to whose understanding we propose additional observations.

We begin by identifying an overall image cluster in this strophe that is based, both literally and figuratively, on various kinds of heat. The presentation of these elements is not haphazard but instead goes according to a certain logic, as is given in Figure 6.1.13b below.

We should call the image of heat more precisely a kinaesthetic image schema. It is instructive to note the various metaphorical levels in which this schema appears in this strophe.

(1) In regard to v. 6, sexual passion does of course create body heat; while it is indeed common to associate this heat with fire, it is nevertheless a big conceptual leap to do so.

- (2) It is a further conceptual leap to specify a certain kind of fire—that which is inside a bake oven.
- (3) The bake oven image allows extensive image elaboration: the smouldering fire at night (v. 4) and its stoking in the morning (v. 6), implying the opening of its door—as well as irrealis elaboration: an oven fire is constructive in that it bakes bread, whereas this fire is destructive in various ways.
- (4) The oven fire is then associated in v. 6 with anger instead of sexual passion. As Eidevall points out, in both cases the oven conceals the fire as a person’s outward appearance often conceals passion, treachery, and anger.
- (5) The oven fire is depicted in v. 7 again in an irrealis fashion as destructive, for instead of baking bread in the oven, it destroys people outside, implying perhaps a roaring forth of the fire through the oven door.
- (6) The temperature-elevating effect of wine is imaged in terms of heat in v. 5, although not in terms of an oven (the lexical item **חֵמָה** seems tied to the verb root **חָמַם** *to be warm*, although its exact lexical identity is disputed). This heat produced by wine may be said to be rather metaphorical, but certainly much less so than if the wine were to be associated with an oven—for wine consumption can produce an impression of bodily heat.

	<b>Image</b>	<b>Remarks</b>
4	Adulterous passion imaged as concealed heat in the form of a fire in a bake oven	The oven conceals its fire, as one’s body may conceal its passions (Eidevall 1996:111).  Why is such emphasis given to (the absence of) stirring, to kneading, and to rising? We suggest that the overall effect of these concepts is to add kinaesthetically to the dynamism of sexual passion and of anger.
5	Drunkenness at festivals imaged as heat	This image seems certain, even though the text, in its condition, may support <i>princes</i> as being either the grammatical subject or object.
6	Anger imaged as concealed heat in the form of a fire in a bake oven	The oven image is referenced again as a simile, because it is associated this time with anger instead of sexual passion. There is here, however, the same projection of secrecy as in v. 4.
6d	Here the simile particle indicates metaphorical congruency between anger and a flaming fire, a fire no longer consisting of mere embers or coals.	Conceptually v. 6d goes with v. 7a: the oven fire burns violently here because the oven door is opened <i>in the morning</i> . This allows their anger to break forth and <i>devour their rulers</i> (v. 7ab). The concealed anger has revealed itself at last.
7ab	Anger imaged as <i>destructive</i> heat in the form of a fire in a bake oven.	The fire is here destructive instead of constructive: it is irrealis, against reality, as fires in oven do not normally destroy. This new destructive quality of the fire merits a repetition of the simile. Fire is said to devour ( <b>אָכַל</b> ), as well as humans.

7cd	More literal conclusion: the kings all <i>fell</i> , for none of them appealed to YHWH.	Abandonment of the oven-fire-heat imagery in favour of a conclusion that stands in contrast to this imagery because it is more literal: the kings <i>fell</i> .
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Figure 6.1.13b

*Development of Images in Hos. 7.3–7*

It is always worthwhile to note exactly how Hosea effects the transition between images. We suggest in Figure 6.1.13b that the lengthy elaboration—with the concepts of stirring, kneading, and rising—of the oven-at-night image in v. 4 adds kinaesthetically to the dynamism of sexual passion and of anger. We add here that this fairly literal language, in providing an elaboration of v. 4a’s simile, also constitutes a conceptual buffer between that simile and v. 5’s heat-of-wine metaphor—heat itself being another kinaesthetic image schema.

**Hos. 7.3–7: conclusion** This most difficult strophe yields two important lessons for our examination of similes. The first lesson is that, despite a variety of readings and interpretations on commentators’ part, images may sometimes still be effectively analyzed. This is done by stepping back as far as possible from the disparity in lexical, textual, and syntactic interpretations and making, when appropriate, generalizations about the images. In the case of Hos. 7.3–7, we have found that regardless of the differences among the commentators we have consulted, the progression of images may be confidently asserted, as Figure 6.1.13b demonstrates.

The second lesson of this strophe is that the distribution and employment of its similes vis-à-vis those of its metaphors can often be easily explained. In particular, what would first appear to be a resumption in v. 6a by means of simile of v. 4’s simile turns out to be a different association of concepts: anger associated with the fire in a bake oven instead of with sexual passion. We thus have there two quite different similes. Also, in v. 7, we find the employment of a simile apparently for the purpose of effecting what we will call an **image modification**, changing an existing image in this case from realis to irrealis.

**6.1.14 Ephraim like a silly dove, Hos. 7.11; like a bird of the skies, Hos. 7.12**

The simile of Hos. 7.11 stands at the beginning of a strophe in Wendland’s analysis. The entire strophe is given below.

וַיְהִי אֶפְרַיִם כִּיּוֹנָה פּוֹתָהּ אֵין לָב <sup>11</sup>	<i>Is Ephraim like-dove silly without sense.</i>	Simile EXPLICIT BIRD IMAGE	<i>a</i>
מִצְרַיִם קָרְאוּ אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ:	<i>Egypt they called, to Assyria they went.</i>	metaphor NOTION OF MOVEMENT	<i>b</i>

כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ אֶפְרַיִם עַל־יְהוָה רִשְׁתָּי <sup>12</sup>	<i>When they go, I will spread over them my net;</i>	metaphor NOTION OF MOVEMENT	<i>b'</i>
כְּעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲוִירֵיהֶם	<i>like-bird-of the-skies I-will.bring.down-them;</i>	Simile EXPLICIT BIRD IMAGE	<i>a'</i>
אִיסִּיָּם כְּשִׁמְעוּ לְעֵדְתָם:	<i>I-will.chastize-them when-report (comes) to-their-assembly.</i>	OUTSIDE OF CHIASM	---

**Figure 6.1.14a**  
*Structure of the strophe of Hos. 7.11–12*

The display is organized mostly by clauses and figures of speech. Thus, the simile *like birds of the skies I will bring them down* occupies its own row. It is only this style of display that will allow us to detect certain chiasms and parallelisms.

**Preview of this section** In this section, we consider various structural ways in which similes may relate to surrounding text, and find that similes may be, for example, in parallel with other language that may be either more or less literal. We also find a simile which apparently exists only for the sake of providing a poetic chiasm, and for the ultimate purpose of giving prominence to yet another textual element.

**Hos. 7.11–12: Sitz im Leben** For Wolff (1974:110–112) and Stuart (1987:117), this passage stands in the same historical setting as Hos. 5.8–11: that of the disaster overtaking the Northern Kingdom at the hands of Tiglath-Pileser III of Assyria in 733 B.C. Hosea sees as precipitating this event the ill-considered Ephraim-Syria coalition, which turned on Judah before the Assyrians' arrival. It is thought that the coalition sought Egypt's support; when that did not materialize, Hoshea, who had usurped the throne in Samaria by murdering King Pekah, ended up paying tribute to Assyria. For Wolff, only the vacillation between Egypt and Assyria at this time can explain v. 11. The forlorn attempt to buy off Assyria while trying to keep inviolate the southern and central part of the Northern Kingdom would ultimately fail c. 725 B.C., and Sargon II would capture Samaria in 722. For the prophet Hosea, the failure to turn to YHWH would spell destruction for the Northern Kingdom; this destruction he casts in terms of specific and deliberate punishment on YHWH's part.

Not all commentators agree on this scenario: Garrett (1997:171) thinks it “unwise” to posit so restrictive a *Sitz im Leben*; for him the passage speaks of longer-term leadership habits in the Northern Kingdom.

**Hos. 7.11: form, markedness, and communicative function** There is a chiasmic structure to the strophe, bounded by the simile of

v. 11a at the beginning and by the simile of v. 12b at the end. Verse 12c, being outside the chiasm, has the most prominence of any line. Within the chiasm, v. 11b is characterized by a notion of movement, as is v. 12a. The chiasm, consisting of the lexicalized reference to *birds* (*dove* in v. 11) and of the presence of a simile in each verse, brings a high degree of cohesion to the strophe and also much prominence to the single line left outside of it.

The simile of v. 11a is a Major Simile with unmarked TV simile order and word order. The referent of v. 11a is the Northern Kingdom, as in the previous strophe, but the reference is relexicalized from *Israel* to *Ephraim*. Because of the relexicalization<sup>9</sup> and the change in image, we regard *Ephraim* as a marked Topic functioning as a theme-announcing macro-word. Here the simile associates the notion of bird with Ephraim, and the association characterizes the entire strophe. What is rather remarkable is that a second simile, that of v. 12b, occurs late in the elaboration of the image, for image elaboration, after the introduction effected by means of a simile, is usually carried on by metaphors. It is possible that the only possible motivation for this second simile is to create the chiasm that has already been noted—for the larger purpose, of course, of giving cohesion to the strophe and high prominence to v. 12c. If not for this motivation, we should expect a metaphor for the purposes of image elaboration.

It is also possible that, as the expression עוף השמים *birds of the sky* appears to denote birds in general and not doves in particular, that the image actually changes here, in which case we would expect a simile.

Of course, both similes effect the animalization of humans, i.e., of Ephraim, for which effect simile is the default device. The second simile includes also, by means of embedded conceptual metaphor (YHWH IS HUMAN) the humanization of YHWH, by virtue of the expression *I will bring them down*, which invokes the image of a fowler.

**Hos. 7.11: constituent concepts and blending dynamics**

The dove (or pigeon) is described here as אֵין לָב *without sense*, where לָב, usually glossed as “heart,” serves here as the seat of reason. Stuart (1987:122) views doves as not known for having good sense. While not discounting that a dove “without sense” is in focus here, Eidevall (1996:118–119) advocates caution in assuming that foolishness was the predominant ANE view of doves. Indeed, such a bird would hardly have been assigned in Gen. 8 the task of evaluating the post-diluvian condition of the earth. Note also Isa. 60.8, where ships from Tarshish repatriating exiles from Israel are compared to doves flying to their nests. Instead, Eidevall cites the doves’ vulnerability to attack, their ability to

<sup>9</sup> Associated with the relexicalization is also the phenomenon that Ephraim is conceptualized in this strophe as a mass of people, requiring 3<sup>rd</sup> plural affixes on verbs, whereas in the preceding strophe, Ephraim is conceptualized as one man.

navigate long distances, and their plaintive call.<sup>10</sup> As Garrett (1997:171) says, “The dove here is probably a homing pigeon, but it is an especially stupid one, since it cannot find its way home.”

The dove is also described as פֹּתָה, usually glossed as “silly,” “gullible,” or the like. This word is a Qal participle of פָּתַח, glossed by BDB as *be open-minded, simple*, and by KB as *be simple, be inexpert, be gullible*. The verb seems to normally be pejorative, as in v. 11, but note that the Piel participle shows up in a positive light in Hos. 2.16:

לָכֵן הִנֵּה אֲנִי מְפַתֵּיחַ וְהִלַּכְתִּיָּהּ הַמִּדְבָּר  
*Therefore behold me about.to.allure-her;I-will.  
 lead-her (into) the-desert;*  
 וְדַבַּרְתִּי עַל-לִבָּהּ: *I-will.speak to her-heart.*

It seems apparent that פָּתַח *be open-minded, simple* is related to פָּתַח *to open* (McComiskey 1992:111). Malul (2002) provides a very strong case for linking the semantic field of opening, openness, and wideness to wisdom and knowledge. Solomon’s wisdom, for example, is described in 1 Kings 5.9 in this way:

God gave Solomon wisdom and very great insight and understanding as wide as the sands that are on the seashore.

We have noted that although the verb פָּתַח normally occurs in a negative light of being open to temptation or deceit, it also occurs positively, as in Hos. 2.16; the root sense of the verb, we conclude, is morally neutral, denoting the quality of being open to persuasion.

We have identified no prototypical semantic features in this simile, unlike some commentators who see the dove or pigeon as an exemplar of stupidity.

This simile, which closes the simile and metaphor chiasm of vv. 11–12b (see Figure 6.1.14a), is given again below in the context of the entire verse:

כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ אֶפְרַיִם עָלֵיהֶם רְשָׁתִי<sup>12</sup> *When they-go, I-will.spread over-them my-net;*  
 כְּעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם אֲוִרֵיהֶם *like-bird-of the-skies I-will.bring.down-them;*  
 אִיסְרָם כְּשִׁמְעַתְּ לְעֵדְתָם: *I-will.chastize-them when-report (comes) to-  
 their-assembly.*

In v. 12c, McComiskey (1992:111) and Garrett (1997:171) understand לְעֵדְתָם כְּשִׁמְעַתְּ as *when a report comes to their assembly*. Garrett sees the *report* as probably being that of a failed diplomatic mission calling to a foreign power for help. McComiskey sees it as a good report coming from the

<sup>10</sup> For doves’ vulnerability, see Ps. 55.7–8; Jer. 48.28. For their mournful cry, see Ezek. 7.16. For their flying abilities, see Isa. 60.8.

diplomatic mission sent to Egypt, in which King Hoshea was promised military help (2 Kings 17.4)—which in turn led him to suspend payments of tribute to Assyria.

McComiskey (1992:111) sees the verb form **אַיִסְרִים** (from the root **יִסַּר**) as anomalous for **אַיִסְרִים**, the Hiphil contraction that is normally expected. Instead of the normal causative sense, an intensive sense of *chastize* may be operative here. Alternatively, Wolff (1974:107) suggests emending the verb to the corresponding Piel form. Rudolph (1966:150–1) suggests the Qal form of **עָצַר** *to bind*.

Wolff suggests emending **לְעֵדְתָם** *to their assembly* to **לְרַעְתָּם** *of their wickedness* on the basis of the LXX's reading of τῆς θλίψεως, after Lev. 26.28. Stuart (1987:116) follows suit.

These choices assume, as Eidevall (1996:120) remarks, that the bird image does not extend to v. 12c. But if **לְעֵדְתָם** is understood to mean *at their flocking together* (as of birds), then v. 12c could represent an expansion of the fowler image of v. 12a–b. In any case, we have already noted that v. 12c stands outside of the strophe's chiasm and certainly communicates coming judgment of YHWH upon Israel.

Stuart (1987:116) proposes emending **שָׁמַע** *assembling* to **שִׁבַּע** *sevenfold*, after Lev. 26.28 *I will punish you seven times over* (**שִׁבַּע**) *for your sins*.

In any case, none of these proposed emendations changes the fact that v. 12c, standing outside of the simile-metaphore chiasm, carries great prominence.

**Hos. 7.12b: form, markedness, and communicative function**

The simile of v. 12b is a Tenor-Predication simile with marked VT simile order. As we remarked earlier, we find it very unusual for Hosea to employ a simile mid-stream in a series of clauses elaborating an image, or at the end, for that matter. His purpose must be to conclude the chiasm that he is creating. The larger communicative purpose must be to give great prominence to v. 12c (*I-will.chastize-them when-report (comes) to-their-assembly*), which stands outside of the chiasm. Recall that we have already met this function of exclusion from chiasms in Hos 4.10 (*For YHWH they have abandoned*) and in Hos. 5.10 (*Upon them I will pour out like water my wrath*).

Let us consider the InfStr of this verse. In v. 12a, the clause **כַּאֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ** *when they go* refers back to the preceding verse, where Ephraim, conceptualized in the plural person, is portrayed as calling and going to Assyria and Egypt. *When they go* functions as a topic frame for the following clause in the

same v. 12a, אֶפְרֹשׁ עֲלֵיהֶם רְשֵׁתִי *I will spread over them my net*, where the speaker YHWH is promoted to primary topic in unmarked word order.<sup>11</sup>

The simile order in v. 12b is marked VT. What characteristics does the simile in its context acquire from this simile order?

First, the simile acquires end-weight, since it ends with the Tenor. We have seen end-weight at work in earlier similes: in Hos. 5.10ab, the Tenor term *my wrath* is left out after the end of a structure of parallelism, and in Hos. 6.3, a conjoining of attenuated similes achieves end-weight at the conclusion of a trio of similes, and the trio of similes itself provides end-weight to the strophe that it concludes.

This end-weight makes the simile in v. 12b parallel to the first bicolon of v. 12, which also features end-weight by virtue of *net* at the end. Secondly, by assuming a fronted position, the Vehicle acquires the function of a frame for the following Tenor—a Theme Frame, necessary for the following metaphor אֲנִי יֵרֵד *I will bring them down*. In this respect also, the simile acts in parallel fashion to v. 12a, which features a kind of topic frame. Thirdly, the Vehicle *like-bird-of-the-skies* receives argument focus, being fronted to the verb. We view the Tenor *I will bring them down* as presupposed by virtue of the preceding line, in which we are told that YHWH will spread his net over the Israelites, who have been clearly imaged already as birds in the previous verse.

Let us chart the parallelisms in Hos. 7.12 below. In examining the simile of v. 12b, then, we find that it exists in chiasmic relationship to the simile-metaphor chiasm that spans vv. 11a—12b, but that

<u>When they go, I will spread over them my net;</u> <sup>12a</sup>	<i>end-weight parallelism (bolded)</i>	<i>Topic frame (underlined)</i>
<u>like-bird-of-the-skies I will bring down them;</u> <sup>12b</sup>	<i>end-weight parallelism (bolded)</i>	<i>Theme frame (underlined)</i>
<i>I will chastize them when report (comes) to their assembly.</i> <sup>12c</sup>		

**Figure 6.1.14b**  
***Parallelisms in Hos. 7.12***

it exists also in parallel relationship to v. 12a. We have already stated our view that the communicative function of the chiasm is to give high prominence to v. 12c. What can be the communicative motivation for the parallelism between vv. 12a and 12b? A glance back at Figure

<sup>11</sup> Here we follow van der Merwe, Naudé, and Kroeze (1997: Section 46.3 (ii)): “Constituents that are expressed by means of a *preposition+pronominal suffix* or **פְּ**+*pronominal suffix* stand as close to the verb as possible.”

6.1.14a suffices to answer that this parallelism provides cohesion to the first bicolon of YHWH's response, vv. 12ab.

**Hos. 7.12b: constituent concepts and blending dynamics**

We have already noted that the Tenor of this simile is metaphorized by virtue of the verb **אֲנִי יֵרֵד** *I will bring them down*, which in other contexts could well be taken quite literally, but which in this strophe continues the elaboration of the bird image. Because of the continued image elaboration, one must say, strictly speaking, that the Vehicle *as birds of the sky* adds nothing to the Tenor that the context has not already ensured. We may ask, then, a curious question: when is a simile unnecessary? Answer: when it is in this kind of context. That it is unnecessary lends force to our earlier argument that the prophet's motivation for this simile was for the chiastically-effected purpose of adding prominence to v. 12c.

But the Vehicle *as birds of the sky* has been said to bear argument focus, being fronted in relation to the verb. If the Vehicle adds no new information, then how can it be said to be in focus? Our answer is that it must be in focus, and that it appears, therefore, to bear the focus of the prophet's insistence upon this image.

Why the insistence upon this image? Perhaps the prophet is here invoking the same Permanence—Transitoriness model that he accessed earlier: the birds are carried away by the winds; they are the epitomy of futility.

Having claimed that the bird image of this strophe is relatively constant throughout, we must still admit the force of Eidevall's (1996:119) observation, that there is a shift in conceptualization starting in v. 12a, from imaging Ephraim as a single bird to imaging the people of Ephraim as a flock of birds.

**Hos. 7.12b: prototypical features**

The shift in conceptualization paves the way for imaging YHWH as a fowler with his net, as in Ezek. 12.13; 17.20; 32.3. Eidevall also remarks that Assyrian kings were depicted as fowlers, catching their foes in their nets. Because of widespread imagery involving also the wicked spreading their nets for innocent people (e.g., Ps. 140.6 and Prov. 29.5), it seems likely that fowling provided a general cultural model of entrapment.

**Hos. 7.11 and 12b: conclusion**

Having considered these three similes, we note the following highlights: (a) the communicative function of a chiasm can be to give much prominence to the single line left outside it at the strophe's close. (b) A simile can stand in structural relationship to another statement, whether this second statement has greater or less a degree of literalness than the

simile. We have noted a relationship of parallelism characterized by parallel end-weight and by parallel beginning frames—in Hos. 7.12a a topic frame and in Hos. 7.12b, a Theme Frame, provided by a simile’s Vehicle. (c) We have noted that it is possible for a simile’s Vehicle to add no new conceptual input necessary to the context of the Tenor, and that the sole motivation for a simile Vehicle, and, hence, for the simile, can indeed be rhetorical structure—in this case, a chiasm having the effect of giving prominence to another element.

### 6.1.15 Like a faulty bow, Hos. 7.16b

This short simile occurs in the last verse of Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 7.13–16, as presented below.

אָזִי לָהֶם כִּי־נָדְדוּ מִמּוֹנֵי <sup>13</sup> *Woe to-them, for they-have.wandered from-me.*  
 שָׁד לָהֶם כִּי־פָּשְׁעוּ בִּי *Destruction to-them, for they-have.rebelled against-me.*  
 וְאֲנֹכִי אֶפְדֶּם *I, I-would.have.redeemed-them,*  
 וְהִמָּוֶה דִּבְרוּ עָלַי בְּזוֹבוֹיִם *but-they-spoke against-me lies.*  
 וְלֹא־זָעְקוּ אֵלַי בְּלִבָּם <sup>14</sup> *They-have-cried not to-me with-their-hearts.*  
 כִּי יִיָּלְלוּ עַל־מִשְׁכְּבוֹתָם *For they-wail on their-beds.*  
 עַל־דֶּגְן וְתִירוֹשׁ יִתְגַּדְּרוּ *Because.of-grain and-new.wine they-sojourn;*

יִתְגַּדְּרוּ	all commentators	...(they-gash) themselves
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יִסְרוּ בִּי *They-turn.away against-me.*

יִסְרוּ	Wolff, Stuart	they are rebellious...
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וְאֲנִי יִסְרֵיתִי חֲזַקְתִּי זְרוּעֵתָם <sup>15</sup> *But-I, I-trained, I-strengthened their-arms,*  
 וְאֵלַי יִחְשְׁבוּ־רָעָה *but-against-me they-plotted evil.*

יִשׁוּבוּ לֹא עָלַי <sup>16</sup> *They-turn not up,*

יִשׁוּבוּ וְלֹא עָלַי	Wolff	they turn, but not to me
יִשׁוּבוּ לְאֵין	Garrett	they turned to nothingness
יִשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי	Stuart	they shall return to the yoke

הָיוּ כְּקִשְׁתׁ רַמְיָהּ *they-are like-bow-of slackness.*

יִפְּלוּ בְּחֶרֶב שָׂרֵיהֶם *They-will.fall by-the-sword their-leaders*

מִזְעֵם לְשׁוֹנָם *because.of-cursing-of their-tongues.*

זֶה לְעֵינֵם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם *This (shall be) their-mockery in-land-of Egypt.*

**Preview of this section** This ambiguous section cannot be relied on for solid support of any particular interpretation of the simile in v. 16. The crux of difficulty is, however, in the phrase *they turn not up*. If we retain the MT here, then the semantic way is paved for the following simile *they-are like-bow-of slackness*. This realization in turn has important implications for the function of this simile.

**Hos. 7.16: text** The most difficult textual locus in this strophe occurs in v. 16a and can well appear corrupt. Wolff suggests an emendation of *יָשׁוּבוּ וְלֹא אֵלַי* or *יָשׁוּבוּ וְלֹא עָרִי* *they turn, but not to me*—an ingenious solution, for it paves the way for the simile of v. 16b, since, as Garrett (1997:173) points out, Ps. 78.57 describes a slack bow as one that turns or twists in use (*They turn back* (וַיִּסְנוּ) *and are faithless like their fathers; they turn back like a slack bow* (פְּקַשְׁתַּת רְמִיָּה)).

Garrett (1997:173) proposes that the the LXX reading ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐθὲν *they turned (it) back toward nothing* suggests that for *יָשׁוּבוּ לֹא עַל* *they turn not up* should be read instead *יָשׁוּבוּ לְאֵן* *they turned to nothingness*, hence, *to idolatry* (cf. the use of אֵן in בֵּית אֵן of Hos. 5.8 and 10.5). He further suggests that the Israelites gave YHWH the title *ʿel ʿal, God on high*, which was not accepted by him. In this case, *לֹא עַל* could be a pun on this title, effected by reversing the order of the first two consonants: *not-on-high*. Thus, Hos. 7.16a would read, *they turn to Not-on-High*, i.e., to idols.

For *לֹא* *not* Stuart (1987:116) reads *אֶל* *to*, yielding *they shall return to the yoke*, one of the covenant curses (Deut. 28.48).

Retaining the MT, McComiskey (1992:116) remarks that a similar expression occurs also in Hos. 11.7:

וְעַמִּי תְלוּאִים לְמִשׁוּבָתִי      *My people are bent on turning from me*  
 וְאֶל-עַל יִקְרְאוּהוּ יַחַד לֹא יִרוּם:      *upward they call him; together he does not rise.*

Here it is clear that a notion of ascent is present; McComiskey sees this fact suggesting the same idea in Hos. 7.16a. Stating that the people do not *turn upward* paves the way for the *faulty bow* simile of the next colon, in the sense that such a bow cannot shoot with any efficacy. McComiskey sees a parallel between Israel’s failure to rise to the higher things of YHWH and the bow’s failure to perform.

Eidevall (1996:122, note 116) writes that most of the many proposed solutions to the admittedly obscure-looking colon of Hos. 7.16a do not militate against his general understanding of the colon, which concerns the people turning away from YHWH. But this viewpoint cannot satisfy one who desires to treat in our manner the simile of the following colon.

While no solution can be dogmatically held, we suggest that McComiskey’s view, retaining the MT and incorporating the notion of *up*, accords very well with the following simile, and we shall adopt his solution.

**Hos. 7.16b: interpreting מוֹזְעִים לְשׁוֹנָם and רִמְיָה**

In the simile of v. 16b, the adjective רִמְיָה can have the sense either of deceit or of slackness. Garrett (1997:173), Stuart (1987:116), and Wolff (1974:108) opt for slackness as better suiting the idea of a bow. But no one would draw a “slack” bow without first stringing it. What seems meant instead is a bow whose wood suddenly breaks when drawn, or whose string snaps.

For the expression מוֹזְעִים לְשׁוֹנָם, Andersen and Freedman (1980:479) view זַעַם, often glossed *indignation*, as always referring elsewhere to anger of YHWH. Garrett (1997:173) supposes that the word here should be understood as cursing, by analogy to the verb זָעַם *curse*. We adopt that understanding here.

**Hos. 7.16b: Sitz im Leben**

This strophe is a lament of YHWH (following Garrett 1997:172) over his people’s rebellion and subsequent punishment, in the context of the previous strophe’s description of their feeble attempts to solicit an effective alliance, first with Assyria, and then with Egypt.

		Quasi-concrete Conceptualization	Kinaesthetic Image Schema
וַאֲנִי יִסְרַתִּי חֲזַקְתִּי זָרַעְתֶּם <sup>15</sup>	<i>But-I, I-trained, I-strengthened their-arms,</i>		Assumed: MOTION TOWARD
וְאֵלֵי יִחְשְׁבוּ-רָע:	<i>but-against-me they-plotted evil.</i>		MOTION TOWARD (וְאֵלֵי)
וְיִשׁוּבוּ לֹא עָלָ <sup>16</sup>	<i>They-turn not up,</i>	MISSING THE SPIRITUAL MARK	Reverse of general orientation toward YHWH DOWN
הֵיוּ כְקֶשֶׁת רִמְיָה	<i>they-are like-bow-of slackness.</i>	MISSING THE CONCRETE MARK	Lends precision to preceding metaphor;
		presents semantic and military	field of weapons DOWN
וַיִּפְּלוּ בַחֶרֶב שָׂרֵיהֶם	<i>They-will-fall by-the-sword their-leaders</i>	LEADERS FAIL	Continues weapon semantic field DOWN
מִזְעֵם לְשׁוֹנָם	<i>because-of-cursing-of their-tongues.</i>	PROFANE SPEECH	Assumed: DOWN
זוֹ לְעֵנָם בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם:	<i>This (shall be) their-mockery in-land-of Egypt.</i>	HUMILIATION	Assumed: DOWN

**Figure 6.1.15**  
**Conceptual Structures in Hos. 7.15–16**

**Hos. 7.16b: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending dynamics**

Garrett (1997:172–174) offers a structural view of Hos. 7.13–16, which has the form of a loose chiasm. Our purposes require only that we recognize the very local conceptual structure surrounding v. 7.16b, as is given in Figure 6.1.15 above.

Note that the conceptual structure is analyzed on two levels: first, what we might call the more concrete level (“missing the spiritual mark,” “missing the concrete mark,” etc.); and secondly, the kinaesthetic image level (“MOTION TOWARD,” “DOWN”).

Taking McComiskey’s view of v. 16a, which yields a translation on the order of *They do not turn up*, we find in this expression a metaphor that paves the way for the simile of v. 16b. Note, however, that the imagery is not the same: the metaphor might at first glance concern the lack of giving any kind of response to the “upward” call of God, as in Hos. 11.7, but then the following simile lends precision to the metaphor: we are to think of the failure of a faulty bow. At the same time, in introducing the semantic field of military weapons, the simile of v. 16c extends the field with the metonymical expression *by the sword*.

Other semantic dynamics in simultaneous play are those of the directions *up* and *down*. Verse 16a introduces the field with the concept *up*, v. 16b expands the field with the concept *down*, enshrined in the term *slackness*, and v. 16c continues the concept *down* with the expression *their leaders shall fall*.

In InfStr terms, the simile of v. 16b, *they-are like-bow-of slackness*, is a topic-comment clause, one of a series of such clauses adding information about the same Topic.

This simile effects an objectification of humans, for which simile is the default device in HAO terms.

**Hos. 7.16b: prototypical semantic features**

What prototypical conceptualizations do the directions up and down possess in BH? This question has not been addressed yet, we believe.

**Hos. 7.16b: conclusion**

If *they turn not up* is a correct understanding of this admittedly difficult text, then we have a case of a simile lending precision to a metaphor, instead of the more normal use of a metaphor elaborating a simile. Note, however, that the precision-bringing simile then introduces a semantic field which appears also in the next colon.

**6.1.16 To your mouth a trumpet as when a vulture is on the house of YHWH, Hos. 8.1**

This simile occurs at the beginning of the strophe comprised by Hos. 8.1–3, displayed below.

אֶל-חִכְּךָ שָׁפֵר <sup>1</sup> *To-your-palate (put) trumpet*  
 כַּנְּשֹׁר עַל-בַּיִת יְהוָה *as.when-the-vulture (is) on-(the)house-of YHWH*

*as.when-the-vulture (is) on-(the.roof.of.the.)house-of  
 YHWH* Garrett

יַעַן עֲבָרוּ בְרִיתִי *because they-transgressed my-covenant*  
 וְעַל-תּוֹרָתִי פָּשְׁעוּ: *and-against my-teaching they-transgressed.*  
 לִי יִזְעֻקוּ <sup>2</sup> *To-me they-cry.out:*  
 אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִדְעוּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל: *My-God—we-know/acknowledge-you—of Israel.*  
 זָנַח יִשְׂרָאֵל טוֹב <sup>3</sup> *Has-rejected Israel (what is) good;*  
 אוֹיֵב יִרְדְּפוּ: *(The) enemy will.pursue (him).*

**Preview of this section** In considering this strophe, we will use our Information Structure model to evaluate certain proposed emendations. We find that Garrett’s proposed understanding of the MT—which will lead us to interpret v. 1 as comprising a Minor Simile that signals congruity of circumstance—is the most reasonable position to take.

**Hos. 8.1ab: text** The MT כַּנְּשֹׁר *like an eagle* or, as some allow, *one like an eagle*, is firmly accepted by United Bible Societies (1980:243) and a number of fairly recent versions. Some, however, dispute it. Stuart (1987:126), for example, heavily emends this verse, as displayed below in Figure 6.1.16a, proposing, *God waits like a young lion; Yahweh, like an eagle over the house....* He regards the text as corrupt and adduces ancient versional evidence for this: the LXX, for instance, reads εἰς κόλπον αὐτῶν ὡς γῆ *to their bosom like the earth*, suggesting a reading of אֵל כַּעֲפָר. Stuart proposes instead a chiasm in

אֵל חַק	<i>God waits</i>
כַּפָּר	<i>like- young.lion;</i>
כַּנְּשֹׁר	<i>like-eagle</i>
עַל בַּיִת יְהוָה	<i>over house, YHWH</i>
<i>God waits like a young lion; like an eagle over the house, YHWH (waits).</i>	

**Figure 6.1.16a**  
*Stuart’s (1987:126) emendation of Hos. 8.1ab*

which he understands the passage to speak of covenant curses (MT אֵל *to* is repointed by Stuart to אֵל *God*; חַק is repointed as the active participle, either qal or piel, of חָכָה *to wait*, in either a

defective or apocopated form; MT **שָׁפָר** *trumpet* is emended to **כְּפִיר** *young lion*; and **בֵּית**, construct of *house* is repointed as **בֵּית**, the absolute form).

If this rendering is assumed to present YHWH as threatening imminent punishment, then it fits nicely with the following indictment of the people for having broken the covenant. Our InfStr model could not fault the emendation: *God* is here preposed to the verb, but this could be explained by considering it as a theme-announcing macro-word, beginning as it does a new strophe after a major break in the text. Two similes in chiasmic relationship to each other are, as we have seen, typical of Hosea.

Stuart’s emendation seems to be inspired by Andersen and Freedman (1980:485), who themselves propose the following chiasm displayed below in Figure 6.1.16b. As Garrett (1997:180) says, this comparison is rather unclear. Garrett opts to retain the MT here, which he explains as follows: the palate is metonymy for the mouth, to which a trumpet is to be put. The lexeme **נֶשֶׁר** is not the eagle but the vulture, a repulsive bird that Garrett says would sometimes light on the roof of temples, presumably attracted by animal sacrifices.

<b>אֶל חֵק</b>	<i>to palate</i>
<b>כְּשֹׁפָר</b>	<i>like horn</i>
<b>כְּנֶשֶׁר</b>	<i>like-eagle</i>
<b>עַל בֵּית יְהוָה</b>	<i>over house-of YHWH</i>
<i>As the shofar is for the mouth, so the eagle is for the house of YHWH.</i>	

**Figure 6.1.16b**  
*Andersen and Freedman’s (1980:485) emendation of Hos. 8.1ab*

“House of YHWH” must mean a structure meant for the worship of YHWH, such as the Temple, from which the priests would try to drive vultures off by making noise, perhaps by sounding trumpets. The sense of v. 1ab, then, would be, “Sound the trumpet as loudly as when vultures light on the Temple roof.” Garrett (1997:181) remarks:

This analogy also presents the reader with a picture of something hideously unclean at the very temple of God. This image implicitly compares the Israelite priests or perhaps the pagan deities to vultures at the shrines of Yahweh, and it prepares the reader to understand that the apostasy of the nation is linked to its coming military collapse.

McComiskey (1992:118–119) also retains the MT, but assumes an implied expression to do with an enemy: *The horn to your mouth! (The enemy swoops) like an eagle over the house of the Lord.*

What principle should we follow here? It is that if the MT can be read in a reasonable, contextual manner in two different ways, but if one interpretation requires implicit lexemes or phrases, and the other does not, then we should usually be inclined toward the latter interpretation. On this principle, we choose Garrett’s understanding of v. 1ab, that of the vulture on the Temple roof.

Note that Garrett’s understanding requires that the simile particle signal here **congruity of circumstance**, in the following sense: “sound the trumpet as when a vulture lights on the house of YHWH,” i.e., we presume, “as loudly, as urgently, as when a vulture lights on the house of YHWH.”

Garrett recognizes that his view requires that “the house of YHWH” be understood as the Temple, or at least as one of the cultic centers of YHWH. Although this phrase is understood by many commentators of Hosea as the land of Israel, Garrett argues that, in fact, this expression in both Hos. 9.4 and 9.8 means the same as in v. 8.1.

**Hos. 8.2b: grammatical question** Andersen and Freedman (1980:490) claim a “grammatical monstrosity” in the singular poss. pronoun attached to אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *my God*, followed by a verb in the plural number. They claim that there occurs here one of the relatively rare construct phrases made discontinuous by an intervening verb. The sense, then, of the phrase would be *God of Israel, we acknowledge you*. Stuart (1987:128) concurs, adding that the discontinuity occurs here for the sake of the poetic meter, and that this kind of splitting occurs especially in “composite names and other stereotyped phrases.”

Garrett (1997:181), however, sees this passage as consisting of short, fragmentary interjections coming from the cultic prayers: *My God! We know you! Israel!*.

With Andersen and Freedman and Stuart, we postulate a discontinuous construct relationship.

**Hos. 8.1ab: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

We take v. 1ab as a Sentence Focus structure, with v. 1b as the Vehicle argument. This kind of congruity we called in Section 4.3.1 **congruity of circumstance**, effected by a Minor Simile, with the essential communicative function here being to signal manner: here, an urgent, loud, and insistent manner of blowing the trumpet. As Garrett implies, however, the projected semantic attributes go far beyond that of simply manner:

...The point is not that an enemy is coming “like a vulture” but that one should blow trumpets and sound alarms as vigorously as one would do when a vulture, a notoriously unclean bird, had lighted on the roof of the temple. When such a thing happened, we presume, the priests made all the noise they could to get this bird, as grotesque as it is ill-omened, off of the temple roof. This does not exclude the idea that an invading army is coming since the sounding of alarms implies that an enemy is about to attack; the idea of a vulture on the temple is only an analogy for how vigorously one should sound the alarm. On the other hand, this analogy also presents the reader with a picture of something hideously unclean at the very temple of God. This image implicitly compares the Israelite priests or perhaps the pagan deities to vultures at the shrines of Yahweh, and it prepares the reader to understand that the apostasy of the nation is linked to its coming military collapse.

Two attractions of Garrett’s proposed understanding are that (a) it employs the MT, and (b) it references what must have been a considerable nuisance accompanying the constant animal sacrifices, that of congregating vultures and perhaps other carrion-eaters as well. Anyone accustomed to open-air markets in the Third World where large animals are slaughtered for meat has probably witnessed the vultures gathered at the fringes of the activity, waiting for their share of the kill. High cultic days in the ANE on which large numbers of animals were offered for sacrifice must have seen correspondingly high numbers of vultures attracted by the slaughter. One easily imagines a Temple roof thronged with the birds, which, moreover, would not be easily scared off, accustomed as they undoubtedly were to human presence.

A third attraction of Garrett’s proposal is that any other understanding of the MT compels us to account for the difficult congruity signaled by the simile particle between the action of blowing a trumpet and of a vulture—or eagle—hovering over *the house of YHWH*.

A fourth attraction of Garrett’s proposal lies in the semantic properties projected by the simile: the foul, unclean vulture perched on the Temple roof suggests the uncleanness caused by the people’s breach of the covenant, as referenced in the same verse.

Yet a fifth attraction of Garrett’s proposal is that the simile Vehicle, comprised by v. 1b, is concrete, not metaphorical: “vulture” (or “eagle,” as in many renderings) has no need to be regarded as metaphorical. Now we have already seen that simile and metaphor Vehicle terms have every capacity in themselves to be metaphorical. In this case, however, the allusion to

אֶל-חֶכְךָ שָׁפַר <sup>1</sup>	<i>To-your-palate (put) trumpet</i>	WARNING OF ENEMY & OF UNCLEANNESS	<i>a</i>
כַּנְּשֹׁר עַל-בַּיִת יְהוָה	<i>as.when-the-vulture (is) on-(the-)house-of YHWH</i>		
יַעַן עֲבָרוּ בְרִיתִי	<i>because they-transgressed my-covenant</i>	REJECTION OF GOD	<i>b</i>
וְעַל-תּוֹרָתִי פָשְׁעוּ:	<i>and-against my-teaching they-transgressed.</i>	LACK OF AFFECTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF YHWH	<i>c</i>
לִי יִזְעֻקוּ <sup>2</sup>	<i>To-me they-cry.out:</i>	FAKE AFFECTIVE KNOWLEDGE OF YHWH	<i>c'</i>
אֱלֹהֵי יִדְעָנוּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל:	<i>My-God, we-know/acknowledge-you, (we) Israel.</i>		
זָנַח יִשְׂרָאֵל טוֹב <sup>3</sup>	<i>Has-rejected Israel (what is) good;</i>	REJECTION OF THE GOOD	<i>b'</i>
אוֹיֵב יִרְדְּפוּ:	<i>(The) enemy will.pursue (him).</i>	WARNING OF ENEMY	<i>a'</i>

**Figure 6.1.16c**  
**Conceptual chiasm in the strophe of Hos. 8.1–3**

an enemy—were the simile Vehicle to be regarded as metaphorical—would be so brief and cryptic, that it would seem to inhibit comprehension. Moreover, one would expect such a fantastical metaphorical image of the enemy to be elaborated instead of immediately abandoned.

Let us note that this strophe exhibits a chiasm of concepts, as displayed above in Figure 6.1.16c. In this chiasm, the YHWH—ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP falls in the middle of the concepts. Significantly, the simile of v. 1b effects an expansion (in Garrett’s view, which we have adopted) of the concept of a WARNING OF ENEMY.

**Hos. 8.1–3: conclusion** The simile in this strophe is very difficult, and every proposal to understand it must be merely conjectural. But a sense of how Hosea uses similes suggests that Garrett’s proposed understanding of the MT may be correct. Noting the conceptual chiasm of this strophe allows us to give plausibility to Garrett’s understanding, although, as we remarked earlier, the positing of chiasms and other structures in BH poetry cannot be taken as proof of any reading or interpretation.

### 6.1.17 Among the nations as a vessel, Hos. 8.8b

This simile occurs in Wendland's strophe of Hos. 8.7–10, as given below.

כִּי רוּחַ יִזְרְעוּ <sup>7</sup>	<i>For wind they-sow</i>	<i>For they sow in the wind</i> FARM IMAGE
וְסוּפְתָהּ יִקְצְרוּ	<i>and-storm they-reap</i>	<i>and reap in the storm.</i> FARM IMAGE
קִמְנָה אֵין-לוֹ זָמַח	<i>standing.grain there.is.no to-it head</i>	<i>Standing grain with no head</i> GRAIN IMAGE
בְּלִי יַעֲשֶׂה-קֶמַח	<i>not will.produce flour</i>	<i>produces no flour.</i> GRAIN IMAGE
אוּלַי יַעֲשֶׂה	<i>if it-would.produce</i>	<i>If it should produce,</i> FOOD IMAGE
זָרִים וּבִלְעָהּ:	<i>foreigners would.swallow-it</i>	<i>foreigners would swallow it.</i> FOOD IMAGE
נִבְלַע יִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>8</sup>	<i>Is.swallowed.up Israel</i>	<i>Israel is swallowed up;</i> FOOD IMAGE? DRINK IMAGE?
עַתָּה הֵינּוּ בְּנֹחִים כַּכֵּלִי אֵין-תִּפְזֵן בּוֹ:	<i>now they-are among-the-nations as-cup (in which) there.is.no worth in-it</i>	<i>now they are among the nations like an empty cup.</i> DRINK IMAGE
כִּי-יִהְיֶה עָלֶיהָ אַשּׁוּר <sup>9</sup>	<i>For they go.up (to) Assyria</i>	<i>For they go up to Assyria,</i> DONKEY IMAGE
פָּרָא בּוֹדֵד לּוֹ	<i>a wild.ass isolated by-himself</i>	<i>a wild ass that keeps to itself.</i> DONKEY IMAGE
אֶפְרַיִם הִתְנִי אֲהָבִים:	<i>Ephraim they-have.paid gifts.of.love</i>	<i>Ephraim has hired lovers.</i> SOLICITING MALE IMAGE
גַּם כִּי-יִתְּנוּ בְּנֹחִים <sup>10</sup>	<i>Even if they-hire among-the-nations,</i>	<i>They hire (lovers) among the nations,</i> SOLICITING MALE IMAGE
עַתָּה אֶקְבְּצֵם	<i>now I-will.gather.up-them.</i>	<i>I will now gather them up (punitively)</i>
וַיִּחַלּוּ מִעַט מִמִּשְׂא מֶלֶךְ שָׂרִים:	<i>They-will.commence soon from-burden-of king-of leaders</i>	
	<p>וַיִּחַלּוּ <sup>Wolff</sup></p> <p>McComiskey</p>	<p><i>they will soon writhe in pain</i></p> <p><i>They-will.commence (to suffer) soon from-burden-of king-of leaders</i></p>

Figure 6.1.17a  
Images of the strophe Hos. 8.7–10

**Preview of this section**

In this section we find that the sole simile occurs strategically at a joint between two image clusters. We also find the same images projecting different semantic attributes for purposes that differ according to the perspective the reader takes.

**Hos. 8.7ab: text and interpretation**

Stuart (1987:133) remarks that in v. 7a, the noun רִיחַ could be understood as a gentle wind in which the farmer would want to scatter his seed, knowing that it would favour an even distribution across his field. As for סוּפָה in v. 7b, Wolff (1974:142) regards it as a whirlwind, which is indeed the traditional translation, but McComiskey (1992:128) and Garrett (1997:184) see it as any strong windstorm or gale. The latter understanding is undoubtedly correct.

We believe, however, that the strophe's context—and Stuart allows this understanding as a possibility—favours a metaphorical reading of v. 7ab as well, a “double-entendre,” as Stuart says.

**Hos. 8.8bc: text and interpretation**

What is the meaning of כְּכֵלִי אֵין־חֶפֶץ בּוֹ? Wolff (1974:132) writes, “כֵּלִי (‘vessel,’ ‘instrument’) pales to the meaning of ‘thing’ if the object is to be characterized primarily by its material or quality (Gen 24:53; Ex 3:22); thus the expression כְּכֵלִי בּוֹ denotes here the opposite of כְּלֵי חֲמֻדָּה (*precious thing* 13:15) and of כְּלֵי הַתְּפָאֵרֶת (*pieces of jewelry*) in Ezek 16:17.” McComiskey (1992:129) and Stuart (1987:127) agree.

However, we find Garrett (1997:185–186) to be rather more discriminating in judging that the imagery of v. 8a (שָׂרָאֵל נִבְלַע *Israel is swallowed up*) probably projects itself into the following simile, where Israel is depicted as a cup of wealth which the nations have drained dry and are about to throw away. Eidevall (1996:133) goes farther and suggests on the basis of Jer. 48:38 (*for I have broken Moab like a vessel that no one wants*) that the empty cup image implies coming judgment from YHWH. Besides this, Eidevall sees in the image the announcement of a catastrophic loss of international prestige for Israel: Israel is now despised. We find these suggested allusions convincing.

Although the principal idea of חֶפֶץ is ‘delight’ or ‘pleasure’, a notion of worth or value is sometimes evoked, as in Prov. 3:15; 8:11 (Wolff 174:132). Stuart (1987:127) seems to agree. Adopting this view, we could well translate *like an empty cup*.

**Hos. 8.9c: text and interpretation**

Verse 9c has the verb הִתְּנוּ *they have hired*, which Wolff (1974:132) and Garrett (1997:185) see in the Hiphil stem as *pay a fee*. Stuart (1987:127–128) renders the passage as lovers have hired it, repointing אֲהָבִים gifts of love to אֲהָבִים lovers; this rendering, unlike Wolff's and Garrett's, conceptualizes Ephraim as female. We believe that the conceptualization is male, and Eidevall (1996:135) agrees, writing:

...The presence of a verbal form in masculine plural speaks strongly against the supposition that the nation here is portrayed as a female prostitute. A more likely hypothesis concerning [8.9–10] is that the people, or its leaders, are consistently pictured as a group of male persons, engaged in buying “loves”—that is, sexual services—“among the nations”... As observed by others, such a reading would be consonant with the image of Assyria as a whore, a metaphor which is attested in Hab. 3.5.

Eidevall goes on to deduce two aspects of the Northern Kingdom’s foreign efforts that arise from this image: indiscriminate offers of loyalty to foreign powers—Assyria and Egypt—instead of to YHWH, and payments of tribute to Assyria.

**Hos. 8.7–10: Sitz im Leben** Wolff (1974:136–137) sees the setting of this passage as the year 733 B.C., after Tiglath-Pileser has conquered the northern part of the Northern Kingdom, when Hoshea has led a coup against the king and submitted to the Assyrians. In Hos. 8.1 has come the trumpet warning of war (*The trumpet to your mouth!*), further condemnation of Israel’s idolatry, and further recognition of the process by which she is being dispersed among the other nations. On the whole, Stuart (1987:130) agrees with Wolff.

**Hos. 8.7–10: constituent concepts and blending\_dynamics** We find a logical progression in the series of images in this strophe. Let us note first that the images advance in a remarkably regular manner, bicolon after bicolon.

Conceptually, the images progress as follows: FARM IMAGE, GRAIN IMAGE, FOOD IMAGE, DRINK IMAGE, DONKEY IMAGE, SOLICITING MALE IMAGE. The work of farming precedes the acquisition of the grain; the grain must be processed into food; food is accompanied by drink.

Commentators focus mainly on the attribute of independence attached to the wild donkey.<sup>12</sup> Thus Wolff (1974:143): “With its herd, [the donkey] remains withdrawn from other animals and people.” Eidevall (1996:134) considers the positive connotation of such independence that is found in some BH passages, as in Job 39:5–8 (*Who set the wild donkey free?...*), but decides for the purposes of Hos. 8.9 that the independence is negative, signaling rebellion against YHWH.

We suggest that while the DONKEY IMAGE does indeed project negative independence from YHWH, it does so as a final semantic entailment of its more immediate attribute of unbridled sexual

<sup>12</sup> The association of the donkey with Ephraim is all the stronger when the wordplay between the two is noted: אֶפְרַיִם donkey–אֶפְרַיִם Ephraim (Wolff 1974:143).

appetite,<sup>13</sup> because such appetite figures as misplaced political loyalties that abandon YHWH. The DONKEY IMAGE effects a transition to the SOLICITING MALE IMAGE by means of projecting the attribute of sexual appetite. If this is correct, then the four agricultural and food images are seen to be followed by two sexual images, for there can be little doubt that Hosea means to depict Israel's disdain for YHWH and her preference for foreign alliances and gods in the most disgusting terms possible, that of unbridled animal lust, the image of which then merges into that of a human male on the prowl for prostitutes. The half-donkey half-male notion would seem to be about the most degrading blend of conceptualizations one could imagine.

We shall find that it is far more common that Hosea employs a series of metaphors to extend an image. In this strophe, however, we are dealing with diverse images, although they are organized into two **image clusters**, if we may coin a term. Perhaps that is why he is more content to encapsulate the different images in the form of metaphors. The role of the simile in v. 8b, then, is to effect the transition between the two metaphor clusters.

The progression of images having been pointed out, we note that the first image, which we have characterized as a FARM IMAGE comprising sowing and reaping, is of course better known for its image of the wind and whirlwind. This image in fact exerts a *double projection*: one of agriculture and food, etc., and the other of futility (wind) and catastrophe (whirlwind). The futility is certainly realized in the series of images: no head to the grain, an empty cup, and going to Assyria. And the catastrophe is also realized: being swallowed up, being thrown away like an empty cup.

The sole simile in this strophe, that of v. 8b (now they are among the nations like an empty cup), occurs about halfway through the strophe, and at the boundary of the change from agricultural and food images to sexual images. As is anticipated by the DRINK IMAGE, the empty vessel is indeed a cup, not a generic thing, *contra* Wolff and others.

The simile also introduces the concept of going *among the* nations. It is these nations that have drunk their fill of Israel and that will now throw away the cup.

Malul (2002:123) explores the roles in the semantic domain of sex of the verb רוּה, glossed by KB as *drink one's fill; be refreshed*, in Prov. 7.18 (*Come, let us drink our fill of love until the morning: let us solace ourselves with love*) and of the verb שָׁתָה *drink*, in SS 5.1 (*I have drunk wine with my milk*). There is similarly a strong link between eating and sex, as in Prov. 30.20 (*This is the behavior*

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<sup>13</sup> For the association of פָּרָא *wild donkey* with sexual appetite, see Jer. 2.24. Several other passages link the noun with wild, uncontrolled behaviour. If we may widen the semantic domain a little, Jer. 5.8 associates well-fed horses with adulterous lust.

Text	Image	Logic of metaphor cluster progression	Blends	Notions
<sup>7</sup> For they sow in the wind	FARM IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)	NECESSITY OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS FOR FOOD PRODUCTS ↓	Farming and evil moral behaviour	FUTILITY
and reap in the storm.	FARM IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)		Farming and evil moral behaviour	CATASTROPHE
Standing grain with no head	GRAIN IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)		Frustrated crops	FUTILITY
produces no flour.	GRAIN IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)		Frustrated crops	CATASTROPHE
If it should produce,	FOOD IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)	COMPATIBILITY OF EATING AND DRINKING DOMAIN WITH SEX DOMAIN ↓	Healthy crops	FUTILITY
foreigners would swallow it.	FOOD IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)		Eaten by foreigners = foreign profit from Israel's prosperity	CATASTROPHE
<sup>8</sup> Israel is swallowed up;	DRINK IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)			CATASTROPHE
now they are among the nations like an empty cup.	DRINK IMAGE (agriculture and food image cluster)			FUTILITY
<sup>9</sup> For they go up to Assyria,	DONKEY IMAGE (sex image cluster)	PROJECTION OF SEXUAL APPETITE ↓	Half animal, Half man	FUTILITY
a wild ass that keeps to itself.	DONKEY IMAGE (sex image cluster)			
Ephraim has hired his lovers.	SOLICITING MALE IMAGE (sex image cluster)			
<sup>10</sup> Even if they hire [lovers] among the nations,	SOLICITING MALE IMAGE (sex image cluster)			
I will now gather them up				CATASTROPHE
They will soon suffer from the burden of the king of the officials.				CATASTROPHE

Figure 6.1.17b  
 Images, image clusters, and their conceptual relationships in Hos. 8.7–10

of an adulterous woman: she eats (אָכְלָהּ), wipes her mouth, and says, “I have done nothing wrong”), and as in SS 4.16 (May my beloved come into his garden and eat (וַיֹּאכַל) its excellent fruit).

**Hos. 8.8b: form, markedness, and communicative function**

Because of the strong overlap of the BH semantic domains of eating and drinking with sex, we can reasonably posit a close transition from the simile, which takes part in the DRINK IMAGE, to the DONKEY IMAGE, which is the first of the two sex images in our analysis. We shall suppose that in the context of a succession of images, the semantic domains of eating and drinking do not in themselves evoke sex, but that they are especially compatible with the domain of sex in BH.

Let us sum up the images of this strophe and their conceptual relations by means of Figure 6.1.17b above. *The simile in v. 8b, עֲתָה הֵיךְ בְּנֹזִים כְּכֶלִי אֵין־חֶפֶץ בּוֹ, now they are among the nations like an empty cup, is a Major Simile with default simile order (TV) and unmarked word order. As the word order and pronomilization make clear, it functions in its context as a topic-comment sentence: the focal constituent stands in an “aboutness” relationship to the topic they (Israel). It leads on to another topic-comment sentence, For they go up to Assyria, a wild ass that keeps to itself.*

From the HAO standpoint, the speech figure of v. 8b is [NOT HUMANIZATION, NOT OBJECTIFICATION OF ABSTRACTION]; simile is therefore the preferred device for this conceptual manipulation. Informally stated, the objectification of humans in v. 8.8b is effected by the default device of simile.

**Hos. 8.7–10: Elements constitutive of worldview : Moral Qualities are Plants**

We have identified a number of important prototypical semantic features in this strophe and simile. The metaphor of sowing the

- Isa. 45.8      *Shower down, O heavens, from above, and let the skies rain down righteousness; let the earth open, that salvation may sprout forth, and let it cause righteousness to spring up also.*
- Jer. 4.3      *Break up your fallow ground, and sow not among thorns.*
- Hos. 8.7      *For they sow the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind..*
- Hos. 10.4     *So (justice) springs up like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the field.*
- Hos. 10.12-13 *Sow for yourselves righteousness, reap the fruit of steadfast love; break up your fallow ground, for it is the time to seek the LORD, that he may come and rain salvation upon you.*
- Job 4.8      *As I have seen, those who plow iniquity and sow trouble reap the same.*
- Prov. 22.8    *He who sows injustice ( עֲוֹנוֹת ) will reap calamity ( אָוֶן ).*

**Figure 6.1.17c**  
***BH support for conceptual metaphor MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS***

wind and reaping the whirlwind is a complex figure of speech which receives its dynamic from a BH conceptual metaphor that we may identify as MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS. In Figure 6.1.17c below are presented some BH passages that we wish to cite as instantiations of this proposed conceptual metaphor (all passages are given in the RSV):

<b>Hos. 8.7–10: Elements constitutive of worldview</b>	In the case of our simile of v. 8b, the <i>wind</i> and the <i>storm</i> are analyzed as moral qualities, the first standing for morally futile behaviour, and the second standing for what the Israelites would regard as the moral evil, i.e., the catastrophe that will overtake those guilty of such behaviour.
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<b>Hos. 8.7–10: Elements constitutive of worldview: Cultural model of transitoriness and permanence</b>	That the wind should be allowed to symbolize such things is so because of what we regard as a BH cultural model of transitoriness and permanence. We can imagine this model in the form of a cline with two poles representing two semantic fields: <b>transitoriness</b> and <b>permanence</b> . On the side of transitoriness, we have many concepts such as the wind, vanity, emptiness, nothingness, and anything borne by the wind. On the side of permanence, we have the concept of that which is weighty and therefore permanent, exemplified by <b>כְּבוֹד</b> , normally translated <i>glory</i> , but really standing for what is permanent because it is “weighty,” and therefore worthwhile.
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We also regard it as reasonable that the *storm* should be an intensification of futility, leading into destruction and calamity.

In Hos. 8.7ef is introduced the concept of eating (אִילֵי יַעֲשֶׂה זָרִים יִבְלְעוּהוּ) *if it (the grain) should produce, the foreigners would swallow it*). This is followed by v. 8a: נִבְלַע יִשְׂרָאֵל *Israel is swallowed up*. We take this expression to be an instantiation of a BH conceptual metaphor EATING IS DESTROYING. A sampling of passages featuring the verbs **בלע** *to swallow* and **אכל** *to eat* leaves no doubt:

<b>Jer. 51.34</b>	<i>Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon has devoured me (אֶכְלֶנּוּ), he has confused me, he has made me an empty jar, he has swallowed me (בִּלְעָנּוּ)</i>	<i>concrete confiscation of wealth</i>
<b>Ps. 124.3</b>	<i>Then the waters would have swallowed us (בִּלְעוּנָנוּ) when their anger flared against us</i>	<i>metaphorical destruction</i>
<b>Isa. 28.7</b>	<i>...Prophet and priest stagger from beer and are swallowed (נִבְלָעוּ) with wine</i>	<i>metaphorical destruction of drinkers</i>
<b>Isa. 3.12</b>	<i>My people, your guides lead you astray, and the path of your ways (וְדַרְךְ אֲרָחֶתֶיךָ בִּלְעוּ) they swallow.</i>	<i>metaphorical destruction of customary behaviour</i>

<b>Prov. 30.14</b>	<i>Those whose teeth are swords and whose jaws are knives to devour (לְאָכַל) the poor from the earth and the needy from mankind</i>	<i>metaphorical destruction of the poor</i>
<b>Num. 12.12</b>	<i>Do not let her be like a stillborn infant coming from his mother's womb, his flesh half-eaten (נִי־אָכַל) away</i>	<i>concrete destruction of leprous flesh</i>

**Figure 6.1.17d**  
***Instantiations of the BH conceptual metaphor EATING IS DESTROYING***

<b>Hos. 8.7–10: Elements constitutive of worldview: Religious-cultural model of marriage of land to its deity</b>	Verses 9–10 depend upon a religious-cultural model originating in Canaanite mythology, that of the land being married to its deity, who impregnated it with his sperm, realized as the rain falling to earth.
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This marital union was viewed in covenantal terms that could be broken by the land, depicted as the god's wife, only at great risk to herself. Should she go off seeking other lovers, i.e., other gods, her own proper lord and master will have every right to devastate the land, returning it to wilderness. For the devotees of YHWH, Israel's desperate solicitation of foreign alliances and aid entails abandonment of trust in YHWH and thus amounts to her seeking other lovers.

Hosea employs other elements of this model elsewhere. For instance, in Chapter 2 we meet the children of this woman, who are the land's inhabitants. The evidence of their mother's promiscuity are the shrines and altars of Baal. See Wolff (1974:34–38) and (Stuart 1987:48).

<b>Hos. 8.9c: Elements constitutive of worldview: Israel conceptualized as a male lover</b>	Because elsewhere in Hosea we meet the prominent conceptualization of Israel as the female land married to YHWH, it may be difficult to accept in vv.9–10 a conceptualization of Israel as a male lover, even though it is common to meet Israel as male in other contexts. But such a conceptualization is consistent with the depiction of Assyria as a prostitute in Nahum 3.5 (Andersen and Freedman 1980:505–506; Eidevall 1996:136). Israel goes abroad looking for prostitutes to render him services: אֶפְרַיִם הִתְנַהֵּן אֶת־בָּיִם <i>Ephraim has hired his lovers</i> (v. 9c).
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<b>Hos. 8.9: Elements constitutive of worldview: Prohibition against mixing types</b>	We have observed how vv. 9–10a effect a transition from Ephraim conceptualized as a wild donkey to him conceptualized as humans. We reproduce the passage here:
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For they go up to Assyria, a wild ass that keeps to itself. Ephraim has hired lovers.  
Even if they hire (lovers) among the nations...

The brusque juxtaposition of conceptualizations, that of *wild ass* in v. 9b with the implied more conventional image of Ephraim as a man in v. 9c leaves an impression of Ephraim as a mixed type: half beast, half human. Of course, Israel’s religious code left little room for any type of mixture: no linen mixed with wool, no mixture of crops to be sown in the same field, etc. Douglas (1966:54) identifies purity with the maintenance of proper boundaries; a very strong boundary separated humans from the animals.<sup>14</sup> For Hosea to suggest in tropes that Ephraim was a mixed type was to advance a most abominable idea. We propose here that the very prohibition against mixed types is in itself an important prototypical feature.

The wild ass image of Ephraim in v. 9b is all the more shocking in that it is one of the very few times that we find humans (*Ephraim*) conceptualized as an animal by means of image metaphor instead of simile. This metaphorization violates the very regular patterns of HAO manipulations that we have observed, and is all the more effective because of its violation.

**Hos. 8.7–10: conclusion** The simile in Hos. 8.8b is very significant in term of its position within its strophe and its function. We have seen that the strophe comprises a series of six images, each spanning a bicolon, and that the images are mostly effected by means of metaphors. We shall later see various series of images taking the form of similes; here, however, we find the image series effected by a succession of metaphors; but the metaphors exist in two **image clusters**—the agricultural-food cluster, and the following sexual-oriented cluster. The simile of v. 8b is at the joint between the first image cluster and the second.

It may be useful to note again that images are able to project different semantic attributes for different purposes. We find a good example of that in this strophe: the first image, *For they sow the wind and reap the storm*, functions as a FARM IMAGE that begins the series of images. However, it also projects the attributes of futility and catastrophe over the entire series.

**6.1.18 As alien they were regarded, Hos. 8.12b**

The simile of v. 12b falls in Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 8.11–13, as displayed below.

כִּי־הִרְבָּה אֲפָרַיִם מִזְבְּחֹת לַחַטָּא <sup>11</sup>	<i>For has-multiplied Ephraim altars for-sinning</i>
הֵיוּ־לּוֹ מִזְבְּחוֹת לַחַטָּא:	<i>they-are to-him altars for-sinning</i>
אֶכְתוֹב רַבּוֹ תּוֹרָתִי <sup>12</sup>	<i>I-wrote for-him (the) many.things-of my-instruction</i> (Qere): אֶכְתְּבוּ־לּוֹ רַבִּי
כְּמוֹ־זָר נִחְשְׁבוּ:	<i>as-alien they-were.regarded.</i>

<sup>14</sup> Douglas sees the Levitical prohibition from mixing types in terms of (a) the imperative for people to fully conform to their classes, and (b) the imperative to respect the differences between the various categories found in God’s creation.

זָבְחֵי הַבְּהֵמָה יִזְבְּחוּ בָשָׂר׃ וַיֹּאכְלוּ <sup>13</sup>	<i>Sacrifices-of my-gifts they-sacrifice flesh and-they-eat-it</i>
	זָבַח אֲהָבָו וַיִּזְבְּחוּ <i>Wolff and others</i> <i>Sacrifice they love, and they make sacrifice. Flesh (they love), and they eat (it).</i>
יְהוָה לֹא רָצָם׃	<i>YHWH not accepts-them</i>
עַתָּה יִזְכֹּר עֲוֹנָם׃	<i>Now he-will.remember their-wickedness</i>
וַיִּפְקֹד חַטֹּאתָם׃	<i>And-he-will.punish their-sins.</i>
הַמָּדָה מִצִּרְיִים יָשׁוּבוּ׃	<i>They (to) Egypt will.return.</i>

**Preview of this section** This strophe features a short simile that is key for the strophe in both a structural and a conceptual way.

**Hos. 8.12a: text** Verse 12 has a Qere reading which gets around the difficulty of what may be an archaic case ending on רָבוּ (Wolff 1974:133; Stuart 1987:129).. The meaning, however, does not seem to be in doubt.

**Hos. 8.13: text** This verse is difficult. Wolff (1974:133) regards the consonants הַבְּהֵמָה in MT as “unintelligible.” He follows others in reading זָבַח אֲהָבָו וַיִּזְבְּחוּ *sacrifice they love, and they make sacrifice; flesh (they love), and they eat (it).* We accept this reading.

**Hos. 8.12b: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending** We view the simile Vehicle in this verse as a natural complement to the verb חָשַׁב *to consider, regard*. Wolff (1974:144) believes that Hosea adhered to traditional priests who valued the instructions of YHWH that were written down by their time—both those concerning the cultic observances and those alluding to the decalogue in Hos. 4.1ff. Thus the traditionalists, of whom Hosea was one, were at odds with the official priests, who are here accused of maintaining *altars for sinning*.

As for the Information Structure, v. 12a puts the focus on the predicate, *wrote for him the many things of my instruction*. The following line, focusing on the argument that we may render *like something alien*, leaves *they were regarded* as presupposed, since the context is Ephraim’s *altars for sinning*.

The focus is on זָר׃ Wolff (1974:101) remarks:

The word זָר conveys a vivid emotional feeling; it denotes not only the foreigner as such..., but what is alien in a general sense in contrast to Israel’s intimate

relationship with her God.... In Hosea, an ethno-cultic emphasis is stronger than an ethno-political.

Garrett (1997:187) chooses to combine these two emphases in his explanation:

The priests had so little respect for the Torah..., and the people were so poorly taught...that some regarded the Torah as the religious laws of some foreign land! The principles of Baal had been accepted as orthodox and indeed as the genuine expression of the Israelite faith.

In any case, the association of the word אֲרִי with the Torah of YHWH is a stunning reversal of the use of the same word in passages such as Deut. 32.16 to characterize the gods and practices foreign to YHWH's people.

We note in passing that the Niphal stem of הִשָּׁב to *consider, regard* with a simile particle produces much of the equative effect of a verbless clause or of a clause with *hāyāh*.

The strophe has overall two parallelisms based on ideations, as displayed in Figure 6.1.18.

<sup>11</sup> <i>For Ephraim has multiplied altars for sinning</i>	THE DEEDS OF EPHRAIM	<i>a</i>
<i>They have become for him him altars for sinning</i>		
<sup>12</sup> <i>I wrote for him the many things of my instruction;</i>	THE DEEDS OF YHWH	<i>b</i>
<b><i>As alien they were regarded.</i></b>		
<sup>13</sup> <i>Sacrifice they love, and they sacrifice;</i>	THE DEEDS OF EPHRAIM	<i>a'</i>
<i>Flesh (they love), and they eat it.</i>		
<i>YHWH does not accept them.</i>	THE DEEDS OF YHWH	<i>b'</i>
<i>Now he will remember their wickedness,</i>		
<i>and he will punish their sins.</i>		
<i>They to Egypt will return.</i>	EPHRAIM'S PUNISHMENT	---

**Figure 6.1.18**  
***Parallelisms and prominence in Hos. 8.11–13***

In this perspective, we find that the simile of v. 12b falls between the two parallel elements, and that Ephraim's punishment, the element left out of the parallelisms, is the prominent, concluding point of the entire strophe.

**Hos. 8.11–13: Elements constitutive of worldview**

We have discussed the ironic referential significance of אֲרִי *strange, alien* in this strophe. From a structural view, its participation in the simile that marks the boundary between the two parallelisms casts exerts an influence over the rest of the

strophe. From this point on, it is as if the cultic sacrifices themselves are seen as *alien* by YHWH, as are the Israelites themselves: this alien quality leads into an affective “non-knowing” of the Israelites on YHWH’s part, as the prophet pronounces their coming rejection and punishment.

**Hos. 8.11–13: conclusion** In this strophe we find a Major Simile marking the boundary between two parallelisms and providing a notion (the quality of *alien*) that is key for the whole strophe.

### 6.1.19 Do not rejoice to exultation like the peoples, Hos. 9.1

This simile occurs in the strophe of Hos. 9.1–3, as displayed below.

אֶל-תִּשְׂמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל<sup>1</sup> (Do) not rejoice, Israel  
אֶל-גִּיל' כְּעַמִּים to-exultation like-the-peoples  
אֶל-גִּילָה עַמִּים<sup>Kuhnigk, Stuart</sup> Do not shout for joy, my people  
כִּי זָנִיתָ מֵעַל אֱלֹהֶיךָ for youS-have-committed-adultery from-on yourS-God  
אֶתְבַּתְּ אֶתְנָן עַל כָּל-גִּרְנוֹת דָּגָן: YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing.floor-of grain  
אֶתְבַּתְּ אֶתְנָן עַל כָּל-גִּרְנוֹת: <sup>Garrett</sup> YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing.floor  
גִּרְן וַיִּקַּב לֹא יִרְעֵם<sup>2</sup> Threshing.floor and-wine.vat not will-feed / befriend-them  
We prefer befriend.  
דָּגָן גִּרְן וַיִּקַּב לֹא יִרְעֵם <sup>Garrett</sup> Grain—threshing.floor and-wine.vat not will-feed-them—  
וְתִירוֹשׁ יִכְחַשׁ בָּהּ: and-new.wine will-deceive against-her  
וְתִירוֹשׁ יִכְחַשׁ בָּהּ: <sup>Garrett</sup> and-new.wine will-deceive her (the land).  
לֹא יִשְׁבּוּ בְּאֶרֶץ יִתְנַחַּם<sup>3</sup> Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH;  
וְשָׁב אֶפְרַיִם מִצִּרְיִם will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt  
וּבְאֶשׁוּר טָמְאָ יֹאכְלוּ: and-in-Assyria uncleanness they-will-eat

**Preview of this section** In this section we find for the second time a simile that functions by projecting a kinaesthetic image schema, which is part of a large chiasm composed of kinaesthetic image schemas. In addition, we find that this chiasm produces an effect of fronted argument focus in the second part of its hinge, which we have posited to be a tendency in chiasmic hinges that feature marked word order.

**Hos. 9.1b: text** The expression אֶל-גִּיל' כְּעַמִּים is often emended. Stuart (1987:140) follows Kuhnigk in redividing the Masoretic consonantal text as אֶל-גִּילָה עַמִּים, ‘do not shout for joy, my people’, thus obviating the MT simile. The difficulty is in accepting a rendering such as *Do not rejoice, Israel, unto joy like the peoples*. The LXX read the consonantal text as negative plus imperfect but retains the simile (μηδὲ εὐφραίνου καθὼς οἱ λαοί).

Andersen and Freedman (1980:522), however, defend the MT as being perhaps reasonable; the noun גִּיל is, after all, attested elsewhere in BH, although many find it suspect as a nominal form. They remark that Job 3:22 offers a similar construction: *those who rejoice unto excitement*. They also remark that the two verb roots שמח and גיל commonly occur together in the context of pagan worship, just as occurs in this strophe. McComiskey retains the MT here; Garrett is uncommitted.

No textual choice can be sure here. However, the MT, unlike the proposed emendation, provides two ideational chiasms in this strophe, as below, which we find reasonable.

Let us do some InfStr analysis of the MT of this strophe. Verse 1 is straightforward: all three clauses feature Israel as the main Topic in topic-comment structures.

אֶל-תִּשְׂמַח יִשְׂרָאֵל   אֶל-גִּיל כְּעַמִּים <sup>1</sup>	<i>(Do) not rejoice, Israel, to-exultation like-the-peoples</i>
כִּי זָנִיתָ מֵעַל אֱלֹהֶיךָ	<i>for youS-have-committed-adultery from-on yourS-God</i>
אֶת-בֵּת אֲחֻזָּתְךָ עַל כָּל-גִּרְנוֹת דִּגְוֹן:	<i>YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing.floor-of grain</i>
גִּרְוֹן וַיִּקַּב לֹא יִרְעֵם <sup>2</sup>	<i>Threshing.floor and-wine.vat not will-befriend-them</i>
וּתִירוֹשׁ יִכְחָשׁ בָּהּ:	<i>and-new.wine will-deceive against-her</i>

Verse 2a features the fronted *threshing.floor and-wine.vat* as an elaboration of *threshing.floor-of grain* in the focus structure of v. 1d. This expression in v. 2a serves as the second part of the chiasmic hinge (after Floor 2004b; see our Section 4.2.3), and also, in its elaborated state, as a Theme Frame for the rest of the sentence;<sup>15</sup> the verb (although not the attached pronoun), *not will-befriend-them*, is new information. This Theme Frame has as its domain the two clauses in v. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Floor (2004:Section 5.2.3.3) distinguishes between topic frames, which are always presupposed, and “theme-announcing macrowords in argument focus structures,” (Theme Frames). This latter structure occurs “only in fronted configurations, and are by definition focal in the sense of newly-asserted information unrecoverable from the preceding context.”

Floor goes on to say: “Pragmatically, important concepts are activated and introduced to the discourse. But its thematic prominence is only confirmed by the subsequent discourse, when the concept is repeated and strengthened cognitively. One difference between this type of argument focus and ‘general’ argument focus is that the criteria for argument focus of the presupposed and discourse-active status of the constituents *not* in focus does not always hold.”

Floor gives as an example Gen. 3.15a:  
*Enmity I will put between you and the woman,  
 and between your offspring and hers;  
 he will strike your head,  
 and you will strike his heel.*

Here *enmity* is fronted and serves as the Theme Frame. But the rest of the clause, as Floor observes, is definitely *not* presupposed.

In a way, it may be misleading for Floor to call Theme Frames “a subfunction of identification in argument focus structures,” for this characterization would lead one to presume that what follows in the clause is necessarily presupposed, as is the case with ordinary Argument Focus sentences.

Macro Chiasm	Masoretic Text	Micro Chiasm
<i>THE PEOPLES</i>	<i>Do not rejoice, Israel, <sup>1</sup></i>	
	<i>to-exultation like-the-peoples,</i>	
<i>INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL</i>	<i>for youS-have-committed-adultery from yourS-God</i>	OFFENSE “FROM”
	<i>YouS-have-<b>loved</b> harlot’s.hire on every-<b>threshing.floor-of grain</b></i>	<u>AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT</u> <u>MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION</u>
<i>PUNISHMENT OF ISRAEL</i>	<i><b>Threshing.floor and-wine.vat</b> not will-befriend-them, <sup>2</sup></i>	<u>MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION</u> <u>AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT</u>
	<i>and-new.wine will-deceive against-her.</i>	OFFENSE “TOWARD”
<i>THE PEOPLES</i>	<i>Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH; <sup>3</sup></i>	
	<i>will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt,</i>	
	<i>and-in-Assyria uncleanliness they-will-eat.</i>	

**Figure 6.1.19a**  
*Two ideational chiasms in MT of Hos. 9.1–3*

Verse 2b, *and-new.wine will-deceive against-her*, also features the fronted element *and-new.wine*, an elaboration of the earlier *wine.vat*. Deception is a logical entailment of v. 2a’s lack of friendship; we may therefore view the fronted *new.wine* as an argument in focus, with the rest of the clause, *will.deceive against-her*, appearing as a presupposed element.

What interests us about the chiastic hinge of v. 1d and v. 2a is that (1) it corroborates Floor’s (2004b) findings in the Song of Songs of what we posit is a tendency toward argument focus structures in many chiastic hinges; (2) that this passage does double duty for two chiasms: the macro chiasm of vv. 1–3 and the micro chiasm of vv. 1c–2b (see Figure 6.1.19a); and (3) that it suggests Floor’s findings are relevant here even to chiasms which do not depend upon the repetition or correspondance of lexemes for their structure, but rather upon ideations. This is in contrast to chiasms that are lexemic in nature, as, e.g., Prov. 7.1 (cited in Section 4.2.3) and given again below:

	a	b	c	
		בְּנֵי שְׂמֵר אִמְרֵי	My son, keep my-sayings	
		c’	b’	a’
		וּמִצְוֹתַי תִּצְפֹּן אִתָּךְ	And-my-precepts store.up with-you	

Verse 3a takes up again the Israelites as main topic in a topic-comment structure; v. 3b elaborates the Israelites in terms of *Ephraim*, also in a topic-comment structure; and v. 3c effects a phrasal

chiasm with the preceding clause by means of fronting its locative expression (*in Assyria*). This clause, however, features double fronting, for *uncleanliness* also comes before the verb.

לֹא יִשְׁבּוּ בְּאֶרֶץ יְהוָה<sup>3</sup>    *Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH*  
 וְשָׁב אֶפְרַיִם מִצִּיּוֹן    *and-will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt*  
 וּבְאֶשׁוּר טָמְאָ יֹאכְלוּ:    *and-in-Assyria uncleanliness they-will-eat*

According to our hypothesis of the double fronting of focus structures, the fronted *and-in-Assyria* must be regarded as a verbal argument in focus, with the second fronted element, *uncleanliness*, acting as a Theme Frame. That *uncleanliness* has here this function seems born out by the following v. 4:

They will not pour out to YHWH wine libations,  
 Nor will their fellowship offerings be sweet to him:  
 As food of mourners it will be to them:  
 All who eat it will be unclean.

In this particular case, the argument in focus comprised by *in Assyria* seems to provide, not a pragmatic overlay of contrast with *Egypt* of v. 3b, but rather one of accumulation: *Assyria* is added to *Egypt*. See our treatment of Hos. 6.7–11 for our first proposal that there is such a pragmatic overlay of accumulation.

We give in Figure 6.1.19b a summary of our Informational Structure analysis of the MT of this strophe, which we accept for our textual reading.

Macrochiasm	Masoretic Text	Microchiasms	InfStr
THE PEOPLES	<i>Do not rejoice, Israel,</i> <sup>1</sup>		<i>Topic-Comment</i>
	<i>to-exultation like-the-peoples,</i>		
INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL	<i>for youS-have-committed-adultery from yourS-God</i>	OFFENSE "FROM"	<i>Topic-Comment</i>
	<i>YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing floor-of grain</i>	AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION	<i>Topic-Comment</i>
PUNISHMENT OF ISRAEL	<u><i>Threshing floor and-wine vat not will-befriend-them,</i></u> <sup>2</sup>	MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT	<i>Threshing...vat is fronted, serving as Focus Theme Frame for this clause and following clause; them is Primary Topic.</i>
	<i>and-new.wine will-deceive against-her.</i>	OFFENSE "TOWARD"	<i>New wine is fronted argument in focus; the rest is presupposed.</i>
THE PEOPLES	<i>Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH</i> <sup>3</sup>		<i>Topic-Comment</i>
	<i>and-will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt,</i>	Verb—Noun— Locative Expression	<i>Topic-Comment</i>
	<i>and-in-Assyria uncleanness they-will-eat.</i>	Locative Expression— Noun—Verb	<i>In Assyria is Argument Focus; uncleanness is Focus Theme Frame; eating is presupposed by v. 2.</i>

Figure 6.1.19b  
InfStr Analysis of Hos. 9.1–3

**Hos. 9.1–2: text** The expression *עַל כָּל-תְּרִיבֹת דֶּגֶן* *at every threshing floor of grain* is unusual, *תְּרִיבֹת* *threshing floor* not normally in BH being followed by *דֶּגֶן* *grain*. Garrett (1988:191) follows Andersen and Freedman's lead in shifting *grain* from the end of v. 1 to the head of v. 2. The effect is to create a discontinuous clause interrupted by a parenthetical remark, as displayed below in Figure 6.1.19c. One could object to this emendation on the grounds that, while the interpreter may have to tolerate alternating modes of reference to Israel in this strophe (2<sup>nd</sup> person sing. in v. 1, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl. in v. 2a, 3<sup>rd</sup> person sing. in v. 2b, 3<sup>rd</sup> person pl. in v. 3a, etc.), one really should not have to face this kind of alternation in a discontinuous clause and in its interrupting clause at the same time. On the other hand, once the principle of referential alternation is established, this phenomenon in an emended v. 2 may seem to be only a minor development, however unusual.

Garrett suggests that the referential alternation between 3<sup>rd</sup> person fem. sing. and 3<sup>rd</sup> person masc. pl. may in fact signal the same distinction between the idealized land and its cultural institutions (fem. sing.) and the land’s inhabitants, i.e., her “children.” Note that in this emendation, the chiasm displayed above in Figure 6.1.19a does not occur.

Garrett’s proposed emendation has a fronted subject (*grain*) for the main clause of v. 2 and another fronted subject (*threshing floor and wine vat*) for its embedded clause. This InfStr situation is so unusual that we feel obliged to reject Garrett’s emendation at once and to content ourselves with the MT.

אֶתְּבִית אֶתְּנֶן עַל כָּל־גִּרְנוֹת:	<i>YouS-have-loved harlot’s.hire on every-threshing.floor.</i>
דָּגָן <sup>2</sup> נָרָז וְיִקָּב לֹא יִרְעֵם	<i>Grain—threshing.floor and-wine.vat not will-feed-them—</i>
וְתִירוֹשׁ יִכְחַשׁ בָּהּ:	<i>and-new.wine will-deceive her (the land).</i>

Figure 6.1.19c  
Garrett’s emendation of Hos. 9.1b–2

**Hos. 9.2: text: to feed or to befriend? To deceive or to fail?**

BDB and KB associate לֹא יִרְעֵם with I רעה *to pasture; feed*. Wolff (1974:149), however, identifies it as II רעה *to befriend*. the LXX οὐκ ἔργω αὐτούς seems to support II רעה. Although Andersen and Freedman (1980:524), Garrett (1988:188), and McComiskey (1992:137) understand I רעה here, it appears reasonable to understand, with Wolff, a personified sense of *befriend*, on the basis of the LXX. The parallel expression following (*and the new wine will deceive / fail against her*), can certainly be taken in a personal sense as well, as in Hos. 4.2 (אָלֶהָ וְכַחַשׁ) *cursing and deceiving*), although olive trees are spoken of in Hab. 3.17, for example, as “deceiving,” i.e., failing.

We observe that an argument in favour of Wolff’s view is that, as we have shown in Figure 6.1.19b, *befriend* figures (as an AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT) in the micro chiasm that we have adduced in this strophe.

**Hos. 9.2b: textual questions: her or them?**

The MT has וְתִירוֹשׁ יִכְחַשׁ בָּהּ *and new wine shall deceive her*. The LXX and other Greek versions read αὐτούς *them*, in agreement with the BH pronoun *them* of v. 2a., suggesting the BH 3<sup>rd</sup> masc. pl. pronoun instead. We retain the harder reading of the MT, noting that this indicates the continuation in v. 2 of the conceptualization of Israel as woman harlot introduced in v. 1.

**Hos. 9.1–3: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

How is the expression *to-exultation like-the-peoples* to be understood?

Once again we are tempted to regard Hosea's association of Israel with *the peoples*, like some commentators regarded *as many as the grains of sand of the sea*: as a "literal comparison" instead of a simile. We discovered in the former passage that this could be a dangerous thing to do.

If, however, Hosea means no cross-semantic domain association of concepts here, why does he invoke *the peoples*? Let us assume that he means, *Do not rejoice*<sup>16</sup>, *in this harvest time, like the peoples around you are rejoicing in their own harvest: the time is coming when your crops will fail and you will go into exile*. But why invoke *the peoples* at all? Is it only to create the ideational macrochiasm in this strophe (displayed in Figure 6.1.19b)? Time and again have we resisted the urge to explain Hosea's invocation of various concepts as stemming solely from a desire to create poetic structures such as parallelisms and chiasms. We assume instead that he always uses concepts in striving toward a communicative goal that exceeds the textual cohesion produced by such structures.

But there are various ways to use concepts. One may employ them for their overtly referential attributes. Or one may employ them for what we have termed their subconceptual features.<sup>17</sup> In the case of v. 1, we presume the latter purpose. If the Israelites are not to rejoice at harvest time like the peoples around them, then Hosea is implying that they are less than equal to them. This less-than-equal quality suggests, then, suggests a certain kinaesthetic image schema that may occupy a discernable place among others in this strophe. Figure 6.9.1d presents our view of the implied kinaesthetic image schemas in this strophe.

The conceptualizations in this strophe follow each other rapidly. Israel is seen in v. 1 as a woman who has prostituted herself on every threshing floor. The pronoun *them* of v. 2a is difficult: it might refer to the Israelites themselves, the "children" of the land. Verse 2b resumes the view of Israel as a woman. Verse 3 switches back to dealing with the Israelites, the referent of the 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. pronoun, for the land itself clearly cannot go into exile.

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<sup>16</sup> We accept the argument that cultic rejoicing is implied here. Various commentators remark on the close association between the BH roots *שמח* *to rejoice* and *גיל* *to rejoice*.

<sup>17</sup> We include in our term "subconceptual features" at least two notions: kinaesthetic image schemas and overlap between semantic domains.

Macro-chiasm (Ideational)	Masoretic Text	Microchiasms	Kinaesthetic Image Schemas	
THE PEOPLES	Do not rejoice, Israel, to-exultation <sup>1</sup>		NEGATION OF UPWARD DIRECTION <sup>1</sup> (= MOTION DOWN)	a
	like-the- peoples,	<b>Ideational Microchiasm</b>	MOTION DOWN <sup>2</sup>	a
INDICTMENT OF ISRAEL	for youS-have-committed-adultery from yourS-God	OFFENSE "FROM"	AWAY FROM <sup>3</sup>	b
	YouS-have-loved harlot's.hire on every-threshing.floor-of grain	AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION	MOTION TOWARD <sup>4</sup> MOTION DOWN <sup>5</sup>	c d
PUNISHMENT OF ISRAEL	Threshing floor and-wine.vat <sup>2</sup> not will-befriend-them,	MEANS OF FOOD PRODUCTION AFFECTIVE SENTIMENT	MOTION DOWN NEGATION OF MOTION TOWARD <sup>6</sup> (=MOTION AWAY)	d' c'
	and-new.wine will-deceive against-her.	OFFENSE "TOWARD"	(HOSTILE) MOTION TOWARD <sup>7</sup>	c'
THE PEOPLES	Not they-will-remain in-land-of YHWH <sup>3</sup>	<b>Syntactic Microchiasm</b>	NEGATION OF NO MOTION <sup>8</sup> (= MOTION AWAY FROM)	b'
	and-will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt,	Verb—Noun—Locative Expression	MOTION DOWN <sup>9</sup>	a'
	and-in-Assyria uncleanness they-will-eat.	Locative Expression—Noun—Verb	MOTION DOWN? <sup>10</sup>	a'

Figure 6.1.19d  
*Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Chiasm in Hos. 9.1–3*

Threshing floor and wine vat are personified in v. 2: the woman Israel has “fornicated away” from YHWH on every threshing floor, and the personified threshing floors and wine vats have, as it were, come alive in order to retaliate by denying their products to her.

The prophet predicts two dooms for YHWH’s people in this strophe: they will go hungry in their own land, and they will go into exile. The three chiasms appear to work hand-in-hand in order to highlight, first, the prophet’s exhortation to them not to rejoice at harvest time, and secondly, the prediction of exile. While the macrochiasm provides cohesion by spanning the entire strophe, the first microchiasm, spanning vv. 1b to v. 2, highlights therefore v. 1a (the exhortation) and v. 3 (the prediction of exile). The second microchiasm, that of v. 3bc, highlights v. 3a (*they will not remain in YHWH’s land*).

Specific notes (linked to footnotes in the Kinaesthetic Image Schemas column above):

1. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION UP for the concept of rejoicing. We take its negation to equal MOTION DOWN.

2. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION DOWN for the association of Israel with *the peoples*, since Israel is not to rejoice in her harvests like the other peoples. Israel is treated as **less than** the other peoples.
3. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION AWAY FROM for the phrase *commit adultery from your God*.
4. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION TOWARD for the concept of love.
5. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION DOWN for the concepts of *threshing floor* and *wine vat*. This assumption could be questioned, since, although the English *floor* may certainly imply MOTION DOWN, the BH מִן הַסֵּבֶל *threshing floor* is an unknown quantity in this regard. However, taken together with מִן הַבַּיִת *winepress*, it seems reasonable to posit a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION DOWN for the two. The downward motion of people treading out the grapes in a wine vat, together with the flowing of the grape juice from one vat to another, is very suggestive of MOTION DOWN.
6. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION TOWARD for the concept of *befriend*.
7. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION TOWARD for the concept of *deceive*.
8. We adduce a negated Kinaesthetic Image Schema of NO MOTION to equal in this context MOTION AWAY FROM.
9. We adduce a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION DOWN for the concept of going to Egypt (cf. Gen. 42.3; Josh. 24.4, etc.)
10. We wonder whether a Kinaesthetic Image Schema of MOTION DOWN should be hypothesized for the concept of *uncleanliness*.

General notes:

1. This table displays the interplay of Kinaesthetic Images Schemas with the macrochiasm and the microchiasms already identified in this strophe.
2. We take a negated Kinaesthetic Image Schema to correspond to another (non-negated) schema when the context seems to justify us doing so.
3. The Kinaesthetic Image chiasm is almost perfectly balanced.

**Hos. 9.1–3: Elements  
constitutive of worldview**

We have warned before this point against drawing hard and fast textual or interpretative conclusions from perceived poetic structures such as parallelisms, chiasms, and inclusios. But this warning does not exclude tentative conclusions. In the case of Hos. 9.1–3, we have identified a rather convincing chiasm of kinaesthetic image schemas spanning the entire strophe, such that a good case can be made for the presence of II רעה here. As for threshing floor and wine vat *befriending* people, this seems to be a case of the humanization of objects. We noted in Chapter Four that BH very readily extends human attributes to non-human conceptual entities. *That threshing floor and wine vat should befriend people* is not per se prototypical of BH thought; we have hypothesized, however, that humanization of non-human entities is more prototypical a HAO manipulation than either objectification or animalization.

**Hos. 9.1–3: conclusion**

We have found the simile in Hos. 9.1 to be reminiscent of the simile in Hos. 2.1 (*And the number of the sons of Israel will be like the sands of the seashore*) (see Section 6.1.1). Recall from our treatment of that passage that some would not consider this to be a simile at all, but merely a “literal comparison,” claiming that the expression does not effect any cross-semantic-domain association of concepts. We, however, concluded that Hos. 2.1 projected a kinaesthetic image schema of an “apparently limitless linear extent,” which was subsequently exploited in Hos. 2.1b and 2.2.

In a similar way, we have found that Hos. 9.1 effects a kinaesthetic image schema of MOTION DOWN, implying that Israel is inferior to the peoples around her, and that this instance of MOTION DOWN fits into a kinaesthetic image schema chiasm that characterizes the entire strophe.

We conclude therefore that this section reinforces the lesson of Hos. 2.1, although in a slightly different way: there the kinaesthetic image schema was projected by a single concept, *the sands of the seashore*, while here in Hos. 9.1, a schema—that of MOTION DOWN—is projected from the **interplay** of two concepts, *Israel* and *the peoples*.

In the case of Hos. 9.1–3, we have identified a rather convincing chiasm of kinaesthetic image schemas spanning the entire strophe, such that a good case can be made for the presence of II רעה here. In this way, we find that such chiasms can furnish arguments for or against a certain textual reading or interpretation.

We have also applied to Hos. 9.1–3 some of Floor’s findings concerning our hypothesis that some chiasms produce an effect of fronted argument focus structures in BH poetry at the chiastic hinge.

Thus the second part of the chiasitic hinge spanning v. 1d and v. 2a give the impression of fronted argument focus.

#### 6.1.20 *As bread of mourners it will be for them, Hos. 9.4*

The only vestige of a Tenor that belongs to the Major Simile of v. 4c is the expression *to-them*. We take *their-sacrifices* of v. 4b to be the Tenor.

וַיִּן לֹא־יִסְכוּ לַיהוָה וַיִּן <sup>4</sup>	<i>Not they-will.pour.out to-YHWH wine</i>
וְלֹא יַעֲרְבוּ־לֹדּוֹ זִבְחֵיהֶם	<i>and-not will.be.pleasing to-him their-sacrifices</i>
כְּלֶחֶם אֹנִיּוֹם לָהֶם	<i>(which will be) like-food-of mourners to-them.</i>
כָּל־אֹכְלֵיוֹ יִטְמָאוּ	<i>Every.one eating-it will.be.defiled</i>
כִּי־לֶחֶמָם לְנַפְשָׁם	<i>For their-food (will be) for themselves/their-survival/their-gullet/their-own.desires</i>
לֹא יֵבֹא בֵּית יְהוָה:	<i>It-shall not go to the house of YHWH</i>
מַה־תַּעֲשׂוּ לַיּוֹם מוֹעֵד <sup>5</sup>	<i>What will.youP-do on-day-of meeting</i>
וּלְיוֹם תַּגִּידֶנָּה:	<i>and-on-day-of appointed-feast(s)-of YHWH?</i>
כִּי־הִנֵּה הִלְכוּ מִשָּׂדֶה <sup>6</sup>	<i>For, behold, they-go from-destruction</i>
מִצְרַיִם תִּקְבְּצֵם	<i>Egypt will.gather-them,</i>
מִן־מִצְרַיִם תִּקְבְּרֵם	<i>Memphis will.bury-them</i>
מִחֲמַד לְכֶסֶף	<i>Costliness (is) to-their-silver,</i>
קַמוֹשׁ יִרְשֵׁם	<i>briars will.inherit-them,</i>
הַזֶּה בְּאֶהֱלֵיהֶם:	<i>briars in-their-tents</i>

**Preview of this section** This strophe features a simile that acts entirely according to our postulations of default simile usage, providing, like many similes, a macro frame.

**Hos. 9.4: what is טְמֵאָה?** Of what nature is the defilement (v. 4)? Wolff (1974:155) writes, “The context (v 3)...indicates that for Hosea, ‘defilement’ is anywhere outside of ‘Yahweh’s land’,” even as the Israelites will be condemned to eat “unclean food” (v. 3) (טְמֵאָה (אֹכְלֵיוֹ)). Stuart (1987:144) explains that the food is unclean because it is that of “mourners,” who are mourning the deaths among their number due to disease (curse type 24—see Lev. 26.16); moreover, the exiles may well have been coerced into offering pagan sacrifices (see Deut. 4.28) and thus into eating “unclean” food from them. Stuart’s view, incidentally, entails a *kaph-veritatis* here, congruency merging into identity: the food will be so much like that of mourners that it will indeed be that of mourners.

Of course, at least until the exiles became well established in their land of captivity, they would have been unable to obtain sufficient “clean” foods to nourish themselves.

There is a significant implication in v. 4 that, even as unclean food cannot enter the Temple, so it renders its eaters defiled.

Eidevall (1996:141) sees in the expression *like the bread of mourners* the possibility of a metaphorical relationship to Hos. 8.8, where “exile is represented as the death of the nation.”

<b>Hos. 9.4: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending</b>	We hypothesize that the simile Vehicle serves as a macro frame. The theme of mourning certainly pervades the entire strophe: in vv. 4de, where the results of eating this <i>bread of mourners</i> will be to render oneself ceremonially unclean and thus unable to approach YHWH; in v. 5, which implies an inability to observe the feasts of YHWH, and in v. 6, where there is the language of death and burial.
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In keeping with our HAO postulations, we regard the OBJECT-OBJECT association of v. 4bc as effected by the default device of simile.

<b>Hos. 9.4: conclusion</b>	In this strophe, we find a simile serving as a macro frame and acting according to the defaults that our HAO understanding would predict.
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### 6.1.21 As in the days of the Gibeah, Hos. 9.9a

Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 9.7-9 has one simile in v. 9, as displayed below.

בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַפְקָדָה <sup>7</sup>	<i>Have-come (the) days-of their-punishment</i>		
בָּאוּ יְמֵי הַשְּׁלֵם	<i>Have-come (the) days-of their-reckoning</i>		
יִדְעוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>Israel let-them-know (this).</i>		
יִרְיַע יִשְׂרָאֵל	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 40%; padding: 2px;"><i>McComiskey, Stuart, Wolff</i></td> <td style="width: 60%; padding: 2px;"><i>Israel may cry</i></td> </tr> </table>	<i>McComiskey, Stuart, Wolff</i>	<i>Israel may cry</i>
<i>McComiskey, Stuart, Wolff</i>	<i>Israel may cry</i>		
אֲנִיל הַנְּבִיא	<i>foolish (is) the-prophet,</i>		
מְשַׁנֵּעַ אִישׁ הַרוּחַ	<i>(a) maniac (is) (the)man-of the-spirit,</i>		
עַל רֹב עֲוֹנוֹ וְרָבָה מִשְׂטֻמָּה:	<i>because great (is) yourS-sin and-great (is the) hostility.</i>		
צִפְּהָ אֶפְרַיִם עִם-אֱלֹהֵי <sup>8</sup>	<i>(The) watcher-of Ephraim (is) with-my-God.</i>		
נְבִיא פֶחַ יִקוּשׁ עַל-כָּל-דְּרָכָיו	<i>(The) prophet (is a) snare-of fowler on all his-paths;</i>		
מִשְׂטֻמָּה בְּבֵית אֱלֹהָיו:	<i>hostility (is) in-(the)house-of his-God</i>		
הָעֲמִיקוּ-שַׁחְתּוּ כִּימֵי הַגְּבֵעָה <sup>9</sup>	<i>They-sank.deep, they-became-corrupt as-days-of the-Gibeah.</i>		
יִזְכֹּר עֲוֹנָם	<i>He-will.remember their-wickedness</i>		
יִפְקֹד חַטֹּאתָם:	<i>He-will.punish their-sins.</i>		

<b>Preview of this section</b>	This strophe features a <i>day-of</i> simile that functions normally.
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<b>Hos. 9.7c: text</b>	This text is often emended as shown to read <i>Let Israel cry</i> , or <i>Israel will cry</i> . The LXX κακωθήσεται strongly suggests this reading. However, the MT, which we accept, makes sense also.
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**Hos. 9.8: text** Wolff (1974:151) views נְבִיא *prophet* as a scribal gloss; we agree, however, with Garrett (1997:195), who reads נְבִיא with the words that follow it.

**Hos. 9.9a: form, markedness, and communicative function** The simile in v. 9a is a Minor *day-of* simile, apparently relating the present wickedness encountered by Hosea in Israel to that portrayed in the shocking events surrounding the rape and murder of the Levite’s concubine I Gibeah, and of the civil war and retribution that followed (Judges 19–21). As is usual with *day-of* similes, we find very little or no projection of semantic properties into the following text.

**Hos. 9.7-9: conclusion** In this strophe we find a *day-of* simile that functions unremarkably in every way for its nature.

**6.1.22 Like grapes in the desert, Hos. 9.10a; like the early fig, Hos. 9.10b; a shameful thing as their beloved, Hos. 9.10d, and Ephraim is like a bird, Hos. 9.11**

The single strophe of Hos. 9.10–14 has five similes, as displayed below. stopped here

כַּעֲנַבִּים בַּמִּדְבָּר מִצֵּאתַי יִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>10</sup>	<i>Like-grapes in-the-wilderness I-found Israel</i>
כְּבַפְּרֹה בְּתֵאֵנָה בְּרֵאשִׁיתָהּ רָאִיתִי אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם	<i>like-early-fig on-fig.tree in-spring I-saw your-fathers</i>
הָמָּה בָּאוּ בְּעַל־פְּעוֹר וַיִּנָּזְרוּ לַבִּשְׁת	<i>They came (to) Baal-Peor, and-they-consecrated.themselves to-the-shameful.thing</i>
וַיְהִיוּ שְׁקוּצִים כְּאִהָבָם:	<i>and-they-became shameful.thing as-their-beloved(idol)</i>
אֶפְרַיִם כְּעוֹף יִתְעוֹפֵף כְּבוֹדָם <sup>11</sup>	<i>Ephraim (is) like-the-bird; will.fly.away their-glory,</i>
מִלְּדָהּ וּמִבֶּטֶן וּמִהָרִיוֹן:	<i>from-birth ,and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception</i>
כִּי אִם־יַגְדִּלוּ אֶת־בְּנֵיהֶם וְשִׁבְּלֵיהֶם מֵאֲדָם <sup>12</sup>	<i>Even if they-raise their-children, I-will.bereave-them, every one.</i>
כִּי־נָם־אוֹי לָהֶם בְּשׁוּרֵי מַהֶם:	<i>Indeed even woe to-them in-my-turning.away from-them</i>
אֶפְרַיִם כְּאֲשֶׁר־רָאִיתִי לְצוֹר שְׂתוּלָה בְּנוֹה <sup>13</sup>	<i>Ephraim—as I saw—like-Tyre planted in a pasture;</i>
	Wolff <i>Ephraim, as I see, has exposed his sons to the hunt</i>
	Andersen and Freedman <i>I saw Ephraim as in that place, by the Rival—[a fig tree] planted in a meadow.</i>
	Stuart <i>Ephraim will be like a man who sees a siege set for him and his children</i>
	McComiskey <i>Ephraim—just as I have chosen [judgment] for Tyre, planted in [its] place</i>
	Garrett <i>Ephraim! Just as I saw of Tyre—(that it was a fig tree) planted in a meadow</i>

וּפְרִים לְהוֹצִיא אֶל-הָרֶג בְּנָיו:	<i>and-Ephraim to-lead to-slayer his-sons</i>
תִּן־לָהֶם יְהוָה מִהַתֵּתָן <sup>14</sup>	<i>Give to-them, YHWH, what will.you-give?</i>
תִּן־לָהֶם רֶחֶם מִשְׁכִּיל וְשָׂרִים צְמָקִים:	<i>Give to-them womb miscarrying and-breasts dried.up</i>

**Preview of this section** In this section we posit a chiasm that is based mostly on sublexical conceptualizations, including a pairing of lexemes. We also meditate on what logical relationships are possible in chiasms. We analyze the simile of Hos. 9.11 with the aid of a kinaesthetic image schema.

**Hos. 9.10d: text** This simile וַיְהִי שְׁקוֹצִים כְּאֹהֲבָם features the final word pointed as an infinitive; Wolff (1974:160) translates “like their loving.” Elsewhere Wolff considers also the option of revocalizing the lexical item as a participle, “as their friend,” i.e., the idol, but he sees sense in the infinitive as well: Hosea judging a person by his actions. (Stuart 1987:149) has no hesitation in reading “lover” (= “friend”). We see no difficulty in translating *beloved*.

We place this simile in our subset of scalar similes, similar to *The sands of the seashore* simile (see Section 6.1.1). As we have hypothesized, such similes focus on an association that is deemed to be somehow quantifiable, often in terms of numbers, weight, distance, etc.; in Hos. 9.10d the association is in terms of shamefulness. In the simile *As shameful as their beloved*, the grounds are provided by the preceding bicolon (*and-they-consecrated.themselves to-the-shameful.thing* [i.e., pagan idol]).

**Hos. 9.13a: text** This verse is notoriously difficult. The MT appears incomprehensible to many commentators. Various emendations are offered, but none commands widespread approval:

(1) Wolff (1974:160–161) proposes, based on the LXX,

Ephraim, as I see, has exposed his sons to the hunt (εἰς θήραν).

Now Ephraim must lead his sons to the butcher.

He sees the the LXX as the oldest, best witness to the original text, and the MT as the most recent and worst witness.

(2) Andersen and Freedman (1980:536) propose,

I saw Ephraim as in that place, by the Rival—[a fig tree] planted in a meadow.

—Ephraim indeed brought his children to the Slayer.

Here by “the Rival” is meant the Baal of Tyre, the regional competitor of YHWH. “In the meadow” is seen as harking back to the fruit theme of *grapes in the desert*.

(3) Stuart (1987:148) proposes,

Ephraim will be like a man who sees a siege set for him and his children,  
and brings out his children to slaughter.

Here Stuart emends, among other items, **כַּאֲשֶׁר־רָאִיתִי** as *I see* to **כְּאִישׁ רֹאֶה** *like a man who sees*.

He also understands **צֹר** as the infinitive of **צָוַר** *to besiege*.

(4) McComiskey (1992:147, 150–152) proposes,

Ephraim—just as I have chosen [judgment] for Tyre, planted in [its] place,  
so [I have chosen for] Ephraim to lead forth its sons to the murderer.

He remarks about **רָאִיתִי** *I have seen* that this verb is sometimes an expression for *I have chosen*.

The participle **שְׂתוּלָה** *planted* is feminine and thus is more likely to agree with *Tyre* than with *Ephraim*. The noun **נֹה** is taken in its root sense of “place.”

(5) Garrett (1997:201–202) proposes to makes sense of the MT, in one of two ways:

Ephraim! Just as I saw of Tyre—(that it was a fig tree) planted in a meadow,  
so too, Ephraim [is] to lead out his children to the slayer.

Or,

Ephraim! As when I provided for Tyre (that it be) planted in a meadow,  
so too Ephraim (is) to lead out his children to the slayer.

The word *meadow* is to understood figuratively as a pleasant place. *The slayer* is the Assyrians for both Tyre and Ephraim (Garrett remarks that both Tyre and Samaria fell to the Assyrians in 722 B.C.), but it is also the gods that demanded child sacrifices.

With no dogmatism concerning any proposed solution, it would seem the safest to read the MT, as Garrett has done.

**Hos. 9.10–14: Sitz im Leben** Stuart (1987:150) places this material at a time when the fall of rest of the Northern Kingdom is imminent, perhaps in the mid 720’s B.C. Wolff (1974:163) places it perhaps several years earlier, but not significantly so.

**Hos. 9.10–17: constituent concepts and blending dynamics**

Garrett (1997:198) discerns a chiasmic structure that in effect spans two of Wendland’s strophes, as presented in Figure 6.1.22a below.

<sup>10</sup> <i>Like-grapes in-the-wilderness I-found Israel</i>	Israel in the desert	<i>a</i>
<i>like-early-fig on-fig.tree in-spring I-saw your-fathers</i>		
<i>They came (to) Baal-Peor, and-they-consecrated.themselves to-the-shameful.thing</i>	Israel leaves God	<i>b</i>
<b><i>and-they-became a shameful thing as-their-beloved(idol)</i></b>		
<sup>11</sup> <i>Ephraim (is) like-the-bird; will.fly.away their-glory, from-birth,and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception</i> <sup>12</sup> <i>Even if they-raise their-children, I-will.bereave-them, every one</i> <i>Indeed even woe to-them in-my-turning.away from-them</i>	Ephraim is condemned to barrenness	<i>c</i>
<sup>13</sup> <i>Ephraim—as I saw—like-Tyre planted in a pasture</i> <i>And-Ephraim to-lead to-slayer his-sons</i>	Judgment like Tyre	<i>d</i>
<sup>14</sup> <i>Give to-them, YHWH, what will.you-give?</i> <i>Give to-them womb miscarrying and-breasts dried.up</i>	Prayer of the prophet	<i>e</i>
<sup>15</sup> <i>All their-wickedness (appeared) at-Gilgal, for there I-hated-them</i> <i>Because.of evil their-deeds from-my-house I-will.drive-them</i> <i>No more I-will.love-them, all their-leaders (are) stubborn</i>	Sin at Gilgal and punishment	<i>d'</i>
<sup>16</sup> <i>Stricken (is) Ephraim, their-root withered, fruit they-shall-do no (more).</i> <i>Even if they-bear.children, I-will.kill beloved-of their-womb.</i>	Ephraim is condemned to barrenness	<i>c'</i>
<sup>17</sup> <i>May my-God reject-them, for they-have not obeyed him</i>	Israel leaves God	<i>b'</i>
<i>and-they-shall.be wanderers among-the-nations</i>	Israel among the nations	<i>a'</i>

**Figure 6.1.22a**  
**Hos. 9.10–17**  
**Chiasm spanning two strophes (Garrett 1997:198)**

We here hypothesize that a key concept of these two strophes is offspring. Malul (2000:201, 218) argues that in both Hos. 9.10 and 13.5 (*I knew you in the desert, in a land of drought*), the prophet is claiming that YHWH happened upon Israel as a foundling forlorn in the wilderness and legally adopted him. The wilderness is a symbol of anti-structure, outside the domain of human and societal order and control. Malul (2000:201) remarks, “*māšāʿ* and *rāʾâ* [in Hos. 9.10] may very well

carry the nuance of ‘gathering’... into one’s legal sphere, acknowledging someone who has been hitherto outside the structure, in the desert, the waste and lawless sphere.” Similarly, *yāda* in Hos. 13.5 implies legal adoption. Seen in this light, it is the Israelites’ adopted status that made so heinous their action at Baal-Peor (v. 10).

The term **כְּבוֹדָם** *their glory* in v. 11 is specified in the second part of the simile as abundant offspring, who are condemned to death by YHWH in v. 12, for they shall be slaughtered, presumably in battle (v. 13). Again, references to the womb and breasts in v. 14 presuppose children as a very important thematic element. Verse 16 also references children. The final verse of the chiasm brings Israel full circle again to a no-man’s-land, *among the nations*, as he was in the wilderness when found and adopted by YHWH.

<b>Hos. 9.10d, 11: form, markedness, and communicative function</b>	<p>The simile of Hos.9.10d, <b>וַיְהִי שְׁקִיזִים כְּאֵהָבָם</b> <i>and they became a shameful thing as their beloved</i>, is a Minor Simile with default TV simile order. This simile belongs to the subset of scalar similes, which prefer to make their grounds explicit. In this case, the grounds have been provided by the preceding bicolon, <i>They came to Baal-Peor, and they consecrated themselves to the shameful thing</i>.</p>
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We hypothesize that this scalar simile associates *your fathers*, the referent of *they*, with an idol (*their beloved*); it can therefore be said to effect a HUMAN-OBJECT association, for which simile is the default device.

The next bicolon presents us with another simile in v. 11, which effects an animalization of humans, for which simile is also the default device.

**אֶפְרַיִם כְּעוֹף יִתְעוֹפֵף כְּבוֹדָם** <sup>11</sup> *Ephraim (is) like-the-bird; will.fly.away their-glory*

Eidevall (1996:152) writes of this simile: “It is easy to find a connection to the preceding utterance [the *shameful thing* simile]. Since the people have devoted themselves to ‘shame’, it is not surprising that they lose their ‘honour’.”

He writes further:

It is possible that *kābôd* signifies the gift of children, but it could also be seen as a term for divine presence. In v 12b, which can be read as a reversal of 7:13a, the deity’s departure is announced, and deplored: ‘Woe to them, as I depart from them’. Far from just being juxtaposed, the motifs of divine withdrawal and childlessness are

closely interconnected in this passage. As YHWH abandons the people, fertility is reversed into sterility.

Eidevall implies that **כְּבוֹד** *honour, glory* is the opposite of *shameful thing*. We are of course possibly dealing with opposing semantic domains, as set forth by *shame* vocabulary versus *glory* vocabulary. If, as it seems, Eidevall is saying that **כְּבוֹד** in this next simile can involve both childlessness *and* YHWH's departure from his people, we may want to examine the grounds for believing him, especially since for some commentators, e.g., Garrett (1997:200), (McComiskey (1992:149), and Stuart (1987:152), it is an either-or choice. Can we tell how much is **כְּבוֹד** *honour, glory* really the opposite of **בִּשְׁת** *shameful thing*? Or of **שְׁקוּיץ** *shameful thing*?

First of all, Eidevall (1996:152 footnote 32) cites, in relation to this simile, a “similar idea” in Hos. 4.7:

**כָּרְבָם כִּן חָטְאוּ-לִי** *As they multiplied, so they sinned against me;*  
**כְּבוֹדָם בְּקָלוֹן אֶמְיֵר:** *their glory for shame I will exchange.*

Here **קָלוֹן** *shame* is from the root II **קלה**, the Niphal stem of which in turn is glossed by KB as *to be (become) contemptible*, and which is said by BDB to come from the root **קלל** *be slight, swift, trifling (prob. orig. be light)* and abstractly *be lightly esteemed*. Not only does **כְּבוֹד** *glory* in this verse function in general semantic opposition to **קָלוֹן** *shame*, it also has the opposite root conceptualization: *weighty* vs. *light*. The idea behind **קָלוֹן** is, we take it, the loss of social honor or “weight” (**כְּבוֹד**).

In Hos. 9.10cd–11, however, the hypothesized opposition is between, on the one hand, **בִּשְׁת** *shameful thing* (v. 10c) together with **שְׁקוּיץ** *shameful thing* (v. 10d) and, on the other hand, **כְּבוֹד** *glory* (v. 11).

Let us consider **בִּשְׁת** *shameful thing* first: this word is evidently most immediately employed in Hos. 9.10c as a designation for any pagan idol, in this case, the Baal of Peor—a designation that was effected, in BDB's view, by later editors. Semantic attributes of this noun that come into play in its various contexts include disappointment, confusion effected by too much delay, and humiliation before the public (TWOT 1980:97–98). The noun is used in parallel in Psalm 69.20 with **חֲרָפָה**, which in turn seems used mostly of human objects of scorn. **בִּשְׁת** *shameful thing* comes from the verb root **בוש**, glossed by BDB and KB as *be ashamed*. We find that this verb and others expressing

the same idea are frequently paired with **שוב** and other expressions of shame, as displayed below in Figure 6.1.22b:

Ps. 6.11	יִבְשׂוּ וַיִּבְהָלוּ מְאֹד כָּל-אֹיְבֵי יִשְׁבּוּ וַיִּבְשׂוּ רְגַע	<i>May all my enemies be ashamed and much terrified; may they turn back and be suddenly ashamed.</i>
Lam. 1.8	חָטְאָה חַטָּאָה יְרוּשָׁלַם עַל-כֵּן לְנִידָה הִיָּתְהָ כָּל-מְכַבְּדֶיהָ הִזְלִיזוּהָ כִּי-רָאוּ עֲרוֹתֶיהָ נָם-הִיא נְאֻחָהָ נִתְשָׁב אַחֹר	<i>Jerusalem has greatly sinned; therefore she shall become unclean; all who honoured her despise her, for they saw her private parts; as for her, she groans and turns away.</i>
Isa. 42.17a	נִסְגּוּ אַחֹר וַיִּבְשׂוּ בַשֶּׁת הַבְּטָחִים בַּפְּסָל	<i>They will be turned back and greatly ashamed, those trusting in idols.</i>

Figure 6.1.22b  
*Pairing of notions of shame  
with notions of turning back, away*

As for **שְׁקוּץ**, the idea behind this word is something detestable, perhaps originally because it is forbidden, as in Zech. 9.7 (*I will take his blood from this mouth and his forbidden food from between his teeth*). It is used of idols, as with the god Milcom (1 Kings 11.5), but also of other things associated in some way with idols (2 Kings 23.24), also tangible filth (Nahum 3.6). Any association of **שְׁקוּץ** with the loss of social standing must be very indirect indeed.

**כְּבוֹד** *glory* can certainly be used, not only to designate permanent worth, but also honoured standing, etc., as in Jer. 48.18, in Jeremiah’s taunt of Moab:

רְדִי מִכְבוֹד יִשְׁבִי בְצִמָּא יִשְׁבֶּת בְּתַד־דִּיבוֹן *Come down from glory and sit on the parched ground, inhabitant of the daughter of Dibon.*

Let us consider these data in the context of Hos. 9.10–11. We have in v. 10c the designation of the Baal of Peor as **בְּשֶׁת** *shameful thing*, whose verb root **בוש** *to be ashamed* frequently appears with the idea of turning away or back (is it too much to suggest a conceptual pairing between **בוש** *to be ashamed* and **שוב** *to turn back, away*?). We find the idea of turning away expressed in v. 12b by the verb root **שׁוּר**, *turn away*; in the term *in my turning away* (said of YHWH). Oddly but rightly enough, the shame is on the Israelites’ part, but the turning away is effected by YHWH in response to the shame. The irony is as devastating as the departure of the divine glory in Ezekiel.

In v. 10d we have **שְׁקוּץ** *shameful thing*, here used more or less adjectively. This term, which certainly participates in the same semantic domain as **בוש** *to be ashamed* and **בְּשֶׁת** *shameful thing*, seems to have the conceptual basis of something abhorrent because it is forbidden. The result of the

behaviour outlined in v. 10 is given in v. 11a: the **כְּבוֹד** *glory* of Ephraim will depart; his indulgence in forbidden behaviour will lead to the forbidding of his own *glory*, if we may speak so.

Now the question is, how are we to understand the term **כְּבוֹד** *glory* in v. 11? Garrett (1997:200) sees a chiasm in vv. 11–12. He writes, “This being the structure of the text, it is certain that the ‘glory’ in v. 11 is Yahweh himself who will abandon them.”

Garrett’s unstated assumption is evidently that the delineation of a chiasm’s syntactic parts is coterminous with the delineation of its concepts: thus, for example, (*a*´) must by this logic include the same concept as (*a*)—in the case of Figure 6.1.22c, that the prophet’s conceptualization of the lexeme *glory* of (*a*) is specified by (*a*´). But we would ask, is it always the nature of a chiasm to effect only one kind of conceptual delineation? Just as it is commonly acknowledged that Hebrew poetic parallelism may project an effect either of synonymous relation, or of additive relation, or of contrary relation, so may not the effects of chiasm be equally varied?

<i>a</i>	Departure of Ephraim’s glory	<sup>11a</sup> <i>Ephraim (is) like-the-bird; will.fly.away their-glory,</i>
<i>b</i>	Miscarriages instead of live births	<sup>11b</sup> <i>from-birth, and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception</i>
<i>b</i> ´	Even the children that survive birth will be taken by God	<sup>12a</sup> <i>Even if they-raise their-children, I-will.bereave-them every.one.</i>
<i>a</i> ´	God will abandon them	<sup>12b</sup> <i>Indeed even woe to-them in-my-turning.away (בְּשׁוּרִי) from-them</i>

Figure 6.1.22c  
Garrett’s chiasm in Hos. 9.11a–12b

We propose instead the following analysis of vv. 10c–12b, as shown in Figure 6.1.22d below. One of the most noticeable phenomena in this analysis is the development in the conceptualization of “glory,” from v. 11a to its climax in v. 12b: “glory” is first conceptualized vaguely as that of Ephraim, then identified more specifically as Ephraim’s offspring, and then identified climactically as the presence of YHWH himself. This developmental relationship is different than the contrastive relationship that Garrett assumes must always attend a chiastic structure.

<sup>10c</sup> <i>They came (to) Baal-Peor, and-they-consecrated.themselves to-the-shameful.thing (לְבַשְׁתָּ)</i>	The fathers are consecrated to the shameful thing (לְבַשְׁתָּ)	<i>a</i>	<b>בָּשַׁת</b> is associated with <b>turning away</b> in v. 12b
<sup>10d</sup> <i>and-they-became shameful.thing (שְׁקִיץ) as-their-beloved(idol)</i>	They become detestable	<i>b</i>	<b>שְׁקִיץ</b> projects idea of <b>forbidden</b> things
<sup>11a</sup> <i>Ephraim (is) like-the-bird will.fly.away their-glory,</i>	Ephraim’s “glory” flies away	<i>c</i>	The “weighty” and permanent becomes light and transient

<sup>11b</sup> <i>from-birth ,and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception</i>	The “glory” flies away “from” childbearing: locative phrase serves as phrase of negation (glory leaves)	c’	Reversal of birth process: “glory” conceptualized as offspring;
<sup>12a</sup> <i>Even if they-raise their-children, I-will.bereave-them every.one.</i>	God assures the people that he will bereave them of their children (glory leaves)	b’	The people will be <b>forbidden</b> their own children: the Glory of Israel deprives them of their glory (their offspring)
<sup>12b</sup> <i>Indeed even woe to-them in-my-turning.away (בְּשׁוּרִי) from-them</i>	God assures the people that he himself will turn away from them (glory leaves)	a’	God’s <b>turning away</b> is paired with בְּשֵׁת <i>shameful thing</i> of v. 10c (departure of the Glory of Israel)

**Figure 6.1.22d**  
***Our own analysis of Hos. 9.10c–12b***

We will next investigate the inner dynamics of the simile of Hos. 9.11, bringing to them an analysis that will reinforce our conclusions presented here concerning the relationship between the two similes of vv. 10d and 11.

Let us look in more detail at the lexeme **כְּבוֹד** in this simile. Here its concrete referent seems to be an increase in the population of the nation. It is well known that **כְּבוֹד** is a nominal formation from the triconsonantal root **כבד** *to be heavy* and that it often seems to bear a nuance of that sense. What appears to be a rather spectacular confirmation of that nuance occurs, of course, in 2 Cor. 4.17:

<p>τὸ γὰρ παραυτίκα ἑλαφρὸν τῆς θλίψεως ἡμῶν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης κατεργάζεται ἡμῖν</p>	<p><i>For the momentary lightness of our suffering works for us from surpassing to surpassing an eternal weight of glory</i></p>
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Although Paul wrote in Greek, we must regard him here as betraying his Hebrew mindset, for we know of no concept connected with the Greek δόξα that can account for the phrase αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης. The image schematic notion of weight is, of course, a specialized variant of the more general force schema. If we interpret this aspect of weight as, in fact, an image schema underlying the noun **כְּבוֹד**, many data relevant to this verse fall into place.

For this we must invoke again the BH model of permanence versus transitoriness. The conceptual opposite of **כְּבוֹד** is lightness of weight, as typified by the wind and, by extension, anything carried by it, such as smoke or the chaff of beaten grain. Thus the use in Hos. 9.11 of **עוֹף** *bird* and **עָף** *to fly*, associated by simile with **כְּבוֹד**, negates the underlying image schema of weight. This passage’s theme is often found, of course, elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, a theme of glory becoming

nullified. Wolff (1974:166) comments: “The glory of Ephraim means—in addition to a harmonious community life—especially the increase of life.” The opposite to this implies curse type 12, that of infertility. Again, the theme of children is associated with **כְּבוֹד** in Isa. 22.24:

וְתָלוּ עָלָיו כָּל כְּבוֹד בֵּית־אָבִיו הַצְּאֵצְאִים וְהַצִּפְעוֹת  
 כָּל כְּלֵי הַקֶּטָן מִכְּלֵי הָאֲנָנוֹת וְעַד כָּל־כְּלֵי הַנְּבָלִים

*They shall hang on him all the glory of his father's house: the descendants and the shoots, all the little vessels, from the basins to the jars.*

Indeed, Watts (1985:287) translates here *all the weight of his father's house will hang on him*, remarking that the “original meaning of ‘weight’ [of **כְּבוֹד** ] is called for.” But perhaps not. Watts seems to be confusing the underlying image schema of **כְּבוֹד** with its more concrete referent.

We are now able to propose in Figure 6.1.22e below a conceptual blending diagram of the simile in Hos. 9.11. First the conceptual level is treated. We notice at once that the diagram shows two secondary frames that are recruited one after the other for Input 1: the Image Schema of weight that is inherent in the BH concept of **כְּבוֹד** *glory* is recruited for the BH Cultural Model of Permanence and Transitoriness, which in turn is recruited for both inputs: Input 1’s GLORY FLYING AWAY image, and Input 2’s BIRD IMAGE. In this particular case, the fact that Input 1 has as its basis a cultural model allows the input itself to be cast as a metaphor in its own right. The Generic Space straightforwardly incorporates the double pairing of opposite ideas, as does the Blend itself.

The Syntactic Level then presents the mapping of the Conceptual Level onto linguistic performance. We have understood *Ephraim* as a hanging topicalized construction, leaving the simile proper to begin with the Vehicle term *like a bird*. The fronted Vehicle term allows tighter binding of *bird* to the verb *flies away* in a literal mode—i.e., birds really do literally fly away, while the tight metaphorical association between *flies away* and *glory* is enhanced by the word order as well.

We include in the simile, of course, the final expression, which we regard as the metaphorized grounds of the simile (**מִלְדָּה וּמִבֶּטֶן וּמִהָרִיוֹן**) *from-birth, and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception*); these grounds are clearly inspired by the strophe’s key concept of offspring. Their metaphorization consists of several facts: (1) birth, pregnancy, and conception together are not events and states attributable to birds, but they to humans instead; (2) these events and states cannot literally be abandoned at all by the offspring, and certainly not by flying; (3) the events and states are listed in chronologically reverse order of occurrence; and (4) the preposition **מִן** *from* does double duty, in that it introduces a metaphorical complement of location, and that it functions as a

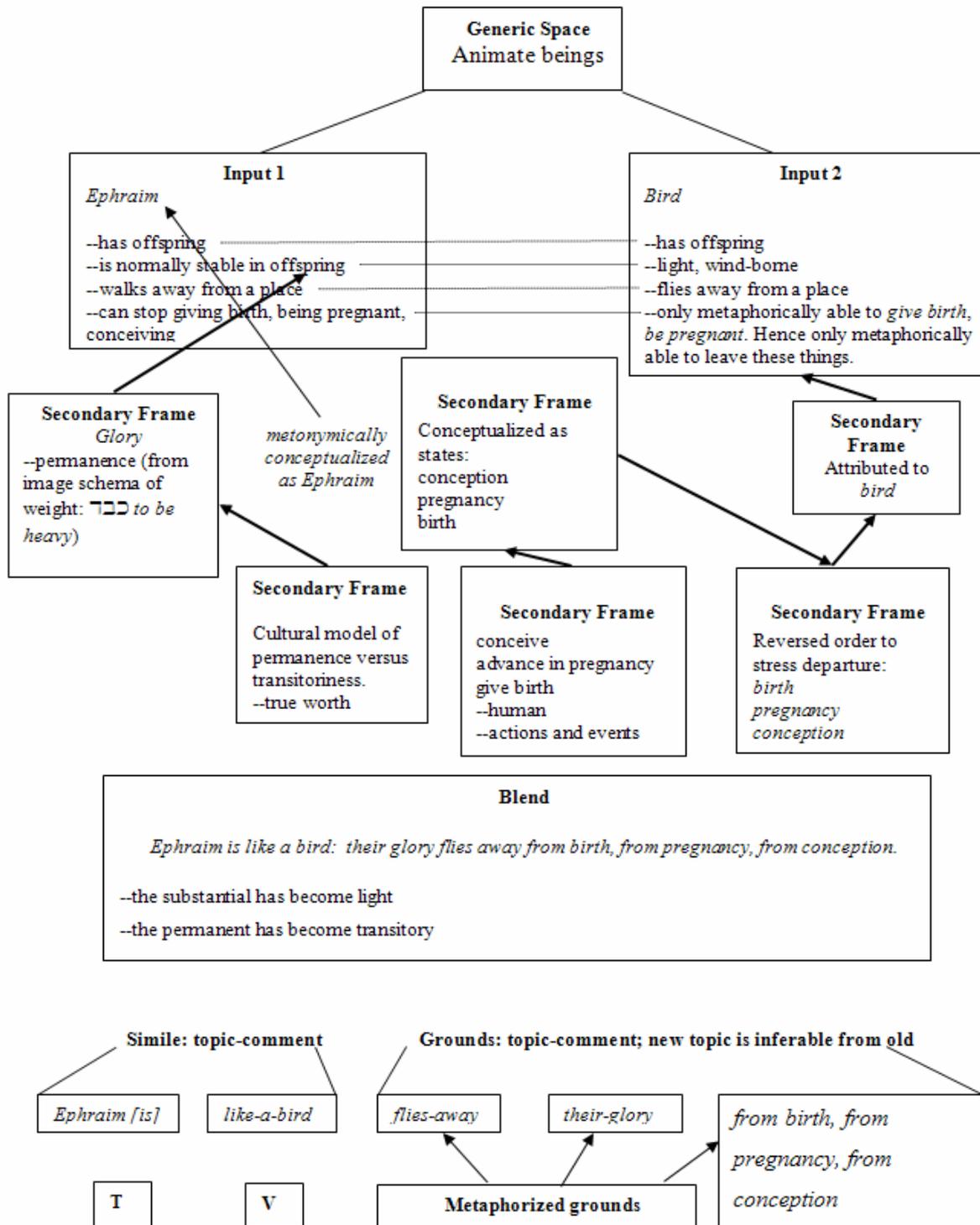


Figure 6.1.22e

אֶפְרַיִם כְּעוֹף יְתֵעוּפָה כְּבוֹדָם מִלֵּדָה וּמִבֶּטֶן וּמִהַרְיוֹן

*Ephraim is like a bird: their glory flies away from birth, and from pregnancy, and from conception.*

**Hos. 9.11**

negative particle in this context: *no birth, no pregnancy, no conception*.

**Hos. 9.11: text and interpretation**

The simile אֲפַרַיִם כְּעוֹף יִתְעוֹפֵף כְּבוֹדָם מִלְּדָה וּמִבְטָן וּמִהַרְיֹן can be syntactically chunked as either *Ephraim is like a bird their glory will fly away: no birth, no pregnancy, and no conception*, or as *Ephraim is like a bird: their glory will fly away...* Wolff (1974:160) adopts the latter approach; Garrett (1998:200) and McComiskey (1992:148) the former. McComiskey and others remark that Hosea employs several times the device of a hanging construction as in *Ephraim! Like a bird...*, e.g., in Hos. 7.8 and 9.13. While one cannot be completely certain of either choice, we wish to introduce the consideration of InfStr to the question.

What would be the InfStr implications of the simile in the form *Ephraim! Like a bird will fly away their glory...*? *Ephraim* would be a macro frame for vv. 11–12. *Like a bird* would be an Argument-Focus element, being fronted to the verb, and *will fly away their glory* would be therefore presupposed. The following metaphorized grounds, *from birth and from pregnancy and from conception*, would then be in a sense an extended argument of the already presupposed verb.

How likely is this scenario? The relexicalization of *Israel* of v. 10 to *Ephraim* of v. 11 signals a discontinuity in the text; it is not necessary that *Ephraim* function as a macro frame. More seriously, it seems very unlikely that high prominence would be given to the necessarily presupposed constituent *will fly away their glory* by means of the following metaphorized grounds.

In this scenario, *their glory*, if interpreted as some kind of state, would be considered within the HAO framework as an abstraction; associated with *bird*, it would prefer simile as a default device. This is to say that our HAO framework would assign simile as the default device to effecting the conceptual association presented in this syntactic reading.

The alternative, which we have adopted, is to read, *Ephraim is like a bird: their glory will fly away from birth, and from pregnancy, and from conception*. In this scenario, *Ephraim is like a bird* functions as a macro frame, providing the setting for the rest of vv. 11–12. The metaphorized grounds for the simile follow in the form of a topic-comment sentence. The entity *glory* is inferably presupposed from the concept *Ephraim*.

We suggest that this alternative makes more sense from an InfStr viewpoint, even though one cannot be certain of either choice. Let us note, however, that much of the conceptual blending of the simile remains the same in either case; if, for example, we read *Ephraim is like a bird...*, we find that *their glory will fly away* functions as metaphorical grounds or, if one wills, “pseudo-grounds.”

The meaning of the simile remains the same in any case, for the grounds must be regarded as part of the simile proper.

**Hos. 9.11: form, markedness, and communicative function** The simile *Ephraim is like a bird...* is a Major Simile with unmarked Tenor-Vehicle simile order. It is a topic-comment clause, *Ephraim* having the same referent as *Israel* in v. 10, but being a relexicalization of *Israel*. We view it as a Topic suitably marked for the transition to the announcing of YHWH's coming punishment against the nation. The following clause, *will.fly.away their-glory*, is also a topic-comment clause, with *their-glory* being an inferable attribute of Ephraim on the basis of the recital of the nation's history in v. 10. The following triple-compound verbal argument, *from-birth, and-from-pregnancy, and-from-conception*, acts as very heavy end-weight.

This passage is also a case of the animalization of humans, for which simile is the default device, according to our HAO understanding.

**Hos. 9.10–14: Elements constitutive of worldview** In examining the similes of Hos. 9.10d and 9.11, we have encountered the kinaesthetic image schema of weight in relation to כְּבוֹד *glory* and the absence of weight in relation to the concept of flight. We have also hypothesized a lexical pairing of the verbs בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed* and שׁוּב *to turn back, away*.

**Hos. 9.10–14: conclusion** In this section we have hypothesized a textual chiasm (see Figure 6.1.22d) that is based largely on sublexical conceptualizations and a pairing of lexemes. In the analysis presented in that same figure, we made a claim for the possibility that a variety of interconceptual relationships could be presented in a textual chiasm, and specifically, that a **developing** conceptual relationship could be as equally legitimate in a chiasm as a **contrastive** conceptual relationship. We have also applied InfStr theory to a question of syntactic chunking, weighing two different alternatives in the light of that theory, and coming to a preferred alternative on that basis.

**6.1.23 As-increase (happened) to-his-fruit, Hos. 10.1c; as-improvement (happened) to-his-land, Hos. 10.1d; and sprang up as poisonous weeds justice in the furrows of the field, Hos. 10.4c**  
These similes (the first two similes are Minor similes and scalar, and the third is a Major simile) occur in Wendland's two strophes of Hos. 10.1–2 and Hos. 10.3–4, which are displayed below, with parallelisms adduced by us.

MT	Translation	Ideational	Conceptual	
גִּפְנֵי בּוֹקֵק יִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>1</sup>	<i>A vine spreading (was) Israel,</i>	CONDITION OF ISRAEL	AGRICULTURAL	<i>a</i>
פְּרֵי יִשׁוּה־לּוֹ	<i>Fruit he-established for-himself.</i>	INCITEMENT TO SIN	AGRICULTURAL	<i>b</i>
כָּרַב לְפָרְיוֹ הִרְבֵּה לְמִזְבְּחוֹת	<i>As-increase (happened) to-his-fruit, he-increased in.respect.to-the-altars.</i>	SIN DESERVING PUNISHMENT	AGRICULTURAL ARCHITECTURAL	<i>c</i>
כְּטוֹב לְאַרְצוֹ הֵיטִיבוּ מִצְבוֹת:	<i>As-improvement (happened) to-his-land, they-improved pillars.</i>	SIN DESERVING PUNISHMENT	AGRICULTURAL ARCHITECTURAL	<i>c</i>
חֲלַק לִבָּם <sup>2</sup>	<i>Has.become.slippery their-heart</i>	CONDITION OF ISRAEL	MORAL	<i>aa</i>
עַתָּה יֵאָשְׁמוּ	<i>Now they.await.punishment:</i>	INCITING PUNISHMENT	MORAL	<i>bb</i>
הוּא יַעֲרַף מִזְבְּחוֹתָם	<i>He will.break.down their-altars,</i>	PUNISHMENT FOR SIN	ARCHITECTURAL	<i>cc</i>
יִשְׁדֹּד מִצְבוֹתָם:	<i>He-will.destroy their-pillars.</i>	PUNISHMENT FOR SIN	ARCHITECTURAL	<i>cc</i>
כִּי עַתָּה יֹאמְרוּ <sup>3</sup>	<i>For now they-say,</i>	SPEAKING	MORAL	<i>d</i>
אֵין מֶלֶךְ לָנוּ	<i>There.is.no king to.us,</i>	CONTENT	MORAL	<i>e</i>
כִּי לֹא יִרְאוּ אֶת־יְהוָה	<i>for we-do- not -fear YHWH,</i>	CONTENT	MORAL	<i>e</i>
וְהַמֶּלֶךְ מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה־לָּנוּ:	<i>And-the-king, what would.he-do for-us?</i>	CONTENT	MORAL	<i>e</i>
דִּבְרוּ דְבָרִים <sup>4</sup>	<i>They-spoke words,</i>	SPEAKING	MORAL	<i>d</i>
אֵלוֹת שָׁוָא	<i>to.swear vainly,</i>	CONTENT	MORAL	<i>e</i>
כָּרַת בְּרִית	<i>to.cut covenant.</i>	CONTENT	MORAL	<i>e</i>
וּפָרַח כְּרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תְּלָמֵי שָׂדֵי:	<i>Sprang.up as-poisonous.weed justice in furrows-of (the) field.</i>	EVALUATION OF STROPHE	AGRICULTURAL	<i>f</i>

Figure 6.1.23a

*The two strophes of Hos. 10.1–4 and their poetic, conceptual, and ideational structure*

**Preview of this section**

In this section we will meet two scalar similes (Hos. 10.1cd) whose fronted Vehicle terms appear to function as Theme Frames. We will also meet a Major Simile (Hos. 10.4d) possessing Predicate Focus structure and functioning as an evaluation of preceding material. The simile expression in this verse is found to modify the instantiation of a conceptual metaphor in an unusual way.

**Hos. 10.1b: text**

Wolff (1974:170) sees the verb יִשְׁוֶה as coming from the יָשׁוּה, the Piel of which indicates congruity, essentially in the fashion of a simile. He translates, *He yielded fruit accordingly*. Stuart (1987:156) sees it as meaning, *He yielded abundant fruit as was his standard custom*.

**Hos. 10.1c: interpretation** Garrett (1997:207) sees the phrase כָּרַב לְפָרְיֵי as referring, not the increase of the vine’s fruit per se, but rather to the improvement of the fruit’s (and by inference, the vine’s) conditions of growth. Indeed, good fruit was expected, but the vine’s growth resulted in an increase and refinement of pagan shrines (v. 1cd). Garrett’s view allows him to identify the *fruit* as evil, for it leads to evil results.

**Hos. 10.1cd: form, markedness, and communicative function** The two similes of vv. 1cd are Minor similes of a scalar nature. They both have VT simile structure, where the Vehicle term is fronted to the verb and to the Tenor term. In v. 1c, we take the fronted Vehicle term to act as a local Theme Frame for those two clauses, where the theme is *increase*:

As-increase (רַב) (happened) to-his-fruit, he-increased (הִרְבָּה) in.respect.to-the-altars.

In the same way, the Vehicle term in v. 1d is fronted, acting as a local Theme Frame, where the theme is *improvement*:

As-improvement (טוּב) (happened) to-his-land, they-improved (הִיטִיבוּ) pillars.

We note that in these two Minor similes, there is no Imaged State of Being. This is in keeping with our observation that Minor similes in general exhibit weak Imaged States of Being or none at all.

**Hos. 10.4d: form, markedness, and communicative function** A Major simile ends the strophe of Hos. 10.3–4, using language (*in the furrows of the field*) that we will see again in Hos. 12.12. The simile’s word order seems at first glance to be the unmarked BH order of *Verb—Subject*. Yet we find here that both Tenor and Simile terms are discontinuous, as displayed below, providing us with the sole TTVV simile order in Hosea:

Tenor	Vehicle	Tenor	Vehicle
<i>sprang up</i>	<i>like poisonous weeds</i>	<i>justice(?) judgment (?)</i>	<i>in the furrows of the field</i>

**Figure 6.1.23b**  
***Discontinuous Tenor and Vehicle terms in Hos. 10.4***

וּפָרַח כָּרַאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תְּלִמֵי שָׂדֵי:  
*Sprang.up justice like-poisonous.weeds in-furrows-of field.*

We view this simile as a Predicate Focus structure functioning as an evaluation of the strophe, immediately preceded by an account of the cynical behaviour of the Israelites: *They spoke (mere) words, swearing and making covenants falsely.*

This simile displays what we take to be an instantiation of a conceptual metaphor of more or less the form MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS, which allows *spring up* to collocate metaphorically with *justice*. Here the verb collocates concretely with *poisonous weeds*. But the second part of the discontinuous Vehicle, *in the furrows of the field*, is tightly interwoven with the Tenor noun *justice/judgment*.

It will be worthwhile to explore in some detail the simile of Hos. 10.4. We may begin by noting that English versions differ here as to whether to employ *judgment* (i.e., a ruler’s decree or decision) or *justice*, the ideal moral quality of such action. Now it is true that מִשְׁפָּט often bears the first sense, as in the following passages:

- |                   |   |  |
|-------------------|---|--|
| <b>Deut. 25.1</b> | כִּי־יִהְיֶה רִיב בֵּין אַנְשִׁים וְנָשִׁים<br>אֶל־הַמִּשְׁפָּט וְשֹׁפְטוֹם | When there is a lawsuit between individuals,<br>they will approach (place of or process of) judgment, and<br>they will judge them. |
| <b>Job 13.18</b>  | הִנֵּה־נָה עָרַכְתִּי מִשְׁפָּט יָדַעְתִּי<br>כִּי־אֲנִי אֶצְדֵּק           | Behold, I have arranged my case;<br>I know I will be declared innocent.  |

But in relation to the question of מִשְׁפָּט in Hos. 10.4, we can state that BH shows no evidence suggesting the existence of a conceptual metaphor of the form ACTIONS OR EVENTS ARE PLANTS; there is, however, much evidence that a conceptual metaphor MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS exists. Therefore we choose to understand *justice* in Hos. 10.4, since here מִשְׁפָּט collocates with *springs up*.

The total effect of this simile seems to have been at least roughly understood by many interpreters. Andersen and Freedman (1980:549), for example, write of this passage that “judgment” here, in association with undesired growth, “suggests perverted justice.” It is true that the sense of ראש here is not assured beyond doubt, but a broad consensus supposes that it is most reasonable to view it as *poisonous weeds*, because of the association of ראש (bearing the sense of *poison* or *venom* elsewhere) with *furrows of the field*. To this factor we may add that such an understanding accords with an acceptance of the conceptual metaphor MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS.<sup>18</sup>

Stuart (1987:161), in considering *the furrows of the field*, emphasizes the furrows’ food-bearing function, remarking that this image shows that the prophet is speaking, not only against the king and his worthless treaties with foreign powers (as is suggested by the simile’s context), but also about

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<sup>18</sup> McComiskey (1992:165) understands *justice* here as well, because the context concerns the ethical problems in Israel’s society, and also because weeds take time to grow, just as justice takes time to widely degenerate; the event of judgment, on the other hand, would be expected to be more sudden. Wolff (1974:175), Mays (1969:141), and Garrett (1997:208) all understand justice as well. On the other hand, NIV reads *lawsuits*.

the general society's unfaithfulness to the covenant with YHWH. Stuart never specifies, however, how it is that one is to infer condemnation of the community of Israel as a whole on the basis of this crop image.

In an earlier era, Keil (nd:129) also saw **מִשְׁפָּט** here as a corrupted virtue, *right in its degeneracy into wrong*. Keil anticipated Stuart, in a way, by viewing the explicit placement of **מִשְׁפָּט** in *the furrows of the field* as a statement about the spread of this degeneracy within the nation of Israel, the nation presumably corresponding to *the field*. And reflecting a variety of much earlier Jewish commentators, Cohen (1994:38) sees **מִשְׁפָּט** as denoting the quality of the decisions of the king and his court.

But none of these views presents a satisfying account of the expression *in the furrows of the field*. As we have remarked, this expression occurs again in Hos. 12.12, thereby demanding even more insistently an account.

Concerning *in the furrows of the field*, let us hypothesize that furrows' most striking visual property is their length and straightness. Further, let us recall that **מִשְׁפָּט** is associated in Ps. 119.137 with **יָשָׁר** *upright*. But the principal concrete conceptualization of **יָשָׁר** is along the lines of straightness. Putting these data together, we see plainly that the prophet is speaking ironically: the field's furrows are long and straight and should be expected to produce, metaphorically speaking, a matching moral quality—ideal, “straight” (**יָשָׁר**) *justice*. But what sprouts instead is a noxious, even fatal weed, the kind of “justice” that turns on and kills the very society that it should have helped.<sup>19</sup>

Wolff (1974:175) comments, “The ancient expression ‘along the furrows of the field’—which also occurs in 12:12b like a fixed formula—seems to compare the faithfulness of the fathers with the faithlessness of this generation.” Wolff's understanding of *the furrows of the fields* may be as good as any other possible referent of this expression. If the ancestors were seen as faithful to YHWH, then they would have been held to have metaphorically sown righteousness, as we hypothesize, in “straight” furrows.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, this analysis does not help us know the exact referent of this perverted “justice.” Some commentators (e.g., Hubbard 1989:173; Wolff 1974:111) read the context as suggesting that the prophet is condemning the king's frantic but insincere pursuit of treaties with foreign powers; this behavior creates serious implications for the spiritual life of the covenantal community. Others (e.g., Andersen and Freedman 1980:554) assume that the verse's primary focus is on the corruption in the nation's courts. Wolff (1974:175) sees the verse as referring to the complete lack of honesty between the king and the nation in all political matters.

<sup>20</sup> Wolff (1974:175) also points out the close similarity between Hosea's expression here and Amos 5.7: **הַהַפְּכִים לְלַעֲנָה וְצָדִיקָה לְאֶרֶץ הַנִּיחָה** *You who turn justice into bitterness and cast righteousness to the ground*; and Amos 6.12:

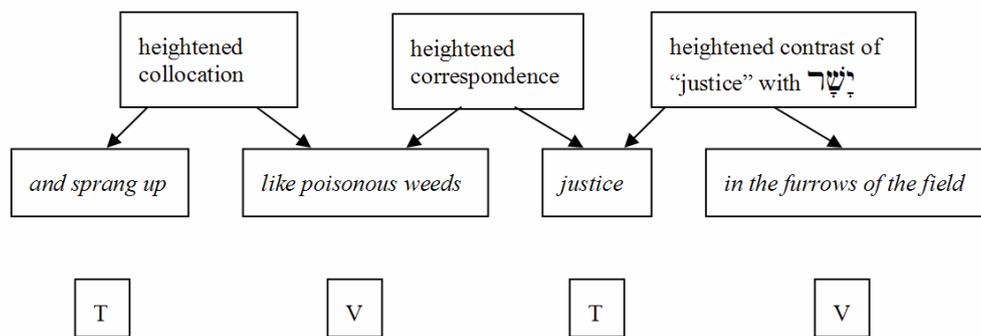
Let us check our hypothesis of the relationship of **יָשָׁר** *be upright* to **מִשְׁפָּט** *justice* by looking at cases bearing a contrary sense, as in 1 Sam. 8.3:

וְלֹא־הָלְכוּ בְנֵי בְדֻרְכָּיו וַיִּטּוּ אַחֲרֵי הַבָּצָע  
 וַיִּקְחוּ־שֹׁחַד וַיִּטּוּ מִשְׁפָּט *(Samuel's sons) did not walk in (their father's) way, but they turned aside after gain and took gifts and turned aside justice.*

Here is a clear image of the ideal quality of judgment, i.e., justice, being perverted from what is “straight” into what is “turned,” using the Hiphil stem of **נָטָה**. Again, in Mic. 3.9, the Piel stem of **עָקַשׁ** *twist, make crooked* appears in a kind of association with **מִשְׁפָּט**:

הַמְתַּעֲבִים מִשְׁפָּט וְאֵת כָּל־הַיִּשְׁרָה יַעֲקֹשׁוּ *Those who abhor justice and make crooked all that is upright.*

To present the effects of discontinuous topic and vehicle in Hos. 10.4, let us resort to a conceptual binding diagram (the left-to-right English word order reflects the right-to-left Hebrew order):



**Figure 6.1.23c**  
**Conceptual binding in Hos. 10.4**  
 וּפְרָחַ כְּרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תְּלִמֵי שָׂדֵי:

*And justice sprang up like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the field.*

The discontinuities allow a binding together of the various elements that is tighter than would otherwise be the case. The literal collocation between *and sprang up* and *poisonous weeds* is heightened, the topic-vehicle relation between *poisonous weeds* and *justice* is highlighted by these two elements’ juxtaposition, and the contrast between the perverted “*justice*” and the straight quality of *the furrows of the field* is emphasized by these two last terms’ juxtaposition as well.

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כִּי־הִפְכֹתֶם לְרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט וּפְרֵי צְדָקָה לְלַעֲנָה *But you have turned justice into poison and the fruit of righteousness into bitterness.*

We will refrain from diagramming an English simile featuring a discontinuous Tenor, but let us note in passing that it seems unlikely that English similes can place discontinuities in both Tenor and Vehicle, or indeed, even in the Vehicle alone. Furthermore, it seems probable that English Tenor discontinuities exist so that the Vehicle can introduce the second part of the Tenor—a function that is not present in Hos. 10.4, as in *I carried my load, like an African villager, on my head*.

In Figure 6.1.23d below we present a conceptual blending diagram of Hos. 10.4. The generic space features the conceptual metaphor MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS. It is this conceptual metaphor that enables the language of justice “springing up.” Conceptual attributes of the two inputs may correspond to each other either positively or negatively; in this simile the correspondances are negative in that they signal contrary attributes. The secondary frame of *furrows of the field*, recruited by input 2, features the physical quality of straightness, which is accentuated by the furrows’ length. The frame of *furrows* metonymically projects  $\text{רָצִיף}$  *straightness* to *justice* of input 1, where it evokes the corresponding metaphorical sense *upright*. The projection to the blend of both the literal and moral qualities of straightness is in turn blocked, highlighting the crooked nature of this supposed “justice” without ever making this highlighting explicit. The rhetorical aim of this simile appears to be to effect a negative evaluation of the kind of “justice” available in Israel.

The conceptual blending diagram of this simile is combined in Figure 6.1.23d with a second presentation of the conceptual binding shown in Figure 6.1.23c. This time, however, we show diagrammatically the mapping of the blend onto the simile’s syntactic structure.

(Note that the criss-crossing effect of the heavy lines is only an artifact of the presentation of the blend in English.)

This analysis strongly suggests that it is a mistake to translate out of existence the expression *in the furrows of the field*, as is done by many contemporary versions: *Today’s English Version* (*in a plowed field*), *New International Version* (the same), *New Century Version* (the same), *Contemporary English Version* (*where healthy plants should grow*), *La Bible en français courant* (*un champ labouré*), and *Die Gute Nachricht Bibel* (*im Getreidefeld*). Instead, the cognitive visual image of the furrows becomes crucial for the completion of the simile’s conceptual structure, as it leads to a negative, even sarcastic, evaluation of the quality of *justice* in the simile. This negative evaluation, which lies at the heart of the rhetorical purpose of the simile, is represented in Figure 6.1.23d by the very heavy line pointing back from *justice* in the syntactic level to the conceptual *justice* of input 1.

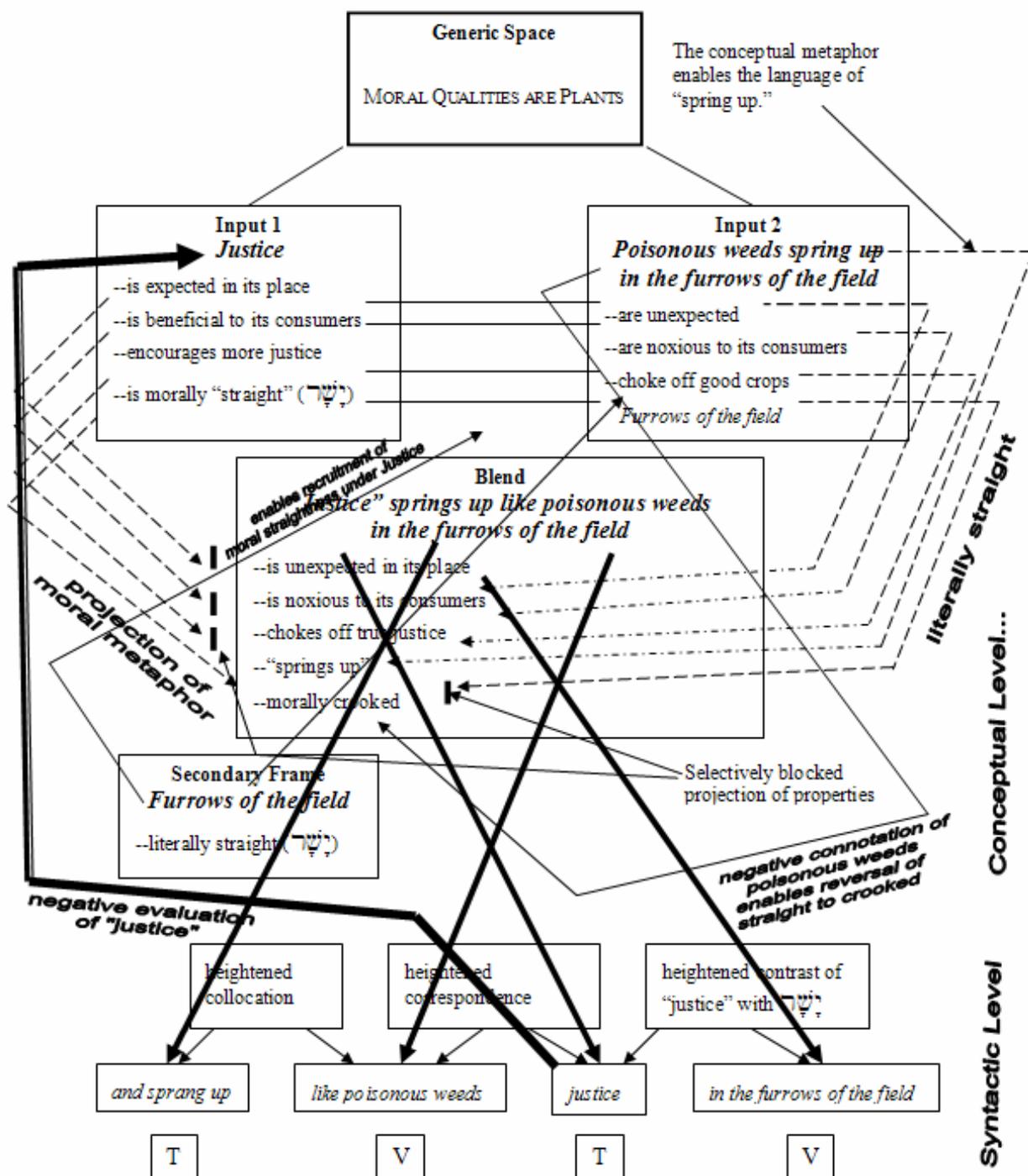


Figure 6.1.23d  
 Conceptual blending and binding in Hos. 10.4d

וּפְרָחַ כְּרֹאשׁ מִשְׁפָּט עַל תִּלְמֵי שָׂדֵי:

And justice sprang up like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the field.

As we have remarked, Hos. 10.4 consists of an instantiation of the conceptual metaphor MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS, which is modified by a simile. It is usual for a simile, when employed in

such a context, to feature a Vehicle term that reinforces in a positive manner the conceptual metaphor instantiation, as in *The price of petrol rose like a rocket*, where a rocket, that can literally rise, reinforces the notion of *rose*. In Hos. 10.4, however, *poisonous weeds* deforms the usual concept of *justice*.

The simile of Hos. 10.4 is a case in which an abstraction (*justice*) is objectified because of its instantiation (*justice sprang up*) of a conceptual metaphor; it is further objectified, this time explicitly, by means of a simile (*like poisonous weeds in the furrows of the field*).

**Hos. 10.1–4: conclusion** In this section we have identified two scalar similes (Hos. 10.1cd), each having a fronted Vehicle term that functions as a very local Theme Frame. In addition, we have seen a Major Simile (Hos. 10.4d) exhibiting Predicate Focus and functioning as an evaluation. (We have proposed this same function of evaluation for Sentence Focus in treating Hos. 4.7b and will propose it again as a possible solution to the InfStr challenge posed in Hos. 13.2f.) Hos. 10.4d consists of an instantiation of a conceptual metaphor (MORAL QUALITIES ARE PLANTS) that is modified by a simile expression. Unusually, the simile expression serves not to intensify the conceptual metaphor instantiation in the normal manner, but rather to effectively detract from it, rendering it ironic.

#### 6.1.24 Samaria—her king shall be cut off like a chip on the face of the water, Hos. 10.7

This simile occurs in Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 10.7–8, as displayed below.

<p>נִדְמָה שָׁמְרוֹן <sup>7</sup></p> <p>מִלְכָּהּ כְּקֶזֶף עַל-פְּנֵי-מַיִם:</p> <p>וְנִשְׁמְדוּ בְּמֹת אֲזֶן חַטָּאת יִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>8</sup></p> <p>קוֹץ וְדִרְבֹּר יִשְׁלַח עַל-מִזְבְּחוֹתָם</p> <p>וְאָמְרוּ לְהַרִים כִּסּוּנוֹ וְלַגְּבָעוֹת נִפְלוּ עָלֵינוּ:</p>	<p><i>Is.being.cut.off Samaria;</i></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 5px 0;"> <p>McComiskey <i>Samaria! Is.cut.off her-king...</i></p> </div> <p><i>her-king (is) as-twig on- face-of water.</i></p> <p><i>Shall-be-destroyed (the-)bamot-of Aven, (the-)sin-of Israel.</i></p> <p><i>Thorn and-thistle shall-grow-up on their-altars;</i></p> <p><i>they-shall-say to-the-mountains, cover-us, and-to-the-hills, fall on-us.</i></p>
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**Preview of this section** In this section, we meet a simile whose concrete referent, even though a prototypical image (that of water as an irresistible force) is employed, remains obscure. However, the simile does introduce a local theme of uncontrolled force.

**Hos. 10.7: text** Some commentators (Garrett, Mays, and Wolff) choose to read the MT, but McComiskey reprints the Niphal particle נִדְמָה to the 3<sup>rd</sup> masc. sg. form. Whether the verb דָּמָה means *to reduce to silence* (thus Wolff) or *to cut off, destroy*, it does indeed seem to denote destruction.

In the same way, commentators are divided over the noun קִצְצָה, since it is a hapax legomenon. However, it seems best to regard it as *splinter* or *twig* because of the context. However, to regard שְׁמֵרוֹן *Samaria* as a Topic Frame, which is effectively the view of McComiskey (1992:168), seems farfetched, since *Samaria* occurs as the second word in the sentence, and the first word is the verb.

**Hos. 10.7: form, markedness, and communicative function**

The simile of v. 7b is a Major Simile in default TV simile order, and certainly expresses part of the total destruction of Samaria, which is the theme of this strophe and the preceding one (Hos. 10.5–6, which speaks of the coming capture of the bull-calf idol of Beth Aven, as well as of the destruction and deportation of Ephraim). Eidevall (1996:158) gives a good summary of the interpretative options for the simile: Does the water refer to the floods of YHWH’s wrath, as in Hos. 5.10? Or does it refer to the irresistible force of the Assyrian invaders? Whatever the referent, it clearly ushers in the theme of chaos returning to the land, where the inhabitants will wish for a quick death from natural forces, instead of the longer, more brutal death from the Assyrians.

Although there is little that can be said about this simile in terms of its concrete referent, one thing can be noted: the simile introduces a theme of uncontrolled force, for it presents water as an irresistible force, while v. 8b presents the power of uncontrolled plant life (*thorns and thistles shall grow on their altars*), and v. 8c in turn presents the catastrophic forces of nature (*they shall say to the mountains, cover us, and to the hills, fall on us*), if only in the form of a wish.

In this passage, a human (*her king*) is objectified by means of a simile, the default device for this kind of HAO manipulation.

**Hos. 10.7: conclusion**

The simile of v. 7 undoubtedly makes use of water prototypically seen as an irresistible force. The simile introduces a local theme of uncontrolled force, that is taken up by vv. 8bc.

### 6.1.25 As Shalman destroyed Betharbel on the day of battle, Hos. 10.14

This simile, which we take to be a *day-of* simile, occurs in Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 10.13d–15.

<p>כִּי-בְטַחַתְּ בְּדַרְכֶּךָ בָּרַב גְּבוּרֶיךָ :<sup>13d</sup></p> <p>וְקָאֵם שָׁאוֹן בְּעַמּוֹךָ<sup>14</sup></p> <p>וְכָל-מִבְצָרֶיךָ יִשָּׂד</p> <p>כְּשֶׁד שְׁלֹמֹן בַּיִת אֶרְבָּאֵל בְּיוֹם מַלְחָמָה</p> <p>אִם עַל-בָּנִים רָטְשָׁה :</p> <p>כִּכָּה עֲשֶׂה לְכֶם בַּיִת-אֵל<sup>15</sup></p>	<p><i>Because youS-trusted in-yourS-way, in-abundance-of yourS-warriors,</i></p> <p><i>will-arise tumult against-yourS-people</i></p> <p><i>And-all yourS-strongholds will-be-destroyed,</i></p> <p><i>As-destruction-of Shalman Beth Arbel on-day-of battle.</i></p> <p><i>Mother upon-children was-dashed-in-pieces.</i></p> <p><i>Thus will-happen to-youP Bethel</i></p>
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מִפְּנֵי רָעַת דְּעַתְּכֶם      *Because-of evil-of yourP-evil*  
 בַּשָּׁחַר נִדְמָה נִדְמָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:      *In-the-dawn to-be-cut-off has-been-cut-off the-king-of Israel.*

**Preview of this section** This section presents another *day-of* simile.

**Sitz im Leben** The identities of Shalman and Beth Arbel are unknown. Some identify Shalman with Shalmaneser in his campaign against Samaria in 722 B.C., but, as Mays (1969:149) remarks, this date is too late for Hosea. As for Beth Arbel, some have tried to identify this with the mound Irbid in Gilead (Stuart 1987:171). In any case, Hosea describes a military disaster that for the Israelites must have been at least somewhat of a cultural exemplar for his audience—although he felt it desirable to add the explanation of the mass extermination of the city’s population (*women upon children*).

**Hos. 10.14: form, markedness, and communicative function** We regard v. 14 as a *day-of* simile. This appears to be the only class of simile that associates one concept with another using the principle of past chronology instead of present ontology. That is, in *day-of* similes, *X* is conceived of as *Y* once was, while in Major Similes, *X* is more often conceived of as *Y* is. This difference seems to result in more than the simple difference between past and present: concepts imaged in terms of other present concepts seem much more likely to feature cognitively simple Imaged States of Being and to introduce them for extended elaboration. On the other hand, when concepts are drawn from the past in order to be associated with present concepts, they are more likely to provide a transient image overlay without **ontologically** affecting the present image in a major way: the Imaged State of Being, if there is one, is likely to be cognitively complex, and thus less powerful.

The simile of v. 14 has the default simile order of TV. However, the Tenor term itself features marked word order, in the subject (*all your strongholds*) is fronted to the verb (*will be destroyed*). We view *all your strongholds* as presupposed by the militaristic language and as introducing a topic shift from *your people* in general to the strongholds and to those sheltered in them, the mothers and children.

**Hos. 10.13d–15: conclusion** A *day-of* simile in v. 14 is seen in this section to act typically, in presenting a transient image overlay organized by past chronology. The Tenor concept is modified by the concept drawn from the past, but without establishing a figure for further metaphorical elaboration.

**6.1.26 Like those who lift a yoke, Hos. 11.4b**

This simile occurs at the end of one of Wendland’s strophes, as displayed below.

כִּי נָעַר יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאֶהְבֵּהוּ <sup>1</sup> When child Israel (was), I-loved-him  
 וּמִמִּצְרַיִם קָרָאתִי לְבְנִי: and-out.of-Egypt I-called my-son  
 קָרָאוּ לָהֶם בְּן הַלְכוּ מִפְּנֵיהֶם <sup>2</sup> (The more) they-called to-them, (the more) they-went from-  
 their-presence

Mays, I called them, but they went from my presence
Wolff Yet as I called them, they strayed from me.
Stuart When I had called them, then they left me.

לְבַעֲלִים יִזְבְּחוּ to-the-baals they-kept.sacrificing  
 וּלְפִסְלִים יִקְטְרוּ: and-to-the-idols they-kept.burning  
 וְאֲנִי תְרַגְלֵתִי לְאֶפְרַיִם <sup>3</sup> And-I, I- caused.to.walk Ephraim

And-I, I attentively.watched Ephraim McComiskey
---

קָחָם עַל-זְרוֹעֵתָיו he-took-them in-his-arms  
 וְלֹא יָדְעוּ כִּי רָפָאתִים: but-they-knew not that I-had.healed-them.  
 בְּחַבְלֵי אָדָם אֲמַשְׁכֶּם בְּעַבְתוֹת אֶהְבֶּה <sup>4</sup> With-cords-of man I-led-them, with-bonds-of love.

וְאֶהְיֶה לָהֶם כְּמַרְיָמִי עַל עַל לְחִיָּהֶם I- was to-them like-lifters-of yoke over their-jaw

Mays, Wolff וְאֶהְיֶה לָהֶם כְּמַרְיָמִי and-I- was to-them like- עַל עַל לְחִיָּהֶם lifters-of child to-their- cheek
---

וְאֵט אֲלִיו אוֹכֵל: Andersen and Freedman I-heeded (his plea) and-I-made.prevail (him)

Garrett, McComiskey and-gently him I-caused.to.eat
Mays, Stuart, Wolff And-I-bent-down to-him, I-caused.to-eat (him)

**Preview of this section** In this section we shall consider the question of whether we are dealing with one extended image or with two separate images; we shall apply to the problem our understanding of the distribution of similes versus metaphors in Hosea, as well our view of HAO humanization manipulation, in an effort to suggest a solution.

**Hos. 11.3b: text** Many commentators emend the third person forms in v. 11.3b to first person: *I took them in my arms*, following the LXX. McComiskey (1992:185), however, sees the alteration of persons as typical of Hosea, citing other similar passages: Hos. 5.4; 8.12–13; 9.16–17; 11.11; and 12.1. Garrett (1998:223) cites approvingly the New International Version’s *taking them by the arms*, saying that one does not teach his children to walk by taking in his arms, but rather by taking them by their arms. Andersen and Freedman (1980:579) imply, however, that v. 3b may be leading into the metaphor of healing in v. 3c; for that, *taking them in his arms* could be perfectly appropriate.

Eidevall (1996:172) finds in v. 3 an image shift from child to sheep, with YHWH now pictured as shepherd instead of parent. He remarks,

Once it is recognized that the text pictures the people as a herd of sheep, and not as a faltering infant, the forms in the plural cease to create difficulties. Moreover, from the evidence of other biblical texts, one may conclude that the activities described in Hos 11.3 were considered to be the duties of a shepherd: (a) leading the way (Ps. 23:3), (b) carrying the young (Isa 40:11), and (c) healing the wounded (Zech 11:16; Ezek 34:16).

We do not find Eidevall convincing on this point. A small shift of conceptualization of Ephraim from singular to plural presents no difficulties; YHWH could just easily hold to his breast many children as the shepherd can many sheep. More serious is the need to remember Hosea's tendency to employ similes when images shift, and to recognize the lack of a simile in v. 3. We conclude that the child image of v. 1 continues into v. 3.

**Hos. 11.4b: text** Wolff (1974:191) follows E. Sellin (*Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, 1929) and M. Buber (*The Prophetic Faith*, 1949) in revocalizing עֹל yoke to עֵיל suckling child. Garrett (1998:224), McComiskey (1992:185), Stuart (1987:179), and Andersen and Freedman (1980:581) retain the MT yoke. The emendation to עֵיל suckling child is attractive, for there is really no lexical indication in the strophe other than the solitary term yoke of an image shift from a child to an animal. Andersen and Freedman (1980:581) argue against Wolff's position, saying that there is a conflict in number with the reading *to their cheek*, since one would expect the singular possessive pronoun instead. But surely the plural pronoun in *to their cheek* accords with the plural of כְּמִרְיָיִם like lifters of....

Andersen and Freedman (1980:582) also remark that yokes are not put onto the cheeks—or upon jaws of cattle. Thus the MT reading of *like lifters of a yoke upon their jaw* strikes an incongruous note. But Eidevall (1996:173) suggests that the expression should be translated *like lifters of a yoke over their jaws*, referencing the lifting up of the yoke and its attached bridle to permit the oxen to eat. We are happy to follow this suggestion.

The phrase וַאֲנִי אֶלְיוֹ אוֹכִיל is translated by Stuart (1987:174) as *And I reached out to him and fed him* (Garrett 1998:218 and Wolff 1974:191 are similar); and by McComiskey (1992:183) as *And I fed him gently*. At issue is the word אָט; is it an abridged hiphil imperfect form of נָטָה to stretch out, bend down, or is it an adverb to be translated gently, derived from אָטַט to make a moaning or croaking sound (BDB)?

As for the verb אִוְכִיל, Andersen and Freedman (1980:582) remark that there is no independent evidence for a Hiphil form of the verb אָכַל *to eat*. They propose the Hiphil form of the root יָכַל *to succeed*, with *ear* being the understood verb object. They thus propose the rendering *I heeded (his plea) and made (him) prevail*.

The text is confused, and every proposed emendation presents difficulties. The sequence of images in the strophe cannot be known for sure. The strophe certainly begins with a child image. Does this image continue to the end, or does it change to a cattle image?

Considering the problem within a cognitive framework, one thing is certain: we have in v. 4b a simile beginning *and-I- was to-them like-lifters-of...* We must make two points here: (1) the humanization of God is commonly effected by means of conceptual metaphors in Hosea, Amos, and Micah; v. 4b is the sole simile in Hosea that is so used; (2) rarely does Hosea, however, employ a simile to continue the elaboration of an image; a simile is much more likely to signal an image shift. From this we conclude that Hosea's desire to shift images in v. 4b overrides his normal use of conceptual metaphor to humanize God, with the result that he employs a simile here, thus signaling an image shift. The question then becomes, is the shift a large one to a cattle image, or a smaller one from a toddler learning to walk to a nursing infant? We suppose that, as in many Third-World societies today, toddlers still nurse; so an image shift from toddler to nursing child may really be not much of a shift at all. A cattle image, supported by the MT, would fit much more neatly the probability of a significant image shift here.

But the attention in this passage is given more to YHWH than to Ephraim, with language such as *...I led them..., I was to them like...*

The following v. 4c (*and gently I caused him to eat*), which is a metaphor, naturally should elaborate the same new image: we must in v. 4c therefore think of cattle eating, not of a small child eating. Verse 4a (*With-cords-of man I-led-them, with-bonds-of love*) is therefore to be viewed as a metaphor elaborating the earlier child image but providing a transition to the cattle image in v. 4b, the transition consisting of common elements in the semantic field of physical restraints: ropes, cords, and yokes.

**Hos. 11.4b: form,  
markedness,  
communicative function,  
and blending dynamics**

The simile *and-I- was to-them like-lifters-of yoke upon their-jaw* is a Major Simile with topic-comment structure, the subject referent being YHWH. We have already hypothesized that this simile ushers in a

change of image, from the child image of vv. 1 and 3, to a cattle image in v. 4; and that this new image carries on through v. 5.

The InfStr of the sentences of Hos. 11.1–4 gives evidence that the entire strophe is essentially about YHWH: vv. 1a,b are both Predicate Focus structures, as are the clauses vv. 3ab and 4a,b,c. Only v. 3c, also a Predicate Focus structure, is about Israel. It is therefore straightforward to conclude that in this strophe, the dominant “aboutness relationship” is to YHWH.

**Hos. 11.1–4: Elements  
constitutive of worldview:  
YHWH as father**

The association of Ephraim with the image of a child is a common one in the Hebrew Bible. But we should try to specify the various nuances of the father-son image of the YHWH-Israel relationship that may be found in BH. Brueggemann (1997:244–247) offers a summary: he includes the image of YHWH “as Father” as the fourth in a series of dominant YHWH images: judge, king, and warrior. He sees the father image, however, as less pervasive in the Hebrew Bible than the other three, and as perhaps less unified than the other images as well, since the father image is often ambiguous as to whether a “biological” relationship is intended, as opposed to “a set of well-defined social relationships.” Unfortunately, Brueggemann does not make explicit the manner in which a “biological” sense to the YHWH-Israel relationship would play out.

In any event, Deut. 32 presents us with YHWH in his role as father to the nation of Israel, employing creation language—*קָנַשׁ* to *acquire, get*; *עָשָׂה* to *create*, and *כִּוֵּן* to *establish*. But biological terms also occur in the same chapter: *יָלַד* to *beget* and *חָוֵל* to *give birth*.

Mal. 2.10 references God as the father of the Israelite nation, a role that seems to have been begun at the Exodus, where Israel is juridically given the status of YHWH’s firstborn son (Exod. 4.22). Nuances of tenderness and comfort flow from this image to Hos. 11.1–3. The divine role of father is also invested with a notion of vulnerability, since the hoped-for response of Israel to YHWH might not—and eventually was too often not—returned (Jer. 3.19–20). The failure to respond to YHWH would provoke intense soul-searching on Israel’s part (Isa. 63.15–64.12). As a result, one can say that the image of YHWH as father to Israel was just one part of the complete religious-cultural model of Israel’s sonship—a model that undoubtedly became increasingly exercised and elaborated as Israel’s history progressed.

**Hos. 11.1–4: Elements  
constitutive of worldview:  
Israel as cattle?**

Whether the image of Israel as a bovine can be regarded as a prototypical image in the BH seems questionable; the evidence suggests that it cannot be viewed as such. In Jer. 31.18, we find Ephraim saying to YHWH, *You disciplined*

me, and I was disciplined like an untrained heifer (כְּעֵגֶל לֹא לְמֹד). Hos. 4.16 has Israel compared to a stubborn cow (סִרְרָה כְּפָרָה), and Hos. 10.11 images Ephraim, by way of metaphor, as a trained heifer (עֵגֶלָה מְלֻמָּדָה) loving to thresh. It would seem prudent to relegate these figures of speech to the classification of an association of images with Israel that was known among various prophets, but that did not achieve prototypical status, and therefore did not generate a significantly widespread body of conceptualizations regarding Israel.

**Hos. 11.1–4: conclusion** The feature of our analysis of the simile in Hos. 11.4b that most interests us is the use we were able to make of our earlier observations regarding Hosea’s distribution of metaphors and similes. On this basis, we were able to suggest that v. 4b probably indeed ushers in a new image—in this case, a bovine image. Tellingly, we have hypothesized that the common BH preference of employing conceptual metaphor to humanize YHWH is in v. 4b overridden by the need to use simile to signal an image shift, this one to ISRAEL AS BOVINE.

Similarly, we concluded on the basis of metaphor and simile distribution that the child image of v. 1 most likely continues into v. 3, since v. 3 does not feature a simile.

### 6.1.27 How can I make you like Admah?, Hos. 11.8c; How can I make you like Zeboiim?, Hos. 11.8d

These two similes in parallel occur in the first verse of the strophe of Hos. 11.8–9, as displayed below. The following strophe of Hos. 11.9–10 with its three similes is displayed as well.

אֵיךְ אֶתְנֶנָּה אֶפְרַיִם <sup>8</sup>	<i>How can I-give-youS up, Ephraim?</i>
אֶמְנַנֶּנָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>I-give-youS up, Israel?</i>
אֵיךְ אֶתְנֶנָּה כְּאַדְמָה	<i>How can I-make-youS like-Admah?</i>
אֶשְׂיִמֶנָּה כְּצִבּוֹיִם	<i>I-make-youS like-Zeboiim?</i>
נִהְפָּךְ עָלַי לִבִּי	<i>Is overturned upon-me my-heart,</i>
יָחַד נִכְמְרוּ נְחוּמָי:	<i>all grow warm my-compassions.</i>
לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה חֲרוֹן אַפִּי <sup>9</sup>	<i>Not I-will do burning anger-of my-nose,</i>
לֹא אָשׁוּב לְשִׁתּוֹת אֶפְרַיִם	<i>not I-will return to-ruin Ephraim,</i>
כִּי אֵל אֶנְכִּי וְלֹא-אִישׁ	<i>for God I (am), and-not man,</i>
בְּקִרְבְּךָ קָדוֹשׁ	<i>in-yourS-midst (the)Holy.One,</i>
וְלֹא אָבוֹא בְּעִיר:	<i>and-not I-will come into-(any)-city.</i>

**Preview of this section** Here we examine two *make* similes and find them fulfilling a rather surprising function of macro frame.

**Hos. 11.8cd: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

Both similes of v. 8 are *make* similes, exhibiting TV simile order. Admah and Zeboiim, cities that are prototypical of the notion of complete destruction, elaborate on and give precision to the two rhetorical questions earlier in v. 8. We regard the entirety of v. 8 as setting a macro frame of logic for the rest of the strophe: YHWH will not give up on his people—specifically, he will not destroy them; he will instead have compassion on them. This is the theme of the strophe.

Having said this, let us note that the notion of destruction is echoed at the start of the next strophe, for a lion’s roar is certainly associated with imminent destruction. We will find, however, that this particular roaring is, instead of a warning, a summons to his dispersed people to return home.

We do not expect to find *make* similes that provide a macro frame for following text, but here we find just that. Of course, they work in conjunction with the two preceding rhetorical questions.

**Hos. 9.8cd: prototypical features**

The cities of Admah and Zeboiim we understand to be cultural exemplars of the notion of complete and final destruction, by virtue of their association with Sodom and Gomorrah.

**Hos. 11.8–9: conclusion**

The two *make* similes of v. 8 help form a macro frame for the rest of the strophe, a function that we do not expect for this type of simile.

### 6.1.28 *Like a lion he will roar, Hos. 11.10b; they will come trembling like birds from Egypt, and like a dove from the land of Assyria, Hos. 11.11ab*

These three Major Similes fall in Wendland’s strophe of Hos. 11.10–11, as displayed below.

אַחֲרַי יִהְיֶה יִלְכוּ <sup>10</sup>	<i>After YHWH they-will.go;</i>
כְּאַרְיֵה יִשְׁאַן	<i>like-(a)-lion he-will.roar;</i>
כִּי־הוּא יִשְׁאַן	<i>yea, he will-roar;</i>
וַיִּחַרְדּוּ בָנִים מִיָּם:	<i>will-(come)-trembling (the)-sons from-the-sea.</i>
וַיִּחַרְדּוּ כְּצִפּוֹר מִמִּצְרַיִם <sup>11</sup>	<i>They-will-(come)-trembling like-birds from-Egypt,</i>
וּכְיוֹנָה מֵאַרְצֵי אַשּׁוּר	<i>and-like-(a)-dove from-the-land-of Assyria.</i>
וְהוֹשְׁבֵתֵימָם עַל־בְּתֵיהֶם	<i>I-will.settle-them to-their-homes,</i>

<sup>KB</sup> וְהִשְׁיבֹתֶם עַל־בְּתֵיהֶם *I-will.return-them to-their-homes,*

נְאֻם־יְהוָה: *oracle-of YHWH.*

**Preview of this section**

In this section we find an unusual variation on the macro-frame function of similes.

**Hos. 11.10–11: form, markedness, and communicative function**

This strophe resumes the image of YHWH as a lion; once more he is

imaged as a lion whose roar, although fearsome, yet compels the people to follow him. Mays (1969:158) writes: “In the tradition which spoke of ‘the lion’s roar of Yahweh’ the divine noise was a signal of hope. It was the sound of Yahweh coming forth to do battle with the threatening foes of his people. When those who have fled from the destroyed land to the west hear the roar, they will know their redemption is at hand.” In a somewhat similar vein, Andersen and Freedmen (1980:591) see the roar of YHWH here as a reversal of the fear-causing roar in Amos 3.8: the trembling is usually associated with fear, not joy, and it must mean here that the exiles will return in awe and fear of YHWH.

This strophe images YHWH as a lion and the Israelites as birds (in both cases, simile is the default device for animalization). The lion simile of v. 10b is a Major Simile with marked VT simile order, and the two parallel similes of vv. 11ab are Major Similes with TVT simile order.

We regard *After YHWH* in v. 10a as a theme, which, in spite of *they* serving as this line’s topic, establishes YHWH as the topic for vv. 10bc.

As for v. 10b (*like-(a)-lion he-will.roar*), the Vehicle term could be viewed as the sole argument in focus, with *he-will.roar* being presupposed. However, we see no reason why this latter expression should be presupposed; since v. 10b consists of only two words (כְּאַרְיֵה יִשְׁאָן), it could be that we have a topic-comment clause, with the Vehicle term presupposed to signal a pragmatic overlay of contrastiveness between v. 10b and v. 10d (*and-will-(come)-trembling (the)-sons from-the-sea*), the contrast about which we have already cited remarks by various commentators. Verse 10c (*yea, he will-roar*) is parenthetical, designed to heighten the contrastiveness.

These three similes effect the animalization both of God and of humans; as such, simile is, in our HAO scheme, the default device for this task.

We suggest that Hosea employs chiasm to structure this strophe, as follows:

<sup>10</sup> <i>After YHWH they-will.go;</i>	SHEPHERD-SHEEP MODEL	<i>a</i>
<b><i>like-(a)-lion he-will.roar;</i></b>	LION MODEL OF YHWH— <b>Simile</b>	<b><i>b</i></b>
<i>yea, he will-roar;</i>	LION MODEL OF YHWH	<i>c</i>
<i>will-(come)-trembling (the)-sons from-the-sea.</i>	BIRD MODEL OF ISRAELITES	<i>c'</i>
<sup>11</sup> <b><i>They-will-(come)-trembling like-birds from-Egypt,</i></b>	BIRD MODEL OF ISRAELITES— <b>Simile</b>	<b><i>b'</i></b>
<b><i>and-like-(a)-dove from-the-land-of Assyria.</i></b>	BIRD MODEL OF ISRAELITES— <b>Simile</b>	<b><i>b'</i></b>
<i>I-will.settle-them to-their-homes,</i>	SHEPHERD-SHEEP MODEL	<i>a'</i>
<i>oracle-of YHWH.</i>	AUTHENTICATION FORMULA	---

Figure 6.1.28  
*Chiasm in Hos. 11.10–11*

Seen in this light, we find that the similes fill lines *b* and *b'* respectively, and that Hosea here is employing simile in a creative fashion, not so much to provide macro frames, although there is a hint of that in the strophe, but rather as incremental building blocks of a chiasitic structure. And yet the animal images certainly dominate the strophe.

**Hos. 11.10–11:  
Elements constitutive of  
worldview and  
conceptual blending**

The fact that the strophe more or less begins with YHWH imaged as a lion, and carries on with the Israelites imaged as birds, suggests that the image of YHWH as lion is meant to subsist throughout the strophe as well. Eidevall (1996:181–182) views it as very possible that a literary convention existed in which these two images coexisted; he cites Isa. 31.4–5; 38.13–14; Jer. 12.8–9; Amos 3.4–5; and Job 38.39–41. He also notes how this strophe reverses the earlier bird simile of Hos. 7.11: there the Israelites were imaged as confused, disoriented birds; here they appear as birds wise enough to know their master and their way home. Moreover, Eidevall views the language of following after YHWH (v. 10a) as accessing the YHWH AS SHEPHERD model. The juxtaposition of this model to that of YHWH AS LION further suggests the model of YHWH AS KING, since it was common for ANE kings to conceive of in both shepherd and lion terms.

**Hos. 11.10–11: conclusion**

This strophe, which seems simple at first glance, turns out to feature similes that function unusually, in that, while providing macro frames, they do so in rather an underhanded way, acting as incremental building blocks in a chiasitic structure—not in lines *a* and *a'* as one might expect, but rather in lines *b* and *b'*. The strophe is chiasitically composed of various animal models, as well as implying both King and Shepherd models of YHWH.

**6.1.29 Return to the tents as in the days of the appointed times, Hos. 12.10b; Even their altars will be like heaps of stone in the furrows of the fields, Hos. 12.12d**

The verbless simile of Hos. 12.12d occurs at the end of the strophe of Hos. 12.10–12. This strophe begins with YHWH identifying himself in v. 10a in terms of the salvation history which he worked into the nation's beginning, and then in terms of a promise of a certain kind of restoration of his people, which is presented in the form of a simile (v. 10b) of a type that we have termed a *day-of* simile.

<p>וְאָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם עַד אֲוֹשִׁיבֶךָ בְּאֶהְלִים כִּימֵי מוֹעֵד:</p>	<p><sup>10</sup> And-I (am) YHWH yourS-God from-land-of Egypt Again I-will.return-youS to-the-tents, as-days-of appointed.times.</p>
<p>וְדַבַּרְתִּי עַל-הַנְּבִיאִים וְאָנֹכִי חֲזוֹן הַרְבִּיתִּי וּבְיַד הַנְּבִיאִים אֶדְבָּר: אִם-גִּלְעָד אָנֹכִי</p>	<p><sup>11</sup> I-have.been.speaking to-the-prophets and-I visions have.been. multiplying and-by-hand-of the-prophets I-give.parables. <sup>12</sup> Surely Gilead (is) evil,</p>



*day-of* simile type appears in our sampling to show a disinclination for the Vehicle argument to be in focus.

In InfStr terms, the unbound pronoun *I* of v. 10a establishes YHWH, the speaker, as the new Primary Topic, the Primary Topic of the previous strophe having been Ephraim, the Northern Kingdom. The argument *from the land of Egypt* invokes the Exodus history of the nation's beginnings.

Verse 10b begins with the particle עֹד, which we render *again*. This particle appears to signal an explicit association of the Exodus with the state of the nation when it shall have been returned to living in tents, as well as an implicit contrast between the current splendor of the nation with the economic deprivation to come. Many commentators see this passage as promising divine judgment upon the nation. Garrett (1997:243) sees it as a prophecy of the Diaspora.

This is so, in spite of the fact that the sense of the phrase מוֹעֵד כִּימִי is disputed. Wolff (1974:215) sees Hosea referring here to Israel's earliest "meetings" with YHWH in the wilderness, whereas McComiskey (1992:206) and Garrett (1997:243) invoke the Festival of Booths. In any case, the wilderness experience is in view, as in Hos. 2.16 (*Therefore, I will woo her and bring her into the wilderness...*).

But the first Exodus was, in spite of the difficulties it brought to the fledgling nation of Israel, a time of redemption. Andersen and Freedman (1980:618) therefore see redemption being promised to the nation by means of a second Exodus. If this view is correct, then this second Exodus stands in contrast to Hos. 9.6, where the prophet appears to promise an "Exodus-in-reverse" of the nation, in which the Israelites are forced by economic disaster to seek refuge in Egypt.

<b>Hos. 12.12: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending</b>	Does the simile of v. 12d have a whole or a discontinuous tenor? The syntax will bear either view. We assume here the default continuous tenor and thus a TV simile order. This assumption accords with Andersen and Freedman's (1980:620) view, although they do not attempt to justify it, that <i>in the furrows of the fields</i> qualifies <i>stone heaps</i> , not <i>their altars</i> .
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In Hos. 10.4 appeared the same expression as is found here: עַל תְּלֵמֵי שָׂדֵי *in the furrows of the fields*. There we hypothesized the kinaesthetic image schema of STRAIGHTNESS, which is applied metaphorically to the idea of justice. Since it is too much to assume no connection between the two occurrences of this same striking expression *in the furrows of the fields* in Hosea, we hypothesize

the same image schema here. Note that the principal concrete conceptualization of the BH adjective יָשָׁר is along the lines of straightness. The lexeme is then applied to moral uprightness and justice.

The simile in this verse is open to a variety of interpretations: viewing the altars as stone heaps *beside* (עַל) the furrows of the field seems to allude to the piles of rocks thrown out of the fields by the cultivators. In these cases, the simile seems to point to the abundance of such altars (so Andersen and Freedman 1980:620) or to the uselessness of such altars (so Eidevall 1996:189–190).

Can the preposition עַל be read here as signifying *on* or *along*, as it certainly does in Hos. 10.4? Only, it would appear, if one can reasonably imagine heaps of stones actually lying on (or in) the furrows, where there should be nothing but plowed earth ready for planting, or where the growing crops have been ruined by the stones. The presence of stones in heaps on (and therefore in) the furrows could be explained as revenge exacted by an enemy upon a nation of farmers, similar to 2 Kings 3.25—or, in the context of Hos. 12.12, explained as punishment inflicted by YHWH. In this latter interpretation, the simile probably becomes a prediction that the altars *will be* thrown down. If the notion of בְּמוֹת (traditionally translated *high places*) is to be associated with *altars*, then the image becomes greatly expanded, for we know that some בְּמוֹת were enormous complexes constructed of stone, covering large expanses of ground. Hos. 10.8 provides grounds for the association of בְּמוֹת with מִזְבְּחֹתָם *their altars*.

We note here that either understanding of עַל, as *in* or as *beside*, could accord with an interpretation of future punishment given to v 12d. Viewing this simile in the light of Hos. 10.4 should lead us, in concordance with that passage, to interpret עַל as *on* and therefore as *in* the furrows of the fields.

But we do well to let our cognitive view of the expression *in the furrows of the fields* guide us still farther, by means of the kinaesthetic image schema of STRAIGHTNESS that we have associated with it.

The straightness of the furrows appears to contrast with the random nature of the heaped stone piles in the furrows. The association of the altars with stone heaps *in the furrows of the fields* seems to evoke, to be sure, the quality of uselessness of the stone heaps; it also evokes the difference between, on the one hand, the altars, themselves completely at odds with the YHWH-Israelite covenant, and, on the other hand, the moral “straightness” suggested by the furrows. In the end, the altars are not merely useless, but also pernicious, because they absolutely hinder the moral justness

inherent in the divine covenant with Israel—even as heaps of stones in a field destroy any possibility of cultivation.

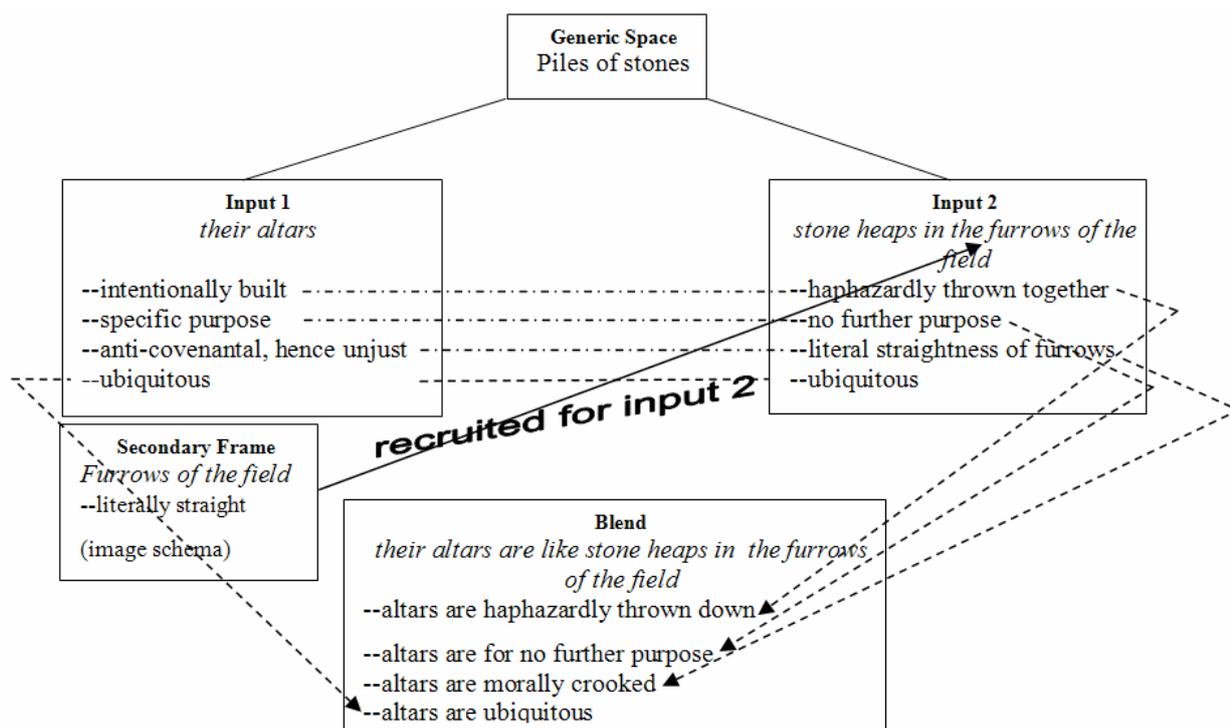
We diagram the conceptual blending below in Figure 6.1.29.

Note that whether the preposition עַל is interpreted as *on* or *beside*, one element in running the conceptual blending of this simile will remain constant: the contrast of expected morality and covenantal faithfulness (metaphorically conveyed by the literal straightness of the furrows) with the faithlessness represented by the altars in question. This fact might help us somewhat in interpreting this simile. We saw earlier that Andersen and Freedman view the point of the simile to be the ubiquity of the idolatrous altars, while Eidevall supposes that the simile concerns the altars' uselessness.

Here we may ask, is it the nature of metaphors and similes to project only one semantic attribute, or is it their nature to project all possible attributes? What do the positions of Andersen and Freedman and of Eidevall (probably unwittingly) imply? Surely that this simile projects only a single attribute, and that the interpreter must decide among the possible choices. But this implication runs counter to people's general intuition: that much of the power and charm of metaphors and similes lies in their ability to suggest many ideas at once—or, in conceptual blending terminology, in their ability to project multiple semantic properties. If multiple projections are effected, can they be said to be equally strong? Certainly not. So the question becomes, which projected attribute is likely to dominate in the blend?

We have suggested in Chapter Two that the audience identifies multiple projections by processing the conceptual network in all directions. This multi-directionality also suggests why some implications of a simile or metaphor are stronger than others (because relations and projections themselves have different strengths) and why an audience does not uniformly interpret a simile in the same way (because not everyone processes a network in all directions at the same time or even equally well, and because not everyone processes the completion aspect uniformly. To this we may add that the process of elaboration is certainly carried out differently and to various extents).

Moreover, we suggest that while we can accept the idea of a dominant projection to the blend, we should do so cautiously, aware that there is much more meaning to a simile than that which resides in the blend itself. Proceeding cautiously, then, let us consider the impact of *the furrows of the field*.



**Figure 6.1.29**  
*Conceptual blending in Hos. 12.12*

גַּם      מִזְבְּחוֹתֵם      כְּגִלְיִם      עַל      תְּלִמֵי      שָׂדֵי:  
(the)field furrows-of in like-stone.heaps their-altars INTENS  
*Their altars will be like stone heaps in the furrows of the field.*

Regardless of the preferred **referential position** of this expression in the simile (whether it is in relation to *on* or *beside* the furrows), the **subconceptual** kinaesthetic image schema of the expression (STRAIGHTNESS) would appear to be constant, but seems to match better Eidevall’s dominant point of uselessness than Andersen and Freedman’s ubiquity: idolatry is often associated in the Hebrew Bible with futility, whereas the notion of ubiquity seems rather minor in connection with idolatry.

We suggest that the dominant projected semantic attribute in this simile is, not of uselessness exactly, but of the much more pernicious futility—a futility that actively hinders the course of true justice and divine order that is metaphorically evoked by *the furrows of the fields*. A quality of ubiquity is, we would allow, a secondary semantic projection in the simile.

It is perhaps possible that this simile features a *kaph-veritatis*—that it is, in fact, a prophecy that the altars in questions will be thrown down, becoming nothing more than heaps of stone. It is hard, however, to imagine plowed furrows as already being present in such a situation.

The simile of Hos. 12.12 functions, as Major Similes sometimes do, with the purpose of “wrapping up” the preceding textual material. Whether it is a prophecy of the pagan altars’ ruin, or an evaluation of the preceding material, we cannot tell.

**Hos. 12.10b, 12.12d: conclusion** In this section, we have examined the Minor *day-of* simile in Hos. 12.10, finding only a relatively simple conceptual blend. We then considered at length a Major Simile, that of Hos. 12.12, which, by contrast, exhibited intricate conceptual blending. We found that a kinaesthetic image schema, that of STRAIGHTNESS, was key to understanding a phrase (*in the furrows of the fields*) that often becomes obscured in translation. Finally, we found in this simile that ambiguity in understanding a lexical item (in this case the preposition על *on* or *beside*) was not fatal to coming to a general appreciation of the simile as a whole, but that one could probably recognize this fact only by charting the conceptual blending dynamics of the simile.

**6.1.30 From their silver according to their skill, Hos. 13.2; like the mists of morning—like the dew—like the chaff—like smoke, Hos. 13.3**

The simile of Hos. 13.2, which appears to be a scalar simile in the MT, occurs midway in the strophe of Hos. 13.1–3. The four similes of Hos. 13.3 occur in a series at the end of the strophe and have as a common Tenor the referent of the bound pronoun *they* of v. 13a, as displayed below.

כְּדַבַּר אֶפְרַיִם רָתַת	<sup>1</sup>	When spoke Ephraim
נִשָּׂא הוּא בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל		He-rose.up in-Israel.
נִשָּׂא הוּא בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	Wolff	He-was.lifted.up in-Israel.
וַיֵּאָשֶׁם בַּבַּעַל וַיָּמָת:		He-offended with-the-baal, and he-died.
וְעַתָּה יִזְכְּפוּ לַחַטָּא	<sup>2</sup>	And-now they-continue to-sin,
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מִסֻּכָּה		and-they-make for-themselves molten-image(s)
מִזְבְּחֵיהֶם כְּתַבּוּנֵיהֶם עֲצָבִים		from-their-silver according-to-their-skill-of images,
מַעֲשֵׂה חַרְשִׁים כֻּלָּהּ		work-of craftsmen all-of-it.
לָהֶם תָּם אֱמֹרִים		To-them they (are the ones) speaking.
זִבְחֵי אָדָם עֲגֻלִים יִשְׁקֹנוּ:		Offerers-of humans, calf.idols they-kiss
לָכֵן יִהְיוּ כַעֲנַן בֹּקֵר	<sup>3</sup>	Therefore they-are/will.be like-mists-of morning
וּכְטַל מִשְׁקִים הַלֹּד		and-like-the-dew starting-early going-away
כַּמֶּזֶץ יִסְעַר מִגֶּרֶן		like-chaff is-blown from-threshing-floor
וּכְעָשָׁן מֵאַרְבָּה:		and-like-smoke from-(a)vent

**Preview of this section** In this strophe, we consider two readings of the first simile in v. 2c, finding that they resemble each other in a significant way. We also consider Garrett’s proposed reading of v. 2 from an InfStr viewpoint, finding it viable. The four coordinate similes in v. 3 are

seen to fill an important minor function of Major Similes, that of ending a discourse unit, perhaps by providing a series of prophetic imprecations.

**Hos. 13.2: Garrett’s understanding of the MT**

Garrett (1997:248–249) proposes a rereading of v. 2, which follows quite closely the BHS layout of the verse; it is displayed below in parallel to the reading reflected above. He says that his reading avoids accusing the Israelites of making human sacrifices, which would otherwise be mentioned here only in passing, rather than thematically, which one would expect. His proposal creates three couplets (vv. 2ab, 2cd, 2ef), as marked in the display. Garrett’s v.2e requires that the MT זְבַחֵי, a plural participle in construct form, be reread as an imperative, as is suggested by the LXX (θύσατε).

To Garrett’s proposal we can bring an InfStr appreciation. Verses 2ab would each be unexceptional Topic-Comment clauses, the two topics having the same referent i.e., the Ephraimites. Garrett’s v. 2c (*from-their-silver according-to-their-skill (they make) images*) could be seen as presenting an argument in focus (*from-their-silver*), followed by a Theme Frame (*according-to-their-skill*), which projects itself into the following clause, but only with little effect (for if the simile were deleted entirely, the following phrase would still make perfect sense); it is resumed in v. 2d by *work-of craftsmen*, a nominal clause with topic-comment construction.

Garrett’s v. 2e again features two fronted elements. We view v. 2e (*to-these they are.saying, “Sacrifice!”*) as an argument focus sentence, with the fronted expression *to-these* in focus. The rest of the clause must be considered presupposed by the fore-going text.

Verse 2f, which we find in this same word order also with McComiskey, Stuart, and Wolff, poses an InfStr challenge that is not easy to resolve. Floor (2004a:212) accepts double fronting when the first fronted element is topical and the second is a focus element. That is the case in v. 2f, but this formulation fails to specify the information function of such a configuration.

The subject אֲדָמָה *men* has the same referent as *they* and *their* earlier in the verse. אֲדָמָה could be, following in the spirit of Van der Merwe (personal communication—although, unlike Garrett, he regards אֲדָמָה זְבַחֵי *sacrificers of humankind* as the subject) a subject modified to fill a new role, and then fronted for activation. *Calf idols* is also fronted as an argument in focus. This view accords with Floor’s functions of double fronting referenced above.

וְעַתָּה יוֹסְפוּ לְחַטֵּא	<sup>2a</sup> <i>And-now they-continue to-sin</i>	<i>a</i>
וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם מִסְכָּח	<sup>2b</sup> <i>and-they-make for-themselves molten-image</i>	<i>a</i>
מִכֶּסֶפָם כְּתֻבוֹתָם עֲצָבִים	<sup>2c</sup> <i>from-their-silver according-to-their-skill (they make) images</i>	<i>b</i>

מַעֲשֵׂה חֲרָשִׁים כָּלֶּה	<sup>2d</sup> <i>work-of craftsmen all-of-it</i>	<i>b</i>
לָהֶם הֵם אֹמְרִים זָבְחִי	<sup>2e</sup> <i>to-these they-are.saying, "Sacrifice!"</i>	<i>c</i>
אָדָם עֲנָלִים יִשְׁקֹן	<sup>2f</sup> <i>Humans kiss calf.idols! (men calf.idols they-kiss)</i>	<i>c</i>

**Figure 6.1.30**  
*Garrett's (1997:248–249) view of the MT of Hos. 13.2*

**Hos. 13.2: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

If one retains the MT of v. 2, as does McComiskey, then this simile is a Minor Simile, scalar in nature; it projects no significant semantic properties. If one adopts Wolff's reading (*from their silver according to the type of the images*), then the resulting simile approaches in nature congruity of circumstance, a use of simile that resembles scalar similes in that few properties are projected to the following text.

**Hos. 13.3: textual question about chaff**

Wolff (1974:219) remarks that the Pual form of סָעַר *to blow* is required instead of the Poel יִסְעֵר *he blows*, since *chaff* is being acted upon.

**Hos. 13.3: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending**

The four similes of v. 3, displayed below again, have a common Tenor; we therefore regard them all as four coordinate Topic-Comment structures, as well as four coordinate Major Similes in TV simile order.

לָכֵן יִהְיוּ כַעֲנַן-בֶּקֶר <sup>3</sup>	<i>Therefore they-will.be like-mists-of morning</i>
וְכַטְל מִשְׁכִּים הֹלֵךְ	<i>and-like-the-dew starting-early going-away</i>
כַּמֵּץ יִסְעַר מִגֶּרֶן	<i>like-chaff is-blown from-threshing-floor</i>
וְכַעֲשָׁן מֵאֶרְבָּה	<i>and-like-smoke from-vent</i>

As commentators point out, these similes concern what is fleeting and of no account, and therefore, as Wolff (1974:226) says, imply destruction. For Eidevall (1996:195), these similes signal the irreversability of a threat. We would add that there is also the possibility that the opening language *therefore they will be like...* should be taken more as an imprecatory curse than as a threat or a prediction. The simile vehicles all concern items that are born away by the wind, thus participating in the BH cultural model of transitoriness and permanence.

Eidevall rightly remarks that simile vehicles concerning the idea of being carried away by the wind are typical imagery of the wicked. He also notes that the four similes have different domains, “weather, agriculture, domestic life.” Let us note in that vein that the first two similes concern the forces of nature, which are entirely outside of man’s control, while the latter two similes concern human activity: chaff from the threshing floor and smoke from a cooking fire or brazier for heat.

These four figures employ simile as the default device for the task of objectifying humans. The large communicative purpose of these similes is to pronounce judgment on the Israelites, with the very strong possibility that the prophet is here making a series of imprecations. In a rapid series of similes, no simile can be a macro frame for the purpose of introducing an image for elaboration. These similes have a different function. As such, these similes end a strophe.

**Hos. 13.3: Elements constitutive of worldview**

The four similes of Hos. 13.3 participate, as has been said, in the BH cultural model of permanence versus transitoriness, and are often found indicating this model in the Hebrew Scriptures.

**Hos. 13.1–3: conclusion**

Our interest in this strophe concerns several points: (a) that the similes of the MT of v. 2c and of a proposed emendation turn out to resemble each other in that both effect little projection of semantic properties to following text; (b) that Garrett’s proposed reading of v. 2 is viable from an InfStr viewpoint; and (c) that we have again found in v. 3 Major Similes that conclude a discourse unit, functioning either as an evaluation or as a series of prophetic imprecations.

### 6.1.31 Like a lion, like a leopard, like a bear, Hos. 13.7–8

In these verses we find a chain of similes, as is displayed below:

וְאֶהְיֶה לָהֶם כְּמוֹ-שִׁחַל <sup>7</sup>	<i>I-will.be to-them like-lion;</i>
כְּנֶמֶר עַל-דֶּרֶךְ אֲשׁוּר:	<i>like-leopard upon-path I-will.watch.</i>
אֶפְגְּשֵׁם כְּרֵב שְׂפוּל <sup>8</sup>	<i>I-will.attack-them like-bear bereft.of.cubs,</i>
וְאֶקְרַע סִנּוֹר לִבָּם	<i>and-I-will.tear.open chest.cavity-of their-heart,</i>
וְאֶכְלֵם שָׁם כְּלִבְיָא	<i>and-I-will.eat-them there like-lion;</i>
כל-בא	<small>Stuart, Kuhnigk</small> <i>whatever comes along</i>
וְאֶכְלֵם שָׁם כָּל-בַּא	<i>beast-of the-field will-tear.apart-them.</i>

**Preview of this section**

In this section, full of wild animal images, we examine an accumulation of kinaesthetic image schemas as a strategy of development and cohesion in the strophe.

**Hos. 13.8c: text**

Wolff cites the LXX in this verse: καὶ καταφάγονται αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ σκύμνοι δρυμοῦ *and lions’ whelps will devour them there*; in that spirit, he translates: *the dogs shall devour them*. Stuart (1987:199) reads *whatever comes along will devour them there*, reading with Kuhnigk (NSH, 180) כָּל-בַּא *whatever comes along* instead of כְּלִבְיָא *like a lion*.

Regardless of their proposed emendations, Wolff, Stuart, and Kuhnigk appear to see a problem with the simile of v. 8c. Wolff (1974:220) remarks that a return to the lion simile of v. 7a seems strange

at this point. We agree, specifying that the reason for this strange feeling is that (a) there is a progression of animal similes which a recurrence of the lion image disrupts, and (b) a resumption of the lion image would seem unmotivated at the point, since the very next line presents a vague wild animal image. Note that neither proposed emendation exhibits a simile, and that the spirit of both emendations is to suggest that YHWH, imaged as a ferocious bear in v. 8ab, will leave the kill to scavengers to feed upon, whether they are dogs, lions' whelps, or *anything that comes along*.

If an emendation in this spirit is correct, then our analysis of a chiasm based on conceptualizations, as is displayed above, must be abandoned. But there is an important lesson to be learned here: the ease with which poetic structures are posited in almost any textual reading suggests that such posited structures cannot by themselves justify a particular textual reading or interpretation. Far better it is to rely upon the more traditional criteria of manuscript and ancient versional evidence, as well as upon knowledge of BH grammar, lexicography, etc. To this list we would add, as we earlier showed, InfStr theory and a knowledge of typical behaviour of metaphors and similes.

<p><b>Hos. 13.7–8: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending</b></p>
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All of the similes in this chain of images are Major Similes. Verse 7a features, moreover, the expression *to-them* before the Vehicle term, yielding in effect a T-V-T simile order. This fact enables the simile to have a true Tenor-Vehicle simile form, and thus to stand in simile form chiasm with the simile of v. 7b, as displayed here:

and-I-will.be to-them like-lion

like-leopard upon-path I-will.watch

The simile of v. 7a has Predicate Focus structure, giving to the following simile the effect of Argument Focus structure, with the simile Vehicle appearing to be in focus, since *I will watch* is presupposed by the preceding simile.

Floor's observation, discussed in Section 4.2.3—that one use of fronted argument focus in BH poetry is to highlight the principal point of two parallel clauses or sentences—is pertinent here: thus *leopard* in the second line stands in chiasmic correspondence with *lion* in the first line.

It is worth looking at kinaesthetic image schemas in the flow of the images of vv. 7–8. Our understanding of them is displayed below in Figure 6.1.31. The simile in v. 7a is hypothesized to possess directional schema because of our understanding of expressions such as *to-them*, which always appear to project such a schema. But v. 7a effects by means of the expression *to them* a

change of the imaging of YHWH, from the shepherd of v. 6 to wild beast of v. 7, as Eidevall (1996:198) says.

Verse 7b has two directional schemas: MOVEMENT AGAINST by virtue of *I will watch*, and MOVED TOWARD LATERALLY by virtue of *path*: the leopard receives into himself the metaphorical directionality of the path, i.e., the path leads to him. Verses 8abcd all possess MOVEMENT AGAINST or MOVEMENT DOWNWARD.

The general dynamics of these two verses is thus ambiguously mixed-directional schemas resolving to accumulated movement in a downward direction.

וַיֵּאָהֵי לָהֶם כְּמוֹ-שֹׁחֵל <sup>7</sup>	<i>I-will.be to-them like-lion;</i>	DIRECTIONAL PROJECTION OF LION ATTRIBUTE (against the people: <i>to them</i> )
כְּנֹמֵר עַל-דֶּרֶךְ אֲשׁוּר: <sup>8</sup>	<i>like-leopard upon-path I-will.watch.</i>	MOVEMENT AGAINST / MOVED TOWARD LATERALLY
אֶפְנֵשֶׁם כָּדָב שְׂפוּל <sup>8</sup>	<i>I-will.attack-them like-bear bereft.of.cubs,</i>	MOVEMENT AGAINST
וַאֲקַרַע סִגּוּר לִבָּם	<i>and-I-will.tear.open chest.cavity-of their-heart,</i>	MOVEMENT DOWNWARD
וַאֲכַלְמֵם שָׁם כְּלִבְיָא	<i>whatever comes along / lions' whelps will devour them</i> (MT: <i>and-I-will.eat-them there like-lion</i> )	MOVEMENT DOWNWARD
חַיַּית הַשָּׂדֶה תִּבְקַעֵם:	<i>beast-of the-field will-tear.apart-them.</i>	MOVEMENT DOWNWARD

**Figure 6.1.31**  
***Kinaesthetic Image Schemas in Hos. 13.7–8***

Eidevall (1996:197–198) gives a good intertextual summary of lions, leopards, and bears. He remarks that vv. 7–8 probably invoke wild animals in the same spirit as ancient covenants in the case of treaty breaking, as well as BH covenant curses, as in Lev. 26.22 and Deut. 32.24. BH documents referencing wild beasts include Ezek. 22.25–27; Hab. 1.8; and Zeph. 3.3; in these texts, the beasts image wicked men. Eidevall sees the transition of vv. 6–7, which has the transition from shepherd image to lion image, as mirroring the dual imaging of ANE monarch as shepherd and lion.

Within our HAO framework, all of these similes animalize YHWH; simile is the default device for this task.

<b>Hos. 13.7–8: Elements constitutive of worldview</b>	In this strophe we find again intertwining models of YHWH AS LION (with the implication of YHWH AS KING). This model fades into a cultural-religious schema of divine punishment coming in the form of wild animals.
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**Hos. 13.7–8: conclusion** We have seen that the similes of vv. 7–8 present as most noteworthy two aspects: (a) the lesson that the identification of a BH poetic structure cannot by itself be taken as justification for any particular textual reading; and (b) that a chain of images can possess as part of their strategy of development and cohesion a dynamism of kineasthetic image schemas, as our treatment of vv. 7–8 demonstrates.

**6.1.32 Like the dew to Israel, Like the crocus, Roots like the Lebanon, Like the olive tree his splendour, His odour like the Lebanon, Live as grain, Sprout as the vine, Remembrance as the wine of Lebanon, I am like a luxuriant juniper, Hos. 14.5–9**

This cluster of images occurs in Wendland’s two strophes of Hos. 14.5–9 as displayed below. The similes are in bold type.

אֲרַפָּא מְשִׁיבָתָם <sup>5</sup>	<i>I-will.heal their-apostasy</i>
אֲהַבֶּם גְּדֻבָּה	<i>I-will.love-them freely</i>
כִּי שָׁב אִפִּי מִמֶּנּוּ:	<i>for returns my-anger from-him</i>
אֶהְיֶה כַּטֵּל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל <sup>6</sup>	<i>I-will-be like-the-dew to-Israel,</i>
יִפְרַח כַּשׁוֹשַׁנָּה	<i>he-will.sprout like-the-crocus;</i>
וְיִדָּ שְׁרָשָׁיו כַּלְבָּנוֹן:	<i>he-will.strike his-roots like-the-Lebanon</i>
וְיֵלְכוּ וְיִקְוֹתָיו <sup>7</sup>	<i>Will-go-forth his-shoots;</i>
וְיִהְיֶה כְּזֵית הַזֵּדֵי	<i>will-be like-the-olive.tree his-splendour.</i>
וְרִיחֵ לֹו כַּלְבָּנוֹן:	<i>and-odour to-him like-the-Lebanon.</i>
יָשָׁבוּ יֹשְׁבֵי בְצֵלוֹ <sup>8</sup>	<i>They-will-return, dwellers-of his-shade</i>
יִחִיו דָּגָן	<i>they-will.live (as) grain</i>
וְיִפְרֹחַו כַּנֶּפֶן	<i>and-they-will.sprout as-the-vine</i>
זְכָרוֹ כִּיִּין לְבָנוֹן:	<i>his-remembrance as-wine-of Lebanon.</i>

יָשָׁבוּ יֹשְׁבֵי בְצֵלוֹ יִחִיו <sup>8</sup>	Andersen and Freedman	<i>They-will-again (the-) dwellers-of his-shade flourish</i>
דָּגָן וְיִפְרֹחַו		<i>(as) grain they-will- prosper</i>
כַּנֶּפֶן זְכָרוֹ		<i>as-the-vine (will be) his-remembrance</i>
כִּיִּין לְבָנוֹן		<i>as-(the-)wine-of Lebanon.</i>
יָשָׁבוּ יֹשְׁבֵי בְצֵלוֹ יִחִיו <sup>8</sup>	Garrett	<i>They-will-return, dwellers-of his-shade</i>
דָּגָן וְיִפְרֹחַו		<i>(as) grain they-will.sustain (people).</i>

אֶפְרַיִם מַה־לִּי עוֹד לְעַצְפִּים<sup>9</sup> *Ephraim, what-to-me [emended to what-to-him] again with-idols?*

אֲנִי עֲנִיתִי וְאֲשׁוּרֶנּוּ *I, I-have.answered and-I-am.watching.over-him*

אֲנִי כַּבְּרוֹשׁ רֵעֵנּוּ *I (am) like-juniper luxuriant*

מִמֶּנּוּ פְרִיָהּ נִמְצָא: *from-me your-fruitfulness is-found*

**Preview of this section** This strophe provide us with a case of similes producing several effects. We may presume that they are chosen to fulfill HAO conventions. But then they make explicit

Tenor and Vehicle term associations inspired by conceptual metaphors, and they also effect a rapid series of different images.

**Hos. 14.6c: text** The MT, reading כִּלְבָנֹן *like the Lebanon*, is often emended to כִּלְבָנָה *like the poplar*, but Wolff (1974:232) tentatively accepts the MT, understanding thereby Lebanon’s forests. Andersen and Freedman (1980:646) “prefer to think of the crocus and olive tree of Lebanon, rather than the cedars.”

**Hos. 14.8a: text** Wolff (1974:232) emends the MT בְּצֵלוֹ *in his/its shade* to בְּצֵלִי *in my shade*, viewing the latter as more in keeping with YHWH’s reported speech. Stuart (1987:216) remarks on the lack of versional support for this proposal, adding that Israel’s having been imaged as trees in vv. 6–7 makes it reasonable to carry on the association to this line as well. McComiskey ((1992:231) and Andersen and Freedman (1980:642) read the MT as well.

**Hos. 14.8abcd: Andersen and Freedman’s reading** Andersen and Freedman (1980:642–648) propose a reading of v. 8 that hinges partially upon taking the verb יָשְׁבוּ *they will return* as a modal or auxiliary to יִחִיּוּ, which they understand as *they will flourish*. Their reading of the entire v. 8 is displayed below:

יָשְׁבוּ יִחִיּוּ בְּצֵלוֹ יְהוָה	<sup>8</sup> <i>They-will-again (the-) dwellers-of his-shade flourish</i>
דָּגָן וַיִּפְרְחוּ	<i>(as) grain they-will- prosper</i>
כַּנְּפֵן זְכָרוֹ	<i>as-the-vine (will be) his-remembrance</i>
כַּיִּין לְבָנוֹן	<i>as-(the-)wine-of Lebanon.</i>

Their reading ignores the waw in v. 8b. Apart from this consideration, there is the InfStr evaluation of this proposed reading, which will stand or fall upon the reasonableness of v. 8c. Here *his-remembrance* must be understood as presupposed, and *as-the-vine* as a fronted Vehicle argument in focus. In fact, *his-remembrance* must also be seen as inferably presupposed in the more traditional reading of *his-remembrance (will be) as-(the-)wine-of Lebanon*, since *his-remembrance* is there the topic of the clause. Andersen and Freedman’s reading cannot therefore be opposed on InfStr grounds. We are happier, however, to retain the traditional chunking of the MT here.

**Hos. 14.8b: text** The Piel stem of הִיָּה can be viewed as *to give life* (McComiskey 1992:234), who regards this phrase as meaning that the people will once again grow grain. But Garrett (1997:274) does not see the Piel of הִיָּה denoting anywhere in BH the giving of life to plants or crops. On the other hand, it is common for commentators to assume that the simile particle in the

following line does double duty in this expression, thus, *they will live like grain*, as do Stuart (1987:211) and Andersen and Freedman (1980:642), who translate, *Like grain they will prosper*.

Garrett (1997:275) assumes a direct object of *people* for the verb, thus, *like grain they will sustain people*. He points out that God's life-giving force is transmitted to a restored Israel, which in turn becomes a life-giving force. If *his shade* of the preceding line is understood as the metaphorical shade offered by the restored Israel to her returning exiles, then Garrett's assumption could fit very well.

When we consider the InfStr implications of Garrett's proposal, however, it runs into problems. Like Andersen and Freedman, his reading ignores the *waw* in v. 8b. Beyond that detail, his proposal, displayed below, would feature (*as*) *grain* as a fronted Vehicle argument; but how can the Tenor be considered to be presupposed? Verse 7 suggests that the land of Israel, or Israel as a nation considered in the abstract, will prosper, but it does not suggest that it will nurture the Israelites. We conclude that Garrett's proposed Tenor, *they-will.sustain (people)*, is not presupposed, neither in the sense of having been previously activated, nor in the sense of being inferable, and that Garrett's proposal is therefore untenable.

**Hos. 14.8d: the sense of זָכַר?** What is the sense of זָכַר here? It is generally glossed as *remembrance* or *memorial* by BDB and as *mention (of a name)* by KB. It is clearly not unreasonable to posit a veering of its sense to *fame*, as if often done by commentators. Garrett (1997:276), however, finds it more plausible to associate a pleasant *remembrance* of Israel with YHWH: in spite of the horrible apostasy of Israel from her God, still, for the sake of his covenant love, his past memories of Israel are pleasant, like those of good wine.

**Hos. 14. 5–8: distribution of similes and metaphors** For such a long and quick succession of images as is displayed in this strophe, we find as expected a long series of similes. The first image implied in v. 5 seems to be that of a physician healing his patients. For this first image, a metaphor suffices, as YHWH is humanized in terms of a physician. We have claimed that the common way in BH to humanize YHWH is by instantiating the posited conceptual YHWH IS HUMAN. As is usual with conceptual metaphors, this one is never made explicit—and, in fact, the Biblical writers take pains to affirm that YHWH is not literally a man. Their efforts to make this clear, of course, render the conceptual metaphor all the more striking to us in its instantiations.

We note in passing that vv. 5ab images Israel in the plural as people, continuing from v. 4, which is speech attributed to the plural Israelites (*Assyria will not save us...*, etc.). Verse 5c switches the

image of Israel to that of a single man, this image continuing to the end of v. 8. We recognize that Hosea is operating, as is often the case, on two different levels of conceptualization regarding Israel: he seems to be contrasting the individual Israelites, who collectively comprise the nation, with the nation conceived of as an entity apart, or perhaps conceived of as the land, having its own existence apart from that of the individual Israelites. This contrast is not so much evident in v. 5 as it will be, we shall argue, in v. 8a (*they-will-return, dwellers-of his-shade*).

Verse 6a begins with YHWH as the same Topic referent as in v. 5, but with a completely new image, that of dew; a simile is therefore the figure of choice for effecting the change, all the more so because it effects an objectification of YHWH. Verse 6b changes both the Tenor (to Israel) and the Vehicle (to the crocus); simile is chosen again, to effect both the image change and the objectification of humans in the form of Israel. A conceptual metaphor, that of Man is a Plant, is instantiated and is elaborated by means of a simile.

Continuing in v. 6c with the general image of Israel as a plant, yet another change is effected, this time to Israel being associated with Lebanon, which Wolff (1974:236) takes to be metonymy for the great cedars forests of that land, a much more powerful association than the crocuses of v. 6b: the prophet wishes to metaphorize Israel as a sprouter of roots, the root systems of cedars being larger and stronger than those of crocuses. Andersen and Freedman (1980:646) seem to ignore this point when they associate Lebanon here more with crocuses and olive trees, presumably influenced by vv. 6b and 7b.

Verse 7a instantiates again the conceptual metaphor of MAN IS A PLANT, speaking of Israel's shoots. However, as soon as the prophet wishes to become more specific and explicit in v. 7b, the simile device is once again called for, Israel being associated this time with the olive tree and then again with the cedars of Lebanon. In v. 8a, the shade of the cedars is probably meant, and a metaphor therefore suffices to present the associated image, serving as an elaboration of the previous line.

Concerning v. 8b, we see no satisfactory understanding. Verse 8c instantiates once more the conceptual metaphor MAN IS A PLANT, elaborated with a simile, as the Tenor changes to Israel's prosperity and the Vehicle to vineyards.

Verse 8d has much the same Vehicle, that of wine, but the Tenor is now the *remembrance* of Israel, not Israel himself. *Remembrance* is, of course, an abstraction in our terms, explicitly objectified by means of a simile.

The heavy incidence of similes and metaphors in this strophe strongly suggests that this material comprises a discourse peak that belongs to a considerable span of text, if not to the entire book of Hosea. Indeed, Wendland (1994:214–215) adduces several other features of Hos. 14.1–8 to suggest that this material is indeed the book’s peak.

The simile of YHWH as dew in v. 6 is reminiscent of other images of the monarch as dew and rain. We remarked in Section 6.1.10 that a good king was occasionally imaged as the sun and as rain. Dew is surely in the same semantic domain as rain. It is YHWH as the gentle dew that introduces a long motif of botanical images expressing the growing prosperity of Israel.

Note that all of the similes relating to Israel’s increasing prosperity in this strophe push the prophetic exposition ahead incrementally; none of them introduces an image for elaboration. In a curious way, these similes resemble the series of similes in Hos. 13.3 (*Therefore they-will.be like-mists-of-morning...*), which, as we claimed in Section 6.1.30, function either as an evaluation of the preceding material in their strophe or as a series of prophetic imprecations.

**Hos. 14.9a: text** Wolff (1974:233) and Stuart (1987:211) follow the LXX, which reads ἀὐτῶ, the equivalent of לִי, yielding the sense of *Ephraim, what has he anymore to do with idols?* McComiskey (1992:236) retains the MT לִי *to me*, seeing in this line a formula of repudiation: YHWH is repudiating any involvement with idols. We would ask, though, when has it ever been necessary for YHWH to express his repudiation of idols? It makes more sense that Israel should be expected to do so. Garrett (1997:278) avoids this difficulty by presuming that *What have I to do with idols* means, “I have had enough talk about idols.” If Wolff’s emendation is adopted, then the references to Ephraim in both vv. 9a and 9b line up with each other, both being in the third person.

McComiskey see the unbound pronoun אֲנִי *I* in v. 9c as standing in contrast with the idols, but it could just as easily stand in contrast with *Ephraim*.

The noun בְּרוֹשׁ is glossed as *juniper* by KB and as *cypress or fir* by BDB. Garrett (1997:279) favors perhaps the “stone pine” (*Pinus pinea*), which has an edible fruit. He remarks that evergreens were commonly associated with monarchies, fertility, and the divine in the ANE.

**Hos. 14. 9: form, markedness, communicative function, and blending** In the simile in v. 9cd, *I (am) like-juniper luxuriant; from-me your-fruitfulness is-found*, the first clause is a topic-comment clause, the topic referent being YHWH. This passage is yet another instance in which YHWH is objectified, for which simile is the default device.

The conceptual blending of this simile should be taken in conjunction with the similes and metaphors of the preceding strophe. Eidevall (1996:219–223) comments on the picture, drawing in sharp relief the association in v. 6 between the restored Israel and the evergreen tree, and the association in v. 9 between YHWH and the evergreen, saying that “royal splendor” is probably thereby imputed to both Israel and YHWH by means of this figure of speech. The common association with the evergreen tree of both YHWH and Israel breaks down the previous “hierarchical” relationship of YHWH to the people. Israel is elevated in conceptualization to royalty, being accorded a “reciprocal, and almost egalitarian, character.”

Eidevall sees also a strong similarity between this part of Hosea and the Song of Songs: an idyllic state is invoked in each case, a kind of return to Eden, in which perfect intimacy is practiced with utterly no fear involved. “Like Adam and Eve in the paradise story (before the fatal eating of the fruit), the parties do not know of any oppressive subordination. Freed from fear, they have no need to hide themselves.”

**Hos. 14. 5–9: Elements constitutive of worldview**

Wolff (1974:236) cites the fragrant forests of Lebanon, the object of much admiration in ancient Israel. The forests were lush, with much rainfall, and figure in SS, Deut. 30.9, Amos 9.13–14, Mic. 7.14, etc. Garrett (1997:277–278) also associates Lebanon with the cult of Baal, who was seen as the god of abundance, based in the lush uplands and mountains north of Galilee; he stood in contrast to YHWH, the desert God. Garrett sees this strophe as promising from YHWH the bounty once thought to be afforded by Baal.

Hermanson (1995:Section 7.5.4) proposes a BH conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and as an entailment, PEOPLE ARE TREES. These conceptual metaphors, working together with an association of evergreen trees with divinity and monarchy in the ANE, account for much of the imagery in Hos. 14.6, 9.

**Hos. 14. 5–9: conclusion**

This strophe, densely charged with similes and metaphors, has afforded an instructive example of their distribution, much of which is explainable in HAO terms. Moreover, there are instances of the convention that explicit association of the Tenor and Vehicle terms found in the instantiations of conceptual metaphor necessitates the use of simile, not of image metaphor (as in cv. 6bc, 8c). Finally, we find in this strophe Major Similes used, not to establish macro frames, but rather to effect a rapid series of different images.

## Chapter Seven

### A SUMMARY OF A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF SIMILES IN THE BOOK OF HOSEA

#### *7.1 Introduction to this summary*

In this chapter, we summarize the conclusions of this study of similes in Hosea. Sections 7.2–7.7 are what we might call the sections of principal summation, because the golden thread running through these sections is the theme of **embodiment**. Section 7.8 summarizes our proposed additions to Floor’s InfStr model, with application to BH poetry. Sections 7.9–7.12 summarize other topics that are rather incidental to the theme of embodiment and prototypical analysis. Section 7.12 presents a summary of semantic features in Hosea’s similes that point to cultural schemas, cultural models, and cultural themes, the stuff of worldview. Section 7.14 presents our reflections on the contributions of our study to the interpretation of Hosea. Finally, Section 7.15 presents the absolute conclusion to this work.

#### *7.2 Embodiment and the essential qualities of concepts*

Concepts have essential characteristics that allow them to be combined and blended, i.e., manipulated. These essential characteristics are (a) **a degree of embodiment** that is reflective of the extent to which the concept belongs to perceived, immediate human interaction with oneself or one’s environment—thus in BH the concept of a lion is, we judge, more embodied than that of righteousness; (b) the **possession of semantic properties**, which vary in prominence depending on the communication goals involving the concept, and which can be mentally isolated from each other, so as to be selectively projected (to various degrees or not at all) to a conceptual blend—thus in BH when YHWH is imaged, for example, as a lion, the properties of physical strength and ferocity may be projected to the conceptual blend, while the property of a lion’s mortality is not projected; (c) the possession of **kinaesthetic image schemas**, which can be projected to a conceptual blend or further into the text, or which can be grouped together in blocks (as in Hos. 6.3) or placed into opposition to one another, as in chiasms (as in Hos. 9.1–3)—thus in BH the concept of adultery usually possesses the kinaesthetic image schema of MOTION AWAY FROM; and (d) the possibility that **concepts’ semantic domains may overlap** with each other, resulting in conceptual

blending on a deep level—thus in BH the semantic domains of light and knowledge, for example, are said to overlap with each other.

We have found it helpful to posit a general correlation between embodiment, concreteness, cognitive simplicity, and prototypicality: the more embodied concepts are usually more concrete and cognitively simple; we posit also that these tend to be more prototypical.

### ***7.3 Embodiment and HAO manipulations***

HAO manipulations is our term for three different processes of conceptual manipulations resulting in conceptual blending. **Humanization** is the projection of human properties or identity to the Deity, animals, objects, or abstractions; **animalization** is the projection of animal properties or identity to humans, the Deity, objects, or abstractions; and **objectification** is the projection of object properties or identity to the Deity, humans, or abstractions. We refer to this set of interconceptual manipulations as HAO manipulations. We have defined abstractions for our purposes as all states and processes, events, and relations *when any instance of these semantic categories is conceived of as an object*.

A count of the various HAO manipulations in Hosea, Micah, and Amos led us to the following conclusions:

- a. Hosea, Micah, and Amos happily and easily project human semantic properties both “upward” to God and “downward” to animals and objects. Abstractions, however, at a still “lower” level, are not humanized.
- b. These prophets also very happily and easily project object properties “downward” to abstractions.
- c. Hosea, Micah, and Amos project semantic properties of both objects and animals “upward” to both humans and God, but anticipate greater processing difficulty on the audience’s part. They prefer similes for this function.
- e. It is from the human sphere that semantic properties projected to other spheres are assumed by the speakers to be understood the easiest.
- f. Properties of a given entity are projected with difficulty to the same class of entity, Hosea, Micah, and Amos employing simile for this task.

In terms of prototypicality, we have posited: (1) humanization is most prototypical of these prophets’ thought—the projection of human attributes or identity to God, animals, and true objects; (2) it is also prototypical of their thought that abstractions (i.e., in our terminology, the semantic

categories other than semantic objects, when they are conceptualised as objects) are viewed in terms of objects (conceptual metaphors being mostly employed for this purpose); (3) other projections are less prototypical of these prophets' thought: the projection of semantic attributes or identity of animals or objects to humans or to God (these projections being carried out mainly by means of simile). We allow as a possibility that it may also be prototypical of these prophets' thought to conceive of abstractions as bearing human identity or semantic properties as well—although we would wish for more data on this point. (We have found only one such case, in Hos. 5.5 and repeated in Hos. 7.10.) (4) It is also unprototypical of these prophets' worldview to conceive of an entity in terms of another entity in the same category, i.e., HUMAN-HUMAN, ANIMAL-ANIMAL, OBJECT-OBJECT. For these manipulations, simile is the preferred device.

In terms of embodiment, the humanization of God, animals, or of true objects involves projecting to them various characteristics of a person's interaction with himself or with his environment. The fact that abstractions prefer to be accorded the qualities or identities of objects might also be due to embodiment, in the sense that there might be more of an interactive gap between humans and abstractions than between human and objects, animals, and God, and that therefore the attributes and identities of objects might be recruited, instead of those of humans, for the imaging of abstractions. As for our judgment that it is unprototypical of these prophets' worldview to conceive of an entity in terms of another entity in the same category (e.g., HUMAN-HUMAN), we shall attempt even less of an embodiment explanation for this conclusion; perhaps the notion of embodiment will receive some kind of enrichment capable of accounting for this.

#### ***7.4 Embodiment, a prototype theory of similes, and the abolition of simile types***

In the area of simile form, we posited in Chapter Three for working purposes three cognitive simile types: Major Similes, *Make* Similes, and Minor Similes. These were posited on the basis of various behavioural aspects which we summarize below in Figure 7.4a.

We noted in Section 2.1.5 that the more prototypical category members tend to accept the full range of available grammatical manipulations, as with the noun *toe*. This feature of Lakoff's "nouniest nouns" such as *toe* finds an analogy in Figure 7.4a, in that the Vehicles of Major Similes tend to have cognitive simple Imaged States of Being, to employ semantic objects, and to project the Imaged State of Being and selected semantic properties into the following text by establishing macro frames and by providing for local theme transition. Major Similes can also be used for discourse-unit-final statements of evaluation. In the area of simile syntax, the notion of grammatical manipulability is rather less determinative: Major Similes accept simile orders that are less

preferred than TV, for almost 30% of them feature marked simile orders. We see all of these features and uses of Major Similes, the most “simile-like” similes, as being very strong.

	<b>Major Similes</b>	<b>Make Similes</b>	<b>Minor Similes</b>
<b>Imaged States of Being:</b>	<i>Tend to be cognitively simple</i>	<i>Tend to be cognitively simple</i>	<i>Tend to be cognitively complex, or non-existent</i>
<b>These tend to be employed as semantic categories:</b>	<i>Semantic objects</i>	<i>Semantic objects</i>	<i>Semantic states and processes, events, and relations</i>
<b>Readily constitute macro frames?</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>
<b>Readily mark transition to new local themes?</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>
<b>Readily introduce new images?</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>Yes, but not for further elaboration</i>	<i>No</i>
<b>*Tend to add image overlay without changing the basic image?</b>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>
<b>Can be used for discourse-unit ending Sentence Focus evaluation?</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>No</i>
<b>*Can be used to elaborate established images?</b>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>
<b>Readily accept simile orders other than TV?</b>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Yes**</i>

**Figure 7.4a**  
***Simile Types Posited in Chapter Three for Working Purposes***

*\*These are negative uses, militating against prototypical uses of simile*

*\*\*But the Minor Similes which are not scalar similes show an absolute preference of TV simile order*

The *Make Similes* are, we find, less simile-like: although their Vehicle terms tend to employ cognitively simple semantic objects as Imaged States of Being, they do not provide macro frames or mark local theme transitions; although they may introduce new images, they do not do so that these images may be further elaborated. In addition, they can be used to elaborate already-established images, a use unknown among the Major Similes and one which we posit **not** to be a use preferred by the most prototypical similes. In the area of simile syntax, they do not, based on our sampling, feature simile orders other than TV.

Minor Similes are the least simile-like: their Imaged States of Being tend to be extremely cognitively complex or non-existent; moreover, they do not constitute macro frames. Instead of introducing new images destined for further elaboration, they often effect an overlay upon an already-established image. In the area of simile syntax, we tentatively concluded that their preference is for TV simile order; based on our sampling, if we removed the scalar similes from

among them, theirs would be an absolute preference for TV simile order. However, a larger sampling is greatly desired.

We believe that the notion of **embodiment** explains most of these characteristics. As we remarked in Section 2.1.5, the more that category members are judged to be prototypical, the more concrete they tend to be; the more concrete concepts find themselves used in cognitively simple Imaged States of Being in similes. We may even guess that embodiment explains the readiness of a simile to constitute a macro frame; it is surely cognitively simpler for a simile to introduce a new image (as do many Major Similes) than for a simile to introduce cognitive complexity by establishing a cognitive overlay on an already-established image, as is the case with many Minor Similes.

To recapitulate, we find our working simile types to fall into the following scheme:

<b>Most Prototypical</b>		<b>Least Prototypical</b>
<i>Major Similes</i>	<i>Make Similes</i>	<i>Minor Similes</i>

**Figure 7.4b**  
*Continuum of Prototypicality among Working Simile Types*

In other words, we again say that our three simile types are convenient fictions of our making, posited to facilitate our analysis, for a prototypical view of these simile types must acknowledge that even for each type, some similes are better “fits” than others. At the end of our analysis, therefore, **we pronounce ourselves free to abolish these working simile types** and simply to content ourselves with understanding, in terms of Imaged States of Being, discourse usage, conceptual manipulation, and conceptual blending, what it means for some of Hosea’s similes to be more prototypical than others, and others to be less.

Of course, the category that we call *simile* must have some kind of internal structuring that enables judgments of prototypicality among similes to be made. We cannot claim that this category is structured by means of the three subcategories that we called Major, Minor, and *make* Similes, although it is certainly possible that this is the case. We believe ourselves to be on firmer ground, however, in acknowledging that the various criteria we have considered determine together the judgements of prototypicality—the criteria of Imaged States of Being, discourse usage, and HAO conceptual manipulations. It is these criteria that form the internal structure of the category we call BH simile. Moreover, it is from the central notion of embodiment that these criteria arise.

Because all linguistic expressions involving more than one concept employ conceptual blending, we are able to answer the question, are similes ever merely literal comparisons. We suggest that it is safer to believe not, on the basis of our analysis of Hos. 2.1 (*the sands of the seashore*), where we

have identified the projection of the kinaesthetic image schema expressing limitless linear extent. Another cautionary example is found in Hos. 9.1, where the kinaesthetic image schema of MOTION DOWN fits into a kinaesthetic image schema chiasm that characterizes the entire strophe.

### ***7.5 Comments on the working Minor Simile Type***

Within this working type we distinguish *day-of* similes, as in Hos. 10.14, scalar similes (as in Hos. 10.1cd), and coordinative similes (as in Hos. 4.9). In general, The Minor Similes exhibit conceptual blending that is simpler than that found in Major Similes.

We posit that the *make* similes (as in Hos. 2.5bcd) are a small cognitive class mid-way in characteristics between the Major and Minor similes.

We conclude that *day-of* similes are among those similes that, while they feature semantic properties projected from Vehicle to Tenor, nevertheless exhibit conceptual blending greatly tending toward cognitive simplicity, as in Hos. 12.10. Moreover, the blended properties do not tend to be projected from the conceptual blend to the following clauses (also as in Hos. 12.10). In this respect these similes are like other congruity-of-circumstance expressions such as in Hos. 8.1, *To your mouth a trumpet as when a vulture (כַּנְיָזָר) is on the house of YHWH* (see Section 6.8.1). Also in this respect, they resemble scalar similes. However, unlike scalar similes, *day-of* similes invoke past chronology as a medium linking together the two associated concepts.

Moreover, *day-of* similes usually present an image overlay that is quite transient, and that is organised by past chronology. The Tenor concept is modified by the past time overlay, but no image is usually established for further metaphorical elaboration.

We have posited various modes of semantic attribute projection by similes. *Days-of* similes, for instance, usually present a transient image overlay, organised by past chronology. The Tenor concept is modified by the past time overlay, but normally no image is established for further metaphorical elaboration.

As for scalar similes, we find that neither do these as a rule project many semantic properties beyond themselves. Like *day-of* similes, they are usually found to introduce no extended images. They are found so in Hosea in Hos. 9.10d, 10.1cd and in Hos. 13.2c. Of course, they may project semantic properties and even introduce discourse units, as in Hos. 2.1 and Hos. 4.7. Even in these latter passages, however, one can fairly say that they do not effect a heavy projection of semantic properties.

We believe that it is because scalar similes do not effect many semantic projections to what follows them that they can frequently be found in mid-strophe, as in Hos. 9.10–14; 10.1–2; and 13.1–3.

### ***7.6 Embodiment and kinaesthetic image schemas***

Properly speaking, kinaesthetic image schemas are subconceptual components that are based on learned patterns of human perceptual of, and motor interaction with, the environment. They, along with basic-level categories in Prototype Theory, are the two prominent vehicles of embodiment. Kinaesthetic image schemas sometimes play an important role in conceptual blending. We have found that there can be regular patterning of kinaesthetic image schemas, such that they fall into blocks, as in Hos. 6.3. When this happens, these blocks can be seen to contribute to the overall progress of the passage's logic. Sometimes these blocks present particular dynamism, as in Hos. 3. 7–8, where they subconceptually propel a chain of images, ambiguously mixed-directional schemas resolving into powerful, accumulated downward force.

Kinaesthetic image schemas are sometimes also seen to comprise chiasms, as in Hos. 9.1–3, where such a chiasm spans the entire strophe. The recognition of such chiasms might suggest certain textual readings or chunkings. Some of these chiasms have been found with a tendency toward fronted argument focus in the chiasmic hinges, as in Hos. 9.1d–2a (supporting our interpretation of the findings of Floor 2004b).

Sometimes recognizing a kinaesthetic image schema is key to understanding an entire phrase, as in *in the furrows of the fields* (Hos. 12.12). Failure in this regard can lead to translations that obscure the conceptual dynamics, viz., a translation such as *in a plowed field*.

### ***7.7 Simile and its relationship to metaphor***

We have hypothesized that when Hosea introduces a new image, whether he uses a conceptual metaphor to do so or a simile depends upon the kind of HAO conceptual manipulation he desires to make. It is very seldom that he uses an image metaphor to present a new image.

We have hypothesized that simile is often used for introducing a new image destined to be elaborated on, and we seen it used to temporarily interrupt one image in favour of another. Metaphor, on the other hand, is the vastly preferred tool for image elaboration, once the image has been introduced. Simile is—but only rarely—used for image elaboration, as witness the simile used to elaborate the image ISRAEL AS A WOMAN, a Minor Simile, which makes sense because such similes prefer not to establish images for further elaboration.

So regular is the difference in use between simile and metaphor—hardly ever do we find in Hosea a simile functioning to elaborate an image, that when, for example, commentators disagree as to whether Hos. 11.4b introduces a new image, we can on this basis maintain that it probably does, since this passage features a simile. Moreover, in this passage YHWH is humanized—a process that would normally proceed by way of conceptual metaphor; that a simile is employed instead argues heavily that the prophet wishes to make an explicit image shift. It was also on the basis of metaphor and simile distribution that we judged the child image of Hos. 11.1 to most likely continue into Hos. 11.3, since v. 3 does not feature a simile.

We have also seen simile used to effect the transition from one image cluster (a group of distinct images revolving around a common theme) to another, in Hos. 8.8.

Moreover, simile is the preferred device for effecting image modification (altering the basic image, as opposed to image elaboration, or, in conceptual blending terms, “running the blend”). We have, for example, seen an image modified from *realis* to *irrealis*.

In keeping with our understanding of simile as the preferred device for effecting conceptual associations when audience bias or difficulty in message processing is expected, we have seen simile used to effect a novel conceptual association when the prophet wishes to reverse two common conceptual links in BH.

We have already noted in this summary that Hosea prefers to use simile over image metaphor and conceptual metaphor in order to effect non-prototypical HAO manipulations (i.e., HAO conceptual manipulations other than humanization of non-human entities and the objectification of abstractions) and also as the preferred device for projecting properties of one entity to another entity of the same class (e.g., HUMAN-HUMAN, OBJECT-OBJECT).

We have also noted how in Hosea these two dynamisms favouring the use of simile—simile as the preferred device for introducing images destined for elaboration, and simile as the preferred device for effecting certain HAO conceptual manipulations—usually appear to work together and not in opposition to each other, a testimony to the sophisticated organization of language and to the power of its controlling human minds.

### ***7.8 Information Structure***

Following is a summary of our proposals concerning InfStr in this study:

- a. We have proposed that Floor’s InfStr model can be used as a tool to help evaluate both the MT and proposed emendations to it.

b. We have proposed the following additions to Floor's model of InfStr:

–A possible function of Sentence Focus structures to be evaluation, as in Hos. 4.7b, Hos. 13.2f, and Hos. 10.4.

–To the inventory of pragmatic overlays (including that of contrastiveness) we wish to add an overlay of accumulation, exemplified in Hos. 6.7a, 8a, 9a, 10a, 10b, and 11a.

–We hypothesize that double fronting may occur where the first fronted element is a verbal argument in focus and the second, also a focal element, is a Theme Frame. This configuration would be in addition to Floor's acceptance of double fronting where the first element is topical in nature and the second element is focal.

–We propose that the function of some Sentence Focus structures is to evaluate preceding textual material, as in Hos. 4.7, and possibly also in Hos. 13.2.

c. We have proposed additional considerations for InfStr concerning BH poetry:

–Following Floor, who observed that the hinges of a considerable number of BH poetic chiasms are characterised by marked focus structures, we ourselves have added a variety of other marked structures in such chiasmic hinges, most of which bear some resemblance to those focus structures, specifically, parallel lines each featuring fronted arguments and a short clause dependent on a main clause following.

–Similarly, we have found that some blocks of contrastive kinaesthetic image schemas feature a "joint" between them marked by a quasi or imperfect chiasm.

–It would be a noteworthy exercise to examine many poetic chiasms posited by commentators and other analysts, to see how many are characterised by marked focus structures.

–We have remarked that many posited poetic structures, especially chiasms, are based, not on lexical correspondences, but on ideational correspondences, or even on the patterning of kinaesthetic image schemas. One imperfect chiasm (in Hos. 4.6ab) depends on the clausal functions of the various expressions. In all these cases, we find it especially noteworthy when we can identify focus structures that seem to be motivated by these chiasms.

### ***7.9 Conceptual blending and its diagrams***

Conceptual blending occurs, not only in metaphors (which furnished the first occasion for the development of conceptual blending studies) and similes, but in any linguistic expression that combines concepts. On a level larger than phrases, this is also true for the relationship of similes

vis-à-vis metaphor, as well as for similes vis-à-vis more literal language, as we saw in Hos. 2.1 (*the sands of the seashore*).

From conceptual blending treatments of metaphors we imported the notions and apparatus of conceptual blending for the sake of treating similes. These notions are those of generic space, two inputs, the possibility of embedded inputs, cross-domain mapping of semantic attributes, restricted selection of the attributes destined for the blend, and the two-way interpretability of the blend.

We have found that the exercise of diagramming the conceptual blending of similes and metaphors can give great benefits. First, the complexities of the blending of concepts are, in our view, appreciated far more with such diagramming than without. Secondly, the diagramming on occasion allows the analyst to appreciate how far extend the effects of diverse interpretations of an image—but also the limits of the effects of such diversity. In Hos. 12.12, for instance, we found that ambiguity in understanding the preposition על *on, beside* was not fatal to coming to a general appreciation of the simile as a whole, but that only by charting the conceptual blending could one realise this.

### **7.10 Chiasms in BH poetry**

Chiasms can depend on lexical or ideational correspondences of any kind, whether identity, similarity, opposition, etc. In addition, we have found (in Hos. 9.10c–12b) a chiasm that depends on sublexical conceptualizations and a pairing of lexemes (see Figure 6.9.10d). Moreover, the presentation of concepts in chiasms, although normally assumed to be based on contrasting conceptual relationships, can, we have argued, be based on conceptual relationships that build successively on one another.

When there is textual material lying in the same discourse unit but outside of the parallel or chiasmic structure, this material will tend to possess great prominence as a result of its asymmetric position.

### **7.11 Similes and poetic structures**

One communicative function of a chiasm can be to give much prominence to any element of the discourse unit that is left outside it at the strophe's beginning or close.

We have noted that it is possible for a simile's Vehicle to add no new conceptual input to the Tenor, and for its sole motivation to be rhetorical structure—in this case, a chiasm having the effect of giving prominence to another element. But it is not normal for similes to exercise so restricted a function.

A simile can stand in structural relationship to other kinds of expressions. In Hos. 7.12ab, for example, a Theme Frame, provided by a fronted simile Vehicle term, stands parallel to a topic frame. Sometimes both the simile and the other expression possess parallel end-weight, or they may have like InfStr functions (e.g., parallel topic frames), or they may be links in a chain of images, as in Hos. 13.7–8 (*like a lion...like a leopard...like a bear*, where the series of images is propelled by a dynamic of kinaesthetic images schemas).

Furthermore, two similes can stand in a chiasm with each other, as in Hos. 6.3 (*as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth; and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us*, with simile orders of VT // TV), or as in Hos. 4.16 (*indeed/for as-heifer stubborn is-stubborn Israel; now can-pasture-them YHWH as-lamb in-broad.expanse?*, with simile order TV // VT).

Finally, we have found the similes in Hos. 6.3 to provide end-weight at the termination of a poetic strophe: here three similes provide three successive images, but with no thought of image elaboration.

### **7.12 Similes and Information Structure**

Fronted simile Vehicle terms may, we have noted, serve as Theme Frames.

Concerning what we have called simile orders, TV is generally default order, and VT marked order. In InfStr terms, the Vehicle term is generally treated as a verbal argument on a par with the other arguments of subject, objects, and the various phrasal complements. Like other fronted verbal arguments, fronted Vehicle terms are found to effect InfStr implications of Tenor term presupposition, Theme Frames, etc. When the copula is present in the simile, we propose that it can be ignored for the purpose of InfStr evaluation, as long as the syntactic subject is not presented as solely a pronoun bound to the copula. In other words, we hypothesize that when the syntactic subject is either fully lexicalized or in the form of an unbound pronoun, we should ignore the copula in analysis simile order. An example of this occurs in Hos. 14.7b (*will-be like-the-olive.tree his-splendour*), where the phrase-initial copula *will-be* does not hinder us from recognising VT simile order.

### **7.13 Similes, metaphors, and cultural constructs**

On the linguistic level, similes, as indeed all language, blend various concepts together. We regard these concepts as having mentalistic standing in language.

But these same concepts have each some kind of status in culture as well. Although the status may be relatively anomalistic, as with a new invention or a notion borrowed from another culture, we

posit that more often than not, a concept which is referenced in language has a well-established cultural status. In the cultural meaning framework of Strauss and Quinn, we have taken as particularly constitutive of worldview the following cultural constructs: cultural schemas, cultural models, cultural themes, and cultural exemplars.

In our cognitive characterization of Hosea's similes, we concluded that the most prototypical or "simile-like" similes (called Major Similes for our working purposes) feature Vehicle terms that are cognitively simple; in Hosea we find such examples as *lion*, *dew*, *sun*, *rain*, *mists of morning*, and *crocus*—all Imaged States of Being that are highly embodied. The least prototypical similes, which we called Minor Similes, overwhelmingly feature either very lightly embodied Imaged States of Being—and these tend to be cognitively very complex—or none at all. This analysis is, of course, on the level of language.

But an analysis of the relation between Hosea's similes and cultural constructs is also possible. Recall that in Section 3.7, we posited relative degrees of embodiment for the four constructs: we regard cultural schemas as the most cognitively simple, and cultural models and cultural themes as relatively cognitively complex. Exemplars of cultural schemas are regarded by us as more cognitively complex than cultural schemas, but probably less complex than cultural models and cultural themes. In examining Hosea's similes, we found most of them to refer either to cultural schemas (e.g., *lion*, *dew*, *bread of mourners*, *accusers of priests*) or to cultural exemplars (e.g., *Admah*, *the Lebanon*, *the wine of Lebanon*).<sup>1</sup>

We conclude, therefore, that there is no correlation in degrees of embodiment or in degrees of cognitive complexity between the linguistic concepts referenced by Hosea's simile Vehicles on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the cultural constructs referenced by the same similes. The linguistic concepts show high degrees of embodiment and cognitive complexity in the Major Similes, diminishing degrees in the *make* similes, and the least degrees in the Minor Similes—but the cultural constructs appearing in Hosea's simile Vehicles all appear to be either cultural schemas (the least cognitively complex of the four constructs) or cultural exemplars of those schemas (which we take to be the next simplest).

However, we have posited a systematic difference along broad lines between similes and metaphors, in that, using the Strauss-Quinn view of cultural constructs, simile Vehicles tend to access cultural schemas, while metaphor Vehicles tend to access cultural models.

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<sup>1</sup> A complete matching of Hosea's similes to cultural constructs is given in Appendix 1, and a representative list of cultural schemas, cultural exemplars, cultural models, and cultural themes is given in Appendix 2.

### ***7.14 Contributions of this study to the interpretation of Hosea***

We view this study as contributing in several ways to the interpretation of Hosea. First, we believe that we have elucidated more of what we presume to be the worldview of the prophet and his audience. Communication never exists in an interpersonal vacuum; there is always a tension between speaker and audience. Besides the religious, political, and social situations that are seen to lie behind the book, to which God and his prophet are seen to respond, there is also the truth that no one speaks to an audience without weighing his concepts, conceptualizations, themes, and very words. Some of this weighing is done at the very moment of speaking, but much of it is culturally conditioned. Our development of the notion of HAO conceptual manipulations and their default devices of expression—conceptual metaphor and simile marks, in our judgment, an advance toward a fuller picture of the worldview of the prophet and his audience. This worldview, of course, was culturally conditioned; it was not produced by the exigencies of the political or religious moment.

If we know the default devices used for effecting HAO conceptual manipulations, then we also gain an appreciation for the occasions on which Hosea employs marked devices. When, for example, he says, “Israel was a spreading vine” (Hos. 10.1), we have a choice: we can view this objectifying metaphor as either a device to shock his audience (which we do **not** believe to be the case here), or we can view the metaphor as a device that regularly expresses a cultural model (which we **do** believe to be the case here). To metaphorically say, therefore, that Israel was a spreading vine is to express as much a religious-cultural model as to say, “YHWH is King.”

Recall that we have characterized cultural models as constructs that are relatively complex in a cognitive sense, since they usually comprise a number of cultural schemas coming to bear in one area of meaning. Now we posited in Section 4.6 that most of Hosea’s image metaphors probably express cultural models. We believe the reason for this use of image metaphor is that the speaker expects no audience difficulty in either accepting or in understanding the conceptual associations effected thereby; cultural models are by definition cultural constructs, cognitively complex, yes, but also part of all shared cultural knowledge. No device more powerful from a mental space viewpoint than metaphor is called for.

There is a second contribution of this study as well. We have shown that the interpreter who has a clear idea of how Hosea uses conceptual metaphors, image metaphors, and similes is aided in resolving some questions of textual readings and in assessing the likelihood of some proposed emendations.

In a similar way, we have proposed that InfStr principles be used to help evaluate these same problems. Some commentators' emendations prove to be very reasonable from this viewpoint, and others doubtful or even impossible.

### ***7.15 Conclusion***

Embodiment—the cognitive patterns created by man's interaction with himself and his environment—is truly the grand theme of our analysis of Hosea's similes. It is from embodiment that flow judgments of prototypicality. It is to embodiment that we can trace the preferred devices for effecting the various conceptualizations that we have termed HAO conceptual manipulations. It is no disparagement of the celebrated insistence of the ancient Hebrews on the transcendence and "otherness" of YHWH to acknowledge that, in fact, their insistence depended, yes, upon what they understood to be YHWH's revelation of himself to them, but also and just as crucially, upon their knowledge of that which they knew best, namely, themselves and their relation to their world.

## Chapter Eight

### FURTHER DIRECTIONS

Here we present some directions for research in BH that could arise from our hypotheses and conclusions in this study. They are formulated as questions.

1. How are HAO manipulations patterned in the other prophets and elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible?
2. Do kinaesthetic image schemas play roles elsewhere in motivating or contributing to BH rhetorical structures? How significant do these roles appear to be?
3. Are our proposed additions to Floor's model of BH InfStr justified elsewhere in BH poetry?

These proposals are:

- an additional function of Sentence Focus structures as evaluation of preceding material;
- an overlay of accumulation as an additional pragmatic operation; and
- double fronting as an ensemble of two elements: the first fronted element being a verbal argument in focus and the second, also a focal element, being a Theme Frame. This configuration would be in addition to Floor's acceptance of double fronting where the first element is topical in nature and the second element is focal.

InfStr issues loom large, not only in Biblical exegesis, but also in Bible translation. Now the translator could adopt a defeatist attitude, saying that, given the multiplicity of InfStr understandings for majority languages, e.g., English, it would be hopeless to work toward a solid InfStr model of a target language, especially, perhaps, a minority language.

Such an attitude, however, would be unfortunate. Any InfStr model, unless one hopelessly flawed, can serve as the point of departure for understanding information flow to a valuable extent. That such a model is susceptible to improvement can, of course, be said of any scientific model.

However, we sense the need for an InfStr model that fits a cognitive understanding of linguistics. Such a model would have categories (e.g., kinds of topic elements and focus elements) whose realizations in real language would be considered better or worse fits. Indeed, the very notions of

topic and focus would perhaps be seen from this standpoint as well: thus the topic constituent in a predicate focus sentence might be seen as more “topic-like” than, say, a topic frame or a tail topic.

In a similar manner, it would be an enormous help to have a principled cognitive distinction between literal and figurative language. We would actually expect a continuum from most literal to most figurative in such an account. But the model would have to provide cognitive criteria for the degree of literalness or of figure.

Bible translators should, following the argumentation of this study, interest themselves in patterns of HAO manipulations in target languages. Do the uses of conceptual metaphors and similes match up between the Hebrew Bible and the target language? For example, almost any kind of concept, including abstractions (e.g., wisdom), is humanized in BH by means of conceptual metaphor. Can this be said of the target language?

## Appendix 1

### CULTURAL CONSTRUCTS FOUND IN HOSEA'S SIMILES

2.1	<i>The sands of the seashore</i>	Minor ( <i>days-of</i> )	Cultural schema
2.5b	<i>Lest I place her as the day of her birth</i>	Minor ( <i>days-of</i> ), ( <i>make</i> )	Cultural schema
2.5c	<i>and I make her like the wilderness</i>	Minor ( <i>make</i> )	Cultural schema
2.5d	<i>and I make her like a dry land</i>	Minor ( <i>make</i> )	Cultural schema
2.17c	<i>And she will respond there as in the days of her youth</i>	Minor ( <i>days-of</i> )	Cultural schema
2.17d	<i>and as on the day of her coming up from the land of Egypt</i>	Minor ( <i>days-of</i> )	Cultural schema
3.1	<i>Go love a woman..., as YHWH has loved the sons of Israel</i>	Minor (congruity of circumstance)	Cultural schema
4.4c	<i>Your people are like accusers of the priesthood</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
4.7	<i>As their multiplication, so they sinned against me</i>	Minor (scalar)	Cultural schema
4.9	<i>Like people like priests</i>	Minor (coordinative)	-----
4.16a	<i>For as a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
4.16b	<i>now can YHWH pasture them like a lamb in a broad pasture?</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
5.10	<i>Movers of boundary stones</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
5.10	<i>like water my wrath</i>	MAJOR	
5.12a	<i>As pus to Ephraim</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
5.12b	<i>as putrefaction to the house of Judah</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
5.14a	<i>For I will be like a lion to Ephraim</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
5.14b	<i>and like a lion to the house of Judah</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.3c	<i>As the dawn is sure, so his going forth</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.3d	<i>he will come as rain to us</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.3e	<i>like spring showers watering the earth</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.4c	<i>Your loyalty is like the mists of morning</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.4d	<i>and like early dew that goes away</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
6.5c	the question of the emended text	-----	-----
6.7	<i>And they like those at Adam transgressed the covenant</i>	MAJOR	Cultural exemplar

7.4	<i>All of them are committing adultery like a burning oven</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.6a	<i>for they approached like an oven their hearts</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.6c	<i>in the morning it burns like a fire</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.7a	<i>all of them grow hot like an oven</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.11	<i>Ephraim like a silly dove</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.12	<i>like a bird of the skies</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
7.16b	<i>Like a faulty bow</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
8.1	<i>To your mouth a trumpet as when a vulture is on the house of YHWH</i>	Minor (congruity of circumstance)	Cultural schema
8.8b	<i>Among the nations as a vessel</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
8.12b	<i>As alien things were they regarded</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
9.1	<i>Do not rejoice to exultation like the peoples</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
9.4	<i>As bread of mourners it will be for them</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
9.9	<i>They were corrupt as on the day of Gibeah</i>	Minor (days-of)	Cultural exemplar
9.10a	<i>Like grapes in the desert</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
9.10b	<i>like the early fig</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
9.10d	<i>a shameful thing as their beloved</i>	Minor (scalar)	Cultural schema
9.11	<i>and Ephraim is like a bird</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
10.1c	<i>As-increase (happened) to-his-fruit</i>	Minor (scalar)	Cultural schema
10.1d	<i>as-improvement (happened) to-his-land</i>	Minor (scalar)	Cultural schema
10.4c	<i>and sprang up as poisonous weeds justice in the furrows of the field</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
10.7	<i>Samaria—her king shall be cut off like a chip on the face of the water</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
10.14	<i>As Shalman destroyed Betharbel on the day of battle</i>	Minor (days-of)	Cultural exemplar
11.4b	<i>Like those who lift a yoke</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
11.8c	<i>How can I make you like Admah?</i>	Minor (make)	Cultural exemplar
11.8d	<i>How can I make you like Zeboiim?</i>	Minor (make)	Cultural exemplar
11.10b	<i>Like a lion he will roar</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
11.11a	<i>they will come trembling like birds from Egypt</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
11.11b	<i>and like a dove from the land of Assyria</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
12.10b	<i>Return to the tents as in the days of the appointed times</i>	Minor (days-of)	Cultural schema
12.12d	<i>Even their altars will be like heaps of stone in the furrows of the fields</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.2	<i>From their silver according to their skill</i>	Minor (scalar)	Cultural schema
13.3	<i>like the mists of morning</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.3	<i>like the dew</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.3	<i>like the chaff</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema

13.3	<i>like smoke</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.7a	<i>Like a lion</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.7b	<i>like a leopard</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
13.8	<i>like a bear</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
14.6a	<i>Like the dew to Israel</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
14.6b	<i>Like the crocus</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
14.6c	<i>Roots like the Lebanon</i>	MAJOR	Cultural exemplar
14.7b	<i>Like the olive tree his splendour</i>	MAJOR	Cultural exemplar
14.7c	<i>His odour like the Lebanon</i>	MAJOR	Cultural exemplar
14.8b	<i>Live as grain</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
14.8c	<i>Sprout as the vine</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema
14.8d	<i>Remembrance as the wine of Lebanon</i>	MAJOR	Cultural exemplar
14.9c	<i>I am like a luxuriant juniper</i>	MAJOR	Cultural schema

Total here: 71 similes (excluding the emended-out simile of Hos. 6.5c)

## Appendix 2

### SOME CULTURAL SCHEMAS, EXEMPLARS, MODELS, AND THEMES IN HOSEA

Recall that for Strauss and Quinn, a cultural schema is a “network of strongly connected cognitive elements that represent the generic concepts stored in memory” (Strauss and Quinn 1997:6). Following are cultural schemas that we have identified in Hosea.

<b>BH Cultural and Religious Schemas</b>	
<i>Prohibition against mixing types</i>	<i>Hos. 8.9 For they go up to Assyria, a wild ass that keeps to itself. Ephraim has hired lovers.</i>
<i>Announcement of a legal claim to something or someone</i>	<i>Hos. 9.10 Like-grapes in-the-wilderness I-found Israel, like-early-fig on-fig.tree in-spring I-saw your-fathers.</i>
<i>Disenfranchisement, disowning</i>	<i>Hos. 2.5 Lest I-strip-her naked and-I-place.her as-day-of her-birth and-I-make-her as-the-wilderness and-I-make-her as-land dry.</i>
<i>Right of the priests to eat from the people’s sacrifices</i>	<i>Hos. 4.8 Sin-of my-people they-eat</i>
<i>Wild beasts of prey as divine punishment for covenant-breaking</i>	<i>Hos. 5.14 For I (will be) like-the-lion to-Ephraim and-like-the-young.lion to-house(of-) Judah. I, I I-will.tear and-I-will.go.away. I-will.carry.off, and-there.will.be.no deliverer.</i> <i>Hos. 13.7–8 I-will.be to-them like-lion....</i>
<i>Mourning the dead</i>	<i>Hos. 9.4 (which will be) like-food-of mourners to-them. Every.one eating-it will.be.defiled.</i>
<i>What happens to ruined dwellings and cities, etc.</i>	<i>Hos. 9.6 briars will.inherit-them, briars in-their-tents.</i> <i>Hos. 10.7 thorn and-thistle shall-grow-up on their-altars.</i>
<i>Defilement</i>	<i>Hos. 9.4 Every.one eating-it will.be.defiled</i>

For Strauss and Quinn, a **cultural exemplar** is an object to which speakers often refer as a prototype of an idea. Following are the cultural exemplars that we have noted in Hosea.

<b>BH Cultural and Religious Exemplars</b>	
<i>The Cities of Admah and Zeboiim, exemplars of total destruction</i>	<i>Hos. 11.8 How can-I-make-youS like-Admah? I-make-youS like-Zeboiim?</i>
<i>The forests of Lebanon, exemplar of abundance and lushness</i>	<i>Hos. 14. 6 and-he-will.strike his-roots like-the-Lebanon</i> <i>Hos. 14.7 and-odour to-him like-the-Lebanon.</i> <i>Hos. 14.8 his-remembrance as-wine-of Lebanon.</i>
<i>The olive tree, exemplar of prosperity</i>	<i>Hos. 14.7 Will-be like-the-olive.tree his-splendour.</i>

<i>The wilderness, exemplar of chaos outside of human control</i>	<i>Like-grapes in-the-wilderness</i>
<i>The wilderness, exemplar of the place where YHWH persuades his people to return to him</i>	<i>Hos. 2.16 Therefore behold I (am) about-to-entice-her, and-I-will-bring-her (to) the-wilderness, and-I-will-speak to-her-heart.</i>
<i>Egypt, exemplar of servitude</i>	<i>Hos. 11.4 and-out.of-Egypt I-called my-son</i> <i>Hos. 14.7 and-will-return Ephraim (to) Egypt</i>
<i>The dawn, exemplar of time of rescue</i>	<i>Hos. 6.3 as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth;</i>
<i>Valley of Achor, exemplar of place of punishment</i>	<i>Hos. 2.17 I will give back to her there her vineyards and the Valley of Achor as a door of hope.</i>
<i>Rushing water, exemplar of irresistible force</i>	<i>Hos. 10.7 Is.being.cut.off Samaria; her-king (is) as-twig on- face-of water.</i>
<i>Grapes, figs—exemplars of prosperity</i>	<i>Hos. 9.10 Like-grapes in-the-wilderness I-found Israel, like-early-fig on-fig.tree in-spring I-saw your-fathers</i>
<i>Tyre—exemplar of prosperity</i>	<i>Hos. 9.13 Ephraim—as I saw—like-Tyre planted in a pasture;</i>
<i>Grapevine—exemplar of prosperity</i>	<i>Hos. 10.1 A vine spreading (was) Israel</i>
<i>Mist, dew, chaff, smoke—exemplars of transience</i>	<i>Hos. 13.3 Therefore they-will.be like-mists-of morning, and-like-the-dew starting-early going-away, like-chaff is-blown from-threshing-floor, and-like-smoke from-(a)vent</i>

Strauss and Quinn include the notions of cultural models and themes as elements of culture. Recall that a **cultural model** is the application of a cultural schema or of a complex of schemas to a particular area of life. Following are cultural models that we have identified in Hosea.

<b>BH Cultural and Religious Models</b>	
<i>Model of transitoriness and permanence</i> <b>Based on the cultural schemas of the wind blowing something away</b>	<i>Hosea 8.7–10 For wind they-sow and-storm they-reap</i> <i>Hos. 9.11 Ephraim (is) like-the-bird; will.fly.away their-glory</i>
<i>Model of reaping and sowing as applied to living a certain morality and experiencing its consequences</i> <b>Based on the cultural schema of cause and effect</b>	<i>Hos. 8.7–10 For wind they-sow and-storm they-reap</i>
<i>Model of the marriage of the land to its deity (with entailments of offspring and adultery)</i> <b>Based on the cultural schema of marriage</b>	<i>Hos. 2.4 AccuseP against-yourP-mother, accuse.</i> <i>Hos. 8.9–10 For they go.up (to) Assyria, a wild.ass isolated by-himself. Ephraim—they-have.paid gifts.of.love....</i>
<i>Model of YHWH as father</i> <b>Based on the cultural schema of fatherhood</b>	<i>Hos. 11.1–4 When child Israel (was), I-loved-him, and-out.of-Egypt I-called my-son....</i>
<i>Model of YHWH as lion (from model of king as lion)</i> <b>Based on the cultural schema of lions and their behaviour</b>	<i>Hos. 11.10 like-(a)-lion he-will-roar;</i> <i>Hos. 13.7–8 and-I-will.be to-them like-lion;</i>
<i>Model of YHWH as shepherd (from model of king as shepherd)</i>	<i>Hos. 11.10 After YHWH they-will.go;</i>

<b>Based on the cultural schema of shepherding</b>	
<i>Model of YHWH as evergreen tree (from model of king as evergreen tree)</i>	<i>Hos. 14. 6 I (am) like-juniper luxuriant</i>
<b>Based on the cultural schema of evergreen trees</b>	
<i>Model of king as the sun</i>	<i>Hos. 6.3 as-dawn being-sure (so is) his-going-forth;</i>
<b>Based on the cultural schema of the sun</b>	
<i>Model of the king as rain</i>	<i>Hos. 6.3 and-he-will.come as-the-rain to-us, and-as-spring.rains water ground</i>
<b>Based on the cultural schema of the rain</b>	

For Strauss and Quinn, a **cultural theme** is the widespread, multiple application of a cultural schema across various semantic and cultural domains. Following are some cultural and religious themes identified in Hosea.

<b>BH Cultural and Religious Themes</b>	
<i>Return of chaos: floods of water, wild plant life, collapse of mountains</i>	<i>Hos. 4.3 Therefore shall.dry.up the-land, and withered every inhabitant in-her. With-beast(s)-of-the-field and-with-bird(s)-of-the-skies; and-even fish(es)-of-the-sea they-shall.be.swept.away.</i>  <i>Hos. 10.7–8 Samaria—her king shall be cut off like a chip on the face of the water...thorn and-thistle shall-grow-up on their-altars, and-they-shall-say to-the-mountains, cover-us, and-to-the-hills, fall on-us.</i>
<i>Result of Yahwistic covenant-breaking applied to various contexts</i>	<i>Hos. 13.7–8</i>
<i>Prohibition against mixing types applied to various contexts (e.g., as implied in the conceptual blending of ass with human, relating to Ephraim)</i>	<i>Hos. 8.9 For they go up to Assyria, a wild ass that keeps to itself. Ephraim has hired lovers.</i>
<i>Right of the priests to eat from the people's sacrifices applied to the notion of the priesthood profiting from the people's sins.</i>	<i>Hos. 4.8 Sin-of my-people they-eat</i>

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