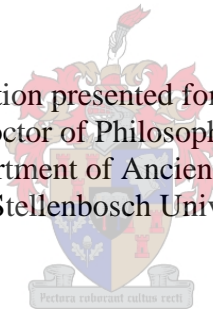


Some Lexemes Associated with the Concept of JOY in Biblical Hebrew: A Cognitive Linguistic Investigation

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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 at any university for a degree.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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Abstrak

Teorieë van leksikale semantiek het deur die eeue ‘n evolusionêre proses deurloop. Geeraerts (2010) het hierdie ontwikkeling vanaf die histories-filologiese era (ongeveer 1880) tot vroeg in die 21ste eeu nagespoor. Huidiglik kan leksikale studies in twee kampe verdeel word, en geleerdes bevind hulle tipies op ‘n kontinuum tussen ‘n minimalistiese en maksimalistiese posisie. Eersgenoemde maak ‘n duidelike onderskeid tussen linguistiek en pragmatiek en religeer woordbetekenis tot pragmatiek en onderskei kennis van ‘n woord van kennis van die wêreld. Laasgenoemde argumenteer dat daar geen onderskeid gemaak kan word tussen leksikale betekenis en kontekstuele betekenis nie (woordkennis en kennis van die wêreld).

Hierdie studie berus op insigte van die maksimalistiese perspektief. Tweedens, dit stel voor dat dit nodig is om semantiese studies te benader met ‘n meervoudig saamgestelde benadering. So ‘n benadering neem in ag die raamwerk (“frame”), konseptuele metafoor en metonomie, prototipe, “Idealized Cognitive Models”, grammatika en figuurlike gebruike van taal (insluitend nie-verbale uitdrukkings en simboliese gebare) sodat by ‘n deeglike verstaan van die konsep wat ‘n woord of uitdrukking simboliseer, gekom kan word. Derdens, al die gebruike van ‘n woord of uitdrukking wat in ‘n korpus voorkom, word ontleed om te bepaal of ‘n polisemiese verband gepostuleer kan word tussen die uitdrukkings soos dit gebruik word.

Ten slotte, die konteks van hierdie studie is Bybelvertaling. Een vraag wat konsekwent in die ondersoek gevra is, is welke informasie wat verkry is deur die meervoudig saamgestelde benadering kan op ‘n gepaste manier aangebied word in ‘n tweetalige leksikon wat rus op ‘n raamwerkmodel (“frame model”).

Die resultate van die navorsing waarin die eklektiese model gebruik is, het tot ‘n breë verstaan van die konseptualisering van VREUGDE in Bybelse Hebreeus gelei. Daar is vasgestel dat die emosie VREUGDE in Bybelse Hebreeus ooreenstem met die vyf-fase GEBEURTENIS-STRUKTUUR metafoor wat deur Kövecses (2010) voorgestel is vir emosies in Engels.

Tweedens, die ondersoek was in staat om die kern-eienskappe van vreugde te verifieer—wil, begeerte, determinasie and satisfaksie—asook om aan te dui hoe verskillende konstruerende (“construal”) operasies aspekte van die betekenispotensiaal in spesifieke raamwerke aktiveer. Derdens, die verskille en die ooreenkomste van elke spesifieke lekseem wat na vreugde verwys, is vasgestel en beskryf. Vierdens is daar gedemonstreer hoe inligting wat ter sake is vir vertalers, beskryf kan word.

Abstract

Theories of lexical semantics have undergone an evolutionary development for centuries. Geeraerts (2010) has traced their development from the historical-philological era (circa 1880) until the early 21st century. The current situation finds two basic approaches to lexical studies, with scholars positioned on a continuum from a minimalist position to a maximalist position. The former makes a demarcation between linguistics and pragmatics, relegating word meaning to pragmatics and a separation of word knowledge from world knowledge. The latter argues that there can be no separation made between lexical meaning and contextual meaning (word knowledge and world knowledge).

The study is based on insights from the maximalist perspective. Second, it proposes that it is necessary to approach semantical studies with a composite approach taking into consideration frames, conceptual metaphor and metonymy, prototype, Idealized Cognitive Models, grammar and figurative uses of language (including non-verbal expressions and symbolic gestures) in order to have a full understanding of the concept a word or expression symbolizes. Third, all of the occurrences of a word or expression that appear in a corpus are analyzed in order to determine a possible range of polysemy as it is expressed in actual language usage.

Finally, the context of the research is Bible Translation. One question asked in the investigation is, what information gleaned from the composite model can be appropriately presented in a specialist bilingual lexicon based on a frame model?

The results of the research using the eclectic model provided a very broad understanding of some of the lexemes associated with JOY in biblical Hebrew. It was determined that these lexemes were associated with a concept of JOY that was very similar to the five-stage EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor proposed by Kövecses (2010) for emotions in English. Second, the investigation was able to verify the core features of JOY—volition, desire, determination and satisfaction—and to indicate how different construal operations activated specific features of the meaning potential in each linguistic frame. Third, the differences and similarities of each of the specific lexemes that were studied were determined and described. Fourth, it was demonstrated how the appropriate information needed by translators could be described and suggested for entry into a bilingual (biblical Hebrew-English) lexicon designed specifically for Bible Translators.

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הַתְהַלְלוּ בַּשֵּׁם קְדוֹשׁוֹ יְשׁוּמַח לֵב מִבְּקוֹשֵׁי הַהוֹדָה:

Boast about his holy name!

Let the hearts of those who seek the LORD rejoice!

(1 Chronicles 16:10—NET)

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Abbreviations

Reference Works and Bibles

BDB	<i>Brown-Driver-Briggs</i>
BHRG	<i>Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar</i>
CAL-Trg	<i>Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon-Targum</i>
CEV	<i>Contemporary English Version</i>
HALOT	<i>Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>
GHCLOT	<i>Gesenius Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the old Testament</i>
LGEIS	<i>Lexham Greek-English Interlinear Septuagint</i>
LHEIB	<i>Lexham Hebrew-English Interlinear Bible</i>
LXX	<i>Septuagint</i>
NET	<i>The NET Bible First Edition; Bible</i>
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>
RSV	<i>The Revised Standard Version</i>
SDBH	<i>Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew</i>
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
TEV	<i>Today's English Version</i>
TLOT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
TWOT	<i>The Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament</i>
WBC	<i>Word Bible Commentary</i>

General Notations

BH	Biblical Hebrew
BH-ENG	Biblical Hebrew-English
K-Q	Ketiv-Qere
MT	Masoretic Text
n	Note
Trg	Targum
v	verse
vv	verses

Grammatical Abbreviations

adj	adjective
adv	adverb
cnj	conjunction
[LOC]	Locative
n	noun
nf	noun, feminine
nm	noun, masculine
NP	Noun Phrase
obj	Object
REL	relative
su	subject
vb	verb

Books of the Bible

Gen	Genesis	Song	Song of Songs
Exod	Exodus	Isa	Isaiah
Lev	Leviticus	Jer	Jeremiah
Num	Numbers	Lam	Lamentations
Deut	Deuteronomy	Ezek	Ezekiel
Josh	Joshua	Dan	Daniel
Judg	Judges	Hos	Hosea
Ruth	Ruth	Joel	Joel
1 Sam	1 Samuel	Amos	Amos
2 Sam	2 Samuel	Obad	Obadiah
1 Kgs	1 Kings	Jonah	Jonah
2 Kgs	2 Kings	Mic	Micah
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Nah	Nahum
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Hab	Habakkuk
Ezra	Ezra	Zeph	Zephaniah
Neh	Nehemiah	Hag	Haggai
Esth	Esther	Zech	Zechariah
Job	Job	Mal	Malachi
Ps	Psalms		
Prov	Proverbs		
Eccl	Ecclesiastes		

Chapter 1

General Introduction to the Study

1.0 Problem statement and focus

The focus of the research is on lexical semantics: the meaning of the words usually listed in the lexicon of a language. The central questions considered in the investigation are, first, what is meant by *word meaning*? Second, what approach, models and tools can help in investigating, determining and describing the meaning of a word? Third, are current approaches to semantical studies viable for the analysis and understanding of languages that are no longer in usage by speakers, for example, biblical Hebrew (=BH)? The last question is motivated by the specific context in which the study is made—Bible translation.

Researchers in lexical semantics are conscious of the fact that words can have different meanings in different contexts; words can be polysemous. The problem is to know how to determine the specific meaning of each word in each of its occurrences in particular situations? What, if anything, signals a change in the meaning of a word when it is used in different contexts?

Bible translators often encounter words in two or three (or more) linguistic expressions in the source language that potentially have different meanings in each expression. The receptor language might have one word which can be used for all of the source language meanings or, possibly, several words for each of the different meanings. They usually access a bilingual biblical Hebrew-English (=BH-ENG) lexicon to find the possible translation equivalence meanings and a suggested translation gloss. But they do not always discover the information that they need.

An example is provided by the word שָׂמַח, one of the target words in the study. It is glossed in BH-ENG lexicons as “rejoice”: *Hebrew-Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (=HALOT) (1999: 1314) *to rejoice*; *Gesenius’ Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament* (=GHCLOT) (2003: 787) *to rejoice, to be glad*; and *rejoice or exult* (Brown Driver and Briggs (=BDB) 1907: 965). But, as the following citations illustrate, it can potentially be translated as “gloat” or “be happy.”

(1) 2 Kgs 11:20 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמַח כָּל-עַם-הָאָרֶץ וְהָעִיר וָשָׁקֶטָה וְאֶת-עֵת-לְקִיּוֹהוּ הִמְיָתוּ בְּהָרֹב בַּיִת מְלֶכֶךְ:

...and all the people of the land rejoiced. And the city was quiet, because Athaliah had been slain with the sword at the palace.

(2) Ps 35:19 (NIV)

אַל־ישְׂמְחוּ־לִי אֹיְבֵי יַעֲקֹב שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר חַנּוּם יִקְרָצוּ־עֵינָיו:

Let not those gloat over me
 who are my enemies without cause;
 let not those who hate me without reason
 maliciously wink the eye.

(3) 1 Chr 29:9 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ הָעָם עַל־הַתְּנַדָּבָם בְּיַד בְּלָב שָׁלֹם הַתְּנַדְּבוּ לַיהוָה וְגַם דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ שָׂמַח שִׂמְחָה גְדוֹלָה:

The people had given willingly to the LORD, and they were happy that so much had been given. King David also was extremely happy.

The same verb שָׂמַח (*Qal*) is used in all three citations, yet NIV has translated it as “rejoice,” “gloat” and “happy” and “extremely happy,” respectively. How does a translator determine the meaning of a lexeme in each particular situation? How does the translator decide what the possible differences are in the meaning which is expressed in each usage of שָׂמַח? That is, what is the difference between “gloat” and “rejoice”?

The BH-ENG lexicons do not always provide the information needed. For example, in GHCLLOT (2003: 791), the entry for שָׂמַח notes that when שָׂמַח is followed by the preposition לְ it denotes “to rejoice at another’s misfortune, or destruction.” The NIV translation of שָׂמַח as “gloat” in example (2) is in line with the pejorative meaning when followed by לְ.¹

But the lexicon does not indicate that it is not the preposition לְ itself that denotes the pejorative. Research indicates that the pejorative construal occurs when the preposition לְ following שָׂמַח is affixed with a pronominal suffix referring to someone who has suffered for some reason at the hands or plans of the ones rejoicing (cf. examples (84) and (85) for a detailed analysis of the לְ [PEJORATIVE]). The pejorative meaning is part of the encyclopedic perspective of the linguistic expression and can occur even without the use of the preposition לְ (e.g., Job 31:29, which has a prepositional phrase headed by אֶּ instead of לְ, and Ps 35:15, which is not followed by a prepositional phrase). Without the full encyclopedic information associated with it, the description of the linguistic information is shallow, and without the encyclopedic information, the translator might not recognize pejorative construals that occur without the prepositional phrase.

The proposed solution to the problem is to develop a lexical semantic model that recognizes the role of world knowledge, linguistic information and language usage in the construction of meaning. Lexical studies (and informed translators) can then, potentially,

¹ The same pejorative לְ is used with words like *to laugh at/scorn* שָׂחַק and *to mock* לָעַג (e.g., Ps 59:9 [8]) and *to scorn* הָרַפָּה (e.g., Dan 11:18).

discern and describe the conceptual understanding associated with a word and determine its interpretive meaning in each specific context. The information is then available to be entered into lexical resources developed specifically for Bible translators.

1.1 Preliminary study

The background study of the historical development of lexical semantics is based predominantly on Geeraerts (2010). He indicates that the questions about word meaning are not new. They have been asked repeatedly in philosophy and linguistics for centuries.² Proposals have been made, refined and theories formulated, each extending or modifying the theories which preceded it. The development of lexical semantic theories has resulted in, broadly speaking, two basic approaches to the study of language and meaning in the early part of the 21st century. Geeraerts (2010: 117) describes the two approaches as a continuum between a minimalist and a maximalist perspective:

...a maximalist approach to semantic description abandons the idea of achieving some form of autonomous semantics and aims for a type of meaning description that radically embraces the idea that there are close and inseparable ties between ‘word knowledge’ and ‘world knowledge’. This trend is most clearly embodied in the cognitive semantics movement.... More restrictive approaches, conversely, do try to create a space for encyclopedic knowledge and cognition at large in their overall model, but at the same time maintain the idea of a specifically, linguistic, semantic level of representation.

These approaches are not random and unprecedented developments, but are a result of a historical evolution that has a very specific logic (Geeraerts 2010: xvii).³

According to Geeraerts (2010:42), it began with the historical-philological era of the late 19th century. Historical-philological investigation focused on diachronic change and metaphors and held the assumption that language has a psychological (cognitive) component. The interest in the cognitive understanding of language raises the question of how to describe (define) a word: how much of the information associated with a word is to be included in its definition?

² Geeraerts (2010: 2) points back to the *Cratylus* dialogues (circa 399 B.C.E.).

³ Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 75-78) use the label First Generation to refer to the scholars whom Geeraerts groups as generativist and neostructuralist or minimalist. They place the scholars Geeraerts refers to as cognitive semanticists or maximalist in a group called the Second Generation of cognitive science. It is stressed that the groupings are made according to criteria suggested by Lakoff and Johnson (1999) and Geeraerts (2010) and not by the individual scholars so grouped. For example, Jackendoff (2002) considers his approach as being from a generativist perspective, whereas Geeraerts (2010: 138) groups Jackendoff with the neostructuralist. The terms minimalist and maximalist as opposite ends of a continuum are used in the study to avoid creating “arbitrary” groups of scholars.

In the early 20th century, the historical-philological approach was rejected by structuralist linguists who reacted against the cognitive element of language. They proposed that any study of the psychological domain of language was incorrect, in that it prevented the view of language as a symbolic system (Geeraerts 2010: 47). Structuralist linguistics focused on synchronic analysis, the rules of language and the relation between words (Geeraerts 2010: 49).

Two cardinal notions of the structuralist perspective come from Saussure's (1916) comparison of language with a game of chess. First, the moves which a chess piece makes cannot be determined by looking at the form of the piece, but by knowing the rules of chess. These rules are not decided upon by the immediate players of a game but are passed down from generation to generation as a conventional set. The essence of the game is the rules. Likewise, linguists, according to Saussurean linguistics, are to describe a language as a symbolic system and only need to study the rules. Linguistics is, therefore, an independent discipline that develops its own methodologies (Geeraerts 2010: 48).

The second basic notion of Saussurean linguistics taken from a chess game refers to the relation between the pieces used in the game. A chess piece is only understood by its relation to other pieces used in the game. In a similar way, because words are considered to be signs within a system, they can only be described in relation to other words in the same system. Within structuralist linguistics there were three basic extensions that advanced and expanded on the basic ideas.

First, lexical field theory developed further the proposal that words are to be studied only in relation to other words in the system. They are to be investigated and described in relation to semantically similar words. Collections of sense-related words that reciprocally define each other are known as *fields*. The assumption of lexical field theory is that language divides knowledge into small, adjoining fields like a mosaic comprised of contiguous mosaic stones (Geeraerts 2010: 54).

Next was the development of componential analysis. It continues the structuralist focus on relation of words. Meaning is based on semantic components (the decomposition of words into discreet elements). The components can be analyzed and described in binary complementaries, e.g., *stallion* [+ MALE] and *mare* [-MALE] (Geeraerts 2010: 70ff).

The third development within structuralist linguistics is relational semantics. Lyon (1963) expanded on the notion of relations between words. He proposed that a word's meaning "could be defined as the total set of meaning relations in which it participates"

(Geeraerts 2010: 80). Whereas earlier structuralist semantics had focused on words in opposition (antonyms), Lyons included synonymous word relations.

Lyons made a distinction between the *meaning* of word and its *sense*. Meaning belongs to the reference or encyclopedic level, whereas sense refers to the context-independent aspects of meaning. In other words, he made the distinction between semantics (context-independent meaning) and pragmatics (context-dependent meaning) (Geeraerts 2010: 81).

The next stage of development came in the mid-20th century with generativist semantics. It maintains a close association with structuralist semantics and componential analysis but reintroduces the psychological domain into description of word meaning. There is also an attempt to incorporate word meaning into a formal grammar (Geeraerts 2010: 117). These proposals generated many debates which have resulted in the two basic approaches found in the current literature. The minimalist position, which Geeraerts (2010) labels as neostructuralist semantics, maintains a close relation with structuralist linguistics, studying language as an individual module but adding a second model or stage of analysis which includes the encyclopedic information (Geeraerts 2010: 124).

The maximalist point of view is associated with cognitive semantics. It returns to some of the basic agenda of the historical-philological approach and expands on it. There is some attention paid to diachronic change. It is a usage-based approach (how the users actually use the language) and takes into account context and cognition. Cognitive semantics places a focus on the study of and analysis of metaphor and metonymy (Geeraerts 2010: 182ff).

Geeraerts (2010: 284, italics in the original) describes this history of lexical semantics as a “cyclic theoretical movement of *decontextualization and recontextualization*, and a linear movement of *descriptive expansion* to which each of the major traditions has made its own substantial contribution.” By decontextualization, Geeraerts is referring to the structuralist semantic attempts to separate the study of language from any psychological component; language is studied as an independent module. The expansion of description refers to the question raised by the historical-philological era namely, how much of the information associated with a word is included in its description? There is a general trend over the course of history to expand the amount of information about a word that is entered into lexicons. Neostructuralist often begin with the structuralist approach and then add a second model for

including the encyclopedic information.⁴ The attempts at recontextualization are seen in cognitive semantics efforts to study language usage within context postulating that there is no division between linguistics and pragmatics.

Recent lexical studies in BH reveal the minimalist-maximalist continuum. Van Steenberghe studied negative moral behavior in Isaiah (2002: 218-20) using componential analysis, but incorporates ideas from cognitive semantics such as prototypicality and graded components of meaning. He then includes a model for world view analysis. Zanella (2010) studied the concept of GIFT in BH using a componential analysis approach to BH lexical studies, although with elaboration on earlier forms of componential analysis. On the other hand, a cognitive semantic approach to lexical studies of BH words and concepts has been used by the following authors: Kruger (2001) studied the concept of FEAR; Kotzé (2003) studied ANGER; Van Hecke (2003) made a diachronic study of *r^{ch}* (*shepherd*); Van Hecke and Labahn (2010) provided numerous studies of BH metaphor; Van der Merwe (2006) explored the meaning of STRENGTH ; and Van Wolde (2008) investigated the notion of sentiments as “culturally constructed emotions,” focusing on ANGER and LOVE. The listed studies are only a small sampling of the research done by these scholars and others, but they indicate the growing tendency for applying insights from cognitive linguistics to BH lexical investigations.

On a broader scale, the conflicting approaches to the study of language and meaning have had their effect on the overall approaches to Bible translation. De Vries (2007: 277) writes:

The history of translation has not yet yielded a scientific theory of translation, in the sense of a single, unified, coherent, testable set of hypotheses concerning translations or translating. In the absence of a generally accepted theory of language and a general theory of communication through language, the absence of a general theory of translation is not surprising.

There is no complete agreement among the various approaches to Bible translation on the central issues of theories of language and theories of communication.

A comparison of three of the primary resources for training translators reveals the disunity in translation. One approach is Nida and Taber’s (1969) theory of translation, used by such authors as Barnwell (1986) for teaching Bible translation principles. It has a strong componential analysis approach. Barnwell (1986) writes, “A word is defined by stating the different parts of its meaning in this way. A dictionary definition of a word is a statement of

⁴ Geeraerts (2010: 137-146) provides a detailed discussion of different models using the two-level (linguistic and pragmatic) approaches.

the different parts of meaning of that word. The technical name for the parts of meaning is ‘components of meaning’.⁵ Although the handbook provides numerous warnings about using the correct sense of a word for each different context, word meaning tends to be relegated to components.

The second set of Bible translation principles is Gutt’s (1991) notion, known as relevance theory, and is used, for example, in Hill (2006) and Hill et al (2011). The Bible translation principles of relevance theory are based on the *cognitive pragmatic* approach to communication developed by Sperber and Wilson (1986 and 1987) and suggested for use in Bible translation by Gutt (1991: 21-24).⁶ The lexical semantic approach used in relevance theory is similar to a minimalist point of view. It assumes that language is an independent module.⁷

The third approach to Bible translation centers on the *cognitive semantic* approach to understanding meaning and has been used by Wilt (2003), Wilt and Wendland (2008) and Wendland (2008). For example, Wilt (2003: 43) writes that in the model there are “four sets of frames influencing communicative exchanges: socio-cultural frames, organizational frames, the communication-situation frame and textual frames. To study interpretive processes, we may also use the notion of cognitive frames.” The model uses the idea of cognitive frames based on Barsalou’s (1992) notion of frames as the cognitive structures used to understand and interpret contextualized information being processed in an immediate situation (Wilt 2003: 43-44).

In summary, three of the basic guides to Bible translation are based on three different approaches to lexical semantics and communication. It is *hypothesized* in the research that adequate and acceptable principles for Bible translation are built upon an adequate model for communication. A suitable model of communication would typically be founded on a theory of language that provides, in part, a verifiable understanding of word meaning and the relation of word meaning to sentential meaning. A starting point for developing a potentially acceptable set of Bible translation models is to find a suitable approach to lexical studies. There are other factors, such as a commonly agreed upon and acceptable understanding of the

⁵ The author is using an electronic version from Translators Workplace which does not have page references (cf. Bibliography). The quote comes from chapter 8.3.

⁶ The study does not allocate space to the details of relevance theory as a cognitive pragmatic approach to understanding meaning. Some reference works to relevance theory are the following: Blakemore (2002), Carston (2002) and Vega Morena (2007). In regard specifically to Gutt’s proposal see Pattmore (2007: 251-63).

⁷ Carston (2002: 1-12) provides a concise introduction to relevance theory. The argument of relevance theory for the need of viewing language as an independent module is given by Carston (2002: 44) and relevance theory’s view of lexical semantics is explicated in Carston (2002: 322ff).

concept of (BIBLE) TRANSLATION and COMMUNICATION MODELS. But the assumption is that at the heart of the question of the meaning of (BIBLE) TRANSLATION and COMMUNICATION MODELS is the issue of lexical semantics.

This short survey of the preliminary research leads back to the questions raised in the opening paragraph of the study. What approach, models and tools can help in investigating, determining and describing the meaning of a word or phrase that can be applied to the study of BH and provide the appropriate lexical information for a Bible translator: minimalist or maximalist? What is the way forward?

1.2 A way forward in lexical semantic studies

Geeraerts (2010: 284) comments that both traditions (neostructuralist and cognitive semantics) have yet to fulfill their agenda. There is still a need to bring about, in cognitive semantics, the endeavor of recontextualization. More work is needed in usage-based onomasiology (starting from the concept and investigating how it can be expressed or named). Geeraerts raises the possibility of the two traditions converging. He proposes that this might occur between cognitive semantics and distributional corpus analysis, with the latter being primarily a structuralist enterprise which examines the syntagmatic environments in which a word appears (Geeraerts 2010: 165).

Geeraerts (2010: 285) provides three basic reasons for proposing the joining of semantics and the distributional approach. First, both cognitive semantics and distributional corpus studies are overtly usage-based. Second, the distributional approach is on the periphery of structuralist model and the most contextual approach in neostructuralist semantics. Therefore, it is congenial with the contextualizing agenda of cognitive semantics. Finally, the distributional approach provides the quantitative perspective needed in cognitive semantics in order to fully describe the matters of interest in cognitive semantics. His proposal is promising, but restrictions on its use in the study are addressed in §1.5.

1.3 The case study: the specific lexemes investigated

In order to test the notions presented by a cognitive semantic approach to the analysis of words, a case study was set up. A preliminary study was made of lexica, exegetical tools, word studies and texts. From the data recorded, three sets of lexemes were made. The first group, Set 1, is comprised of lexemes that ostensibly denote JOY in BH (the rationale for choosing these lexemes is given in §1.8).

Table 1.1 Some emotion words denoting JOY in the Hebrew Bible

1. שמחה, שמחה, שמחה	4. גיל, גיל, גיל, גיל/גיל
2. חֶדְוָה, חֶדְוָה	5. עֵלֶז, עֵלֶז/עֵלֶז, עֵלֶז
3. משׁוֹשׁ, שׁוֹשׁ, שׁוֹשׁ, שׁוֹשׁ	

These words can be grouped together. They can be used interchangeably in the same or similar frames (cf. Principle 9 in §2.5.3 and Table 4.1 in §4.7). Second, they often occur in bicolon parallelism as near-synonymous terms (cf. Table 4.5 in §4.14.4). They are all structured by the same EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR (§2.8.1.1, §3.10.1 and §4.14.2) and aspects of meaning potential (§2.2 and §4.14.3) associated with JOY in BH. Lexical references—theological lexicons, bilingual (Biblical Hebrew-English, henceforth BH-ENG), and word studies—group them together and gloss them accordingly.

Further reading of the literature indicated the significance of studying figurative language such as metonyms, non-verbal communication (e.g., facial expressions) and symbolic gesture (§2.8.2 and §2.8.4). A second set of words and phrases was recorded and analyzed.

Table 1.2 Some metonyms and figurative expressions associated with JOY in the Hebrew Bible

1. בלג	5. אור
2. רֵנַן / רֵנַן	6. טוב לב
3. נהר	7. שֶׁמֶן שֶׁשׁוֹן
4. מְאוֹרֵי-עֵינַיִם	8. הַלְוִיִּים/הַלֵּל

Conceptual metaphors were also discerned and described in the study. However, these are a result of the analysis, and no pre-set list was compiled. A list is presented in §4.14.4.

The third list of words is comprised of other possible examples of metonymy and lexemes that appear to be similar to JOY. The list of Set 3 words is presented in the section on further studies (§5.3). Words or expressions from Set 3 might be moved to Set 1 or 2, and other words might be added depending on the results of a follow-up study of BH categorization of EMOTION, ATTITUDE and FEELING (and possibly other) concepts.

1.4 Goal and aims of the study

The goal of the investigation is to demonstrate the value of placing together several insights of cognitive semantics in order to develop a semantic model for determining and providing the appropriate information needed by a Bible translator to interpret and understand a word or phrase in each of its specific occurrences. The proposal is not to do an exhaustive

and conclusive study of JOY and all of its lexemes. It is a first step in validating, modifying or rejecting the various models, tools and notions used in the research as a basis for doing a broader, more definitive study.

The expected results of the analysis are, first, to show how the model can be used to determine and describe the cognitive understanding of concepts that are symbolized by words, and second, to demonstrate how the model is used to determine the meaning of words as they are used in specific linguistic expressions. Third, is to suggest information that can be included in a BH-ENG lexicon designed for the benefit of Bible translators.

Aim 1: Provide a model for doing the analysis.

Aim 2: To illustrate the model by providing the results of a preliminary analysis of some of the words associated with JOY and its expression in BH, including lexical units that ostensibly denote JOY, as well as figurative expressions, conceptual metaphors and metonymies that communicate JOY in BH.

A number of scholars have discussed some of the core models that are employed in the research. Kotzé (2004) applied concepts from Kövecses' (1990 and 2002) and Kövecses and Palmer's (1999) work on conceptual metaphor and emotion. Van der Merwe (2006) explored Allwood's (2003) idea of *meaning potential* in his study of BH words that denote STRENGTH. Shead (2007), in his work on radical construction grammar and the analysis of BH terms, employed some of the notions of the dynamic construal approach as proposed by Cruse (2004). But, as Shead (2007: 324) acknowledges, not all models are suited for all concepts, and, therefore, the ideal model is one that "will undoubtedly marry a range of techniques in an innovative fashion." This sentiment is carried over in the investigation.

1.5 Restrictions and parameters of the research

Cognitive semantics has a broad agenda which includes such features as etymology, diachronic change, metaphor and metonymy, conceptualization and categorization. In §1.2, it is mentioned that Geeraerts (2010: 285) suggests that the way forward in lexical studies includes adding a corpus distributional analysis with the cognitive semantic approach. An ideal lexical study would include all of these notions, but not all of them were included for several reasons.

First, a study of categorization would require a sampling of a large number of lexemes from the domain matrix as well as closely related categories to determine (possible) category boundaries. The sheer volume of such a study puts it outside the scope of the present

investigation (cf. Set 3 words and further studies in §5.3). Second, the initial study of lexemes associated with JOY indicated that there is little verifiable data concerning etymologies and dating of texts. For example, Barth (1975: 472), in reference to the occurrences of the verb גיל, notes that for about half of the occurrences “a preexilic date is very problematic.” But he does not count them as exilic or post-exilic as well. There is not enough verifiable data yielding significant semantic understanding of the words and, therefore, the etymological and diachronic studies are moved to independent studies beyond the scope of the present research.

Finally, corpus distributional analysis is in its early stages. Geeraerts (2010: 176) comments that “relatively little is as yet known about the semantic effects of the various distributional models.” There is a need to develop a model and verify its semantic effects. An independent study is mentioned in §5.3. However, the corpus distributional analysis interest in collocation—the co-occurrence of words or word forms in a line of text—is addressed in the present study (§4.11).

1.6 The theoretical starting points of the case study

Setting up the case study was difficult in that it raised concerns about insights from cognitive linguistics and the validity of the approach in a cross-language (biblical Hebrew-English) study. Therefore, the following assumptions are made as background to the study.

1.6.1 Language is not an autonomous module

Language is not an independent cognitive domain to be studied independent of other mental faculties. Recent research made by several sub-disciplines within the cognitive sciences concludes that the mind is highly integrated. Mithen (1999: 71) notes that although there might be evidence of separate modules during an early *developmental stage* of language learning in children, ultimately “distinct behavioral domains no longer exist” in a language user. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 6) state that, “there is no Chomskyan person, for whom language is pure syntax, pure form insulated from and independent of all meaning, context, perception, emotion, memory, attention, action and the dynamic nature of communication.” Similar conclusions are made by Rohrer (2007: 30) and Croft and Cruse (2004: 1).

1.6.2 The embodiment of reason

A corollary to the first assumption is the theory that cognition is embodied. Lakoff (1990: xi) writes:

On the traditional view, reason is abstract and disembodied. On the new view, reason has a bodily basis. The traditional view sees reason as literal, as primarily about propositions that can be objectively either true or false. The new view takes

imaginative aspects of reason—metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery—as central to reason, rather than as a peripheral and inconsequential adjunct to the literal.

The foundational tenet of embodiment is that most, if not all, concepts (§2.4.1) are shaped by or at least highly constrained by the human sensorimotor system. It is this relationship of mind and body that explains why concepts have the properties that they have. The theory of embodiment is based primarily on studies made by Reiger’s Model (1995) for learning spatial-relations terms, Bailey’s Model (1997) for learning verbs of hand motion and Narayanan’s Model (1997a and 1997b) for motor schemas, linguistic aspect, and metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 40-41).

Evidence of the embodied mind is found in primary conceptual metaphors. One example of how basic conceptual metaphors suggest the embodiment of reason is exemplified in orientational metaphors that use the sensorimotor experience of spatial orientation to structure nonphysical things in terms of physical and cultural experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 14).⁸ The physical basis, in American English conceptual metaphors, of perceptual posture can be used to structure the conceptual metaphors related to emotion, as illustrated by an example adapted from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 15):

(4) HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN

HAPPY IS UP—I’m feeling *up*. That *boosted* my spirits. My spirits *rose*. You’re in *high* spirits.

SAD IS DOWN—I’m *depressed*. He’s really *low* these days. I *fell* into a depression. My spirits *sank*.

An example of the pervasiveness of metaphor in thought and language is demonstrated with Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980: 4-6) explication of the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor. Some of the American English linguistic expressions structured by the metaphor are “Your claims are *indefensible*” and “I *demolished* his arguments” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4, italics in the original). They note that “the ARGUMENT IS WAR metaphor is one that we live by in this culture; it structures the actions we perform in arguing” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:4). Americans do not merely use the terms of war in reference to arguments, but they actually, in part, conceptualize arguments as war. Further comments on the notion of embodiment and metaphor, together with critiques and weaknesses, are provided in §2.8.

How does embodiment theory fit into the study? Because of the embodiment of the

⁸ Although the primary structuring occurs because of the human experience of the world vis-à-vis a common biological sensorimotor system, the cultural specifics of how these experiences are conceptualized is taken into consideration.

mind, it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate the linguistic from the pragmatic. The view that language is an autonomous module is to disembody the mind. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 75) claim that the First Generation of cognitive scientists (§1.1, n.3) is guilty of disembodying the mind. They study the mind from a ‘functionalist’ point of view that compares the mind to a computer with the brain being the hardware and the mind being the software. The brain can operate any software, but there is no interfacing between the brain-hardware and the mind-software. It is this ‘functionalist’ view that is rejected in favor of the embodied mind.

The Second Generation of cognitive scientists modifies the brain/mind-hardware-software metaphor. There is an interfacing of mind and brain. The resultant image led to new conclusions about “meaning.” Based on studies made by Varela, et al (1991), Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 78) claim:

Its findings reveal the central role of our embodied understanding in all aspects of meaning and in the structure and content of our thought. Meaning has to do with the ways in which we function meaningfully in the world and make sense of it via bodily and imaginative structures. This stands in contrast with the first-generation view that meaning is only an abstract relation among symbols (in one view) or between symbols and states of affairs in the world (in another view), having nothing to do with how our understanding is tied to the body.

The structuralist and generativist start from the perspective of the disembodied separate the study of language (linguistics) from other domains. Their agenda is carried forth, to some extent, by neostructuralists. The disembodied mind is, to some degree, the starting point of a minimalist investigation. The maximalist point of view takes the proposal of the embodied mind as the starting point of investigation and description.

1.6.3 Universalism and relativism

Mesquita and Frijda, (1992: 198) made an in-depth review of psychological and anthropological literature and concluded, on one hand, that there are possible aspects of emotions that are universal. However, on the other hand, there are aspects of emotions that are the result of cultural differences. The position taken in the study is that the question of universalism vs. relativism is not an *either/or* question. Kövecses (2006: 332-333) coins the term *relative universality* and writes:

Speakers of different languages and members of different cultures have at their disposal a set of universal cognitive processes by means of which they make meaning.... Such processes are universally available for all human beings, but they may not put these processes to use to the same degree.... We have potential universality that is realized partially and differentially in different cultures.

Universality refers primarily to the cognitive structures and processes, which are embodied. Relativism takes into consideration the unique conceptualizations and linguistic expressions of each culture.

It is assumed in the research that not all cultures have specific concepts for all emotions. But when similar emotions are found in different cultures, the individual cultures do not necessarily categorize or conceptualize them similarly. For example, preliminary research has not revealed a category EMOTION in BH that would correspond completely with the English category EMOTION. There is no specific lexeme that can be translated as *emotion* in BH.⁹ Such a study is needed. However, some investigations have already been made in the area of emotions and sentiment in BH based on Kövecses' model, such as Kruger's (2001) investigation FEAR of in BH, Kotzé's (2003) study of ANGER and van Wolde's (2008) study of ANGER and LOVE (§2.8.3).

The case study is set up, from a heuristic point of view, with the assumption that there is a concept of JOY in BH. The hypothesis is based on the cognitive semantic idea that lexemes are not containers of objective meaning, but are associated with concepts stored in the mind (§2.2 and §2.4.1). Research has revealed a cluster of words in BH that are used similarly to English words that are associated with JOY.¹⁰ The English glosses *joy* and *rejoice* are used for these lexemes, but without stating explicitly that BH categorizes or conceptualizes them as EMOTION.¹¹

1.6.4 Context includes all usages of a word or expression

Each language community (as a corporate body) and each individual within a specific language community share a common world-view. Not all members have identical knowledge of the world-view; it depends on experience, age, education and other factors, known as frames of reference (Wilt 2003: 27-66; Croft and Cruse 2004: 96-97; Wendland 2008: 2, 110-168). But there is a basic, generally known and accessible world-view held by each language community and its individual members. Wendland (2008: 19) calls it the "ultimate 'context,' for it consists of the sum total of a society's system of presuppositions about truth, reality, and human experience as lived in a particular cultural setting." A

⁹ BART 5.3 glosses *שִׂמְחָה* as *emotion* at Ezek 27:31 and Ezek 36:5. Of the lexica, only BDB (1907: 659.1) seems to concur, but includes also glosses such as *appetite, passion, desire, person, life* and *soul* for *שִׂמְחָה*.

¹⁰ Until a full study of categorization is made, it is difficult to verify that this cluster represents all of the words for JOY in BH. Therefore, the title of the study has made the hedge that it only investigates "some" of the lexemes.

¹¹ Cf. Louw (1985) for one discussion of the pros and cons of using translation equivalents.

language community's world-view governs and guides the actions and language of the individual and community.

The word *context*, in the study, refers primarily to *situational context* (Crystal 2008). It denotes both the immediate situation in which a word or expression is used, as well as the previous uses of the word or expression and the conceptual information associated with it. The assumption is that context includes both the linguistic and world view knowledge connected with a word or expression throughout its history of usage (§2.2).

1.7 Reason for choosing frame semantics

The minimalist approaches require the development of two models—one for handling linguistic information and the other for analyzing the encyclopedic information. Then a method of integrating the two models is needed. Such a division of labor appears to be open to problems related to criteria for distinguishing linguistic knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge, as well as being a theory derivative (cf. Geeraerts 2010: 165).

In contrast, the frame semantic model is usage-based (§2.5). In a frame analysis, all of the data—encyclopedic and linguistic—are taken as “raw ingredients” of meaning (Croft and Cruse 2004: 262). In the frame, semantic roles, known as frame elements, which originate from the speaker-audience experiences and the interfacing of these frame elements with one another in specific situations or events, are linked with the components (syntactic elements) of an expression. This is known as linking semantic roles and grammatical functions. Through this method and the application of construal operations (§2.7), a frame analysis provides a way to discern and describe the referential event (frame) and describes how certain expressions and grammar are used to make salient specific and particular features of the event (Geeraerts 2010: 225). The analysis allows for the bridging between word knowledge and world knowledge that many of the neostructuralist models are unable to do without developing a separate world-view model.

The model also overcomes other weaknesses of these approaches by taking into account the actual usage of the words and expressions in all of their particular situations (usage-based). It considers all of the occurrences of a word or expression in the entire corpus (in this study, the Hebrew Bible). The expected result of a semantic analysis using the approach is an (approximate) understanding of the conceptualization an individual or community has of the world and how the concepts are accessed by words to construe and communicate specific meaning in particular situations. Other advantages of frame semantics are mentioned in §2.5.

1.8 The rationale for studying lexemes associated with JOY in biblical Hebrew

Until the late 1980's, linguistics tended not to focus on abstract concepts. There was a greater concern for less complex and more concrete concepts than for concepts such as emotions. Lakoff (1990: 380) notes in the introduction to his study on anger, "Emotions are often considered to be feelings alone, and as such they are viewed as being devoid of conceptual structure." He continues that, in contrast, "Emotions have an extremely complex conceptual structure, which gives rise to a wide variety of nontrivial inferences." The investigation of JOY in the Hebrew Bible demonstrates that it has a very complex conceptual structure that is similar to, but also different from, the English conceptualization of JOY.

Lakoff's focus is on cognition, the "mental operations and structures that are involved in language, meaning, perception, conceptual systems, and reason" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 12). The need to study the language of emotion is also important from a Bible translation point of view. As Kruger notes (2004: 213), "no culture, including that of the Old Testament, can be fully comprehended without taking cognisance of this central facet of humankind." A thorough research of the conceptualization of emotion in the Hebrew Bible provides a fuller understanding of the people and grants access to their experience of themselves as individuals and as a community in the world.

The lexemes associated with JOY have not been studied as extensively as have the so-called negative concepts—FEAR, ANGER, SORROW (Kruger 2004: 228). A concentration on the negative emotions only provides a glimpse into the whole experience of the individual and community in the world. How did the people experience and express joy in their day-to-day living? Much has been written on God's anger, but what did speakers of BH mean when they talked about God's rejoicing?

Another weakness of previous studies on emotions in the Hebrew Bible is that they tended to be theologically motivated. In his study of ANGER in the Hebrew Bible, Kotzé (2003: 31) remarks that the theological perspective "inevitably results in a biased understanding of the nature and conception of anger..... Such an account of ire conceals its nature as a human phenomenon with physical and cognitive concomitants." The investigation into the concept of JOY is based on the notion that the understanding of JOY, and all other lexical units denoting concepts in the domain of emotion, begins from the anthropological point of view, not the theological.

In order to understand and to translate the Bible, a study of its language of emotions is vital for a complete understanding of the meaning. Much that was written in scripture was intended to elicit an emotional response that was intended to lead to a behavioral response. In order for translators to communicate the same (or approximate) emotional response and the intended behavioral response, an understanding of the emotion language and conceptualization of emotion in the Hebrew Bible is beneficial for a more three-dimensional translation of the texts.

The study is only exploratory and is aimed at taking the initial steps in a fuller understanding of the concept of JOY in BH and its lexicalization. It is also a test of the validity of using a range of insights from cognitive linguistics in the study of BH lexemes and concepts. It follows up on what others have done in the area of lexical studies in BH using insights from cognitive linguistics and to explore ways of expanding the cognitive understanding of the world and the experience of being in the world that is expressed in the Hebrew Bible.

1.9 Methodology and outline

In the study, a model for doing a lexical semantic analysis of BH lexemes is suggested and demonstrated. It is based on a number of insights from cognitive semantics, some of which have been used in previous studies on different lexemes found in BH other than those investigated in the research. Therefore, prior to demonstrating the model used in the study, a survey of some of the basic notions, models and tools suggested by cognitive semantics is made and a few examples of how they have been used in BH lexical studies provided. Chapter 2 provides the background study on which the model is developed.

The next step is to demonstrate the model used in the investigation. This is done in chapter 3, which is a pilot study based on research regarding the BH root שמ and its derivatives. It is divided into two main sections. The first section records all of the frames (contexts) in which the lexeme שמ and its derivatives occur in the Hebrew Bible. The second section demonstrates how the various tools are used to make a construal analysis of the lexemes in each of the frames in order to describe their determinate meaning in each particular context. It also exemplifies how the analysis provides insight into the cognitive understanding of the concept associated with the lexeme.

In order to demonstrate how the approach and model can be used to do a broader lexical analysis of related lexemes and to provide a richer understanding of related concepts, chapter 4 investigates several other lexemes associated with JOY in BH (i.e., the remaining

words of Set 1 and all of the words in Set 2 listed in §1.3). The hypothesis is that by integrating the data regarding the lexemes that are investigated, a possible prototypical scenario or Idealized Cognitive Model (§2.4.4) and the relationship between specific lexemes can be described. Second, by grouping all of the occurrences of the various lexemes in their various frames, a determinate meaning for the words and expressions for each frame and a possible range of meaning potential can be described. Some suggestions on how the information can be entered into a lexicon designed specifically for Bible translators are presented in the conclusion of chapter 4.

The study is only an exploratory first step in doing lexical semantics in the context of Bible translation. Therefore, chapter 5 points out the advantages and, perhaps, weaknesses of the study. Finally, proposals on how to expand the study are suggested. The suggestions for further study proposes how notions and tools from cognitive semantics can be used to expand the semantical analysis of BH words and expressions, taking into consideration the importance of etymology, diachronic studies, metaphors, metonymies, non-verbal communication, categorization and frames. Second, the proposals suggest how lexical semantic studies and communication models can be used to interpret larger chunks of material (utterance and discourse interpretation).

1.10 Explanation of translations and citation examples

A final note of explanation regarding biblical citations is added here. Hebrew citations are from *The Lexham Hebrew-English Interlinear Bible* (=LHEIB). A few are from BART 5.3 and are specifically marked accordingly. The study follows the Hebrew versification. Where there is a difference in the English, the English verse is placed in square brackets (e.g., Isa 9:16 [17]). Although NIV is used predominantly for the English translations, other English versions (e.g., RSV, NET, etc.) are used and even some of the author's own personal suggestions and translations from a few commentaries. After the citation reference a notation is made in parentheses of the English translation (e.g., (personal) or (NIV) or (NET), etc.). A table of abbreviations is provided in the fore matter.

Chapter 2

Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to Semantic Studies: Notions, Assumptions and Models

2.0 Introductory remarks

In order to investigate word meaning, it is necessary to understand what is meant by *word* and what is denoted by *meaning* of a word. The answer to the first question has fairly wide agreement among both minimalist and maximalist researchers. The second question poses the problem addressed by many scholars in the field of linguistics, whether of the minimalist or maximalist perspective.

2.1 What is a word?

Traditionally, a word was considered to be a single, morphological unit. Recent studies in cognitive semantics, especially the study of idioms, propose that even phrases, clauses or whole sentences can be considered (Frawley 2002: 228-229; Croft and Cruse 2004: 236). The focus is on *singularity of meaning*. For example, the Hebrew adjective phrase לב טוב *good heart* has two morphological units, and each has a default lexical meaning. But in the idiom שמחה וטוב לב (literally: *happy and good heart*, e.g., Esth 5:9) the phrase לב טוב can mean *merry* (BDB 1907: 525); it can be interpreted as having a single semantic value. Christensen (2002: 693), following Muffs (1992), notes that the prepositional phrase בְּשִׂמְחָה וּבְטוֹב לֵב, (Literally: *with a happy and good heart*, e.g., Deut 28:47) can mean “willingly” or “with spontaneity.” In other words, idioms have semantic value, which has to be taken into account in the analysis. In the study, the notational reference to a single morphological unit is *word* or *lexeme* (used interchangeably). For phrases or expressions that have semantic value, the notation is lexical unit.

2.2 What is the *meaning* of a word?

In the structuralist perspective of the union of form and meaning and the separation of semantics from any psychological component, word meaning tends to indicate that each word has a discreet, objective relation to the world. According to Frawley (2002: 229), who comes from relational semantic point of view (§1.1), the task of identifying lexical meaning “lies in identifying the information forms used to access truth or force.” It is to discern the entailments, which are “the necessary truth-conditional inferences such that if the form is true then the depiction is true...the way a form is about a world irrespective of the vicissitudes of

context” (Frawley 2002: 229). Frawley’s point is that the word-form has an inherent, objective meaning that is independent of any specific context and does not change even if the context changes.

The approach has weaknesses. For example, Frawley (2002: 229) writes that the meaning of *fire*, in the “depictive, semantic meaning,” has the implication of “light/heat from combustion.” How does this implication help in interpreting *fire* in the sentence, “FIRE* him!”? As mentioned in §1.1, using a structuralist or neostructuralist approach to semantic studies often requires an additional model to account for the pragmatic (contextual) input in order to determine meaning of a word such as FIRE* in the utterance “FIRE* him!”

An alternative understanding of word meaning is proposed from a cognitive semantic point of view by Allwood (2003).¹² He introduces the notion of *meaning potential*, which he defines as “all the information that the word has been used to convey either by a single individual or, on the social level, by the language community” (Allwood 2003: 43).¹³ Word meaning potential is not an objective, inherent part of the form, but comes from how the individual or community has used the word; it is a usage-based approach. Second, word meaning potential refers to all of the information—linguistic and extra-linguistic—accessed by and activated by a word.

According to Allwood (2003: 44), “meaning potentials are activated through various cognitive operations.” These operations can be linguistic or extralinguistic but are always in a context. The context creates the conditions for activation. But each usage only results in a partial activation of the potential, which is its “determination of meaning” (Allwood 2003: 44).

The notion of “partial activation” is related to the idea of “underspecificity.” Underspecificity refers to the theory that when a word is used in a particular expression, only that part of its potential needed in that specific event becomes activated by the cognitive operations. For example, all the information a person has about the lexeme *doctor* is available at all times and is accessed when the word *doctor* is used. But in the phrase, “I went to the doctor because I had a sore throat,” the construal activates only the information about lexeme *doctor* that is needed to communicate and interpret the determined meaning of the phrase. Other information about lexeme *doctor*, such as that it may refer to a verb or a profession, is

¹² Cf. Van der Merwe (2006) for a case study involving some of the BH lexemes for STRENGTH in which Allwood’s (2003) idea of meaning potential or “semantic potential” has been used.

¹³ According to Cruse (2004: 262), each lexical unit has a *purport*, which is “some function of memories of previous experiences of the contextualized use of the word.” It is “raw material” that is used in the construal of meaning.

left unspecified in the particular situation, but is still part of the meaning potential of the word *doctor* which can be activated and used in other linguistic expressions.

A corollary to partial activation is meaning-potential enrichment. Each time a word or expression is used the pool of potential is enriched. The new aspects can be activated in succeeding construals or remain underspecified until needed, along with the previous aspects of potential. New meaning in new contexts can be created from the augmented cache of potential, which, thereby, is enriched even more.

Allwood next links the notion of activation with larger units such as phrases. The activation of the words in the phrase takes place simultaneously (coactivation). When this happens, the “head word” of the phrase creates the requirements for which part of the potential is activated. Using Allwood’s example (2003: 44), in the phrase “heavy question,” there is a coactivation of the meaning potential of “question” and of “heavy.” The word *question* is the head of the phrase, and that determines the potential to be activated for *heavy*. If the phrase had been “heavy stone,” then the word *stone* sets the criteria for the activation of the potential of *heavy*.

According to Allwood (2003: 53), there are linguistic requirements that contribute to the activation of linguistic meaning. These are divided into two sub-divisions: “categorematic” and “syncategorematic.” The latter is comprised of conjunctions, prepositions, pronouns, quantifiers, some adverbs, some interjections, derivational and inflectional, “construction types” like predication and attribution. The “categorematic” group consists of roots and stems, usually expressed as nouns, verbs and adjectives. These latter entities are subject to both syncategorematic and categorematic contextual determination.

Allwood (2003: 54) exemplifies the differences between syncategorematic and categorematic processes using the two phrases *glass house* and *house glass*. In the first phrase, *glass house*, the head of the phrase is the word *house* and *glass* is activated as a property of *house*. Conversely, in the second phrase, *house glass*, *glass* is the head of the phrase and *house* is activated as a property of *glass*. These two ways of relating *glass* and *house* exemplify the linguistic requirement that contribute to the activation of linguistic meaning, which Allwood alludes to as syncategorematic restriction. The categorematic restrictions are provided by any encyclopedic information associated with the meaning potentials of the two root forms respectively, *house* and *glass*. Both categorematic restrictions and syncategorematic restrictions contribute to the activation of linguistic meaning.

Syncategorematic restrictions work through semantic requirements of different grammatical constructions like modifier-head or subject-predicate and the use of inflectional

and derivational morphology (Allwood 2003: 54). The linguistic requirements of activation are important in understanding the meaning potential of a word in a context. Allwood stresses that the combination of the syncategorematic and categorematic requirements is the most important in activation; linguistic and encyclopedic information are integral to the construal of meaning.

Along with the linguistic requirements are the extralinguistic requirements. Allwood (2003: 54-55) divides these into three sub-divisions: 1) perceptually available information in the speech situation, which, for example, help determine deictically-used pronouns and adverbs; 2) requirements imposed by whatever activity that the speaker and listener are pursuing that help designate the function of what is said; and 3) other activated information, which determines information that extends outside of the particular linguistic situation. It is the combination of these extralinguistic requirements with the linguistic requirements (categorematic and syncategorematic) that determines the activation of the aspects of meaning potential used in a specific linguistic expression.

In summary, the investigation begins with the assumption that words and expressions have aspects of potential that provide the basic ingredients in construing meaning. These aspects of potential are not truth-conditional entailments. The focus of a meaning-potential approach is on how speakers in a culture have used a word or expression in talking about the world and their experiences in the world.

2.3 Meaning potential and the ACCESS NODE model of communication

Following from Allwood's notion of word meaning potential, it is suggested that a word or expression is not a container into which meaning (truth-conditional entailments) is placed, but a symbol that accesses the meaning potential associated with the word. Viewing the word as a symbol rather than as a container changes how communication is conceptualized. The older communication model, which has become known as the CONDUIT MODEL (Reddy 1979), was built on the conceptual metaphors WORDS ARE CONTAINERS and MEANING IS AN OBJECT PUT INTO A CONTAINER. In the CONDUIT MODEL, meaning is put into words (containers) and then handed from a speaker to an audience; it is conveyed. The core features of the CONDUIT MODEL are the following (adapted from Reddy 1979: 290, italics not in the original):

- Language functions like a *conduit* which transfers thoughts bodily from one person to another.
- In communicating by any means, people *insert* their thoughts or feelings into words.
- Words accomplish the transfer by *containing* the thoughts or feelings and conveying them to others.
- When reading or listening, people *extract* these thoughts or feelings from the words.

There is some validity in saying that our (English) language-about-language is often made vis-à-vis the CONDUIT MODEL. Two examples from Reddy (1979: 288) are, “That thought is in practically every other word” and “Your words are hollow—you don’t mean them.”¹⁴ The thoughts that are put into a container can then be handed over (conveyed) to another, who, in turn, extracts them from the container.

But if the CONDUIT MODEL of communication is taken over into translation, then the assumption is possibly made that a literal word-for-word translation from a source language into a receptor language contains exactly the same content (meaning) in the latter as in the former. There are contexts and situations in which a “literal” translation can communicate a very similar meaning. But there are many situations in which encyclopedic knowledge is required, especially to understand idiomatic or figurative expressions. One example in BH is from Ezek 8:17.

(5) Ezek 8:17b (NIV)

...וְהֵגִיבם שְׁלֵתִים אֶת־הַזְּמוּרָה אֶל־אֲפֵם:

...Look at them putting the branch to their nose!

The literal reading of persons holding a sprig or branch from a plant up to their nostrils is not ambiguous. But what does it mean in the context of Ezek 8? What is the speaker communicating? Because the original context is lacking, the passage has led to numerous interpretations (cf. Zimmerli 1979: 244-245; Allen 1998:145-146).¹⁵ But the specificity and meaning of the gesture can only be conjectured. It is doubtful that the same literal translation of the words into English (or any other language) would communicate the original, contextualized meaning. The CONDUIT MODEL of communication has the potential of resulting in translations that do not communicate the meaning of the original utterance, even

¹⁴ More examples and discussion are found in Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10-13) and Reddy (1979). The CONDUIT MODEL in translation is discussed in Wilt (2003: 7-8, 40) and Pattemore (2007: 220-225).

¹⁵ It probably refers to some kind of gesture that is “an abominable insult to Yahweh” (Zimmerli 1979: 245).

if the words in the receptor language appear to correctly correspond to the words in the source language.

An alternative understanding of communication currently mentioned in the literature is the conceptual NETWORK metaphor (Croft and Cruse 2004). This model proposes that information about something is stored in the mind as a concept (§2.4.1).¹⁶ A word is not a container into which meaning is placed, but acts as an access point to open up or activate the information stored in the concept. This follows Langacker's (1987) notion of word meaning "as an **access node** into the knowledge network" (Croft and Cruse 2004: 30, boldface type in the original). For example, the word *dog* accesses the encyclopedic-knowledge network a person has of DOG; in accessing the encyclopedic knowledge, the individual is able to understand (through inference) the (potentially) intended meaning of DOG * in a specific utterance. The NETWORK metaphor is the model that is used in the following study.¹⁷

2.4 Basic terminology used in the investigation

Prior to continuing with the specific model, some basic definitions, explications and notions concerning the following terms are presented: *concept*, *category*, *prototype*, *fuzzy boundaries*, *taxonomy*, *basic-level categories*, *ad hoc categories* and *Idealized Cognitive Model*. The purpose is to indicate how the notions and terminology have undergone change in the development of lexical studies and how they are applied in the research.

2.4.1 The notions of concept and category

In §2.2, the notion *concept* is introduced. A concept is a structured unit of information that a person has about something. Cruse (2004: 126) writes, "They are organized bundles of stored knowledge which represent an articulation of events, entities, situations, and so on, in our experience." Every time an individual has an experience of one kind or another that involves a specific entity or object, the experience and the understanding of that experience are added to the already organized bundle of information, and the concept is enriched (§2.2). This structuring of knowledge in concepts allows information and experiences to be organized and stored in a simple and easily-accessible manner. It prevents random chaos of information floating about in the mind and makes communication possible. Many of the concepts are organized into sets which are known as *categories*.

¹⁶ How a word "works" as an access point is illustrated further in §2.4.1.

¹⁷ The study follows the convention of writing the word or lexical entry in italics (*dog*), the concept being written with small caps (DOG), and the ad hoc occurrence of the word in its actual linguistic expression as written with small caps and asterisk (DOG *, as in, "The man was bitten by a DOG * that looked sick").

A category is a larger set of structured information than a concept, but can also be a concept in itself. For example, PIG refers to a concept people have about a specific animal. The concept PIG can be included in the category FARM ANIMALS, which is a set of concepts such as PIG, CHICKEN, HORSE and COW. But the category FARM ANIMALS is a concept of the kinds of animals that are different from the category of ZOO ANIMALS, which is itself made up of concepts such as ELEPHANT, LION, and MONKEY, all of which can be included in a large category such as ANIMAL, which, in turn can be a concept within the category of LIVING THINGS that includes ANIMAL, PLANTS, and other concepts. As the listing indicates, a system of categories can become quite complex. But the main idea is that both concepts and categories are *structured bundles of information* that people have about their world and their experiences, with the concept being the most basic and the category normally a larger set of information about different concepts that are considered, culturally, similar. In the investigation, the words listed in Set 1, §1.3, are considered to be associated with different concepts about JOY and which belong to the same category.

A concept can belong to more than one category. For example, the concept DOG can be, on some occasions, included in the HOUSEHOLD PET category and, on other occasions, in the FARM ANIMAL category or even in the CIRCUS ANIMAL category. There is similarity between the notion of categories as used in cognitive semantics and the mosaic tiles of lexical fields proposed in lexical field theory (§1.1). The major differences between cognitive semanticists, on the one hand, and structuralists and many neostructuralists, on the other hand, is that the latter posit that the boundaries between the categories are very rigid and that membership in a category is based on necessary and sufficient features, whereas the former hold that boundaries are not rigid, and category membership is based on family resemblance and graded-structure of prototypicality (§2.4.2.1).

Understanding concepts is important in the research. The NETWORK communication model and the notion of word meaning potential (§2.2 and §2.3) assume that words access and activate the information organized in concepts. Words and expressions are symbolic units which symbolize the concept. Word meaning potential is the information that is organized in the concept symbolized by the word. But this conceptual information is not the definitional meaning of the word which symbolizes it; it is an “ingredient of meaning, not a constituent” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 101). Concepts are pools of meaning potential ready to be activated when needed.

A simple illustration of the relationship between word-symbol and its concept is provided by an educational game used at some Science Museums in America. A very large

board is fitted with light bulbs that are interconnected. At the bottom of the board is a row of animal pictures, for example, a picture of a cow, of a horse, of a sheep dog and of a chicken. Under each of the pictures is a small button that can be pressed. A child is presented with a question, such as, which animal helps the farmer with sheep? If the child correctly presses the button under the picture of a SHEEP DOG, all the lights in a certain part of the board will light up, and the various pieces of information about SHEEP DOG are visible.

The lights and the information that they represent are not the definition of SHEEP DOG. They are structured pieces of information people have about SHEEP DOG. The picture with the button under it is the word-symbol, and the lighted area with pieces of information is the concept. The symbol activates the information structured by the concept. It is from this information that the meaning of SHEEP DOG is construed in a specific linguistic expression made in a particular situation. The combination of extralinguistic requirements with the linguistic requirements (categorematic and syncategorematic) determines the activation of the particular aspects of meaning potential used in a specific linguistic expression about SHEEP DOG (§2.2).

2.4.2 Prototype, prototype effects and basic-level categories

The pioneering work in prototype theory was done by Eleanor Rosch and her associates (Rosch et al. 1976). Lakoff (1987: 39) notes that she “provided a full-scale challenge to the classical theory” and “revolutionized the study of categorization within experimental psychology.” In classical theory of category structures, membership in a category was made in regard to necessary and sufficient conditions, and all members of a category had to share the same conditions in order to be included in the category. Prototype theory disputes the idea of necessary and sufficient conditions and proposes that category membership is made through family resemblance (an earlier notion of Wittgenstein (1953)) and graded structure of most typical to peripheral. A *prototype* is the most typical member of the category. The graded structure (central-to-peripheral) notion is known as *prototype effect*.

2.4.2.1 What are prototypes or prototype effects?

The primary result of Rosch’s earlier work was that people normally evaluate members of a category to be more typical examples of the category than others, and often there was one member that was selected as the best example (Lakoff 1987: 41; Croft and Cruse 2004: 77). One of the more important findings of prototype effects is not what is included in a category, but the structure of central-to-peripheral membership or typical-to-least-typical member in categories. For example, in American English, a robin might be

considered a more central (prototypical) type of bird and an ostrich a more peripheral one. The idea of prototype is a primary, empirically verifiable difference between the objectivist idea of necessary and sufficient conditions for membership and the cognitive linguistic understanding of category membership.

The notion of prototype effects has had an impact on how word meaning is understood. In discussing the conceptual approach to word meaning, George Murphy (2002: 270) writes that “word meanings are built out of concepts, or they pick out concepts... concepts themselves are not intrinsically linguistic entities—they are cognitive representations that control our thoughts about and interactions with actual objects in the world in a wide variety of ways.” Concepts are represented by the typicality of the members. The result, Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 19) conclude, is that, “Each prototype is a neural structure that permits us to do some sort of inferential or imaginative task relative to a category.” Prototype-based reasoning that permits inferential thinking is basic to conceptualization. Prototypes act as cognitive reference points that guide in understanding the determined sense of a word or expression in its specific linguistic expressions.

Kövecses (2006: 23) follows the work of Austin (1961), who “thought of the sense of words as being organized around a prototypical sense.” All of the differences in the senses of lexical units are derived from a prototype. The extensions from prototype to other senses are accomplished through a variety of ways, including, but not exclusively, metonymy and metaphor.¹⁸ One of the determinations to be made in the study is the potential candidate for the prototype of the BH concept of JOY and the relations some other lexical units that denote JOY have with the prototype. A hypothesis is suggested in §4.14.6, but it is stressed that it is based solely on the lexemes included in the research and cannot be taken as a definitive conclusion until a broader study is made. It is intended as a starting point for such a study.

At first, the notion of prototype held that that there was usually only a single prototype to a category. Further studies have indicated the possibility that there are different kinds of prototypes. The following is a list from Lakoff (1987: 85-8), with the addition of the final one taken from Kövecses (2006: 175):

¹⁸ Kövecses (2006: 23) only focuses on Austin’s (1961) proposal concerning metaphor and metonymy and does not detail all of the ways of extending from prototype to other senses. Lakoff (1987: 17-21) has a more detailed and inclusive summary of Austin’s (1961) suggestions and indication of how Fillmore’s frame semantics is prefigured by Austin.

- Typical-case prototypes are used in drawing inferences about category members in the absence of any special contextual information.
- Ideal-case prototypes allow us to evaluate category members relative to some conceptual standard.
- Social stereotypes are used to make snap judgments, usually about people.
- Salient exemplars ... are used for making probability judgments.
- Several of the prototype models can be in effect in a culture at the same time.

Kövecses (2002: 173) stresses that prototypes of emotion can change over time and that there can even be several competing or co-existing prototypes at any given time in a culture. Considering not only the length of time covered in the Hebrew Bible, but also the history of exile and intermingling with other cultures, religions and languages, determining a prototype for the concept of JOY is deemed to be a tenuous task. But the results of the study indicate that it is not a fruitless chore (§4.14.6).

2.4.2.2 The notion of fuzzy boundaries

A second notion of prototype theory is known as *fuzzy boundary*. Prototype theory postulates that categories do not have rigid, clear boundaries, which is opposite of the objectivist point that categories had not only necessary and sufficient membership requirements but also rigid boundaries which followed the mosaic image (§1.1). An example often quoted, and adapted from Kövecses (2006: 76), is the concept of BACHELOR. Conventionally, a BACHELOR is defined as an *unmarried male*. The pope, Tarzan and a homosexual all might have the necessary and sufficient conditions for being a bachelor: they are all unmarried. But as (Kövecses 2006: 76) writes, “we hesitate to call them such. This hesitation indicates that the category may be fuzzy; that is, it may not have clear boundaries.” The (potentially) *fuzzy boundaries* between categories helps account for some of the asymmetries that formal, objectivist notions are unable to describe.

The dynamic construal approach used in the investigation offers a variation on the *fuzzy vs. rigid* boundary notion. Boundaries are neither totally fuzzy nor completely rigid but flexible (construable).¹⁹ The background metaphor for category boundaries in the dynamic construal approach is CATEGORIES ARE CONTAINERS. Containers have boundaries demarcating ‘inside’ and ‘outside,’ just as categories include some members (inside) and exclude others (outside). This suggests that there is more determination to category boundaries than the fuzzy notion allows.

¹⁹ The dynamic construal approach is introduced in §1.4 and explicated more in §2.6.

The problem of fuzziness occurs, according to Croft and Cruse (2004: 95), when single lexical items are taken outside of specific contexts. For example, in reference to human beings, the boundary between ‘alive’ and ‘dead’ depends on the context. The same is seen in the “‘human being’ boundary in connection with the debates on abortion...the location of the boundary is a matter of dispute and uncertainty, but is not vague, certainly not to the disputants” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 94).²⁰ It is possible that category boundaries are construable. Boundary construal can vary from one specific context to another specific context. But this does not necessarily mean that boundaries are fuzzy. There might be variation in understanding just precisely where a boundary is in a specific construal, but that is not due to fuzziness of the boundary, rather, it emerges from the knowledge of the range of possibilities. Therefore, there is no need of a fuzzy boundary notion; boundaries tend to be determinate, but not rigid (Croft and Cruse 2004: 95).

2.4.2.3 Basic-level categorization

Basic-level categorization is another notion of prototype theory. The basic-level category idea is applicable in understanding hierarchical taxonomies. Rosch, *et al* (1976), using cognitive anthropology models extended to psychology, demonstrated that, “the psychologically most basic level was in the middle of the taxonomic hierarchy” (Lakoff 1987: 46). A taxonomic hierarchy is demonstrated as the following:

Table 2.1 Vertical schema of basic-level categorization

SUPERORDINATE	ANIMAL	EMOTION ²¹
BASIC-LEVEL	CAT	GLADNESS
SUBORDINATE	SCOTTISH FOLD	EUPHORIA

Summarizing Rosch’s *et al* (1976) description of basic-level categorization, Lakoff (1987: 47) notes that the basic level is basic in four respects: perception (fast identification), function (general motor function), communication (usually short, easily- and early-learned) and knowledge organization (level of stored knowledge).²² These results on basic-level acquisition, according to Lakoff, are very important, in that they pre-date the acquisition of

²⁰ In other words, in debates on abortion, the categorization of the fetus as HUMAN or NON-HUMAN is neither rigid nor fuzzy but is construed from the debaters’ points of view. Category boundaries are construable and, when analyzed in context, are not ambiguous.

²¹ The taxonomic representation of EMOTION is adapted from Kövecses (2006: 41) to indicate the relevant connection between basic-level categorization and the subject of emotion in the study. For a full discussion from Kövecses’ point, see Kövecses (2006: 39-48 and 365), the latter giving a simple description. Croft and Cruse (2004: 82-87) also provide a detailed explanation.

²² For a full description or listing of Rosch’s results and Lakoff’s conclusions, see Lakoff (1987: 46-47).

taxonomic categorization; they are the “earliest and most natural form of categorization” (Lakoff 1987: 49).

Kövecses (2006: 4) proposes another possible schema of basicness. Focusing on emotion, the alternative suggests that one emotion might be considered more ‘typical’ than another. The first notion (Table 2.1) represents basicness as the middle of a vertical schema. The second notion places the relationship on the horizontal axis, as the following (adapted from Kövecses 2000: 4):

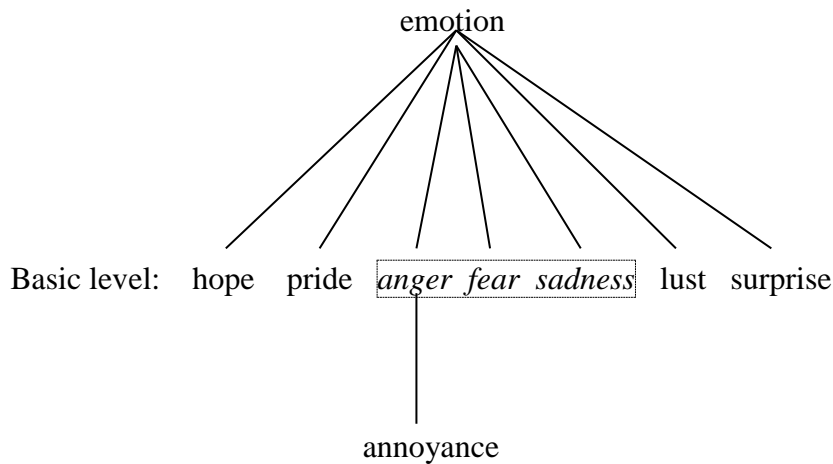


Figure 2.1 Horizontal schema of basic-level categorization

In Figure 2.1, the words *anger fear sadness* indicate the more prototypical emotions. As mentioned in §1.6.3, the superordinate level of EMOTION is still an ambiguous label in BH. A definitive description of basic-level categorization (horizontal or vertical) has not been made in regard to the so-called emotion words in BH.

Basic taxonomic hierarchies are dependent on the speakers’ frame of reference (§1.6.4). Different speakers have different ranges of knowledge of categories and concepts. The example given in Croft and Cruse (2004: 96) involves the difference between a non-expert and expert speaker. A dog breeder might, when speaking to another dog breeder (both are experts), speak at a subordinate level (specific kinds of dogs) *as if* it were basic level. However, if speaking to a person who knows little about specific breeds of dogs, the expert might switch to DOG as the basic level. The dog breeder has a different frame of reference when speaking about dogs than does a young child who is looking for a pet.

Croft and Cruse (2004: 97) suggest that the change in taxonomic hierarchy is suggestive of the construction of new conceptual categories. The professional context of a dog breeder restructures the category by backgrounding features of knowledge specifically

related to the context. This might cause a change in how they construe the categories of a given lexical item.

As mentioned in §2.4.2.1, prototypes might vary from era to era, and there might be variations in prototypes within a culture at the same time. One reason for possible variations is the speaker's frame of reference. A prophet might use a different construal of the category of emotion than a writer of Wisdom literature. Another reason for the shift might be diachronic. These are assumptions that are taken into consideration when variations in construals are found.

2.4.3 Ad hoc categories

Another extension of the study of categories and prototypes is Barsalou's (1983) investigation of ad hoc categories that are spontaneously created for use in specialized contexts. These are different from natural kinds of categories, such as birds, animals, or furniture. According to Barsalou (1983: 211), there are two properties of common categories: graded structure and well-established category representation in meaning. Of graded structure there are three aspects (Barsalou 1983: 211): (a) best example, (b) ambiguous area of membership, and, (c) non-members varying in degree of similarity with prototype of concept of category. In summary, "graded category is a continuum of category membership, ranging from prototype members through unclear cases to prototypical non-members" (1983: 211-212). Category membership is based on the continuum of typicality-to-non-typicality, not on sufficient and necessary features.

Barsalou (1983: 224) made the following general conclusions: 1) ad hoc categories were the same in graded structure as common categories, and 2) the instances showed variance in typicality similar to that found in instances of common categories. The primary differences were that ad hoc categories tended to have weaker concept-to-instance associations and instance-to-concept associations, thereby slower retrieval, less consistency in retrieval, and harder-to-remember information for learning and greater difficulty in making categorization (1983: 224). What this means is that, for example, if DOG is associated with the category of PETS, it will have a strong instance-to-concept and concept-to-instance association, be easily retrievable and have easy-to-remember information. However, if DOG is brought over to an ad hoc category for HUMAN CHARACTERISTICS in a particular situation (e.g., "John was sniffing around for the truth"), it might have a weaker concept-to-instance and instance-to-concept association, be slower in retrieval and have harder-to-remember information. The importance of Barsalou's study is the indication that categories can be

developed ad hoc, that is, in a specific situation for a particular purpose, and its membership is not determined by the objectivist necessary and sufficient requirement. Boundaries are not rigid, and concepts can be moved into an ad hoc category according to need.

The primary motivation for ad hoc categories is their use in achieving goals (Barsalou 1983: 214). That is, contrary to the notion of category membership based on necessary and sufficient conditions, ad hoc categories are construed according to a particular, and often immediate, goal. For example, adapting and paraphrasing Barsalou's illustration, 'things to take from a burning house' (1983: 214), the things are chosen at the time of the fire; they are not always pre-planned nor are they based on sufficient and necessary features.

2.4.4 Idealized Cognitive Models

Lakoff (1990) proposed the notion of Idealized Cognitive Models. His basic aim was to provide a model that could incorporate both of what he considered were the correct notions of the traditional view of categorization and the new, verifiable empirical data of cognitive science (1990: xv). His arguments stem from the notions of prototype and ad hoc categories (§2.4.2.1 and §2.4.3).

Drawing on conclusions made from Rosch's work on prototype, Lakoff (1990: 44) suggests that "prototype effects result from the nature of cognitive models, which can be viewed as 'theories' of some subject matter" (1990: 44). These cognitive models, called Idealized Cognitive Models, organize the structure of human knowledge. Prototype effects are a result of the Idealized Cognitive Models (Lakoff 1990: 68).

Second, the hypothesis reached by Barsalou was that ad hoc categories had to be based on cognitive models that a person held on the subject matter in question. The ad hoc categories had prototype effects even though they were not based on conventionalized categories. The cognitive models that ad hoc categories are based on are the Idealized Cognitive Models that Lakoff proposes.

Each Idealized Cognitive Model, according to Lakoff (1990: 68), is "a structure whole, a gestalt" which uses the four following principles of structure: propositional structure, as in Fillmore's (1982) frame semantics; image-schematic structure, as in Langacker's (1986) cognitive grammar; metaphoric and metonymic structuring, as explicated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980); and each one structures a mental space, as described by Fauconnier (1985).

Lakoff demonstrates that Idealized Cognitive Models are more than just schemas. Any schema theory set up will result in prototype effects, even if using classical categories. This is because any schema always interacts with other schemas in the system (1990: 70).

To demonstrate his point, Lakoff uses the BACHELOR concept (cf. §2.4.2.2). The Idealized Cognitive Model BACHELOR is *idealized*, in that it is abstracted from the reality of the world and, as such, is defined simply as an unmarried adult male. However, because the Idealized Cognitive Model is abstracted from the world as we often experience it, the Idealized Cognitive Model works when the entity in question fits perfectly the idealized concept. However, if there is some deviation for any reason, then the entity does not fit. For example, the Idealized Cognitive Model for POPE has the notion of CELIBATE. The concept of CELIBATE as an unmarried adult male is different from that of the concept of BACHELOR as an unmarried male. The pope is not, then, in the group BACHELOR. The pope is a peripheral member of the unmarried adult male category in which BACHELOR is the prototype.

The hypothesis is that there are two cognitive models—one for the Idealized Cognitive Model and one characterizing the individual's world knowledge. The individual takes both into account, compares them, notes similarities and differences, and keeps track of how they do or do not fit. The notion of gradience (§2.4.2.1) occurs at this point. The Idealized Cognitive Model BACHELOR is not a graded category—one is or one is not a bachelor. However, the amount of similarity between the Idealized Cognitive Model and how it fits with our knowledge of the world can be graded. In other words, purely as a possible example, Tarzan might be a closer fit to BACHELOR than the pope, in that if Tarzan's context changes (he meets Jane), he might become married—Tarzan has not made a celibate's vow as has the pope: Tarzan's unmarried state is closer to the Idealized Cognitive Model of BACHELOR than is the pope's.

Neither componential analysis nor lexical field theory can give an accounting of BACHELOR to the depth provided by the Idealized Cognitive Model notion. For example, componential analysis can only postulate that a *bachelor* is [+male, +adult, -married], and that a *pope* is also [+male, +adult, -married]. But it cannot account for the fact that most people do not designate the pope as a bachelor. This is because componential analysis (without modification) cannot take into account encyclopedic knowledge.

Geeraerts (2010: 225) concludes that “the notion of Idealized Cognitive Model is best seen as a cover-term for the various models of (encyclopedic) knowledge that cognitive semantics pays attention to, but not as a specific descriptive model.” The notions of prototype, fuzzy vs. rigid boundaries and Idealized Cognitive Model are theoretical notions

that help fine-tune the understanding of the relationships between lexical units, categories and category structures.

2.4.5 Summary of basic notions

Some of the notions taken over into the research are the following. First, the basic principle of a maximalist position is that semantics is primarily cognitive. It is not a matter of truth-conditional relationships of language and the world. Second, the meaning potential of a word or expression is stored in the mind in concepts or structured bundles of information. Concepts, likewise, are loosely grouped in categories. Third, relationships between lexemes, concepts and categories are not based on sufficient and necessary features, but on prototypes and graded-centrality. Fourth, the boundaries between categories are flexible (neither ambiguously fuzzy nor unchangeably rigid). Finally, concepts and categories are stored in the mind in a loosely structured network of frames.

2.5 Frame semantics

Frame semantics originated in Fillmore's semantics of understanding. Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 76-77) write:

...a word's meaning can be understood only with reference to a structured background of experience, beliefs, or practices, constituting a kind of conceptual prerequisite for understanding the meaning. Speakers can be said to know the meaning of the word only by first understanding the background frames that motivate the concept that the word encodes. Within such an approach, words or word senses are not related to each other directly, word to word, but only by way of their links to common background frames and indications of the manner in which their meanings highlight particular elements of such frames.

Speakers use and understand words and expressions vis-à-vis their knowledge of the background frame and how the word has been used in the frame. If translators are to understand a word or expression, then they need to have access, as much as possible, to the same background frame and frame-usage of the word that the original speaker-audience had.

Croft and Cruse (2004: 8) explicate Fillmore's semantics of understanding as "words and constructions evoke an understanding, or more specifically a frame; a hearer invokes a frame upon hearing an utterance in order to understand it." Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 116) expand on the notion, writing that "the conceptual frames that inhabit our cognitive unconscious *contribute semantically* to the meanings of words and sentences." The knowledge about the world and experiences in the world are structured and stored in the conceptual frames an individual or language community has. For example, a word like *server* is defined relative to a RESTAURANT frame (*A young boy was chosen to be the server of the*

Christmas pudding) or a TENNIS_MATCH frame (*The server tossed the tennis ball high into the air*) or other frames in which it occurs.

2.5.1 Basic notions of frame semantics

Three notions that are important in frame semantics are *profile*, *base* (also referred to as *domain* and *frame*) and *profile-base relation*. The latter idea indicates that the first two can only be understood in relation to each other. These three concepts are the focus of a semantic analysis.

A lexical unit, for example *knee*, profiles a conceptual entity. In the case of *knee*, the conceptual entity is JOINT. The profiling takes place against a conceptual base: *knee* profiles JOINT against the base LEG. The LEG is also a conceptual entity profiled against a base or domain, namely the HUMAN BODY. The semantic value of the word *knee* is constituted by the profile-relation (JOINT-LEG).

The human body is comprised of numerous domains: HEAD, ARM, LEG and FOOT, to mention a few. The combination of the domains is known as a *domain matrix*. A concept such as JOINT which is profiled by the word *knee* not only presupposes the LEG domain, but simultaneously presupposes the HUMAN BODY domain matrix, which is composed of many JOINTS in different domains. The semantic value of *knee* takes into consideration not only the JOINT-LEG relation but also the HUMAN BODY domain matrix and distinguishes it from other words that profile JOINT in the-HUMAN BODY domain matrix, such as *knuckle* profiling JOINT-FINGER or *elbow* profiling JOINT-ARM.²³

One of the important reasons for knowing the profile and domain (frame) distinction is that sometimes distinctions in word meaning are really related to the frame and not to the lexeme. Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 18) uses the example of LAND and GROUND. Both profile the same thing but in different frames. LAND profiles the dry surface of the earth in contrast to SEA and GROUND profiles it in relation to AIR.

There are many difficulties in working out a domain and domain matrix. Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 27) writes that “determining the exact structure of the array of domains upon which a profiled concept is based requires a careful working out of the definitions of concepts.” As van Wolde (2008: 17) points out, the difficulty in analyzing words from languages that originate in cultures different from the analyst’s is that when the meaning of

²³ The domain matrix in which JOINT can be profiled goes beyond the HUMAN BODY domain matrix, e.g. an elephant’s *knee* profiles JOINT-LEG in an ELEPHANT BODY domain matrix, and even JOINT in CONSTRUCTION or PLUMBING domains. The illustration of the *knee* as profiling JOINT-LEG in a HUMAN BODY domain matrix is simplified for exemplification reasons.

the lexeme being analyzed is discerned in a specific occurrence, the investigation must move to other levels of related domains until it is necessary to make a “study of a culture’s entire network of meanings.” However, no matter how delicate and time consuming the effort is, it builds the only firm foundation upon which translation can take place. Without having access (as closely as possible) to the original network and usage of words associated with the network, the translator is greatly restricted in communicating the intended meaning of the source text in the receptor language.

Translators sometimes have difficulty in translating some words found in a source language because, although the receptor language might have a similar concept, the culture-specific frame of the source language against which the frame is profiled does not exist in the culture of the receptor language. Cruse (Croft Cruse 2004: 21) uses an example from Javanese based on the work of Geertz (1973). The word under investigation is *rasa*, which is glossed as “feeling” and “meaning.” However, the word presupposes a frame which consists of a large portion of Javanese culture and therefore is basically “untranslatable.” Even if the concepts of FEELING and MEANING are present in another culture, the culture-specific frame against which *rasa* is profiled is not present in the framework outside of Javanese culture. When the frame is foreign to a translator’s culture, then translation principles are needed to guide the interpretation and translation. But that moves beyond the scope of the present investigation. The point is to note the importance of frames. A semantic analysis includes the frame as well as the lexeme and concept and recognizes that some words are “untranslatable,” not because a lexeme or concept does not exist in another culture, but because the frame against which it is profiled is culture-specific.

The frame represents the structure of an experience. Frames are not simply a sum-total of conceptual features, but also include the complete and complex interlinking of a structured body of knowledge (Croft and Cruse 2004: 91). There is a connection between frame and prototype, in that the complex structure of interconnected knowledge helps account for prototype effects (§2.4.2.1). The basic idea of prototype effects is described as a “matter of goodness of fit between the perceived features of some individual, and one or more aspects of the frame that characterizes an ideal individual in a category” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 21). They propose three ways in which this occurs.

The first occurs as a convergence between the perceived individual and the profiled region of the frame. For example, a CAR is graded as a more typical VEHICLE than a TRACTOR, perhaps, because an “ideal vehicle” is conceptualized as made for travel on highways, not across fields. The second way is seen with individuals that have traditional definitions. For

example, a BACHELOR is usually conceived of in lines of a conventional definition of “an unmarried male.” The graded centrality occurs when a comparison is made between an individual and the ideal background domain. How near the individual is to the ideal determines how close to he is to the center (§2.4.2.1).

The third way is when a concept is characterized by a cluster of Idealized Cognitive Models (§2.4.4). Cluster models (Lakoff and Johnson 1990: 74) are formed by a combination of a number of cognitive models which are more basic, psychologically, than the model taken individually. Lakoff’s example (1990: 74-76) is that of a MOTHER. Taking into consideration the large number of (English) modifications used to describe mother—biological mother, working mother, stay-at-home mother and more—it is clear that the category is not based on necessary and sufficient features. The different Idealized Cognitive Models act as features; the more of the Idealized Cognitive Models comprise the cluster models that are found in a specific instance, the more typical or central the instance is in the category.

The link between a frame and a prototype can be exemplified by comparing the profile-concepts CAR and TRACTOR with their presupposed frames. In the illustration, the prototype effect which occurs through convergence is expanded. A CAR and a TRACTOR might both be profiled against the VEHICLE and AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT frames. A TRACTOR is more central (prototypical) and a CAR peripheral in the AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT frame, but a CAR is more central (prototypical) and a TRACTOR peripheral in the VEHICLE frame.

The relation between frame and prototype can be extended to include categories. A concept in a category can be more prototypical than other concepts in the category. In a HOUSEHOLD PET category, the DOG category might be more prototypical than the MARSUPIAL category. This kind of category prototypicality is represented in notions such as basic-level categorization and taxonomy (§2.4.2.3).

Domains are not simple, singular or isolated units. Croft and Cruse (2004: 24), following Langacker, describe two types of domains. The basic domain “is directly embodied human experience,” and non-basic ones are called *abstract domains*. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) suggest that even the most abstract domain is ultimately rooted in embodied human experience, and that one of the key expressions of embodiment is metaphor (§1.6.2 and §2.8).

Finally, the profile-base relation provides a key principle in frame semantics regarding the lexicalization of a word. Croft and Cruse (2004: 15, capitalization in the original) write, “The conclusion that follows from this is that THE MEANING OF A LINGUISTIC UNIT MUST SPECIFY BOTH THE PROFILE AND ITS BASE”. This is the guideline used in the study (cf. §3.2.1 and §4.11).

2.5.2. Advantages of frame semantics over other approaches to semantical analysis

The reason for selecting frame semantics for the research is introduced in §1.7. A few of its advantages over other approaches are mentioned in the introduction. Other advantages of frame semantics over lexical field theory (§1.1) are indicated by Croft and Cruse (2004). First, frame semantics is able to account for problems that have traditionally been caught between pragmatics and semantics and the understanding of a text. It helps in the “definite reference to the analysis of the coherence of texts” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 14). An example given in Croft and Cruse (2004: 14) is the following:

(6) I had trouble with the car yesterday. The ashtray was dirty.

The asymmetry in the utterance is caused by the fact that there is nothing in the frame evoked by *trouble with the car* that is related to a *dirty ashtray*. The asymmetry is not due to truth conditions. The ashtray could have been dirty and the speaker could have had trouble with the car.

Another advantage is that in lexical field theory, words are “defined relative to other words in the same lexical field, whereas in frame semantics, words are defined directly with respect to the frame” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 10). There is a difference in the word *large* when used in describing a *large* human baby, a *large* elephant and a *large* metropolis. Lexical field theory requires a word to be defined in contrast to other words in the field (e.g., *large*, *jumbo*, *gigantic*).

Third, frame semantics is able to account for concepts that are extrinsic to the profiled word. That is, word concepts can refer to a “prior history of the entity denoted” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 10). The example given is that of the word concept SCAR. A SCAR is more than the mark on the skin (or bark of a tree). It denotes the healing process of a wound.

A similar notion is expressed in the Blending Theory idea of *compression*. Fauconnier and Turner (2003: 30-31) illustrate one kind of compression by profiling the concept GRADUATION in a GRADUATION_CEREMONY frame.²⁴ The GRADUATION_CEREMONY frame compresses the entire college education, from first entrance into the college, attending classes, lectures, tests, paying fees, all into the moment of the graduation ceremony. In terms of frames, the GRADUATION_CEREMONY *presupposes* the entire education-event. The GRADUATION CEREMONY profiles a specific feature of the EDUCATION domain. But the word

²⁴ Liberty has been taken to rephrase Fauconnier and Turner (2003) in frame semantic terms in alignment with how the two theories have been understood in the research.

graduation can activate the concept GRADUATION in reference to all of the various sub-events of the education-event so that the determined understanding of GRADUATION* in a specific linguistic expression includes the entire history (presuppositions) that have been activated.

Frames allow people to use world knowledge and make judgments about the deviations between the Idealized Cognitive Model, illustrated in §2.4.4 with the example of BACHELOR. Earlier forms of componential analysis do not take encyclopedic information into consideration and, therefore, do not allow these kinds of judgments about deviations.

These advantages of frame semantics over other semantic approaches provide a basis for a broader understanding of an individual lexeme, related lexemes within the same field and words that co-occur (collocations) in any given linguistic expression. The analysis is made of the actual usage of the word in context.

2.5.3 Developing frames

The model used for developing frames is adapted from the Berkeley FrameNet project. The basic reference is the on-line FrameNet book.²⁵ Only some of the terminology and notions are used in the research. Shead (2007) provides a detailed study of FrameNet (and other lexical models) in the context of BH studies and Radical Construction Grammar.

The Berkeley FrameNet project is an attempt to follow the basic notions of frame semantics in developing an on-line lexical resource for English, with the aim of recording the valences for each word in each of its senses (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 5). Valences refer to the syntactic combinatory possibilities a word has in each of its senses. The assumption is that each sense of a polysemous word belongs to a different semantic frame, with a frame defined or described as “a script-like conceptual structure that describes a particular type of situation, object, or event along with its participants and props” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 5). A lexical unit is a pairing of a word with a meaning (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 5). The frame-evoking lexical unit is normally a verb, and the syntactic dependents are the frame elements.

Frame elements, in FrameNet, are divided into two categories—thematic and extra-thematic. The former refers to the particular frame that is evoked by the word being analyzed. The extra-thematic frame elements belong to independent frames embedded in the larger context (thematic frame). They elaborate the descriptions of the participants or setting of the frame evoked by the profiled word (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 135).

An example of an extra-thematic frame element is given in Ruppenhofer et al (2010: 136) related to the TEMPORAL structure of the time span of a frame. The time-span, from

²⁵ The on-line book is available at <http://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/>.

beginning to end, of a continuous situation denoted by a target word is the frame element DURATION. One of the extra-thematic frame elements of DURATION is DURATION_OF_FINAL_STATE which “denotes the length of time from the beginning of a state resulting from the activity denoted by the target until the state no longer holds” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 137). An example from Ruppenhofer et al (2010: 137) is the following, with the extra-thematic frame element DURATION_OF_FINAL STATE enclosed in square brackets:

- (7) The previous day President Ranasinghe Premadasa had refused to extend the [seven-day] cessation of hostilities which the government announced on Jan. 3.

FrameNet annotates extra-thematic frame elements from the perspective of the target word being analyzed, because they are considered to be “tightly bound” with the structures evoked by the profiled word (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 135). Example (41) illustrates an extra-thematic frame element in the analysis of a linguistic expression in which *המשפט* occurs.

Thematic frame elements are divided into two categories—core and peripheral. The division into the two categories parallels the traditional terminology of predicates. Just as a predicate is said to be a one-place predicate or a two-place one, “the frame evoked by a word will have a stable set of conceptually obligatory, or **core**, Fes” (Shead 2007: 111, bold type in the original). Peripheral frame elements are the ones that lie outside of the obligatory set. For example, in American English, the verb *entertain* can evoke the HOST_ENTERTAINING_A_GUEST frame, which has the obligatory frame element participants of HOST and GUEST:

- (8) [_{HOST} The professor] **entertained** [_{GUEST} the students].²⁶

A prepositional phrase can be used to denote the specific location of a particular instantiation of the HOST_ENTERTAINING_A_GUEST frame:

- (9) [_{HOST} The professor] **entertained** [_{GUEST} the students] [_{LOCATION} on the patio].

²⁶ Annotated example sentences such as (8) and (9) follow an adapted form used in FrameNet. The subscript words indicate the semantic roles of frame elements. The words enclosed in square brackets are the frame elements. The lexical unit which evokes the frame is the word in boldface-type and not enclosed in square brackets.

The prepositional phrase [LOCATION on the patio] is not required in the frame evoked by the verb *entertain* and so is recorded as a peripheral frame element in FrameNet.²⁷

The FrameNet approach makes the obligatory-peripheral distinction a stable, binary property. However, Shead (2007: 138) notes that there is some ambiguity as to what constitutes a core frame element. He suggests that the confusion arises as to whether the analysis is taken from a logical approach or a construal approach (Shead 2007: 139). The proposal he makes, from the construal point of view, is that “the obligatory–optional distinction represents a *graded scale*, rather than a binary property” (Shead 2007: 141, italics in the original). Instead of a stable, required-optional distinction, Shead (2007: 142) proposes a criterion for deciding the core value of a frame element, which takes into consideration the saliency of a frame element in the evoked frame. First, the analyst determines if the frame element is normally construed in the frame in a large portion of or the majority of the occurrences. Next, if it normally occurs, then the analyst determines if the frame construal tends to make it difficult to background the specific frame element? Is it usually salient? In other words, the more salient and more commonly a frame element occurs in a frame, the more central it is; the less salient it is or the more often it does not occur in the frame, the more peripheral it is considered to be (cf. the frame write-up of a REJOICING frame in §3.5.1 for an example of determining a peripheral frame element).

Frame elements are given labels denoting their semantic role. Fillmore and Atkins (1992: 81) referred to the frame element roles as categories. They noted that their categories went beyond many of the theories of thematic roles and deep cases. They wrote the following (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 84, n. 15):

The point is that in a careful description of the semantic roles associated with predicates of most verbs we need ‘frame-specific’ semantic role categories, thus going far beyond the familiar repertoires of Agent, Patient, Experiencer, etc. found in much recent discussion of the semantics and grammar of verbs.

They continue by pointing out that the frame semantic approach defines the meaning of a word by describing the various categories that surround the word against the background frame (Fillmore and Atkins 1992: 84).

²⁷ In a semantic frame, a frame element that is peripheral does not minimize the conceptual information it gives to the construal. For example, in some parts of American culture to entertain a person [on the patio] can indicate a very casual relationship between HOST and GUEST, [in the kitchen] a very intimate relationship, and [in the dining room] a very formal one. The [LOCATION] might not be required, but it can provide important cultural/world view information given in the construal.

The sentiment of Fillmore and Atkins brought about a shift to using labels that correspond to each particular frame (Shead 2007: 106). These frame-specific labels provide a more complete, enriched description of the frame elements associated in a given conceptualization and enable the different lexical units in a frame to be more easily compared, such as comparing APPLE and ORANGE in a [FRUIT] frame (Shead 2007: 107).

The development of frames in the investigation of JOY follows the idea of using frame-specific labels as much as possible, but also maintains the traditional notations. The difference between using the traditional thematic roles and using frame-specific labels is demonstrated in the following citations, with the first using the traditional terms for roles and the second applying frame-specific labels to the participants. The tags used to denote the semantic roles are written as subscripted words enclosed in the square brackets.

- (10) a. Frame: HOST_ENTERTAINING_GUEST
 Frame Element: Participants are AGENT and BENEFACTIVE.
 [_{AGENT} He] **entertained** [_{BENEFACTIVE} them] [_{LOCATION} on the patio].
- b. Frame: HOST_ENTERTAINING_GUEST
 Frame Element: Participants are HOST and GUEST.
 [_{HOST} He] **entertained** [_{GUEST} them] [_{LOCATION} on the patio]

In the HOST_ENTERTAINING_GUEST frame, the labels AGENT and BENEFACTIVE in (10a) seem disassociated with the frame, whereas the terms HOST and GUEST in (10b) are clearly related to the frame and provide referential information about the relationship between syntactic constituents of the grammatical subject and object within the particular frame.

However, the notations of HOST and GUEST do not provide a clear reference to the underlying AGENT-BENEFACTIVE relation in the scenario. During the course of the research it was decided to use both, making the notations as the following: HOST [AGENT] (cf. examples (28) – (30), §3.4). In this way, surface-level frame relations can be seen as well as the deeper semantic relation, as in the following two examples in which the HOST and GUEST participants are used in two separate sub-events of a general HOST_ENTERTAINING_GUEST frame.

- (11) a The GUESTS [AGENT] presented the HOST [BENEFACTIVE] with gifts when he introduced them.
- b. The HOST [AGENT] served the GUESTS [BENEFACTIVE] after introducing them.

The reason for doing the notations in this manner is that there are some frames that are split into two sub-frames (Principle 4, §2.5.3) with a shift in perspective, but the surface-level frame participants roles remain the same. In other words, the shift occurs in that the

perspective in one sub-frame is from the AGENT point of view and in the other sub-frame from the BENEFACTIVE point-of-view. Second, in order to understand the concept associated with a lexeme, it is necessary to know if the lexeme can be used, for example, as an AGENT only or as a BENEFACTIVE only, which cannot be determined if frame-specific roles are used alone. This is clarified further with example (29) in §3.4. In §2.8.1.2, the notion of EMOTION IS A FORCE is discussed. In order to determine the validity of the statement in the BH conceptualization of JOY, it is helpful to know if JOY can be construed as an AGENT or not (§3.10.2).

However, there is no set, agreed-upon listing of frame-specific labels for BH. As stated in §1.3 and §1.8, the study is set up to explore and test notions and tools found in the literature to determine their value in doing lexical semantic research in BH following insights from cognitive semantics. Therefore, the labels used in the research are preliminary suggestions and are used for heuristic reasons only.²⁸

Some event nouns and event adjectives can also evoke frames. The examples given in Ruppenhofer et al (2010: 6) are the following.

- (12) Event-noun that evokes the Cause_change_of_scalar_position frame:
...the **reduction** [ITEM of debt levels] [VALUE-2 to \$665 million] [VALUE-1 from \$2.6 billion].
- (13) Event-adjective that evokes the Sleep frame:
[SLEEPER They] [COPULA were] **asleep** [DURATION for hours].

There are numerous citations in the Hebrew Bible of the noun הַקְּטָנָה and the adjective הַשְּׁנָיָה evoking frames. These are exemplified in the research (e.g., examples (47) through (50) and (54) – (58), §3.6.1 and §3.7.1 respectively).

There are also many citations in which הַקְּטָנָה and הַשְּׁנָיָה do not evoke a frame but are invoked in a frame. These are analyzed to determine the “predicates that **govern** phrases headed by them, and thus to illustrate the ways in which these common nouns function as FEs within frames evoked by the governing predicates” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 6, boldface type in original). Examples are provided in §3.6.2 and in all of the sub-paragraphs of chapter 4 in which the various nouns that were investigated are discussed.

FrameNet claims that a word is polysemous when it is linked to different frames (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 8). The example given is the lemma **bake.v** with word-forms *bake*,

²⁸ Labels like Agent, Patient, and Experiencer are still useable, but limited to the appropriate frames. For example, RECIPIENT can be used of the person who receives something (grammatical indirect object) in a [GIVE] frame, but GIVER seems a better label than Agent for the person (grammatical subject) who gives the ITEM (grammatical direct object) to the RECIPIENT.

bakes, baked and *baking*, which is linked to the frames *Apply_heat*, *Cooking_creation* and *Absorb_heat*. Even though the word-form can be similar in all three frames, FrameNet considers these to be three distinct lexical units with different definitions (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 9). Multi-word phrases, idioms and hyphenated words are all considered lexical units (§2.1).

A few principles for frame development that have been adapted for the research are the following:

Principle 1

All lexical units in a frame must have the same **number** and **types** of frame elements in both explicit and implicit contexts. If there is a significant difference in frame elements from lexical unit to lexical unit or sentence to sentence, then a frame-split is suggested. *Causatives* and *inchoatives* are usually split. For example, there is a significant enough difference between the sentences “From the summer 1998 to the summer 1999 the speed variation has **decreased**” and “We have **decreased** the number of service calls” to warrant splitting the DIMINISH frame (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 11).

Principle 2

The semantic type for a frame element ought to be (broadly) constant across uses. In some cases, as with predicates exemplified by *want* which evokes the DESIRING frame, it is necessary to determine the ontological category of the frame element and decide whether or not a specific frame element belongs to the ontological category. If not, then a separate frame is devised. For example, *I want [to win]* and *I want [an orange]* can both be put into the same DESIRING frame, even though the complements [to win] and [an orange] refer to different things. This is because *want* (and similar predicates) are usually understood “to metonymically stand for events centrally involving them: to want an orange is typically ‘to want to eat an orange’” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 13).

Principle 3

In aspectually complex frames, the lexical units should exhibit the same set of stages and transitions. This is exemplified by the words *work on* and *develop*, both of which have an AGENT who strives to accomplish a GOAL, but only the word *develop* (in past tense statements) entails that the GOAL was accomplished. Subevents should be the same for all

lexical units in a frame, which is an argument for separating causatives and inchoatives, because the former have a causing subevent that inchoatives do not have (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 13).

Principle 4

Frame elements should be profiled across all lexical units of a frame, “that is, the same participant’s point of view should be emphasized with all of them” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010:13). When there are different perspectives on a type of scenario, the frames that have the differing perspectives are linked or related back to a “non-perspectivized background/scenario frame via the PERSPECTIVE_ON relations,” which allows for each particular frame to be a candidate “for paraphrasing via the background scenario” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 14). The PERSPECTIVE_ON relation assumes that at least two points-of-view can be taken on the Neutral frame (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 106). The notion of perspectivization is discussed and exemplified further in §2.7 and §3.13.

Principle 5

The interrelations between frame elements should be the same for all lexical units in a frame. The presuppositions, expectations and concomitants of the targets within a frame will be shared. One example given is the difference between *receive* and *take*, in which the former presupposes a DONOR, which is not presupposed by *take* (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 15).

Principle 6

The basic denotation of the targets in a frame should be similar, which means that pre-specifications that the frame-evoking elements give to various frame elements will be similar. Using the example given of a few words that evoke a MASS_MOTION frame—*flock*, *pour*, *stream*, *swarm* and *troop* (all verbs)—all of them have the pre-specification of masses made up of individuals. Any word that evokes the frame must have the same pre-specification because the scenario evoked requires the movement of a mass of individual entities (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 15).

There is some flexibility in Principle 6 to avoid making the prescription so restrictive that the frames might be difficult to manage. For example, the verbs *tie*, *glue*, *staple* and *attach* all have different requirements as CONNECTOR in frames of attaching one object to another. Therefore, the requirement of the verb *tie* as the CONNECTOR denoted as a “relatively

long, thin, flexible object” can be relaxed with the verbs *glue*, *staple* and *attach*, which evoke the same ATTACHING_ONE_OBJECT_TO_ANOTHER frame as does the verb *tie*, but each with a different type of CONNECTOR (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 15).

Principle 7

Smaller groups are lumped together if semantic differences are due to general constructions of the language, such as passive voice, middle voice, tense/aspect constructions and composition with extra-thematic frame elements. Antonyms are grouped together. Therefore, words that are antonyms for each other such as *high* and *low* can both be put into the Position_on_a_scale frame (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 16).

Principle 8

Speech context differences, such as deixis, register, dialect and evaluation, are not included. These are classified as semantic types and are marked accordingly. For example, *generous* in the Stinginess frame is marked as POSITIVE_JUDGMENT whereas *stingy* is marked as NEGATIVE_JUDGMENT (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 16).²⁹

Principle 9

Frame development focuses on paraphrasability (or near-paraphrasability); that is, can one lexical unit be substituted (to a degree) for another lexical unit and evoke the same frame and express the same kinds of semantic roles as the syntactic dependents of the new lexical unit? This is discussed and exemplified further in §4.7. The notion interchangeable is used similarly to paraphrasability in the investigation.

The above listing of criteria appears to be fairly simple, but applying them to each occurrence sometimes requires decisions that are not obvious. The strong points of the criteria are that, in many situations, they seem intuitively correct and are ‘loose’ enough to allow some relaxation of a criterion in specific cases if there are clear reasons for doing so.

The full annotations that are used in FrameNet are not applied in the study. It is mentioned, though, that annotations in FrameNet can be done according to one of two goals. The first goal, the one which is of concern in the investigation, is the **lexicographic annotation mode**, which focuses on “recording the range of semantic and syntactic

²⁹ Semantic types are not included in the research as they not seem to occur in the frames of JOY in BH.

combinatory possibilities (valences) of each word in each of its senses” (FrameNet, 2010: 20). Although the entire text being analyzed is examined, only sentences in which the target/profiled lexical unit occurs are extracted and examined. From all of these sentences, sample sentences are selected and analyzed.

The other possibility is to do a running text or **full-text annotation**. In this mode, each word of a text is selected as a target/profiled lexical unit. The full-text annotation goes beyond the scope of the study and is not discussed until further studies in §5.3.

2.6 The dynamic construal approach

The dynamic construal approach is an extension or elaboration of frame semantics and was proposed by Cruse (2004: 261-72).³⁰ It has been used by, for example, Kövecses (2006: 227-48) and Sheard (2007: 32-6). It pulls together many of the notions discussed in §2.2-§2.5 into a coherent understanding of meaning construal and communication from a maximalist perspective.

Croft and Cruse (2004: 40) hypothesize that “Whenever we utter a sentence, we unconsciously structure every aspect of the experience we intend to convey.” Every part of the grammatical expression involves conceptualization. Conceptualization is understood as a range of various processes; to speak of conceptualization is to talk about construal. Construal operations are the various processes used in language and communication. The speaker is the construer of meaning in an act of communication and strives to formulate an utterance in such a way that it will lead the hearer to the desired interpretation. Croft and Cruse (2004: 100) point out that often the speaker does not fully understand the utterance until it has been spoken.

Construal operations are cognitive processes that allow people within a culture and within different cultures to construe the same experience or think in different ways. Kövecses (2006: 227) writes that “When we say that an entity or situation is construed in a particular way, what we mean is that it is interpreted or conceptualized in some way.” The different ways of conceptualizing something are known as *alternative construals*.

The creation of construals in the dynamic construal approach follows Smith and Samuelson’s (1997) proposal that there are three elements from which a concept is created (Croft and Cruse 2004: 93). The elements are past history, immediately preceding mental activity and immediate context. Past history includes all of the individual’s experiences, with

³⁰ Cf. Croft and Cruse (2004: 4, 92-104).

the notion that each experience is layered on the previous experiences and enriches understanding (§2.2). The frame or frame matrix is the interlinking and mental representation of all of this knowledge. The second element, immediately preceding mental activity, is part of the coherence of communication. Quoting from Smith and Samuelson, Croft and Cruse (2004: 93) write that “there is a pull for coherence from one thought to the next one, for the meaning of an event to depend on its place in a stream of events.” The example given is priming. In textual analysis, the immediate context of a passage can provide clues to this second element. The third element is the immediate context, which is taken as inclusive of everything from the linguistic expression, psychological features, socio-cultural features, and anything within the current scope of the experience.

Frames are also construable (at least to some degree). As to the degree of construability, they may be more stable than boundaries, but perhaps more variable than proposed by Lakoff and Fillmore (Croft and Cruse 2004: 95). This follows from the earlier work of Barsalou (1983) on ad hoc categories. The notion of frame construal variability is still a matter of research (Croft and Cruse 2004: 96).

The dynamic construal approach to word meaning is known as purport (cf. §2.2). It is the conceptual content associated with a word form. Meaning is construed out of this conceptual information. Words have semantic properties and a meaning potential. However, these properties are not the meaning of a word or expression. Rather they are the raw material that a word contributes to the construal process of an interpretation. That which is at the focus of attention at the time of understanding is the interpretive meaning of an expression. (Croft and Cruse 2004: 100).

The example given by Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 100) is that of a picture. The elements of an utterance are like the pixels underlying the picture on the computer screen. The resultant picture is a Gestalt, which is the interpretation. Further noted is that the focus of understanding is on the hearer. But it is necessary for the speaker to construct the linguistic expression so as to guide the hearer to the desired interpretation.

If the author has understood this correctly, then the image can be extended to photography. A good photographer is one who knows how to compose a picture in such a way as to draw the eyes of the observer to focus on the relevant part of the photograph. If done correctly, while the eye might scan the entire photograph, the angles, lighting and other features of the photograph narrow the scope of the scanning to the most relevant part. An observer might have to conscientiously search out other features in order to see everything in the picture. Similarly, the speaker construes an utterance in such a way that the hearer is

quickly guided to the relevant interpretation without having to take in all of the features in the periphery. As the speaker construes the utterance, the range of possible inferential implicatures is narrowed so that the linguistic expression is determinate; the speaker starts with indeterminacy, but the hearer starts at a determinate point and is guided quickly to the desired (inferential) interpretation, just as a photographer starts with an entire landscape (or portrait) but frames it in such a way that the photograph only brings to attention what is relevant for understanding the “construal” of the photograph. Communication is inferential, but construal and constraints on construal guide the hearer to the desired interpretation.

The consistency or coherence among the uses of a word is probably linked to the association between a word form and purport. Purport is linked to previous uses of the word in specific occurrences. In this way, meaning potential is always being enriched; it is always under development (§2.2).³¹

A construal of interpretations is not unconstrained. It cannot mean just anything the speaker or hearer wants it to mean. These constraints can be overcome, but the stronger the constraint, the more cognitive effort is needed to overcome the constraint. Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 101-103) lists four major constraints, the fourth having four parts.

- Human cognitive capacities—capability to impose Gestalt principles and memory and attentional limitations.
- Nature of reality—certain aspects of reality are easier to construe than others. For example, it is easier to construe marriage as a dichotomy (*married: single*) than as a matter of degree (*very married, slightly married*). Linear spatial extent is easier to construe as gradable more than as a dichotomy.
- Convention—societies tend to construe situations and words in certain ways. One difference in semantic potential between word forms comes from each word form’s associated purport. Second, some construals favor a particular purport, and a default status might be assigned to a certain word form. These are context-sensitive, and conventional constraints might favor certain construals over others.
- Context (§1.6.4)—the constraints imposed by context are listed as the following four:
 - (a) linguistic, which includes previous utterance, immediate linguistic environment

³¹ The idea of enrichment of meaning potential raises questions of concern to diachronic change. Does a word take on new meaning or is meaning potential enriched and later usages activate features of meaning potential that have been added during the course of usage? The features of meaning potential can remain underspecified until activated in a new context. Newer features can be activated while leaving previously used features underspecified but ready for activation when needed (§2.2). Some features may fall in disuse and “disappear.”

and discourse type (genre, register, and other); (b) physical context—the participant’s perceptions of the immediate environment; (c) social context—social situation at the time of the event and relationships; and (d) stored knowledge—all previous experiences form the background of each utterance.

Default construals (e.g., glosses used in lexicons) are a result of the constraints. They give the appearance that meaning is fixed (Croft and Cruse 2004: 104).

2.7 Construal operations

Croft and Cruse (2004: 43-44) describe the two general classifications of construal operations as presented by Talmy’s imaging systems (1977, 1978a, 1988a, and 1988b) and Langacker’s (1987) notion of focal adjustments.³² Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 44) notes that Langacker’s and Talmy’s systems are similar, but they are not comprehensive. For example, they do not include frames, metaphors and image schemas. Image schemas are not specific images, but are schematic, drawn from imagistic domains such as CONTAINERS. These are important in conceptual metaphors such as CONTAINER and SOURCE-PATH-GOAL conceptual metaphors. The importance of frames has, to some extent, been mentioned in §2.5.2. Metaphors are discussed in §2.8.

Therefore, Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004) proposes a new classification that follows construal operations, as suggested by cognitive linguistics, and psychological processes, as presented by cognitive psychologists and phenomenologists. The proposed analysis “is that the various construal operations are manifestations of the four basic cognitive abilities in different aspects of experience” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 45). The following provides examples and explanation of the construal operations adapted from Croft and Cruse (2004: 46-68).³³ All of the operations are part of the approach used in the model, but not all are given the same weight in each occurrence of a lexical unit. Only those operations that proved beneficial to the investigation of JOY are outlined below.

Examples of construal operations

Saliency/ Attention

Attention focuses on the human capacity to attend to or focus on one thing, whereas saliency refers to natural properties of phenomena that make them attended to, which draw’s

³² Charts for the two systems are shown in Croft and Cruse (2004: 43-44).

³³ For a full accounting, see Croft and Cruse (2004: 46-73) and, with modifications, Kövecses (2006: 227-48).

human attention. Four aspects of attention that occur across all domains of thought are: focus; scope of attention surrounding the focus; adjusting (in degrees) the graininess of the scene; and either fixing attention on a scene or scanning it.

Selection

Selection refers to the human ability to attend to only relevant parts of an experience and ignore the rest. One example of selection is provided in the discussion of *profile* (§2.5.1). The different words in a frame focus the attention on different elements of the frame. A change in word morphology can create a shift in profile, such as changing *write* to *writer* shifts the profile from the process to the agent (Croft and Cruse 2004: 47). One specific shift of interest to the analysis is seen in highlighting different facets or domains in a domain matrix (Croft and Cruse 2004: 47).³⁴ A word can have a broad range of possible facets. A linguistic expression can be construed to select one of the features. Croft and Cruse (2004: 48) provide the following example, with the facet or meaning potential feature activated being noted in parentheses following each linguistic expression:

- (14) a. The *Chronicle* costs a dollar. (tome)
 b. The *Chronicle* called for his resignation. (editor)
 c. The *Chronicle* went bankrupt. (company)

In each of the linguistic expressions, the construal evokes a frame in which different facets—tome, editor and company—of *Chronicle* are highlighted. The facets or features of meaning potential related to the lexemes associated with JOY investigated in the study are clarified further in §2.8.1.2 and §3.2.2). The construal of each linguistic expression in a frame is made so as to activate (highlight or foreground) the feature of meaning potential relevant to the communication and leave the remaining potential underspecified or underdetermined (§2.2).

One of the processes of selection is *metonymy* (discussed further in §2.8.2). Traditional analysis of metonymy has suggested that the noun phrase is what shifts the profile. In the *active zone* notion, it is the verb that is responsible for the semantic shift. “In an active zone analysis the relational predication—a verb, adjective, adverb or preposition—adjusts its meaning to accommodate its semantic argument, and incorporates the ‘literal argument’ as its active zone” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 48-49). The result is that the semantic shift is a function of salience, permitting the salient entity to be the *semantic as well as the*

³⁴ Whether or not facets are interpreted as separate senses of a word is open to debate (Croft and Cruse 2004: 47).

syntactic argument of the verb. An example, adapted from Croft and Cruse (2004: 49), is the following:

- (15) She heard the piano.
 Meaning of heard: SU heard sound of OBJ.
 She heard (the sound of) the piano.

The active zone of the verb is the sound of the object referent. It is the verb, not the noun phrase, which is responsible for the semantic shift. Pragmatically, this is its salience in the semantic frame. A BH example is given in example (83) §3.12.

Judgment/comparison

The notion of judgment and comparison includes categorization, metaphor and figure-ground alignment. All of these notions involve a particular kind of comparison. The notion of judgment comes from the philosophical literature, whereas its cognitive linguistic counterpart is comparison (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 54).

For categorization, the judgment or comparison is between an immediate experience and previous experiences to which a word, morpheme or construction is applied. This can be seen in, for example, choosing the word *murder* instead of *kill* for a scene in which one person affects the death of another. This can even have the effect of redefining the frame (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 55). It is also an important notion in the study on emotion, because such word choices can affect the construal of emotional attitude in a scene (for example, the choice of foetus vs. unborn baby). Examples of this in BH are provided in construals such as Ezek 16:21 where the prophet uses the word שחט *slaughter* or *butcher* (HALOT 1999: 1458) in regard to the sacrifices of children.³⁵

Conceptual metaphor is the construal operation of comparison primarily focused on in the research. The notion of conceptual metaphor and emotion is more thoroughly explicated in §2.8. The comparison involves two domains—the Source Domain and the Target Domain. The construal of a domain is often defined by the metaphor chosen. For example, the metaphor construed in *stock market crash* indicates an abnormal low in the stock market,

³⁵ The construal of Ezek 16:20-21 results in a very negative judgment on Israel's participation in sacrificing children to Molech. Two features of the construal highlight the acts as pure abomination. The first is perspective: the spokesperson, YHWH, refers to the children as "my children," a subjective perspective. Second, there are three terms for sacrifice conflated in vv20-21—זבח, which usually, in Jewish ritual, refers to the sacrifice and sacrificial meal, שחט, which normally refers to the actual slaughtering or butchering of the animal, and עבר, "pass over," referring to completely consuming the child in the fire (Block 1997: 490; Zimmerli 1979: 344). The hypothesis is that by choosing שחט and עבר to evoke sub-events of the frame, the brutality and foreignness of the sacrifices have been foregrounded.

whereas in the metaphor *stock market correction*, the low standing of the market is normal, indicating a correction of an abnormally high level (Lakoff and Johnson 2004: 55).

There is debate within cognitive linguistics and between cognitive pragmatics and cognitive linguistics concerning metaphor (§2.8). The assumption held in the research is that, at least on some level, primary conceptual metaphor involves comparison. However, especially in novel, complex metaphors, comparison plays only a partial role.

Perspective/situatedness

The construal operation of perspective and situatedness includes the more specific notions of viewpoint, deixis, and subjectivity operations. It refers to our situatedness in the world at a particular location, in which location is broadly interpreted to include time, culture, spatial location and epistemic context (Croft and Cruse 2004: 58). Construal always occurs within a situation and from some perspective. Perspective is a central feature in frame development and the interpretation of words in linguistic expressions (Principle 4, §2.5.3 and §3.13).

Empathy

The notion of empathy comes from Kuno and Kaburaki (1977) and relates to the “participant in the reported event whose perspective is taken by the speaker” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 61). Because empathy is part of perspective, it is open to construal. Croft (Croft and Cruse 2004: 62) concludes that the notion of empathy and deixis help understand grammatical categories such as subject. They represent a construal in the situation described by the utterance. A construal approach can predict patterns of use, of acceptability or unacceptability.

Subjectivity

Knowing the perspective of a situation is crucial in understanding the situatedness of a person or of persons in their particular location—cultural context, epistemic context, spatial context, and temporal context. Central to the idea of perspective is the contrast between subjectivity and objectivity, which indicates if the conceptualization includes the speaker or not (Croft and Cruse 2004: 62). In subjectivity, the speaker tends to use a personal pronoun to identify self in relation to the speech act. The following example is adapted from Croft and Cruse 2004: 62):

- (16) [*said by mother to child:*]
 a. Don't lie to me!
 b. Don't lie to your mother!

The semantic effect a subjective perspective might have on the determinate meaning of a lexeme in a frame is one of the encyclopedic features missing in many lexicons (cf. example (2), §1.0). However, it is important to determine the subjective vs. objective perspective in each construal in order to understand which aspect of meaning potential of a lexeme is activated in the particular situation (§3.13).

Constitution/Gestalt

Gestalt is the most basic level of constituting and giving structure to experience, and its notions of proximity, bounding, and good continuation help describe how humans can create or construe a single, complex object from fragmented perceptions (Croft and Cruse 2004: 63). The notion is carried over into cognitive linguistics in *structural schematization* and *image schemas*, which are two sub-headings for Gestalt.

The most detailed work in the area of structural schematization is Talmy, according to Croft and Cruse (2004: 63). It describes “the conceptualization of the topological, meronomic and geometrical structure of entities and their component parts (Croft and Cruse 2004: 63). For the research, *individuation* is a notion of structural schematization that has proven to be helpful. Individuation refers to the boundedness of an entity. It is subject to construal. For example, an individual is construed as bounded. A team, although composed of multiple individuals, can also be considered bounded if construed as a single unit.

Alternative construals of bounded/unbounded have effect on truth-conditionality and can also provide scalar adjustment. The following examples are adapted from Croft and Cruse (2004: 64).

- (17) a. *leaf*—bounded individual, part of one tree, fine-grained scalar adjustment
 b. *leaves*—multiple individual, comparable to *foliage*, coarse-grained scalar adjustment
 c. *chocolate*—unbounded, homogeneous, coarse-grained scalar adjustment
 d. *chocolates*—bounded, fine-grained scalar adjustment

This notion is applied to the plural form תְּחִיבִים in §3.14 examples (86), (87) and (88).

The *scale image schema* can also impose structure, usually on properties. Often, in English, the construals of this kind involve words like *slightly*, *very*, and other words that indicate lesser or greater degrees on a scale.

(18) Betty is slightly more graceful than Joy, though both are very beautiful.

In example (18), the first scalar adjustment (*slightly more*) is between Betty and Joy, but the second one (*very beautiful*) put Betty and Joy in comparison with the *beauty* of other, unspecified individuals. Numerous examples of the scale image schema for the BH concept of JOY are cited in §3.11.3.

Force dynamics

The force dynamics model is part of the model of emotion metaphors suggested by Kövecses and explicated in §2.8.1.2. The notion of force dynamics involves different kinds or forces of causation (Croft and Cruse 2004: 66). It has influence on syntax and is largely responsible for “encoding subject, object and oblique arguments of predicates” (Croft and Cruse 2004: 66). Therefore, different construals of force-dynamic structure of events can be made through the choice of verb, or verb forms, or different constructions.

In summary, conceptualization involves numerous processes in the creation of human communication of experience. These construals are intimately interwoven and yet are very structured. They often occur subconsciously and automatically. They consistently result in unified construal of meaning of an utterance (Croft and Cruse 2004: 70). A major hypothesis of Croft (Croft and Cruse 2004: 73) is that construal is a central, but highly constrained, aspect of language and its relation to thought.

Construal operates at the word level and at the level of the whole utterance. Word forms do not have inherent meaning but are associated with conceptual bodies of content. As Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 103) writes, “It is by means of a series of processes of construal that an essentially non-semantic purport is transformed into fully contextualized meanings.” These processes begin with meaning potential (raw material), go through an intermediate process (pre-meaning) and end in interpretation (determinate meaning). The construals include construal of boundaries which can, in some cases, give the intermediate stage of pre-meaning semantic properties. In other words, some words, as well as some boundaries, have default construals. The default construals are not inherent properties, but are associated with constraints, including word-concept usage (§2.6).

Some of the boundaries tend to be more ‘rigid’ than others. This, according to Cruse, is due to the image schema that imposes certain rigidity on the construal (Croft and Cruse 2004: 104). Similarly, boundary construal accounts for the appearance of componentiality without asserting that semantic features are permanent elements of the meaning of a word

(Croft and Cruse 2004: 104). Context works at both the level of word construal and the level of the whole expression.

2.8 Figurative language: metaphor, metonymy and non-verbal expressions

The embodiment of the mind allows the sensorimotor images of our day-to-day experience to be used for domains of subjective experience which are linguistically expressed as metaphors (cf. introduction to embodiment §1.6.2). In order to establish this, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) take an integrated approach. They use studies by Johnson (1997a and 1997b) (*theory of conflation*), Grady (1997) (*theory of primary metaphor*), Narayanan (1997a and 1997b) (*neural theory of metaphor*) and Turner and Fauconnier (1995 and 1998) (*theory of conceptual blending*) (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 46-47).

The first assumption regarding the two-domain theory of metaphors is the theory of conflation. The idea is that two domains are activated simultaneously. For example, the domains of knowing and of seeing are two different domains. Both domains are the basis of such metaphorical statements as, “I see what you mean.” Johnson (1997a) discovered that the period of conflation, with both domains coactivated, occurs prior to the use of the metaphor. During the conflation period, the grammar of *know* is used with the verb *see* in the context of knowing and seeing—“let’s see what’s in the box” = “let’s know what’s in the box” (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 48). Johnson draws the conclusion that there are two stages that occur: 1) a *conflation* period when the domains are coactivated and not seen as separate and 2) a *differentiation* stage when the two coactivated stages can be differentiated as metaphorical source and target domains (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 49).

Grady’s (1997) theory of primary metaphors states that these early or primitive metaphors are atomic building blocks for complex metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 49). During a period of time, coactivation of the primary metaphors leads to mappings into complex metaphors.³⁶ The notions of complex metaphors and conceptual blending are given attention in the discussion of Fauconnier and Turner’s (2003) notion of compression (§2.5.2) and Kövecses’ (2000) study of emotions and conceptual metaphor (§2.8.1.1-§2.8.1.2).

The basic assumptions of Narayanan’s (1997a) neural model come from the neural networks and tie in with conflation theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 54-55), using the MORE IS UP metaphor, explains Narayanan’s assumptions in the following steps. First, there is a ‘neurally instantiated’ correlation between a sensorimotor operation (vertical change) and a

³⁶ Cf. Table 4.1, pages 50-54 of Lakoff and Johnson (1999) for a listing of the primary metaphors.

subjective experience (judgment of quantity). Next, in the conflation period, the two domains are coactivated, and inferences are made (observing a quickly filled glass of water leads to the inference that as something moves up, it becomes more). Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 55) write, “Via the neural connection, the results of these inferences are ‘projected’ from the sensorimotor *source network* (verticality) to the subjective judgment *target network* (quantity).” The point is that the sensorimotor domain of motion is used to reason about quantity. The opposite, that is, using the quantity domain in order to reason about motion, is not true.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999: 55-6), Narayanan’s model indicates why the reverse is not true, using the following posits (adapted from Lakoff and Johnson 1999: 55-6):

- The sensorimotor neural system has more inferential connections and greater inferential capacity than neural systems characterizing subjective experience. This is the source of asymmetrical flow in primary conceptual metaphors.
- Conventional language connected to a concept in the sensorimotor source network may develop connections to the corresponding target-domain network. Also, mental images associated with source-domain entities can be activated and associated with target-domain entities.
- Source-to-target domain mappings must be activated.
- When both domains are active, the images associated with the source-domain are activated and thereby associated with target-domain entities neurally connected to them.

Primary metaphors are learned, not innate, and connected in the neural system automatically and daily. They are universal, in that embodied experiences are universal. Metaphors are, according to the embodiment theory, not a result of interpretation, but mappings made via neural connections.

Most of the literature is in agreement on the fact that figurative language is more than rhetorical flourishing (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3; Kövecses 2000: 17; Cruse 2004: 198; Vega 2007: 52ff). The difference between cognitive semantics and relevance theory is in the model of interpretation.³⁷ The route taken in the investigation follows the assumptions made in cognitive linguistics: the cognitive system is fundamentally metaphorical, and language is

³⁷ Relevance theory challenges the two-domain theory suggested by cognitive semantics and proposes that metaphor interpretation and comprehension results from interpretation through the inferential process (cf. Vega 2007: 85-119, 122-124).

the evidence for the metaphorical system (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3-4). Second, metaphors emerge from a two-domain system of a source domain and target domain. To cite Lakoff and Johnson (2000: 5, with italics in the original), “*The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.*” Although there is still a lot of research and debate concerning metaphors, the two-domain theory is the basic notion followed in the study in regard to the primary conceptual metaphors.

In the following sub-paragraphs, the models presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980; 1999), Kövecses (2000; 2006), and Croft and Cruse (2004) are the starting point. The models from cognitive linguistics have been effectively applied to BH studies (Kruger 1994; 1996; 2001; 2005; Kotzé 2003; Smith: 1998). Van Hecke (2003) applied insights from cognitive semantics on the lexical structure of the root *r'h* and the possible diachronic changes that brought about the structure. Recently, Van Hecke and Labhan (2010) have published a large number of articles referring to metaphors in the Hebrew psalter from a cognitive linguistic point of view. The specific model and notions presented in the following discussion are based primarily on Kövecses (2000) for emotions and Smith (1998) and Kruger (1996) for non-verbal expressions.

2.8.1 Kövecses’ model for the study of emotion language

Kövecses (2000: 183) proposes a model for understanding the role of metaphor in structuring the conceptualization of emotion. The model is based on the English conceptualization of emotions on a generic level and the specific level (cf. basic-level categorization, §2.4.2.3). The reason for choosing Kövecses’ (2000) model as a starting point for studying lexemes associated with JOY in BH is that it takes into consideration the universal features as well as the cultural specific features of metaphor (§1.6.3). It has also been satisfactorily applied in previous lexical semantic studies in BH (§1.1 and §2.8.3). The proposal consists of a synthesis between a ‘social constructionist’ approach and a ‘body-based constructionist’ approach. The former tends to deny the universality of some basic emotions. The ‘body-based constructionism’ view posits that some of the *aspects* of emotion and emotion language are universal and related to embodiment. What remains can be contributed to cultural specific knowledge and discourse functions of a language.

The ‘social constructionist’ view is espoused by Lutz and White (1986; also Lutz 1988; Wilce 2009). It focuses on the specific cultural aspects of emotion and highlights the differences from society to society. In contrast, Kövecses’ view is the “Embodied Cultural Prototype View” (2000: 14). It asserts that metaphors are motivated by the body; it is in line

with the embodiment philosophy of language (§1.6.2). Concepts are not arbitrary, nor merely artifacts produced by the socio-cultural context. Kövecses' synthesis proposes that an emotion concept "is *both* motivated by the human body *and* produced by a particular social and cultural environment" (Kövecses 2000: 14, italics in the original). "Embodied Cultural Prototype View" allows for the use of models and conclusions that are verifiable by cognitive linguistics as well as recognizing the culture-specific variations of each language group.

2.8.1.1 Emotions as [EVENT]

Kövecses (2006: 51) notes that scholars tend to subcategorize emotions as a state, and that states are the opposite of events. In contrast, the general population and some early scholars subcategorize them as passions in opposition to actions. Kövecses (2000: 52) studies emotion language to determine how people really think about emotions: are they states, events, actions, passions or what?

He follows the idea from Lakoff (1990) that emotion metaphors are consistent with the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, which understands events (in general) as being understood metaphorically "in terms of physical movement, physical force, and physical space."

Kövecses (2000: 52) lists the ten event structure submetaphors identified by Lakoff as the following:

1. STATES ARE LOCATIONS
2. CHANGES ARE MOVEMENTS
3. CAUSES ARE FORCES
4. ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION
5. PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS
6. MEANS (OF CHANGE OF STATE/ACTION) ARE PATHS (TO DESTINATIONS)
7. DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO EMOTIONS
8. EXPECTED PROGRESS IS A TRAVEL SCHEDULE
9. EXTERNAL EVENTS ARE LARGE MOVING OBJECTS
10. LONG-TERM, PURPOSEFUL ACTIVITIES ARE JOURNEYS

The question that Kövecses ponders is, is there any overlap between the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and the metaphors of emotion? To answer the question, he examines various English metaphors of emotion in light of the ten submetaphors of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and makes four observations. These observations are used as a basis for analyzing the concept associated with *שמח* (§3.10.1 and §3.10.2).

The *first observation* he makes is that emotion metaphors clearly exhibit three cases of the state part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, which can be identified as the following

(adapted from Kövecses (2000: 55), with the single-lined arrow indicating “corresponding to”).

1. State (Entity) → Bonded Region: emotions are construed as states; they are understood in the metaphorical terms of physical states:

(19) He was *in* despair over the situation.

In example (19), the emotion of despair is construed as a specific, bounded location, and the individual is *in* the location (despair).

2. Change (Entity, State₁; Entity, State₂) → Motion: a person changes from one state (non-emotional) to another, emotional state, and the change is conceptualized as motion. The motion is usually construed as movement into or out of a bounded region:

(20) She flew *into* a rage at the drop of a hat.

In example (20), the implication is that X was in a nonemotional state, but instantly changed from that State₁ and moved (flew) into State₂, the emotion of rage.³⁸

3. Cause (Change [Entity, State₁; Entity, State₂] → Force: the change from the non-emotional state to the emotional state is conceptualized as caused by an entity or event, usually metaphorically expressed by a physical force. According to Kövecses (2000: 55), this often is understood in the folk theory of emotion as the cause of emotion leads to emotion. This is schematized as the following, with the double arrow indicating “causes, leads to”:

Cause of Emotion (Entity/Event) ⇔ Emotion

In construals of this kind, a verb is often used to denote the notion of an outside force acting upon the individual:

(21) Constant failure *drove* him to despair.

In example (21), the constant failure is construed as a force acting on the individual and causing the emotion. The same verbs, or similar ones, are often used in descriptions of emotions and their effects:

³⁸ The use of the term “nonemotional state” is somewhat ambiguous. It is not interpreted in the research as meaning that most individuals live without emotions, as if they were zombies, until some force moves them into a certain state of emotion. Rather, there is an equilibrium in which no specific emotion is motivating a particular response until a specific cause acts on the individual in such a way as to motivate a change in states. In the nonemotional state, perhaps, emotions are backgrounded. The idea of the nonemotional state is directly addressed in §4.14.2 by suggesting an alternative in regard to the BH conceptualization of JOY.

(22) Fear *pushed* him beyond his ability to cope.

Example (22) illustrates how the emotion itself affects the person, acting as a force. All of these examples (19-22) provide the evidence that emotion metaphors correspond to the STATE part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor.

The *second observation* is that emotion metaphors have minimal overlap with the ACTION part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor. In the previously cited list of ten submetaphors, the ACTION part is exhibited by numbers 4-10. In order to understand this observation, it is necessary to understand that “Actions are intentionally produced events, and they are conceptualized metaphorically as self-propelled movements” (Kövecses 2000: 53). He does not find examples of this in (English) emotion language and concludes that it is because, in the folk theory of emotions, emotions are conceptualized as passions and not as actions (Kövecses 2000: 56). Passions do not have the subject-intentionality that is a salient feature of the ACTION part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor.

The *third observation* also concerns the action part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and metaphors of emotion. Kövecses (2000: 56), following Lakoff, Espenson, and Goldberg (1989), notes that with the two submetaphors, ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION and CAUSES ARE FORCES, there are two other submetaphors. The first is CONTROL OVER ACTION IS CONTROL OVER SELF-PROPELLED MOTION. The idea is that action is motion and causes are forces. Control over action is control over motion. The conceptualization of emotion as something the subject has *control over* is exemplified by “He held back his anger,” or “He unleashed his anger” (Kövecses 2000: 56). He analyzes these metaphors, starting with the metonymic reading that the ANGER STANDS FOR EMOTIONAL ACT on behalf of the person in the emotional state. Control over these acts is intentional and conscious and is clear evidence that there is an *action* aspect to emotions, which is conceptualized in the more general EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor (Kövecses 2000: 57).

DESIRE THAT CONTROL ACTION ARE EXTERNAL FORCES THAT CONTROL MOTION is another metaphorical entailment of the submetaphors ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION and CAUSES ARE FORCES (Kövecses 2000: 57). The key word in the submetaphor is *desire*. Desires are external forces that control emotional actions by influencing the subject of emotion, who, therefore, experiences the desire as an external force. As an external force, then, it is not conscious or intentional on the part of the subject. An example using a metaphor of love is “She *attracts* me *irresistibly*” (Kövecses 2000: 57). The desire is an external force controlling the action and is not intentional. It, therefore, is different from the

intentionality of the subject noted in the previous submetaphor CONTROL OVER ACTION IS CONTROL OVER SELF-PROPELLED MOTION. As claimed in *observation two*, the lack of intentionality of the control on the part of the subject makes it closer to a passion than an action.

The *fourth observation* is that emotion metaphors tend not to be self-propelled motions, but are seen as other-propelled motions (Kövecses 2000:57). The submetaphor of the event structure metaphor is ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION. However, in the study of emotion metaphors, English linguistic expressions of emotion tend to use verbs of motion to describe emotion. The emotion is experienced as a force other than or outside of the ego (self) propelling the ego to a response. Kövecses (2006: 57) concludes:

...emotions are assumed to lead to certain behavioral responses that the self undergoes. In this scheme, emotion itself becomes a cause relative to the response it produces. Thus the emotion is conceptualized as a force and the effect of the emotion, that is, the behavioral response as the effects of the force.

The EMOTION IS A FORCE metaphor is illustrated in example (22), in which FEAR is experienced by the ego as a force beyond ego's ability to control and which compels the self to the behavioral response, *unable to cope*. The self's inability to cope is not the intention of the ego, but is caused by the emotion.

Kövecses' proposal is that the *English folk theory* subcategorizes emotion as states (usually *in a location*), events (causal aspect), actions (intentional, control) and passions (not intentional, other-propelled).³⁹ He then proposes a five-stage cognitive model. The following is an adaptation of the five-state scenario from Kövecses (2000: 58, with single-lined arrows indicating an effect on ego resulting in movement to the next stage):

(23) Cause → Emotion → Control → Loss of Control → Behavioral Response

The skeletal structure exemplified in (23) is expanded by Kövecses (2000: 58). The first stage is something *causes* a nonemotional state to change into an emotional state. The person experiences the emotion (stage 2) and attempts to control the emotional force (stage 3). In stage 3, the emotional force becomes too strong to be controlled. The person loses control (stage 4) which leads to a behavioral response. The behavioral response (stage 5) can have negative or positive consequences for the individual or socially. These 5 stages comprise what is, in the research, considered to be the Idealized Cognitive Model (§2.4.4) or

³⁹ In English, according to Kövecses (2000), emotions are viewed as both [ACTION] and [PASSION], but closer to [PASSION]. The proposals for BH are mentioned in §4.10.2.

prototypical scenario of emotion, in English. It is used as a *starting point* for the analysis of JOY in BH (§3.10).

The five-stage scenario and the relevant submetaphors of the EVENT STRUCTURE converge with each other to form a very consistent schema (Kövecses 2000: 59).

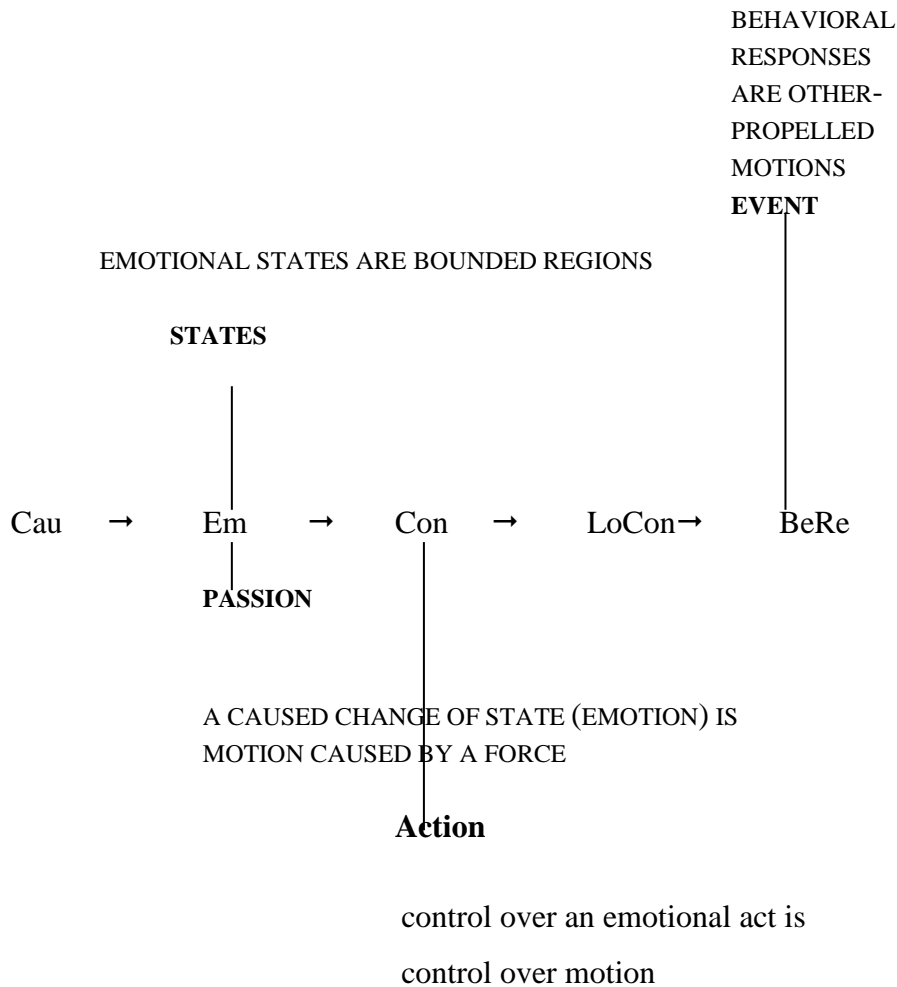


Figure 2.2 Event structure metaphor, emotion metaphors, and the subcategorization of emotion for English (adapted from Kövecses (2000: 59))

Starting from the left side of the figure, the submetaphor EMOTIONAL STATES ARE BOUNDED REGIONS is the STATE aspect of the EVENT STRUCTURE converging with Stage 2 (Emotion) of the scenario. Stage 3 (Control) of the scenario converges with the submetaphor A CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE (EMOTION) IS MOTION CAUSED BY A FORCE, which is the ACTION aspect of the EVENT STRUCTURE. Stage 4 is loss of control. Finally, the submetaphor A CAUSED CHANGE OF STATE (EMOTION) IS MOTION CAUSED BY A FORCE converges with Stage 5 (Behavioral Response) of the scenario, which is the EVENT aspect of the event structure metaphor.

In Figure 2.2, at Stage 2 (Emotion), there is a line drawn downward to the term PASSION. In discussions on observations 2, 3, and 4, it is stated that in the folk conceptualization of emotion, emotions are closer to passions than to actions of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, in English. The salient difference was in the intentionality of actions as opposed to passions, which are unintentional and other-propelled motion. According to Kövecses (2000: 59), this is because EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor does not take passions into consideration. According to Kövecses (2000: 59), in order to have a fuller understanding, then, of emotions as passions, it is necessary to add the submetaphors EMOTION IS INSANITY and DESIRE IS HUNGER. By doing so, the irrational and intense features of passions are included.

A proposed BH model is presented in §4.14 of chapter 4. It highlights the similarities and the differences between the BH conceptualization of JOY, as an emotion, and the English conceptualization of emotion. The cognitive understanding of emotion as [PASSION] and [ACTION], as related to the linguistic expressions analyzed in the research, is discussed in §3.10.2 and §4.10.

2.8.1.2 Force schema and emotion language

Another model used for understanding the emotion language of BH that is suggested to be applicable to the study is Kövecses' (2000) adaptation of Talmy's notion of the Force Schema (§2.7). It is based on the metaphor EMOTION IS A FORCE. The source domain is FORCE and the target domain is EMOTION. Elements from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain so that the latter is understood in reference to the former.

According to the Force Schema, there are two entities, of which one is exerting force on the other.⁴⁰ The entity exerting the force, and which is the more focal one, is called the Force Antagonist. The second entity, on which the force is being exerted, is the Force Agonist. The force being exerted is known as the Force Tendency. For the Force Antagonist, the force tendency is exerted toward the Force Agonist, whose tendency is used in an attempt to overcome the force tendency of the Force Antagonist. The interaction between the two forces has a result—one of the forces overcomes the other. A simple, physical example is the force tendency of blowing wind (wind = Force Antagonist) exerted on a piece of paper (piece of paper = Force Agonist). The force tendency of the wind is to move the piece of paper. The force tendency of the piece of paper is to overcome the force tendency of the wind (to remain inactive/not moved by the wind). The Force Agonist's tendency is toward inaction (Kövecses

⁴⁰ See Kövecses (2000: 62-65) for charts and citations from Talmy.

2006: 63). The resultant state is that either the piece of paper is moved by the wind or it remains still.

Kövecses (2000: 62-63) maps the FORCE elements over to the EMOTION. The Agonist is the ego or self being acted on by the Antagonist, which is the cause of the emotion or the emotion itself. The Force Agonist (the self or ego) is the entity that manifests a force tendency toward inaction (like the piece of paper). The Force Antagonist (the emotion comparable to the wind in the preceding example) is the entity that counters against the Force Agonist, usually overcoming it.

Kövecses (2000: 64) proposes that the structure of the most prevalent Western Folk Theory of emotion is the following two-part statement (the single-line arrows denote “leads to”):

- (24) a. a cause leads to emotion and
b. emotion leads to some response.

cause → emotion → response

A metaphor or linguistic expression can focus either on *cause* → *emotion* or focus on *emotion* → *response* or on the whole structure of *cause* → *emotion* → *response*. It is this skeletal structure, with the possibility of the different foci, which allows for the variability in the specific instantiations of the general EMOTION IS A FORCE metaphor (Kövecses 2000: 64).

As noted in §2.7, following example (14), the assumption is that when the linguistic expressions in which the lexemes associated with JOY are analyzed, they should, hypothetically, activate and highlight features such as [CAUSE], [EMOTION] or [RESPONSE]. These are features made relevant by the whole expression, which can highlight one or a combination of two or more of the features. The facets or aspects of meaning potential mentioned in example (14), §2.7, refer only to the lexeme. The features of meaning potential associated with the lexemes studied in the research are mentioned in §3.2.3. The lexeme is used in the construal so as to activate only one of the features and leave the others underdetermined. The whole linguistic expression can foreground a single feature or a combination of features.

2.8.2 Conceptual metonymy

Conceptual metonymy is another basic characteristic of cognition. There is some similarity between conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy. The difference is that while conceptual metaphor involves mapping between two domains, conceptual metonymy is

mapping within one domain. Often the difference is signified by using the copula for metaphor—EMOTION IS A FORCE—and the phrase STANDS FOR in metonymy—JERUSALEM STANDS FOR THE INHABITANTS OF JERUSALEM. Lakoff (1987: 79) points out that metonymies are one source of prototype effect in which “some subcategory or member or submodel is used...to comprehend the category as a whole.” This is a part-whole metonymy and is one of the more common forms of metonymy.

Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 216) distinguishes metaphor and metonymy in the following way. First, as already noted, metonymy normally involves only one domain or domain matrix. Second, the correspondences between the two entities are coincidental and are not relevant to the message. Third, there is no blending of the entities, as in metaphor. Cruse (2004: 218-19), however, suggests that the distinction is not rigid. There can be some indeterminacy between them.

As processes, metonyms can generate metaphors. This is done through the elaboration of a basic metonymy. A person who is angry might refer to the feeling of anger indirectly by mentioning heat. There are no correspondences at this level in the Lakoffian sense, but a metaphor such as ANGER IS HEAT is generated when elaborated, as in a construal in which anger is viewed as a liquid in a closed container on a fire (Croft and Cruse 2004: 218). The metonymy might be expressed in the statement, “*He’s getting hot under the collar. Watch out, he might explode!*” Cruse (Croft and Cruse 2004: 220) concludes that “expressions can be placed on a scale of metaphoricity-metonymicity. In another sense, however, the distinction between metaphor and metonymy as process arguably remains intact.” Instead of making rigid distinctions, the notion of a continuum on the scale of metaphoricity-metonymicity as a guide to analyzing the expressions is used in the study.

Metonymies are evidenced mostly in linguistic expressions dealing with physiological and expressive responses to emotional situations. Kövecses (2000: 134) notes that this is because there is a general metonymic principle in the human conceptual system found in the expression, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. Examples of metonymy, and most specifically the use of the non-emotion words בלג, רגן and רגן, are discussed in §3.12 and section 3 of chapter 4.

2.8.3 Applicability of Kövecses’ model in studies of biblical Hebrew lexemes

Kövecses’ (2000) model has been used in several studies of BH lexemes and their associated concepts: Kruger’s (2001) investigation of FEAR, Kotzé’s (2003) study of ANGER and van Wolde’s (2008) study of ANGER and LOVE (§1.6.3). Kruger (2001: 87) writes:

One of the most important insights of the cognitive model is the valid claim that conventionalized language employed to talk about emotion concepts reveals a great deal about the conceptual content and experience of these particular emotions. ... I established that the application of this theoretical frame to the vocabulary of fear in the Hebrew Bible is most instructive and allows a much clearer comprehension of the nature and experience of this emotion.

Van Wolde (2008) applies the various notions and models to English, Japanese and biblical Hebrew in a study of LOVE and ANGER. Even though Kövecses' (2000) model is based on a study of English emotions, it is applicable to other languages, including BH.⁴¹

Although the study of the lexemes associated with JOY is not intended to be a comparative investigation of lexemes denoting different emotion in BH, a brief reference to the findings of other studies using Kövecses' model is presented in §5.3.1. The aim is to indicate the applicability of the model to BH and to show how the notions of embodiment, metaphor and metonymy are useful in analyzing lexemes of various languages. The findings support the hypothesis that there are a set of universal cognitive processes by which various cultures make meaning, but that each culture has its own specific usage of the various processes and its own culture-specific conceptualization of the world. The similarities and differences between these culture-specific conceptualizations are discernible and describable in many instances.

The data also reveals the similarities and differences in concepts within the same language. For example, the data in the research suggests that JOY and ANGER in BH follow a similar 5 stage prototypical scenario. But there are possible differences in how some of the stages are conceptualized for each of the concepts.

2.8.4 Non-verbal expressions of emotion

In order to have a complete understanding of a concept, it is not sufficient to take into consideration only the literal words that ostensibly denote an emotion. Kövecses (2000: 139-140) writes:

If the study of figurative emotion language matters in English, it should also matter in other languages. We should study not only just a handful of literal words but the widest possible variety of figurative linguistic expressions relating to the emotions in several languages. To me, this seems to be the only reasonable basis for the linguistic study of emotions cross-culturally.

In the research, figurative language includes the non-verbal and symbolic expressions of emotion.

⁴¹ Kövecses (2000: 146-161) provides examples of emotion metaphors and metonymies from English, Hungarian, Chinese, Japanese, Chickasaw, Zulu and other languages.

The cross-cultural study of emotions is not only important for testing the potential universal aspects of emotion, but also for translators to understand the cultural-specific conceptualizations. An assumption of the research is that if translators do not have lexica that provide a description of the cognitive understanding of BH conceptualization of emotions, including the non-verbal and symbolic communications of the emotion, they will interpret words and passages from their understanding of the English conceptualization (English glosses provided by lexicons) and then try to match their skewed English understanding to their own conceptualization. Do all cultures “smile” as a non-verbal expression of JOY? Even though their language might have a rich non-verbal system of expressing the emotions from which they could possibly select terms to correspond to the BH, translators often either make a word-for-word translation of the English or simply use a literal word to denote the emotion whenever they encounter a non-verbal expression.

For example, in Prov 15:30, in the Tswana *Baebale E E Boitshepo* (2011), the phrase מְאֹרֵי עֵינַיִם *light of the eyes* has been translated literally as “lesedi la matlho” (*light of the eyes*).⁴² The Kalanga community of Botswana is currently translating the Hebrew Bible and has finished the manuscript for Prov. Even though the Kalanga translators speak Tswana, the literal Tswana “lesedi le matlho” and its Kalanga equivalent “tjedza tje mesho” did not communicate, for the translators, a figurative idea of JOY; it is not how Kalanga naturally express the non-verbal communication of JOY. They, and a few others who were tested, invariably made a literal interpretation until provided with further information. The Kalanga translators chose to use the phrase *buso gunomwemwetela*, an idiomatic phrase that can roughly be translated into English as “a face which is joyful.” People who have been tested using the phrase *buso gunomwemwetela* have shown immediate and correct interpretation of the text without need of further prompting.

Insights from cognitive linguistics being applied to the study of BH non-verbal expressions of emotion have been made. For example, Kruger (2005) did a study related to facial expressions and emotion in the Hebrew Bible. Kotzé (2004: 44-48) discussed the non-verbal communication of ANGER in BH. Kruger (2005: 661) noted that facial expressions and other non-verbal clues are important in the communication of emotions and suggested that “emotion concepts in a given language are not arbitrary, but that such evidence can afford insight into the embodied nature of emotion language in that specific language.” That the phrase *sparkling eyes* (Prov 15:30) communicates JOY to others is not just a poetic or

⁴² The information is taken from personal data related to the author’s work in the Kalanga Bible Translation Project of the Bible Society of Botswana. The author is totally responsible for the data and its interpretation.

arbitrary statement, but a specific expression of how JOY is understood within the BH speech community and allows for meaningful communication within the community.

One study that has looked at body parts and emotion is Smith (1998). He discusses the use of the Hebrew words for *liver/innards* (כִּבְדִּי) in BH to communicate emotions. There are places where the similar lexical form כְּבוֹד *glory* might be emended to read כִּבְדִּי *liver*—Ps 7:6 (כבדי to כבודי); 30:13 (כבוד to כבד); 57:9 (כבדי to כבודי); 108:2 (כבדי to כבודי). Smith (1998: 428) suggests three criteria to be used in determining whether or not to make any emendation in these four expressions. The criteria are (1) if there is a text-critical difficulty, (2) an absence of *honor/glory* as a theme, or parallelism with ‘I’, and (3) the parallelism with another body part such as לֵב heart. He notes that Ps 16:9 meets all three criteria. If the emendation is not made in Ps 16:9, then only Lam 2:11 can be taken as using *liver* to express emotion.

Usually the heart refers to both thoughts and emotions, but liver/innards only express emotions (Smith 1998: 429). Other parts of the body have different denotations—*fat* for *unreceptivity* and *arrogance* and *kidneys* are related to *malice* or *goodness* (Smith 1998: 429). The question Smith researched is, why are these body parts used to express emotion? He suggests two strategies that have been used to answer the question.

The first is Collins’ (1971a and 1971b) work on attempting to reconstruct the physiology of tears in BH. According to Smith (1998: 430), Collins proposed that the Hebrew conceptualization of tears was that it was a liquid that originated in the stomach viscera and found its way out through the tears. Collins’ study does not, however, aid in understanding why the *liver/innards* was used for expressing emotions (Smith 1998: 431).

The second strategy involves using cross-cultural information. The main proposal of this strategy is that the main physical experience of emotions is experienced in the heart and innards. This is, according to Smith (1998: 431), possibly due to the fact that “the location of emotional responses in various parts of the body in the Psalter was perhaps related to Israelite perceptions of physiological responses to emotions” The idea is well supported by the use of heat and the body parts such as nose and mouth to express anger.

The primary organ in BH for expressing the location of emotion is the heart. But the liver is also used to locate emotions. Looking at the Ugaritic cognate *kbd*, Smith suggests that the meaning is not usually the specific notion of *liver*, but closer to the idea of *insides* or *innards* (1998: 433). The same conclusion is drawn by looking at the Akkadian cognate *kabattu* (Smith 1998: 433). This suggests that the BH use of כִּבְדִּי probably is used in the general sense of *innards*, and not just the specific organ of the liver (Smith 1998: 434).

Finally, Smith (1998: 434) uses observations from contemporary doctors and psychologists that suggest that negative emotions are usually felt in the liver (innards), as opposed to the heart. So, for example, in English, there is the contrast between linguistic expressions for JOY—*my heart sang for joy*—and expressions for fear or anxiety—*his stomach was tied up in knots*. All of these observations are based on the physiological reaction to outside stimulation, for example, the changes of the digestive system to allow blood to flow to muscles in order to react to a threatening situation.

Smith points out that there are generally two roles that emotions play in communication. First, the communicative function of emotions is that “people communicate emotions as or before they recognize them cognitively” (1998: 434). Humans are conscious of the importance of the non-verbal communication of emotion, and it is this reason that motivates a common feature of communication, which is to ‘read the face’ of the speaker.

Another role of emotions in communication is the maintenance function (Smith 1998: 435). There are two models that espouse this view—the homeostatic model and the nonhomeostatic model. The former understands emotions as a way of maintaining balance or homeostasis. The latter takes a more evolutionary direction and maintains that, for example, depression is a way of conserving energy when it is scarce. Smith (1998: 436), however, concludes that there is a more functional understanding of the Hebrew use of emotions:

...play a larger role in communicating to others and preparing the self for action.... Prayer ultimately enables people who undertake it to move beyond the emotions which they feel and express.

In this case, then, emotions act on two levels. The first is that they play a role in communication to others, especially on the non-verbal level. Second, they motivate or prepare people for action.

Smith’s study was primarily concerned with the role of emotions in the Psalms. Kruger (1994, 1996, 2001 and 2005) has applied the cognitive approach to emotions and non-verbal expression to a broader context in the Hebrew Bible. He notes that translators often take one of two approaches to interpret non-verbal expressions. They either give a literal description of the specific gesture, or they try to paraphrase or explain the intention of the gesture (Kruger 2001: 213). Neither of these approaches takes into account the cultural determination of emotion in communication, nor do they take notice of the multiple meanings of words or gestures.

Kruger makes the useful distinction between symbolic gesture and non-verbal communication. He (1994: 214) points out that the latter are “tools for communication....”

After making a study of many of the non-verbal acts of communication and symbolic acts in the Hebrew Bible, he concludes with the general point that non-verbal communication and symbolic acts are significant acts of communication, even, at times, more so than verbal communication. An example he provides (1994: 220-21) is that of a communal meal which expresses the establishment of a relationship and which may or may not be followed by an actual oath-swearing ceremony; the meal itself is significant enough to establish the covenantal relationship (e.g., compare Gen 26 and 31 with Gen 14:17-24; 2 Sam 3:12-21).

The distinction between non-verbal communication and symbolic gesture for the BH concept of JOY is demonstrated in the study. One example of non-verbal communication of JOY is exemplified in Prov 15:30. The NIV has translated the target phrase as “cheerful look.”

(25) Prov 15:30 (NIV)

מְאוֹרֵ-עֵינַיִם יִשְׂמְחֶה-לֵב שְׂמוּעָה טוֹבָה תִּדְשֹׁן-עַצְמוֹ:

A cheerful look brings joy to the heart,
and good news gives health to the bones.

Murphy (1998: 115) writes that “the expressiveness of the eyes betrays an inner joy which others can recognize and be affected by.”⁴³ The JOY of one person is communicated to another person through the sparkling eyes or light in the eyes. The person who sees the sparkling eyes in turn usually becomes happy too. This is non-verbal communication.

2.9 Summary of chapter 2

In summary, the assumption followed in the research is that word meaning cannot be reduced to specific, immutable features contained in a morphological sign. Meaning is constructed at the time of the speech act using the knowledge of all the experiences a person has about something and which is shared with a larger speech community (§1.6.4 and §2.2). Specific words are associated with specific concepts. The concepts are structured bundles of information that a person has about something (§2.4.1). Hypothetically, this information is stored in memory in what has been defined as frames (§2.5.1). Cognitive frames can be discerned in linguistic expressions; the cognitive frames are expressed as linguistic frames. The words or expressions profile features of the frame or domain matrix.

⁴³ The idea of “sparkling eyes” (literally “light of the eyes,”) as being a non-verbal communication in BH is used for translating Prov 15:30. Prov 15:30 is the only linguistic expression where the NP occurs. The verbal phrase מְאוֹרֵת עֵינַיִם *enlightening the eyes*—1 Sam 14:27, 29; Ezra 9:8; Ps 13:4 and Prov 29:13—refers to reviving or re-invigorating a person or community, and in Ps 19:9 it refers to the enlightenment of the mind or reason. But it also might be that the verbal phrase *enlightening the eyes* has a double workload. Reviving a person is a cause of JOY (e.g., Ps 69:33 [32]), as are the precepts of YHWH (e.g., Ps 19:9). It is possible that מְאוֹרֵת עֵינַיִם denotes invigoration or enlightenment and JOY; it profiles the CAUSE OF EMOTION and the EMOTION.

The linguistic frames can be developed according to certain principles (§2.5.3). The frame provides the referential event in which the word under analysis occurs. The referential event includes the information of its frame elements—participants, props, time, location and other conceptual information. A core feature of a frame related to contextualized word meaning in the frame is perspective (Principle 4 in §2.5.3, example (16) in §2.7 and examples (84) and (85) in §3.13). The frame also allows the analyst to know the valences or the syntactic combinatory possibilities a word has in each of its senses (Table 3.1, §3.8 and Table 4.1, §4.7). The assumption is that each sense of a polysemous word belongs to a different semantic frame (§2.5.3).

After the frames have been developed, the investigation applies a construal analysis using notions taken from construal operations (§2.7). Individual words and their frames can be analyzed, as well as the relationship between near-synonymous words and other collocations.

The expected result of the whole process is twofold. First is the discernment of a (hypothetically) cognitive understanding of the concept being analyzed (Idealized Cognitive Model or prototypical scenario, §2.4.4): how the users of a language actually understood the concept. Second is a range of contextualized meaning potential (determined meaning of a word or expression in each of its uses in specific situations).

Chapter 3 provides a practical demonstration of how a case study following the above methodology is set up. Examples are provided on how to develop the frames according to the 9 Principles given in §2.5.3. Finally, the application of some of the construal operations from §2.7 and §2.8 is illustrated.

Chapter 3

A Demonstration of the Composite Model of Semantic Analysis Using *שמח* and its Derivatives as an Example

3.0 Introductory remarks

The purpose of chapter 3 is to provide a step-by-step demonstration of how the research was set up, the models and tools applied and what kind of information was recorded. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first presents the development of all of the frames which are evoked by *שמח* and its derivatives or in which they are invoked. The second section provides a construal analysis of data recorded when developing the frames. Not all of the data recorded is analyzed because of its volume and the limited space. The primary data analyzed is discussed in §3.9 through §3.16—conceptual metaphor, metonymy, perspective, individuation, and references to some related lexemes—are used to demonstrate the analysis. In §3.18, some preliminary hypotheses concerning the concept of JOY as symbolized by *שמח* are put forward in the conclusion. These hypotheses are then expanded on and discussed in chapter 4.

A complete development of each frame is beyond the research and cannot be accomplished through an investigation of the target linguistic units. Archaeological, sociological and anthropological information associated with the specific frame, as well as the working out of the domain matrix and relation with other lexemes associated with it, are needed to complete a full frame understanding and description. Barsalou (1992: 29-30) writes, “Although these simplified examples keep presentation tractable, it is important to remember that constructing a complete conceptual frame for a single category is a challenging and sobering experience.” Ultimately, a study of all of the words and expressions associated with the frame are investigated in relation to each other and the frame; an entire domain matrix analyzed and described. (cf. van Wolde 2008: 17, cited in §2.5.1).

The cautionary remarks are made to indicate that in the investigation, a complete write-up of all of the frames evoked by the lexemes in the study is not made. Only the frame elements, specific linguistic information deemed necessary for understanding the frame and a short summary of the frame are given. The frame write-ups are, therefore, somewhat truncated.

3.1 Setting up the investigation

The rationale for studying the BH lexemes associated with JOY is given in §1.8. Next a list of potential lexemes was determined and a preliminary study of the lexemes was made of the suggested words. The final lists with explication are given in §1.3.

The next step was to decide which word form of Set 1 in §1.3 was to be used as a base for studying the remaining words and expressions associated with JOY. The initial research indicated that the lexemes שִׂמְחָה.vb, שִׂמְחָה.nfs, שִׂמְחָהוֹת.nfp, and שִׂמְחָה.adj provided the clearest examples to be used in the pilot study. The reasons are:

- Statistically, of the lexemes listed in Set 1 (§1.3), שִׂמְחָה has the largest number of occurrences, providing a large pool of expressions from which to draw examples (basic statistics are given in §3.2).
- שִׂמְחָה has the widest distribution among the books of the Bible, occurring in all of the books *except* Joshua, Ruth, Micah, Haggai, Malachi and Daniel, thereby giving a large sampling of examples from different authors, historical periods and genres.
- שִׂמְחָה and its derivatives occur in various specific contexts and either evoke or are invoked in a wider assortment of frames than the other words which denoted JOY in the Hebrew Bible. The other lexemes denoting JOY are limited in the kinds of frames which they evoke or in which they are invoked (e.g., שׂוֹשׁ has a specific distribution with particular perspective with YHWH as the grammatical subject reference (e.g., Deut 28:63 and in other occurrences usually co-occurs with שִׂמְחָה), עֵלֶז has a limited set of frames in which it appears, often denoting arrogant boasting in military contexts (e.g., Isa 13:3), and גִּיל tends to be used primarily in congregational praise frames in the Hebrew psalter (e.g., Ps 48:12) or sections of the prophetic writings (e.g., Isa 25:9) (Westermann 1997: 312-313).⁴⁴ It tends to co-occur with שִׂמְחָה or other words associated with festivities.
- Finally, שִׂמְחָה occurs in only one linguistic expression which has generated discussion among scholars whether or not to emend the text to a different reading (Isa 9:16 [17], §3.17).

⁴⁴ These are general statements made for introductory purposes. More specific information about distribution of each lexeme is found in the various subparagraphs related to the individual lexemes in chapter 4.

Therefore, שמח provides the largest selection of clear, verifiable examples from which to gather data. After making the determination to start with שמח, the next step was to do a basic background investigation to provide a starting point for the study.

3.2 Background study of the lexical units שמח.vb, שמחה.nf, and שמחן.adj

In the Hebrew Bible, there are approximately 431 instances (combined nouns, verbs and adjectives) of the Set 1 words listed in §1.3. שמח and its derivatives have a combined total of 269 occurrences of the 431 instances (approximately 63% of the total). Specifically, שמח and its derivatives have 154 verb occurrences, 94 noun occurrences and 21 of the adjective. The author's statistics for שמח and its derivatives are the same as Ruprecht's (1997: 1273). The general distribution according to books of the Bible is given in §3.1.

3.2.1 Lexical entries and information from some current lexicons

The first articles chosen for background information are from theological lexicons. The focus is on Ruprecht's (1997) and Vanoni's (2004). These two studies were chosen primarily because they are the theological lexicons commonly (though not exclusively) used by translators.

The approach of these authors differs from that of the research, in that they are interested in the theological significance of the words. For example, Vanoni (2004) refers to "theological contexts" and narrows it to 40 occurrences of שמח that are found in "theological contexts in the narrower sense, in that they contain direct statements about God" (2004: 146). The investigation is interested in the usage of the word in all contexts and there is minimal weight to narrowing the contexts into secular and theological.

According to Ruprecht (1997:1273), the basic meaning of the root שמח is "to rejoice." He notes that it is not a sustained emotional state, but refers primarily to the spontaneous expression of JOY, especially in feasts (secular and religious). He suggests that JOY is often characterized by a "Dionysian superabundance" that results in a picture of joyous people being drunk with wine, as in Zech 10:7 and Isa 22:13 (Ruprecht 1997: 1274). According to him, the most basic expression of JOY is a shout, and, therefore, the substantival form *šimḥâ* can be a "technical term for the cry of joy" (Ruprecht 1997: 1274). He makes reference to Gen 31:27; 1 Sam 18:6; 2 Sam 6:12; 1 Kgs 1:40; Isa 16:10; Jer 7:34, 16:9, 25:10, 33:11; Ps 137:3; Ezra 3:12f, 2 Chr 20:27 and 2 Chr 23:18. Example (27) illustrates the usage of שמחה in these references, using 2 Sam 6:12 as the illustration.

Vanoni (2004: 147) expands on the idea of shouting as being a common expression of JOY and states that whenever שמח or one of its derivatives occurs, a reader will normally find a concrete articulation in close proximity (within the immediate discourse). He (2004: 148) continues with the suggestion that if lexicons can gloss שמחה as “joyous feast” or “sounds of joy,” then he suggests “song of joy” be included as a possible lexical entry. He does not explain why “song” instead of or in addition to “shout.” What is the criterion used for determining if it is referring to singing or shouting or even some other form of expression?

The approach taken in the research and the analysis of the data offers a different understanding than that just cited from Vanoni and Ruprecht. First, the glossing of שמחה as, for example “joyous feast,” is a matter of frame construal, in which the word *joy* or *rejoicing* evokes or is invoked in a REJOICING (§3.5.1, §3.6.1 and §3.7.1) frame. An example is Num 10:10, in which the target word שמחה evokes such a scenario.

(26) Num 10:10 (personal)

ובַּיּוֹם שְׂמַחְתֶּם וּבְמוֹעֲדֵיכֶם וּבְרֵאשֵׁי הַדְּשִׁיכֶם וּתְקַעְתֶּם בַּחֲצֹצְרוֹת עַל עֲלֹתֵיכֶם
וְעַל זִבְחֵי שְׁלֵמֵיכֶם וְהָיוּ לָכֶם לְזִכְרוֹן לְפָנַי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם:

“On the day of your festivities—your appointed feasts, at the beginnings of your month—you are to sound the trumpet over your burnt sacrifices and sacrifices of wellbeing; they shall be for you as a memorial before your God: I am YHWH your God.”

The interpretive meaning of שמחה in the frame can be translated as “rejoicing,” “festivities,” “feast” or “joyous feast.” These are the possible *interpretive* frame meanings. But the interpretive meaning is not definitional in the sense that it is an objective definition of the word based on inherent, immutable features; it is a contextually-determined meaning (§2.2). According to the approach of the study, the definition of the meaning potential of a word or expression determined in a specific linguistic expression must indicate both the profile and the base (§2.5.1). Therefore, it is insufficient to merely gloss שמחה as “joyous feast.” Rather, the definition notes, for example, that in a REJOICING *frame*, the *target* word שמחה can be interpreted as meaning *feast* (or *festivity* or *celebration*) and glossed as such, or the default *rejoicing* can be used as the translation equivalence (cf. 3.5.1 for a frame write-up of a REJOICING frame).

Second, Ruprecht’s claim that שמחה can be a technical term for *shout* is called into question by the research data. The investigation indicates that *shout* is one of the basic expressions of JOY (or PRAISE) in REJOICING frames (cf. §4.15.6.1 and §4.15.6.2 for frames and glosses of רנן and its derivatives). The word רנן *shout* co-occurs with גיל *joy* in Ps 32:11,

Isa 35:2 and Isa 49:13, and with עלו in Ps 96:12, 149:5, and Zeph 3:14. Neither שמחה nor עלו are technical terms for a *shout of joy*. Rather, רנה/רנון can be used metonymically to stand for the REJOICING frame. As stated in §2.8.2, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION.

One of the references Ruprecht mentions, where he suggests that שמחה is a technical term for *shout*, is 2 Sam 6:12.

(27) 2 Sam 6:12 (NIV)

וַיִּגְדַּל לְמַלְכוּתְ דָּוִד לְאֵמֹר בְּרַךְ יְהוָה אֶת־בַּיִת עֲבָד אָדָם וְאֶת־כָּל־אֲשֵׁר־לּוֹ בְּעַבְדוֹר אֲרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים
וַיַּגְלוּ דָּוִד וַיַּעַל אֶת־אֲרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים מִבַּיִת עֲבָד אָדָם עִיר דָּוִד בְּשִׂמְחָה:

Now King David was told, “The LORD has blessed the household of Obed-Edom and everything he has, because of the ark of God.” So David went down and brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-Edom to the City of David with rejoicing.

In example (27), the preposition governing the phrase בְּשִׂמְחָה is interpreted as a $\bar{\kappa}$ [CIRCUMSTANCES]: *with rejoicing* or *with festivity*. The co-text indicates that there was sacrificing (v13), dancing (v14), shouting and blowing on trumpets (v15), all expressions of JOY expressed at FESTIVITIES. The main frame is a PROCESSION frame, which is evoked in 2 Sam 6:12 by the verb וַיַּעַל *and brought up*. The verb evokes the PROCESSION frame [EVENT] and the prepositional phrase indicates the [CIRCUMSTANCES] in which the [EVENT] is taking place. The following verses fill in the specific information of joyful processions: sacrificing, dancing, shouting, blowing on trumpets and other activities. There is no need to interpret שמחה in this expression (or in many of its other occurrences) as a technical term for *shout*.

Vanoni (2004: 148-149) claims that there is nothing negative in the construal of שמחה or any of its derivatives. He makes the assumption “that the root carries a positive connotation, as shown precisely by those passages that speak about the cessation or absence of ‘joy’” (Vanoni 2004: 149). The only negative feature Vanoni refers to is the association שמחה sometimes has with fertility cults and God’s judgment upon the worship involved in the cults (e.g., Hos 9:1). The construal analysis indicates that any negative association made with שמחה is a result of perspective (§3.13) and is not an inherent feature of the lexeme.

After previewing the theological lexicons, a brief survey was made of some bilingual BH-ENG lexicons—BDB (1907: 970), HALOT (1999: 1333), and GHCLLOT (2003: 791). The result of the survey indicated that they rely heavily on etymological considerations and translation equivalence glosses. They provide an exhaustive listing of uses with prepositions, but very little conceptual information. As noted in §1.0, the BH-ENG and theological

lexicons' entries are not always helpful in providing detailed information relevant to the translation of a word or phrase in a specific linguistic expression.

3.2.2 Muffs' study of JOY in biblical Hebrew

Muffs (1992) made a study of the concept of JOY in BH. His focus is on legal contexts and donation contexts and, basically, the noun שְׂמֵחָה. He uses a philological approach but has the goal of being “conceptual and cultural” (1992: 122).

He traces the first examples of JOY as denoting [VOLITION] to the Old Babylonian deeds from Susa in the early 19th century B.C.E. Evidently this specific usage went in-and-out of popularity over the course of centuries and was replaced by synonyms, but never disappeared.

It appeared again in the 5th century B.C.E. in the Elephantine documents and other Egyptian documents. The re-emergence of the phrase, according to a proposal made by Muffs (1992: 145) is due to a focus on the inner states of the mind in legal matters:

In addition to the conscious or unconscious archaizing adduced there... the greater the stress on inner states of mind, and in legal contexts in particular, the greater the constitutive importance of intent and volition. The classic example of this process is the radical rabbinic reinterpretation of the biblical cultic stipulation that certain sacrifices be offered *lirosonkem*: the original meaning of the phrase is that the sacrifice will be accepted by the Lord ‘on your behalf,’ but the rabbis contend that the stipulation rather means that the sacrifice will be accepted only if ‘your will’ is present.

The focus is on the relation of inner states of the mind and volition. The association of JOY and [VOLITION] grew in popularity until the Maccabean era (early 2nd century C.E.).

He suggests (1992: 127) that the prepositional phrases בשמחה and ברצון can be used as near-synonymous terms to mean something like “willingly” or “with volition” in legal contexts. In more common contexts, there is a relation between ברצון and בטוב as meaning “joyfully/on his own free will.” The three noun lexemes—שְׂמֵחָה, רְצוֹן, and טוֹב—seem to share a similar aspect of meaning potential of [VOLITION].

A second feature of JOY in BH which Muff's explicates on is enthusiasm. This is exemplified by the elaborate, unbridled enthusiasm of the contributions and the celebrations that is comparable to זריזות *zeal/alacrity*, as exemplified in the Midrash on Exod 35:20, in which זריזות is confirmed as “a free variant of the volitional *simḥah*” (Muffs 1992: 171). The same (seemingly over-) enthusiastic willingness to press forward with contributions is seen in 2 Chr 24:10, when people and officials press forward to enthusiastically give until the money-chest is full.

Muffs (1992: 184) notes that some commentators find it difficult to understand the use of שמח *rejoice* in this context and so resort to emendations.⁴⁵ He writes, however, “we are dealing with a rather well-attested literary cliché rather than with a textual corruption” (Muffs 1992: 185). In other words, taking into account the *conceptualization* of JOY as denoted by שמח as being volitional, zealous and (potentially) leading to a fervor that seems excessive, שמח is the appropriate word in 2 Chr 24:10, and no emendation is necessary.

Muffs (1992: 136, n. 33) discerns a distinction to be made between the internal feature of [VOLITION] and the external feature of [ALACRITY]:

In some contexts, *simḥah*, used as the synonym of *raṣon*, indicates the inner state of mind that motivates the donation. In other contexts, *besimḥah*, used as a synonym of *miyyad* or *bizrizut*, “with alacrity,” seems to indicate the outward manner with which the intention is translated into deed.

The inner-outer distinction is an important one. The perceptible zeal and seemingly instantaneous response of an individual or community should not distract from the inner willful and intentional features of JOY (cf. discussion in §3.10.2 on [ACTION] and [PASSION]).

Finally, Muffs suggests that there is a relation between טוב *good* and שמח *joy*. He writes (1992: 2):

In legal contexts it can express either the notion of satisfaction or the notion of joy. Just as “satisfaction” in certain contexts expresses the idea of receipt and quittance, so in other contexts טוב expresses “joy,” which in legal parlance is to be decoded as free and uncoerced volition.

The similarity between the concepts associated with טוב and שמח provides an overlap of the [SATISFACTION] feature as well as the [VOLITIONAL].

3.2.3 Summary of background information

The information given in the lexicons and Muffs’ (1992) study provides a starting point for understanding the concept of BH JOY as denoted by שמח and its derivatives. The hypothesis taken from §2.7 (cf. example (14)) and discussion following it) is that there is a possibility that the construals of linguistic expressions in which שמח and its derivatives occur will profile [STATE] or [EVENT] features of emotion and [CAUSE], [EMOTION] or [RESPONSE] or a combination of two or more of them. On the specific conceptual level of JOY, taking the ideas from Muffs (§3.2.3), the feature of meaning potential that might be activated (facets that might be highlighted) are [VOLITION], [INTENT], [DESIRE], [ALACRITY] and [SATISFACTION]. Normally, only one aspect of meaning potential is activated in a particular

⁴⁵ Dillard (1987: 186) makes the same comment, and notes that the Septuagint translation καὶ ἔδωκαν *and they gave* is a possible editorial revision, perhaps reading the Hebrew ושמחו *and rejoiced* as וישמו *and put/place*.

expression and the remaining ones are left underdetermined. Which feature is activated is determined on an expression-by-expression basis, depending on what aspect is relevant to the specific experience being communicated.

*Section 1***3.3 The Frames of שמח and its derivatives**

The aim of Section 1 is to provide a practical demonstration of the development of frames. All of the frames evoked by or in which שמח or one of its derivatives is invoked are recorded in Section 1. In each sub-paragraph, a brief introduction is made to the frame, and then one or two or more examples are provided (depending on the number of citations available for any given frame). Following the examples, a simple write-up is made of the frame, as far as is possible within the limitations of the investigation. The frame description provides the frame elements and a short description of the frame. Finally, all of the references of שמח and its derivatives associated with a specific frame are provided in the frame write-up.

Before providing the frames of שמח and its derivatives, a few examples are given to illustrate how frame elements are determined (§2.5.3). The text box schematization is adapted, with modification (cf. examples (10) and (11)), §2.5.3, from Croft (2005) and Shead (2007).

3.4 Determining frame elements

The text boxes are used to determine the frame elements of a frame. In each text box, the semantic role and grammatical function (§1.7) are linked. Usually, only the clause containing the target word is schematized. In example (30), an exception is made by taking a full noun reference from a previous clause and using it, for illustrative purposes, in a following clause.

In the text box, the top line represents the semantic role, with the frame-specific role occurring first and the more schematic case role following enclosed in square brackets (cf. examples (11a) and (11b) for explanation of the semantic role labels used in the investigation). The second line is the Hebrew word or phrase, which is followed in the third line by the English equivalence gloss. The bottom line provides the grammatical function. Whenever a frame element is not expressed as a full noun phrase (e.g., it is affixed to a verb), the semantic role and grammatical function are placed in parentheses in the text box in which they occur.

(28) Deut 16:14 (NIV)

וְשִׂמְחֶתָּ בְּחַגֵּי אֱתָהּ וּבְנֵי וּבָתְּרֶיךָ וְעַבְדֶּךָ וְאִמָּתֶךָ וְהַלְוִי וְהַגֵּר וְהַיְתוּם וְהָאֵלֶּמְנָה אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעְרֶיךָ:

Be joyful at your Feast—you, your sons and daughters, your menservants and maidservants, and the Levites, the aliens, the fatherless and the widows who live in your towns.

<p>TEMPORAL בְּחַגֵּיךָ at your feast P בְּ [TEMP-LOC] NP ADJUNCT</p>

PREDICATE
 וְשִׂמְחֶתָּ
be joyful
 VERB

<p>REJOICER [AGENT] אֱתָהּ וּבְנֵי וּבָתְּרֶיךָ וְעַבְדֶּךָ וְאִמָּתֶךָ וְהַלְוִי אֲשֶׁר בְּשַׁעְרֶיךָ וְהַגֵּר וְהַיְתוּם וְהָאֵלֶּמְנָה אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבְּךָ you and your sons and daughters, your manservants and maidservants, the Levite who dwells among you, the resident foreigner, the fatherless and the widow who live among you SU</p>
--

The text boxes indicate that the frame elements of a PILGRIMAGE_FESTIVITIES sub-frame of a REJOICING frame are REJOICER and TEMPORAL. The TEMPORAL frame element is labeled as an ADJUNCT following a traditional grammatical notion. But it is, according to a frame analysis, a frame element. In Deut 16:14, it denotes the [TEMPORAL] frame of the שמחה *rejoicing*, in this particular [EVENT]—dancing, singing, shouting, feasting and other expressions of JOY which occur throughout the event (e.g., Neh 12:27-43).

A thorough investigation of all of the occurrences of the REJOICING frame indicates that there is also a peripheral BENEFACTIVE frame element denoting for whose benefit the festivity is made and usually expressed as a prepositional phrase headed by לְ *for* or לְפָנָי *in the presence of* and a noun reference denoting the BENEFACTIVE (e.g., לְפָנָי יְהוָה Lev 23:40 and לְדָגוֹן Jdg 16:23). However, normally, the BENEFACTIVE is not expressed and is considered peripheral. When the BENEFACTIVE is referring to YHWH, it is often left unexpressed (is implied) and is symbolized by the physical altar (or general sacrificial area where the sacrifice and meal is celebrated).⁴⁶

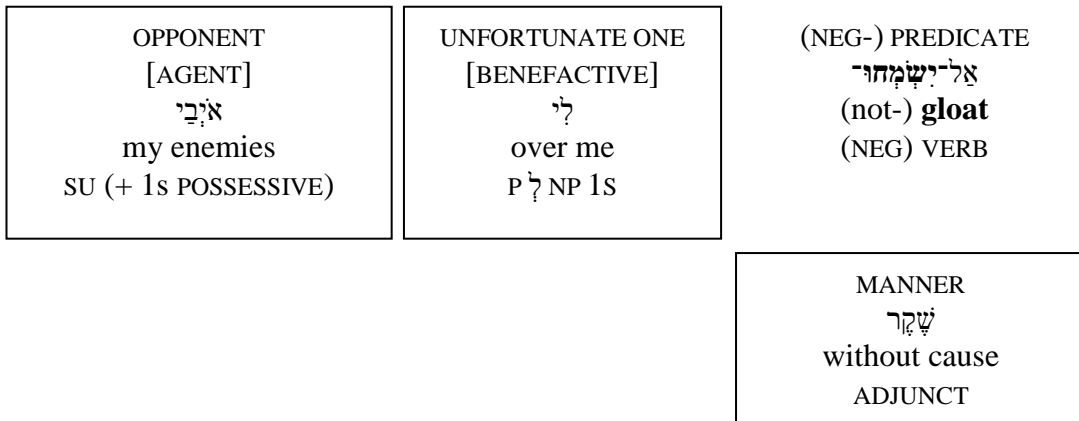
⁴⁶ Christensen (2001: 244) writes, in reference to Deut 12:7, which evokes the REJOICING frame, that "... 'before YHWH your God' ...suggests a specific place that is associated with God's presence in formal worship."

(29) Ps 35:19 (NIV)

אַל־ישְׂמְחוּ־לִי אֹיְבֵי יַעֲקֹב שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר חֲנֻם יִקְרְצוּ־עֵינָיו:

Let not those gloat over me
 who are my enemies without cause;
 let not those who hate me without reason
 maliciously wink the eye.

(Only the first clause with the target שמח is put into the text boxes.)



The preceding text boxes of Ps 35:19 demonstrate the frame elements of a pejorative construal of the target word שמח in a GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE frame. The required frame elements are OPPONENT [AGENT] and UNFORTUNATE ONE [BENEFACTIVE]. In §1.0, the so-called pejorative לִי is mentioned. The text boxes schematizing Ps 35:19 indicate that it is not the לִי alone that construes the pejorative meaning. The pejorative reading results from the construal being made from the perspective of the UNFORTUNATE ONE [BENEFACTIVE]. The differences between a REJOICING frame, illustrated by example (28) and the frame evoked in example (29), GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE, are, first, the [BENEFACTIVE] is a required frame element in the latter, but only a peripheral frame element in the former. Second, there is a shift in perspective from [AGENT] in the REJOICING frame to the [BENEFACTIVE] in the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE frame.

(30) Deut 24:5 (personal)

כִּי־יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה חֲדָשָׁה לֹא יֵצֵא בַצִּבָּא וְלֹא־יַעֲבֹר עָלָיו לְכָל־דְּבַר נָקְלִי יִהְיֶה לְבֵיתוֹ שָׂנֵה אָחֻת וְשִׂמְחָ אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח:

If a man has recently married, he must not be sent to war or have any other duty laid on him. For one year he is to be free to stay at home and bring happiness to the wife he has married.

(The noun expressing the grammatical subject referent is taken from the conditional clause, and the remaining text boxes are the target clause. This is done for illustrative purposes, that is, to clarify the semantic role of [AGENT].)

[BENEFACTIVE] אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח his wife (he has married) DIRECT OBJECT (REL CLAUSE)	(CNJ) PREDICATE וְשִׂמְחָה (and) bring happiness VERB	[AGENT] אִישׁ a man SU
--	---	---------------------------------

The frame specific semantic roles and schematic case labels are the same for a MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL frame evoked by a *Piel* verb. Whereas examples (28) and (29) are frames evoked by שִׂמְחָה *Qal*, the MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL frame is evoked by שִׂמְחָה *Piel*. It requires the participant frame elements of an AGENT and BENEFACTIVE. Further research indicated that the AGENT can be either animate or inanimate.

3.5 Frames evoked by the verb שִׂמְחָה

The first frames listed are those evoked by the verb שִׂמְחָה. The list includes all of the occurrences of the verb שִׂמְחָה in the Hebrew Bible except some of the figurative uses (e.g., Prov 13:9), which are discussed in §3.5.6 and section 3 of chapter 4. The frame elements—participants, props (e.g., sacrifice, drag-net (cf. Hab 1:15) or other implements, perspective, time, location and other elements included in the background information associated with the specific frame—are used as the criteria for grouping the frames (Principles 1-9 listed in §2.5.3).

3.5.1 Frame: REJOICING

The REJOICING frame is the most common frame evoked by שִׂמְחָה in the Hebrew Bible. It is associated with all REJOICING, including pilgrimage feasts (גֵּה), appointed feasts (מוֹעֵד), beginning of months (רֵאשִׁי הַחֳדָשִׁים), Sabbaths (שַׁבָּתוֹת) and any other communal gathering where praise and thanksgiving is given, such as the dedication of the wall in Jerusalem (Neh 12:43) or the ratification of a covenant (1 Sam 11:15). It can be used for family festivities such as Laban's desire to send Jacob away בְּשִׂמְחָה (Gen 31:27). The REJOICING frame refers to Jewish and non-Jewish events. They can be construed with a negative judgmental value (e.g., Hos 9:1 and Job 21:12). Often a sacrifice and sacrificial meal are evoked, but more research is needed to determine if they are a required frame element at all festivities. That is, in a specific גֵּה context, שִׂמְחָה evokes a celebration in assembled worship with a sacrifice and

sacrificial meal (Christensen 2001: 244), but it is not certain if all of the meals at every festivity were considered “sacrificial” meals. Secondly, family parties might not be taken as “assembled worship.” Therefore, the suggestion is to make a more general translation of שמח—*celebrate, to be festive, to rejoice*—and to group all festivities evoked by it in a REJOICING frame. The specific מנח frames, for example, are entered under their specific lexemes (e.g., מנח המזבח) together with specific required frame elements of the particular event. But all REJOICING frames evoked by שמח have the same participants and perspective (see frame write up and following examples).

The [EVENT] is profiled and the [SATISFACTION] aspect of meaning potential is activated. Usually, when שמח evokes the REJOICING frame, all of the sub-events of the event are evoked.

(31) 1 Sam 11:15 (personal)

וַיָּלְכוּ כָּל־הָעָם הַגִּלְגָּל וַיַּמְלִכוּ שָׁם אֶת־שָׂאוּל לְפָנָי יְהוָה בְּגִלְגָּל וַיִּזְבְּחוּ־שָׁם זִבְחִים שְׁלָמִים לִפְנֵי יְהוָה וַיִּשְׂמַח שָׁם שָׂאוּל וְכָל־אֲנָשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־מָאד׃

So all the people went to Gilgal and there they made Saul king in the presence of YHWH. They sacrificed wellbeing offerings and Saul and all of the people celebrated greatly there.

(32) Ps 66:6 (personal)

הִפְּךָ יָם לַיַּבֵּשׁה בַּנְּהַר יַעֲבְרוּ בְּרִגְלֵי שָׁם נִשְׂמְחָה־בּוֹ׃

He turned the sea into dry land,
they passed through the waters on foot—
so let us rejoice because of him.

The בּוֹ in Ps 66:6 is usually translated as “in” (cf. NET, RSV and NIV). However, in the particular construal, it has been translated by the author as “because” (cf. CEV and TEV). The entire expression has been interpreted as evoking a REJOICING frame; the psalmist is inviting the people to an event (worship). The specific expression has provided some discussion in regard to the translation. Tate (1998: 146) writes:

The שָׁם (“there”) has been considered difficult and dealt with in different ways. A fairly frequently suggested emendation is to read as an infinitive absolute : שְׂמַח : שְׂמַח (“rejoice”), and thus, “rejoicing let us rejoice in him!” It is possible to retain the normal meaning of שָׁם, (“there”) and translate the imperfect cohortative verb as past tense: There we rejoiced in him indeed!—at the river where the passage recalled in 6b occurred.

The latter suggestion of interpreting שָׁם as “there” is difficult. It requires using the cohortative in the past tense, but Tate notes that it might be possible. In either case, the evoked scene is REJOICING and the [CAUSE] is indicated by the בּוֹ and translated as *because*.

(33) Job 21:12 (NIV)

יִשְׂאוּ כִּתְרֵי וְכִגְוֹר אִישׁ מֵהוּ לְקוֹל עוֹגָב:

They sing to the music of tambourine and harp;
they make merry to the sound of the flute.

Frame name: REJOICING

Target: שמח *Qal* and *Hifil*Suggested glosses: *rejoice, celebrate, feast, revel, make merry, triumph*

Participants: 1. REJOICER [AGENT] (required) and 2. BENEFACTIVE (peripheral and often implied, but, if expressed, is usually denoted in a prepositional phrase governed by לְ or לִּפְנֵי).

Perspective: REJOICER [AGENT]

In this frame, a community or small group of people such as a family unit gathers to celebrate something. The celebration may include sacrifices, a sacrificial meal and entertainment (e.g., Judg 16:23). The most common expression of JOY at these celebrations is music. If the rejoicing occurs as a WORSHIP_PRAISE event, the REJOICERS often sing and shout praises to the BENEFACTIVE. The REJOICERS might also express their joy in dancing, and symbolically with anointing their faces with oil to make them shine. They might wear special, festive garments. When they are singing and shouting, dancing and eating, they say that they are שמח (*rejoicing, celebrating, feasting*).

References: Lev 23:40; Deut 12:7; 12:12; 12:18; 14:26; 16:11; 16:14; 26:11; 27:7; 33:18; 1 Sam 2:1; 11:15; 1 Chr 16:10; 16:31; 29:9 (x2); 2 Chr 6:41; 15:15; 24:10; 29:36; 30:25; Neh 12:43 (x2); Job 21:12; Ps 5:12 [11]; 9:3 [2]; 14:7; 21:2 [1]; 31:8 [7]; 32:11; 33:21; 34:3 [2]; 35:27; 40:17 [16]; 48:12 [11]; 53:7 [6]; 58:11; 63:12 [11]; 64:11 [10]; 66:6; 67:5 [4]; 68:4 [3]; 85:7 [6]; 90:14; 96:11; 97:1, 8,12; 104:34; 105:3; 106:5; 118:24; 149:2; Isa 9:2 [3]; 25:9; Isa 65:13; 66:10; Jer 31:13; 50:11; Lam 4:21; Hos 9:1 (negated); Joel 2:21, 23; Hab 1:15; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14 [10]; 4:10.

The one occurrence of שמח *Hifil* is included in this frame.

Hifil: Ps 89:43.

(34) Ps 89:43 [42] (NIV)

הָרִימוֹתַי יָמִין צָרְיֹהֶם שְׂמַחַת פְּלִאוֹ יִבְיֹוּ:

You have exalted the right hand of his foes;
you have made all his enemies rejoice.

The *Hifil* indicates the causative of verbs that occur in the *Qal*. The grammatical subject causes the grammatical object to *act as* the subject (AGENT) of the idea that is expressed by the verb (BHRG 1999: 86; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 435; Joüon and

Muraoka 2003: 1:162-163). The construal foregrounds [CAUSE], and the verb evokes the CELEBRATING_A_VICTORY frame, which is grouped with the REJOICING frame. In Ps 89:43, the *Hifil* indicates that God (grammatical subject) has caused the enemies (grammatical object) to rejoice. The construal of Ps 89:43 lacks the subjective perspective of the [BENEFACTIVE] participant of a GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE frame (§3.5.2), and, therefore, is grouped with the REJOICING frame.

3.5.2 Frame: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE (pejorative)

The frame is often embedded in frames of LAMENTATION or COMPLAINT (past event, e.g., Ps 35:15) or SUPPLICATION (future event, Ps 13:5-6 [4-5]). The [EVENT] feature is profiled. The pejorative feature of the frame is construed by shifting the perspective of a REJOICING frame from the REJOICER [AGENT] (expressed in the pejorative frame as [OPPONENT]) to the [BENEFACTIVE] (expressed in the pejorative frame as [UNFORTUNATE ONE]) (cf. example (29), §3.4). It also differs from the REJOICING frame in that the [BENEFACTIVE] is required in the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE frame; it is only peripheral in the REJOICING frame.

(35) Ps 38:17 [16] (NIV)

כִּי־אָמַרְתִּי כִּוְיִשְׂמְחוּ־לִי בְמוֹט רַגְלִי עָלַי הִגְדִּילוּ:

For I said, “Do not let them gloat
or exalt themselves over me when my foot slips.”

(36) Ps 30:2 [1] (NIV)

אֲרוּמְקָהּ יְהוָה כִּי דָלִיתָנִי וְלֹא־שָׂמַחַת אֵיבֵי לִי:

I will exalt you, O LORD,
for you lifted me out of the depths
and did not let my enemies gloat over me

Frame name: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE (pejorative)

Target: שִׂמְחָה *Qal*

Suggested glosses: *gloat, be gleeful, rejoice*

Participants: 1. GLOATER [AGENT] (required) and 2. UNFORTUNATE ONE

[BENEFACTIVE] (required) (often expressed in a prepositional phrase governed by לְ or עַל).

Perspective: subjective of or empathetic to the UNFORTUNATE ONE [BENEFACTIVE].

When it is empathetic or negated, it can be from the agent point of view (e.g., Job 31:29; Prov 24:17).

In this frame, a person suffers some kind of misfortune (e.g., defeat in battle or oppression). There are those who have desired the person to suffer misfortune for one reason or another. When they see that the other has suffered they rejoice. The UNFORTUNATE ONE *perceives* their rejoicing as gloating.

References: 2 Sam 1:20; Job 31:29; Ps 35:15, 19, 24; 38:17; Prov 24:17 (negated); Isa 14:8, 29; Jer 50:11; Ezek 25:6; Obad 12 (negated); Mic 7:8 (negated).

3.5.3. Frame: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING

The construals of these expressions profile the [STATE]. The aspect of [SATISFACTION] is activated. Many of the linguistic expressions indicate [CAUSE], [EMOTION] and [RESPONSE]. The [CAUSE] can be expressed as the object of a verb denoting *to see* (visually or figuratively as *to know*) or verbs denoting *to hear* (or even a speech act, e.g., Ps 122:1). The [CAUSE] can be expressed in clauses preceding the target clause or left implied from the context. The [RESPONSE] might be expressed, as an extra-thematic frame element (§2.5.3 and example (41)).

(37) Ps 107:30 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ כִּי־יִשְׁתַּקּוּ וַיִּנְחַם אֱלֹהִים מְתוּחֵיהֶם:

They were glad when it grew calm,
and he guided them to their desired haven.

(38) 1 Sam 19:5 (NIV)

וַיִּשֶׂם אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ בְּכַף וַיַּךְ אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה גְדוֹלָה לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל רָאִיתָ וַתִּשְׂמַח וְלָמָּה תִּתְּטֹא בְּדָם נָקִי לְהַמִּית אֶת־דָּוִד תָּנֹם:

He took his life in his hands when he killed the Philistine. The LORD won a great victory for all Israel, and you saw it and were glad. Why then would you do wrong to an innocent man like David by killing him for no reason?"

(39) Exod 4:14 (personal)

וַיִּתְּרֵאֶף יְהוָה בְּמֹשֶׁה וַיֹּאמֶר הֲלֹא אַחֵרֶן אַחֵיךָ הַלְוִי יִדְעָתִי כִּי־דַבֵּר יְדַבֵּר הוּא וְגַם־הִנֵּה־הוּא יֵצֵא לְקַרְאֲתָךְ וְרָאָךְ וַיִּשְׂמַח בְּלִבּוֹ:

Then the anger of YHWH was kindled against Moses, and so he said, "Is there not your brother Aaron the Levite? I know that he can speak eloquently. Look here, he is coming out to greet you, and when he sees you he will be glad in his heart."

(40) 1 Sam 11:9 (NIV)

וַיֹּאמְרוּ לַמְּלָאכִים הַבָּאִים כֹּה תֹאמְרוּן לְאִישׁ יְבִישׁ גִּלְעָד מִתֵּר תִּהְיֶה־לְכֶם תְּשׁוּעָה בְּחַסֵּם־שִׁמְשׁ וַיִּבְאוּ הַמְּלָאכִים וַיַּגִּידוּ לְאַנְשֵׁי יְבִישׁ וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ:

They told the messengers who had come, "Say to the men of Jabesh Gilead, 'By the time the sun is hot tomorrow, you will be delivered.'" When the messengers went and reported this to the men of Jabesh, they were elated.

(41) 1 Kgs 5:21 [7]

וַיְהִי כִשְׁמָע חִירָם אֶת־דְּבָרֵי שְׁלֹמֹה וַיִּשְׂמַח מְאֹד וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר נָתַן לְדָוִד בֶּן חָזָק עַל־הָעָם
הַרְבֵּה הַזֶּה:

When Hiram heard Solomon's message, he was greatly pleased and said, "Praise be to the LORD today, for he has given David a wise son to rule over this great nation."

Frame name: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING

Target: שמח *Qal*

Suggested glosses: *become/be joyful, become/be happy, become/be elated, become/be glad; be pleased*

Participant: EXPERIENCER

In the frame, a person or a group has a desire to do something or to be the benefactive of some action (e.g., birth of a child, economic benefits or aid in war). If their desire is, they are pleased; they become happy.

References: Exod 4:14; Judg 19:3; 1 Sam 6:13; 11:9; 19:5; 1 Kgs 5:21 [7]; 2 Kgs 11:20; 1 Chr 29:9 (x2); 2 Chr 23:21; Est 8:15 (implied *see/know*); Job 22:19; 31:25; Ps 34:3; 58:11; 69:33 [32]; 105:38 (implied *see/know*); 107:28, 30 (implied *see/know*), 42; 119:74; 122:1; Prov 13:9; 15:23, 25; 17:21; 29:6; Eccl 8:15; 11:8; Isa 39:2; Jer 41:13; Ezek 7:12; 35:14; Zech 10:7.

3.5.4 Frame: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING

The construal foregrounds something as a [SOURCE] or [CAUSE] of JOY. The entity (animate or inanimate) that brings JOY is often, but not exclusively, expressed by a prepositional phrase headed by בְּ [CAUSE] or עַל [CAUSE] indicating the figurative location in which someone finds their JOY. In this frame, the target word שמח is similar to טוב and the [SATISFACTION] aspect of meaning potential is activated (§3.2.2). The construals profile the [STATE] feature of emotion.

(42) Eccl 3:22 (NIV)

וַיֵּרָאֵנִי כִּי אֵין טוֹב מֵאֲשֶׁר יִשְׂמַח הָאָדָם בְּמַעֲשָׁיו כִּי יִהְיֶה חֶלְקוֹ כִּי מִי יבִיאֵנּוּ לִרְאוֹת בְּמָה שְׂיִהְיֶה אַחֲרָיו:

So I saw that there is nothing better for a man than to enjoy his work, because that is his lot. For who can bring him to see what will happen after him?

(43) Ps 104:31 (NIV)

יְהִי כְבוֹד יְהוָה לְעוֹלָם יִשְׂמַח יְהוָה בְּמַעֲשָׁיו:

May the glory of the LORD last forever!

May the LORD be happy with what he has made!

Frame name: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING

Target: שמח *Qal*

Suggested glosses: *delight in, take pleasure in, enjoy, rejoicing in*

Participant: EXPERIENCER

Prop: ENTITY THAT IS THE [CAUSE] OF JOY (The governing preposition can be מן/על/ב or ל–infinitive construct, as explained in Table 3.1.)

In this frame, praise of or an attitude toward a source of JOY is expressed. It is something worth seeking or doing. For evil people, it can even be their own evil deeds (e.g., Prov 2:14).

References: Judg 9:19; 1 Sam 2:1; Ps 104:31; Prov 2:14; 5:18; 23: 24; 29:2; Eccl 3:12, 22; 4:16; 5:18 [19]; 11:9; Song 1:4; Jonah 4:6.

3.5.5 Frame: MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL

The frame is evoked by שמח *Piel*. From a metaphorical perspective, the *Piel* indicates a process in which an AGENT brings a BENEFACTIVE, who is totally passive in the process, into a state. The target שמח profiles the [STATE], [CAUSE] and [EMOTION]. The meaning potential aspect of [SATISFACTION] is activated; it denotes the satisfactory completion of the process by the [AGENT].

(44) Deut 24:5 (personal)

כִּי־יִקַּח אִישׁ אִשָּׁה חַדְשָׁה לֹא יֵצֵא בַצֵּבָא וְלֹא־יַעֲבֹר עָלָיו לְכַל־דָּבָר נָקְוִי יִהְיֶה לְבֵיתוֹ שָׂנֵה אֶחָת וְשִׂמַּח אֶת־אִשְׁתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר־לָקַח:

If a man has taken a new wife, he must not go out with the army or be given any other civic duty. He shall be free from obligation for one year for his household and making his new wife happy.

(45) Ps 86:4 (NIV)

שִׂמַּח נַפְשִׁי עַבְדְּךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנָי נַפְשִׁי אֲשָׂא:

Bring joy to your servant,
for to you, O Lord,
I lift up my soul.

Frame name: MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL

Target: שמח *Piel*

Suggested glosses: *make happy, make merry, make joyful, cheer*

Participants: 1. [AGENT] (ANIMATE⁴⁷ or INANIMATE) and 2. EXPERIENCER [BENEFACTIVE]

A background presumption of the frame is that an entity, animate or inanimate, has certain properties or powers that can satisfy the desire of a

⁴⁷ The semantic role of ANIMATE AGENT can refer to human, deity or spirit. There is also a personification in Judg 9:13 in which wine is the AGENT.

BENEFACTIVE. The AGENT acts on the BENEFACTIVE in order to satisfy the BENEFACTIVE’S desire.⁴⁸ When the desire is fulfilled, the understanding is that the AGENT has brought the BENEFACTIVE into a STATE OF JOY.

References: (Animate AGENT) Deut 24:5; 2 Chr 20:27; Ezra 6:22; Neh 12:43;⁴⁹ Ps 30:2 (negated); 86:4; 90:15; 92:5 [4]; Prov 10:1; 15:20; 27:11; 29:3; Isa 56:7; Jer 31:13; Lam 2:17; Hos 7:3

(Inanimate AGENT) Judg 9:13; Ps 19:9; 45:9 [8]; 46:5 [4]; 104:15; Prov 12:25; 15:30; 27:9; Eccl 10:19; Jer 20:15

3.5.6 A metaphorical reading of שִׁמְחָה (Prov 13:9)

(46) Prov 13:9 (NIV) (compare 2nd clause with Prov 24:20)

אור־צַדִּיקִים יִשְׁמְחָה וְנֵר רְשָׁעִים יִדָּעַף:

The light of the righteous shines brightly,
but the lamp of the wicked is snuffed out.

Ruprecht (1997: 1273) suggests translating שִׁמְחָה in Prov 13:9 as “beams,” following a possible etymology from the Ugarit expression which can be translated as “beam” or “shine.” Vanoni (2004: 144) questions the validity of the etymology and states that the problem lies in the “translation of expressions of emotions.” He posits the translation of “burns merrily.” Murphy (1998: 94) writes that “the antithesis between rejoice and be extinguished is suspect.... If ‘rejoice’ is vocalized in the *Piel* to mean “give joy,” the parallelism would be better, but there could be personification here.” What does a frame analysis suggest?

PREDICATE
יִשְׁמְחָה
shines/rejoices
VERB

ILLUMINATION 1
אור־צַדִּיקִים
light of righteous
SU

PREDICATE
יִדָּעַף
goes out
VERB

ILLUMINATION 2
וְנֵר רְשָׁעִים
lamp of wicked
SU

⁴⁸ In the construals, it is often the BENEFACTIVE’S desire that is foregrounded. However, an implication of the construals might be that the AGENT acts willingly and intentionally out of its own desire to bring the BENEFACTIVE into a STATE OF JOY.

⁴⁹ In 2 Chr 20:27, Ezra 6:22, and Neh 12:43, שִׁמְחָה *Piel* with YHWH as SU-AGENT, occurs in a subordinated clause headed by וְ and provides an editorial reason for the joyful celebration construed in the main clause with the implication that the AGENT brought the BENEFACTIVE into a STATE OF JOY by enabling the BENEFACTIVE to overcome opposition.

The contrast is between two types of ILLUMINATION—of the righteous and of the wicked. Reading both verbs as *Qal* (yīqtōl), the lamp of the wicked *goes out*, not as some translations render it—“be put out” (RSV) or “snuffed out” (NIV). The contrast is that the ILLUMINATION of the righteous (*continually*) *shines*. The ILLUMINATION of the wicked is from an external lamp that will eventually go out (e.g., run out of oil or wick). An interpretation is that the hope of the righteous is an internal hope that cannot be extinguished by a dark, chaotic world. (cf. Janowski 2010: 97-98; Sticher 2010: 266). The preference is to translate, in the specific expression, נִמְשׁ as *shine*. The alternative is to use the default glossing of *rejoice*.

The analysis of Prov 13:9 does not prove an etymological derivation of BH נִמְשׁ from the Ugarit expression “beam” or “shine.” However, it is a possibility and, as Geeraerts (2010: 209) mentions, there might be “dead metaphors, i.e. expressions that may be metaphoric from a diachronic point of view, but that have lost their metaphoric motivation for the average contemporary user” in a language. Could Prov 13:9 possibly be the remnant of a previously active metaphor from Ugarit or very early BH? The importance of the studies of etymology and diachronic change is mentioned further in §5.3.2.

3.6 Frames evoked by or in which the noun נִמְשָׁה is invoked

The usages of the noun נִמְשָׁה can be roughly divided into two groups—evoking a frame (profiling [EVENT]) and occurrences in which it profiles the [STATE]. When it is used to evoke frames (§2.5.3), the frame elements and perspective are the same as when the frame is evoked by the verb. When it occurs as the noun phrase governed by a preposition, the preposition is entered in square brackets in the list of references (e.g. Eccl 2:1 [בְּ]; 2:2 [לְ]). The prepositions that govern lexemes denoting JOY in BH are discussed in Section 2 of chapter 4.

3.6.1 The frame evoked by the noun נִמְשָׁה profiling the [EVENT]

The frame evoked by the noun נִמְשָׁה tends to select a [SUPPORT] verb in order to evoke a frame (§2.5.3). In the following examples (47) – (50), examples of נִמְשָׁה and the noun נָח *pilgrimage festival* are given. The comparisons are made to illustrate the similarity in the frame meaning of נָח and נִמְשָׁה; they can be used interchangeably.

The [SUPPORT] verb which is selected by both nouns נָח and נִמְשָׁה is עָשָׂה *make*. The [SUPPORT] verb does not add semantically to the profiled word, but allows the grammatical subject of the [SUPPORT] verb to be entered as the frame element linked to the grammatical

subject of the created verbal predicate (it becomes the REJOICER [AGENT]). The noun evokes only the REJOICING frame.

(47) Neh 8:12 (NIV)

וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל־הָעָם לֶאֱכֹל וְלִשְׂתוֹת וְלִשְׁלַח מְנוֹת וְלַעֲשׂוֹת שְׂמֵחָה גְדוֹלָה
כִּי הִבִּינוּ בְּדַבְרֵי אֲשֶׁר הוֹדִיעוּ לָהֶם:

Then all the people went away to eat and drink, to send portions of food and to celebrate with great joy, because they now understood the words that had been made known to them.

In example (47), the grammatical subject of *וְלַעֲשׂוֹת* and *to make* is *כָּל־הָעָם* *all the people*, which is entered as the required frame element participant REJOICER. Using a simplified adaptation of FrameNet annotation (cf. examples (12) and (13), §2.5.3), the following schema represents the change made by the [SUPPORT] verb:

(48) [REJOICER they] [SUPPORT made] a great celebration > [REJOICER they] **celebrated**.

The same REJOICING frame is evoked by the noun *שְׂמֵחָה*, as is by the verb *שָׂמַח* in §3.5.1. The NIV, in Neh 8:12, has translated the phrase *וְלַעֲשׂוֹת שְׂמֵחָה גְדוֹלָה* as “to celebrate with great joy,” but it could also be translated as *to make a great celebration*, similar to example (50), 2 Chr 30:26, which is cited from NET.

Ruppenhofer et al (2010: 52) note that the profiled word selects the [SUPPORT] verb. For this reason it is necessary to enter the [SUPPORT] verb into the lexicon; the entry of the noun that evokes a REJOICING frame includes *עָשָׂה שְׂמֵחָה* *make: עָשָׂה שְׂמֵחָה make a festivity*.

The noun *חֵן* selects the same [SUPPORT] verb *עָשָׂה* *make* to evoke a REJOICING frame, sub-frame PILGRIMAGE_FESTIVITIES. When it does so, the prepositional phrase *בְּשְׂמֵחָה* *with joy, with festivity* often co-occurs with *חֵן*, as illustrated in the following example.

(49) Ezra 6:22 חֵן־מְצוֹת (cf. Neh 12:27) (NIV)

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ חֵן־מְצוֹת שְׂבַעַת יָמִים בְּשְׂמֵחָה כִּי אִשְׁמְחָם יְהוָה וְהִטָּב לֵב מֶלֶךְ־אַשּׁוּר²²
עַל־יָהֳם לְחַנְּנוֹ וְדִיָּהֶם בְּמִלְאֶכֶת בֵּית־הָאֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

For seven days they celebrated with joy the Feast of Unleavened Bread, because the LORD had filled them with joy by changing the attitude of the king of Assyria, so that he assisted them in the work on the house of God, the God of Israel.

The noun *שְׂמֵחָה* sometimes selects the *הִיָּה* *there is* [EXISTENTIAL SUPPORT] verb to evoke a frame. The copula combines with the noun to form a verb phrase (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 54). Specifically, when used with the [EXISTENTIAL SUPPORT] verb, it is used to “introduce an instance of the frame evoked by the noun target into the discourse” (Ruppenhofer et al 2010: 55).

(50) 2 Chr 30:26 (NET)

ותהי שמחה גדולה בירושלם כי מימי שלמה בן-דוד מלך ישראל לא כזאת בירושלם:

There was a great celebration in Jerusalem, unlike anything that had occurred in Jerusalem since the time of King Solomon son of David of Israel.

In example (50), the lexical unit שמחה evokes sub-frame PILGRIMAGE_FESTIVITIES of the REJOICING frame (cf. Principle 9 paraphrasability, §2.5.3). The construal of the verse evokes a scenario of the entire population of Jerusalem in a state of festivity for seven days.

The lexical entry includes the [EXISTENTIAL SUPPORT] verb: היה שמחה *there is rejoicing, there is feasting*. The frame elements are the same as a REJOICING frame.

FRAME: REJOICING evoked by the noun שמחה (+עשה or היה)

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

Suggested glosses: *rejoicing, celebrating/celebration, festivity*

References: Num 10:10; Judg 16:23 (ל); 1 Chr 12: 41 [40]; 2 Chr 30:23; 30:26; Ezra 6:22; Neh 8:12, 17; 12:27; Ps 137:3; Eccl 7:4; Isa 9:2; 16:10; 22:13; 24:11; 48:33; Ezek 35:15; Joel 1:16

The noun שמחה can be used as the metonym SOUNDS OF REJOICING to evoke the REJOICING frame (cf. §3.12):

(51) Neh 12:43 (NIV)

ויזבחו ביום ההוא זבחים גדולים וישמחו כי האלהים שמחם שמחה גדולה וגם הנשים והילדים שמחו ותשמע שמחת ירושלם מרחוק:

And on that day they offered great sacrifices, rejoicing because God had given them great joy. The women and children also rejoiced. The sound of rejoicing in Jerusalem could be heard far away.

References: Neh 12:43; Ps 51:10 [8]; Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11

3.6.2 The noun שמחה profiling the [STATE]

The notion that the emotion of JOY can be viewed as a [STATE] is discussed in §3.10.1.

(52) Esth 9:22 (NIV)

כַּיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר־נָחַו בָּהֶם הַיְהוּדִים מֵאוֹיְבֵיהֶם וְהַחֲדָשׁ אֲשֶׁר־נִהְפָּךְ לָהֶם מִיָּגוֹן לְשִׂמְחָה וּמֵאֲבֵל לַיּוֹם טוֹב לְעִשׂוֹת אוֹתָם יְמֵי מִשְׁתָּה וְשִׂמְחָה וּמְשָׁלוּחַ מְנוּחַ אִישׁ לְרֵעֵהוּ וּמִתְּנוּחַ לְאֲבִיוֹנִים:

...as the time when the Jews got relief from their enemies, and as the month when their sorrow was turned into joy and their mourning into a day of celebration. He wrote them to observe the days as days of feasting and joy and giving presents of food to one another and gifts to the poor.

In Esth 9:22, the construal evokes a CHANGE_OF_SOMETHING frame evoked by the verb הפך *was changed (Nifal)* followed by two sets of prepositional phrases, with two

prepositional phrases in each set. The sets are comprised of prepositional phrases in the order of the first governed by מִן and the second by לְ (*from-to*). The first set indicates a CHANGE_OF_STATE (הַמְּחָה מִגֵּוֹן לְשִׂמְחָה *from sorrow to joy*). The change of states from SORROW to JOY is discussed in §3.11.4. The second set of prepositional phrases evokes a CHANGE_OF_EVENTS (הַמְּחָה מִשְׂמֵחָה וְשִׂמְחָה לְעֵשׂוֹת... וּמְאָכְל... *from mourning...to making joyful feasts*). In the second set, the noun שִׂמְחָה forms a hendiadys with מְשִׂחָה and is translated as *joyful feasting* (Bush 1998: 468). In Esth 9:22b, the noun שִׂמְחָה profiles the [EMOTION] of the מְשִׂחָה *feasting* [EVENT], with the latter evokes a FEASTING frame. In Esth 9:22, there is a close similarity between עֲשֵׂה שִׂמְחָה and עֲשֵׂה מְשִׂחָה. A FEASTING frame is considered to be a sub-event of a REJOICING frame in the research. A proposal is that עֲשֵׂה מְשִׂחָה, עֲשֵׂה שִׂמְחָה, and עֲשֵׂה חֵג are near synonymous phrases and can be used interchangeably (cf. examples 47-50).

(53) Job 20:5 (NIV)

כִּי רִנְנַת רְשָׁעִים מְקַרֵּב וְשִׂמְחַת חַגָּף עֲדִיר־רַגְעַ:

that the mirth of the wicked is brief,
the joy of the godless lasts but a moment.

הַמְּחָה profiling [STATE]

Suggested glosses: *joy, gladness, delight, pleasure*

References: Gen 31:27 [בָּ]; Deut 28:47 [בָּ]; 1 Sam 18:6 [בָּ]; 2 Sam 6:12 [בָּ]; 1 Chr 15:16 [לְ]; 1 Chr 15:25 [בָּ]; 1 Chr 29:9, 17 [בָּ], 22 [בָּ]; 2 Chr 20:27 [בָּ]; 23:18 [בָּ]; 29:30 [לְ]; 30:21 [בָּ]; Ezra 3:12 [בָּ], 13; 6:22 [בָּ]; Neh 12:44; Esth 8:16; 8:17); 9:17, 18; 9:22; Job 20:5; Ps 4:8; 16:11; 30:12; 43:4; 45:16 [15] [בָּ]; 68:4 [3] [בָּ]; 97:11; 100:2 [בָּ]; 106:5 [בָּ]; 137:6; Prov 10:28; 12:20; 14:10 [בָּ], 13; 15:21, 23; 21:15, 17; Eccl 2:1 [בָּ]; 2:2 [לְ]; 2:10; 2:26; 5:19 [20] [בָּ]; 8:15; 9:7 [בָּ]; 21:7 [6] [בָּ]; Song 3:11; Isa 30:29; 35:10; 51:3; 51:11; Isa 55:12 [בָּ]; 61:7; 66:5 [בָּ]; Jer 15:16; 31:7; Ezek 35:15; 36:5 [בָּ]; Jonah 4:6; Zeph 3:17 [בָּ]; Zech 8:19

3.7 Frames evoked by or in which the adjective שִׂמְחָה is invoked

The usage of the adjective is divided into three major groups: evoking a frame, which profiles [EVENT] and [RESPONSE] and activates the meaning potential of [SATISFACTION], modifies a noun and profiles [EMOTION] and activates the [SATISFACTION] feature of meaning potential, and is used in an idiomatic expression that signals the conclusion of a discourse episode, profiling [EMOTION] and activating the [SATISFACTION] aspect of meaning potential.

3.7.1 Frames evoked by the adjective שִׂמְחָה profiling the [EVENT]

The adjective can evoke a frame (§2.5.3). Like the noun (§3.6.1), the adjective sometimes selects an [EXISTENTIAL SUPPORT] verb, as in the following citation of Deut 16:15, or it can evoke the frame without use of any [SUPPORT VERB], as in the citation from 1 Kgs

1:40. In these expressions, the [EVENT] is profiled and the [SATISFACTION] features are activated. If the adjective evokes a frame similar to one evoked by the verb, the cross-reference for frame elements and frame write-up are provided in parentheses after the frame name.

3.7.1.1 Frame: REJOICING evoked by adjective שמח

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(54) Deut 16:15 (NIV)

שבעת ימים תחוג ליתנה אלהיך במקום אשר יבחר יהוה כי יברכה יתנה אלהיך בכל תבואתך ובכל מעשה ידיך והיית אף שמח:

Seven days you are to hold a feast to YHWH your God at the place where he chooses; because YHWH your God will bless you in all your productivity and in whatever you do; so you will indeed be joyful.

(55) 1 Kgs 1:40 (NIV)

ויצלו כל־העם אחריו והעם מחללים בחללים ושמחים ושמחה גדולה ותבקע הארץ בקולם:

And all the people went up after him, playing flutes and rejoicing greatly, so that the ground shook with the sound.

The grammatical subjects of examples (54) and (55) are entered as the frame element participant of REJOICER. In 1 Kgs 1:40, the rejoicing evoked by שמח is inclusive; it includes the activities of the people in addition to and including the flute playing.

References: 2 Chr 23:13; 1 Kgs 1:40, 45; 2 Kgs 11:14

3.7.1.2 Frame: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE evoked by adjective שמח

(cf. §3.5.2 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(56) Prov 17:5 (NIV)

לעג לרש חרף עשהו שמח לא ינקה:

He who mocks the poor shows contempt for their Maker;
whoever gloats over disaster will not go unpunished.

References: Ps 35:26; Prov 17:5 (with [SUPPORT VERB] עשה); Amos 6:13.

3.7.1.3 Frame: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING evoked by adjective שִׂמְחָה

(cf. §3.5.4 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(57) Prov 2:14 (NIV)

הַשְּׂמֵחִים לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע יִגְּלוּ בְּתַהֲפֻכּוֹת רָע:

who delight in doing wrong
and rejoice in the perverseness of evil,

References: Prov 2:14; Esth 5:14; Eccl 2:10

3.7.1.4 Frame: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING evoked by adjective שִׂמְחָה

(cf. §3.5.3 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(58) Job 3:22 (NIV)

הַשְּׂמֵחִים אֶל־יִגְּלוּ לְשִׂישׂוּ כִּי יִמָּצְאוּ־קֶבֶר:

who are filled with gladness
and rejoice when they reach the grave?

References: Job 3:22; Prov 2:14

Admittedly, the frame development of Job 3:22 is difficult (cf. §4.8.2). The interpretation was made as the following: the verb שִׂישׂוּ evokes the REJOICING frame. The adjective שִׂמְחָה fills the slot of the REJOICER participant associated with the grammatical subject of the REJOICING frame. A BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING frame is evoked by the adjective as a sub-frame (embedded) of the main frame. It is suggested that each of the phrases profiles a different feature and the target lexemes activate different aspects of meaning potential as the following: the adjective phrase profiles the [STATE] feature and the [DESIRE] aspect of meaning potential is activated by the adjective; the verb phrase profiles the [EVENT] feature and the [SATISFACTION] aspect is activated; and the subordinate clause governed by כִּי [CAUSE] profiles the [CAUSE].

3.7.2 שִׂמְחָה as adjective modifying a noun

Denotes *being happy* or *joyful* when used to modify a noun. The [STATE] is profiled and the meaning potential of [SATISFACTION] is activated.

(59) Ps 113:9 (NIV)

מוֹשִׁיבֵנו עַל־קִרְתֵּי הַבָּיִת אֲם־הַבְּנָיִם שְׂמֵחָה הִלְלוּ־יָהּ:

He settles the barren woman in her home
as a happy mother of children.

Praise the LORD.

References: Ps 113:9; 126:3; Prov 15:13; 17:22; Isa 24:7

3.7.3 Idiomatic use of the adjective שמח

The adjective is used in the idiom שמח וטוב לב / שמחים וטובי לב. It tends to occur at the end of a discourse episode with the meaning of something like *happy and content* or *happy and satisfied* or *joyful and glad in heart* or *happy and in high spirits*, indicating the satisfactory ending (closure) of an event.

(60) 1 Kgs 8:66 (NIV)

ביום השמיני שלח את העם ויברכו את המלך וילכו לאהליהם שמחים וטובי לב על כל הטובה אשר עשה יהוה לדוד עבדו ולישראל עמו:

On the following day he sent the people away. They blessed the king and then went home, joyful and glad in heart for all the good things the LORD had done for his servant David and his people Israel.

References: 2 Chr 7:10; 1 Kgs 8:66; Esth 5:9

3.8 Summary of section 1: alternative construals

By developing the frames evoked by a lexeme or in which it is invoked, the actual usage of the lexeme to communicate something about a particular aspect of the world is describable. Variations in the frames are accounted for by noting different construal operations such as perspective or change in participants or other frame elements (§2.7 and §2.8) together with linguistic information. These variations reveal different ways of talking about the same entity. These are known as alternative construals (cf. §2.6 and Kövecses 2006: 227). The assumption is that each sense of a polysemous word belongs to a different semantic frame (§2.5.3). The development of the frames of שמח in sub-paragraphs §3.5.1-§3.7.3 indicates that שמח and its derivatives are polysemous and that the variations are a result of construal operations (§2.7 and §2.8), which include linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge. The frames indicate the alternative ways of speaking about JOY as it is denoted by שמח. Table 3.1 summarizes the frames and their respective frame elements. It has been arranged to indicate how there are some basic or neutral frames that profile either the [EVENT] feature or the state [FEATURE] of emotion and the variations on these basic frames that result from construal operations. Each frame, hypothetically, indicates a different sense of שמח.

Table 3.1 The frames of שמח profiling [EVENT] and [STATE]

[EVENT]	
REJOICING Evoked by: <i>Qal/Hifil/noun/adjective</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> [AGENT] 2. <i>Peripheral</i> [BENEFACTIVE] governed by לְפָנַי or לְ (often not expressed)
GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE Evoked by: <i>Qal/adjective</i>	1. <i>Required</i> [AGENT] 2. Perspective subjective or empathetic to <i>required</i> [BENEFACTIVE] governed by לְעַל/לְ
[STATE]	
BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING Evoked by: <i>Qal</i>	Perspective of <i>required</i> EXPERIENCER
DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING Evoked by: <i>Qal/adjective</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> EXPERIENCER 2. <i>Required</i> CAUSE/SOURCE governed by עַל/מִן/כִּי or לְ-infinitive construct* (*The primary preposition is כִּי. עַל is used only in Jonah 4:6, מִן only in Prov 5:18 and the infinitive construct only in Prov 2:14.)
MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL Evoked by: <i>Piel verb</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> [AGENT] 2. <i>Required</i> [BENEFACTIVE], (DIRECT OBJECT)

Several observations can be posited regarding the data recorded in the frames of שמח. First, in traditional grammars, שמח is a one-position verb, as exhibited by the REJOICING and BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING frames.⁵⁰ The prepositional phrases in the other frames are usually interpreted as adjuncts. However, the frames reveal that if the prepositional phrases are not expressed, the semantic denotation of the verb is changed in the specific linguistic expression. That is, they are required for completing the meaning expressed by the verb in a particular context; they are *semantic* complements.

⁵⁰ The phrase “traditional grammars” is made from a radical construction grammar point of view. The proposals made by radical construction grammar are still debated within the literature and have not been dealt with extensively in the research. More detailed explanation can be found in Croft (2001 and 2005), Goldberg (2003) and Sheard (2007).

Second, the frames are grouped into two major divisions, one which profiles the [EVENT] and the other that profiles the [STATE]. Each division has its neutral or non-perspectivized frame—REJOICING and BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING. Frame variation resulting in changes in determinate meaning of the target lexeme can be accounted for by construal operations such as perspective. For example, the REJOICING frame and the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE frame are basically the same frame except that the latter construes the usually peripheral BENEFACTIVE to be a required frame element and changes the perspective (cf. discussion of required vs. peripheral frame elements and Principle 4 regarding perspective, §2.5.3).

Finally, although the frames of שמח and its derivatives are relatively evenly divided between [EVENT] and [STATE], they reveal that the REJOICING frame is a very common frame. A simple statistical count indicates that there are 123 references to the REJOICING frame evoked by שמח, השמח and שמחה combined. The count is inclusive of the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE frame and the usages of the noun to denote SOUNDS_OF_FESTIVITIES, which are metonyms that evoke the REJOICING frame (§3.6.2). Therefore, of the 269 (§3.2) total combined occurrences of שמח and its derivatives, 123 or about 45.7% of them evoke the REJOICING frame. The significance of the association with REJOICING takes on a sharper focus when the word שמח is compared with the other lexemes studied in the research (chapter 4).

It is also significant that the REJOICING frame can be evoked by either the verb or noun or adjective. The choice to use the verb or noun or adjective is another construal operation that accounts for alternative construals. For example, Croft and Cruse (2004: 53-54), refer to Langacker’s (1987) notion of summary scanning (usually nouns and adjectives) and sequential scanning (verbs). The latter construes the scenario in “conceived time” and the former conceptualizes the scenario in its entirety “holistically.” The difference is illustrated by example (50) referring to 2 Chr 30:26, in which the entire seven days of festivities (all of the sub-events over the duration) are “compressed” in the noun (cf. compression §2.5.2). In comparison, example (31), in regard to the events of 1 Sam 11:15, the verb evokes a scenario in conceived time (cf. §4.4.6.2)

In summary, the basic frame information indicates that שמח and its derivatives profile, to a fairly even degree, both the [EVENT] and [STATE] features of emotion. Various construal operations combining linguistic and extra-linguistic information are used to construe alternatives of the two basic frames: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING and

REJOICING. The development of frames, which places the target lexeme or expression in each specific context, indicates how the linguistic and extra-linguistic information are used in construing the meaning of an expression and how the interpretive meaning of a lexeme or expression is determined and understood in each particular event.

Section 2

3.9 Analysis of the linguistic expressions in which שמח or its derivatives occur

In §2.7, and §2.8, construal operations are discussed and listed. These notions are used in a construal analysis of the data and determine the conceptualization of the target concept and the determinate frame meaning of each lexeme in each of its occurrences. The encyclopedic and linguistic data analyzed is from the text boxes demonstrated in §3.4 and which, in the preliminary investigation, was applied to all of the references; the analysis takes into consideration all of the contextual information of each linguistic expression. The aim of Section 2 is to provide examples of what data was analyzed and what results were recorded in regard to שמח and its derivatives.

3.10 Conceptual Metaphor: EVENT STRUCTURE and EMOTION IS A FORCE metaphors

The data discussed in Table 3.1 is based on general observations taken from the development of the frames of שמח. The aim of the current sub-paragraphs is to exemplify and discuss the specific notions used in the analysis based on Kövecses' (2000) model following the outline used in §2.8.1.1 and §2.8.1.2. Although the focus in Kövecses (2000) is on the superordinate level of EMOTION, the interpretation of the data in §3.10.1 and §3.10.2 pertains only to data which is made in regard to the specific level, that is, to שמח. In §4.14.2, a brief comparison is made between the conclusions reached concerning the lexemes for JOY that are investigated as well as how they relate to other emotion words that have been investigated by various scholars. The aim is not to provide a conclusive description of what is called [EMOTION] in BH, but to indicate how the study of conceptual metaphor provides insight into the cognitive understanding of the concept associated with a specific lexeme.

3.10.1 The biblical Hebrew conceptualization: JOY is a [STATE] and JOY is an [EVENT]

The first observation that Kövecses (2000) makes is that EMOTION IS A STATE; it is conceptualized as a bounded region. The preposition *in* usually indicates the state, e.g., *he was in despair* (example (19), §2.8.1.1).

A similar metaphor of JOY as denoted by שמח is found in BH. It is usually expressed by the noun שמחה in a prepositional phrase headed by ב in [CIRCUMSTANCES]. Waltke and O'Connor (1990: 197) note that the English translation equivalence is often an adverb and

suggest Isa 12:3 as one example. Isa 12:3 illustrates the usage of *שִׂשׂוֹן* in a [CIRCUMSTANCES] prepositional phrase.

(61) Isa 12:3 (NET)

וּשְׂאֲבָתֶם מֵיָם בְּשִׂשׂוֹן מִמַּעַיְנֵי הַיְשׁוּעָה:

Joyfully you will draw water
from the springs of deliverance.

The lexeme *שִׂמְחָה* is used in similar construals.

(62) Eccl 9:7 (NIV)

לֵךְ אֲכַל בְּשִׂמְחָה לַחֲמֹד וְשִׂתֵּה בְּלֵב טוֹב יִיגַד כִּי כָבֹד רָצָה הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת־מַעֲשֶׂיךָ:

Go, eat your food with gladness, and drink your wine with a joyful heart, for it is now that God favors what you do.

(63) Isa 55:12 (NIV)

כִּי־בְשִׂמְחָה תֵצְאוּ וּבְשִׁלּוֹם תּוֹבְלוּן הַהָרִים וְהַגְּבְעוֹת יִפְצְחוּ לְפָנֵיכֶם רִנָּה וְכָל־עֲצֵי הַשָּׁדָה יִמְחָאוּ־כָף:

You will go out in joy
and be led forth in peace;
the mountains and hills
will burst into song before you,
and all the trees of the field
will clap their hands.

The prepositional phrases *בְּשִׂמְחָה* *in/with gladness* in examples (61), (62) and (63) profiles the [STATE] of emotion in which an action denoted by the main verb is done. The hypothesis is that the prepositional phrase *בְּשִׂמְחָה* tends to indicate that JOY is conceptualized as a [STATE] in BH.

The use of the *Piel* as denoting bringing someone into a resultant state is another possible example that JOY is conceptualized as a [STATE] (cf. examples in §3.5.5). This is brought into focus in the following discussion on the notion that emotion involves a CHANGE OF STATE.

Kövecses' second observation is that in the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor there is a CHANGE OF STATE; there is a movement from one region (state) to another which, according to Kövecses, is the movement from a non-emotional state to an emotional state (example (20), §2.8.1.1).

The BH conceptualization of JOY can denote a change from the so-called non-emotional state to an emotional state. In the following two citations, *שִׂמְחָה Qal* profiles the [EMOTION].

(64) 1 Sam 6:13 (personal)

ובית שמש קצרים קציר-חטים בעמק וישאו את-עיניהם ויראו את-הארון וישמחו לראות:

Now the people of Beth-Shemesh were harvesting the wheat in the valley. When they looked up and saw the ark they were happy to see it.

The people of Beth-Shemesh are out in the field harvesting (non-emotional state), look up and see the ark and become happy (emotional state).⁵¹ The “immediacy” of the response in 1 Sam 6:14 profiles the [ALACRITY] feature of JOY. A similar scenario is found in 1 Kgs 5:21 [7], cited as example (41), when Hiram hears Solomon’s proposal for an economic treaty, he becomes glad and gives praise. Further discussion of these citations and [ALACRITY] are made in §3.10.2. Other examples of emotion as a CHANGE OF STATE are provided in §3.11.4.

The third observation made by Kövecses is that the [CAUSE] is conceptualized as bringing about a change from a non-emotional state to an emotional state. In many of the linguistic expressions in which שמח occurs there is an expression of [CAUSE], implicitly or explicitly. It is often expressed as a prepositional phrase governed by על or a subordinate clause headed by כי (or both, as in example (65)).

(65) 2 Chr 15:15 (NIV)

וישמחו כל-יהודה על-השבועה כי בכל-לבבם נשבעו ובכל-רצונם בקושה וימצא להם וינח יהוה להם מסקיב:

All Judah rejoiced about the oath because they had sworn it wholeheartedly. They sought God eagerly, and he was found by them. So the LORD gave them rest on every side.

(66) Joel 2:23 (NIV)

ובני ציון גילו ושמחו ביהוה אלהיכם כי-נתנו לכם את-המורה לצדקה ויורד לכם גשם מורה ומקווש בראשון:

Be glad, O people of Zion,
rejoice in the LORD your God,
for he has given you
the autumn rains in righteousness.

The construals using the *Piel* also foreground the [CAUSE], as illustrated by the examples evoking the MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL FRAME, §3.5.5. The conclusion is that שמח profiles the [STATE] feature.

⁵¹ In example (64), the notion of non-emotional state is used. However, as mentioned in §2.8.1.1, there is some ambiguity in the use of the term, and a modification is suggested in §4.14.2. The construal of 1 Sam 6:13 suggest that any specific emotion was backgrounded until they saw the ark, and therefore, were in a “non-emotional” state.

According to Table 3.1 and the discussion following it in §3.8, JOY, as denoted by שמח, is also conceptualized as an [EVENT] in biblical Hebrew. The REJOICING frame is a very common frame evoked by שמח and its derivatives. It profiles the [EVENT] feature and is associated with all festivities. The most salient feature of [EVENT] is the temporal features of beginning and ending. In narrative passages, when שמח and its derivatives evoke the [EVENT], it most often occurs at the end of the episode and is interpreted as evoking all of the sub-events included in the main [EVENT] or the satisfactory conclusion of the event (§3.7.3). Numerous examples are provided in §3.5.1, §3.6.1 and §3.7.1.

The near-synonymous relation between עשה מְשִׁחָה, עשה שְׂמִיחָה, and עשה חֵג is a strong indication for the conceptualization of JOY as an [EVENT] (§3.6.1 and §3.6.2). In Num 10:10, the noun שְׂמִיחָה denotes FESTIVITIES in general. Therefore, as indicated in Table 3.1, JOY, as symbolized by שמח, is conceptualized as both a [STATE] and an [EVENT] in biblical Hebrew and the various frames which it evokes or in which it is invoked specifically profile one or the other of the features.

3.10.2 The biblical Hebrew concept: is JOY [ACTION] and [PASSION]?

In his study of English metaphors of emotion, Kovecses (2000) concluded that emotion is viewed as [ACTION] and [PASSION], but, at least for English, it was more similar to [PASSION] (§2.8.1.1). The reason that [PASSION] seems to be dominant in English metaphors is attributed to the fact that English metaphors of emotion indicate that the [CAUSE] is an outside or external force that is *not* under the control of the ego. [ACTION] has a feature of intentionality or control. Kovecses (2000: 57) writes that “there is a clear ‘action’ aspect to the emotions, in that emotions may involve conscious control of certain acts or events.” In contrast, a passion is an external desire that controls the emotional act that is *not intended* by the ego. This uncontrollable FORCE leads to an unintended behavioural response. The key difference between [ACTION] and [PASSION] is the intentionality of the resultant action. Is the ego in control or is the emotion controlling the ego?

Many of the construals in which שמח and its derivatives occur make suggest that the emotion of JOY, as denoted by שמח and its derivatives, is often caused by an internal desire and that the emotion leads to an intentional action.

Citations from 1 Chr 29:9 and 2 Chr 24:10 provide examples of the inner desire causing the emotion and the emotion leading to intentional behavioural response.

(67) 1Chr 29:9 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ הָעָם עַל־הַתְּנוּדָתְכֶם בִּי בְּלֵב שְׂלֵם הַתְּנוּדָבוּ לַיהוָה וְגַם דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ שָׂמַח שְׂמֹחַה גְדוֹלָה:

The people had given willingly to the LORD, and they were happy that so much had been given. King David also was extremely happy.

(68) 2 Chr 24:10 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ כָּל־הַשָּׂרִים וְכָל־הָעָם וַיָּבִיאוּ וַיִּשְׂלְּכוּ לְאָרוֹן עַד־לְכֵלֵה:

All the officials and all the people brought their contributions gladly, dropping them into the chest until it was full.

In examples (67) and (68), the emotion is not the cause of their giving. They are joyful because they have *נדב* (*Hitpael*) *made a voluntary contribution* (HALOT 1999: 671).⁵² The emotion is caused by their desire to give, and to do so willingly, and with the intention of filling up the chest. It seems that the understanding is that the people are in control of the emotion.

A similar notion is found in 2 Chr 15:15. The people swear the oath *בְּכָל־לְבָבָם* *with all their heart (willingly)*, which is the cause of their joy. The desire leads them to seek YHWH *וּבְכָל־רְצוֹנָם* *and with all their will (desire)* and he was found. The desire leads to intentional action.

Other construals indicate that JOY is caused by an outside force that fulfils an internal desire (e.g., birth of a child, victory in war). In these situations, the emotion leads to a [RESPONSE] of giving praise and thanksgiving to the entity that caused the JOY. The praise and thanksgiving are intentional and volitional.

(69) Ps 9:3 [2] (*Cohortative, declaration of intent*) (NIV)

אֲשַׂמְחָה וְאֶעֱלֶזָה בְּךָ אֲזַמְרָה שְׂמֵךְ עָלֶיךָ:

I will be glad and rejoice in you;

I will sing praise to your name, O Most High.

(70) Isa 25:9 (*Jussive*) (NIV)

וְאָמַר בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ זָה קִנְיֵנוּ לֹו וְיוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ זָה יְהוָה קִנְיֵנוּ לֹו נִגְיְלָה וְנִשְׂמְחָה בִּישׁוּעָתוֹ:

In that day they will say,

“Surely this is our God;

we trusted in him, and he saved us.

This is the LORD, we trusted in him;

let us rejoice and be glad in his salvation.”

⁵² Muffs (1992: 185) notes that this usage is typical in *Chronicles* (cf. 2 Chr 29:36). But similar usages can be found with *שמח* in Isa 9:15 and 39:2.

(71) Ps 32:11 (*Imperative*) (NIV)

שִׂמְחוּ בַיהוָה וְגִילוּ צְדִיקִים יְהִרְזִינוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

Rejoice in the LORD and be glad, you righteous;
sing, all you who are upright in heart!

All of the examples from (65) through (71) suggest that the [RESPONSE] (resultant action) of JOY, as denoted by שמח and its derivatives, tends to be volitional, intentional and in the control of the ego.

According to Kövecses (2000: 56) emotions, as passions, “just happen.” But, it is hypothesized in the investigation, that, in BH, JOY as denoted by שמח, usually does not “just happen;” it is often construed as the satisfactory accomplishment of a goal. The [SATISFACTION] aspect of meaning potential is usually activated. The emotion can lead to an [RESPONSE] that is intended and under the control of the REJOICER. The event might be immediate, as in the sudden stoppage of work and the rejoicing in 1 Sam 6:13-14 (example (64)). But this is understood as activating the [ALACRITY] aspect of meaning potential; it was the intentional desire of the people to do so.

Although the data seems to be one-sided in construing JOY as primarily [ACTION], there are some construals that suggest that it can also be viewed as a [PASSION]. Kövecses (2000: 59) notes that the [PASSION] concept is not part of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and therefore requires the study of two other metaphors—EMOTION IS INSANITY and DESIRE IS HUNGER.⁵³ The first accounts for “‘irrational’ ‘uncontrolled’ aspects of passion” (Kövecses (2000: 59). One example of a linguistic expression that possibly construes JOY as is irrational behavior is Isa 39:2, when Hezekiah receives envoys from Babylon.

(72) Isa 39:2 (NIV)

וַיִּשְׂמַח עֲלֵיהֶם חֲזַקְיָהוּ וַיִּרְאֵם אֶת־בַּיִת גְּלִתָּהָ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף וְאֶת־הַזָּהָב וְאֶת־הַבְּשָׂמִים וְאֶת הַטּוֹב וְאֶת כָּל־בַּיִת כְּלָיו וְאֶת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר נִמְצָא בְּאֶצְרָתָיו לֹא־הָיָה דָבָר אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הִרְאָם חֲזַקְיָהוּ בְּבֵיתוֹ וּבְכָל־מִמְשָׁלְתּוֹ:

Hezekiah received the envoys gladly and showed them what was in his storehouses—the silver, the gold, the spices, the fine oil, his entire armory and everything found among his treasures. There was nothing in his palace or in all his kingdom that Hezekiah did not show them.

Was Hezekiah carried away by the emotion? Was disclosure of his wealth and power intended? In the following verses, the prophet Isaiah comes and rebukes him for the act saying that it will lead to destruction. Oswalt (1986: 695) and Watts (2005: 599) suggest, though, that it was actually a political move on Hezekiah’s part to demonstrate to the

⁵³ The DESIRE IS HUNGER metaphor is mentioned in §4.5.3 in a discussion of עליו.

Babylonians his power and worthiness in making a treaty so as to counter a possible Assyrian invasion. If that is true, then the actions might be considered intentional. But if it was considered to be irrational behavior, that is, that Isaiah thinks that Hezekiah was “carried away” by the force of the emotion, then the interpretation could be that the emotion in the specific instance is understood as [PASSION].

A similar scenario is Judg 19:3-9. The young man follows his concubine to her father’s house. The father welcomes him (וַיִּשְׂמַח לִקְרֹאתוֹ *was glad to meet him*). The father invites the young man in to the home and engages in what, at first, seems to be cordial hospitality. But in verses 4-9, the host appears to be carried away by the emotion and continually urges him (וַיִּפְצַר-בּוֹ) to stay and the young man agrees to do so.

Although the initial invitation to stay appears to be rational and intentional, the continual urging after the (perhaps) normal three day period might be considered to be irrational behavior caused by the emotion and desire to bring about reconciliation between the young man and his concubine. As such, the implication is that the JOY might have been understood as [PASSION] in the particular event.

Another example is David’s response to Michal’s chastisement that he had acted in an uncouth manner when dancing before the ark on its return to Jerusalem (2 Sam 6:12-22). First, her reaction implies that he is acting in an irrational manner. David replies (v21) that he was *making sport (dancing, celebrating)* in God’s presence because he had been chosen as leader over Israel. He adds (subjective perspective), in v22, that *וַיִּקְלְתִּי עוֹד מִזֹּאת... and I will demean myself again more than this*. His reply appears to indicate that he is aware of what he is doing and his actions are intentional; he is in control of them. However, they can be taken as irrational and imply that the emotion is conceptualized in the construal as [PASSION].

A final example is Isa 35:10 (also Isa 51:11). It is a linguistic expression in which *שְׂמֵחָה* is construed as a FORCE ([AGENT]) that takes control of the ego.

(73) Isa 35:10 (NIV)

וּפְדוּיֵי יְהוָה יִשְׂבְּוּ וַיָּבֹאוּ צִיּוֹן בְּרִנָּה וְשִׂמְחַת עוֹלָם עַל-רֵאשֵׁי שָׂשׂוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה יִשְׂיִגּוּ וַיִּגְוּ וַאֲנָחָה:

and the ransomed of the LORD will return.

They will enter Zion with singing;

everlasting joy will crown their heads.

Gladness and joy will overtake them,

and sorrow and sighing will flee away.

Isa 35:10a construes a REDEEMED_EXILES_RETURNING_HOME frame (perhaps using a FESTIVITY_PROCESSION frame as background information). The exiles are rejoicing, giving

praise for their redemption. They are wearing the festive wreath (turban/crown) which, in this construal, symbolizes or is a metonym of the *עוֹלָם וְשָׂמֶיחַ* *everlasting joy* that God has given them. The JOY is everlasting not only because of the redemption, but also because God has banished the enemy forever, as suggested in Isa 35:10b.

Isa 35:10b evokes the scenario VICTORS_ROUTING_DEFEATED. The two emotions, SORROW and JOY, personify the battling armies. JOY is the VICTOR and SORROW the enemy. As the VICTOR nears Jerusalem, the rejoicing becomes stronger (JOY_IS_SCALAR, §3.11.3) until it completely *overwhelms* *יְשִׁיגוּ* the exiles. At that point *וְאָנְחָה יָגוֹן וְנָסוּ* *sorrow and sighing flee*; they are routed and banished and Israel's JOY is now everlasting.

In Isa 35:10, JOY is construed as a FORCE that can overwhelm the ego (take control). It might be a construal of JOY as ecstasy and illustrates what Muffs described as *זריזות* *zeal/alacrity* (§3.2.2). It leads to the intentional response of removing sorrow and the cause of sorrow. However, it might also indicate a [PASSION] understanding of emotion in that the emotion is now in control of the ego. The question of emotion as [ACTION] and [PASSION] is addressed further in §4.10.

3.10.3 Summary of data interpretation: JOY as [STATE], [EVENT], [ACTION] and [PASSION]

The data suggests that *שִׂמְחָה* and its derivatives profile the [STATE] and [EVENT] features of the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor. Second, JOY, as denoted by *שִׂמְחָה*, is primarily understood as [ACTION]. The emphasis is on the notion of *primarily*. The hypothesis is that it has a high number of occurrences associated with REJOICING which, as particular events, tend to profile [ACTION]. However, other expressions are construed such that it is possible to interpret them as either [PASSION] or [ACTION].

There is still some investigation that is needed. Not all of the submetaphors listed in Kövecses (2000: 56) related to [ACTION] are recorded in the analysis of the linguistic expressions in which the lexemes investigated occur. More follow-up on these submetaphors is required. However, for the lexemes that were investigated, the notion that they are understood as [PASSION] is minimal.

The conclusion does not mean that all concepts that are associated with JOY are viewed primarily as [ACTION]. An analysis of linguistic expressions in which other lexemes associated with JOY might indicate that there is a more definitive understanding of JOY as [PASSION]. Second, there are other emotion concepts—e.g., HATE, ANGER, FEAR, LOVE, and SHAME. Each one of them, hypothetically, profiles various features, some of which might be different than those profiled by JOY.

For example, Kövecses (2000: 56) argues that LOVE is not the same as the other emotions in English conceptualization. The English concept of LOVE includes a cognitive understanding of it as a [PASSION], as illustrated in such phrases as *to fall in love*. However, it differs from the other English emotion concepts in that it is more often viewed as an activity with a “purposive component” due to the relationship involved. Love and marriage, for example, are conceptualized as a team-effort and, therefore, can set goals. Other emotions, in English though, “just happen.”

Bosman (2011) has shown that within the BH concept of LOVE, there is what she has called a ROMANCE frame. Many linguistic expressions of the ROMANCE frame are construals of LOVE as a [PASSION] (cf. Bosman 2011: 217, 228-229 and 235-236). People “fall in love.”

Perhaps one of the more poignant examples of LOVE and HATE as [PASSION] is found in the “Rape of Tamar” incident (2 Sam 13). Bosman (2011: 235-236) shows how the antonym שָׂנֵא co-occurs in the same verse with הֵרָצָה creating a scenario in which both LOVE and HATE lead to acts of [PASSION]. Amnon’s הֵרָצָה becomes an uncontrollable force that leads to rape. The emotional force of the rape acts on him so that he immediately hates (שָׂנֵא) her, rejects her, sends her away and closes the door behind her. He now hates her to a greater degree than he had loved her. In 2 Sam 13, both LOVE and HATE are cognitively understood as emotions that have the force to control the ego and lead to unintended responses.

An analysis of BH emotion concepts might show that JOY is saliently conceptualized as [ACTION] whereas the other emotions, like LOVE and HATE, might be viewed as both [PASSION] and [ACTION] or even primarily as [PASSION]. Only by working out the entire domain matrix and analyzing the data, can a clear picture be obtained and categorization suggested. But this goes beyond the scope of the present study. The question of JOY as [ACTION] and [PASSION] is discussed further in §4.10 after other lexemes that denote JOY are investigated.

The application of Kövecses’ model to linguistic construals in which שִׂמְחָה and its derivatives occur provides a starting point for understanding, to some degree, how JOY is understood in biblical Hebrew. It also provides a platform on which to build an understanding of the remaining lexemes investigated in the study. Do they profile the same features? Do they add to the understanding gained in the study of שִׂמְחָה ? Some of these questions are attended to in chapter 4.

3.11 Other conceptual metaphors related to שמחה and its derivatives

The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor is one primary conceptual metaphor associated with JOY and provides some clues as to how it is understood cognitively. But there are other conceptual metaphors related to the specific level of JOY and two sub-metaphors associated with the generic level of emotions that were uncovered in the analysis. On the specific level, the conceptual metaphors are JOY IS A SHINING LIGHT and JOY IS AN OBJECT. The first has the sub-metaphor JOY IS A LIGHT THAT CAN BE DIMMED AND EXTINGUISHED. The latter has several sub-metaphors, such as JOY IS AN OBJECT IN A CONTAINER, JOY IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE PUT INTO OR WITHDRAWN FROM A CONTAINER, and JOY IS SCALAR. These are classified as ontological metaphors, following the explanations of Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 25ff). Ontological metaphors serve several purposes: referring, quantifying, identifying aspects, identifying causes, setting goals and motivating actions. On the generic level are the conceptual metaphors EMOTIONS ARE STATES THAT CAN BE CHANGED and a PERSON CAN BE MOVED FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER STATE. These latter two are sub-metaphors of EMOTIONS ARE STATES and PEOPLE ARE OBJECTS. Neither is discussed in Kövecses (2000).

3.11.1 Conceptual Metaphor: SCALAR > JOY IS A SHINING LIGHT THAT CAN BE DIMMED AND EXTINGUISHED

(74) Isa 24:11 (NIV)

צִוְתָהּ עַל־תִּיגִין בַּחוּצוֹת עֶרְבָה כָּל־שִׂמְחָה גָּלָה מִשׁוֹשׁ הָאָרֶץ:

In the streets they cry out for wine;
all joy turns to gloom,
all gaiety is banished from the earth.

In this context, גָּלָה suggests that the people, the ones who normally are revelers, have gone into exile. They have disappeared (גָּלָה) and their festivities have disappeared with them. The harvest has been destroyed in war and so there is no wine. The entire utterance construes a shining light that is dimmed and then extinguished. The starting point שִׂמְחָה *gladness* implies *shining or gleaming light*, for only a shining light can become *dim* (עֶרְבָה); evening twilight follows noon's high-light. Finally, the light is extinguished, that is, it disappears (גָּלָה).

3.11.2 Conceptual sub-metaphor: JOY IS AN OBJECT > JOY IS AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE PUT IN OR WITHDRAWN FROM A CONTAINER

(75) Ps 4:8 [7] (NIV)

נתתה שמחה בלבי מעת דגנם ותירושם רבני:

You have filled my heart with greater joy
than when their grain and new wine abound.

In the construal, the heart is expressed as a container (a bounded region) into which JOY can be placed (as an object).

The understanding of JOY in Ps 4:8 [7] as something that fills a container is similar to the expression that ANGER filled Haman in Esth 9:5.

(76) Esth 9:5 (NIV)

ויצא המן ביום ההוא שמח וטוב לב וכראות המן את-מרדכי המן בשער המלך ולא-קם ולא-ינע מפניו וימלא המן על-מרדכי חמה:

Haman went out that day happy and in high spirits. But when he saw Mordecai at the king's gate and observed that he neither rose nor showed fear in his presence, he was filled with rage against Mordecai.

Both JOY and ANGER have the conceptual sub-metaphors of AN OBJECT THAT CAN BE PUT IN OR WITHDRAWN FROM A CONTAINER and A PERSON/BODY-ORGAN IS A CONTAINER (for the idea of withdrawing the object, cf. Isa .16:10 and Jer 48:33). Whereas ANGER fills Haman, that is, the whole person as a container, in construals of JOY, it is usually the heart that is used as the specific container into which JOY is set, as in example (75) (cf. example (39) and §4.11.1). The heart is often used in personifications; it is the heart that rejoices.

3.11.3 Conceptual sub-metaphor: JOY IS SCALAR

The scalar sub-metaphor conceptualizes the object as something that can be measured on a scale (example (18), §2.7). The example citation comes from Isa 9:2 [3]. The first noun *הגוי* *his people* is disputed. The discussion concerning *הגוי* is presented in §3.17, example (127). In example (77), only the second noun *שמחה* *happiness* is in focus.

(77) Isa 9:2 [3]⁵⁴ (NIV)
הַרְבִּיתָּ הַגּוֹי (לֵא) [לְו] הַגְדַּלְתָּ הַשְׂמֵחָה שְׂמַחְו לְפָנָיִךָ כְּשִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר כְּאֲשֶׁר יִגְלוּ בְּחֻלְקָם שְׂלָל:

You have enlarged the nation
and increased their joy;
they rejoice before you
as people rejoice at the harvest,
as men rejoice
when dividing the plunder.

In the construal, the noun הַשְׂמֵחָה *their happiness* is the direct object of the verb הַגְדַּלְתָּ (*Hiphil* perfect) *cause to be great* or *cause to be enlarged*. JOY is comparable to an object that can be increased in size/amount and measured on a scale.

This conceptual SCALAR sub-metaphor can be expressed grammatically by מְאֹד used to denote *exceedingly, greatly, very* or used with the preposition עַד, עַד-מְאֹד *up to abundance, to a great degree, exceedingly* and the adjective גָּדוֹל *great*. The citation with וַיִּשְׂמַח מְאֹד in 1 Kgs 5:21 [7] is cited and discussed as example (41). The other occurrence is in the prepositional phrase עַד-מְאֹד in 1 Sam 11:15.

(78) 1 Sam 11:15 (personal)
וַיֵּלְכוּ כָּל-הָעָם הַגִּלְגָּל וַיִּמְלֹכוּ שָׁם אֶת-שָׂאוּל לְפָנָי יְהוָה בְּגִלְגָּל וַיִּזְבְּחוּ-וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ וַיִּשְׂמַח שָׂאוּל וְכָל-אֲנָשָׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד-מְאֹד:

So all the people went to Gilgal and there they made Saul king in the presence of YHWH. They sacrificed wellbeing offerings and Saul and all of the men of Israel rejoiced greatly there.

The prepositional phrase עַד-מְאֹד headed by the preposition עַד *up to* evokes a scenario of filling a container until it reaches a certain point (up to), and מְאֹד designates the specific point as *exceedingly*; they started at Ø (the “non-emotional state”) and continued up to a specific amount (a “great” emotional state). In Figure 3.1, the single-lined arrows indicate “increase.”

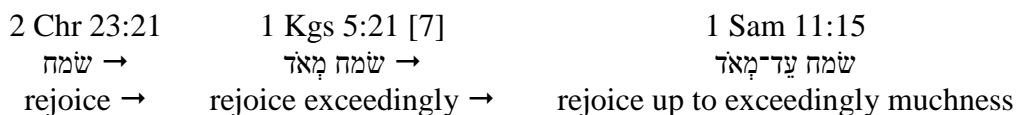


Figure 3.1 JOY IS SCALAR

The occurrence of גָּדוֹל *great* with the noun שְׂמֵחָה also indicates the scalar conceptualization of JOY. The next three examples illustrate the movement up the scale, beginning with the basic level in example (79).

⁵⁴ The citation in example (77) is copy-pasted from BART 5.3 and maintains the K-Q variation. K is (לֵא) and Q is [לְו]. The author’s translation follows Q.

(79) 1 Chr 12:41 [40] (NIV)

וּגְּמַלִּים וְכַמְּוָרִים וְכַמְּלִים וְכַפָּרְדִּים |
וְגַם הַקְּרוֹבִים אֲלֵיהֶם עַד-יִשְׁשָׁכָר וְזִבְלוֹן וְנַפְתָּלִי מְבִיאִים לָהֶם בַּחֲמוֹרִים וּבְגַמְלִים וּבְכַפָּרְדִּים |
וּבְקָרָם מֵאֲכָל קֶמַח דְּבִלִים וְצִמּוֹקִים וְיַיִן-וְלֶחֶם וּבָקָר וְצֹאן לָרֶב רַב כִּי שִׂמְחָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל:

Also, their neighbors from as far away as Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali came bringing food on donkeys, camels, mules and oxen. There were plentiful supplies of flour, fig cakes, raisin cakes, wine, oil, cattle and sheep, for there was joy in Israel.

In Neh 8:12, there is no modification of the profiled word in example (79).

(80) Neh 8:12 (full citation given in example (47))

...ולעשות שמחה גדולה...

... celebrate with great joy...

In example (80), the noun is modified only with the adjective גדול *great*.

(81) Neh 8:17 (NIV)

וַיַּעֲשׂוּ כָל-הַקְּהָל הַשֹּׁבִים מִן-הַשָּׁבִי | סִכּוֹת וַיֵּשְׁבוּ בְּסִכּוֹתַי כִּי לֹא-עָשׂוּ מִימִי
יְשׁוּעַ בְּ-רִגְוֹן כֹּן בְּגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וַתְּהִי שִׂמְחָה גְּדוּלָה מְאֹד:

The whole company that had returned from exile built booths and lived in them. From the days of Joshua son of Nun until that day, the Israelites had not celebrated it like this. And their joy was very great.

In example (81), the profiled word is modified with the adjective גדול, is modified with the noun מאד used to denote the idea of *exceedingly* (BDB 1907: 547). The whole phrase denotes *exceedingly great rejoicing*. Starting with example (79), there is a scalar increase in the rejoicing that reaches a peak in example (81).

3.11.4 Conceptual metaphors: EMOTIONS ARE STATES THAT CAN BE CHANGED and PEOPLE CAN BE MOVED FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER STATE

The last example of conceptual metaphor is the sub-metaphor EMOTIONS ARE STATES THAT CAN BE CHANGED. In §2.8.1.1, Kövecses' notion of emotion as being a movement from a nonemotional state to an emotional state is introduced. Some suggested examples from BH showing possible similarities between BH and English is given in example (64), §3.11.1. BH also conceptualizes the states of emotion as being changeable from one state into another state.

(82) Jer 31:13 (NIV)

אֲנִי תִשְׂמַח בְּתוֹלָהּ בְּמַחֲוֹל וּבְחֲרִים וְזִקְנִים יִתְּנוּ וְהַפְּכֵתִי אֶבְלָם לְשִׂשׁוֹן וְנַחֲמָתִים וְשִׂמְחָתִים מִיָּגוֹן:

Then maidens will dance and be glad,
young men and old as well.
I will turn their mourning into gladness;
I will give them comfort and joy instead of sorrow.

The first clause, *turn* (הפך) *their mourning into exultation*, suggests that the state itself is changed. The use of the *Piel* in the second clause—*bring them from sorrow (into) gladness* (שמחה)—with the prepositional phrase governed by מן (from) construes a situation in which a BENEFACTIVE is moved by an AGENT from one state into another state. The latter is structured by the two sub-metaphors PEOPLE WITH EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS THAT CAN BE MOVED and EMOTIONS ARE STATES (bounded regions/containers). The use of the *Piel* in the last clause indicates that the emotion is the result of actions made by an AGENT which can either move a person from a non-emotional state to an emotional state (MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL frame, §3.5.5) or from one emotional state into another emotional state. Other possible references are Esth 9:22; Ps 30:12 [11]; Lam 5:15.

3.12 Some conceptual metonymies related to שמחה

One tool that helps in the interpretation of metonymies is the *active zone* notion (example (15), §2.7). It interprets the verb as the motivator of a semantic shift. The shift makes an entity or feature to be the semantic as well as syntactic argument of a verb. The English example in (83) is in the active voice and the BH example is expressed as a passive voice. However, the different voices do not affect the interpretation achieved by applying the active zone notion to the BH citation.

(83) Active Zone (from example (15) and Neh 12:43d)

She heard the piano.

וַתִּשְׁמַע שְׂמֵחַת יְרוּשָׁלַם מֵרְחוֹק:

The festivities were heard far away.

Meaning of heard: SU heard sound of OBJ.

Meaning of heard: sound of SU was heard

She heard (the sound of) the piano.

The (sounds of) the festivities were heard.

In Neh 12:43b and c, the festivities themselves are in the foreground. The semantic shift in Neh 12:43d allows for the shift to make the *sounds* of the festivities to be in the foreground, but the festivities remain the syntactic argument of the verb.

The metonymies predominantly related to שמחה are primarily SOUNDS OF FESTIVITIES. A few examples are provided in Table 3.2. Further discussion and examples of metonyms and figurative language is presented in section 3 of chapter 4.

Table 3.2 Collocatives and some metonyms related to שמח and its derivatives

Collocatives and metonyms tend to be SOUNDS OF REJOICING.	(shouts and singing) רָנָה/רָנְנָה/רָנַן, שִׁיר, הֵלֵל, and זָמַר; (musical instruments) תָּפ, כְּנֹף, תְּלִיל, שְׁלִישׁ and חֲצוֹנִים; (references, cf. §3.5.1, frame of REJOICING)
The sounds are usually construed as extremely loud.	1 Kgs 1:40: וַתִּבְקַע הָאָרֶץ בְּקוֹלָם: <i>and the earth was split open by their noise</i> ; 1 Chr 15:16: מְשִׁמְעִים לְהַרְיִם־בְּקוֹל לְשִׁמְחָה (singers and various instruments) <i>sounding loudly, raising a voice of joy</i> ; Neh 12:43: וַתִּשְׁמַע שְׂמִיחַת יְרוּשָׁלַם מֵרְחוֹק: <i>and Jerusalem's joy was heard from far away</i>

The lexeme רָנַן and its derivatives are used to illustrate metonymy in a more detailed manner in §4.13.4. The hypothesis used in understanding the use of metonymies to stand for emotions follows the proposal that THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (§2.8.2).

3.13 Effect of perspectivization on semantics and splitting of frames

Perspectivization is introduced in §1.0, example (2) and §2.7, example (16). Principle 4, §2.5.3, dictates that the same perspective of the participants must be consistent across the frame. If there is a change in perspective, then there is a division of the frame into two sub-frames. Examples have been mentioned in §3.5.2, but are expanded on with the next two examples. Examples (84) and (85) illustrate the shift in perspective that results in a change in contextually-determined meaning. The GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE frame is a variation of the REJOICING frame (Table 3.1).

(84) 2 Chr 20:27 (NIV)

וַיָּשָׁבוּ כָּל־אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם וַיְהוֹשֵׁפָט בְּרֵאשִׁיתָם לָשׁוּב אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלַם בְּשִׂמְחָה כִּי־שָׂמַחַם יְהוָה מֵאוֹיְבֵיהֶם:

Then, led by Jehoshaphat, all the men of Judah and Jerusalem returned joyfully to Jerusalem, for the LORD had given them cause to rejoice over their enemies.

(85) Lam 2:17 (NIV)

עָשָׂה יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר זָמַם בַּצֵּעַ אֲמַרְתוּ אֲשֶׁר צָנָה מִימֵי־קִדְמֵם הָרַס וְלֹא חָמַל וַיִּשְׁמַח עָלֶיךָ אוֹיֵב הָרִים קִרְוֹן צָרֶיךָ:

The LORD has done what he planned;
he has fulfilled his word,
which he decreed long ago.
He has overthrown you without pity,
he has let the enemy gloat over you,
he has exalted the horn of your foes.

The two citations have the same target שמח *Piel* evoking the same frame of CELEBRATING_A_VICTORY, a sub-frame of REJOICING. The perspective, however, is different.

In 2 Chr 20:27, it is made from the point of view of the VICTORS. Lam 2:17 is from the point of view of the DEFEATED. In Lam 2:17, the frame element participant DEFEATED is marked with the preposition על not ל, but it is the encyclopedic information, not the grammatical information, that indicates a possible pejorative meaning. The preposition in the REJOICING frame designates the BENEFACTIVE, whether the construal is pejorative or not. The pejorative construals comes from the encyclopedic information that the expression is made from the BENEFACTIVE'S point of view, or one who is empathetic to the BENEFACTIVE'S perspective. The BENEFACTIVE is the UNFORTUNATE ONE (DEFEATED) in the frame.

Another example of the influence of perspective is illustrated by the REJOICING frame evoked by שמח *Qal* in Job 21:12 (example (33), §3.5.1). The perspective is made by a RIGHTEOUS PERSON making judgment on an EVILDOER. Clines (2006: 526) remarks:

Those who celebrate with timbrel, harp, and flute are not just the children of the happy evildoers but the evildoers themselves. The worst of it is, for Job, not that the wicked are as wicked as they can possibly be, but that they can enjoy perfectly innocent family festivities when their wrongdoing should have made it impossible for them. Perhaps we should be thinking of the dark counterpoint to this text in chap. 1, where the festivities of Job's family were interrupted by tragedy.

The pejorative sense of Job 21:12 results from the judgmental perspective of the frame.

3.14 Individuation and the plural noun שמחות

The notion of individuation as a means of making a construal more “fine grained” is introduced in §2.7, example (17). There are two occurrences of the plural form שמחות—Ps 16:11 and 45:16—which provide possible examples of individuation.

(86) Ps 16:11 (personal, adapted from RSV)⁵⁵

תודיעני אֶרְצָה חַיִּים שָׂבַע שְׂמֻחוֹת אֶת־פְּגִידָה נְעֻמוֹת בְּיַמִּינְךָ נֹצֵחַ:

You show me the path of life;
in your presence there is fullness of joy,
in your right hand are pleasures for evermore.

Craigie (2004: 155) takes the two plural words שְׂמֻחוֹת and נְעֻמוֹת and interprets them as intensive and translates them as singular. But the question is what does intensification mean? Is there a metaphorical reading that can guide the interpretation?

First, the proposal is to read the construal as foregrounding God as the source of blessings that bring JOY and PLEASURE. There are many possible sources of JOY, but God is the ultimate giver of JOY—Ps 43:4 and Ps 137:6. God's presence is a bounded region or area

⁵⁵ The adaptation is made basically to smooth over the usage of *thy/thou*.

in which complete JOY is found. God's right hand is a more specific bounded region containing many pleasures.

The JOY that is found in God's presence is complete; it lacks nothing. The notion of *שָׂבַע* *fullness* or *satiety* implies having enough of something in order to become satisfied or complete. JOY, in the construal, is conceptualized as an entity that is a completed whole which is comprised of a multitude of parts. The plural *שְׂמֵחוֹת* is taken as a metonym for the individual blessings and moments that make up the *fullness* of the JOY that can be found only in God's presence. It is a general parallel to the more specific *נְעִמּוֹת* *pleasures* (*things that bring pleasure*) found in God's right hand.

Instead of interpreting the plural as intensification, perhaps the notion of specification or individuation is closer to the (possible) metaphorical understanding. NET translates the phrase as "absolute joy," which is an alternative. The suggested communicated idea of the phrase is that the JOY found in God's presence lacks nothing; it is complete.

Another use of the plural *שְׂמֵחוֹת* is found in Ps 45:16 [15]. It provides a picture of containers that are so full of joy that it spills over into visible, uncontainable excitement.

(87) Ps 45:16 [15] (personal)

תִּבְלָנָה בְּשִׂמְחָת וְגִיל תִּבְאֵינָה בְּהִיכַל מֶלֶךְ:

They are led in bubbling over with joy
as they enter the palace of the king.

Most of the translations *do not* indicate the significance of using the plural form of *שְׂמֵחוֹת* in the construal as either intensification or individuation (RSV *joy and gladness*; NIV *joy and gladness*; Tanakh *joy and gladness*; KJV *gladness and rejoicing*). NET Bible translates the phrase as *bubbling with joy*. CEV renders it as *excited*.

One way of understanding Ps 45:16 [15] is to compare it with the example of *chocolate* and *chocolates* in examples (17c) and (17d), §2.7. An English example sentence (created as an example) is the following⁵⁶:

(88) He brought the chocolates and the chocolate into the store.

It is acknowledged to be an unusual construction, but it is easily understandable. The *chocolates* (plural) represent the individual pieces of sweets, perhaps a collection given as a sample of what the store provides. The *chocolate* (singular) refers to the basic ingredient

⁵⁶ Adapted and created from discussion in Croft and Cruse (2004: 64).

without mentioning the amount; the plural form represents the individual pieces in contrast to the mass block (singular).

In an analogous way, the plural שְׂמֵחֹת Ps 45:16 [15] can be interpreted as each individual being a CONTAINER FILLED WITH JOY. The singular גֵּיל signifies the kind of *rejoicing* that is being expressed.⁵⁷ The whole linguistic expression evokes a picture of a mass of excited, joyful individuals. A suggested preference for translation is to extend the NET idiom to read *bubbling over with joy* to indicate the excessiveness of the JOY, which is similar to a fermenting beverage bubbling out of its container. The שְׂמֵחֹת (plural) represents the individual bubbles of JOY spilling out of the container and the גֵּיל (singular, non-count noun) is the foam, which is the mass of individual bubbles seen as a whole.

3.15 Relation between שִׂמְחָה and גֵּיל and the preposition אֶל

There is one uncontested linguistic expression (Job 3:22) in which the two near-synonymous words שִׂמְחָה and גֵּיל co-occur linked with אֶל. The phrase suggests a general-to-specific relationship between the two words. Hos 9:1, which is similar to Job 3:22, is debated by scholars. It is discussed in example (90).

(89) Job 3:22 (cf. citation as example (58), §3.7.1) (NET)

הַשְּׂמֵחִים אֶל־גֵּיל יִשְׂשׂוּ כִּי יִמְצְאוּ־קֶבֶר:

who rejoice even to jubilation,

and are exultant when they find the grave?⁵⁸

The preposition אֶל indicates motion towards something or up to (unto) a point (BDB 1907: 39). It can localize the goal of a process (BHRG §39.3). The conceptual metaphor is that of a movement from a source up to a specific goal (SOURCE-PATH-GOAL). Preliminary research indicates that שִׂמְחָה is a more inclusive or general denotation of JOY, whereas גֵּיל is a specific kind of שִׂמְחָה and tends to signify a visible, excited expression of JOY. In Isa 9:2 [3] (example (77)), גֵּיל is used to denote a cathartic ecstasy expressed by those who find plunder, and is used to make specific the kind of שִׂמְחָה that will be found in the New Jerusalem. Secondly, examples in §3.11.3 indicate the SCALAR conceptualization of שִׂמְחָה. The construal in Job 3:22 evokes the scenario of a person so desirous for death that he is consumed with fervor to find it, and when he does, he bursts out in exultation (שׂוֹשׂ).

⁵⁷ גֵּיל is explicated further in chapter 4.

⁵⁸ The translation follows the Masoretic Text (=MT) reading of גֵּיל singular, masculine noun. According to Clines (1998: 74) there are several scholars who suggest emending to read גַּל *heap of stones*. However, as Clines notes, גַּל always refers to an unspecified pile or heap of stones, never specifically to the grave.

Hos 9:1 is discussed in the literature as possibly requiring some kind of emendation. There are two possible ways of interpreting it. The following example (90) provides the alternatives. In the alternatives, it is only the phrase אֶל-גֵּיל that is interpreted differently by scholars.

(90) Hos 9:1

אֶל-תְּשֻׁמַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֶל-גֵּיל כְּעַמִּים כִּי זָנִיתָ מֵעַל אֶלְגֵּיךָ אֶהְבֵּת אֶתְנֹן עַל כָּל-גֵּרְנוֹת דָּגָן:

a. Follows the Masoretic Text (=MT) and is similar to KJV and Tanakh

(NET)

O Israel, do not rejoice jubilantly like the nations,
for you are unfaithful to your God.
You love to receive a prostitute's wages
on all the floors where you thresh your grain.

b. Follows the LXX (Μὴ χαῖρε, Ἰσραηλ, μηδὲ εὐφραίνου), Targum Jonathan to the Prophets (לֹא תַחֲדוֹן דְּבֵית יִשְׂרָאֵל לָא תְבוּעוֹן), RSV and CEV

(NIV)

Do not rejoice, O Israel;
do not be jubilant like the other nations.
For you have been unfaithful to your God;
you love the wages of a prostitute
at every threshing floor.

Clines (1998: 74) and BDB (1907: 39) interpret the MT as a prepositional phrase similar to Job 3:22 and translate “unto” the point of exultation. Stuart (2002: 140) argues for something similar to the second alternative. He writes that, “the MT consonantal text is best redivided and vocalized as follows: (*sic*) אֶל-גֵּילְךָ עַמִּים ‘do not shout for joy, my people.’ The complete parallelism is evident thereby, and a variety of proposed emendations are obviated.”⁵⁹ He is repointing the preposition אֶל- to read as the negative particle אַל- (also Wolff 1974: 153).

Either alternative appears to be possible. The primary argument for emending is to maintain the LXX and the (assumed) parallelism. In either case, both of the alternative interpretations understand גֵּיל as a more specific kind of שמח. If the first alternative is followed, the understanding גֵּיל as a more specific is indicated by the prepositional link and is similar to example (89), Job 3:22. If the second alternative is accepted, it fits the research interpretation of the data on bicolon parallelism which indicates that the more specific denotation occurs in the second colon of a bicolon parallelism. This is discussed further in §4.14.4.

⁵⁹ The source that is quoted has עַמִּים, but perhaps it should be עַמִּים.

3.16 Relation of שמחה/שמחה with הלל/הלל

A common collocation with שמחה in REJOICING frames is הלל. הלל has a default construal of *be boastful* or *praise* and, perhaps, a second meaning of *shine* (BDB 1907: 237). Whether these are two separate meanings or not is beyond the scope of the study. However, it is, perhaps, noteworthy that *to shine* is also related to שמחה (example (46), §3.5.6).

Singing joyful praises as part of sacrificial worship was a prominent role of the Levites (Klein 2006: 354; Keil and Delitzsch 1996: 507).

(91) 1 Chr 15:16 (NIV)

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד לְשָׂרֵי הַלְוִיִּם לְהַעֲמִיד אֶת־אֲחֵיהֶם הַמְשֻׁרְרִים בְּכָל־עֵיר נְבָלִים וְכַנְרֹת וּמְצַלְתָּיִם מִשְׁמִיעִים לְהָרִים־בְּקוֹל לְשִׁמְחָה:

David told the leaders of the Levites to appoint their brothers as singers to sing joyful songs, accompanied by musical instruments: lyres, harps and cymbals.

(92) 2 Chr 29:30 (NIV)

וַיֹּאמֶר חֶזְקִיָּהוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשָּׂרִים לְלוֹיִם לְהַלֵּל לַיהוָה בְּדַבְרֵי דָוִד וְאַסָּף הַתְּנָה וַיְהִלְלוּ עַד־לְשִׁמְחָה וַיִּקְדּוּ וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוּ:

King Hezekiah and his officials ordered the Levites to praise the LORD with the words of David and of Asaph the seer. So they sang praises with gladness and bowed their heads and worshiped.

In 2 Chr 29:30, the NIV has translated the phrase עַד־לְשִׁמְחָה as “sang praises with gladness” (cf. RSV). NET has translated as “joyfully offered praise.” But the construal suggests, perhaps, an ecstatic kind of praising. GHCLLOT (2003: 602) notes that the preposition עַד can be “used of degree, especially with reference to a greater, and also to the highest, עַד מְאֹד, עַד לְמְאֹד even to the highest degree, i.e. exceedingly; עַד־מְהֵרָה unto the (greatest) haste, i.e. very fast; עַד לְמַעְלָה unto the highest degree.” The double prepositional structure עַד־לְ indicates the highest degree of something and is the structure of the phrase עַד־לְשִׁמְחָה in 2 Chr 29:30. HALOT (1999: 1336) suggests translating the phrase in 2 Chr 29:30 as “with utmost joy.” הלל is, perhaps, understood as scalar, with the upper end of the scale denoted by לְשִׁמְחָה *utmost joy (highest praise)*.

The relationship between rejoicing and praising is seen in the similar uses of the nouns שִׁמְחָה in Num 10:10 (example 26) and הִלְלוּ in Judg 9:27. The lexeme הִלְלוּ is used only in the plural הִלְלוּ and denotes *rejoicing, praise* (BDB 1907: 239).

(93) Judg 9:27 (NIV)

וַיֵּצְאוּ הַשְּׂדֵה וַיִּבְצְרוּ אֶת־פְּרִמֵיהֶם וַיִּדְרְכוּ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ הַלְוִיִּים וַיִּבְאוּ בַּיִת אֶל־הֵיחָם וַיֵּאָכְלוּ וַיִּשְׂתּוּ וַיִּקְהָלוּ
אֶת־אַבִּימֶלֶךְ:

After they had gone out into the fields and gathered the grapes and trodden them, they held a festival in the temple of their god. While they were eating and drinking, they cursed Abimelech.

In Judg 9:27, the lexeme הַלְוִיִּים evokes the same REJOICING frame as שָׂמְחָה in Num 10:10, example (26), §3.2.1, and Neh 8:12, example (47), §3.5.1. הַלְוִיִּים chooses the same [SUPPORT VERB] עָשָׂא to evoke the frame as do שָׂמְחָה and הָג (cf. §3.5.1). The noun הַלְוִיִּים is used as a metonym, but with, perhaps, a double sense: as a salient feature of the event, it is used to stand for the event, and as an expression of joy, it stands for the emotion. Both the [EMOTION] and the [EVENT] features are profiled in the construal.

שָׂמַח and הֵלַל are core features of the REJOICING frame. The former is the emotion of the event and the latter denotes the expression of the emotion. They enjoy a very intimate relationship such that to rejoice means to sing praises and to sing praises evokes scenarios of rejoicing. They can be used interchangeably in some linguistic expressions.

3.17 Conjectures in regard to שָׂמַח

In the discussions on the possible etymological derivation of שָׂמַח, Ruprecht (1997: 1273) and Vanoni (2004: 143) present arguments for and against a possible emendation of שָׂמַח in Isa 9:16 [17].

(94) Isa 9:16 [1] (NIV)

עַל־כֵּן עַל־בְּחֹרָיו לֹא־יִשְׂמַח | אֲדֹנָי וְאֶת־יְתוּמָיו וְאֶת־אַלְמָנָתָיו לֹא יִרְחָם כִּי כָל־הַגֹּיִם
וּמְרִיעַ וְכָל־לִפְהֵ דָבָר נִבְלָה בְּכָל־זֹאת לֹא־שָׁב אָפוּ וְעוֹד יָדוּ נְטוּיָה:

Therefore the Lord will take no pleasure in the young men,
nor will he pity the fatherless and widows,
for everyone is ungodly and wicked,
every mouth speaks vileness.
Yet for all this, his anger is not turned away,
his hand is still upraised.

According to those who favor emendation, the difficulty with the text is that יִשְׂמַח *rejoice* is in parallelism with יִרְחָם *compassion*. Ruprecht (1997: 1273) suggests that the meaning of יִשְׂמַח should be something like “to have mercy,” which is the reason “that 1QIsa^a interpretively inserts *yaḥmôl* ‘he has compassion’ in place of the MT *yiśmah rejoice*. The etymological suggestion that שָׂמַח means ‘to shine,’ would make the text comprehensible if one could accept the meaning ‘to shine’ in the sense of ‘to cause one’s countenance to shine,

be gracious.” Isaiah 9:16 [17] and Lam 2:17 are, according to Ruprecht, the only two pre-exilic examples of the negative construction—*‘al śmḥ* (“not rejoice”). In other words, according to Ruprecht, there are too many problems with Isaiah 9:16 [17] to provide adequate and clear evidence for *śmḥ* to be derived from Ugarit *to shine*, but that the emendation to *yaḥmôl* “he has compassion” is possible. Vanoni (2004: 143) agrees that there is not enough evidence to connect *śmḥ* with *to shine* in Isaiah 9:16 and suggests that the reading should be *yišmaḥ be generous* following the Arabic *samuḥa*.

Even though there is not any etymological evidence of the meaning of *śmḥ* as *to shine*, it does not necessarily mean that it has to be emended to read *yaḥmôl* “he has compassion.” There are no textual problems with the MT. Other scholars suggest that *śmḥ* be maintained (Oswalt 1986: 255; Watts 2005: 180).

However, from a frame perspective, Isa 9:16 [17] does not fit the construals of the frames in which *שמח* or other lexemes for JOY that were studied normally occur, especially with YHWH as the grammatical subject. The BENEFACITOR_REJOICING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE is normally evoked by *יש* when YHWH is the frame, and it is never negated. It activates the [INTENT] features of meaning potential, either to bless or to punish. Second, any negation *שמח* is normally only done in construals of the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE frame (with Eccl 4:16 and Hos 9:1, if emended, possible exceptions).

In other words, Isa 9:16 [17] does not seem to fit the usual patterns of frames evoked by *שמח*. Second, the negation of *שמח* in the linguistic expression is not usual. Therefore, from a frame perspective, *שמח* is a possibility, but a weak one. The proposal is to accept the text of 1QIsa^a as the first alternative.

3.18 Summary conclusion to pilot study

The purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate how the project was set up and the models and tools applied. Each step or example has been linked back to the notions and assumptions made in chapter 2. The following features of the approach and model are demonstrated in the preceding sub-paragraphs of chapter 3:

1. Before doing the primary frame development, a background study is made. The background study includes lexical studies that have already been done, as well as research into broader context in which the frames occur.
2. In determining the frame and frame elements, the 9 principles suggested in §2.5.3 are followed. The determination of required-peripheral status of frame elements is

made using a context-to-context criterion. An example is the determination that the BENEFACTIVE participant in the REJOICING frame is peripheral, but it is required in the GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE frame. The labels for frame elements are frame-specific together with deep case tags (§2.5.3). Frame elements are determined by linking a semantic role with its corresponding grammatical function (§3.4).

3. By analyzing all of the occurrences of a word, a usage-based, frame approach with construal analysis is able to determine a range of meaning potential (polysemy) and to determine all of the frame elements associated with any one particular frame. A selective approach (e.g., analyzing the occurrences of a word within a specific book of the Bible or within a certain genre such as poetry or prophecy) is limiting and produces (potentially) skewed results in a general lexical study.

4. The analysis of and understanding of the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies provide a way to determine (within parameters) the cognitive understanding of a concept (§3.10-§3.12).

5. Perspective is a core feature for determining contextualized word meaning and splitting frames (§3.13).

6. Understanding grammatical constructions (§3.14 and §3.15) provides clues to possible interpretations of determinate meaning and aids in understanding the relationship between words within the same category (near-synonyms).

7. Diachronic studies might help in determining relationships between lexemes and how lexemes were enriched with new meaning potential over the history of their usages (§3.16).

Some preliminary conclusions regarding the conceptualization of JOY as denoted by שמח can be suggested from the data given in chapter 3. First, on the word level, שמח has a default construal of *becoming/being joyful, rejoice*. Its contextualized meaning displays a wide range of polysemy, such as *feasting, causing joy, be happy, warmly welcome and rejoice*. The verb, noun and adjective can evoke similar frames and provide a means for alternative construals of the same frame.

Conceptually, the BH cognitive understanding of JOY as denoted by שמח is similar to the 5 stage EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor. It is conceptualized as both a [STATE] and an [EVENT]. A linguistic expression can profile the [CAUSE], [EMOTION] or the [RESPONSE] features or any combination of two or all three of the features. The [CAUSE] is often construed as the internal, intentional desire to do something or an external force that, normally, is a

response to a desired request (e.g., aid in time of calamity). The [RESPONSE] is usually volitional and intentional. It has the following meaning potential features: [VOLITION], [DESIRE], [INTENT], [ALACRITY], and [SATISFACTION]. There are some linguistic expressions that might construe the emotion as a [PASSION].

However, the BH conceptualization is possibly different from the English one. The BH expressions in which שמח occurs do not *explicitly* express Control (Stage 3) and Loss of Control (Stage 4). There appears to be a high degree of control *implied*. The [RESPONSE] tends to be intentional. This is, perhaps, due to the core feature of [VOLITION] and [INTENT]. There are also a high number of expressions in which the REJOICING frame is evoked profiling [EVENT]. Therefore, there seems to be a predominant understanding of JOY, as denoted by שמח, as [ACTION].

The clues to understanding the BH concept of JOY as associated with [VOLITION] and [SATISFACTION] came from Muffs' (1992) study indicating the (near) synonymy of שמחה with רצון (feature of [VOLITION]) and טוב (features of [SATISFACTION] [VOLITION]). The preliminary conclusion suggested is that, hypothetically, a STATE OF JOY is equivalent to a STATE OF FULFILMENT or STATE OF SATISFACTION. The use of the *Piel* (§3.5.5) and the idiomatic use of שמחים וטובי לב to signify the end of festivities (§3.7.3) are possible examples of the conceptualization of JOY as a STATE OF SATISFACTION.

JOY is associated primarily with the conceptual metaphors JOY IS A SHINING LIGHT and JOY IS SCALAR. The former tends to structure figurative expressions and non-verbal communication of JOY. The latter is expressed grammatically in the use of modification such as מאד and גדול. שמח can also occur as the direct object of the *Hiphil* marked הגדל *make large, make great*.

The data and analysis provided in chapter 3 refers only to the lexeme שמח and its derivatives. In order to finalize the study, all of the occurrences of the other word forms that denote JOY listed in Set 1 and Set 2 in §1.3 were analyzed. The conclusions made regarding שמח in chapter 3 are taken over into chapter 4, Sections 2 and 3, as a starting point.

Chapter 4

Some Lexemes of JOY in the Hebrew Bible: Frame Meaning, Conceptualization and Lexicalization

4.0 Introductory remarks

The purpose of chapter 4 is to illustrate how the model demonstrated in chapter 3 is used in a semantical analysis of the words and figurative language associated with the concept JOY in BH as denoted by the remaining lexemes listed in Set 1 and Set 2, §1.3. The goal is to determine and describe the (possible) cognitive understanding of JOY in BH, to determine a possible prototype for the concept, a basic-level categorization of the lexemes investigated and the contextually-determined meanings of the various lexemes and figurative expressions in each of their occurrences. The hypothesis is that this information, or at least part of it, is entered into a bilingual (BH-ENG) lexicon designed for Bible translators.

The chapter is divided into 4 sections. The first section presents the background information and examples of frames for each of the remaining word forms from §1.3, using the same format as is done for שמח in §3.5. When a lexeme evokes a similar frame to one that is evoked by שמח, a cross-reference to chapter 3 is made in parentheses following the frame name (e.g., REJOICING, §3.5.1), together with one or two examples and a listing of references. If the lexeme evokes a new frame, that is, one that is not evoked by שמח, then the whole frame write-up is given. Text boxes are not used unless there is a need to make a specific point. This is due to the large amount of data and the limited space for presenting the study.

Section 2 draws on all of the information of all of the word forms and organizes them into subparagraphs regarding conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymies, grammatical constructions, and other construal operations data. Added to the latter is the data concerning synonymous bicolon parallelism, antonyms and collocations. The format of Section 2 is similar to the method used in §3.10-§3.17. Similarities and differences in the word forms, their frames and usage are detailed. This follows the notion of paraphrasability or near-paraphrasability (Principle 9, §2.5.3), which is a focus of frame development that was not included in chapter 3 because it requires information on all of the word forms.

Section 3 focuses on the figurative language and non-verbal communication. It includes a brief frame analysis of בגלל *cause to shine, cheerfulness* and רנן *shout to* demonstrate the uses of non-emotion words to denote emotion. Other figurative expressions (as noted in Set 2 of words, §1.3) are exemplified.

Section 4 brings to conclusion the entire study. It outlines the conclusions of the research and describes the cognitive model and conceptualization of JOY in the Hebrew Bible as symbolized the lexemes that were researched (§4.10.1). A few suggestions on lexicalization (§4.10.2) insofar as is possible from the data of the lexemes analyzed in the research, are made.

Section 1

4.1 Preliminary statement

After the introduction of the lexical forms, only the verb is used as a reference to represent all of its derivatives, unless a specific form is needed for discussion. The primary form is used where there is an alternate (i.e., the forms used for general referencing are שמח, חדה, שוש, גיל, and עלז). These represent the profiled words of the analysis in this chapter.

There were several options on what order in which to present the word forms—alphabetically, prototypically or statistically. However, none of the arguments for or against any of the possibilities was enough to provide a clear guideline. Finally, it was decided to present them in the following order: חדה, שוש, גיל, and עלז. The reasons are, first, of all of the word forms חדה and שוש appear to have a close similarity to שמח, which was studied in chapter 3. Second, גיל and עלז tend to be used to denote kinds of שמח in similar frames of PRAISE or BOASTING, but עלז is used in construals that denote arrogance. גיל is used almost invariably, but not exclusively, to denote praise given to God in REJOICING frames. But neither שוש nor גיל nor עלז appear to be any more or less atypical of the (hypothesized) prototype שמח. The ordering of words in the section on frame development is simply heuristic.

A brief summary regarding each lexeme is given at the conclusion of the sub-paragraphs related to the particular lexeme. A more detailed, general summary of all of the lexemes is provided in §4.7. Section 2 and section 4 outline specific similarities and differences.

4.2 Background study of the lexical unit חדה.vb and חִדְּוָה.nfs

The lexemes חדה and חִדְּוָה are BH words of emotion, but they do not carry weight in the remaining sections of the chapter. This is because of their paucity of occurrences.

There are 2 attested verb occurrences—Exod 18:9 (*Qal*) and Ps 21:7 [6] (*Piel*). A third occurrence, in Job 3:6, is repointed to read יִחַד *let it (not) be joined* following the discussion in Clines (1998: 70). There are 3 occurrences of the noun—1 Chr 16:27, Ezra 6:16 and Neh 8:10.

4.3 The frames of **הדה** and its derivatives

Most of the frames evoked by the **הדה** are similar to those of **שמח**. However, it does not evoke the REJOICING frame that is predominantly evoked by **שמח**. The noun **הקדוה**, unlike **שמחה**, does not evoke frames.

4.3.1 Frames evoked by the verb **הדה**

There are only two verb occurrences. One is *Qal* and the other is *Piel*.

4.3.1.1 Frame: BECOMING/BEING JOYFUL BECAUSE OF SOMETHING evoked by **הדה Qal**

(cf. §3.5.3 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(95) Exod 18:9 (NIV)

וַיִּתְדָּךְ יִתְרוֹ עַל כָּל־הַטּוֹבוֹת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה יְהוָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הִצִּילוֹ מִיַּד מִצְרַיִם:

Jethro was delighted to hear about all the good things the LORD had done for Israel in rescuing them from the hand of the Egyptians.

4.3.1.2 Frame: MAKING SOMEBODY JOYFUL evoked by **הדה Piel**

(cf. §3.4.6 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(96) Ps 21:7 [6] (NIV)

כִּי־תִשְׂתַּיְתֶהוּ בְרִכּוֹת לְעַד תִּחְדָּקְהוּ בְשִׂמְחָה אֶת־פְּנֵיךְ:

Surely you have granted him eternal blessings
and made him glad with the joy of your presence.

For the target word **הדה** Ps 21:7 [6], Craigie (2004: 189) follows Dahood (1966: 133) who suggested to treat it as a dialectal variation in which there was an interchange of the *d* (*hdy rejoice*) in the place of *z* (*hzy see*). Craigie translates the phrase **אֶת־פְּנֵיךְ בְשִׂמְחָה** as, “you make him see your face in joy.” He offers the “traditional” alternative as, “You make him joyful in joy with your face.” NET translates it following the “traditional” alternative and points to Ps 16:11 as similar (cf. example (86), §3.14, for a discussion of Ps 16:11). BDB (1907: 862) suggests the gloss in *thy presence* for **אֶת־פְּנֵיךְ** in Ps 16:11, 21:7 and 140.14.

The so-called “traditional” translation is accepted as first choice. There is no textual support for Dahood’s conjecture. The LXX uses *εὐφρανεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν χαρᾷ* (*gladden him with joy*) and Targum Psalms uses *תחדיניה בחדוותא* (*make joyful with joy*). Craigie’s suggestion is taken as the alternative.

4.3.2 The noun **קְדוּהָ** profiling the [STATE]

In Neh 8:10 and 1 Chr 16:27, the noun is used to profile the [EMOTION]. In Ezra 6:16, it is the NP of a prepositional phrase governed by **בְּ** [CIRCUMSTANCE] and profiles the [EMOTION] feature. It is not used to evoke a frame.

(97) 1 Chr 16:27 (NIV)

הַיּוֹד וְהַקְדֵּר לְפָנָיו עִז וְקְדוּהָ בְּמִקְוֵהוּ:

Splendor and majesty are before him;
strength and joy in his dwelling place.

(98) Neh 8:10 (NIV)

וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לִכְרוּ אֲכָלוּ מִשְׂמְנַיִם וּשְׂתוּ מִמֵּתֵקִים וּשְׁלַחוּ מְנוּחַל לְאֵין נֶכּוֹן לָו
כִּי־קָדוֹשׁ הַיּוֹם לְאֲדֹנָינוּ וְאַל־תִּעַצְבוּ כִּי־קִדְּשַׁת יְהוָה הִיא מִשְׂעֻבָּתְכֶם:

Nehemiah said, “Go and enjoy choice food and sweet drinks, and send some to those who have nothing prepared. This day is sacred to our Lord. Do not grieve, for the joy of the LORD is your strength.”

(99) Ezra 6:16 (NIV)

וַעֲבָדוּ בְּגִי־יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּהִנְיָא וְלוֹיָא וּשְׂאָר בְּנֵי־גְלוּמָא חֲנַנְתָּ בֵּית־אֱלֹהֵא דְגָה בְּקְדוּהָ:

Then the people of Israel—the priests, the Levites and the rest of the exiles—celebrated the dedication of the house of God with joy.

קְדוּהָ and **קְדוּהָ** profile only the [STATE] feature. The phrase **בְּקְדוּהָ** in Ezra 6:16 denoting how they made the dedication joyfully is similar to the phrase **בְּשִׂמְחָה** in Ezra 6:22 denoting that the Feast of Unleavened Bread was celebrated joyfully.

4.3.3 Summary regarding **הִדָּה.vb** and **קְדוּהָ.nfs**

Ruprecht (1997: 1273) comments that the biblical Hebrew **קְדוּהָ** might be a loan word from biblical Aramaic. The noun and the verb are used rarely in the Hebrew Bible. Their usages denote the [STATE] of happiness. They are not used to evoke frames that profile the [EVENT] feature.

4.4 Background study of the lexical unit **שׂוּשׁוּ.nm**, **שׂוּשׁוּן.nm** and **שׂוּשׁוּ.vb**

The word forms are the verb **שׂוּשׁוּ** (Alt: **שׂוּשׁוּ**), the masculine noun singular **שׂוּשׁוּן** and masculine noun singular **שׂוּשׁוּשׁוּ**. There are no attested forms of a plural noun or of an adjective that occur in BH. The verb form occurs 27 times, the masculine noun singular **שׂוּשׁוּן** 22 times and masculine noun singular **שׂוּשׁוּשׁוּ** 16 times. The various word forms occur primarily in the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Zephaniah and Zechariah. There are 4 occurrences in Deut, 2 in Esth, 2 in Job and 13 in the Ps. More than 50% of the

occurrences of the noun *שִׂשׂוֹן* occur conjoined (וְ coordinating conjunction) with the noun *שִׂמְחָה*.

Fabry (2004: 50) notes that there is no obvious “extra-Hebrew” source for an etymological derivation of the root *שׂוּשׂ*, and that all of the occurrences of *שִׂשׂוֹן* are pre-exilic, except one. The one that is post-exilic is Isa 61:3, which, he suggests, is taken from the terminology of Ps 45:8 [7] (Fabry 2004: 51).

Fabry (2004: 51) claims that there is little value in making semantic differentiation based on contrasting the various lexemes that denote JOY in BH, in that many of the collocations are the same for all of the lexemes. He suggests that there might have been a development “from an early, more neutral usage, e.g., “of *śāmaḥ* and *śws/śys* (cf. Ps. 68:4[3] to a later, emotional differentiation understanding *śāmaḥ* as the jubilation of one’s enemies and *rānan* and *śws/śys* as joy of one’s friends (as in Ps. 35:9)” (Fabry 2004: 51). His comment might be valid in regard to the Psalms, but the usage in Deut and in some of the prophetic books points to a specific perspective of God’s rejoicing over the covenant people and which is not typical of the other words denoting JOY. He concludes that there is probably not a single subject associated with *שׂוּשׂ* / *שִׂשׂוֹן* in BH and, therefore, it is better to look at the preferences of individual books (2004: 51).

Grisanti (1997: 1223) agrees with Fabry that there is no etymological derivation for *שׂוּשׂ* in other languages. He places the verb occurrences in 4 different contexts (frames), as the following (1997: 1223-1224): an indication of Israel’s covenant relationship, characteristics of an obedient spirit, malicious joy and other, the latter referring to the 2 usages in Job and 1 occurrence in Ps 19:5 [6].

On the usage of the nouns, Grisanti (1997: 1224-1225) mentions the association of *מְשׂוֹשׂ* with music and *שִׂשׂוֹן* with the JOY that is removed from Israel when it is punished and with festive celebrations. The latter he (1997: 1226) links with the covenant judgment. Although Grisanti does not explicitly make a strong connection between the uses of the word forms (verb and both noun forms) with the covenant relationship, his discussion seems to point in that direction; *שׂוּשׂ* tends to have a strong association throughout the Hebrew Bible with covenant relationships such as the Mosaic passages (Deut 28:63 (x2) and Deut 30:9 (x2) and marriage (e.g., Isa 62:5).

In Esth, Job and Ps, the verb *שׂוּשׂ* is easily interchangeable with *שָׂמַח*. The noun *מְשׂוֹשׂ* has a very limited distribution—Ps (1), Isa (7), Jer (1), Lam (1), Ezek (1) and Hos (1). It is primarily associated with festivities (e.g., Lam 5:15; Hos 2:11).

4.4.1 Frames evoked by the verb שׂוֹשׂ *Qal*

The first frame BENEFACTOR_REJOICING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE appears to be evoked only by שׂוֹשׂ. The remaining frames follow the pattern of שִׂמְחָה

4.4.1.1 Frame: BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE

In the frame of BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE, the relevant information is the behavioral response of the BENEFACTOR'S rejoicing—blessing the obedient BENEFACTIVE and removing the disobedient ones. When the frame is evoked by שׂוֹשׂ, only YHWH occurs in the grammatical subject slot and is associated with the BENEFACTOR semantic role. A possible exception is Isa 62:5 where the noun מְשׂוֹשׂ might evoke the same frame (cf. §4.4.6.2). The [STATE] feature is profiled and the [INTENT] aspect of meaning potential is activated.

(100) Deut 28:63 (personal)

וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר־שִׂשׂ יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהִיטִיב אֶתְכֶם וְלְהַרְבּוֹת אֶתְכֶם כֹּן יִשְׂשׂ יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהַאֲבִיד אֶתְכֶם וְלְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם וְנִסְחַתְּמֶם מֵעַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־אַתֶּה בָּא־שָׂמָה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ:

This is the manner it will be: just as YHWH delighted in doing you good and increasing you in number, so YHWH will take delight in bringing ruin and destruction upon you; you shall be plucked off the land which you are entering to take possession of it.

Frame name: BENEFACTOR_REJOICING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE

Suggested glosses: *delight in, take pleasure in*

Participants: 1. BENEFACTOR and 2. BENEFACTIVE

Perspective: empathetic to BENEFACTOR

In this frame, two parties have made a covenant in which the BENEFACTOR indicates a volitional intent to do specific actions on behalf of the BENEFACTIVE. The BENEFACTOR also indicates the same volitional intent to remove from the blessings any disobedient BENEFACTIVE.

References: Deut 28:63; 30:9; Isa 62:5; Jer 32:41; Zeph 3:17

4.4.1.2 Frame: REJOICING evoked by שׂוֹשׂ *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(101) Isa 65:18 (NIV)

כִּי־אִם־שִׂשׂוּ וְגִילוּ עַד־עֶד אֲשֶׁר אֶנִּי בּוֹרֵא כִּי־הֵנִי בּוֹרֵא אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם גִּילָה וְעִמָּה מְשׂוֹשׂ:

But be glad and rejoice forever
in what I will create,
for I will create Jerusalem to be a delight
and its people a joy.

Suggested glosses: *be glad, be exultant, rejoice*

References: Ps 40:17; 68:4; 70:5; Isa 35:1; 61:10; 65:4 [5]; 66:10; Jer 32:41; 33:9; Lam 4:21; Zeph 3:17)

4.4.1.3 FRAME: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE (pejorative) evoked by שׂוֹשׁ *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.2 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(102) Lam 1:21 (NIV)

שָׁמְעוּ כִּי נִאֲנַחָה אָנִי אֵין מְנַחֵם לִי כָּל־אֵיבֵי שָׁמְעוּ רַעְתִּי שָׁשׂוּ כִּי אָתָּה עָשִׂיתָ הַבְּאֵת יוֹם־קָרְאָתָּ

“People have heard my groaning,
but there is no one to comfort me.
All my enemies have heard of my distress;
they rejoice at what you have done.
May you bring the day you have announced
so they may become like me.

Suggested glosses: *gloat, rejoice*

Reference: Lam 1:21

4.4.1.4 FRAME: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING evoked by שׂוֹשׁ *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.3 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(103) Isa 66:14 (NIV)

וּרְאִיתֶם וְשִׂשׂוּ לְבַבְכֶם וְעִצְמוֹתֵיכֶם כִּדְנִשָּׂא תִפְרַחְנָה וְגוֹדְעָה יִדְוֶהוּ אֶת־עַבְדֵי יְוָ וְנִעַם אֶת־אֲבִיבָיו:

When you see this, your heart will rejoice
and you will flourish like grass;
the hand of the LORD will be made known to his servants,
but his fury will be shown to his foes.

Suggested glosses: *be glad, be exultant, rejoice*

Reverences: Job 3:22; Isa 66:14

4.4.1.5 FRAME: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING evoked by שׂוֹשׁ *Qal*

(§3.5.4 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(104) Job 39:21 (NIV)

יִחַפְּרוּ בְעֵמֶק וַיִּשְׂשֵׂשׂ בְּכֹחַ יָצָא לְקִרְאֵת־גִּנְשֵׁק

He paws fiercely, rejoicing in his strength,
and charges into the fray.

Suggested glosses: *rejoice, delight in, exult*

References: Job 39:21; Ps 19:6 [5]; 35:9; 119:14; 119:162; Isa 64:4 [5]; 65:19

4.4.2 Conjectures in regard to the verb שׁוּשׁ

(105) Ezek 21:15 (personal)

לְמַעַן טָבַחַ טְבַחַ הַיְחִידָה לְמַעַן-הִגִּיהָ לָהּ בָּרֶק מְרֻטָה אִו נְשִׁישׁ יַעֲבֹט בְּנִי מֵאַסֶּת כָּל-עֵץ:

It is ready for slaughter. It is polished, made to flash like lightning. [Be pleased with the scepter, my son; it despises every tree.]

The whole verse, especially the final clause, is difficult, “with insoluble problems, particularly since neither the MT nor early versions offer any useful solutions” (Fabry 2004: 54; cf. Zimmerli 1979: 426). The author has chosen to translate as closely as possible to the MT, but to put the final clause in square brackets to indicate its doubtfulness. The lexeme, in the translation, is translated as “pleased” and suggests [VOLITION]. It seems similar to the use of גִּיל in Ps 2:11 (which is also debated) focusing on the volitional submission to the king (cf. §4.4.2). But the phrase in Ezek 21:15 is left as doubtful and difficult to translate. The occurrence of שׁוּשׁ in the verse is not included in the statistical information.

4.4.3 The frame evoked by the noun שְׁשׁוֹן profiling the [EVENT]

There is some difficulty in determining a meaning of the noun שְׁשׁוֹן because in the majority of its occurrences it is joined with שְׁמִחָה as the word pair שְׁשׁוֹן וְשְׁמִחָה. The hypothesis is that the word-pair evokes the scenario profiling [EVENT]. שְׁשׁוֹן also occurs with שְׁמִחָה in the metonym of SOUNDS OF REJOICING.

The word pair שְׁשׁוֹן וְשְׁמִחָה evokes only the REJOICING frame. It does so without the use of a [SUPPORT] verb in Isa 22:13 and with the [EXISTENTIAL SUPPORT] verb הִיהָ in Zech 8:10.

REJOICING frame evoked by שְׁשׁוֹן וְשְׁמִחָה

(cf. 3.6.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(106) Isa 22:13 (NIV)

וְהִגִּיהָ שְׁשׁוֹן וְשְׁמִחָה הִרְגוּ בְּקֶרֶךְ וְשָׁחַט צֹאן אָכַל בְּשָׂר וְשָׁתוּת יַיִן אָכַל וְשָׁתוּ בְּיַמֵּי מְחָר נְמוּת:

But see, there is joy and revelry,
slaughtering of cattle and killing of sheep,
eating of meat and drinking of wine!

“Let us eat and drink,” you say,
“for tomorrow we die!

Suggested glosses: *joy and revelry*,

References: Isa 22:13; 51:3; Jer 31:13; Zech 8:19

The REJOICING frame is evoked by the metonym שְׁשׁוֹן וְשְׁמִחָה denoting SOUNDS OF REJOICING (cf. §3.6.1). Holladay (1986: 270) writes that “‘Joy’ and its cognates are frequently

used in wedding contexts (Ps 45:8; Isa 62:5; compare Ps 19:6, where ישׁי is poised between ‘bridegroom’ and ‘warrior’). Its parallel ‘gladness’ is a more general term.” All of the occurrences of the phrase ושמחה שׁוֹן denoting SOUNDS OF REJOICING are those referenced in Jer, except for one occurrence in Ps 51:10 [8].

Jer uses the phrase seven times. The first six occurrences are in judgment scenarios in which God declares that there is going to be an end to all rejoicing. The seventh time occurs in Jer 33:10-11 when God promises that the rejoicing will again be heard.

(107) Jer 7:34 (NIV)

והשבתי מְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּמְחֻצוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם קוֹל שׁוֹן וְקוֹל שְׂמִחָה קוֹל חֲתוּן וְקוֹל כְּלָה כִּי לְחָרְבָה תִּהְיֶה הָאָרֶץ:

I will bring an end to the sounds of joy and gladness and to the voices of bride and bridegroom in the towns of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem, for the land will become desolate.

(108) Ps 51:10 [8] (NIV)

תְּשַׁמְעֵנִי שׁוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה תִּגְלֶנָה עֲצָמוֹת דְּבִיתִי:

Let me hear joy and gladness;
let the bones you have crushed rejoice.

The suggested interpretation of Ps 51:10 [8] is to understand the phrase ושמחה שׁוֹן as *let me hear (sounds of) joy and gladness* (cf. example (83) regarding the interpretation of Neh 12:43 and the active zone notion). Tate (1998: 21) writes that perhaps the psalmist is making a “request that the suppliant may again hear the joy and gladness of a healthy life, probably with reference to a return to festal gladness with other worshipers.” He points out that there are others who understand it as the words of forgiveness spoken by a priest. Considering the high frequency of occurrences of the phrase ושמחה שׁוֹן as evoking REJOICING frames in Jer, Tate’s suggestion is followed in the research. The other is noted as an alternative.⁶⁰

Suggested glosses: *sounds of rejoicing, sounds of exultation*

References: Ps 51:10 [8]; Jer 7:34; 16:9; 25:10; 33:11

4.4.4 The noun שׁוֹן profiling the [STATE]

(109) Esth 8:16 (NIV)

לְיְהוּדִים הָיְתָה אֹנְיָה וְשִׂמְחָה וְשִׁשׁוֹן וְיָקָר:

For the Jews it was a time of happiness and joy, gladness and honor.

⁶⁰ Although Ps 51:10 [8] is interpreted as referring to FESTIVITIES, there is no evidence that the FESTIVITIES are specifically related to weddings, as they are in Jer.

(110) Jer 15:16 (NIV)

נִמְצָאוּ דְבָרֶיךָ וְאֵכְלָם וַיְהִי דְבָרֶיךָ לִי לְשִׂשׂוֹן וּלְשִׂמְחַת לִבִּי כִּי־נִקְרָא שְׁמֶךָ עָלַי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת:⁶¹

When your words came, I ate them;
they were my joy and my heart's delight,
for I bear your name,
O LORD God Almighty.

שִׂשׂוֹן [STATE]

Suggested glosses: *joy, exultation*

References: Esth 8:16, 17; Ps 51:14 [12]; 105:43 [בָּ]; Isa 12:3 [בָּ]; 35:10; 51:11; Jer 15:16; 33:9; Joel 1:12

4.4.5 The noun phrase שִׂשׂוֹן שְׂמֵן symbolizing [BLESSING]

The reference is to the oil used in anointing. It is not limited to anointing kings or other specific individuals and can refer to any general blessing in which oil was used (e.g., Isa 61:3).

(111) Ps 45:8 [7] (NIV)

אֲהַבֶּתְּ צְדָקָה וְתִשְׁנֵא רָשָׁע עַל־כֵּן מִשְׁמַחַּךְ אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֶיךָ שְׂמֵן שִׂשׂוֹן מִמְּבַרֶיךָ:

You love righteousness and hate wickedness;
therefore God, your God, has set you above your companions
by anointing you with the oil of joy.

Suggested glosses: *oil of gladness, oil of jubilation*

References: Ps 45:8 [7]; Isa 61:3

4.4.6 Frames evoked by מְשׂוֹשׂ

Like שִׂשׂוֹן, מְשׂוֹשׂ often pairs with שְׂמֵחָה. In REJOICING frames, it sometimes pairs with or is parallel to עָלוּ. The construals of the linguistic expressions in which מְשׂוֹשׂ occurs and the collocations in these expressions give מְשׂוֹשׂ a frivolous meaning or sense of revelry, which is not usually associated with שִׂשׂוֹן. The hypothesis is that the sense of frivolity is a result of its high occurrences in JUDGMENT frames and, therefore, is a result of perspective.

⁶¹ The citation follows the K reading of דְּבָרֶיךָ (plural) in Jer 15:16b. Scholars are divided on whether to follow Q, which has a singular, or the plural in K (Holladay 1986: 447; Craigie 1998: 207). The majority of the manuscripts and translations follow the plural, so that has been maintained in the research.

4.4.6.1 Frame: REJOICING evoked by משׁוּשׁ

(§3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(112) Isa 24:11 (NIV)

צָוֹתָהּ עַל־תִּנְיָו בְּחֻצוֹת עָרְבָה כָּל־שִׂמְחָה גָּלָה מְשׁוּשׁ הָאָרֶץ:

In the streets they cry out for wine;
all joy turns to gloom,
all gaiety is banished from the earth

(113) Hos 2:13 [11] (NIV)⁶²

וְהִשְׁבַּתִּי כָּל־מְשׁוּשֶׁה תִּגְהַח חֲדָשָׁה וְשַׁבְּתָהּ וְכָל מוֹעֵדָה:

I will stop all her celebrations:
her yearly festivals, her New Moons,
her Sabbath days—all her appointed feasts.

Suggested glosses: *make merry, revelry, rejoicing*

References: Isa 24:11; 32:13; Hosea 2:13 [11]

The REJOICING frame is evoked by the metonym משׁוּשׁ as SOUNDS OF REJOICING (cf. §3.6.1).

(114) Isa 24:8 (x2) figurative, referring to the sounds of musical instruments used in REJOICING (NIV)

שָׁבַת מְשׁוּשׁ תַּפִּים תִּדָּל שְׁאֵוֹן עַל־יָגִים שָׁבַת מְשׁוּשׁ כְּנֹר:

The gaiety of the tambourines is stilled,
the noise of the revelers has stopped,
the joyful harp is silent.

Suggested glosses: *mirthful, gaiety, joyful*

References: Isa 24:8

4.4.6.2 Frame: BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE evoked by משׁוּשׁ

(cf. §4.4.1.1 for frame elements and fame write-up)

(115) Isa 62:5 (NIV)

כִּי־יִבְעַל בַּחֹר בְּתוּלָה יִבְעֶלוּ בְּגִינָהּ וּמְשׁוּשׁ חֲתָן עַל־כַּלָּה יֵשִׁישׁ עָלֶיהָ אֱלֹהֶיהָ:

As a young man marries a maiden,
so will your sons marry you;
as a bridegroom rejoices over his bride,
so will your God rejoice over you.

Suggested glosses:

References: Isa 62:5

The hypothesis is that Isa 62:5 is parallel to Isa 62:4. The new name הֶפְזִיבָה

Hepzibah (=my delight in her) (Watts, 2005: 882; Oswalt, 1998: 581) mentioned in Isa 62:4

⁶² In Hos 2:13 [11], משׁוּשׁ is used similarly to שִׂמְחָה in Num 10:10, example (26).

is expanded on in Isa 62:5b. The *BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE* frame is evoked by the lexeme מְשׁוֹשׁ (noun) in a holistic way (cf. (§3.8). It is followed by שׂוֹשׂ (verb) evoking the same frame, but as summary scanning, creating a parallelism with the noun preceding the verb (cf. (§3.8 and §4.14.4). The *BRIDEGROOM* becomes the frame element participant *BENEFACTOR*. The *BRIDE* is the *BENEFACTIVE*. The marriage is the covenant. The perspective is from the *BRIDEGROOM*'S point of view, who, in the specific construal, is *YHWH* (subjective perspective).

4.4.7 The noun מְשׁוֹשׁ profiling the [STATE]

(116) Ps 48:3 [2] (NIV)

יִפְהַ נֹרָה מְשׁוֹשׁ כְּלִי-הָאָרֶץ הַרְצִיּוֹן יִרְפָּתִי צָפוֹן קְרִיֹת מְלֹךְ רַב:

It is beautiful in its loftiness,
the joy of the whole earth.
Like the utmost heights of Zaphon is Mount Zion,
the city of the Great King.⁶³

Suggested glosses: *joy*

References: Ps 48:3 [2]; Isa 60:15; 65:18; 66:10; Jer 49:25; Lam 2:15; 5:15; Ezek 24:25

4.4.8 Conjectures in regard to מְשׁוֹשׁ

(117) Job 8:19 (NET)

הַדֹּהוּא מְשׁוֹשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ וַיִּמְעָפֶר אֶתֶר יִצְמַחוּ:

Indeed, this is the joy of his way,
and out of the earth others spring up.

Clines (1998: 200) suggests emending the MT *מְשׁוֹשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ* *joy of its way* to read *מסוס* *the dissolving* or *dissolution of his way*. The notion of *דרך* *way* is interpreted as a figurative expression of life: *the dissolution of his life*. The alternative, he notes (1998: 200), is to take the MT *מְשׁוֹשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ* *joy of its way* as an ironical statement.

Grisanti (1997: 1225) favors maintaining the MT *מְשׁוֹשׁ דְּרָכּוֹ* *joy of its way*. He writes that in this passage the concept of *JOY* “serves as an ironic description of the short-lived nature of the wicked person’s joy...or it functions as part of an illustration of triumph over hardship that Bildad offers to bolster Job’s spirits...” Grisanti’s proposal fits in with the notion of Job 20:5, “the שְׂמֵחָה *gladness* of the godless is but a moment,” and with a frame analysis.

⁶³ Craigie (2004: 353) repotes the geographical interpretation of צָפוֹן as “north,” proposing that the geographical designation is a secondary derivation (cf. translations and notes of NIV and NET).

A simplified frame analysis indicates that the frame element participant is EXPERIENCER (godless person construed metaphorically as a plant). The [CAUSE] of the JOY is construed as FALSE SECURITY (roots around the pile of stones). SECURITY is the DESIRE [INTENT] and purposive goal of his life (way) which he seeks outside of God (v13). But the JOY experienced when the desire for security is satisfied is short lived because it is not rooted in God. The joy of the wicked is short lived.

There does not appear to be any need to emend the MT and Grisanti's suggestion is to take the expression as ironical is accepted. Cline's proposal is an alternative.

(118) Isa 8:6(NIV)

יָעַן כִּי מָאֵס הָעָם הַזֶּה אֶת מֵי הַשִּׁלֹּחַ הַהֹלְכִים לְאֵט וּמְשׁוֹשׁ אֶת־רֶצִין וּבֶן־רֵמַלְיָהוּ:

Because this people have rejected the gentle flowing waters of Shiloah
and rejoices over Rezin
and the son of Remaliah,

Watts (2005: 153) considers the phrase “syntactically awkward,” and it, therefore, has been the subject of many suggestions for emendation. He, however, suggests keeping the MT as it is with the exception of re-pointing it to read as an absolute—מְשׁוֹשׁ—instead of the construct before a preposition, as the MT has. Grisanti (1997: 1224-25) presents a summary of all of the suggestions for emendation, but does not make a conclusive suggestion.

The proposal is that the BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING is evoked by מְשׁוֹשׁ in Isa 8:6. Watts (2005: 154) writes that “Israel’s willingness to participate in Rezin’s uprising was undoubtedly a ‘joy’ to him and his puppet ruler in Samaria.” The suggestion for the study is to follow Watts and maintain the MT, but with the re-vocalization.

4.4.9 Summary regarding שׁוֹשׁ.vb, שְׂשׂוֹן.nm and מְשׁוֹשׁ.nm

The verb שׁוֹשׁ is easily interchangeable with שָׂמַח in many frames. However, it alone, of the lexemes investigated, evokes the BENEFACITOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame, which occurs only in Deut, Isa, Jer and Zeph and only in the context of a covenant between YHWH and YHWH’s people. Except in the BENEFACITOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame, the verb and noun almost invariably co-occur with שָׂמַח or שְׂמֵחָה. The nouns שְׂשׂוֹן and מְשׁוֹשׁ can evoke the REJOICING frame, but usually as the metonym SOUNDS OF REJOICING. Otherwise, the nouns are used to denote the abstract emotion JOY. The noun מְשׁוֹשׁ can be used in frames that give a negative judgment on something (e.g., Hos 2:13), but שְׂשׂוֹן is always used with a positive sense.

4.5 Background study of the lexical units גיל.vb, גילה or גילת.nfs and גיל or גול.nm

The verb occurs approximately 44 times (depending on the acceptance of or rejection of emendations), the noun, masculine singular גיל or גול occurs 8 times and the feminine singular גילה or גילת only 2 times. The verb occurrences are primarily in the Psalter (x19) and Isa (x11). All of the references indicate the restriction of גיל to the Psalter, sections of the prophetic books and Wisdom literature that are considered poetry by most authors (Westermann 1997: 312; Barth 1975: 472 and Laird 1999: 159).

Laird (1999: 159) comments that גיל and its derivatives are “poetic and prophetic terms for various kinds of joy.” He is not specific as to the meaning of “various kinds.” The other dictionaries and theological lexicons do not add much to the information. HALOT (1999: 189) and BDB (1907: 162) only provide a gloss of *rejoicing*. GHCLLOT (2003: 169) suggests that it is related to the idea of *go in a circle*, but that involves a reliance of the etymological interpretation.

4.5.1 Frames evoked by the verb גיל

The first frame, REJOICING, accounts for the majority of the verb גיל in the Hebrew Bible. It usually co-occurs with שמח in the linguistic expression. Wolff (1974: 153) claims that in the Hebrew Bible, the word pair שמח—גיל occurs for the first time in Hos.

4.5.1.1 FRAME: REJOICING as evoked by גיל *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(119) Ps 9:15 [14] (NIV)

למען אֲסַפְּרָה כָּל־תְּהִלָּתֶיךָ בְּשַׁעְרֵי בַת־צִיּוֹן אֲגִידָה בִּישׁוּעָתֶךָ:

that I may declare your praises
in the gates of the Daughter of Zion
and there rejoice in your salvation.

(120) Isa 41:16 (NIV)

תִּזְרַם וְרִיחַ תִּשָּׂאָם וּסְעָרָה תִּפְיֵץ אוֹתָם וְאַתָּה תִּגִּיל בְּיְהוָה בְּקִדּוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל תִּתְהַלֵּל:

You will winnow them, the wind will pick them up,
and a gale will blow them away.

But you will rejoice in the LORD
and glory in the Holy One of Israel.

Suggested glosses: *rejoice*

References: 1 Chr 16:1; Ps 2:11; 9:15 [14]; 13:6 [5]; 14:7; 21:2 [11]; 31:8 [7]; 32:11; 35:9; 48:12 [11]; 51:10; 53:7 [6]; 89:17 [16]; 96:11; 97:1, 8; 118:24; 149:2; Isa 9:2

[3]; 25:9; 29:19; 35:1, 2; 41:16; 49:13; 61:10; 65:18; 66:10; Hos 10:5; Joel 2:21, 29; Hab 3:18; Zeph 3:17; Zech 9:9; 10:7

4.5.1.2 Frame: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE as evoked by גיל Qal

(cf. §3.5.2 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(121) Ps 13:5 [4] (NIV)

פְּוֹיֵאמֶר אִיבִי יִכְלְתִּיּוּ צָרֵי יִגְּלוּ כִּי אֶמּוּט:

my enemy will say, “I have overcome him,”
and my foes will rejoice when I fall.

Suggested glosses: *rejoice, gloat*

References: Ps 13:5 [4]; Prov 24:17

4.5.1.3 Frame: BECOME/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING as evoked by גיל Qal

(cf. §3.5.3 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(122) Ps 16:9 (personal) (cf. §2.8.4) for change of כבודי *my glory* to כבדי *my liver*)

לִכְנוּ שְׂמֵחַ לִבִּי וַיִּגַּל כְּבוֹדִי אֶת־פְּשָׁרַי יִשְׁפֹּן לְבַטֵּחַ:

To thus my heart is happy and my liver rejoices
and my body will rest secure.

Suggested glosses: *be happy, be joyful, rejoice*

Reference: Ps 16:9

4.5.1.4 Frame: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING as evoked by גיל Qal

(§3.5.4 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(123) Prov 2:14 (NIV)

הַשְּׂמֵחִים לַעֲשׂוֹת רָע יִגְּלוּ בְּתַהֲפֻכּוֹת רָע:

who delight in doing wrong
and rejoice in the perverseness of evil,

Suggested glosses: *take pleasure in, delight in, enjoy*

References: Prov 2:14; 23:24, 25; Song 1:4; Isa 65:19; Hab 1:15

4.5.2 Frames evoked by the noun גיל

Of the two noun forms, only גיל evokes a frame and it only evokes the REJOICING frame. As with שוש, גיל usually evokes the frame as part of the word pair שְׂמֵחָה וְגִיל. The frame elements and frame write-up is found in §3.5.1.

(124) Joel 1:16 (NIV)

הָלוֹא נִגְדַּד עֵינֵינוּ אֶכֶל נִכְרַת מִבֵּית אֱלֹהֵינוּ שְׂמֵחָה וְגִיל:

Has not the food been cut off
before our very eyes—
joy and gladness
from the house of our God?

(125) Isa 16:10 (NIV)

וְנִאֲסַף שְׂמֵחָה וְגִיל מִן־הַכַּרְמֶל וּבְכַרְמֵים לֹא־יִרְנְנוּ לֹא־יִרְצְעוּ נִזְוּ בְּיַקְבֹּבִים לֹא־יִדְרֹף הַדֶּרֶךְ הַיְקָד הַשְּׂבָתִי:

Joy and gladness are taken away from the orchards;
no one sings or shouts in the vineyards;
no one treads out wine at the presses,
for I have put an end to the shouting.

Suggested gloss: *joy, rejoicing*,

References Isa 16:10; Jer 48:33; Hos 9:1; Joel 1:16

4.5.3 Frames in which גִּיל or גִּילָה profile the [STATE]

(126) Isa 65:18 (NIV)

כִּי־אִם־שִׂישׁוּ וְגִילוּ עַד־עֶד אֲשֶׁר אֶגְי בִּנְוָא פִּי הַנְּנִי בִּנְוָא אֶת־יְרוּשָׁלַם גִּילָה וְעֵמֶה מְשׁוֹשׁ:

But be glad and rejoice forever
in what I will create,
for I will create Jerusalem to be a delight
and its people a joy.

Suggested glosses: *joy*

References: Job 3:22; Ps 43:4; 45:16 [15] [בָּ]; 65:13; Isa 35:2; 65:18

4.5.4 Conjectures in regard to noun גִּילָה and verb גִּיל

(127) Isa 9:2 [3] (NIV: cited earlier as example (77))⁶⁴

הַרְבִּיתָ הַגּוֹי (לֹא) [לֹו] הַגְדַּלְתָּ הַשְּׂמֵחָה שְׂמַחְו לְפָנָיִךְ כְּשִׂמְחַת בְּקֹצִיר פֶּאֶשֶׁר יִגְלוּ בְּחֻלְקֵם שְׂלָל:

You have enlarged the nation;
you have magnified their joy.
They rejoice in your presence
like the rejoicing in the harvest-time,
just as they exult when dividing spoil.

The first clause, [לֹו] (לֹא) הַרְבִּיתָ הַגּוֹי *enlarged the nation*, has prompted some scholars to suggest an emendation due to the textual K-Q variation. Watts (2005: 169) notes that the MT accenting places the לֹא with the next clause with a reading of “you do not magnify the joy.” However, Wildberger (1992) and Barth (1975: 471) suggest a transmission error has led

⁶⁴ Copy pasted from BART 5.3 in order to keep the K-Q variation.

to a false word division and the correct reading is הַגִּילָה *the rejoicing*, making a parallelism with הַשְּׂמֵחָה *the gladness* in the next colon.

The LXX seems to follow the Q reading and makes the 2nd clause with הַשְּׂמֵחָה as a relative clause:

τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ λαοῦ, ὃ κατήγαγες ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ σου
The many people whom you lead down with merriment

The Targum Jonathan to the Prophets follows the Q reading:

אַסְגִּיתָא עַמָּא בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל
you increased the people of the house of Israel

The Q reading of the MT—*you enlarged the nation*—is the preference in the study. It is consistent with the motif of increasing the nation as a blessing (and as a fulfillment of the idea of Deut 28:63 and 30:9; also, perhaps, Isa 54:1-3). The alternative, however, is noted.

(128) Ps 2:11 (NIV)

עֲבֹדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה בְּיִרְאָה וְגִילוּ בִּרְעֵדָה:

Serve YHWH with fear
and rejoice with trembling.

The interpretative meaning accepted in the research takes the line as evoking a SERVING_A_MASTER frame. The frame elements are MASTER and SERVANT. Craigie (2004: 68) writes, “They are advised to ‘serve’ the Lord; the word ‘serve’ (עָבַד) has political overtones and implies that the foreign nations should submit as vassals to Israel’s God.” If this is the case, then the meaning potential of [VOLITION] is activated. Two references that are similar are Deu 28:47 and Psa 100:2, although these are related to שָׂמָח.

An alternative has been proposed. First is to change the meaning of mourn or lament and translate as “repent in terror” (cf. NET, which notes that רָעַדָה is related to “utter terror and fear” and not awe if service is related to worship). The alternative understands גִּיל in Ps 2:11 as similar to its usage in Hos 10:5 (example 130)).

But there are no manuscripts that support any of the alternatives. The suggestion is to accept גִּיל *rejoice* as the first alternative.

(129) Hos 10:5(NIV)

לְעִגְלוֹת בֵּית אֵוֶן יִגְוִרוּ שָׁכְנוּ שְׁמֵרֹן כִּי־אֲבַל עָלָיו עֲמוּ וּכְמָרְיוֹ עָלָיו יִגְיִלוּ עַל־כְּבוֹדוֹ כִּי־גִלָּה מִמֶּנּוּ:

The people who live in Samaria fear
for the calf-idol of Beth Aven.
Its people will mourn over it,
and so will its idolatrous priests,
those who had rejoiced over its splendor,
because it is taken from them into exile.

NET takes the same approach to גיל in Hos 10:5 as for Ps 2:11 (cf. example (128)).

BDB (1907: 162) makes the translation suggestion of *trembling*. Stuart (2002: 157) suggests *shout*, a common expression of גיל. Translations seem to be split, with some taking the parallel with אָבַל *lament* and translating as *wail*. The NIV translation cited in example (130) maintains the parallelism with אָבַל by allowing it to be the verb for both clauses, and then places יִגְיִלוּ as a relative clause modifying priest. A simple, clear solution does not seem available, and the alternatives can all be taken as possibilities.

The NIV solution seems appropriate. There is nothing in the frame that argues against maintaining גיל and interpreting it as *rejoicing*. There does not seem to be any actual textual (manuscript) problem with the MT; the translation problem is one of interpretation. The Trg יְבוֹעִינָן *rejoice, cry out* and the LXX ἐπιχαροῦνται *rejoice* are similar to the MT and do not add any clear guidance, except to confirm a default interpretive understanding of *rejoice* evoking a pagan REJOICING frame that is construed as a past event that is now brought to an end.

4.5.5 Summary regarding גיל.vb, גילה or גילת.nfs and גיל or גול.nm

The verb and noun גיל can be used interchangeably with שמח, but it is primarily used in the Hebrew psalter in the contexts of worship, evoking the REJOICING frame. It almost invariably occurs in the 2nd colon of bicolon parallelism (cf. §4.12.4) with שוש, עלז, or a word denoting the expression of JOY such as רנן in the 1st colon of the parallelism. It is, perhaps, the paragon of REJOICING in contexts of worship and is associated with excitement and shouting or singing praises.

4.6 Background study of the lexical units עלז.vb, עליצות.nfs, עלז.adj and עליוז.adj

Of the words that denote JOY in the Hebrew Bible, עלז and its derivatives have the smallest number of occurrences. There are 33 verb occurrences, 1 noun occurrence and 7 adjectives. The morphological forms עלז, עלץ, and עלם evoke the same frames. For example, in Ps 68:4, עלץ is used to evoke a REJOICING frame, and in the immediately following v5, עלז

is used to evoke the same frame of REJOICING. They are, in the research, considered allomorphs having sibilant variation only. The majority of the expressions occur with עלו, which is used as the referent morphology for all of the occurrences of all of the forms to simplify writing. Of the 33 verb occurrences, 11 are in Ps and 7 are in Isa. Five of the adjectives occur in Isa, with the remaining 2 in Zeph.

Vanoni (2001: 118-19) notes that for what he labels secular contexts, any negative implications of עלו are taken from the context, and in theological contexts, it can be used in a positive sense with God's armies (comparing Isa 13:3 with Zeph 3:11). The only reference with God as the grammatical subject of עלו is Ps 60:8 [6] and Ps 108:8 [7]. It is a positive statement made by God in reference to God's strength, determination and assurance to win victory. There is some indication that עלו and its derivatives tend to occur more in frames that have military implications. It occurs only in the Psalms and poetry sections of Wisdom literature and the prophetic books.

4.6.1. Frames evoked by the verb עלו (עלם and עלץ) *Qal*

The frames follow the pattern of שמח however tend to have an association with military action.

4.6.1.1 Frame: REJOICING as evoked by עלו *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(130) Ps 68:5 [4] (NIV)

שִׁירוּ לַאלֹהִים זְמִירוֹ שְׁמוֹ סֹלוּ לְרֶכֶב בְּעֶרְבוֹת בְּיָהּ שְׁמוֹ וְעֲלֹזוּ לְפָנָיו:

Sing to God, sing praise to his name,
extol him who rides on the clouds—
his name is the LORD—
and rejoice before him.

Suggested glosses: *jubilate, exult, rejoice, praise, boast*

References: 1 Chr 16:32; Ps 5:12 [11]; 9:3 [2]; 60:8 [6]; 68:4 [3], 5 [4]; 94:3; 96:12; 108:8 [7]; 149:5; Prov 11:10; 28:12; Jer 11:15;⁶⁵ Hab 3:18; Zeph 3:14

⁶⁵ Jer 11:15 is a very corrupt and difficult text to translate according to Holladay (1986: 354) and Craigie (1998: 171), both of whom offer alternatives. The collocations and basic context seem to point to a temple setting with sacrifices and worship in a JUDGMENT frame. V15 is construed as a rhetorical question.

4.6.1.2 Frame: GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE (pejorative) evoked by עלו *Qal*

(§3.5.2 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(131) 2 Sam 1:20 (NIV)

אַל־תִּגְדוּ בָגֵת אֶל־תְּבַשְׂרוּ בְּחֹצֵת אֲשַׁקְלוֹן פֶּן־תִּשְׂמַחַנְהוּ בָנוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים פֶּן־תִּעְלְזְנָה בָנוֹת הָעַרְלִים:

“Tell it not in Gath,
 proclaim it not in the streets of Ashkelon,
 lest the daughters of the Philistines be glad,
 lest the daughters of the uncircumcised rejoice.

Suggested glosses: *loat, rejoice, be gleeful, scoff, make fun of*

References: 2 Sam 1:20; Ps 25:2; Isa 23:12; Jer 15:17; 50:11

4.6.1.3 Frame: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING as evoked by עלו *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.4 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(132) Job 20:18 (NIV)

מְשִׁיב יָגַע וְלֹא יִבְלַע פְּתִיל אֶת־מִוְרָתוֹ וְלֹא יֵעָלֵם:

What he toiled for he must give back uneaten;
 he will not enjoy the profit from his trading.

Suggested glosses: *enjoy, take pleasure in*

References: Job 20:18 (negated)

FRAME: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING as evoked by עלו *Hitpael*

The difference in the two citations is that in example (Prov 7:18) the Hitpael indicates reciprocal action.

(133) Prov 7:18

לָקַח נַחְוֶה רֵדִים עַד־ הַבֶּקֶר נִתְעַלְטָה בְּאַהֲבִים:

Come, let's drink deep of love till morning;
 let's enjoy ourselves with love!

Suggested glosses: *enjoy (each other), take delight in (each other),*

References: Prov 7:18

4.6.1.4 Frame: BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING as evoked by עליו *Qal*

(cf. §3.5.3 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(134) Prov 23:16 (NIV)

וּתְעַלְזֶנָּה כְּלִיֹּתַי בְּדַבַּר אֲשֶׁר־יֵדַע מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל:

my inmost being will rejoice
when your lips speak what is right.⁶⁶

Suggested glosses: *become/be joyful, become/be happy, become/be elated, become/be glad*

References: 1 Sam 2:1; Prov 23:16

4.6.2 The noun עֲלִיצוּת evoking a frame

There is only one occurrence of the noun. It occurs in a very difficult passage to translate. The metaphorical features of the citation are discussed in 4.10. The hypothesis is that the following frame is evoked:

FRAME: DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING as evoked by the noun עֲלִיצוּת

(cf. §3.5.4 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(135) Hab 3:14⁶⁷ (NET)

נִקְבְּתָ בְּמַטְיֹר רֹאשׁ פְּרָזִיִּי וְסָעְרוּ לְהַפִּיצְנִי עֲלִיצְתֶּם כְּמוֹ-לְאֹכֵל עֲנִי בְּמִסְתָּר:

You pierce the heads of his warriors with a spear.⁶⁸
They storm forward to scatter us;
they shout with joy as if they were plundering the poor with no opposition.

Suggested glosses: *rejoicing, taking delight in, taking pleasure in*

Reference: Hab 3:14

The NET translates the phrase: עֲלִיצְתֶּם כְּמוֹ-לְאֹכֵל עֲנִי בְּמִסְתָּר as “shout with joy as if they were plundering the poor with no opposition.” Considering a possible metaphorical understanding (cf. §4.10.2), an alternative translation might be something like *exulting as they devoured the poor in secret places*.

⁶⁶ NIV has translated כְּלִיֹּתַי *my kidneys* as “inmost being.” The use of body parts in expressions denoting JOY is discussed in §4.11.1.

⁶⁷ Smith (1998: 114) makes the comment that, “v14 is very difficult. Albright does not attempt to translate part of it!”

⁶⁸ *Warriors* (plural) follows the Q reading. There is no indication that a reference is being made to a specific warrior (singular), which would be the possible interpretation of K.

4.6.3 The frame of the adjectives עליו and עליו

There are a total of 7 occurrences of the adjective, 5 in Isa and 2 in Zeph. The primary frame *evoked* by the adjective is frivolous merriment (REJOICING frame) describing the self-reliant, arrogant life of cities (inhabitants) who are being punished by God or have been destroyed as punishment for their unfaithfulness (embedded in frames of JUDGMENT). Its usage in these frames appears to be a specific, prophetic perspective and profiles [RESPONSE] feature of [EVENT]. The judgmental perspective seems to make [SATISFACTION] aspect of meaning potential to be activated and to denote self-gratification with arrogant boasting (self-praise). The adjective evokes only the REJOICING frame.

FRAME: REJOICING evoked by עליו and עליו

(cf. §3.5.1 for frame elements and frame write-up)

(136) Isa 23:7 (NIV)

הַנְּזֹאת לְבָם עֲלֵיָהָ מִימֵי־קֶדֶם קִדְמָתָהּ יִבְלִיָּהּ רַגְלֶיהָ מִרְחֹק לְגִיֹר:

Is this your city of revelry,
the old, old city,
whose feet have taken her
to settle in far-off lands?

Suggested glosses: *revelry*

References: Isa 5:14; 13:3; 22:2; 23:7 24:8; 32:14; Zeph 2:15; 3:11

4.6.4 A figurative use: VAIN EFFORT denoted by עלים *Nifal*

(137) Job 39:13 (figuratively) (NIV)⁶⁹

כַּנְּפֵי־רִנְנִים נִעְלָסָה אִם־אֶבְרָה חֲסִידָהּ וְנִצְּהָ:

“The wings of the ostrich flap joyfully,
but they cannot compare with the pinions and feathers of the stork.

The ostrich is construed as joyfully beating its wings, but in vain, because ostriches cannot fly. However, even though it fails to fly, it is swifter than a horse and can laugh at the horse and rider (Job 39:18). Hartley, J. E. (1988: 509) suggests understanding the verb מרא as coming from the Arabic *marā* meaning to *spur* or *whip a horse* and writes that “the flapping of the wings may appear the same as spurring a horse for speed. The comparison with the horse in this verse fits the analogy.” The horse, in Job 39:20, also delights (שוש) in its attributes (example (104)). The difference between the latter construal and the linguistic

⁶⁹ Clines (1998: 475) suggests that “we should more probably distinguish a עלים I (cognate with Arab. *alasa* ‘eat, drink,’ ‘taste, enjoy (*geniessen*)’ from a עלים II (Arab. *aliza*) ‘be restless’ for [Job] 39:13.” A follow-up of his proposal is beyond the scope of the investigation, but is noted (compare with Job 20:18). TEV translates as “wildly beat.”

expression referring to the ostrich is the encyclopedic information: the ostrich cannot fly and so beating the wings joyfully is a sign of vain effort.

4.6.5 Conjecture in regard to עלו

(138) Jer 51:39 (NET)

בְּחֶמְלָם אֲשִׁית אֶת־מִשְׁתֵּיהֶם וְהִשְׁפַּרְתִּים לְמַעַן יַעֲלִזוּ וְיִשְׁנֹנוּ שְׁנַת־עוֹלָם וְלֹא יִקְיצוּ נַאֲם יְהוָה:

When their appetites are all stirred up,
I will set out a banquet for them.
I will make them drunk
so that they will pass out,
they will fall asleep forever,
they will never wake up,”
says the LORD.

Keown (1998: 356) and Holladay (1989: 399) read יַעֲלִפוּ *they will swoon* for יַעֲלִזוּ *they will exult*, following the LXX καρώ *be intoxicated, deep sleep* (of drunkenness). Keown further notes that the MT can be maintained, but as irony.

From a frame perspective, the evoked frame is a FEAST with the frame elements of HOST and GUEST, the HOST being YHWH and the GUEST is Babylon. The FEAST is embedded in a JUDGMENT frame. Babylon is construed as a powerful GUEST. Keown (1998: 371) notes, “The ravening lions (Babylon) will become like sheep for slaughter when they have drunk the cup (cf. Jer 25). In contrast to 50:17 and 51:34, where the king of Babylon gorged on Israel, here they will be provided a feast that will lead to their death.” Holladay (1989: 410) reads it as ironic.

The evoked frame is a blend.⁷⁰ The two source domains are FEAST and JUDGMENT frames. The required participant frame elements are blends of HOST-JUDGE and GUEST-CONDEMNED. The prop frame element WINE of a feast is blended with the CUP OF WRATH (Jer 25) and signifies judgment to death, not intoxication that results in a merry heart. The resultant interpretation of the blend is example (179). The perspective is of the JUDGE, 1st person singular-subjective. In the example, the implication from Jer 25 is included and marked with < >.

(139) [(JUDGE-HOST) I] **will make** [(GUEST-CONDEMNED) them] **drunk** <implied: (INSTRUMENT) with the cup of wrath>; [(GUEST-CONDEMNED) they] **will swoon**.

⁷⁰ The notion of complex metaphors and the blend theory of Fauconnier and Turner (2003) is mentioned in §2.8. It is not pursued in the research because of its complexity and the amount of data that is discussed in the investigation, and therefore only conceptual metaphors are included in the research (§5.3.5). Simply stated, a complex blend is created by integrating conceptual information from two different input domains instead of just one and creates a metaphor that is unique and more than just the sum of the two inputs (Fauconnier and Turner 2003: 18-21).

The example sentence illustrates how the frame elements of the blend indicate that the frame construal seems to support the emendation to יִעֲלָפוּ *they will swoon*. The citation is not counted in the statistical data of עלז.

4.6.6 Summary regarding עלז.vb, עֲלִיצוֹת.nfs, עֲלֹז.adj and עֲלִיזוֹ.adj

The lexemes עלז, עֲלִיצוֹת, עֲלֹז and עֲלִיזוֹ (and the variations of עלס and עלז) can be used interchangeably with שמה, but they are used predominantly to evoke frames that profile the [EVENT] feature. The contexts in which they occur tend to have military connotations. עלז tends to be a counterpart to גיל in the sense that the latter normally denotes praise given to God, whereas the former almost invariably has a sense of arrogant or self-centred boasting. The adjectives עֲלֹז and עֲלִיזוֹ are used by Isa and Zeph to evoke scenarios of arrogant, self-reliant people under judgment by God.

4.7 Summation of section 1: frames of investigated lexemes associated with JOY

Table 3.1 is used as the template for the following Table 4.1. All of the frames evoked by or in which the lexemes from Set 1 (§1.3) are invoked are placed together. The hypothesis is that by doing so, similarity and differences between the lexemes will be noticeable. These construal alternatives (cf. §3.18) are the result either of lexical differences between the lexemes or construal operations.

The notion of paraphrasability or near-paraphrasability is introduced here. Paraphrasability or near-paraphrasability refers to the interchangeability of lexemes (Principle 9, §2.5.3). In order to be considered interchangeable, the words must evoke frames which have the same frame elements and be construed from the same perspective. Comparing frames of paraphrasability is one way of determining which lexemes are similar and which might be more peripheral or atypical.

Table 4.1 The frames of שמח profiling [EVENT] and [STATE]

[EVENT]	
REJOICING Evoked by: שמח <i>Qal/Hifil/noun/adjective</i> מְשׁוּשׁ <i>Qal/nouns</i> (מְשׁוּשׁ and מְשׁוּשׁ) גִּיל <i>Qal/ noun</i> (גִּיל) עֲלִיז <i>Qal/ adjectives</i> (עֲלִיז and עֲלִיז)	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> [AGENT] 2. <i>Peripheral</i> [BENEFACTIVE] governed by לְּ or לְּ (often not expressed)
GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER’S_MISFORTUNE Evoked by: שמח <i>Qal/adjective</i> שׁוּשׁ <i>Qal</i> גִּיל <i>Qal</i> עֲלִיז <i>Qal</i>	1. <i>Required</i> [AGENT] 2. Perspective subjective or empathetic to <i>required</i> [BENEFACTIVE] governed by לְּ/עַל
[STATE]	
BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING Evoked by: שמח <i>Qal</i> חדה <i>Qal</i> שׁוּשׁ <i>Qal</i> גִּיל <i>Qal</i> עֲלִיז <i>Qal</i>	Perspective of <i>required</i> EXPERIENCER
DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING Evoked by: שמח <i>Qal/adjective</i> שׁוּשׁ <i>Qal</i> גִּיל <i>Qal</i> עֲלִיז <i>Qal/ Hitpael/noun</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> EXPERIENCER [BENEFACTIVE] 2 <i>Required</i> CAUSE/SOURCE governed by עַל/מִן/כִּי or לְּ- infinitive construct* (*The primary preposition is כִּי. עַל is used only in Jonah 4:6, מִן only in Prov 5:18 and the infinitive construct only in Prov 2:14.)
BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE Evoked by: שׁוּשׁ <i>Qal</i> מְשׁוּשׁ <i>noun</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> BENEFACTOR 2. <i>Required</i> BENEFACTIVE governed by עַל.
MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL Evoked by: שמח <i>Piel</i> חדה <i>Piel</i>	1. Perspective of <i>required</i> [AGENT] 2. <i>Required</i> [BENEFACTIVE], (DIRECT OBJECT)

Table 4.1 indicates that there is a high degree of interchangeability; the word forms are used to evoke the same frames with the same frame elements and perspective. There is only one frame that is unique, namely the BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame evoked by שׁוּשׁ *Qal* and the noun מְשׁוּשׁ (§4.4.1.1 and §4.4.6.2). This frame differs from the DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame in that the latter activates the [SATISFACTION] aspect of

meaning potential and the former activates the [INTENT] aspect of meaning potential. Second, the BENEFACITOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame has the background presupposition of a COVENANT RELATIONSHIP not found in the DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame.

The difference can be illustrated further by comparing Jonah 4:6 and Deut 28:63. In the former, the lexeme שמחה denotes the experiencer's delight in or on account (על) of the relief provided by the plant. The interpretation takes into consideration that the source or cause of Jonah's JOY is not the plant or its shade, but the relief it provides. As Stuart (2002: 505) writes, "The Hebrew word הציל 'relieve,' 'deliver' is so close to הצל 'to provide shade' as to be, in all probability, a further evidence of paronomasia on the part of the narrator." That is, Jonah is the BENEFACTIVE of God's act of kindness. His delight is in God's merciful action. The perspective of DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame, regardless of which lexeme is used in the construal to evoke the scenario, is that of the EXPERIENCER [BENEFACTIVE]. Second, the construals of the DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame do not indicate that the DELIGHT leads to any specific [RESPONSE].

In contrast, the perspective of the BENEFACITOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame is from the point of the BENEFACITOR [AGENT]. Second, the construals of the frame always indicate a specific action which the BENEFACITOR desires and is determined to do toward the BENEFACTIVE. Even though there are few occurrences of the frame the construals are specific enough to warrant a separate frame from the DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame following the 9 Principles outlined in §2.5.3. The grammatical subject associated with the BENEFACITOR [AGENT] is always YHWH and the BENEFACTIVE is always the covenant people.

The REJOICING frame is the most predominant and has the widest number of word forms that can evoke it. Second is the BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING frame. The DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame has more word forms that are associated with it than the BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING, but the latter has a higher number of occurrences.

Table 4.1 shows how development of the frames of all of the lexemes under investigation provides a tool for determining not only a range of meaning potential for each lexeme but also how the various lexemes associated in a domain matrix are related. The lexemes that were researched demonstrate a high degree of paraphrasability or near-paraphrasability in most of the frames. This is one indication that they probably belong to the same category. Variations between frames and within a frame are a result of construal operations that are discussed in Section 2, §4.8-§4.12.

*Section 2***4.8 Construal operations and the relationship between some lexemes associated with JOY**

The format of the following sub-paragraphs is similar the one followed in Section 2 of chapter 3. The focus is on the construal operations that provide insight into the relationship between the various lexemes Set 1 (§1.3) that were studied. A possible prototype schema and basic-level schema is explored. The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, including the question of JOY as [ACTION] and [PASSION], is addressed in Section 2 (§4.9 and §4.10). Other conceptual metaphors, metonymies, symbolic and non-verbal expressions are discussed in Section 3. It is reiterated at this point that the data and proposals are related only to the lexemes investigated in the study. The aim is to demonstrate the various tools and insights from cognitive semantics as a basis for a possible broader study of JOY and other concepts in biblical Hebrew.

4.9 The EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor

The frame data recorded in Table 4.1 suggest that all of the lexemes can profile either the [STATE] or the [EVENT] feature. There is a tendency, though, for שמח to be distributed evenly between construals of the two features, שוש to be used more for [EVENT] than [STATE], and both גיל and עלז to be used predominantly in expressions that profile the [EVENT] feature.⁷¹ The lexeme שוש and its derivatives stand between, but, perhaps, closer to גיל and עלז than to שמח. The data that was recorded indicates that JOY as denoted by the investigated lexemes is understood as both a [STATE] and an [EVENT].

4.10. The understanding of JOY as [ACTION] and [PASSION]

The hypothesis made in §3.10.2 is that JOY, as denoted by שמח, is predominantly viewed as an [ACTION], but there was some possibility that it could also be viewed as a [PASSION]. The analysis of the remaining lexemes supports the idea that it is predominantly an [ACTION], but that there are more construals of it as a [PASSION] than was originally concluded in the Pilot study.

Two strong candidates for the [PASSION] understanding are Hab 3:14 (cf. example (135), §4.6.2) and Hab 1:15.

⁷¹ A weakness of the research is the lack of precise statistics. The reasons for excluding the statistical information are outlined in §1.5. However, in the current sub-paragraph of §4.11 and in §4.13, statistical information would provide a much clearer picture of the relationships of the lexemes and frames.

(140) Hab 1:15 (NIV)

כָּלֵה בַתְּפִיחַ הַעֲלִיָּה יִגְרֵהוּ בְּחָרְמוֹ וַיֹּאסְפֶהוּ בְּמַכְמֹרְתּוֹ עַל־כֵּן יִשְׂמַח וַיִּגְדֵּל:

The wicked foe pulls all of them up with hooks,
he catches them in his net,
he gathers them up in his dragnet;
and so he rejoices and is glad.

The Chaldeans are gleeful in their harsh military enterprises. The construal suggests repetitive, habitual action as if they have an insatiable appetite for power and conquest.

A similar sense of a hungering for power is evoked in Hab 3:14. The enemy is compared to ravenous animals feeding on the poor: *עָלִי צָתָם כְּמוֹ לֶאֱכֹל עֲנִי בַּמְסֻתָּר exulting as they devoured the poor in secret places*. The word *לֶאֱכֹל* *devouring* evokes a scenario of DESIRE IS HUNGER and the phrase *בַּמְסֻתָּר* suggests EMOTION IS INSANITY (or IRRATIONAL) (§3.10.2). Both citations from Habakkuk seem to be instantiations of Prov 2:14 where the delight of evil people is the very perverseness of their actions (example (57)). The DESIRE IS HUNGER sub-metaphor might also be an interpretation of Isa 22:13 in which the REJOICING frame is depicted as out-of-control due, perhaps, to despair.

Kövecses (2000: 78-79) illustrates the metaphor EMOTION IS A PHYSIOLOGICAL FORCE. The examples show how desire can be like hunger. It can be a force that causes the ego to have an emotion or it can be an insatiable desire working continually on the emotion. Instantiations of these sub-metaphors suggest that emotion is understood as a [PASSION]. The proposal is that Hab 1:15, 3:14, Isa 22:13 and Prov 2:14 are examples of desire as acting on the individual to cause the emotion and it is understood that it can cause an insatiable appetite.

Therefore, it seems that there is an understanding of JOY, as denoted by the lexemes investigated in the research, as being both [ACTION] and [PASSION]. It is predominantly understood as an internal desire that leads to intentional acts that cause JOY. But it can also be viewed as a force that overwhelms the ego and become a desire of insatiable hunger and irrational behavior. The latter ([PASSION]) tends to be associated primary, but exclusively, with evil (e.g., references from Hab and Prov) and the former ([ACTION]) with acts of kindness and in acts of praise and worship.

As stated in §3.10.3, more research of the various concepts associated with emotion is required in order to have a more decisive understanding. The hypothesis is that the features of [EVENT], [STATE], [ACTION], and [PASSION] are probably associated with all of the concepts within the domain matrix of emotion. However, each word will profile the features in a

different way. Some will profile all of the features more or less evenly and some might make one or two features either more central or more peripheral.

4.11 Some collocations of the investigated words for JOY in biblical Hebrew

The recorded collocations are taken from the specific linguistic expressions as well as in the immediately surrounding text. The collocations are divided into three groups—body parts, antonyms and non-figurative—for purposes of referencing in the ensuing discussion. The collocations provide some insight into the similarities and differences between the lexemes.

4.11.1 Body organs related to JOY

The references to body organs associated with the lexemes that were researched are recorded in Table 4.2 (cf. §2.8.4).

Table 4.2 Body organs: Heart, Liver, Kidneys

Lexeme	Ref	Body organs
שמח	Exod 4:14; Ps 16:9, 105:3; Prov 23:15; Eccl 5:19 [20]; Song 3:11; Zeph 3:14; Zech 10:7	לֵב (<i>heart</i>)
גיל	Ps 13:6 [5]; Prov 24:17; Zech 10:7	לֵב (<i>heart</i>)
גיל	Ps 16:9	כִּבְדָּא (<i>liver</i>)
שׂוֹשׂ	Ps 119:111; Isa 66:14	לֵב (<i>heart</i>)
עלז	1 Sam 2:1; Ps 28:7; Zeph 3:14	לֵב (<i>heart</i>)
עלז	Prov 23:16	כִּלְיָא (<i>kidney</i>)

The data in Table 4.2 show that all of the lexemes for JOY are associated with the heart. The only difference is that גיל (Ps 16:9) is also associated with the liver and עלז (Prov 23:16) with the kidneys. Smith (1998: 429) claims that the emotions are usually linked to the heart and liver (innards), but that the kidneys are not associated with emotional states. He, however, does not mention Prov 23:16 in his discussion. There are no textual problems associated with Prov 23:16, and therefore “kidneys” is accepted as the reading.⁷²

The data is too scanty to make any conclusive statement about the difference in meaning between liver and kidneys in reference to the גיל and עלז. Perhaps the only significant distinction is that גיל and עלז tend to be associated with specific kinds of expression of JOY and are associated with body organs that tend to signify the internal, inmost being of a person.

⁷² Murphy (1998: 176) interprets it as referring to the whole person or the “inmost being” of a person. HALOT (1999: 479) defines it as the “most secret part of man” in Ps 73:21, 139:13, Job 16:13, 19:27, Prov 23:16 and Lam 3:19).

There was, perhaps, a subjective, perceptual difference experienced among the Hebrews that was a shared conceptual understanding of the differences in the emotions. Using Murphy's interpretation, the kidneys might refer to a deeper or more intensive subjective experience of the emotion, but what does that mean in regard to the meaning of the different lexemes? The information is not made explicit enough in the linguistic data available in the Hebrew Bible to make a definitive statement. The conclusion suggested in the research is that the experience of JOY is an internal, subjective experience associated with the heart, liver and kidneys. These body organs, especially the heart, are often personified as the "inner person" rejoicing (e.g., 1 Sam 2:1; Job 29:13; Ps 13:6 [5]; 84:3 [2]; Prov 2:14; Isa 66:14; Zech 10:7).

4.11.2 Some concepts that are antonymous to concepts in the study

The data recorded in regard to antonymy is given in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Possible antonymous concepts

שמח	Ps 90:15	רעה (<i>misery</i>)
שמח, שוש	Ps 105:38; Jer 33:9	פחד (<i>dread</i>); פחד ורגז (<i>fear and trembling</i>)
שמח, עלז	Ps 25:2, 35:26, 109:23; Isa 61:7, 66:5; Lam 4:21	כְּלִמָּה/בִּשְׁת /בוש (<i>shame defeat</i>) (<i>insult</i>) חפר (<i>put to shame</i>), ירה (<i>strip bare, figure of shame</i>)
שמח	Prov 12:25	דְּאָגָה (<i>anxiety</i>)
שמח	Ecc 11:8	חֹשֶׁךְ (<i>darkness, opposite of joy as light</i>)
שמח	Esth 5:9	חֶמָה (<i>wrath</i>)
שִׁשׁוֹן וְשִׁמְחָה	Prov 10:1, 14:13, 17:21, 29:2; Ecc 7:4; Isa 24:7, 51:11, 61:3; Jer 31:13	יְגוֹן וְאֲנָחָה (<i>sorrow and sighing</i>), אנה (<i>groan, sigh</i>), יְגוֹן (<i>sorrow</i>), תּוֹגָה (<i>grief</i>), אָבֵל (<i>mourning</i>)
שמח, גיל	Esth 8:17; Ps 2:11; Joel 2:21	ירא (<i>be afraid</i>)

Antonymy seems to be related to frames and not specific lexemes. For example, in frames of CONTESTS, DEFEAT is construed as בוש *shame* (e.g., Ps 25:2), and can be contrasted with שמח or עלז (JOY IS VICTORY). In frames of SORROW, the contrast can be made with שִׁשׁוֹן וְשִׁמְחָה, שמח, and שוש (e.g., Isa 35:10 and Isa 24:7). In frames of FEAR, JOY is denoted by שמח or גיל (e.g., Ps 2:11 and Joel 2:21). The highest number of occurrences of antonymy is in frames of SORROW in opposition to שמח, שוש and שִׁשׁוֹן וְשִׁמְחָה.

שמח is used in figurative contrasts in which the other lexemes do not occur. Prov 12:25 states that דְּאָגָה ANXIETY IS A HEAVY WEIGHT, implying that JOY IS LIGHT IN WEIGHT. In Lam 4:2, *to be shamed* is to be ירה *strip bare*, whereas JOY is often construed as being

clothed, as in Ps 30:12 [11]—*פָּתַחְתָּ שָׂקִי וַתְּאַזְרֵנִי שִׂמְחָה*—*You removed my sackcloth and dressed me with joy*. In this last expression, the sackcloth is symbolic of (a metonym for) **SORROW**. Being dressed in **JOY**, perhaps, evokes a **REJOICING** scenario in which the **REJOICER** wears festive garments. In other words, the **GARMENTS STAND FOR THE EMOTION**.

What is probably significant is that *שמח* can be used in any of the antonymous situations. All of the other lexemes are restricted in range of usage and *rarely occur in antonymy*. A statistical study of all of the words that denote, on the specific level, **JOY** and, on the superordinate level, emotions in **BH** (including expressions of the emotion such as shouting, sighing, etc. that are used as metonyms) might provide a clearer understanding of the relationships between lexemes and the concepts that they symbolize.

4.11.3 Non-figurative collocations specific to frames

These tend to be frame-related collocations and not lexeme-specific. For example, Table 3.2 (§3.12) records that the collocations that co-occur with *שמח* and its derivatives tend to be activities of festivities, especially **SOUNDS OF FESTIVITIES**. The garments worn at festivities can be added, as mentioned in §4.11.3. Because all of the lexemes evoke the **REJOICING** frame, the same collocations found in Table 3.2 co-occur with all of the lexemes that were researched. For this reason, it is the point of view of the research that to make a statement such as *שמח* is a technical term for *shout*, is too narrow of an interpretation (cf. §3.2.1 on Ruprecht's and Vanoni's suggestions).

However, some slight differences are noted that might provide perceptual clues that indicate differences between lexemes. First, all four lexemes co-occur with the various expressions of praise denoted by words for *cry out*, *thunder* and *shout*—*רעם*, *רעם*, and *רוע*. But, whereas *שמח*, *משוש* and *עלז* all co-occur with words for musical instruments, making music (*זמר*) and singing (*שיר*), *גיל* never does; *גיל* is saliently associated with shouting. (There are some contexts in which it can be translated as *sing*, but it usually co-occurs with musical instruments or songs when it also co-occurs with *שמח*.) In the Trg, *גיל* is often rendered as *רנן* *murmuring* or *crowing* (CAL-Trg)—Ps 13:5-6 [4-5], 14:7, 16:9, 32:11, 53:7 and 89:17 [1]. It is sometimes translated as *בוע* *to rejoice* or *cry out* (CAL-Trg)—Ps 32:11 and Ps 48:12 [11].

In contrast, even though *עלז* collocates with *רנן*, *רעם*, and *רוע*, it always co-occurs with words denoting haughtiness, arrogance, mockery and military language—e.g., *גבה* (*be haughty*), *בטח* (*confidence/boast*), *משחקי* (*mockers, merry-makers*), and *גאונה* (*majesty, pride*) and usually in construals of self-praise. *גיל* never collocates with words denoting *arrogance* or *pride*, but often with *תהלה* (*praiseworthy deeds/songs*) and *הלל* (*boast/praise*), and

almost always in reference to praising someone for their attributes or deeds. Finally, עלו is expressed by פוּשׁ (*frolic, skip*), גיל with רָעָדָה (*trembling*) and שׁוּשׁ and שִׂמְחָה with מְחוּל (*dancing*). That is, there tends to be some perceptual differences in the physical expressions of JOY, although often very slight. שׁוּשׁ, together with שִׂמְחָה, most often co-occur with festivities and the events of אָכַל וְשָׁתָה (eating and drinking).⁷³

Only a general notation of the collocations is possible in the research. The hypothesis is that the collocatives are frame-specific not lexeme-specific. Many of the collocatives can be used as metonyms, for example, SOUNDS OF REJOICING generally or specific sounds such as רִנָּן and שִׁיר or festive garments (cf. sub-paragraphs under §4.11). In the analysis of a specific linguistic expression, after determining the frame, the collocations provide guidance on the understanding of a target lexeme under investigation.

4.12 Prototypicality and the words for JOY in the research

A general conclusion to prototypicality and basic-level categorization for the domain matrix of JOY in biblical Hebrew is not yet possible. Only statements regarding the lexemes that were researched are proposed. These hypotheses are the foundation for a broader, more in-depth analysis.

A prototype is the most typical member of a category (§2.4.2.1). Using the notion of Idealized Cognitive Model (§2.4.4), a prototype will be the word that evokes the frame or frames most similar to the Idealized Cognitive Model; it is the most inclusive of all of the features associated with it. In the study of שִׂמְחָה, it is suggested that the prototypical scenario of JOY in the Hebrew Bible has some similarity to Kövecses' 5 stage EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor, but with some modification (§3.18 and §4.14.2).

The research data suggest that שִׂמְחָה is the prototype and גיל, שׁוּשׁ and עלו are kinds of שִׂמְחָה. Conzelmann (1964: 362) summarizes the relation between the various lexemes associated with JOY in the following manner: "In the OT the experience and expression of joy are close to one another. One can see this in the juxtaposition of related expressions and their transl. into Gk. The usual Hebr. equivalent is שִׂמְחָה, cf. חֵדָה and terms for the expression of joy רִנָּן, גיל, שׁוּשׁ, עלו, etc." The relationship between גיל, שׁוּשׁ and עלו is difficult to determine if the graded-centrality notion of prototype effects is used for schematizing the BH

⁷³ Caution has to be taken in making specific semantic inferences from collocations in the analysis of so-called poetry. It is possible that an author used a specific lexeme for rhetorical reasons such as meter or alliteration or parallelism and not for a narrow semantic denotation. Each specific expression requires its own detailed analysis. The lack of statistical information applied to a broad range of usages of each of the collocations is needed to achieve a clearer understanding than is possible in the research.

concept of JOY. That is, there does not seem to be much ‘atypicality’ of גיל, שוש, and עלו with שמח, as indicated in Table 4.1 in regard to paraphrasability and §4.11 regarding collocatives. Also, the differences between גיל, שוש, and עלו do not seem significant enough to place them in a vertical taxonomic hierarchy illustrated in §2.4.2.3, Table 2.1.

One reason is, perhaps, related to diachronic change and authorial frame of reference. For example, the use of שוש in Deut, Isa, Jer, Lam, Ezek and Zeph (§4.4) is different from its use in Job and the Hebrew psalter. In the latter, it is used primarily to denote rejoicing in frames of REJOICING, whereas in the former, it generally evokes the BENEFACITOR_REJOICING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame and highlights the facet of intentional, self-willed action. Wolff (1974: 153) notes, גיל does not occur in the Pentateuch or Deuteronomistic History. The research indicates that it is used sparingly in the prophets and is primarily associated with REJOICING in the temple, and almost always in parallelism with or conjoined with שמח.

Kövecses (2002: 173) makes the statement that prototypes of emotion can change over time and that there can even be several competing or co-existing prototypes at any given time in a culture. It is very possible that there occurred changes over time in how the words were related to each other and what new aspects of meaning potential enriched the concept (§2.2).

Another possible affect is that of the expert or specialist usage or frames of reference (§1.6.4). This is especially true of poetry and prophetic writings. Poetry is open to rhetorical devices such as rhyme, meter, and word-play.⁷⁴ These rhetorical devices might affect which word among several near-synonymous words is chosen in a specific linguistic expression.

Therefore, it was decided not to attempt to force a specific schema of graded-centrality or basic-level categorization on the BH words denoting JOY. The following data is presented, in addition to the data provided in §4.7 and §4.11, to provide more information on how the model can determine relationships between lexemes and to exemplify the basic relationship between the four lexemes denoting JOY in the Hebrew Bible.

⁷⁴ The term “poetry” is used with a fairly loose denotation in the study. The usage of the terms “poetry” and “parallelism” in BH studies is, in some ways, perhaps, overlaying Western conceptualization onto the BH worldview (Kugel 1981: 69). The focus of the research is on what has traditionally been labeled as “bicolon parallelism” in BH studies.

4.12.1 Verb morphology, semantics and prototypicality

The research data indicates that there is a clear difference between שמח and the other verbs denoting JOY in the usage of the *Piel*. Table 4.4 provides a simplified record of the verb morphologies in which the various lexemes occur.

Table 4.4 Verb morphology and lexemes denoting JOY in the study

	שמח	גיל	שוש	עלז
<i>Qal</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>Piel</i>	Yes	No	No	No
<i>Hiphil</i>	Yes (1)	No	No	No
<i>Niphal</i>	No	No	No	Yes (1)
<i>Hithpael</i>	No	No	No	Yes (1)

The use of *Niphal* with עלז is not significant for the argument. It is used figuratively to denote the flapping of ostrich wings in a construal foregrounding VAIN EFFORT (Job 39:13). Likewise, the *Hithpael* is used only once with עלז to activate the reciprocal force of the hedonistic love making (Prov 7:18).

Only שמח is used with *Piel* and *Hiphil*.⁷⁵ The BENEFACTIVE is brought into a STATE OF JOY through the intentional actions (process) done by the AGENT (§3.5.5). Both the [CAUSE] and the resultant [EMOTION] are denoted by construals using the *Piel*. All of the other lexemes require a prepositional phrase, subordinated clause or other explicit expression to indicate [CAUSE]. The suggestion is that שמח is associated with a broader range of aspects of meaning potential than the other lexemes and, therefore, can be used with different morphological marking to make alternative construals. The same idea is suggested by the fact that the noun, verb and adjective can be used to evoke the REJOICING frame (Table 3.1).

4.12.2 The שמח-גיל relationship

The almost exclusive use of גיל in conjunction with or in parallelism with שמח suggests that the two words have a special relationship. This is possibly a diachronic phenomenon, as the word pair first occurs in Hos 7:1, and does not occur in the Pentateuch or Deuteronomistic History, according to Wolff (1974: 153).

In §3.15, examples (89) and (90) illustrated the possible link of גיל to שמח with אָל. These phrases suggest that גיל is a more specific kind of שמח. No other lexemes denoting JOY are so linked with each other or with either גיל or שמח.

⁷⁵ חדה is not included in the discussion, but to indicate its similarity to שמח, it is noted here that it has one occurrence in the *Piel*, Ps 21:7 [6], cited as example (96).

A third prepositional phrase linking שמח and גיל is from Isa 9:2 [3]. Isaiah declares that in the New Jerusalem the people will rejoice (שמח). He then continues to make specific the kind of rejoicing that will occur in the future with the following two clauses linked with the preposition כְּאִשֵּׁר of comparison:

(141) Isa 9:2b [3b] (NIV)

In the New Jerusalem, שמח is:

like the joy at harvest time

כְּשִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִיר

like they exult when dividing spoil

כְּאִשֵּׁר יִגִּילוּ בְחֶלְקֵם שָׁלָל

The first line makes reference to the harvest festivals. The second line construes an ecstatic group of victorious soldiers dividing plunder. Rejoicing (שמח) in the New Jerusalem will be like harvest festivals and the cathartic ecstasy of victorious soldiers.

One feature of Isa 9:2b [3b] is that the noun שְׂמִינָה occurs in the first clause and the verb גיל in the second one. In Isa, there is another citation with the same pattern.

(142) Isa 29:19 (NIV)⁷⁶

וְיִסְפוּ עֲנָנִים בִּיהוָה שְׂמִינָה וְאֶבְיוֹנֵי אֶדְם בְּקִדְוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִגִּילוּ:

Once more the humble will rejoice in the LORD;

the needy will rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.

Isa 29:19 expresses a scenario in which the former joy of the poor and afflicted, which has been removed, will be restored in the New Jerusalem. The linguistic expressions cited from Isa 9:2b [3b] and 29:19 are referring to the restoration of “lost” JOY. It is hypothesized that in the two citations, the noun שְׂמִינָה evokes the frame in a holistic manner and the verb גיל evokes the same frame, but with sequential scanning, which provides a specific paraphrase of the frame evoked by the noun (§3.8).

More data concerning near-synonymous bicolon parallelism is presented in §4.12.4. The interpretation in the study of the preceding examples of a noun followed by a verb is made using Longacre’s (1983: 80) notion of “generic-specific paraphrase.” The idea is that a more specific lexical unit occurs in the second clause. Each expression requires its own analysis to make specific determination because of the possibility of skewing for rhetorical purposes.

⁷⁶ The NIV translates וְיִסְפוּ as “once more.” The alternative translation offered by KJV is to read it as *increase*, but this would mean that the EXPERIENCERS themselves were able to increase the emotion, which does not fit the conceptualization of JOY associated with all of the other linguistic expressions analyzed in the research. (cf. RSV *obtain fresh joy*; TEV *once again*; NIV *once more*; NET *again*).

4.12.3 גִּדּוּל and מְאֹד occurrences with words in the research

In §3.11.3, the conceptual metaphor JOY IS SCALAR associated with שמחה is demonstrated (Figure 3.1). In Table 4.4, the data referring to the co-occurrence of גִּדּוּל and מְאֹד with all of the lexemes that were researched are recorded.

Table 4.5 גִּדּוּל and מְאֹד occurrences with words in the research

	גִּדּוּל	מְאֹד	גִּדּוּל and מְאֹד
שמחה	N/A	1 Sam 11:15; 1 Kgs 5:21;	N/A
שמחה	1 Kgs 1:40; 1 Chr 29:9; 29:22; 30:26; Neh 8:12; Neh 12:43	N/A	Neh 8:17
שושן	N/A	N/A	N/A
ששון	N/A	N/A	N/A
משוש	N/A	N/A	N/A
גיל	N/A	Ps 21:2 [1]; Zech 9:9	N/A
גיל	N/A	N/A	N/A
גילה	N/A	N/A	N/A
עלז	N/A	N/A	N/A

The lexemes עלז and שושן do not take any modification nor are they used in prepositional phrases that suggest a scale. Only שמחה, without co-occurring with any other lexeme denoting JOY, is used in prepositional phrases that suggest a scale: שמחה עד-מְאֹד *rejoice up to muchness* (Figure 3.1). The phrase indicates that JOY, as denoted by שמחה, has a beginning point, and can increase up to a greater amount. The phrase in Isa 9:2 [3] (example (77)), הגדלת השמחה, *you have increased the joy* also gives evidence that שמחה is scalar. גיל is used only in the prepositional phrase גיל אל-גיל (Job 3:22, example (77)). The hypothesis is that the phrase construes גיל as the upper end of the scale and שמחה is the beginning point. The two occurrences of גיל with מְאֹד (Ps 21:2 [1] and Zech 9:9) indicate that JOY, as denoted by גיל, is measurable.

There also appears to be a definite pattern noticeable in the use of שמחה and גיל to express the scalar notion of JOY. שמחה alone is understood as scalar in the narratives (1 Sam, 1 Kgs, 1 Chr and Neh). Everywhere else, the scalar notion is expressed by the גיל-שמחה pair or גיל with modification.

The suggested interpretation of the data is that the two lexemes שמחה and גיל represent a scalar schema of JOY, with שמחה at the beginning point and גיל the end point (upper limit). The lexemes עלז and שושן are lexically associated with muchness and are not part of the scalar schema. The usage of שמחה in prepositional phrases denoting a scale (שמחה עד-מְאֹד) and the fact

that only שמח can be increased (הגדלת השמחה), suggests that it is the more inclusive of the features associated with JOY and can be used to create alternative construals. גל is a specific kind of שמח and is restricted in the number and kinds of alternative construals that it can generate.

4.12.4 Bicolon parallelism and the lexemes in the research

The starting assumption used for analyzing near-synonymous parallelism is van Steenberg's (2002: 130) conclusion that the lexical unit that occurs in the second colon of a bicolon parallelism is more inclusive ("highest degree of typicality"), which means that the lexical unit in the first colon is interpreted as a specific kind of word used in the second colon. The following chart records the data regarding bicolon parallelism. Only the parallelisms between verb forms are analyzed (the noun followed by a verb is mentioned in examples (141) and (142), §4.12.2). The data takes into consideration only near-synonymous parallelism in the narrowest sense, that is, the two clauses in parallel are similar grammatically and semantically. The notation N/A indicates that the parallelism does not occur.

Table 4.6 Researched words and bicolon parallelism

Colon 1	Colon 2	References
שמח	גיל	1 Chr 16:31; Ps 16:9; 21:2; 48:12; 96:11; 97:8; 149:2; Prov 23:25; 24:17; Isa 9:2 [3]
גיל	שמח	Ps 14:7; 53:7; 97:1; Prov 23:24
שמח	שוש	N/A
שוש	שמח	N/A
שמח	עלז	2 Sam 1:20; Ps 5:12; 68:4; Jer 50:11
עלז	שמח	N/A
גיל	שוש	Ps 35:9
שוש	גיל	Isa 65:19
גיל	עלז	N/A
עלז	גיל	N/A
שוש	עלז	N/A
עלז	שוש	N/A

The combinations שוש-שמח, עלז-גיל, and עלז-שוש never co-occur in bicolon parallelism. Second, in the majority of the occurrences listed in Table 4.5, it is גיל, עלז, and שוש that occur in the 2nd colon, whereas שמח occurs almost invariably in the 1st colon. The עלז-שמח combination always occurs with שמח in the 1st colon and עלז in the 2nd one, so it does not offer any problems to address.

What explanation can be provided for the occurrences when שמח is in the 2nd colon in parallelism with גיל? The linguistic expression in Prov 23:24 forms a chiasmic structure with

Prov 23:25, which places גיל in 1st position (v 24) and last position (v 25), that is, it is placed in the focus positions. The hypothesis is that rhetorical skewing to place גיל in focus position might account for the inversion of the regular order in Prov 23:24.

How are the construals of the other 3 occurrences—Ps 14:7; 53:7 and 97:1—interpreted? First, Ps 14:7 and Ps 53:7 are almost identical and, perhaps, the latter was crafted from the former for specific reasons (Hossfeld and Zenger 2005:38; Tate 1998: 40-41). Both seem to be construed as encouragement (invitation) to worship in expectation of future salvation. Ps 97:1 is construed as if the expected savior has arrived and is already reigning; therefore the congregation is invited to give praise and thanksgiving. In other words, all three citations are constructed as invitations to worship. A *possible* explanation of the occurrence of גיל in the first position is that these specific linguistic frames are *stylistic* invitations to worship. גיל is placed in first or focus position. The hypothesis is that גיל is the most prototypical JOY of REJOICING (WORSHIP) frames.

While the preceding arguments might account for the גיל-שמח relationship, what explanation can be given for the גיל-שוש relationship in Ps 35:9 and Isa 65:19? It is too difficult to discern a pattern with only two linguistic expressions. There is a possible chiasmic structure created with Isa 65:18 and 65:19. But there is a major shift in perspective and grammatical construction to comfortably do so. The verbs in Isa 65:18 form a coordinated pair—שׂוֹשׂוּ וְגִילוּ—and are imperatives given by the CREATOR-ADDRESSER to an AUDIENCE to give praise for what is about to happen. In 65:19, the verbs are in bicolon parallelism—וְגִלְתִּי... וְשָׂשׂוֹתִי—spoken by the CREATOR (subjective) expressing the CREATOR’S delight and satisfaction at what is going to be created. Even though the chiasmic structure is tenuous, it is a possible explanation of the differences of word-order of גיל-שוש. Following the hypothesis about גיל-שמח, the tentative suggestion is that if there is a specific pattern, גיל would normally be in the 2nd colon with שוש in the 1st. The data in Table 4.1 suggests that שוש is closer to שמח than to גיל in the kinds of frames and alternative construals in which it is involved.

עלז occurs in the 2nd colon of the parallelism with שמח in 2 Sam 1:20, Ps 5:12, 68:4, and Jer 50:11. Jer 50:11 is very similar to גיל in Isa 9:2b [3b], construing a scenario of ecstatic, victorious soldiers gloating and dividing booty. The collocations of צהל (*neighing*) and תפושׁוּ כַּעֲגֵלָה (*frisking about like heifers*) in Jer 50:11 construe a very perceptible and specific expression of JOY.

Ps 68:4 [3] provides the last example on relationship in near-synonymous bicolon parallelism. The poet is “pulling out all stops” when it comes to inviting people to rejoice in God’s presence.

(143) Ps 68:4 [3] (personal)

וְצַדִּיקִים יִשְׂמְחוּ גַּעְלָצוּ לְפָנַי אֱלֹהִים וְיִשְׂיִשׂוּ בְּשִׂמְחָה:

But may the righteous be glad
and celebrate before God;
may they celebrate with joyful jubilation.

The relation between the lexemes denoting JOY in the linguistic expression is, perhaps, the following: the BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING (§3.5.3) frame is evoked by שִׂמְחָה and profiles the [STATE] feature. The [EMOTION] leads to the [RESPONSE], which is a REJOICING frame evoked by the verb עָלַץ. It profiles the [EVENT] feature (§3.5.1). A proposal is that the last phrase וְיִשְׂיִשׂוּ בְּשִׂמְחָה evokes a REJOICING frame as an amplification paraphrase of the same frame evoked by עָלַץ.

The generic-specific paraphrase is mentioned in §3.8. It involves a second clause that provides specific information about the first clause or lexeme. According to Longacre (1996: 80), the amplification paraphrase provides additional information to the information given by the first clause. The REJOICING frame evoked by עָלַץ in Ps 68:4 [3] probably refers to a specific CELEBRATING_A_VICTORY frame (Tate 1998: 163). The phrase וְיִשׂוּ בְּשִׂמְחָה adds to the information about how they are celebrating: *with joyful jubilation*.

In summary, the simple analysis of the bicolon parallelism has discerned a possible pattern: in most cases, the more general term occurs in the 1st colon and the more specific in the 2nd colon. A hypothesis is provided by the idea that the 2nd colon provides a specific paraphrase of the 1st colon (except Ps 68:4 [3]). Second, the majority of the linguistic expressions analyzed occur in REJOICING frames in the Hebrew psalter. There is the possibility that גִּיל denotes a more prototypical kind of rejoicing associated with in these construals.

The data that was analyzed yields a different conclusion than that which was proposed by van Steenberg (2002). Several reasons can be suggested for the differences and so a general conclusion that one proposal rules out the other as a general rule for bicolon parallelism. There might not be such a rule. More research is required to make a decision.

4.12.5 Prepositions governing the nouns analyzed in the research

The data for all of the lexemes and the prepositions that govern them are provided in Table 4.6.

Table 4.7 Prepositions governing the nouns analyzed in the research

Lexeme for JOY	Suggested glossing	Reference
שׂמחה + ך [CIRCUMSTANCES]	<i>joyfully, with joy, merry hearted, in a festive mood</i>	Gen 31:27; Deut 28:47; 2 Sam 6:12; 1 Chr 29:17, 29:22; 2 Chr 20:27, 23:18, 30:21; Ezra 3:12, 6:22; Ps 21:7 [6], 45:16 [15], 68:4 [3], 100:2, 106:5; Eccl 9:7; Isa 55:12; Ezek 36:5; Zeph 3:17
שׂמחה + ך [LOC]	<i>in joy</i>	Prov 14:10
שׂמחה + ך marking object	<i>happiness, joy</i>	Eccl 2:1; Isa 66:5
שׂמחה + ך [INSTRUMENT]	<i>with happiness, with joy</i>	Eccl 5:19 [20]
שׂמחה comparison	<i>as/like the happiness</i>	Ezek 35:15
שׂמחה + ך	<i>for joy</i>	1 Chr 15:16; 2 Chr 29:30
גיל + ך [CIRCUMSTANCES]	<i>excited, with rejoicing</i>	Ps 45:16
שׂמחה + ך [CIRCUMSTANCES]	<i>with rejoicing</i>	Ps 105:43; Isa 12:3

The lexemes *עליצות* and *משׂמחה* have no occurrences in which they are governed by a preposition. *גיל* has only one occurrence, which is in the unique prepositional phrase *בְּשִׂמְחָתָּ וְגִיל* in Ps 45:16 (example (87), §3.14). *שׂמחה* occurs only twice with *בְּ* [CIRCUMSTANCES] (Ps 105:43 and Isa 12:3). Its usage is similar to the most prevalent use of *שׂמחה* with *בְּ* [CIRCUMSTANCES].

שׂמחה is used with different prepositions and in many different contexts. Primarily, it occurs with *בְּ* [CIRCUMSTANCES], indicating the STATE OF EMOTION in which something is done. It occurs 2 times with *בְּ* marking it as a direct object (Prov 14:10 and Eccl 2:1) and 1 time with *בְּ* [instrument] (Eccl 5:19 [20]). The prepositional phrase *בְּשִׂמְחָתָּ כָּל־לֵבְבְּ בְּשִׂמְחָתָּ נִכְפָּשׁ* with sheer glee and utter contempt, in Ezek 36:5, activates the feature of [VOLITION] to do something. *שׂמחה* is also used with the *בְּ* of comparison *בְּשִׂמְחָתָּךְ* (Ezek 35:15). *שׂמחה* occurs with *לְ* in 1 Chr 15:16 to indicate, perhaps, movement toward an upper limit on a scale (§3.16). In 2 Chr 29:30 and Judg 16:23 the *לְ* signifies [PURPOSE].

The analysis of the data regarding the prepositions that govern *שׂמחה* suggests that it accesses the largest number of features of JOY and can therefore be selected to activate and profile different features in various construals. *שׂמחה*, it appears, would be the prototypical expression for JOY.

4.12.6 Summary regarding prototypicality and basic-level categorization of the lexemes investigated in the study

In §2.4.2.2, it is stated that one of the aims of the study is to determine a possible basic-level categorization for JOY based on an analysis of the words listed in Set 1, §1.3. In §4.14, it is noted that the task presented too many variables and that a traditional horizontal view of basic-level categorization (Table 2.1) cannot be forced onto the lexemes studied in the research. The data suggests that it is probably better to make a more in-depth diachronic study of each lexeme and study how each is used in the various books, than to attempt an overall schematization for the entire Hebrew Bible (§5.3.3).

Even though the data recorded in Table 4.1 and analyzed in the sub-paragraphs §4.11-§4.12.5 are not clear enough to provide a decisive schema of prototypicality or basic-level categorization, they do yield some patterns of relationships between the various lexemes to make a few general conclusions. The general conclusion is that שמח is the more inclusive, typical word of the lexemes from Set 1. The other lexemes denote specific kinds of שמח. The following list provides the general features of each of the lexemes.

שמח:

- It evokes the largest number of frames and alternative construals.
- The linguistic expressions in which it occurs profile the [STATE] and [EVENT] features almost evenly.
- The various word forms—verb, noun, and adjective—can be used to evoke various alternative construals.
- The verb can be used in various morphological forms to create alternative construals.
- The noun can be governed by different prepositions in order to activate different aspects of meaning potential in linguistic expressions.
- The pattern of שמח to occur in the 1st colon of near-synonymous bicolon parallelism suggests that it is the more typical or inclusive word in relation to the word that occurs in the 2nd colon. The word in the 2nd colon is a specific kind of שמח.
- In prepositional phrases denoting the scalar feature of JOY, שמח appears to be the starting point of the scale and גיל the end point. שמח can be used with modifications of גִּדּוּל and מְאֹד to denote the scalar feature of JOY.
- It is used in a large number of various antonymous relations.

שוש:

- שוש profiles the [STATE] and [EVENT] features relatively evenly, but does so, to a high degree, in co-occurrences with שמח.
- שוש (and משוש) is used to evoke the BENEFACTOR_DELIGHTING_OVER_BENEFACTIVE frame, which does not seem to be evoked by any other lexeme in Set 1.
- The verb שוש and the nouns ששון and משוש evoke a large number of frames, but always paired with שמח or שמחה or other lexemes from Set 1 or Set 2.
- It has a restricted range of books in which it occurs.
- It does not take any modifications.
- The verb does not occur except as *Qal*.
- It has only two occurrences with בְּ [CIRCUMSTANCES] and does not occur with any other preposition.
- It is rarely used in antonymous relations.

גיל:

- גיל is used primarily to profile the [EVENT] feature. It can profile [STATE], but rare.
- It is used primarily in rejoicing frame and almost invariable co-occurring with שמח or שמחה or other lexemes from Set 1 or Set 2.
- The verb only occurs as *Qal*.
- It is often used to denote the upper end of the scale of JOY and has only occurrences with מאד.
- It has only one occurrence with בְּ [CIRCUMSTANCES] and does not occur with any other preposition, except in the linguistic expressions of the scalar feature.
- The noun is used only to evoke the REJOICING frame.

עלז:

- עלז is used almost exclusively to profile [EVENT]. The linguistic expressions in which it profiles [STATE] are very rare.
- The verb normally occurs in *Qal*, with 1 occurrence of the *Nifal* and 1 of the *Hitpael*.
- The noun has only one occurrence and is not governed by a preposition.
- It often occurs in frames and with collocations that are associated with military concepts and arrogance.

- The adjective is used only in Isa and Zeph and invariably to denote negative judgements on festivities made in cities that are being punished or that have been punished because of their attitude of arrogant self-reliance.

ההה:

- It is used to profile the [state] feature. There are not enough examples of its usage to make any general conclusions.

Each of the lexemes has paraphrasability (interchangeability) in the prototypical scenario of JOY (i.e. REJOICING).

Section 3

4.13 Introductory remarks regarding figurative language

The planned study is not complete until the figurative expressions of JOY are noted. In §2.8.4, it is stated that people often communicate emotions before they actually recognize them cognitively. Fauconnier and Turner (2003: 75) mention how survival depends on recognizing non-verbal clues that indicate ensuing behavior; reading the facial clues of emotion prepare the person to react to the behavioral response that is generated by that emotion. The communication of emotion is a large part of every communication act. One hypothesis of the study is that the translation of a text includes a translation of the emotion, where discernible, and that emotion is communicated not just by specific words but by figurative language, non-verbal and symbolic communication.

4.13.1 Symbolic communication

One example of symbolic communication associated with JOY in the Hebrew Bible is the *oil of gladness* שֶׁמֶן שִׂשׁוֹן (Ps 45:8 [7] and Isa 61:3) used in anointing for the royal task and for celebration (Craigie 2004: 339). Oil is put on the face to symbolize blessings (Ps 104:15). Examples are given in §4.3.2.4.

4.13.2 Non-verbal communication of JOY

JOY in BH is communicated non-verbally through the eyes and face, and often a reference to *light* is made. In the following example (144), the “cheerful face” (literally *good face*) is not described in detail, but the remaining example references refer to the shiny or radiant appearance of a joyful face, and so it is included as implying a radiant face. The lexemes that are used to denote a cheerful countenance or the radiance of a happy face are טוב, נהר, אור and בלג.

JOY IS A RADIANT FACE

(144) Prov 15:13 יֵיטֵב פְּנִים (NIV)

לֵב שִׂמֵחַ יֵיטֵב פְּנִים וּבְעֵצָבֹת לֵב רֵוֵחַ נִכְאָה:

A happy heart makes the face cheerful,
but heartache crushes the spirit.

(145) Isa 60:5 נהר (NIV)

אז תראי ונהרת ופתד ורחב לבבך כיהנהפך עליך המון לם תיל גוים יבאו לך:

Then you will look and be radiant,
 your heart will throb and swell with joy;
 the wealth on the seas will be brought to you,
 to you the riches of the nations will come.

(146) Job 29:24 אור פני (NIV)

אשתק אלהם לא יאמינו ואור פני לא יפילון:

When I smiled at them, they scarcely believed it;
 the light of my face was precious to them.

Suggested glosses: radiant, cheerful

References: Job 29:24; Ps 34:6; 104:15; Prov 15:13; Eccl 8:1; Isa 60:1, 5; Jer 31:12

The lexeme בלג is placed in this sub-heading of JOY IS A RADIANT FACE. It is listed in Set 2 of the words investigated (§1.3). BDB (1907: 114) glosses the verb as *gleam* or *shine* and the noun (feminine) מְבִלְגִית as *smiling, cheerfulness, and source of brightening* (cf. HALOT 1999: 132; GHCLLOT 2003: 121; TWOT 1999: 110). Grisanti (1997: 660) notes that בלג is usually part of a phrase, *x...so that I might be y*. Following Grisanti's suggested formula, the target phrase in Job 9:27, example (147), can be written as the following:

X does z so that A might be y
 self forgets complaint so that face might be shiny.

The linguistic phrases in which בלג occurs express the conceptual metaphor of a sudden change in emotion from sad to cheerful, just as the embers of a fire suddenly flare up or the dawn light suddenly break the darkness of night. בלג, it is suggested, is used figuratively (non-verbal communication) to communicate the cheerfulness (relief from anxiety) one experiences when relieved of some kind of negative experience.

FRAME: MAKING_THE_FACE_RADIANT⁷⁷

(147) Job 9:27 (NIV)

אם-אמרי אשכחה שיחי אעזבה פני ואבליגה:

If I say, 'I will forget my complaint,
 I will change my expression, and smile,'⁷⁸

⁷⁷ This could be recorded in the frame MAKING_SOMEBODY_JOYFUL, but because of the figurative reference, it is listed separately as part of the non-verbal communication of JOY.

⁷⁸ The NIV uses "smile," but there is little evidence in BH for "smile" as an expression of JOY. The more common expression, especially for בלג, is "radiant face."

(148) Job 10:20 (NIV)

Job הֲלֹא־מְעַט יָמַי יִחַדָּל יְשִׁית מִמֶּנִּי וְאַבְלִיגָה מִעֵט:

Are not my few days almost over?

Turn away from me so I can have a moment's joy.

(149) Ps 39:14 [13]

הֲשִׁיעַ מִמֶּנִּי וְאַבְלִיגָה בְּטָרִם אֵלַי וְאֵינֶנִּי:

Look away from me, that I may rejoice again
before I depart and am no more.”

Frame name: MAKING_THE_FACE_RADIANT

Target: בָּלַג *Hiphil cohortative*

Suggested glosses: *make the face radiant, look cheerful, rejoice, be happy, (idiomatic: put on a happy face)*

Participant: 1. AGENT, 2. UNDERGOER and 3. CAUSER OF DURESS

Perspective: subjective

In this frame, an individual is under duress from something or someone who is more powerful; the individual under duress cannot change the situation. However, if the CAUSER OF DURESS removes the negative situation, then the individual will be or at least appear to be cheerful by making (acting as AGENT) the face (UNDERGOER) to be radiant.

References: Job 9:27; 10:20; Ps 39:14 [13]

The Trg translate בָּלַג as נוּחַ (*comfort, rest*) in Job 9:27 and 10:20, indicating some kind of quieting of an agitated spirit, which is similar to the English *to make cheerful, to console* or *to comfort* (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary 2007: 390).

All three of the uncontested occurrences of the verb occur in complaint contexts in which a human is complaining to God about punishment. Job 10:20 and Ps 39:14 [13] are embedded in a plea for relief from divine discipline so that the few days of life might be cheerful. In Job 9:27, the verb occurs in a conditional clause. The result clause is expressed in Job 9:28: even if he stops complaining and puts on a happy face, that is, “brighten the face” (Clines 1998: 241), he will still feel dread because he knows that God already holds him guilty. The cheerful appearance would only mask the inner dread.

There is one occurrence of the verb בָּלַג which has been considered in need of emendation.

(150) Amos 5:9 (NIV)

הַמְבַלְיֵג שֵׁד עַל-עֵז וְשֵׁד עַל-מִבְצָר יָבוֹא:

He flashes destruction on the stronghold
and brings the fortified city to ruin.

Paul and Cross (1991: 157, 169) do not translate the phrase and mention that the Hebrew is obscure and conclude, after an in-depth discussion, that “A completely satisfactory solution has yet to be found.” Wolff (1977: 228) follows the LXX and translates בגל as “appoints”. He notes that otherwise בגל would have to be interpreted in this context as “he who makes to shine forth”, which is how the RSV, NET and NIV translate it.

The frame construal denotes the swift destruction of the city in which the people have sought security (Stuart 2002: 348; Wolff 1977: 241). Perhaps the image of God’s intervening judgement as the sudden flash of lightning can be considered. However, following Paul and Cross, it is perhaps best to leave the phrase as ambiguous and follow the more traditional translation of RSV, NET and NIV as “flashes,” taking the default construal of *to cause to flash* or *shine* (cf. BDB 1907: 114, HALOT 1999: 132). Wolff’s suggestion to follow the LXX as an alternative is noted.

There is one occurrence of the noun מְבַלְיֵגָה that has proven troublesome to translate.

(151) Jer 8:18 (translation from Holladay 1986: 287-288)

מְבַלְיֵגִיתִי עָלַי יָגוֹן עָלַי לִבִּי דָוָי:

To think my pleasures have flown,
torment is upon me,
my heart is sick.

BDB (1907: 114) suggests that it is a dubious text. With the same notion as BDB, Craigie (1998: 137) suggests that the MT is “untranslatable” in this text. Other manuscripts have two words—מבלי גית *without healing* (from the root גהה)—instead of מבליגיתי. The LXX translation supports the מבלי גית and translates as “incurable.” This is the translation followed by Craigie. The Trg does not offer any guidance.

Holladay (1986: 292-93) takes a different approach and writes:

...there is a nice contrast between the first and second cola: Jrm’s joys have gone up and away, while grief has come down upon him, yet the two directions are both expressed by the consonantal sequence על (for a similar ironic contrast between “up” and “down” see 14:2*, and for the ironic contrast using the same words עלה “go up” and על “upon” see Isa 14:8*, 13*, 14*).

The reconstructed noun “my pleasures” (מְבַלְיֵגוֹתִי) would be related to the root בלג “smile”; its verb “have flown,” here assumed to be an infinitive absolute עלו, literally means “go up”; it is similarly used of the disappearance of dew in Exod 16:14*.

The phrase is awkward, perhaps, but there is no explicit textual problem and so no apparent motivation to make the emendation suggested by Craigie. Holladay's translation is accepted. However, Craigie's alternative is noted.

4.13.3. Conceptual metaphors of JOY recorded in the research

Some conceptual metaphors of JOY have been mentioned in §3.11. There are other conceptual metaphors that have not been mentioned.

JOY IS UP (UPRIGHT POSTURE)

(152) Isa 60:1 (NIV)

קוּמִי אֲוִרִי כִּי בָא אֹרֶךְ וּכְבוֹד יְהוָה עָלֶיךָ זָרַח:

“Arise, shine, for your light has come,
and the glory of the LORD rises upon you.

The expression קוּמִי *arise* indicates a movement from a down location to an up location. People who are in SORROW or DESPAIR are usually DOWN, which, in BH, is often expressed as sitting or lying in ashes (e.g., Isa 58:5; Jer 6:26). Secondly, being covered in ashes is, perhaps, perceptible as having facial features dulled. The expression קוּמִי אֲוִרִי *Arise! Shine!* in Isa 60:1 implies the conceptual metaphors DESPAIR IS DOWN, JOY IS UP. The imperative קוּמִי אֲוִרִי shine evokes a MAKING_THE_FACE_RADIANT frame in the specific linguistic expression.

JOY IS LIGHT (IN WEIGHT) contrasted with ANXIETY IS A HEAVY WEIGHT (The weight pulls the person down.)

(153) Prov 12:25 (NIV)

דְּאָגָה בְּלֵב-אִישׁ יִשְׁקָנָה וְדָבָר טוֹב יִשְׂמְחֶנָּה:

An anxious heart weighs a man down,
but a kind word cheers him up.

The metaphor JOY IS LIGHT (IN WEIGHT) is implied in the contrast between דְּאָגָה *anxiety* as a weight and the good word that שְׂמָחָה *cheers him* (lifts him up, takes the weight off).

JOY IS SPRINGTIME/JOY IS RENEWAL

These linguistic expressions are usually personifications in which nature (the desert) takes on new life in springtime. The dressing in festive garments is used as the source domain for the dry desert becoming dressed in green grass or flowers or other objects of new life and prosperity that are a source of JOY. The verb פָּרַח (*burst/sprout/blossom*) in Isa 35:1-2 activates the [ALACRITY] feature of meaning potential in the expression.

(154) Isa 35:1-2 (NIV)

¹ישועים מדבר וצגה ותגל ערבה ותפרח פחבצלת:
²פרח תפרח ותגל אף גילת ורנן כבוד הלבונו נתמלה הגר הפרמל והשרון הנמה יראו
 כבוד יהנה הגר אלהינו:

¹The desert and the parched land will be glad;
 the wilderness will rejoice and blossom.
 Like the crocus, ²it will burst into bloom;
 it will rejoice greatly and shout for joy.
 The glory of Lebanon will be given to it,
 the splendor of Carmel and Sharon;
 they will see the glory of the LORD,
 the splendor of our God.

(155) Ps 65:13-14 [12-13] (NIV)

¹³ירעפו נאות מדבר וגיל גבעות תהגרנה:
¹⁴לבושו כרים והצאן ועמקים יעטפו-בר' תרועעו אף-ישירו:

¹²The grasslands of the desert overflow;
 the hills are clothed with gladness.
¹³The meadows are covered with flocks
 and the valleys are mantled with grain;
 they shout for joy and sing.

4.13.4 Conceptual metonymy: the uses of רנן.vb and the רננה.nf and רנה.nf

Conceptual metonymies are introduced in §3.12. One that is specifically discussed in the following examples is רנן *shout*. BH-ENG lexicons sometimes define רנן and its derivatives as *rejoice* (Flicker 1997: 1243). Although Flicker's entry provides *to rejoice* as the gloss for רנן, he states that it refers to some kind of "loud expression" (1997: 1243). The following are just a few examples indicating the varying frame meanings (contextualized meaning) of רנן. Because it is sometimes difficult to determine the difference between hymn and poetry in BH, in frames in which it expresses JOY, PRAISE or THANKSGIVING, it is often glossed as either *shout for joy*, *shout praise* or *sing praise* or *sing for joy*.⁷⁹

4.13.4.1 The verb רנן

רנן EXPRESSING AWE OR FEAR

(156) Lev 9:24 (NIV)

ותצא אש מלפני יהוה ותאכל על- המזבח את-העלה ואת-החמלקים
 וירא כל- העם וירננו ויפלו על-פניהם:

And there came a fire out from before the LORD, and consumed upon the altar the burnt offering and the fat: [which] when all the people saw, they shouted, and fell on their faces.

⁷⁹ Cf. n. 68.

רנן EXPRESSION OF JOY, PRAISE, THANKSGIVING

(157) Deut 32:43 (NIV)⁸⁰

הֲרַנְנִי גוֹיִם עִמּוֹ כִּי דַם-עַבְדְּךָ יִקָּוֶם וְנִקְמָה יִשְׁיַיֵּב לְצַרְיָי וְכַפֵּר אֶדְמָתוֹ עִמּוֹ:

Rejoice, O nations, with his people,
for he will avenge his servant's blood;
he takes vengeance on his enemies
and makes atonement for his land and his people.

References: Deut 32:43; 1 Chr 16:33; Job 29:13, 38:7; Ps 5:12; 20:6; 32:11; 33:1; 35:27; 51:16 [14]; 59:17; 63:8; 65:9; 67:5 [4]; 71:23; 81:2; 84:3 [2]; 89:3; 90:14; 92:5 [4]; 95:1; 96:12; 98:4; 98:8; 132:9, 16; 145:7; 149:5; Prov 29:6; Isa 12:6; 16:10; 24:14; 26:19; 35:2, 6; 42:11; 44:23; 49:13; 42:8, 9; 54:1; 61:7; 65:14; Jer 31:7, 12; 51:48; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14

רנן USED TO DENOTE PROCLAIMING, CALLING OUT

(158) Prov 1:20 (NIV)

חֲכָמוֹת בַּחוּץ תִּרְצֶנָה כְּרַחֲבוֹת תִּתֵּן קוֹלָהּ:

Wisdom calls aloud in the street,
she raises her voice in the public squares;

References: Prov 1:20; 8:3

רנן CRY OF LAMENTATION, SORROW

(159) Lam 2:19 (NIV)

קוּמִי רַנִּי בְלִילֵי-לְרֹאשׁ אֲשֶׁמְרוֹת שִׁפְכִי כַמַּיִם לַלַּיִל נִכַח פְּנֵי אֲדֹנָי שְׂאֵי אֲלֵי כַפְיָהּ עַל-נֶפֶשׁ עוֹלְלֵיָהּ הַעֲטוּפִים בְּרָעַב בְּרֹאשׁ פְּלִחוּצוֹת:

Arise, cry out in the night,
as the watches of the night begin;
pour out your heart like water
in the presence of the Lord.
Lift up your hands to him
for the lives of your children,
who faint from hunger
at the head of every street.

4.13.4.2 The nouns רַנְנָה and רִנָּה

רַנְנָה SHOUT/CRY OF JOY, SHOUT OF HAPPINESS, SHOUT OF GLADNESS

(160) Job 3:7 (Hartley 1988: 90)

הִנֵּה הַלְלִילָה הִיא יְהִי גִלְמוּד אֶל-תִּבְא רַנְנָה בּוֹ:

Behold, that night—let it be sterile!
Let no joyful shout enter it.

References: Job 3:7; 20:5; Ps 63:6; 100:2

⁸⁰ The NIV has translated רנן as “rejoice.” From the perspective of the research, it is possible to do so if the interpretation is that רנן is used metonymically in the construal.

רָנָה CRY OF ENTREATY, LAMENT, SUPPLICATION, PLEA, PRAYER

(161) 1 Kgs 8:28 (NIV)

וּפְנִיָּתְךָ אֶל־תְּפִלַּת עַבְדְּךָ וְאֶל־תְּחִנָּתוֹ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי לְשֹׁמֵעַ אֶל־הַרְנָה וְאֶל־הַתְּפִלָּה אֲשֶׁר עַבְדְּךָ מִתְּפַלֵּל לְפָנֶיךָ הַיּוֹם:

Yet give attention to your servant's prayer and his plea for mercy, O LORD my God. Hear the cry and the prayer that your servant is praying in your presence this day.

References: 1 Kgs 8:28; 2 Chr 6:19; Ps 17:1; 61:2; 88:3; 106:44; 119:169; 142:7 [6]; Jer 7:16; 11:14; 14:12

רָנָה CRY OF ALARM, OF WARNING

(162) 1 Kgs 22:36 (NIV)

וַיַּעֲבֹר הַרְנָה בְּמַחֲנֵה כָּכָא הַשָּׁמֶשׁ לְאֹמֵר אִישׁ אֶל־עִירוֹ וְאִישׁ אֶל־אֶרְצוֹ:

As the sun was setting, a cry spread through the army: "Every man to his town; everyone to his land!"

רָנָה SHOUT/SING OF JOY, SHOUT OF HAPPINESS, SHOUT OF GLADNESS

(163) 2 Chr 20:22 (NIV)

וּבְעֵת הַחֲלוֹ בָרָנָה וַתִּהְיֶה נִתְּנוּ יְהוָה וּמְאַרְבִּים עַל־בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן מִזֶּאֱב וְהַר־שְׂעִיר הַבָּאִים לִיהוּדָה וַיִּגָּפוּ:

As they began to sing and praise, the LORD set ambushes against the men of Ammon and Moab and Mount Seir who were invading Judah, and they were defeated.

References: 2 Chr 20:22; Ps 30:6; 42:5; 47:2 [1]; 105:43; 107:22; 118:15; 126:5, 6; Prov 11:10; Isa 14:7; 35:10; 44:23; 48:20; 49:13; 51:11; 54:1; 55:12; Zeph 3:17

רָנָה BOASTING

(164) Isa 43:14 (NIV)

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה גֹּאֲלֵכֶם קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְמַעַנְכֶם שְׁלַחְתִּי בְכֹלָה וְהוֹרְדְתִי בְּרִיחִים כְּלֵם וְכַשְׂדִּים בְּאֲנִיּוֹת רִנָּתָם:

This is what the LORD says—

your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel:

“For your sake I will send to Babylon

and bring down as fugitives all the Babylonians,

in the ships in which they took pride.

Both the verb and the nouns occur in a wide variety of frames to denote a specific kind of verbal expression appropriate to the frame. Although the most common expression denoted by either the verb or nouns is related to emotions, it is not exclusively associated with emotions, as exhibited by רָנָה used to denote *proclaiming* or *calling out*, as in example (158).

When רָנָה or one of its derivatives is used in frames to denote the expression of emotion, it can be used as a metonym and evoke a frame. An illustration is its usage in Deut 32:43, example (157), where it can be translated as rejoicing and evokes a REJOICING frame. The hypothesis stated in §2.8.2 is that THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION.

An entry of רגן or any of its derivatives in a lexicon can provide a default designation following Flicker's (1997: 1243) statement that it denotes some kind of loud expression. Then separate entries similar to the ones listed above can be made with appropriate translation glosses for each "kind" of expression.

4.13.5 Idiom: לֵב טוֹב denoting a MERRY HEART

In §3.7.3, the idiom לֵב טוֹב / שְׂמֵחַ וְטוֹב לֵב is described as an idiom that normally occurs at the end of a discourse episode with the meaning of something like *happy and content* or *happy and satisfied* or *joyful and glad in heart* indicating the satisfactory ending of an event. The phrase לֵב טוֹב is also used to denote a MERRY HEART in other frames. It is usually associated with drinking wine and can possibly be taken to be idiomatic for INTOXICATED, but not necessarily intoxication to the point of being in a stupor or loss of reason and decorum.

(165) Ruth 3:7 (NIV)

וַיֵּאכַל בַּעַז וַיִּשְׂתֶּה וַיֵּיטֵב לְבָבוֹ וַיָּבֵא לְשָׁכְבַּי בְּקֶצֶה הָעֶרְמָה וַתֵּבֵא בִלְטָה וַתִּגַּל מְרִגְלָתָיו וַתִּשְׁכַּב:

When Boaz had finished eating and drinking and was in good spirits, he went over to lie down at the far end of the grain pile. Ruth approached quietly, uncovered his feet and lay down.

(166) Esth 1:10 (RSV)

בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי קָטוֹב לִב־הַמֶּלֶךְ בִּגְנוֹ אֲמַר לְמַהוּמָן בִּזְתָּה חַרְבוֹנָא בַּגְתָּא וַאֲבַגְתָּא זֶתָר וְכַרְכָּס שְׁבַעַת הַסְּרִיסִים הַמְשָׁרְתִים אֶת־פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ אַחַשְׁוֶרֶשׁ:

On the seventh day, when the heart of the king was merry with wine, he commanded Mehuman, Biztha, Harbona, Bigtha and Abagtha, Zethar and Carkas, the seven eunuchs who served King Ahasuerus as chamberlains.

References: Ruth 3:7; Esth 1:10; Prov 15:15; Eccl 9:7

Section 4

4.14 The conceptualization and lexicalization of JOY in the Hebrew Bible: conclusions regarding lexemes studied in the research

The following two sub-paragraphs aim at bringing together the data that was analyzed into a comprehensive, but brief presentation. What was learned about the lexemes that were investigated, individually and in relationship with each other? What do they reveal about how JOY is conceptualized and understood in the texts of the Hebrew Bible? Second, is to make a few suggestions as to what is the important information to be included in a bilingual BH-ENG lexicon designed specifically for translators.

4.14.1 A conceptualization of JOY in biblical Hebrew

The construal analysis of the data presented in §3.9 through §3.17 and chapter 4 provide clues that help in making a *hypothesis* of the cognitive understanding of JOY in the Hebrew Bible as symbolized by the lexemes that were investigated. The conclusions are the following:

1. JOY in BH is conceptualized as a [STATE] and an [EVENT] (§3.10.1).
2. JOY in BH is conceptualized as a movement from one [STATE] to another [STATE] (§3.10.1). The research suggests that the movement is from a STATE OF DESIRE to a STATE OF SATISFACTION (OF DESIRE). The desire is normally an internal desire.
3. JOY in BH, as denoted by the lexemes that were studied, tends to be conceptualized as an [ACTION] which is controlled by the ego. The emotion leads to a [RESPONSE] which the ego does intentionally and volitionally (§3.10.2 and §4.10.2).
4. There is evidence that the emotion of JOY is also understood as a FORCE that can overwhelm the ego and lead to irrational desire that is construed as an insatiable hunger. These construals are consistent with a cognitive understanding of emotion as [PASSION] (§3.10.2 and §4.10.2).

Therefore, the data indicates that the lexemes שמח, (חדה), שוש, גיל, and עלז are associated with a concept of JOY that is cognitively understood as [STATE], [EVENT], [ACTION], and [PASSION].

4.14.2 A prototypical scenario of JOY in biblical Hebrew

The prototypical scenario of JOY in biblical Hebrew is similar to the 5-stage model suggested by Kövecses (2000) and van Wolde (2008) (§2.8.8.1). A presupposition is added to

the model for JOY. The suggestion is made in order to include some conclusions drawn from the data analyzed in the investigation.

Presupposition:

An individual or community experiences a need to do something or to receive something that they desire (e.g., food, child, or freedom). They intentionally engage in actions (including prayer) that will result in (or which they hope will result in) the satisfaction of the desire.

Stage 1: Satisfying moment [CAUSE OF EMOTION]

The desire is satisfied as a result of the actions done by the individual or community or which are done by another on behalf of or in regard to the individual or community. The satisfaction-of-desire is the onset of JOY and signifies a movement from a STATE OF DESIRE to a STATE OF SATISFACTION.

Stage 2: JOY [EMOTION]

At inception, the EXPERIENCER notices a subjective, internal sensation, perhaps in the heart, liver or kidneys. The internal experience might lead to an outward expression of the emotion (e.g., physical trembling or shouting). Those who see a joyful person might say that their face shines or their eyes sparkle. The outward, perceptible manifestation of joy often leads the observer to become joyful.

Stage 3: [CONTROL]

There are no specific linguistic expressions that explicitly indicate an attempt to control the emotion. (Michal's statement to David in 2 Sam 6:20 and Isaiah's response to Hezekiah in Isa 39:3f imply that the emotion is controllable, but David and Hezekiah have not done so.) The *hypothesis* is that in construals in which the [ACTION] feature is profiled, the ego is normally in control (§3.10.2). When it is construed as a [PASSION], the FORCE is so great that it overwhelms the ego. That is, at its inception, there is the possibility of the control, but, for one reason or another, the ego either does not attempt to control it or the FORCE becomes so strong that the ego loses control.

Stage 4: [LOSS OF CONTROL]

There are no specific linguistic expressions that communicate the idea of the loss of control. The emotion normally leads the individual or community to volitional and intentional action. However, as mentioned in Stage 3, the FORCE can become strong enough to overcome any control the ego has on it.

Stage 5: [BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE]

The emotion of JOY tends to lead to an event in which praise and gratitude are given to or for the [CAUSE] of JOY. It can also lead to actions such as welcoming a guest into a home, contributing finances to benefit someone or building the temple. These actions are time-bound and come to the end. The ego returns to a state of “equilibrium.”

However, as a [PASSION], it leads to actions that might be considered irrational or evil. These (evil) actions are comparable to insatiable hunger that becomes habitual and does not seem to have a specific ending; the emotion controls the individual (e.g., Hab 3:14).

Kotzé (2004: 256) concludes that the data he analyzed for ANGER in BH is also consistent with the 5-stage model. Kruger (1996: 86) also finds similar conclusions in his study of SHAME in Jer 2:36-37. Although there are some differences of interpretation of the data among the scholars and the study of JOY, there is enough consistency in the findings to give credibility to Kovecses’ model as a valuable tool in investigating BH language of emotion.

4.14.3 Some core features of the lexemes researched

The construals of linguistic expressions in which the investigated lexemes occur indicate that they can profile the [CAUSE OF JOY], the [EMOTION OF JOY] or the [BEHAVIORAL RESPONSE OF JOY], or any combination of two or all three as noted in the 5-stage model (cf. and §2.8.8.2). The facets or aspects of meaning potential of JOY that can be activated are the following:

1. [VOLITION]
2. [INTENT] / [DESIRE]
3. [ALACRITY]
4. [SATISFACTION]

4.14.4 Some figurative language of JOY in the Hebrew Bible

Some of the conceptual metaphors other than the EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor and JOY IS A STATE metaphor that are associated with the investigated linguistic expressions are the following:

1. JOY IS A SHINING LIGHT (THAT CAN BE EXTINGUISHED).
2. JOY IS SCALAR.
3. JOY IS AN OBJECT.
4. JOY IS LIGHT (IN WEIGHT).
5. JOY IS UP (UPRIGHT POSTURE)
6. JOY IS SPRINGTIME/JOY IS RENEWAL

The most noticeable non-verbal means of communicating JOY are radiant faces and bodily movements—dancing, skipping, leaping and trembling. Joyful people often sing, play music or shout to express their JOY.

The most common conceptual metonymies are summarized in the statement, THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSE OF AN EMOTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION. They occur usually as SOUNDS OF REJOICING (generally or specific sounds of shouting or musical instruments), FESTIVE GARMENTS, and RADIANT FACE.

4.15 Lexicalization and frames

The focus of the research is on the problem of determining the meaning of a lexeme in a specific linguistic expression made in a particular situation. A corollary to the stated problem is that many Bible translators access lexica in order to understand the meaning of a word, but find that many of the currently used bilingual BH-ENG dictionaries do not have the appropriate information specifically needed by translators (§1.0). Therefore, there is a need to determine what information is appropriate for entering into a lexicon designed specifically for Bible translators.

There is one lexicon, *The Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (=SDBH) (2013),⁸¹ that is being developed and which aims at remedying the problem. It is a works in progress. It is mentioned in this sub-paragraph as one possible model that is in line with the basic ideas of the research and which uses frames. Wilt and Wendland (2008: 217-228) have a simple introduction for translators on how to use the SDBH and developing frames.

In preparation for the development of SDBH, De Blois (2000) explored different approaches to lexicography. His conclusion was to follow a frame methodology. He (2000: 8, italics in the original) writes:

⁸¹ *The Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew* (2013) is a project of the United Bible Societies, De Blois, R. editor and Mueller, E. assistant editor. It is available at <http://www.sdbh.org>.

The strength of the frame theory lies both in its *perspective* and its *systematic approach*. As far as *perspective* is concerned, the frame theory respects the world view behind a given language, no matter how culturally distant it may be to a modern language like English. Different frame types can be defined to reflect the intuitions of the native speaker. As far as its *systematic approach* is concerned, the frame theory enables the lexicographer to describe related concepts in a uniform way, taking into consideration all relevant semantic aspects or attributes of each concept. As a result of this one can easily keep track of different nuances in the meaning of words belonging to one single semantic field.

The SDBH is the kind of lexicon envisioned in the research as a model for BH-ENG lexicons specifically designed for translators. Its entries include the actual usage of words and frames in their specific context as the original language community used the lexemes and is sensitive to cultural variations.

Tarp (2000: 194) writes that “when you consider dictionaries as utility products made with the purpose of satisfying certain human needs, then two concepts are essential for lexicography as an independent science: the *user* and his/her *needs*.” Tarp (2000) provides a list of questions that the lexicographer might follow-up on in order to determine who the user is of a specific lexicon and what the user’s possible needs might be in accessing the lexicon. The specific questions are important for the lexicographer, but go beyond the scope of the research. However, the study has taken into consideration the general notions of user and user needs, as does the SDBH.

The question remains though, of all of the information gleaned from the data in the lexical study, what criteria are used to determine what is the appropriate information to enter into the lexicon? The information that was recorded during the investigation is enormous and, to use the proverbial “tip of the iceberg” expression, it does not represent all of the information that is possible to take from a lexical study. The criteria suggested in the investigation are few and simple.

First, the study recognizes the importance of diachronic information for lexical semantics. If word meaning potential is enriched with each usage, it is important to know the history of the word, its usages and how the meaning potential has developed over the course of history. Although the translator is concerned with the synchronic, in context usage of a word or expression, it might be helpful for him or her to see the relationship between the polysemous senses of an expression or word. The diachronic information might also aid in seeing how a word has shifted from a concrete sense to one that is less concrete, as exhibited, perhaps, by שמח shifting from a possible meaning of *to shine* to a sense of *to rejoice* (§3.5.6).

When diachronic data have been verified and described in a concise manner, they can be considered for entry in a lexicon.

Etymology is also very important in lexical studies and goes hand-in-hand with diachronic studies. Some etymological information that is clear and verifiable can be included in lexicons where it provides background information for a particular usage of a word. The problem in BH is that there is still a lot of confusion and disagreement among scholars on the etymology of many lexemes. Etymological information is can be left on the periphery, but is a potential candidate for entry.

Statistics are another feature of lexical studies that are very important. The corpus distributional approach is one model that can be of assistance in the area of statistics. The information from these studies provides possible guidance in understanding the relationship between words of the same category and with near-neighbor categories. They can be of help in deciding prototypical usages. But the models are not firmly in place and the actual statistical information is low in need for translators.

Some grammatical information could be useful to the translator. The frame analysis indicates that the prepositional phrases that are governed by the verb can be understood as semantic complements (§3.8). If a prepositional phrase is bracketed off as an adjunct or changed, the semantic denotation of the verb is changed in the expression. It seems, therefore, that there is some value in indicating the basic linguistic information appropriate to each frame (e.g., verb morphology or frame-specific prepositional phrase).

But the entries for the grammatical information need to be made in context and with a clear indication of its semantic role in the expression. One problem with currently used lexicons is that, in most cases, the prepositions are merely listed with references, but not detailed semantic information. Second, where the semantic weight of the grammar is associated with encyclopedic knowledge, such as the pejorative significance of לָ, the encyclopedic information is currently not included, which seems to make the linguistic meaning hollow.

What are the criteria for entering the more appropriate information? The first criterion is stated in §2.5.1 as proposed by Croft and Cruse (2004: 15) and repeated here. It is the notion that **THE MEANING OF A LINGUISTIC UNIT MUST SPECIFY BOTH THE PROFILE AND ITS BASE**. In other words, a translator should know, for example, that the word שמח can be translated as *rejoice* in a REJOICING frame, as *warmly welcome* when used in a BECOMING/BEING_JOYFUL_BECAUSE_OF_SOMETHING frame, and as *delight* in a

DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame. The association between frame and profile is crucial in understanding the meaning of the word.

Next, it is beneficial to include, in some way, the conceptual information, as noted in §4.14.1 - §4.14.3. De Blois (2000: 8) mentions that the frames could be defined to indicate the “intuition of the native speaker.” The conceptualization of the language community is the cultural specific understanding of the world by that community. In order to understand the communicated meaning of an expression, the conceptualization the language user has of the event is the foundation. Frames are written to provide as much of the original language users conceptualization (prototypical model) and core features as is possible and verifiable.

Lastly, the frame, with all of its elements—participants, props, location, sub-events, etc.—is the basic “definition” used in the lexicon. How much of the technical language used in writing the frame (e.g., semantic role labels like BENEFACTOR, BENEFACTIVE, EXPERIENCER or AGENT), is open to dialogue. Finally, all of the references to other occurrences of the frame are given.

The frame write-up provides the translator with all of the referential event information and determinant meaning of the profiled word in the frame. It also indicates possible non-verbal and symbolic communication associated with the profiled word in the specific frame and the significance of the event in the life of the community. The inclusion of the non-verbal communication and significance in the life of the community is part of the conceptualization and communication of JOY.

The following is an example of how the author recorded data collected in the investigation. It is not meant as a specific lexical entry, but to indicate the possible information that a translator will find useful. Because the personal data is organized according to concepts and frames, all of the lexemes that evoke the frame are included in the write-up. The lexicographer is free to organize the information differently, for example, in the traditional alphabetical order of the lexemes.

Prior to the frame write-up, a short “definition” and default construal might be provided. Because all of the lexemes that were investigated in the study have a similar default construal, a few suggestions are given to provide a basic distinction for entry.

1. שמח and derivatives usually denote *becoming joyful* or *rejoicing*. It is used in most situations that indicate that people are happy or are rejoicing because they are glad for something.
2. חדה and its derivatives are used mostly to denote that a person is *happy* or *joyful*.

3. שׂוֹשׁ and its derivatives usually denote being *very happy* about something. It is often translated as *exulting* in celebrations.
4. גִּיל and its derivatives usually denote *rejoicing* and are used especially to indicate the kind of excited joy that is found in worship and is often associated with trembling, dancing, and shouting or singing.
5. עֵלֶז and its derivatives usually denote *rejoicing* associated with military victories and is often translated as *jubilating* or *boasting*. It can be used to denote arrogance and self-praise.

After a basic introduction to the lexeme or lexemes, a frame-write up is made of each of the frames evoked by the lexeme or in which it is invoked. It is repeated that the following is how the author records data and is organized by concept and frames. It is only used to indicate the information that might be appropriate for a translator and is not meant to be an actual lexical entry.

Table 4.8 Example of a basic frame write-up

Frame name:	REJOICING
Associations:	pilgrimages, appointed feasts, Sabbaths, fulfilling vows and any festive celebration, i.e. FESTIVITIES
Lexemes:	שמחה <i>Qal/Hifil/noun</i> (היה/עשה)/ <i>adjective</i> (היה/עשה) שׂוֹשׂ <i>Qal/nouns</i> (שׂוֹשׂ and שׂוֹשׂ) גִּיל <i>Qal/ noun</i> (גִּיל) עָלִיז <i>Qal/ adjectives</i> (עָלִיז and עָלִיז)
Default gloss:	<i>become/being joyful, rejoice, exulting, jubilating</i>
Frame gloss:	<i>vb. rejoice, celebrate, praise/n. festivity, celebration</i>
Participants:	1. REJOICER [AGENT] (required)—those who are rejoicing 2. BENEFACTIVE (peripheral)—for whose benefit the rejoicing is done. The BENEFACTIVE is usually implied. If the BENEFACTIVE is expressed, it is often in a prepositional phrase headed by לְפָנָי or לְ (e.g., Judg 16:23 לְדָגוֹן <i>for Dagon</i>).
Perspective:	Perspective of REJOICER [AGENT]
Location:	Specified only for specific, communal events such as pilgrimage festivities.
Temporal:	The time is specified only for cyclical events such as pilgrimages (Passover, Feast of Booths, etc.) Can be spontaneous (e.g., 1 Sa 6:13-14)
Event description:	A person or community is in need of something—food, the birth of a child, victory in war, or freedom from oppression, etc. They request help from a BENEFACTOR—someone with the power and the ability to fulfill their desire. They receive the desired help and are glad. Their gladness makes them want to give thanks and praise to the BENEFACTOR. They often go to where people gather to worship. They might make sacrifices and after the sacrifices there is usually a meal where everybody shares the food and drink. There is singing and shouting, praising and thanking the BENEFACTIVE. There might be dancing and other entertainment. Or a family might be joyful because of a marriage or some other event. They gather at the home, perhaps, and have a celebration. Or an individual or group might be some other cause for a celebration. In all of these festivities, the REJOICERS say that they are שמחה or שׂוֹשׂ or גִּיל or עָלִיז (<i>rejoicing, praising, celebrating</i>).
References:	Lev 23:40; Deut 12:7; 12:12; 12:18; 14:26; 16:11; 16:14; 26:11; 27:7; 33:18; 1 Sam 2:1; 11:15; 1 Chr 16:31; 29:9 (x2); 2 Chr 6:41; 2 Chr 15:15; 24:10; 29:36; 30:25; Neh 12:43 (x2); Ps 5:12 [11]; 9:3 [2]; 14:7; 21:2 [1]; 31:8 [7]; 32:11; 33:21; 34:3 [2]; 35:27; 40:17 [16]; 48:12 [11]; 53:7 [6]; 58:11; 63:12 [11]; 64:11 [10]; 66:6; 67:5 [4]; 68:4 [3]; 85:7 [6]; 90:14; 96:11; 97:1, 8,12; 104:34; 105:3; 106:5; 118:24; 149:2; Isa 9:2 [3]; 25:9; Isa 65:13; 66:10; Jer 31:13; Lam 4:21; Hos 9:1 (negated); Joel 2:21, 23; Hab 1:15; Zeph 3:14; Zech 2:14 [10]; 4:10

The frame write up in Table 4.7 is a simple suggestion. Not all of the references are listed in the last section on references, but can be compiled by looking at the relevant subparagraphs in chapters 3 and 4. Table 4.7 is only a demonstration of how the information is

organized. A lexicographer might want to list the references, for instance, in separate entries for each lexeme. The intent is to provide the basic frame information and conceptualization of the lexeme (what is profiled and what meaning potential is activated) in the specific event. The lexicographer can extract the information and enter it into a specific lexical model.

Other information to be considered for inclusion in a lexicon is the following:

1. How to enter idiomatic expressions such as שְׂמֵחַ וְטוֹב לֵב (*cheerful and content*)—1 Kgs 8:66; 2 Chr 7:10 and Esth 5:9. A comment regarding the expression's discourse function (final of a festivities discourse) could be included. בְּשִׂמְחָה לֵב (Eccl 5:19) and בְּשִׂמְחָה וּבְטוֹב לֵב (Deut 28:47), which denote *desire, whole heartedly* and *to do voluntarily*.
2. Word pairs such as שוֹשׁ וְשִׂמְחָה and שִׂמְחָה וְגִיל (cf. further studies §5.3).
3. How to enter conceptual metaphors, metonymies and non-verbal language.

The assumption is that the frame write-up provides the information necessary to understand the determinant meaning of the word or expression in a particular linguistic expression. The translator is able to then decide which word or expression in the receptor language can access similar meaning in a comparable event in the receptor culture. Where there is a possible conceptual mismatch or unknown concept, then the translator can resort to Bible translation principles that will enable him or her to bridge the gap between the source language and receptor language conceptual networks.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Studies

5.0 Introductory remarks

The study began by posing four questions. What is word meaning? What approach, models and tools can help in investigating, determining and describing the meaning of a word? Are the current approaches and models used for studying contemporary languages viable for analyzing biblical languages such as BH? What information regarding the target words was possibly needed to be entered into a lexicon specifically designed for Bible translators?

A brief survey was made of the historical development of theories of lexical studies. It was determined that the development of lexical theories has led to two basic approaches to the study of lexical semantics. They are the minimalist and maximalist position. The former maintains a division between linguistics and pragmatics. They approach language study with the assumption that language is a module that is to be studied separately from other domains. The analyst requires two models—one for the linguistic study and one for analyzing world knowledge (world-view).

The other position, the maximalist approach of cognitive semantics, does not separate linguistics and pragmatics and makes the assumption that all the domains of the mind are highly integrated. Using this approach, the analyst does not need two separate models. The assumption is that meaning (word and utterance) is constructed out of all of the information—word and world—which a person and community has about something. The information required for understanding a word or expression is obtainable by developing the frame in which the word is used. By applying certain tools (construal analysis) to the linguistic expression in its frame, the analyst is able to determine its contextualized meaning. If an analysis is made of all of the occurrences of all of a word or expression, the cognitive understanding, hypothetically, of the concept is discernible, as well as a broad range of its meaning potential.

The maximalist position was taken as a starting point for the study and applied to the BH concept of JOY. The expected results were achieved and are presented in §4.14.1-§4.15. That is, a possible prototypical scenario is outlined and the contextualized meanings of the different lexemes proposed together with suggestions regarding the information needed by translators. The approach and model has proven beneficial in several ways.

5.1 Some advantages of the approach and model

The first assumption of the approach used in the study is that an analysis takes into consideration all of the occurrences of a word or expression in the actual linguistic expression. It is a usage-based approach that profiles the word against its base or frame. The approach is able to determine, to a certain degree, the polysemous usages of a word or expression, which is a result of their usage in different contexts. Different construal operations activate and make salient specific features of the concept resulting in determinant meanings in the context. The expected results were achieved.

Second, the referential frame provides encyclopedic information that affects the determinant meaning of a word in context that is not (usually) possible to obtain in basic componential analysis approaches. For example, perspective is not an inherent feature of a word but is a matter of construal. Most componential analysis approaches do not take perspective into account. Therefore, the semantic effect of perspectivization demonstrated in §3.13 is not always available through componential analysis approaches.

Many componential approaches do not take into account the possible Idealized Cognitive Model (§2.4.4). In the investigation, a study of the conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies provided the data that enabled a *hypothetical* prototypical scenario for JOY in BH (§4.14.2). Having a potential Idealized Cognitive Model for a concept determines what features a construal is profiling. It also allows for the determination of variations in frames. The encyclopedic information that is relevant to the semantic shift and the linguistic clues that might motivate the shift are discernible in an analysis of the frame and can account for the variations (e.g., the differences between a REJOICING frame and a GLOATING_OVER_ANOTHER'S_MISFORTUNE frame, §3.13). The differences and similarities of lexemes in the same domain matrix are seen in the frames: where they are interchangeable and where they are specifically different (Table 4.1). Such an understanding is not possible vis-à-vis most componential analysis approaches.

By taking into account conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies, it is possible to determine how non-emotion words such as *רנן* *shout* and *בגל* *cause to shine* can be used to denote emotion and the non-verbal communication of emotion (sub-paragraphs in §4.13). The conceptual metaphors also guided an understanding of figurative expressions and non-verbal communications of JOY, such as *radiant faces*. The active zone notion provided insight into the interpretation of metonymies, such as in Neh 12:43 referring to the SOUNDS

OF REJOICING. These data are not usually recorded through traditional componential analysis approaches.

The grammatical analysis of prepositional phrases (e.g., *הַשְׂמֵחִים אֶל־יְגִיל* in Job 3:22) provided evidence on the relationship between *שִׂמְחָה* and *יְגִיל*. Evidence from other grammatical constructions, as well as the analysis of rhetorical data given in bicolon parallelism, supported the interpretation of the relationship denoted in the prepositional phrases. These data helped in determining the possible prototype and general relationship between the lexemes associated with JOY that were studied. Componential analysis approaches do not take all of these factors into account.

The frame approach to writing definitions (frame write-up in this study) enables the translator to access the referential event, cognitive understanding, non-verbal communication and symbolic gesture associated with a word or expression in a specific situation (§4.13). Hypothetically, the translator can then decide on which word or expression in the receptor language evokes a similar referential event in the receptor culture with a similar determinant meaning for the profiled word or expression. Where there is a mismatch or absence of similar concepts, the translator can then resort to Bible translation principles to bridge the gap; the translator has the relevant information needed in order to find a way to provide similar information in the receptor language.

In conclusion, the eclectic model demonstrated in the study provides a verifiable way of determining the cognitive understanding of a concept and the determinant meaning of a word or expression that symbolizes the concept in each of its linguistic expressions. It can be used to determine the understanding of a single word's usage. It can also help discern and describe the relationship between words in the same category (§4.14.6). Although the study proved very productive and the approach and model provided the expected results, there are many questions still unanswered.

5.2. Some weaknesses of the research

There are weaknesses in the model used in the research. Some of these are a result of setting tight parameters to the study (§1.5). Others became apparent during the course of the research. The following list provides a brief accounting of the weaknesses.

1. Diachronic studies were left out of the research because there is not enough verifiable information. There is a need to set-up a specific project to do a diachronic study of the lexemes that were investigated in the research. A diachronic study is suggested for each lexeme investigated in any lexical study.

2. Statistics were not included in the study. There is a need to develop a model and verify its semantic effects (§1.5). However, verifiable statistical information could potentially clarify some of the data relating to the differences between lexemes that exhibit near-paraphrasability. For example, is there a perceptible difference between גיל and עלז when they each evoke the same REJOICING frame? It might help to have a well-defined, statistical understanding of the various collocations that occur with each of the lexemes in each of the occurrences of the frame.

3. The lack of a study of each lexeme's use by the author(s) of specific books is a weakness that became apparent in the study. This is a corollary to a diachronic study as well as the frame of reference assumption. As the study progressed, it became clear that some authors tended to use lexemes in a specific way. For example, שמח and שוש are the only lexemes that denote JOY in Deut. All of the occurrences of שמח in Deut (except 24:5) evoke the REJOICING frame, specifically the PILGRIMAGE_FESTIVITIES sub-frames. Eccl tends to use exclusively שמח and primarily to evoke the DELIGHTING_IN_SOMETHING frame. The noun שמחה is used predominantly to denote PLEASURE in Eccl. Jer tends to use only the שושן ושמחה pair, but does so in a variety of combinations. Isa uses all of the words listed in Set 1 (except חדה), and each lexeme is used in a very specific way consistently throughout the book. These special uses suggest that there might be value in pursuing a book-by-book study as well as a general diachronic one.

5.3 Suggestions for further study

The weaknesses listed in §5.2 are mentioned as areas to motivate further study. Together with the weaknesses, there are still many questions left unanswered not because of the weaknesses, but because there is a need to broaden the understanding of the domain matrix of emotions as well as other domain matrixes found in BH. The advantages of the model make it possible to delve deeper into the cognitive understanding of the world experienced by users of BH than traditional componential analysis approaches. Including the diachronic studies, book-by-book investigation and possibly statistical information will enhance the model used in the research.

5.3.1 Categorization of emotion in biblical Hebrew

Are *emotions* really EMOTION in BH? The problem was raised in §1.6.3. Throughout the research the differences between BH and English conceptualizations of JOY are pointed out. The differences motivated modification of the 5-stage EVENT STRUCTURE metaphor of

emotion (for JOY) in §4.14.2. The first topic mentioned for further study is the categorization of words in BH which are usually associated with EMOTION in English.

The study would investigate all of the “emotions” as well as Near-neighbor words, often categorized as FEELINGS and ATTITUDES in English (e.g., HATE, ABHOR, DETEST, and PRIDE). Other lexemes can be added as determined in the investigation. The following are just a few of the words encountered in the research that appeared similar to the lexemes listed in Set 1 (§1.3). The list is provided as a “starter kit” for further investigation. Some words for LOVE, HATE, SHAME, and ANGER can be found in Bosman (2011), van Wolde (2008), Kruger (1996) and Kotzé (2004).

אהב	חפץ
אמן	יטב/טוב
אשרי/אשר	ירא
בוש	ענג
געל	רעע
דאג	שחק (צחק)
חמד	שעע
חן	שעשעם
חסד	שנא

Working out a domain matrix is difficult and tedious. However, the assumption is that it is possible. Category boundaries might be open to construal, but they are determinate (§2.4.2.2). By placing the words in their respective frames and determining features that are profiled and conceptual metaphors that structure them, similarities and differences in conceptualization can be determined. The similarities and differences indicate possible boundary placement. Prototypicality, basic-level categorization and Idealized Cognitive Models can be described for each concept.

The categories are determined not by necessary and sufficient features but by language usage and conceptualization. Ad hoc categories and construable boundaries allow for near-neighbor words, especially those on the periphery of a category, to be used as “near-synonymous” words with members of another category in specific construals. Categorization is important for understanding the relations between lexemes in the same domain matrix and those as well as with words in adjoining ones.

The research made by Kruger’s (2001) investigation of FEAR, Kotzé’s (2003) study of ANGER and van Wolde’s (2008) study of ANGER and LOVE (§1.6.3) as well as the research on JOY provide a starting point for a broader study of the categorization of emotions in BH. All

of these studies have reached similar conclusions (although with possible differences in interpretations of some of the data) about Kövecses' model, specifically, and the value of using insights from cognitive semantics generally for semantical studies.

5.3.2 Diachronic and etymological studies

The importance of diachronic studies in an overall lexical study is exhibited by Muff's use of diachronic and comparative studies in §3.2.2. The diachronic study should include metaphors and take into account the possibility of "dead metaphors" (§3.5.6). Examples of diachronic studies using insights from cognitive semantics are provided by, for example, Van Hecke (2003), who studied the lexical structure of BH *r'h* and Klingbeil (2010), who investigated the HEAVENLY WARRIOR metaphor in Ps 18 and Ps 144.

Even though there are problems in verifying the dates of texts, doing an etymological and diachronic study of the lexemes and metaphors which are associated with JOY (and all other lexemes) using various tools and insights from cognitive semantics will (potentially) provide an understanding of how they were used throughout the history of the Hebrew Bible. As stated in §2.2, the previous usages of a word or expression enrich the meaning potential and understanding of how each succeeding occurrence is used. Reasons for "reviving" a lexeme or metaphor by an author can be suggested (Klingbeil 2010: 133-134; Muffs 1992: 145). New enrichments of meaning potential are available for analysis.

For example, Klingbeil (2010: 133-134) provides a possible diachronic usage of the HEAVENLY WARRIOR metaphor in the Hebrew psalter. He notes that it was used to a large extent in the "early history" (Ps 1-41), receded in usage, and then "revived" in the later period (Ps 107-150). He poses the question, why was it revived in Ps 144? The answer he provides is the following (2010:134):

The constant change of verbal forms shows that the author of Ps 144 is purposefully trying to revive the reality of the divinely ordained post-exilic community that once more wanted to invoke the image of the heavenly warrior who as in times past, established a nation and a king.

Even though metaphors might recede in usage, they do not always drop out of existence. They are still present within the lexicon of the language community and can be re-activated and used in new contexts. The new usages activate meaning potential of the conceptualization and enrich it.

A diachronic study from "beginning to end" of a lexeme's or expression's usage helps determine what meaning potential that can be activated. It also indicates what new potential has enriched the metaphor or lexeme and in what contexts. The information provides a

broader understanding of the word's or metaphor's usage. The diachronic study should include not only separate lexemes and metaphors, but also word pairs such as שמח ושוש and שמח וגיל. When did they begin appearing? What, if any, is the specific context?

5.3.3 Prototypicality and basic-level categorization

One of the tools used in the study to determine possible prototypicality and basic-level categorization is the study of bicolon parallelism. The research yielded different results than the study of negative moral behaviour in Isa done by van Steenbergen (2002) (§4.14.4). He used a componential analysis approach together with a modified world view approach (van Steenbergen 2002: 218-220). Secondly, he focused only on negative moral behaviour in Isa. The study of JOY took in all of the occurrences in the Hebrew Bible from a meaning potential, frame semantic model. A suggested study is to analyze a large number of concepts as they are expressed in “parallelism” in the entire Hebrew Bible from the approach used in the research and determine if a “rule” regarding bicolon parallelism and prototypicality can be made. It will strengthen or modify the proposals made in the study regarding prototypicality and basic-level categorization of JOY and, perhaps, provided a clearer understanding of the concepts and effects of rhetorical devices.

As mentioned in §5.2, there is, perhaps, great difficulty in determining an overall description of prototypicality and basic-level categorization for biblical Hebrew. A more fruitful study might be a book-by-book study in tandem with a diachronic study. For example, van Steenbergen's conclusions regarding prototypicality of negative moral behaviour is primarily in reference to the uses in Isa. A different picture might emerge if a book-by-book study is made and the data correlated. An underlying assumption is that prototypes might change during the course of history.

5.3.4 Conceptual metaphor, metonymies and conceptual blend

The research focused on primary conceptual metaphors and conceptual metonymies. The use of conceptual metaphor analysis yielded some positive results. However, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has received a lot of criticism (cf. Geeraerts 2010: 209-210). Also, as illustrated with the brief introduction to Jer 51:39 in §4.6.5, complex metaphors are widely used in the Hebrew Bible. The study of רנן (§4.13.4) and of בגל (§4.13.2) highlight the prominent usage of metonymy in BH. A broader study of conceptual metaphor, metonymy of BH concepts of EMOTION is suggested, taking into consideration the criticisms raised concerning the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. A more thorough examination of complex metaphors and conceptual blends and non-verbal communication should also be taken into

consideration. These studies can potentially increase an understanding of how EMOTION is conceptualized and communicated. The studies in van Heck (2005) and van Heck and Labahn (2010) are a starting point.

5.3.5 Lexical studies, frames and translation

Finally, the hypothesis is made in §1.1 that a starting point for developing a potentially acceptable set of Bible translation models is to find a verifiable approach to lexical studies. The approach demonstrated in the study is offered as a possibility. Further studies into lexical semantics and communication models similar to the ACCESS NODE model (§2.3), frames and Bible translation are suggested. The dynamic construal approach can be applied to whole utterances (Croft and Cruse 2004: 60-62). The study focused on Ruppenhofer et al (2010) principles of lexicographic annotation mode, but, as part of a broader study for translation, a full-text annotation study might be beneficial (§2.5.3).

A starting point is to make a study of a large chunk of discourse using the full-text annotation mode. Then apply a frame semantic-construal analysis of the entire discourse. Finally, a comparison of frame semantic-construal analysis results can be made with the method and results of relevance theory (§1.1) applied to the same chunk of discourse. Are the two approaches incompatible or is there a possibility of creating a blend?

5.4 Conclusion

The study of the BH concept of JOY vis-à-vis a composite model developed from cognitive semantics has provided a much richer understanding of the concept and the lexemes that symbolize it than is possible through a traditional componential analysis approach and even more than some of the two-stage approaches. The use of insights from cognitive linguistics to guide translators of the Bible is still at an early stage. But the models and notions of cognitive linguistics are proving to be verifiable and useful for translators. The application of these insights to lexical, discourse and communication studies has the potential of providing information that is beneficial for the development of resources to guide Bible translators.

Lexical resources, such as the SDBH, developed from a frame perspective, provide corrections to the problems encountered in the usage of older models of BH-ENG lexicons. The benefit of lexicons like SDBH is that they provide the contextual-frame information required by the translator, whether she or he comes from a minimalist perspective or a maximalist position. Both, ultimately, look for the encyclopedic information necessary for

understanding a particular linguistic expression. However, the conclusion of the study is that a meaning potential- maximalist approach provides the richest understanding of a word's, expression's or metaphor's usage in each specific linguistic expression.

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