"Surely it is the *rûaḥ* in a mortal … that makes for understanding": An Exegetical and Cognitive Semantic Exploration of Anthropological Uses of רוּחַ in Biblical Wisdom Texts

by

Joel Atwood

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Abstract

רוּחַ is a central term in the thought-world of the Hebrew Bible, and also strongly polysemous, able to refer to meteorological (*wind*), anthropological (*breath, spirit*), theological (*Spirit*), and other non-human creaturely (*spirits*) phenomena. Many efforts to date have examined רוּחַ via the theological uses and seek to relate the divine Spirit to other use of the term. This study attempts an alternative approach by focussing upon the relatively understudied anthropological uses of רוּחַ. To examine how רוּחַ is used with reference to human persons, we employ several approaches and insights from the field of Cognitive Linguistics to examine in detail the רוּחַ-texts from the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job. The restricted sub-corpus allows for extensive examination of the contexts of the instances of רוּחַ enriched with the insights of cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to figurative language. Using our analysis, we will suggest a provisional construction of the relationships between the different senses of רוּחַ when used to refer to a human person that provides insight into something of the conceptual structure that is evoked when רוּחַ is used in these ancient texts.

This project contributes both to the understanding of the texts themselves via the incorporation of multiple approaches from the field of Cognitive Linguistics and provides a richer understanding of how a sub-section of uses of רוּחַ is used to depict the human person and its experiences, especially as to how a concrete and embodied sense such as *breath* is

developed through metonymy, metaphor, and semantic association to generate many of the

diverse uses in biblical Hebrew.

Acknowledgements

My boys, Hosea and Timotheus – this project began before either of you were born. The earliest drafts were written with you, Hosea, asleep on my chest, and its final chapters with you, Timmi, singing at my feet. May you grow in wisdom and the fear of the LORD.

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Lists of Tables and Figures

Typographical Conventions

Linguistic Notation[1]	Typography	Example
Cognitive concepts and/or categories	Small caps	BIRD
Members of categories	Arrows and small caps	>PIGEON<
Cognitive/cultural models	Underlined small caps	DEBT SLAVERY
Metaphors/metonymies	+ signs and small caps	+ANGER IS HEAT+, +PART FOR WHOLE+
Image schemas	- signs and small caps	-BE IN-, -PATH-
Domains	Italicised small caps	*WEATHER*
Frames	Small caps in brackets	[COMMERCIAL_EVENT]
Roles within schema and/or Frame Elements	Initial caps	Agent
Grammatical constructions	Small caps in vertical bars	|PASSIVE| construction
Lexical collocation	+ sign affixed to lexeme	+רוּחַ

[1] Adapted and expanded from Friedrich Ungerer and Hans-Jörg Schmid, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*, 2nd ed., LAL (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2006), vii.

Nomenclature

Label	Explanation[2]	Formatted Example
Lexeme	Linguistic forms that abstractions of actual language use	*spirit*
Lexical unit/item	Particular linguistic instantiations of lexemes	"their spirit"
Trajector (TR)	The more prominent participant in an utterance	
Landmark (LM)	The additional participant of an utterance, usually to which the TR is being related	

Abbreviations

Ancient Sources

1 En.   1 Enoch (Ethiopic Apocalypse)

1QH[a]   Hodayot[a] / Thanksgiving Hymn[a]

1QM   War Scroll

1QS   Rule of the Community

4QI   4QInstruction

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[2] Following M. Lynne Murphy, *Lexical Meaning*, CTL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 9–10.

Aph.	Hippocrates, *Aphorismata*, in Syriac from Henri Pohnon, ed. *Une version syriaque des Aphorismes d'Hippocrate: Texte et traduction*. SSL 37. Piscataway: Gorgias, 2010
b. B. Bat.	Bava Batra tractate of Babylonian Talmud
Bib. hist.	Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca historica
CD	Cairo Geniza copy of the Damascus Document
En. El.	Enuma Elish
Jub.	Jubilees
LAB	Pseudo-Philo, *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*
Leg.	Philo, *Legum allegoriae*
LXX	The Greek Septuagint, usually as represented by Alfred Rahlfs ed. *Septuaginta.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006
Mut.	Philo, *De mutatione nominum*
Opif.	Philo, *De opificio mundi*
Post.	Philo, *De posteritate Caini*
Prob.	Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber sit*

Sef.	The Sefire Treaty as represented by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. Revised ed. BibOr 19/A. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995.
Syr.	Syriac, usually as represented in the Ambrosianus codex of Peshitta
Tg.	The Aramaic Targums, usually as represented by Targum Onqelos, Targum Jonathan, and Targum of the Writings
T. Job	Testament of Job
Vulg.	The Latin Vulgate

Secondary Sources

AASF.DHL	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae: Dissertationes Humanrum Litterarum
AB	Anchor Bible
AP	Cowley, Arthur. *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.: Edited with Translations and Notes.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1923.
ACL	Advances in Cognitive Linguistics
AEL	Lichtheim, Miriam. *Ancient Egyptian Literature*. 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006 [1973–1980]
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*

ANES	Ancient Near Eastern Supplements
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOTC	Abingdon Old Testament Commentaries
ARCL	Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BAM	*Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen.* Edited by Franz Köcher, et. al. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1963–
BBRS	Bulletin for Biblical Research Supplements
BCOTWP	Baker Commentary on Old Testament Wisdom and Psalms
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1907
BHRG	Merwe, Christo H. J. van der, Jacobus A. Naudé, and Jan H. Kroeze. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*, 2nd ed., Bloomsbury: London, 2017

BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta. Edited by Adrian Schenker et. al. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004–
Bib	*Biblica*
BibInt	*Biblical Interpretation*
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BKAT	Biblischer Kommerntar, Altes Testament
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
BTCB	Brazos Theological Commentary on the Bible
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAL	Kaufman, Stephen A., et al., eds., *The Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* (http://cal.huc.edu)[3]

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[3] The editors of *CAL* request that a date is included in all citations of their lexicon. All *CAL* data cited in this project reflects the database at the time of final revision, June, 2021.

CAD	Gelb, Ignace J., et al., eds. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.* 21 vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010
CBR	*Currents in Biblical Research*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCS	Cambridge Classical Studies
CDA	Black, Jeremy, et al., *A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*, 2nd ed. (SANTAG 5), Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000
CDCH	Clines, David J. A. ed., *The Concise Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009
CDME	Faulkner, Raymond O. *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian.* Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1988
CEA	*Cahiers des études anciennes*
CELCR	Converging Evidence in Language and Communication Research
CE	*Cognition and Emotion*
CEB	Consciousness and Emotion Book Series
CHP	Cambridge Handbooks in Psychology

CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticum ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditium atque Digestum.* 5 vols. Paris: E Reipublicae Typographeo, 1881-1962
CILT	Current Issues in Linguistic Theory
CL	*Cognitive Linguistics*
CLR	Cognitive Linguistic Research
CogPsych	*Cognitive Psychology*
COS	Hallo, William W., and K. Lawson Younger Jr., eds. *The Context of Scripture.* 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2016
CSD	Payne Smith, Jessie (Mrs. Margoliouth; ed.), *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary: founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903
CSHB	Critical Studies in the Hebrew Bible
CSL	Cambridge Studies in Linguistics
CSCL	Cambridge Studies in Cognitive Linguistics
CTL	Cambridge Texts in Linguistics
DBIm	Ryken, Leland, James C. Wilhoit, and Tremper Longman III, eds. *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery: An Encyclopedic Exploration of the Images, Symbols,*

	Motifs, Metaphors, Figures of Speech and Literary Patterns of the Bible. Downers Grover: InterVarsity, 1998
DCH	Clines, David J. A., ed. *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* 9 vols. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2016
DISO	Jean, Charles François and Jacob Hoftijzer, eds. *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest.* Leiden: Brill, 1965.
DOTWPW	Longman, Tremper, and Peter Enns, eds. *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry and Writings.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2008
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. 40 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951–2011
DNWSI	Hoftjizer, Jacob, and Karen Jongeling. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions.* 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
DQA	Edward M. Cook. *A Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
DULAT	Olmo Lete, Gregorio del, and Joaquín Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition.* Translated and edited by W. G. E. Watson. 3rd ed. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2015

EANEC   Explorations in Ancient Near Eastern Civilisations

ÉBib   Études bibliquès

ECDSS   Eerdmans' Commentary on the Dead Sea Scrolls

EHD   Wallis Budge, Ernest Alfred. *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary.* 2 vols.

             London: John Murray, 1920.

EJL   Early Judaism and Its Literature

ÉP   *Études Platoniciennes*

FCG 1   Langacker, Ronald W. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical*

             Prerequisites. Volume 1. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987.

FCG 2   Langacker, Ronald W. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Descriptive*

             Application. Volume 2. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

FFS   Fokus Fortifikation Studies

FHN   *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience*

FRLANT   Forschung zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments

FOTL   Forms of the Old Testament Literature

FPsy   *Frontiers in Psychology*

FrameNet   https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/

Gardiner   Gardiner, Alan H., *Catalogue of the Egyptian hieroglyphic printing type, from matrices owned and controlled by Dr. Alan H. Gardiner.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928.

GBS   Gorgias Biblical Studies

GKC   Gesenius, Wilhelm. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.

GVG   Carl Brockelmann. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen.* 2 vols. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1908–1913.

HALOT   Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.

HCOT   Historical Commentary on the Old Testament

HCP   Human Cognitive Processing

HÉO   Hautes Études Orientales

HMJPS   *Humana Mente: Journal of Philosophical Studies*

HS   *Hebrew Studies*

HSK   Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft / Handbooks of Linguistic and Communication Science

HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HvTSt	*HTS Teologiese Studies / Theological Studies*
IBHS	Waltke, Bruce K., and Michael O'Connor. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990.
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IJL	*International Journal of Lexicography*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
IPRG	*Intercultural Pragmatics*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
Jastrow	Jastrow, Morris, comp. *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature with an Index of Scriptural Quotations*. London: Luzac, 1903.
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cognitive Semiotics*

JCSci	*Journal of Cognitive Science*
JEP	*Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*
JML	*Journal of Memory and Language*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNeuro	*Journal of Neuroscience*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
Joüon	Paul Joüon & Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, rev. ed. (SubBi 27) Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2006.
JPrag	*Journal of Pragmatics*
JPSBC	Jewish Publication Society Bible Commentary
JSJSupp	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplements
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JT	*Journal of Translation*

JTS   *Journal of Theological Studies*

K&D   Keil, C. F., and F. Delitzsch, *Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament.* Translated by J. Martin et. al. 25 vols. Edinburgh, 1957–1978. Reprint, 10 vols. Peabody, 1996.

KAI   Donner, H., and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften.* 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966–1969.

KHC   Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament

KTU   Manfried, Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und anderen Orten – The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places.* 3rd enlarged ed., (AOAT 360/1), Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2013.

KUSATU   Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprach des Alten Testaments und siner Umwelt

LAL   Learning About Language

LBS   Linguistic Biblical Studies

LCM   Language, Cognition, and Mind

LEH   Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Huspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2015.

LHBOTS   Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Series

LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
MetaNet	https://metanet.icsi.berkeley.edu/metanet/
MO	Mundus Orientis: Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Cultures
MSt	Monographien und Studienbücher
NETS	Wright, Benjamin G., and Albert Pietersma, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
NIB	*The New Interpreter's Bible.* Edited by Leander E. Keck. 12 vols. Nashville: Abingdon, 1994–2004.
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDNTTE	Silva, Moisés, ed. *New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology and Exegesis.* 2nd ed. 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014.
NIDOTTE	VanGemeren, Willem A., ed. *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis.* 5 vols. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1997.
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

OHL	Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta
OPS	Oxford Psychology Series
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	Charlesworth, James H., ed. *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983-1985.
OxTL	Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics
PAT	Hillers, D. R. and E. Cussinie, eds. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts.* Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, London, 1996.
PBM	Paternoster Biblical Monographs
PBR	*Progress in Brain Research*
PDÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Contexts
PhR	*The Philosophical Review*

PhilS   *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition*

PIIAS   Publication of the Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

PJTC   Perspectives on Jewish Texts and Contexts

PSB   *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*

Pyr.   Sethe, Kurt. *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums.* Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908.

QdS   *Quaderni di semantica*

RB   *Revue biblique*

RBS   Resources for Biblical Study

RCL   *Review of Cognitive Linguistics*

RHR   *Revue de l'histoire des religions*

RevQ   *Revue de Qumran*

RSPhTh   *Revue des Sciences philosophique et théologiques*

RTR   *Reformed Theological Review*

SAIS   Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture

SALALS	*Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SBFA	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Analecta
SBLAIL	Society of Biblical Literature: Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBLANEM	Society of Biblical Literature: Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
SBLCS	Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBOTB	Soncino Books of the Bible
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SDBH	Blois, Reinier de, ed. *Semantic Dictionary of Biblical Hebrew*, United Bible Societies. http://semanticdictionary.org/dictionary/main.php?language=en
Sef	*Sefarad*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SOGBC	Story of God Bible Commentary
SSL	Syriac Studies Library

SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPohl	Studia Pohl
SubBi	Subsidia Biblica
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TBT	*The Bible Translator*
TDNT	Kittel, Gerhard, and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
TDOT	Botterweck, G. Johannes, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, eds. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Translated by John T. Willis et. al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-2006.
THB	Text of the Hebrew Bible
Them	*Themelios*
ThIn	Theologie Interdisziplinär
THOTC	Two Horizons Old Testament Commentary

TiLSM   Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs

TLG   Pantelia, Maria C. ed. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae Digital Library*. Irving: University of California. http://www.tlg.uci.edu

TLOT   Jenni, Ernst, and Claus Westermann, eds. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. 3 vols. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1997.

TOTC   Tyndale Old Testament Commentary

TT   *Theology Today*

TynBul   *Tyndale Bulletin*

UCS   Understanding Complex Systems

UDB   Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis, Juan-Pablo Vita, and José-Ángel Zamora, eds. *Ugaritic Data Bank: The Texts*. (BDFSN) Madrid: Hermeneumática, 2003.

UF   *Ugarit-Forschungen*

UTB   Understanding the Bible Commentary

VT   *Vetus Testamentum*

VTSup   Supplements to Vetus Testamentum

WAW   Writings from the Ancient World

WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WBCR	Wiley Blackwell Companions
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZAH	*Zeitschrift für Althebräistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBAT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare Alte Testament

Sigla

AH	Ancient Hebrew (primarily referring to the written corpus including the early Hebrew inscriptions, the texts of the Hebrew Bible, the Hebrew manuscripts of Sirach, and the Hebrew documents from the Judean desert)
Akk.	Akkadian
ANE	Ancient Near Eastern (as generally referring to the region and culture of early civilisations in and around Mesopotamia)
BH	Biblical Hebrew (primarily referring to the texts of the Hebrew Bible)
CBT	Cognitive Blending Theory
CL	Cognitive Linguistics (as shorthand for the overall movement)
CxG	Construction Grammar

CMT   Cognitive Metaphor Theory

DSS   Dead Sea Scrolls (the Hebrew documents of the Judean desert, primarily

            from the Qumran caves)

ET   English translations (primarily referring to common English translations of

            the Hebrew Bible)

FE   Frame Element (within Frame Semantics)

FS   Frame Semantics

HB   Hebrew Bible (primarily referring to the Hebrew and Aramaic texts

            considered canonical in Judaism and Protestant Christianity, also called the

            Tanakh, the Old Testament)

LU   Lexical Unit (within Frame Semantics)

MIP   Pragglejaz Group's *Metaphor Identification Procedure*

NP   Noun Phrase

NWS   North-western Semitic (the approximate language family including Ancient

            Hebrew, Aramaic, Ugaritic, Phoenician)

PP   Prepositional Phrase

PS   Proto-Semitic

QA	Qumran Aramaic (as shorthand for analysis conducted within the Qumran documents)
QH	Qumran Hebrew (as shorthand for analysis conducted within the Qumran documents)
Syr.	Syriac
Ug.	Ugaritic
∴	Indicates all instances of a lexical unit or construction in the MT
*	When preceding a lexical unit, indicates a hypothetical linguistic form; when preceding a translation, indicates a standard English translation other than NRSV (listed in parentheses after the translation)
**	When preceding a translation, indicates our own translation
?	Directly suffixed to a textual reference to indicate uncertainty as to its textual integrity or inclusion

1 The Elusive רוּחַ — Introductions

1.1 "Chasing after רוּחַ"

וְהִנֵּה הַכֹּל הֶבֶל וּרְעוּת רוּחַ

Ecclesiastes 1:14b

If we come across something whose categorization is not immediately evident, the experience tends to create a feeling of unease. 'Well, what *is* it?', we ask [*sic*]. We also feel uneasy when we encounter an unknown word. 'What does it mean?', we ask [*sic*], wanting to know what category of things, events, processes, or whatever, can be designated by the word.[1]

The marvel of the word, "spirit", as we have seen, is that it cannot be neatly diced up into various domains. We cannot happily divvy up the texts and leave neat piles— breath, wind, human spirit, angel—on our interpretative cutting board.[2]

The Hebrew Bible is saturated with "somethings" and the words designating them that are, if not unknown, sufficiently vague to evoke the unease of which Taylor speaks. We encounter one such "something" early in the texts of the Hebrew Bible: רוּחַ. In our encounters with רוּחַ

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[1] John R. Taylor, "Categories and Concepts," in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen Van Wolde (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 163.

[2] John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 73–74.

in the biblical text, it evades simple categorisation. It is intimately if ambiguously connected

with אֱלֹהִים (Genesis 1:2). It is an apparent weather event in the Garden (Gen 3:8). It is

attributed to God but dwelling in humanity (Gen 6:3) and "all flesh" (Gen 6:17; 7:15, 22). It

is a divinely-caused weather event (Gen 8:1). It characterises the distress of Isaac and

Rebekah (Gen 26:35). It even refers to creatures neither divine nor human (1 Kgs 22:21).

רוּחַ demonstrates the capacity to refer to a wide variety of phenomena, and in doing so

associates the realms of the divine, the human, and the created world. This study seeks to

examine *what* רוּחַ means when designating such varied "things, events, processes, or

whatever"—what we will call its *use*—and *how* a single word may be used in such a variety

of ways—what we will call its *lexical and conceptual structure*. Given the complexity of רוּחַ,

we do not seek to account comprehensively for all uses in all texts. Instead, we will restrict

our inquiry to a subset of the possible uses of רוּחַ and a subset of possible texts from the

Hebrew Bible. We will focus on the *anthropological* uses of רוּחַ—those instances where רוּחַ

describes the human person and human experience—and concentrate our analysis on the

books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job to begin to see the many uses and intricate structure

of רוּחַ. To enrich the close reading of these texts and explore something of how the senses

of רוּחַ relate to one another, we will draw from the insights, concepts, and methods of the

field of Cognitive Linguistics.

To orient ourselves to this task, we will chart something of the breadth of usage of רוּחַ via a

survey of Hebrew lexica and related terms in other Ancient Near Eastern languages. We will

then discuss the viability and significance of attempting to isolate anthropological uses for study before assessing significant works of scholarship on this key term. Finally, we will explore the field of Cognitive Linguistics to explore its usefulness, delimit our corpus, and establish a method for analysing our texts.

1.1.1 An Orientation to the Semantics of רוּחַ: "Wind," "Spirit," "Breath," and …

1.1.1.1 Survey of רוּחַ in lexica and theological dictionaries

The passages above demonstrate something of the uses of רוּחַ in the Hebrew Bible. A preliminary survey of six Hebrew lexicographical works provides further insight into the uses of רוּחַ and how they relate to one another.[3] The following tables (tables 1.1; 1.2) summarise three reference lexica and three theological dictionaries from the 20th and 21st centuries. The subheadings are reproduced verbatim (including bold and italics), while the often prolix entries in the theological dictionaries are edited for clarity and brevity but include verbatim quotes where possible. We have loosely sorted the entries according to four categories: theological, meteorological, anthropological, and any 'other' uses.[4] We will argue that such

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[3] This information has been extracted from *BDB*, s.v. "רוּחַ"; *HALOT*, s.v. "רוּחַ"; *DCH*, s.v. "רוּחַ"; Claus Westermann and R. Albertz, "רוּחַ," *TLOT* 3:1202–19; M. V. Van Pelt, W. C. Kaiser, Jr., and D. I. Block, "רוּחַ," *NIDOTTE* 3:1070–75; Heinz-Josef Fabry and Sven Tengström, "רוּחַ," *TDOT* 13:365–402.

[4] Few lexica explain the order of headwords/subheadings. Typically, lexicographers work from more frequent to less frequent uses, or from "most basic" to most archaic or technical uses, see Carolin

categories are not sharply-defined and instances of רוּחַ are frequently challenging to place in any single category. This difficulty in categorisation may motivate the proliferation of senses with only one or two exemplars in the lexica. Where subheadings appear to reference multiple categories, we repeat them in multiple columns to reflect this. For example, subheading 11 of *HALOT* begins with an explicit reference to the רוּחַ of God, then includes a reference to a רוּחַ "as an autonomous entity over and against God."[5]

Table 1.1. Glosses and explanations for רוּחַ in Ancient Hebrew reference lexica

	Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
BDB	9. *spirit of God* (94x; not D or Je or any Deut. writer; conception of its activity in inspiring prophecy prob. discredited from abuse by false prophets, v. נבא, נביא)	2. *wind* (117x)	1. *breath* of mouth or nostril (33x) 3. spirit, as breathing quickly in animation, agitation = temper, disposition (76x) 4. *spirit* of the living, breathing being, dwelling in the בָּשָׂר of men and animals, ‖ נֶפֶשׁ (25x) 5. *spirit* as seat of emotion = נֶפֶשׁ 6. Occasionally (and late) = seat or organ of mental acts, ‖ לֵב, or synon. with it. 7. rarely of the will; also = לֵב 8. רוּחַ especially of moral character; also לֵב	

Ostermann, *Cognitive Lexicography: A New Approach to Lexicography Making Use of Cognitive Semantics*, Lexicographica 149 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 28.
[5] *HALOT,* s.v. "רוּחַ," 11.

	Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
HALOT	8. the spirit of Yahweh 9. spirit of God 11. חָרוּחַ and רוּחַ = (the) spirit of God 14. רוּחַ :: בָּשָׂר corresponds to אֵל :: אָדָם	1. breeze, breath God 2. a. breeze 3. wind, over 100x 4. wind, meaning one of the sides of the world 5. wind and God	6. breath which supports life 7. (not always distinguished from 6 with certainty) meaning the natural spirit of humanity, as sense, mind, intellectual frame of mind 13. particular types of spirit	10. a holy spirit … no hypostasis, but rather the power of prophetic inspiration in Is, and in Ps the power of giving life, the spirit (wind) of life. 11. the spirit as an autonomous entity over and against God 12. transferring the spirit from one person to another
DCH	3. spirit a. of Y.	1. wind a. wind, breeze b. wind, i.e. direction; side, corner c. wind, i.e. air d. wind, i.e. emptiness, vanity e. (breath of) wind, (mere) breath, as descr. of transitoriness of life	2. breath a. breath, blast (from nostrils or mouth) b. breath, i.e. (life-giving) spirit c. (mere) breath 3. spirit b. of or in humans b1. Life force, life principle, physical life b2. Vigour, vitality b3. Courage, inner strength b4. Mind, intellect b5. Disposition, feeling b6. Inclination, will b7. Seat of desire, longing b8. Temper, anger	3. spirit d. of living beings in Ezekiel's vision e. of divine beings f. of personified wisdom g. of the community h. power, force, of judgment, etc. j. spiritual substance

Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
		b9. Prophetic authority, ability to prophesy	k. perh. disembodied spirit
		b10. Moral character, inward nature	m. personified spirits: m1. in presence of Y.
		b11. Spiritual condition, spiritual qualities	m2. angelic beings
		b12. One's person, self, inner being	
		i. vital power, contrasted with flesh	
		l. two spirits that control humans	

Table 1.2. Glosses and explanations for רוּחַ in theological dictionaries

	Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
TLOT	4. the wind is frequently the object of divine rather than human action. 5. OT thought observes the wind "in its real physical manifestations" while also relating it to Yahweh. IV. 1. The experiences of *rûaḥ* are associated with God in various ways, "nevertheless, this correlation was not indiscriminate but led to particular, if not always easily distinguished, traditions within OT history."	2. *rûaḥ* as wind refers to "something found in motion with the power to set other things in motion."	7. The second basic meaning of *rûaḥ* is "breath," as a force expressed in respiration. This is not "normal" breathing, a component of human life ... but the particular process of breathing that expresses the human being's dynamic vitality. 9. The psychic component of the complex notion of vitality can assume the foreground more prominently. In this ramification *rûaḥ* forms a rich semantic field: it can describe an entire range of human frames of mind, from the strong emotions to the failure of all vitality. The original dynamic character of *rûaḥ* is also evident here: directly, *rûaḥ* indicates only	1. The basic meaning of *rûaḥ* is both "wind" and "breath", but neither is understood as essence; rather it is the power encountered in the breath and the wind, whose whence and wither remains mysterious.

	Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
			impulsive, life-strengthening psychic forces such as anger, rage ... courage, perseverance ... even more intense arrogance ... This usage of *rûaḥ* has frequent contact with that if *lēb* ... yet this affinity should not lead to the false definition of *rûaḥ* as "seat of the emotions" in analogy to *lēb* ... *rûaḥ* was not originally a component of the individual in the same manner, but a power that can govern a person not only from the inside but also from the outside.	
			10. *rûaḥ* is assimilated to the anthropological terms derived from names for organs (esp. *lēb* "heart") to mean the center of human volition and action. Its original dynamic character	

	Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
			is thus largely attenuated; it persists only to the extent that the entire OT anthropological understanding is dynamic. ... On the one hand *rûaḥ* means the innermost aspect of the human being; on the other hand it means the entire existence; thus in poetic language it can become a synonym for "I."	
NIDOTTE		1. wind 2. compass point	3. breath 4. disposition 5. seat of cognition and volition 6. spirit	
TDOT		a. Wind	The distinction and separation of these subjects in their relationship to one another and to the world first with an understanding of the living person as "a unit of vital power," manifesting itself through its activity above and beyond the corporeal limits	a. ... *rûaḥ* itself can also stand for the worthlessness of idols.

Theological	Meteorological	Anthropological	Other
		of the body. This activity is conceived as an "extension of the personality"; its force field is the locus of the *rûaḥ.* b. *Breath.* ... *rûaḥ* can also denote physical vitality. נפשׁ shares with *rûaḥ* the meanings "life" and "breath." In the majority of texts, however, *rûaḥ* is associated with Yahweh, whereas such an association is relatively rare in the case of *nepeš.* Like the "heart," *rûaḥ* denotes a person's "interior," the spiritual center from which the entire person is engaged. Not rarely we find *rûaḥ* used in the sense of "mind," parallel or synonymous with "heart"	

1.1.1.2 Analysis of רוּחַ in the lexica and dictionaries

There are evident differences between the lexica and dictionaries above. The reference lexica provide glosses to demonstrate usage alongside example texts that purportedly instantiate such uses. The 'theological' dictionaries explore the lexeme at greater length, interact more substantively with cognate languages, matters of historical linguistics and form criticism, and frequently attempt to correlate *words* with *concepts* as part of their 'theological' perspective.[1] Despite their distinct approaches, we may make two observations of their analyses of רוּחַ.

Firstly, there are strongly similar primary glosses and headwords for רוּחַ. These indicate a general judgement of the lexica that there are distinguishable but overlapping areas of usage of רוּחַ: meteorology (*wind, air in motion*); theology (*Spirit, spirit of God*); and anthropology (*breath, frame of mind*). The repetition of glosses and headwords across categories again indicates they are not discrete categories with clear boundaries. For example, *DCH* uses "spirit" for both typically theological (3a., "spirit of Yahweh") and anthropological instances of רוּחַ (3b., "spirit of or in humans").[2] Some instances appear to occupy a 'border zone'

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[1] Barr's critique of the methodology of 'theological' dictionaries is well-known in Anglophone scholarship, James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). Barr sought greater rigour in applying linguistic methodology to the study of biblical languages, especially in the areas of attempting to derive conceptual meaning from cognate languages, etymology, and imprecise relation of word and concept. We will return to these issues below.

[2] *DCH*, s.v. "רוּחַ," 3a–b.

between these phenomena, which may be categorised under any of their possible referents but must be related to all of them. Thus, the "breath, blast of air (from the nostrils)" (Exod 15:18; 2 Sam 22:16; Ps 18:16; Isa 30:28; 40:7; Job 4:9) may directly refer to the phenomenon of forcible breathing, yet appears almost exclusively with Yahweh as the agent, and is linked to imagery of destructive wind.[3] We could categorise it as an anthropological use of רוּחַ based on its reference to respiration. Yet, to fully describe it, we must relate it also to the theological and meteorological uses.

As part of relating the senses of רוּחַ to one another, each lexicon begins its discussion with one headword/category and relates others to this initial choice. Almost invariably, the primary gloss is *breath* or *wind,* often with theological connotations noted (as with *DCH* 2a above). The relationships between senses and categories are explained on historical, linguistic, or theological grounds, or appealing to abstracted concepts that attempt to justify ambiguous cases. For example, *TLOT* asserts that while "breath" and "wind" are central definitions of רוּחַ, each is motivated by the exertion of "force" or "power" underlying both.[4]

Secondly, while concrete uses of רוּחַ readily translate into English, the lexicographic descriptions of more abstract uses present an interpretative task of their own. When רוּחַ refers to an inner state of a human, phrases such as "frame of mind," "psychic forces," "vital

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[3] *DCH*, s.v. "רוּחַ," 2a.

[4] Westermann and Albertz, "רוּחַ," 3:1203.

essence," "spiritual condition," and even "emotion" are provided in explanation. However, these glosses themselves require interpretation. Each encodes a tacit understanding of a human's constituent parts, phenomenology, and theory of experiences. These are situated in specific traditions, cultures, and trends of theology, anthropology, and ethnography, that make it difficult to understand what the authors are trying to articulate about רוּחַ. A commonplace concept such as *emotion* does not help us comprehend רוּחַ without further explanation: does "emotion" here refer to classical distinctions between passions and affections? To folk conceptions of what is *felt* as opposed to what is *thought*? To the ongoing philosophical and neurological discussions of the interplay of cognitive processes, reactive behaviours, physiological manifestations, and cultural norms?[5] Less commonplace glosses regarding "vitality" and "psychic forces" prove similarly elusive. For example, when discussing רוּחַ, *TDOT* explains Israelite conceptions of the relationship between God and "world, humanity, and Israel," using the following:

> The distinction and separation of these subjects in their relationship to one another
>
> and to the world fit with an understanding of the living person as "a unit of vital
>
> power," manifesting itself through its activity above and beyond the corporeal limits

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[5] We cannot address such questions here, but see the following for philosophical, historical, neuroscientific, and cultural introductions to emotion studies. Robert C. Roberts, "What an Emotion Is: A Sketch," *PhR* 97 (1988): 183–209; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Andrew J. B. Cameron, "What Is At Stake? A Cultural Overview of the Emotions," in *True Feelings: Perspectives on Emotions in Christian Life and Ministry* (Nottingham: Apollos, 2012), 37–64.

of the body. This activity is conceived as an "extension of the personality;" its force

field is the locus of the *rûaḥ*.[6]

The phrases "unit of vital power" and "extension of the personality" are from Aubrey R.

Johnson's *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* but used here

without explanation of their meaning, nor their history and technical meaning in the early

ethnography of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl and Joseph van Wing.[7] These ethnographic descriptions

of African animistic worldviews are presented as accurate depictions of ancient Israelite

thought, and as elucidatory of this specific role of רוּחַ. While concision is necessary for

lexicography, these shorthand descriptions obscure rather than clarify such uses of רוּחַ.

One final note regarding the anthropological uses of רוּחַ in the lexica is the frequent

comparison with other Hebrew nouns such as נֶפֶשׁ and לֵב. For example, *BDB* aligns

"emotional" usage of רוּחַ with נֶפֶשׁ, and "mental" or "moral" uses with לֵב.[8] While we may

wish for greater clarity on what constitutes the *emotional, mental,* and *moral* characteristics

that make them comparable, the compatibility of these nouns is remarkable. For example,

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[6] Fabry and Tengström, "רוּחַ," 13:372.

[7] Aubrey R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1949), 2–3; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *L'âme primitive*, Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1927), 142; Joseph van Wing, *Études Bakgongo: sociologie, religion et magi*, Museum Lessianum: Section Missiologique 39 (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1959), 129. "Extension de la personnalité" is likely Johnson's translation of Lévy-Bruhl's citation of van Wing. We will examine more of Johnson's thought and influences shortly. However, *TDOT* fails to locate Johnson's initial use of these phrases and ideas within his discussion of נֶפֶשׁ rather than רוּחַ. See Johnson, *Vitality*, 3–22.

[8] *BDB*, s.v. "רוּחַ," 6, 7.

רוּחַ and לֵב appear 21x in parallel cola (for example, Ezek 11:19, 20; 18:31; 36:26–27), and all three lexemes appear in overlapping figurative expressions (such as קְצַר־רוּחַ ,וַתִּקְצַר נֶפֶשׁ; רוּחַ נִשְׁבָּרָה, לֵב־נִשְׁבָּר). The lexica correctly identify that to understand these uses of רוּחַ we must also consider the other related nouns. However, many fail to adequately explain how and why these terms co-occur with regularity in some contexts. Without such explanations, the common usage leads to a dissatisfying circularity in which רוּחַ is said to be 'like' נֶפֶשׁ/לֵב, and נֶפֶשׁ/לֵב 'like' רוּחַ.

1.1.1.3   Narrowing our focus to 'anthropological' uses of רוּחַ

This survey provides an entry point to understanding רוּחַ and reveals our lacunae of knowledge in several areas. While there is a readily apparent 'clustering' of usage around the three rough categories of meteorology, theology, anthropology, the relationship between these categories is elusive—as demonstrated by disparate uses that resist hard borders between these categories. Within the categories, the relationship between the senses associated with them is unclear. This lack of clarity is particularly evident in what we termed the *anthropological* category—the uses that attribute רוּחַ to a human being, or that use רוּחַ to depict human attributes and experiences.[9]

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[9] Thus, non-human beings may be described in human ways using רוּחַ, e.g. when God exhibits *anger* via hard breathing in Exod 15:8; Job 4:9; 2 Sam 22:16; Ps 18:16.

The anthropological 'cluster' exhibits great semantic complexity, with רוּחַ potentially referring to:

(1) Physiological *breath* as a phenomenon or as related to the presence or absence of *life.*

(2) Emotional experiences such as *anger* (Isa 25:4) or *impatience* (Mic 2:7; Prov 14:29; Job 32:18), possibly linked to breathing.

(3) The *character* or disposition of a person (Gen 41:8; Dan 2:3; Ezek 3:14; 1 Chron 5:26).

(4) The capacity/entity of a person related to *volition* (Exod 35:21), *desire* (2 Sam 13:39), or *wisdom* (Job 32:8).

(5) A general depiction of "one's person, self, inner being."[10]

Given the variety of possible meaning even within a single category of usage, we suggest that rather than a global survey that seeks to account for every usage of רוּחַ, a more focussed study within one category of use may provide new insights into the semantics of רוּחַ. Many previous focussed studies have inclined towards examining the theological uses of רוּחַ as part of investigations of 'the Spirit of God.'[11] Given the relative lack of attention in the literature,

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[10] *DCH* s.v. "רוּחַ," 12.

[11] While the literature on theological uses of רוּחַ is vast, the following texts provide a helpful representative sample of twentieth and twenty-first century insights: Paul Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschließenden Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910); Paul van Imschoot, "L'action de l'esprit de Jahvé dans l'Ancien Testament," *RSPhTh* 23

their semantic breadth, and the complexity of these sense-relations, we will seek to identify

what constitutes an *anthropological* use, examine the range of such uses, and how they relate

to one another and the other 'categories' of use.

1.1.2   Relatives of רוּחַ in Ancient Near Eastern Contexts

Shortly we will survey a portion of recent scholarship on anthropological uses of רוּחַ and

how insights from Cognitive Linguistics may assist in a more focused and detailed study of

such uses. Before this, we will briefly examine similar terms to רוּחַ in related cultures and

language communities.

1.1.2.1   Cross-cultural links between "breath," "wind," and "spirit"

At the outset, it is worth briefly noting that semantic and conceptual associations between

"wind," "air," "breath," and "notions of soul and life-force" appear common across history

and cultures.[12] David Parkin notes semantic connections between these ideas in Sanskrit,

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(1934): 553–87; Lloyd Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1972); Wilf Hildebrandt, *An Old Testament Theology of the Spirit of God* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995); Mareike Verena Blischke, *Der Geist Gottes im Alten Testament*, FAT2 112 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019). A rare contribution that focuses on the meteorological uses of רוּחַ as a means to understand the theological is Manfred Dreytza, *Der theologische Gebrauch von RUAH im Alten Testament: Eine wort- und satzsemantisch Studie*, MSt (Giessen: Brunnen, 1993).

[12] David Parkin, "Wafting on the Wind: Smell and the Cycle of Spirit and Matter," *JRAI* 13 (2007): 39–53. See also Anthony Peile, "Le Concept du Vent, du Souffle et de l'âme Chez les Aborigènes dans le désert de l'Australia," *Bulletin d'Ethnomédecine* 33 (1985): 75–83; David Howes, "On the Odour of the Soul: Spatial Representation and Olfactory Classification in Eastern Indonesia and Western Melanesia," *BKI* 144 (1988): 84–113.

Latin, Greek, Semitic languages, and several related languages in the East African Bantu family. "Though highly variable cross-culturally, this complex of associations is globally and historically widespread."[13] Much contemporary ethnographical research into this topic examines the connection between olfaction and either human or independent "spirits." We can only speculate on similar relationships in the ancient world, although the possible morphological relationship of ריח "to smell," to רוּחַ may reflect such a "complex of associations."[14]

1.1.2.2   Ancient Near Eastern cognates of רוּחַ

A detailed examination of terms related to רוּחַ is beyond the scope of our analysis. However, we will briefly survey three categories of comparative languages to note how similar words and similar ideas are related to one another. We will examine:

(1) Languages that are typologically related to BH and that co-occur in biblical texts or with strong influence from biblical texts: Biblical (Imperial) Aramaic and Syriac.[15] These follow similar patterns of usage to BH רוּחַ.

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[13] Parkin, "Wafting on the Wind," 40–41.

[14] *CDCH*, s.v. "ריח." The etymology and number of roots associated with רוח/ריח is uncertain, Tryggve Kronholm, "רוח," *TDOT* 13:361.

[15] "Biblical Aramaic" is a term of convenience referring to the Aramaic texts found within the Hebrew Bible. It does not suggest a unique lect of Aramaic, as the biblical texts largely reflect Imperial Aramaic, Holger Gzella, "Imperial Aramaic," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger, HSK 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 583–84.

(2) Languages related to BH as part of the wider Semitic family of language, which exhibit potentially different sense distributions to BH: Ugaritic, Phoenician, Old and Middle Aramaic, and Akkadian.

(3) A single example of a linguistically distinct but interesting parallel term: the Egyptian hieroglyph, �face.

1.1.2.2.1   Imperial Aramaic and Syriac

As a dominant regional language, the influence of Aramaic on the Hebrew Bible is significant. In the Aramaic portions of the HB, רוח appears eleven times, all within the book of Daniel. These include Daniel 2:35; 4:5, 6, 15; 5:11, 12, 14, 20; 6:4; 7:2, 15. In Daniel 2:35; 7:2, רוח refers to *wind*. Some texts refer to Daniel's רוּחַ יַתִּירָא, "extraordinary *rûaḥ*," (Dan 5:12; 6:4) within him, contextually related to the possession of wisdom, and also characterised as רוּחַ אֱלָהִין / קַדִּישִׁין, "*rûaḥ* of the gods / holy gods" (Dan 4:8, 9, 15; 5:11, 14). While the nature of these characterisations is obscure, they suggest that רוח can both refer to an entity within (בְּ) Daniel and a possible point of comparisons with divine beings—a point of contact between the anthropological and theological categories above. Anthropological uses are also seen in Daniel 5:20; 7:15, where Nebuchadnezzar's רוּחַ is "made strong" (תקף, in the sense of hardening, Exod 7:13 Tg.), and Daniel's "distressed" (כרה),

suggesting רוּחַ is an internal entity "from which proceeds the human feelings, intentions, etc."[16]

The documents of the Judean Desert contain approximately 120 Aramaic texts of heterogeneous lectal character.[17] רוח appears fifty-six times in the published corpus, excluding reconstructions. Many of these appear in retellings or commentaries on biblical or pseudepigraphal texts, such as Genesis (Genesis Apocryphon [1Q20], 10x), Enoch (4Q204; 4Q206; 4Q209; 4Q210, 12x total), and Job (11Q Targum of Job [11Q10], 10x). While numerous texts are too fragmented for semantic analysis, we may observe similar semantic 'clusters' to BH. רוח refers to *wind* (11Q10 13:6; 16:4; 31:2 // Job 28:25; 30:15; 38:24),[18] including its metonymic representation of the cardinal directions (1Q20 22:8, cf. Dan 7:2).[19] It also refers to *breath* in the compound ורוח נשמוהי (4Q534 1 i 10), although given the Messianic context may link רוח again with the divine Spirit.[20] רוח may also refer to entities internal to the human that may be "oppressed" (אנס, 1Q20 2:13); "corrupted" (שחת, 1Q20 2:17); and "arrogant" (רם, 11Q10 34:6, 8 // גֵּאֶה, Job 40:10, 12); and perhaps even of character

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[16] E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:706. Lipiński labels this force "soul," while Cook uses "spirit" as a generic headword for all anthropological uses in *DQA,* s.v. "רוח I," 3.

[17] Holger Gzella, "Late Imperial Aramaic," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger, HSK 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 600. A *lect* is any distinct variety of language—a more generic term than *dialect, ethnolect, idolect,* etc.

[18] Contra E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:706, in 11Q10 36:2 (// Job 41:8), רוח likely refers instead to *space*, see *CAL,* s.v. "rwḥ, "rwḥʾ 2," 2.

[19] *CAL,* s.v. "rwḥ, "rwḥʾ," 1a.

[20] E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:706.

more generally (4Q538 1 II 4). One remarkable use appears to reflect the entire disembodied post-mortem person, רוח אנש מת (4Q206 1 XXII 3–4 // ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς … τὸ πνεῦμα 1En 22:5–6). The greatest variation from BH usage is the increase in references to non-human, non-divine *spirits* responsible for illness and misfortune (1Q20 20:16, 20, 26, 28, 29; 11Q10 2:6 // Job 19:17).[21]

Classical Syriac exhibits similar morphology and semantic tendencies to both BH and BA.[22] Given the influence of the biblical text on preserved Syriac texts via the Peshitta, it is unsurprising that ܪܘܚܐ displays a similar semantic range: *wind* (Matt 7:25 Syr.); *breath* (Gen 6:17 Syr.); the *spirit* internal to the human and contrasted with the body (Matt 26:41 Syr.); demonic *spirits* (Matt 10:1 Syr.; Acts 19:16 Syr.); and the *divine Spirit* (Matt 10:20 Syr.; Rev 1:10 Syr.). There are two apparent variations from BA and BH. Firstly, we note an increase in references to the divine Spirit, presumably under the influence of NT pneumatology. Secondly, the use of ܪܘܚܐ to refer to an *odour* (Exod 5:21 Syr.; *Aph.* 24.17).[23]

The closest related languages to BH display a very similar semantic range to רוּחַ. The major categories of meteorology, anthropology, and theology are all represented, although with variations in the concentration of usage that reflect later literary contexts and theological

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[21] *CAL,* s.v. "rwḥ, "rwḥʔ," 3; E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:707. See also Jastrow, s.v. "רוּחַ II," 4.

[22] See John F. Healey, "Syriac," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger, HSK 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 643–45.

[23] We noted above the common association between words of *smell/spirit/breath* and BH רֵיחַ/רִיח with רוּחַ. Perhaps what is subtly distinguished in BA and BH is a homograph in Syriac, so *CAL*, s.v. "rwḥ."

influences. The increase in demonological uses at Qumran reflect the literary influence of works such as Enoch and Tobit, as well as broader shifts in Second Temple thought.[24] Similarly, Christian thought and texts appear to have influenced a greater use of ܪܘܚܐ in Syriac for the hypostasised divine Spirit.

1.1.2.2.2   Other Semitic languages

The second category of comparative languages includes Eastern Semitic Akkadian alongside Northwest Semitic representatives such as Ugaritic, Phoenician, and Old and Middle Aramaic.[25] We will briefly cite exemplary texts of different uses of words, some morphologically related to רוּחַ, others with similar semantic content.

(1) Ugaritic *rḥ*

In the limited corpus available, the Ugaritic term most similar morphologically to רוּחַ is the rarely used *rḥ*.[26] It refers to *wind* proximate to other meteorological terms in two texts in the Baal Cycle (UDB 1.5 V 7; 1.13:34). It also may refer to *scent* in the context of the application of cosmetics, which may be a related sense (that is, an instance of polysemy) or a homograph

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[24] So, for example, Elisa Uusimäki and Hanne von Weissenberg, "Angels and Demons: Spiritual Beings in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Magic in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean: Cognitive, Historical, and Material Perspectives on the Bible and Its Contexts*, ed. Nina Nikki and Kirsi Valkama, MO 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 259–74.

[25] While the subdivisions of the Semitic language family are debated, this typology will suffice for our survey.

[26] *DULAT*, s.v. "rḥ I."

(UDB 1.3 II 2).[27] There are no extant texts which suggest a direct anthropological referent.

In the 'Aqhatu Epic, UDB 1.18 IV 25, 34 depicts the loss of life (*npš* par. *brlt*) as being "like

wind" (*km rḥ* par. *km iṯl* and *qṭr*). This text does not equate *vitality* with *rḥ* so much as

indicates that the "going out" (*ysʾ*) of the *npš* "somehow resembles the movement of the

wind."[28] Ugaritic *rḥ* reflects the meteorological use of BH רוּחַ, and the later Aramaic use for

scent, but prefers *npš* when referring to the life or internal aspects of a person.

(2) Phoenician and Punic *rḥ*

Given the small vocabulary extant in the surviving Phoenician corpus (<700 words), it is

remarkable that there are several instances of *rḥ* present. These instances demonstrate uses

not seen in the other Northwestern or Eastern Semitic cognates, so we present some text

fragments rather than citations as elsewhere.

KAI 1:79, lines 10–11 (=*CIS* 1 3785)

מי ושפט תנת פן בעל ברח אדם הא

...let Tinnit, face of Baal, judge the *rḥ* of that man[29]

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[27] *DULAT* distinguishes the two uses on analogy with Aramaic, *DULAT*, s.v. "rḥ II."

[28] Matthew McAffee, *Life and Mortality in Ugaritic: A Lexical and Literary Study*, EANEC 7 (University Park: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 99.

[29] See further Richard S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, SBLDS 32 (Missoula: Scholars, 1978), 303; François Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions Phéniciennes de Karatepe*, HÉO 11 (Geneva: Droz, 1979), 119.

CIS 1 6000 *bis,* line 4

לסכר על מאספת עשמי טנאת כ רח דל קדשל ר[ן]

...erected as a memorial over the collection of his bones, because his *rḥ* is rejoicing with (the)

holy ones[30]

CIS 1 5510, line 2

[בר]ח האדמם המת וברחת אזרתנם

...[the *r*]*ḥt* of these men and the *rḥt* of their clans/families(?) [31]

The limited context of many of these inscriptions makes precise interpretation difficult.

However, the three texts above all relate *rḥ* to a human person in the context of death or

judgement (or judgement after death). Regarding *CIS* 6000 *bis* line 4 and *KAI* 1:79 lines 10–

11, Schmitz sees "a clear statement of belief in the survival of the spirit after death."[32] While

we might desire more clarity on what "spirit" means, at the very least, these inscriptions refer

to an entity attributed to a human and possibly as that which exists post-mortem.

(3) Old Aramaic רוח

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[30] Philip C. Schmitz, *The Phoenician Diaspora: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 87.

[31] See *DNSWI,* s.v. "rḥ 1."

[32] Schmitz, *The Phoenician Diaspora*, 95.

There is limited evidence of רוח in Old Aramaic apart from the biblical texts explored above. The major exception is the third Sefire Stele dated to ca. 750 BCE.[33] The fragment גבר זי יבעה רוח אפוה (III.a2) combines רוח with אפו, suggesting רוח means *breath* (compare Exod 15:8; Lam 4:20).[34]

(4) Middle Aramaic רוח

Two Palmyrene inscriptions combine רוח with a temporal noun (שנין and ירח, *PAT* 0404.5; *PAT* 0446.5, respectively) in the context of thanksgiving for healing. These appear to mean something akin to *relief*—possibly a figurative extension of its use for *breath*—that is, "time to breath"—or perhaps a spatial metaphor depicting the release of constraint as the relief of distress (*PAT* 1624.8).[35]

(5) Akkadian

Akkadian is marked by relative antiquity and abundance of texts compared to the Semitic languages above. It also reflects a different branch of the Semitic family, and lacks the *rḥ* morphology common to the Northwest Semitic branch. The meanings associated with *rḥ* are found instead across *šāru, napištu,* and *eṭemmu. Šāru* is the typical word for *wind* (see BH

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[33] See *KAI* 222; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*, Rev. ed., BibOr 19A (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1995), 17–20.

[34] Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 142; E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:706. The verb בעי is less clear, but appears to indicate breathing as representative of hostility (possibly analogous to בעום רוח, Isa 11:15), Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 143.

[35] See *CAL*, s.v. "rwḥ, "rwḥ² 2;" E. Lipiński, "רוח," *TDOT* 16:705.

סְעָרָה/סַעַר "intense wind, storm"). *Napištu* is the closest semantic equivalent to BH רוּחַ, referring to *life, breath*, and even the *person pars pro toto*.[36] The related *napšu* is characterised as a divine endowment from the gods to humanity in granting them life (*En. El.* VI 129).[37] The *eṭemmu* is a component of the human person that survives post-mortem, was closely linked with the presence of bones (*eṣemtu*), and often indicated by wind-phenomena.[38] While BH rarely depicts a human רוּחַ in this way, the Aramaic text of Tobit from Qumran (4Q206 1 xxii 3–4) may indicate QA רוח could function in this way.

Our survey resonates with much of Leonid Kogan's reconstructed lexicon of Proto-Semitic. Kogan posits there was no single PS term for *wind*. Rather, Central Semitic tended towards variations upon **rwḥ,* while Eastern Semitic tended towards **nVpāš* (from PS **npš* "to blow"), and Akkadian distinguished itself with *šāru*.[39] All of these terms are shared to some degree between the Semitic family. However, concerning our study, we note that while *breath* appears a reasonably common extension of *wind*—and the concepts of *breath* and *life* regularly associated—it is only within Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, and the closely-

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[36] *CAD* 11.1, s.v. "*napištu*." See also Ulrike Steinert, *Aspekte des Menschseins im Alten Mesopotamien: Eine Studie zu Person und Identität im 2. und 1. Jt. v. Chr*, Cuneiform Monographs 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 271–93.

[37] *CAD* 11.1, s.v. "*napšu*."

[38] Renata MacDougal, "Remembrance and the Dead in Second Millennium BC Mesopotamia" (PhD Thesis, University of Leicester, 2014), 108–11. See also Steinert, *Aspekte des Menscheins im Alten Mesopotamien*, 299–347. On the relationship of *eṭemmu* and *breath/wind*, see especially 315–23.

[39] Leonid Kogan, "Proto-Semitic Lexicon," in *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger, HSK 36 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2012), 193. Capital *V* in transliteration indicates a variable vowel sound.

associated Qumranic Aramaic and Classical Syriac, that we see the complex of anthropological uses of *rwḥ developed.[40] In particular, the reference to the internal aspect of a person appears peculiarly within these languages. In Akkadian and Ugaritic, *napištu* exhibits many similar uses and semantic developments of the anthropological uses of BH רוּחַ.[41] The use of *rwḥ for *wind* may indicate a rough historical process by which BH רוּחַ developed from meteorological to anthropological usage, with significant unique developments occurring in the latter sphere.

1.1.2.2.3   The Egyptian *sail* hieroglyph

While Egyptian hieroglyphs are linguistically distinct from the Semitic family, the determinative hieroglyph 𓊝 (ṯꜣw) shows a similar movement from meteorological to anthropological usage. 𓊝 (ṯꜣw) refers both the concrete object, *sail,* as well as *wind*, that which fills sails to move ships.[42] The Papyrus of Nakht, Spell 38A links this *wind* to the existence of *life*. Indeed, later depictions feature a figure holding both a mast and an ankh (another symbol of life) in their hands.[43] It seems plausible that the movement from *wind* to

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[40] The provocative possible exceptions of Phoenician and Punic beg for further work to validate and explore their usage.

[41] See the comparison of *npš* with related anthropological terms in Ugaritic in McAffee, *Life and Mortality in Ugaritic: A Lexical and Literary Study*, 67–124. PS *naps-* for "soul as receptacle of vital energy is ubiquitous," Kogan, "Proto-Semitic Lexicon," 227.

[42] *EHD,* s.v. "maā;" Gardiner P5, p.499.

[43] Elisabeth Steinbach-Eicke, "Taste Metaphors in Hieroglyphic Egyptian," in *Perception Metaphors*, ed. Laura J. Speed et al., CELCR 19 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2019), 148.

life occurred via analogy with *breath*, as appears to occur in *rwḥ in Aramaic and BH, as well as with *npš in Akkadian and Ugaritic.

1.1.2.3 Summary of cognate languages

From this survey, we see a similar semantic range for terms related to BH רוּחַ across the Semitic family of languages. The morphologically related *rḫ* tends to refer to the meteorological phenomenon of *wind* across several languages, with an extended meaning of *breath* especially evident in Northwest Semitic. Phoenician and Punic inscriptions are exceptions to this pattern, where *rḫ* is anthropological in referent and appears to indicate an aspect or part of the person. The broadest range of extant uses appears in BH and BA, especially within the anthropological sphere. Similar semantic developments are observable with different lexemes in Akkadian, and to a lesser extent Ugaritic, where *napištu* may refer to *breath*, *life*, or the *person* as a whole.

1.2 Previous Studies of רוּחַ and the Human Person

Given the polysemy of רוּחַ, its complex uses in texts, as well as the tendency to focus on divine uses, the literature examining this key term is both substantial and difficult to summarise. Our examination of the lexica above has already introduced something of the present state of research, and we engage significant numbers of contemporary studies in the analysis to follow. This section will focus on a relatively small number of contributions from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries representing the most widely cited works in

subsequent literature. We distinguish between those works examining רוּחַ in general, with remarks on anthropological uses as part of a survey of the word's overall usage; and those works studying anthropology more broadly, with remarks on רוּחַ as part of a survey of other biblical words/ideas of humanity. Where pertinent, we will seek to identify these elements in each work:

(1) The semantic category treated as primary or determinative of other uses of רוּחַ.

(2) Any 'core meaning' posited for רוּחַ.

(3) The relationships between categories of use for רוּחַ, especially between the anthropological and other categories.

(4) The relationships between senses within categories of use for רוּחַ, especially between anthropological use.

(5) How related anthropological terms such as לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ are understood to relate to רוּחַ.

1.2.1   רוּחַ Orientated Studies

1.2.1.1   William Ross Schoemaker (1904)

Schoemaker began the study of רוּחַ in the twentieth century with an attempt to "trace the growth in meaning, as well as to classify every occurrence in the Old Testament, of the

Hebrew term רוּחַ."[44] Accordingly, he divides the biblical attestations into four time periods

from circa 900 BCE through to the Maccabean era and sorting the texts into their uses of רוּחַ

according to his temporal schema.

In his "Earliest" period (ca. 900–700 BCE), Schoemaker offers *wind* and *spirit* as the

chronologically earliest senses for רוּחַ and seeks to account for other senses as extensions of

these earlier ones. Wind, as a "powerful and invisible force," is directly controlled by God

and so readily "designates the unseen but powerful influences which appeared to operate

within the physical and psychical life of man."[45] This influence is primarily the impartation

of "strength, courage, and anger" to heroic figures and "religious frenzy … to be able to

receive and communicate the divine message" to prophets.[46] In time, רוּחַ begins to refer

directly to strength and courage.[47] Schoemaker argues a clear direction to the relationship

between theological and anthropological uses in this earliest period: "the concept of the spirit

of man is an outgrowth of the concept of the spirit of God."[48]

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[44] William Ross Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ in the Old Testament, and of Πνευμα in the New Testament: A Lexicographical Study," *JBL* 23 (1904): 13. One prior study is frequently referenced alongside Schoemaker, Charles A. Briggs, "The Use of רוח in the Old Testament," *JBL* 19 (1900): 132–45. Briggs provides little to no analysis of the term, presenting only subheadings and exemplar passages, and so is excluded from this survey.

[45] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 14.

[46] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 15–16.

[47] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 18–19.

[48] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 19.

The theological uses of רוּחַ are absent from Schoemaker's "Deuteronomic" era (ca. 700–550

BCE).[49] Given his concurrent argument that there was otherwise no semantic change in רוּחַ

in this period, it seems unlikely that such a crucial, even primary, use of the word would so

neatly cease.[50] His brief justification (the disrepute of ecstatic prophets) to explain this

absence requires significant further validation.[51]

The "Babylonian and Early Persian" era (ca. 550–400 BCE) sees significant development in

the use of רוּחַ. The theological use re-emerges, and a vital anthropological sense, *breath,*

develops by analogy from *wind.* The two are not related by a shared concept of "air" but by

similar characteristics of "energy and invisibility."[52] Breath is extended to *life*, especially as a

contingent gift from God.[53] Prior uses of רוּחַ for human characteristics (initially of explicit

divine origin) is extended to "technical skill and knowledge."[54]

The "Late Persian and Greek" period (ca. 400 BCE to the Maccabean era) follows the

trajectories of the Persian, with metonymic extensions such as *life* (from *breath*) featuring

more frequently, and prior emotional referents such as *courage* being extended negatively to

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[49] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 20.

[50] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 22.

[51] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 20.

[52] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 14, 23.

[53] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 24–25.

[54] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 25–26.

include "depression, anguish, and distress."[55] The exception to this trajectory is the sudden

absence of theological uses of רוּחַ from sapiential literature.[56]

After concluding his examination of רוּחַ, Schoemaker applies the same categories to the use

of πνεῦμα in Classical Greek, the LXX, Apocrypha, Philo, Josephus, and the New

Testament.[57] This section is less exhaustive than the Hebrew, in part due to the much larger

Greek corpus.

Schoemaker is comprehensive in accounting for every use of רוּחַ in the Hebrew Bible. He

provides a plausible if skeletal framework for how its meanings developed. This framework

is dependent upon his dating texts and portions of texts to particular eras (according to the

broad agreement of the turn of the century), and at times artificially constrains Shoemaker's

analysis. For example, Schoemaker argues on historical grounds that רוּחַ as *life* cannot be

found prior to the Babylonian period, as *wind* had not yet developed into *breath.* Yet, because

he dates Jahwist texts to the <700 BCE period, the "revival" of individuals in Judges 15:19

and 1 Samuel 30:12 must refer to "strength."[58] A further, considerable, methodological issue

is the movement from רוּחַ to πνεῦμα using identical categories. Without any argumentation

for how this movement takes place, it implies a simple chronological step rather than moving

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[55] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 31–32, 34.

[56] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 33.

[57] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 35–67.

[58] Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 18.

from one language to another.[59] A second key issue is a limitation on substantive analysis forced by the scope of his project. As the range of senses become more numerous and complicated, Schoemaker begins to cite more exemplar texts and offer few comments on how and why רוּחַ develops.[60]

1.2.1.2   Daniel Lys (1962)

Lys presents a second, more comprehensive, survey of רוּחַ.[61] Following the trajectory set by his prior work on נֶפֶשׁ, he blends a basic diachronic framework with genre categories to pursue a detailed historical-grammatical study.[62] His chronology is looser than Schoemaker's, preferring the Babylonian Exile as a convenient locus around which to coordinate the literary and historical dimensions of the texts.[63] Each era is then examined according to the historical, prophetic, or legal nature of the texts.[64] We summarise Lys' matrix via his allocation of instances of רוּחַ in table 1.3.

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[59] Schoemaker asserts πνεῦμα as "corresponding" to רוּחַ in a footnote, Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 35 n. 18.

[60] Perhaps most obvious in the listing of emotional experiences as explanation of "the human spirit" in the late Persian era, Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ and πνεῦμα," 34.

[61] Daniel Lys, *Rûach. Le souffle dans L'Ancien Testament: enquête anthropologique à travers l'histoire théologique d'Israël*, ÉHPR 56 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962).

[62] He establishes his methodology in Daniel Lys, *Néphésh. Histoire de l'ame dans la révélation d'Israël au sein des religions proche-orientales*, ÉHPR 50 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959) ch. 1. The interconnection of "histoire politico-religieuse et histoire littéraire" leading to this matrix is attributed in part to Adolphe Lods, *Israël: des origines au milieu du VIIIe siècle* (Paris: Renaissance du Livre, 1930); Lys, *Néphésh*, 9 n. 1.

[63] Lys, *Rûach*, 15–16.

[64] Lys, *Rûach*, 16–18.

Table 1.3. Instances of רוּחַ according to Lys, *Rûach*

	Préexiliques	Exiliques	Postexiliques	Lyriques	Sapientaux
Historiques	62	1	42	-	-
Prophétiques	41	66	56	-	-
Juridiques	0	6	0	-	-
Lyriques	-	-	-	40	-
Sapientaux	-	-	-	-	75

Lys views sapiential texts and the Psalter as generically and historically distinct from his schema (despite accounting for 115/389 instances of רוּחַ), and so treats them independently.[65] Within each section of his chronological/generic analysis, Lys distinguishes between meteorological (*vent*), theological (*Dieu*), and anthropological (*homme*) uses of רוּחַ. He recognises that רוּחַ readily refers to entities that do not neatly fit such clear distinctions, but they provide a starting point.[66] For each collection of texts, Lys classifies the instances of רוּחַ within their categories of use, and admirably maps patterns such as grammatical gender, modifying articles, and related words (especially נֶפֶשׁ).

Lys consciously orients his work towards anthropological uses of רוּחַ, seeking "des précisions sur la nature de l'homme," which necessarily involves significant reference to the theological category, as "l'anthropologie (qui n'est pas le but de la révélation biblique) est une révélation dérivée de la théologie."[67] Thus Lys approaches רוּחַ with reference to the *divine spirit*, a way of articulating God's relation to his creation. Rather than God's רוּחַ being

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[65] Lys, *Rûach*, 16.

[66] Lys, *Rûach*, 26.

[67] Lys, *Rûach*, 25.

anthropomorphically understood, the human רוּחַ should be understood as a "théomorphisme."[68]

Concerning emotional experiences expressed with רוּחַ, Lys suggests they may be motivated by the "rythme du souffle dans les emotions."[69] However, he does little to explore the nature and significance of this relationship.

Lys again seeks maximal comprehensiveness in his study. While he gives more space to his analysis than Schoemaker, at times he still cites texts as exemplary of a posited use of רוּחַ rather than exploring them in context. However, his thoroughness and attention to grammatical details ensures the continuing relevance of this work for engagement.

1.2.1.3   John R. Levison (2009)

Levison's monograph self-consciously stands in the tradition of Hermann Gunkel's *The Influence of the Holy Spirit*.[70] Following a broad *Religionsgeschichte* approach, Levison incorporates an enormous amount of material into an engaging and readable study. His scope allows for many stimulating parallels to be drawn across texts, languages, and epochs, with wide-reaching networks of intertextuality highlighted, and patterns of diachronic

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[68] Lys, *Rûach*, 57.

[69] Lys, *Rûach*, 327.

[70] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*; Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul*, trans. Roy A. Harrisville and Philip A. Quanbeck II, Translation of *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2008).

continuity and discontinuity glimpsed. Levison moves through three collections of literature: Israelite (Hebrew Bible), Jewish (Qumran, Apocrypha, Philo, Pseudo-Philo's *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*), and Early Christian (New Testament) texts. He argues that Israelite conceptions of *spirit* are motivated primarily by the idea of the *life-breath* given by God to all creatures (see Gen 2:7; Ps 104:29–30; Eccl 3:19–21; 12:7; Job 34:14–15). This central sense extends into the other contexts seen in Hebrew texts such as wisdom, prophecy, *charismata,* and character.[71] The second section on Jewish literature incorporates many of the insights from Levison's prior monograph, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*.[72] He attributes charismatic and revelatory understandings of *spirit* to the influence of Hellenistic thought and semantics upon the Second Temple period, such as the Stoic 'world spirit' and the ecstatic prophecies of the Delphic Oracle.[73] Such influences affect this period's reading of the Israelite writings and lay the conceptual and theological groundwork for the pneumatology of the New Testament.

There is much to commend in the scope and clarity of Levison's work, especially its concern for close reading of individual texts to illuminate what specific words mean in actual use. Notable, too, is his detailed analysis of themes not covered extensively elsewhere, such as the relationship of 'spirit' to wisdom. However, one significant issue is the assumption that

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[71] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 14–33. In this sense, his work is not entirely focussed on רוּחַ, but given his roughly chronological structure, the first section effectively concerns רוּחַ.

[72] John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[73] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 151–53, 176–177, respectively.

Hebrew רוּחַ, Greek πνεῦμα, and Latin *spiritus* all refer to the same thing, *spirit.* There are undoubted intertextual, translational, and historical connections between the religious texts using these terms demonstrated throughout the book. Still, it is problematic to equate three words across three languages over a long period as 'meaning' the same thing. The ambiguity of the term *spirit* only exacerbates this problem. Levison's strength in seeing larger patterns leads to a tendency to generalise which is seen in several ways throughout his work. For example, he assumes that the Hebrew of, say, Genesis and Job is entirely equivalent to that of a text from Qumran. Elsewhere he treats רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ as semantically identical because they appear in similar passages in the Qumran document *4QInstruction.* Despite these flaws, *Filled with the Spirit* is a significant contribution to scholarship on רוּחַ, πνεῦμα, and *spiritus.*

1.2.2   Anthropologically Orientated Studies

1.2.2.1   Aubrey R. Johnson (1964)

Johnson attempts to construct a "fairly representative" treatment of Old Testament anthropology.[74] His point of departure is the "synthetic" mindset of ancient Israelites, with an emphasis upon perspectives of a whole rather than analytic divisions into parts.[75] As mentioned above, Johnson was heavily influenced by late nineteenth and early twentieth-

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[74] Johnson, *Vitality*, v.

[75] Johnson, *Vitality*, 1–2. In Johnson's second edition, he cites Barr's *The Semantics of Biblical Language* as a helpful caution when relating the "Hebrew language" and the "Israelite mind," but does not seem to alter his argument in light of Barr's work.

century ethnography of small-scale oral societies ("primitive peoples"), and chooses as his central concept the imprecise ethnographic concept of "soul-stuff"—that which such societies see as essential to the person but present in each part.[76] He associated נֶפֶשׁ most strongly with *soul-stuff,* followed by רוּחַ.[77] רוּחַ is primarily *wind,* which given its "intensity and changeable ... ways," came to be used as *spirit* "in order to denote the equally variable behaviour of human beings."[78]

The development of רוּחַ may then be divided into two periods: "early" and "Exilic and after." The "early" period used רוּחַ to refer to being "full of life" indicated by "physical energy or mental alertness," as well as the charismatic empowerment by God's רוּחַ in, for example, Judges.[79] This quite vague central meaning then experiences a "sharp polarization" into the Exilic *breath* (= נְשָׁמָה), and the "much more colourful and interesting" *psychical* usage, which appears to refer to emotional and experiential uses.[80] Again, Johnson derives the emotional/experiential usage from the meteorological:

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[76] Johnson, *Vitality*, 2. While the phrase "soul-stuff" appears frequently in ethnography even to this day, Johnson attributes his use to the Dutch anthropologist A. C. Kruyt. See the similar move in H. Wheeler Robinson's unifying concept of the "living-soul" in the Israelite worldview. H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1913), 15.

[77] Johnson, *Vitality*, 3–22; 23–37 respectively.

[78] Johnson, *Vitality*, 24–25.

[79] Johnson, *Vitality*, 25.

[80] Johnson, *Vitality*, 27–28; 30 respectively. See a similar chronological and semantic breakdown in Robinson, *Doctrine of Man*, 18–19.

The vagaries of the רוּחַ, *qua* 'wind', also made it the obvious term for denoting almost any mood, disposition, or frame of mind (as we say); and indeed it seems to have been possible to resort to it as a means of expressing the whole range of man's emotional, intellectual, and volitional life.[81]

It is in this latter period that "more psychical powers" come to be attributed directly to Yahweh's רוּחַ, leading to the kinds of ecstatic experiences of Ezekiel, or the "quiet skill of the craftsman or, indeed, the simple intelligence of the ordinary individual."[82] This implies a new awareness of dependence upon the רוּחַ of Yahweh not only for life but "also the very potentialities of their psychical life."[83]

Johnson helpfully pursues an integrative picture of the human person in the Hebrew Bible. However, his idiosyncratic adoption of ethnographic categories and lack of explanation for the sudden proliferation of uses post-Exile lessens the explanatory power of his sweeping suggestions. The derivation of the experiential uses of רוּחַ from the meteorological is novel but fails to account for the actual figurative use in texts where *breath* is far more significant for emotional depiction that *wind* (as we will demonstrate in our analysis).

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[81] Johnson, *Vitality*, 31.

[82] Johnson, *Vitality*, 34.

[83] Johnson, *Vitality*, 35.

1.2.2.2   Hans Walter Wolff (1973)

Wolff's monograph is one of the most influential works on the anthropology of the Hebrew Bible in the twentieth century.[84] He too seeks a "biblical anthropology," which will "seek its point of departure where there is a recognizable question about man within the texts themselves."[85] Wolff approaches this by first examining several key terms, בָּשָׂר, נֶפֶשׁ, לֵב, and רוּחַ, as well as concepts such as *life*, *inner parts*, the *form of the body*, and the *nature of man*.[86] Influenced by the synthetic worldview thesis of Johnson and others, he identifies רוּחַ as presenting the human person as "der ermächtigte Mensch."[87] Citing Lys, he considers רוּחַ "einen theo-anthropologischen Begriff," applying both to God and human.[88] The core meaning is *wind,* extended to *breath* as "der 'Wind' des Menschen."[89] It is the *movement* of wind that extends its meaning to both *breath* and *feelings*, which, like Johnson, are entirely distinct semantic developments: "so können wir den Weg vom »Atem« bis zum »Geist« als

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[84] Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments* (Munich: Kaiser, 1973); Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament*, trans. Margaret Kohl (London: SCM, 1981). As a rough metric, Google Scholar lists 162 citations of Levison's *Filled with the Spirit,* 156 of Johnson's book, 37 of Lauha's monograph, and 595 of the English translation of Wolff's *Anthropologie*.

[85] Wolff, *Anthropology*, 3. We will occasionally cite the English translation for clarity.

[86] "Die Beschränkung auf drei oder vier Grund-/Haupt-Begriffe ist in der nachfolgenden Forschung bis heute erhalten geblieben," Andreas Wagner, "Wider die Reduktion des Lebendigen," in *Anthropologische Aufbrüche. Alttestamentliche und interdisziplinäre Zugänge zur historischen Anthropologie*, ed. Andreas Wagner, FRLANT 232 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 184.

[87] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 57. He helpfully disagrees with casual translational glosses for complex nouns, 21.

[88] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 57.

[89] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 58.

Organ des Erkennens, Verstehens und Urteilens nicht weit genug denken."[90] Wolff does,

however, note a connection between the rate of respiration and "die Bewegung des Gemüts"

(see 1 Kgs 10:5).[91]

While Wolff's work was well-received and remains a key text for much work in this area, it

has been criticised for its methodology rather than results per se.[92] The first area of critique

is the isolation of four nouns as foundational, with other nouns (such as כָּלְיָה ,נְשָׁמָה) receiving

minimal, nearly dismissive, analysis.[93] This appears to be a theologically rather than

linguistically or socioscientifically motivated restriction. Secondly, the 'synthetic' or

'stereometric' worldview that Johnson, Wolff, and others assume—wherein the

anthropological nouns present aspects of a fundamental whole—remains an area of debate.[94]

Thirdly, a result of this is treating the 'big four' nouns as "nicht selten untereinander

austauschbar."[95] While Wolff compares the four nouns in his discussion—such as comparing

נֶפֶשׁ as *throat* as the "Atmungsorgan" with רוּחַ as "Atemluft"—this assumption causes some

terms to be treated as fully synonymous rather than as referring to distinct entities or

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[90] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 63.

[91] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 63.

[92] For many of these, see Richard Pleijel, "To Be or to Have a *nephesh*?: Gen 2:7 and the Irresistible Tide of Monism," *ZAW* 131 (2019): 194–206; Wagner, "Wider Die Reduktion."

[93] נְשָׁמָה and כָּלְיָה receive 2 pages under "Atem," and "Das Inneres des Leibes," respectively, Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 96–97, 105–6.

[94] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 22–23.

[95] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 22.

perspectives.[96] Finally, Wolff appears reluctant or unsure of how to relate the human referents of רוּחַ beyond 'breath.' He collects most of these uses under the gloss "Geist," including experiences involving רוּחַ ("der Unmut ... der Kurzatmige als der Aufgeregte ... das Schwinden des Lebensmutes"), characterisations of רוּחַ ("die seelische Disposition des Menschen"), and attribution of רוּחַ ("der Lebenskraft der Weishet begabt ist").[97] Yet, he addresses these separately to similar expressions he sees as part of the "dynamischer Relation" of God and human.[98]

1.2.2.3   Risto Lauha (1983)

Lauha presents a somewhat distinct approach to those above.[99] Alongside Johnson, Wolff, and Lys, he examines רוּחַ alongside לֵב and נֶפֶשׁ. However, he is not attempting a coherent and comprehensive account of anthropology. Rather, he seeks specifically to examine the use of these three terms in their "psychophysische" capacity, i.e., how they are used to depict both "emotionale, religiös-ethische, intellektuelle" (psychological) and "Körperteile bzw. funktionen" (physical) aspects of the human.[100] Heavily influenced by Barr's works on

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[96] See, e.g., Richard C. Steiner, *Disembodied Souls: The* nefesh *in Israel and Kindred Spirits in the Ancient Near East, with an Appendix on the Katumuwa Inscription*, SBLANEM 11 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 72–73.

[97] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 64–65.

[98] Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 66–67.

[99] Risto Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine strukturalsemantische analyse von נפש, לב, und רוח*, AASF.DHL 35 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1983).

[100] Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 7.

biblical semantics, Lauha is more attentive to linguistic method, and employs structural semantics as a guide to his research. Lauha structures his study according to various "psychiche" categories: Freude; Trauer, Schmerz; Mut; Furcht; Stolz; Demut; Liebe; Haß (Zorn, Ärger, Wut). He then examines how these emotions are depicted using expressions involving לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ, and רוּחַ. While Lauha cannot be faulted for not incorporating methodologies developed a decade after his study, considering our model of Cognitive Linguistics below there are two significant questions raised by his approach and conclusions. Firstly, Lauha's choice of German emotional terms as the categories is problematic. Given the interplay between external stimuli, cognitive evaluation, biological feedback mechanisms, etc. that make up "emotions," they present some difficulties of analysis and expression across languages and cultures. While there is a recognised universality of many aspects of the emotional experience rooted in shared neurological and biological mechanisms, it seems incautious to imply that the concepts and experiences align completely with the different linguistic expressions between German *Furcht,* English *fear*, Melanesian Pijin *fraet*, or Biblical Hebrew יִרְאָה.[101] As a structural or categorising device, this need not

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[101] The distinction between physical recognition and expression, linguistic expression, and conceptual understanding is significant here. The meta-analysis of van Hemert et. al. supports a near-universal capacity for physical recognition of (basic) emotions. Dianne A. van Hemert, Ype H. Poortinga, and Fons J. R. van de Vijver, "Emotion and Culture: A Meta-Analysis," *CE* 21 (2007): 913–43. However, the expression, categorisation, and internal structure of emotional experience differs between languages. *Furcht* is not the same as *Angst* or *Berfürchtung*, *fear* is not the same as *horror* or *terror* or *dismay*, etc. For example, Goddard and Wierzbicka note how English *pain* is used with respect to a part of the body, while French *doleur* is used with respect to the whole body, Cliff Goddard and

undermine the value of his study, but it requires comment and explanation of *how* these emotional terms are functioning. Secondly, Lauha concludes that in *psychophysische* contexts, these three anthropological terms are "semantisch leere": semantically empty.[102] The actual content of the expression they appear in is fully contained within the adjective or noun modifying them, such as "broken," or "humbled." The anthropological nouns themselves only serve a metrical purpose to add syllables where necessary. This renders לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ, and רוּחַ entirely interchangeable in emotional contexts, with no semantic significance to the presence of one rather than another. It seems remarkable for Ancient Hebrew to employ such a range of interchangeable lexemes so regularly with no discernible reason, and in fact, the contrary may be demonstrated.[103]

1.2.3 Summary

This brief survey highlights some repeated patterns in the study of anthropological uses of רוּחַ that have shaped its contemporary understanding.

The first pattern is a tendency to privilege the divine uses of רוּחַ as a necessary conceptual starting point, applying a kind of *analogia entis* from the divine רוּחַ to the human רוּחַ. This

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Anna Wierzbicka, *Words and Meanings: Lexical Semantics across Domains, Languages, and Cultures* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 145–49.

[102] For example, see Lauha's analysis of דכא/שפל with רוּחַ in Isa 57:15. Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 168. Dreytza takes Lauha's conclusion as determinative, Dreytza, *Der Theologische Gebrauch von RUAH*, 148.

[103] Wagner, "Wider die Reduktion," 185–95.

may be a valid and necessary model but requires validation rather than assumed or asserted via casual invocation of biblical texts without adequate analysis. The result are studies of רוּחַ that either collapse anthropological references of רוּחַ into divine, or a strict separation of one use from another.

The second pattern is the comparison of רוּחַ with נֶפֶשׁ and לֵב as particularly close 'synonyms.'[104] The influence of the ethnographic "synthetic" approach to anthropology led to a characterisation of any words used to describe or depict the human necessarily offering only "perspectives" on the whole person. While related words necessarily share semantic overlap, their common reference to a single 'thing' such as the human self requires substantial linguistic and exegetical warrant.

The third pattern is the undeveloped use of European metalanguage such as "psychic," "psychology," or more recently, "emotion," with little care taken to explain the nature, assumptions, and intent of such categorical terms. With some exceptions, few efforts have been made to relate the cognitive/emotive uses to embodied/physiological uses, especially considering the possibility of considering these expressions in terms of figurative language.

Despite the significant attention paid to רוּחַ from different approaches, there is a lingering lack of clarity regarding its semantics. This raises a great number of possible avenues for

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[104] The inverted commas express the hesitancy with which a term such as *synonymy* is used, especially considering the discussion of Cognitive Linguistics below.

further research, especially in demonstrating how the diversity of uses—from the physiological phenomenon of *breath,* a wide variety of emotional experiences, the depiction of *life* and its inherent fragility, to repeated associations with wisdom and communication—relate to one another, as well as how these uses cohere with the rest of the lexeme's polysemic usage such as the divine Spirit, wind, etc. We seek to better understand the relationship between senses of רוּחַ by a detailed examination of its uses within a single category of usage in a restricted corpus of texts. A new avenue for such an investigation is presented by an approach to language, thought, and culture that is focussed upon embodied experience, conceptual structure, and the nature and function of figurative language: Cognitive Linguistics.

1.3 Cognitive Linguistics and רוּחַ

This section will introduce the field of Cognitive Linguistics and its potential to assist in elucidating the complex sense-relationship of a polysemous term such as רוּחַ. We will begin with a brief orientation to the interaction of linguistics and biblical studies, the complications of employing linguistic models developed for contemporary languages to ancient texts, before sketching out some of the central ideas and approaches Cognitive Linguistics offers.

1.3.1 Linguistics and Ancient Languages

Language has always been of interest to readers of Scripture, from the priestly assistance to comprehension in Nehemiah 8:8 (be it extempore translation, explanation, or division), the translation of Hebrew into the Greek Septuagint, the interpretation of the Targums, Philo's efforts to distinguish πνοή and πνεῦμα (*Leg.* 1:42), to Basil of Caesarea's devotion to Greek prepositions and connectives in *On the Holy Spirit.* In the mid-twentieth century, James Barr issued a seminal critique of how contemporary theology had been using the linguistic material of the Bible.[105] Barr was undoubtedly correct to question the "unsystematic and haphazard nature" of relating "theological thought to biblical language," and advocate greater methodological rigour through contemporary semantic and linguistic theory.[106] The last seven decades of biblical studies have demonstrated that this warning, while regularly cited, is more challenging to apply in practice.[107] The exponential development of linguistics as a discipline continued to 'raise the bar' of entry for specialists in other areas (such as biblical studies) to comprehend the evolving systems and methods, let alone apply them. Marilyn E. Burton notes how this leads to two common responses. Some attempt to bring a

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[105] Barr, *Semantics*, 4.

[106] Barr, *Semantics*, 21.

[107] See Katrin Müller's account of the failure of Germanophone scholarship to adequately distinguish *Wort, Begriff* and *Konzept*, Katrin Müller, *Lobe den Herrn, meine "Seele": Eine kognitiv-linguistische Studie zur* næfæš *des Menschen im Alten Testament*, BWANT 215 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018), 120–25.

current semantic theory into biblical studies, while others use an established methodology accepted by the biblical guild but "without regard to its date of origin—and indeed in many cases its date of expiration."[108]

The biblical reader is confronted with challenges that are not often addressed in newer linguistic paradigms. Ancient languages are encountered at a distance from their initial language communities, preventing the kinds of intuitive judgements made by native speakers and clear knowledge of social, religious, and cultural settings prized by contemporary linguistics. Ancient Hebrew has a restricted corpus consisting of a small, if growing collection of inscriptions; a collection of conserved texts with limited interests (we know a great deal about the cultic structure of ancient Israel, but little about how they produced their textiles); and a smaller collection of less preserved texts such as Sirach and the documents of the Judean Desert.[109] This corpus is chronologically complicated with respect to its composition, editing, preservation, re-writing, and continual transmission.

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[108] Marilyn E. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning*, SSN 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 3. Burton demonstrates the validity of Barr's warning in her critique of the perpetuation of structuralism as a dominant paradigm within biblical semantics, Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 3–11.

[109] Since the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, the pre-200 CE texts have collectively been termed 'Classical Hebrew,' although this phrase was previously used to describe pre-exilic lects, see Joüon §3b. For clarity, we will use 'Ancient Hebrew' (AH) for the wider collection of pre-Mishnaic texts; 'Biblical Hebrew' (BH) to refer to texts of the Hebrew Bible, largely reflecting the Masoretic Text; and occasionally 'Qumran Hebrew' (QH) to refer to the extant Qumran documents. Again, these do no indicate lects but rather textual collections. See Jacobus Naudé, "A Perspective on the Chronological Framework of Biblical Hebrew," *JNSL* 30 (2004): 97.

While BH may potentially span a millennium, there is a "remarkable degree of homogeneity" across the collection.[110] Such consistency could variously be explained as a kind of resisting inertia towards linguistic change in Ancient Hebrew, a conservatism due to the religious nature of the texts, or a process of standardisation at some point or points of their history.[111]

"[D]espite its seemingly uniform façade, beneath the surface BH exhibits a remarkable diversity of styles and plurality of linguistic traditions."[112] For some time, this variety was said to reflect different linguistic eras that contribute to the dating of texts, used to generate evolutionary narratives of the development of Ancient Hebrew, and to guide redactional theories of the final form of the text. These eras are often termed "Early" or "Archaic Biblical Hebrew" (EBH), "Standard" or "Classical Biblical Hebrew" (SBH), and "Late" or "Post-Classical Biblical Hebrew" (LBH).[113] Avi Hurvitz has vigorously championed a clear diachronic division between SBH and LBH based on the presence of Persian or Aramaic

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[110] Joüon §3.3a; William M. Schniedewind, *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins Through the Rabbinic Period*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 137.

[111] Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*, 35; Philip R. Davies, "Biblical Hebrew and the History of Ancient Judah: Typology, Chronology and Common Sense," in *Biblical Hebrew Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, JSOTSupp 369 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 150–63; John F. Elwolde, "Developments in Hebrew Vocabulary Between Bible and Mishnah," in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leuven University, 11–14 December 1995*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John F. Elwolde, STDJ 26 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 17–55.

[112] Avi Hurvitz, *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Innovations in the Writings of the Second Temple Period*, VTSupp 160 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1.

[113] GKC §2.3; Gary A. Rendsburg, "Hebrew Language," *Dictionary of Judaism in the Biblical Period: 450 B.C.E. to 600 C.E.*, 1:280.

loanwords and apparent novelties in syntax and lexis.[114] Recent decades have seen a reaction

to this diachronic explanation in favour of lectal explanations.[115] By demonstrating how

'early' or 'late' features noted by advocates of the diachronic model are distributed

throughout the BH corpus, scholars such as Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd infer that co-

existing styles of Ancient Hebrew were present throughout the history of the language and

were encoded as such into the texts.[116] This does not deny diachronic developments within

Ancient Hebrew but casts doubt on the capacity of 'early' or 'late' features to date texts.

Without attempting to conclude an ongoing debate, any linguistic study of Ancient Hebrew

must accept the cautions of both the diachronic and lectal models. The corpus of BH may be

treated with careful synchronic analysis, noting its relative homogeneity while paying due

attention to any internal variation that may be exhibited (whether chronological, lectal, or

otherwise), and prefaced by sufficient text-critical work to ensure a feasibly stable text.[117]

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[114] Hurvitz's output is vast and influential as demonstrated in the surveys in Avi Hurvitz, "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments," *HS* 47 (2006): 191–210; Martin Ehrensvärd, "Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts," in *Biblical Hebrew Studies in Chronology and Typology*, ed. Ian Young, JSOTSupp 369 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 165; Susan Groom, *Linguistic Analysis of Biblical Hebrew* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), §3.3.

[115] For example, Gary A. Rendsburg distinguishes regional dialects of AH, as well as literary versus colloquial forms, Gary A. Rendsburg, "Ancient Hebrew Morphology," in *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, ed. Alan S. Kaye (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 85–86.

[116] Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: An Introduction to Approaches and Problems*, 2 vols. (London: Equinox, 2008); Robert Rezetko and Ian Young, *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps Toward an Integrated Approach*, SBLANEM 9 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

[117] "Linguistic analysis cannot afford to ignore scholarly consensuses about the Hebrew Bible's literary complexity and textual fluidity," Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd, *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*, 1:359.

Even this brief discussion demonstrates the challenges faced in approaching ancient texts for linguistic analysis. Yet the desire to continue reading and studying these texts remains, accompanied by emerging and increasingly sophisticated approaches to language that allow this pursuit with some confidence. We turn now to a collection of related approaches to language and the possibilities they offer to enrich our readings of texts and the meaning of the words, concepts, and figurative language they contain.

1.3.2   Introducing Cognitive Linguistics

> If language has a function in cognitive processing, every linguistic phenomenon can be traced back to the conceptualisation of the world.[118]

Cognitive Linguistics (CL) is a relatively recent movement within linguistics, emerging most noticeably throughout the 1980s and beginning to appear in biblical studies in the late 1990s. The label does not describe a single overarching theorem but a variety of theories united by central convictions and approaches.[119] As the name suggests, CL places great importance on the intersection of how the mind and language operates. It prioritises how embodied experience and general cognitive processes shape meaning; how the brain generally functions

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[118] Hanneke van Loon, *Metaphors in the Discussion on Suffering in Job 3–31: Visions of Hope and Consolation*, BIS 165 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 7.

[119] The label 'Cognitive Linguistics/CL' thus refers to the movement as a whole.

as part of the human body is reflected in how languages work. We will briefly outline some

of the critical ideas common across CL, with notes on their significance for our work.

1.3.2.1   Key Ideas of Cognitive Linguistics

1.3.2.1.1   <u>Language as a point of access to concepts and conceptual structures</u>

Firstly, language provides a *point of access* to broader cognitive information.[120] Within the

mind exists **concepts**. "A concept is a mental construct that stands in a relation of

correspondence to a coherent category of things in some world."[121] That is, as we experience

the world, we form mental notions to comprehend and categorise what we encounter. Each

encounter contributes to the formation, redescription, and relating of these concepts to one

another. These concepts are organised and related to one another in **conceptual structures**

to produce our entire "encyclopaedic" conceptual system—all that we know about this world

and any virtual or imaginary worlds we have encountered. An infant is lifted by their parent

and forms the concept, UP.[122] They elaborate this to include a basic spatial scale of UP-DOWN,

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[120] Ronald W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar: Theoretical Prerequisites* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 1:163. Hereafter, *FCG 1*.

[121] D. A. Cruse, *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*, 3rd ed. Amazon Kindle ed., OxTL (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), §3.1. This definition is sufficient for understanding CL. For a fuller definition in neurological and psychological as well as linguistic perspectives, see Lawrence Barsalou, "The Human Conceptual System," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Psycholinguistics*, ed. M. Spivey, K. McRae, and M. Joanisse, Cambridge Handbooks in Psychology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 239–58.

[122] Significant new terminology is marked in **bold** when they first appear and other technical terms in *italics.* Concepts are typographically indicated using SMALL CAPS to distinguish them from linguistic instantiations which are typically in *italics* or within speech marks.

extend it to refer to relative position ("up the top of the page"), relate it to metaphoric

representations of emotions ("why are you feeling down?"), and so forth. These concepts

and conceptual structures that exist cognitively are accessed or *evoked* by words and

grammatical constructions that we associate with them. Because language is embedded

within our overall human cognitive capacities, it is related to and does not significantly differ

from other cognitive tasks such as sensory perception, motor activity, or reasoning.[123]

Indeed, CL suggests that "a broad array of independently existing cognitive processes" such

as *association* (establishing psychological connections), *entrenchment* (repetition and

rehearsal allowing for low-cost access to even complex ideas and processes), *schematisation*

(extracting commonality across multiple experiences to form abstractions), and

categorisation (interpreting experience with respect to previous structures) are routinely

recruited in language development and use.[124]

The integration of language and general cognition leads CL to engage with psychology,

biology, and neuroscience to understand and develop models for salient cognitive activities

such as perception, attention, and the mechanisms above. These disciplines also provide

tests for the validity of theories within CL, which are frequently assessed based on

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[123] William Croft and D. Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, CTL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 9; Antonio Barcelona and Javier Valenzuela, "An Overview of Cognitive Linguistics," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Convergence and Expansion*, ed. Milena Zic Fuchs, Mario Brdar, and Stefan Th. Gries, HCP 32 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 19–20.
[124] Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 16–17.

experimental and corpus data.[125] Given that direct access to native Ancient Hebrew speakers is impossible, the linguistic study of ancient languages is necessarily weighted towards corpus data. However, given that humans might reasonably be expected to share similar cognitive faculties even across large spans of time and culture, experimental data may be cautiously but validly adduced in discussions of ancient languages. For example, if we posit that ancient texts employ respiratory imagery to depict emotions, research examining the physiological mechanisms linking breathing rhythms and particular emotional states may prove insightful.[126]

1.3.2.1.2   Usage-based study of language

Secondly, CL is strongly *usage-based*.[127] Much initial research in CL developed according to the intuitions of native speakers (usually of English). More recent research seeks a more robust "inductive, sample-based, empirical methodology" which involve "samples of natural

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[125] See Gaëtanelle Gilquin, "Taking a New Look at Lexical Networks," *Lexis*.1 (2008): 23–39; Hyung-Sun Kim and Baeg-seung Kim, "Validating the Lexical Network of *Take*: A Corpus-Based Study," *Linguistic Research* 28 (2011): 117–42; assessing the "intuitive" methodology of Claudia Brugman and George Lakoff, "Cognitive Topology and Lexical Networks," in *Lexical Ambiguity Resolution*, ed. Steven L. Small, Garrison W. Cottrell, and Michael K. Tanenhaus (San Mateo, CA: Morgan Kaufman, 1988), 477–508.

[126] For example, Ikuo Homma and Yuri Masaoka, "Breathing Rhythms and Emotions," *Experimental Physiology* 93 (2008): 1011–21.

[127] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, ch. 11; Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, §13.1.1; May L-Y Wong, "Corpus Linguistics and Cognitive Linguistics: A Convergence of Basic Assumptions," in *Compendium of Cognitive Linguistics, Volume 3*, ed. Thomas Fuyin Li, Language and Linguistics (New York: Nova Science, 2014), 62–63.

language large enough to permit inductively valid claims," that is, corpora.[128] These examples

of actual language use provide the data from which researchers may seek to abstract higher-

level patterns. Generally, semantic research seeks the largest possible corpus to validate its

conclusions.[129] However, given the need for highly detailed analysis necessary to fully

account for the larger patterns of use for רוּחַ, the idiosyncrasies and nuances of the

anthropological uses, and the difficulty of many of the texts in which רוּחַ appears, we have

selected a smaller sub-corpus (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job) of an already limited corpus

(Biblical Hebrew rather than all extant Ancient Hebrew).[130] This necessarily renders our

conclusions provisional and limited, but able to be validated by further study of other

available texts.

1.3.2.1.3   Experiential and embodied nature of language and cognition

Thirdly, just as language cannot be understood apart from general cognitive capacities, nor

can it be understood apart from human bodily experience. It is *embodied* and *experiential*

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[128] Dylan Glynn, "Polysemy and Synonymy: Corpus Method and Cognitive Theory," in *Corpus Methods for Semantics: Quantitative Studies in Polysemy and Synonymy*, ed. Dylan Glynn and Justyna A. Robinson, HCP 43 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2014), 1–2.

[129] Although Koplenig argues that no corpus reflects an entire language, Alexander Koplenig, "Against Statistical Significance Testing in Corpus Linguistics," *CLLT* 15 (2019): 339–40.

[130] Walsh argues for the validity of smaller corpora when combining corpus linguistics with other methodologies, or when close manual handling of the data is required, Steve Walsh, "Corpus Linguistics and Conversation Analysis at the Interface: Theoretical Perspectives, Practical Outcomes," in *Yearbook of Corpus Linguistics and Pragmatics 2013: New Domains and Methodologies*, ed. Jesús Romero-Trillo (Dordrecht: Springer, 2013), 37–51.

on both an individual/physiological level and a social/cultural level.[131] "Our construal of

reality is likely to be mediated in large measure by the nature of our bodies."[132] This has

significance both for understanding cognition and language. Regarding cognition, Mark

Johnson developed the influential idea of **image schemas**.[133] These are basic concepts such

as CONTAINER, FORCE, or BALANCE directly experienced and structured by the human body

in early development.[134] These basic concepts are projected onto more abstract concepts later

in life. For example, we encounter the concept of CONTAINER by directly interacting with

objects with inner spaces, outer spaces, and limiting barriers. We experience juice *in* the cup

and begin to generalise "a particular kind of configuration in which one entity is supported

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[131] *Embodiment* has been in vogue in several disciplines, but its use in CL is heavily influenced by philosopher Mark Johnson. See Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999). Recently, the social/cultural aspects of embodiment have been emphasised, see Tim Rohrer, "Embodiment and Experientialism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts and Hubert Cuyckens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 25–47; and the helpful cautions and clarifications of Jordan Zlatev, "Embodiment, Language, and Mimesis," in *Body, Language and Mind: Embodiment*, ed. Tom Ziemke, Jordan Zlatev, and Roslyn M. Frank, CLR 35.1 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2007), 297–337.

[132] V. Evans and M. Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2006), 45.

[133] Idiosyncratically, when referring to *image schema* the plural is *schemas* rather than *schemata.*

[134] While frequent collaborators, Mark Johnson and George Lakoff introduced the idea of image schemas in separate works on epistemology and linguistics respectively. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*, 19–21; George Lakoff, *Women, Fire & Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), 459–61. For psychological evidence for image schemas, see Raymond W. Gibbs and Herbert L. Colston, "Image Schema: The Cognitive Psychological Reality of Image Schemas and Their Transformations," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts, CLR 34 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 239–68.

by another entity that contains it."[135] Repeated exposure to containers and container-like

entities confirms these generalisations, and an abstract schema is gradually developed that

may be used in further abstractions and reflected in language development and use. For

example, the expression "I'm *in* trouble" may reflect the conceptualisation of a state in terms

of the conceptual structure of being within a container.

1.3.2.1.4 <u>Encyclopaedic nature of meaning</u>

Fourthly, meaning is *encyclopaedic.* Lexical meaning "resides in a particular way of accessing

an open-ended body of knowledge" and overall experience as humans.[136] Speaking of the

meaning of a term in context assumes that language communities have sufficiently shared

'encyclopaedias' to communicate effectively.[137]

1.3.2.1.5 <u>Perspectival nature of meaning</u>

Finally, linguistic meaning is *perspectival.* The conceptual categories and processes in the

mind do not necessarily reflect 'the world as it is,' but rather a particular construal of it. This

construal is reflected in language use. Thus, "every distinction in form, no matter how small,

is in principle being linked to a corresponding distinction in meaning."[138] While not limited

to spatial perspectives, Dirk Geeraerts demonstrates this by describing the situation of

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[135] Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 46.
[136] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 39.
[137] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 30.
[138] Barcelona and Valenzuela, "An Overview," 20–21.

standing in a backyard and expressing where you left your bicycle.[139] "It's behind the house" and "It's in front of the house" appear contradictory but are reflections of different perspectives of the same reality. The former embodies your visual perspective. The bicycle is in front of you, with the house as an imposition to your visual field. Thus, the bicycle is "behind" the house. The latter embodies the point of view with respect to the house. A house has a canonical direction, a "front" and "back" defined by its orientation to the street or location of entry. The bicycle is thus at the canonical "front" of the house. Arguably, the canonical view is the more natural expression in this example, which demonstrates that such perspectives are encoded in language use. Careful examination of actual language use in sufficiently large amounts and in historical, cultural, and social contexts provides avenues to understand something of how a language group conceptualises itself and its environment.[140]

1.3.2.1.6   The 'unity' and 'diversity' of Cognitive Linguistics as a movement

Identifying shared features does not imply that Cognitive Linguistics is a monolithic and uniform approach. Many of the significant early figures of CL—such as George Lakoff, Ronald Langacker, and Charles Fillmore—interacted heavily with one another. However, the different 'streams' of CL they developed are neither mutually-exclusive nor necessarily

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[139] Dirk Geeraerts, "Introduction: A Rough Guide to Cognitive Linguistics," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*, ed. Dirk Geeraerts, René Dirven, and John R. Taylor, CLR 34 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006), 4.

[140] Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, "Lexical Meaning in Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Semantics: A Case Study," *Biblica* 87 (2006): 87; Geeraerts, "Introduction," 4–5.

immediately congruent.[141] Ronald Langacker characterises the movement of CL as having a "general commonality in spirit, as well a basic compatibility of ideas."[142] With due care and an adequate grasp of the theories underlying the different 'streams,' we suggest that this "basic compatibility" allows for multiple approaches within CL to be employed in the study of our texts where they are most illuminating. While we will explore these 'streams' shortly, the insights of **Frame Semantics** explores what knowledge structure (concept, or *base*) an instance of a word is being *profiled* against, which will help determine the meaning of the words in our texts in their context; **Construction Grammar** explores what information is evoked not only by words but entrenched grammatical constructions; **Cognitive Metaphor Theory** explores the internal structure of figurative language and how metaphor and metonymy are active in cognition as well as language. We can use the insights of Frame Semantics when we consider the meaning of words in our texts, the insights of Construction Grammar when seeking to understand the relation of these words to one another, and

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[141] For example, similar key terms such as *domain, frame,* and *schema* refer to different entities. Initially, Langacker's *domain* and Fillmore's *frame* were mutually accepted as broadly referring to the same idea, Langacker, *FCG 1*, 150; Charles J. Fillmore, "Frames and the Semantics of Understanding," *QdS* 6 (1985): 35. Later users argue that they both refer to conceptual structures but at different levels of specificity, Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, CTL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 17; Zoltán Kövecses, "Domains, Schemas, Frames, or Spaces?," in *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 51.

[142] Ronald W. Langacker, "Convergence in Cognitive Linguistics," in *Cognitive Linguistics: Convergence and Divergence*, ed. Milena Zic Fuchs, Mario Brdar, and Stefan Thomas Gries, HCP (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 10. See also the compatibility argued for in the context of biblical studies in Ronald W. Langacker, "Context, Cognition, and Semantics: A Unified Dynamic Approach," in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen Van Wolde (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 179–230.

Cognitive Metaphor Theory when these words and constructions appear to be referring to non-literal entities or scenarios. Admittedly, this contrasts with many CL projects within biblical studies, which often display a strong attachment to one particular 'stream.' For example, Mary Therese Descamp emphasises Gilles Fauconnier's *Conceptual Blending Theory*; Ellen van Wolde, Ronald Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar*; and Philip D. King, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*.[143] This tendency is fading somewhat, given the emergence of more integrative projects such as Stephen Shead's synthesis of William Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar* with Charles Fillmore's *Frame Semantics* into *Radical Frame Semantics*; Marilyn Burton's integration of corpus linguistics and collocational analysis into a combination of prototype theory, a broad kind of frame semantics, and an abbreviated version of cognitive metaphor theory; or Pierre van Hecke's use of functional grammar and CL to analyse Job 12–14.[144] While our study seeks the kind

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[143] The individuals mentioned are exemplars of a large and growing field. Mary Therese DesCamp, *Metaphor and Ideology:* Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum *and Literary Methods through a Cognitive Lens*, BIS 87 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Ellen J. van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009); Philip D. King, *Surrounded by Bitterness: Image Schemas and Metaphors for Conceptualizing Distress in Classical Hebrew* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012). For a wide-ranging and current survey of Cognitive Linguistics in the study of BH, see Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, "Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Linguistics: A General Orientation," in *New Perspectives in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew*, ed. Aaron D. Hornkohl and Geoffrey Khan, Cambridge Semitic Languages and Cultures 7 (Cambridge: University of Cambridge & Open Book, 2021), 659–76. My thanks to Dr. Van der Merwe for bringing this recent paper to my attention, in which it is correctly noted that Van der Merwe has pursued "a much more eclectic" (integrative) approach to CL and BH for nearly two decades, 669.

[144] Stephen L. Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, BIS 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Burton, *The Semantics of Glory*; Pierre Van Hecke, *From Linguistics to Hermeneutics: A Functional and Cognitive Approach to Job 12–14*, SSN 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

of integration exemplified by Shead and Burton, we do not seek to develop new linguistic methodologies for broader application, but instead the synthesis of existing approaches to understand the use and structure of רוּחַ. We will devote less time to methodological development than Shead, and greater attention to individual texts than Burton.

1.3.2.2 The Goal of this Research

This project seeks to draw from the insights of several 'streams' within CL to aid the close reading and analysis of Biblical Hebrew texts. This analysis focuses on elucidating the meaning of anthropological uses of רוּחַ in their contexts, and how these uses may relate to one another into an emergent lexical and conceptual structure.

We will now explore the 'streams' of Cognitive Linguistics that feature in our study, and their contribution. Firstly, we will address *cognitive semantics*, a broader examination of how meaning is understood within CL, how polysemy is accounted for, and the specific approaches of Vyvyan Evans' *Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models*, Ronald Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar*, and Charles Fillmore's *Frame Semantics*. Secondly, we will examine *construction grammar* and how meaning is contained and conveyed at any level of grammar, with reference to William Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar*. Thirdly, we will explore how CL accounts for *figurative language* and the significance of metaphor and metonymy for cognition and language use, critically influenced by George Lakoff's *Cognitive Metaphor Theory*. Finally, we will introduce *Relevance Theory* as another linguistic

influence on our study that is not generally associated with, but remains broadly compatible with, Cognitive Linguistics.

1.3.3   Meaning 'Beyond' the Gloss: Cognitive Semantics

Our concern is with the meanings of linguistic expressions. Where are these meanings to be found? From a cognitive linguistic perspective, the answer is evident: meanings are in the minds of the speakers who produce and understand the expressions. It is hard to imagine where else they might be.[145]

1.3.3.1   Symbolism and Semantics: What is a 'word'?

As we begin to explore Cognitive Linguistics, we will first address some fundamental issues of how words and meaning are understood. CL understands language as *symbolic*. Langacker defines a *symbol* as "the pairing between a semantic structure and a phonological structure, such that one is able to evoke the other."[146] The semantic structures are "conceptualizations exploited for linguistic purposes, notably as the meanings of expressions," and the phonological are those "overtly manifested" representations of language as spoken, gestured, or written.[147] Thus, reading the lexical unit "cup" is to perceive the phonological structure of the three letters and to have the concept A TYPICALLY ROUND

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[145] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 27.
[146] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 5.
[147] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 15.

CONTAINER FOR LIQUIDS activated by the conventional association of one's experience with "cup" and the typically round container of liquids. Through repetition, the relationship between "cup" and A TYPICALLY ROUND CONTAINER FOR LIQUIDS is entrenched such that one is habituated to consider one to 'mean' the other.

Before we proceed, we must make two terminological points. Firstly, we prefer **lexical unit** or *lexical item* over the more familiar *word* because words are not always the atomic unit of meaning. Larger entities such as idioms and constructions must be approached holistically as units of meaning. Secondly, we must distinguish between lexical units and **lexemes.** Lexemes are the "abstractions of actual words that occurs in real language use."[148] In the example below, *cup* is the lexeme with multiple potential uses, while the phonological structure underlined in "eight <u>cups</u> of coffee" is a lexical unit marked as plural and evoking a particular sense of *cup*.

1.3.3.2   Construal, Meaning, and Polysemy: What are the 'meanings' of a lexical unit?

Even the facile example of *cup* raises a core problem in semantics: "the interpretation we give to a particular word form can vary so greatly from context to context."[149] *Cup* may 'mean' a TYPICALLY ROUND CONTAINER OF LIQUIDS. It may also 'mean' the contents of such a vessel

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[148] Murphy, *Lexical Meaning*, 10.
[149] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.1.

("he drank his cup of coffee"); the prize of a sporting competition ("Australia has no hope of the cup this year"); the protective insert worn by a male cricketer ("he neglected to wear his cup"); and so forth.

Lexical **polysemy** is the phenomenon of multiple semantic structures associated with a single phonological structure. These distinct semantic-phonological relationships are often described as the different **senses** (or *lexical meanings*) of a word. Unfortunately, there is no consistent definition of *sense* or *meaning* (or the distinction between the two) amongst linguists, so the two are often used interchangeably in lexical or lexicographical contexts.[150] We will endeavour to use *meaning* in the broader sense of structured cognitive content, and use *lexical meaning* or *sense* to refer to that which "connects the word form to the appropriate concept."[151]

The list of possible senses of *cup* above illustrates two aspects of meaning in cognitive semantics. Firstly, many of these senses relate in some manner to the initial sense: a typically round container of liquids. The 'contents' meaning is motivated by metonymy— where a

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[150] Murphy, *Lexical Meaning*, 37. Compare P. H. Matthews, "Sense," *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*, 363–64; Alan Cruse, "Sense," *A Glossary of Semantics and Pragmatics*, 162–63; François Rastier, "Sense," *Dictionary of Cognitive Science: Neuroscience, Psychology, Artificial Intelligence, Linguistics, and Philosophy*, 388–89.

[151] Murphy, *Lexical Meaning*, 38. Vyvyan Evans correctly notes that much conceptual content is unsuitable for direct encoding into language. He suggests an intermediary structure, *lexical concepts*—roughly compatible with Langacker's *semantic poles* and Fillmore's *frames*—to clarify that units of linguistic knowledge encode linguistic content and facilitate access to conceptual knowledge. Vyvyan Evans, *How Words Mean: Lexical Concepts, Cognitive Models, and Meaning Construction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 127–48.

container is used to refer to its contents—and the 'protective insert' meaning by an analogy of shape. The development of new senses is frequently motivated by figurative uses of language such as metonymy and metaphor, as similarities between established and novel senses are leveraged for communication.[152] Secondly, the meaning of *cup* in each instance is shaped by the context of its use. Many of the uses are specific to circumstances such as drinking, professional sports, or the specifics of cricketing gear, contributing to the meaning of *cup* in each utterance.

How polysemous senses relate to one another is complex, and how the network of lexical senses relate to the network of conceptual content they access even moreso.[153] When "cup" is encountered in an utterance, how does meaning emerge for the hearer? Are all possible senses stored separately in the hearer's mind, and accessed independently from one another?[154] Or are the possible senses extrapolated 'online' from a stored highly abstracted meaning?[155]

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[152] Yang Xu, Barbara C. Malt, and Mahesh Srinivasan, "Evolution of Word Meanings through Metaphorical Mapping: Systematicity over the Past Millennium," *CogPsych* 96 (2018): 41–53.

[153] This is contested in CL and psycholinguistics. One recent study roots this complexity in the word class involved and whether metaphor or metonymy motivate sense shifts, Anastasiya Lopukhina et al., "The Mental Representation of Polysemy across Word Classes," *FPsy* 9 (2018): 1–16.

[154] Devorah E. Klein and Gregory L. Murphy, "The Representation of Polysemous Words," *JML* 45 (2001): 259–82.

[155] M. J. Pickering and S. Frisson, "Processing Ambiguous Verbs: Evidence from Eye Movements," *JEP* 27 (2001): 556–73.

We suggest that the meaning of a lexical unit in an utterance emerges from a process of "dynamic **construal** in context."[156] This is the "mental process of meaning construction" based on prior experiences of the word and the encyclopaedic knowledge of the hearer, activated by those previous experiences in concert with the specific context of the utterance and the pressure it exerts.[157]

The comprehensiveness of this approach correctly allows that regularly experienced senses may bypass intensive cognitive activity to derive meaning, while less-entrenched or novel senses may be extrapolated from more schematic patterns of usage based on wider knowledge structures. Previously encountered senses are stored in memory, and different contexts activate or modulate existing senses, or prompt online processing of novel ones.[158]

The interplay between known or comprehendible senses and the contexts in which they appear is central to the emergence of meaning. Contextual pressures or *constraints* upon the meaning potential of the lexical unit balances the conventional usage of a language community with the specifics of its use in an utterance. We may conventionally associate

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[156] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.11.

[157] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.11.

[158] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §16.2.1; adopting the *Principled Polysemy* model of Andrea Tyler and Vyvyan Evans, *The Semantics of English Prepositions: Spatial Scenes, Embodied Meaning and Cognition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 37–63. Evans later developed a new model (*Access Semantics*) in response to criticisms of Principled Polysemy, especially with respect to the role of "functional elements" in how sense-units develop over time through human interaction with the world, Vyvyan Evans, *Cognitive Linguistics: A Complete Guide*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 445–47.

"cup" with A TYPICALLY ROUND CONTAINER FOR LIQUIDS and assume that this is what the word refers to in isolation from substantive environmental or textual context. This may be called the *default construal* of *cup*.[159] However, contextual constraints exert significant pressure to construe the word differently. For example, the sporting sense is preferentially construed if we stand in a stadium of screaming fans and hear the announcement, "Arsenal have won the cup!" These contextual constraints may include the immediate literary context, the physical/environmental situation, elements of broader encyclopaedic knowledge, expectations produced by genre/register, cultural and social influences, and even relational dynamics between speaker and hearer.[160]

In the context of a larger discourse, construals will accumulate. As individual instances of a lexeme are encountered and parsed in context, they gradually collect into an interpretation of the discourse as a whole: "each new sentence updates the [mental] model."[161]

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[159] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 48. This recognises that language as a communicative system preferences frequent and stable uses of words, and should not be confused with idea of a single 'core abstract meaning' from the lexica above. Frequent and stable uses across contexts may lead to multiple 'special default' construals, Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.11.4.1.

[160] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 101–3; Langacker, "Context, Cognition, and Semantics: A Unified Dynamic Approach," 188.

[161] Leo Noordman, "Some Reflections on the Relation between Cognitive Linguistics and Exegesis," in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen Van Wolde (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 332; see also Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 457–99.

1.3.3.3 Construal and Conceptual Structure: Domains and Frames

Lexical units provide access to conceptual information, and a single phonological symbol offers multiple points of access via the various lexical senses of the word. We now move from examining how meaning is related to words to how conceptual information is structured. Just as lexical senses tend to cluster around the uses of a word, so too do concepts. "Certain concepts 'belong together' because they are associated in experience."[162] These clusters of associated concepts are organised together into a **frame.** A frame is any system of concepts related in such a way that to understand any one of those concepts, one must understand the whole structure in which that concept fits. Linguistically, when a language element paired with a concept appears in an utterance, all the other elements are cognitively made available or *evoked* by it.

1.3.3.3.1   Fillmore's Frame Semantics

Frame Semantics (**FS**), particularly as developed by Charles Fillmore, "is the study of how linguistic forms *evoke* or activate frame knowledge, and how the frames thus activated can be integrated into an understanding of the passages that contain these forms."[163] Consider

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[162] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 15.

[163] Charles J. Fillmore and Collin Baker, "A Frames Approach to Semantic Analysis," in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog, OHL (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 317. Other key works include Charles Fillmore, "Frame Semantics and the Nature of Language," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences: Conference on the Origin and Development of Language and Speech* 280 (1976): 20–32; Charles Fillmore, "Towards a Frame-Based

the sentence: "This coffee was seven bucks." Here, the lexical unit *bucks* evokes the [COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION] frame, which involves a Buyer and a Seller exchanging Money for Goods. Construing "seven bucks" as filling the Money role and "this coffee" in the Goods role evokes the entire frame, making the roles of Buyer and Seller cognitively available even when not explicitly communicated in the utterance.

To describe frames, we will use the nomenclature of FrameNet, the major linguistic implementation of Fillmore's approach. In FrameNet, a Lexical Unit (LU) such as "bucks" evokes a frame, [COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION], which consists of a "particular type of situation, object, or event along with its participants and props."[164] The roles within this frame are Frame Elements (FEs), which may be essential (core) to the frame, or frequently present but optional (non-core). In English, [COMMERCIAL TRANSACTION] is characterised by four core FEs (Buyer, Goods, Money, Seller), and three non-core (Means, Rate, and Unit). Each of these FEs may be simply defined and linked with other LUs and their background frames.[165]

Lexicon: The Semantics of RISK and Its Neighbors," in *Frames, Fields and Contrasts: New Essays in Semantics and Lexical Organization* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992), 75–102.

[164] Josef Ruppenhofer et al., *FrameNet II: Extended Theory and Practice*, 2016, 7, https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/the_book.

[165] For full definitions and clarifications, see Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 107–44; Ruppenhofer et al., *FrameNet II*. When referenced in relation to FrameNet, all frame data is drawn from https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/ and is current at the time of submission.

FS suggests that understanding the meaning of words requires an understanding of the entire "rich, structured conceptual framework, arising from life experience."[166] That is, the meaning of a lexical item (word, phrase, or construction) is "defined directly with respect to the frame."[167] For example, *bucks* could be defined as "the transferable decimal currency used as Money to facilitate the transfers of Goods from a Seller to a Buyer." As with all semantic analysis, the definitions of lexical units and the frames they are defined against are provisional and require significant effort to develop:

> Researchers must *find out* what frames inform the language being studied because there is no place to look it up; it involves subtle issues of language understanding rather than symbol manipulation and simple judgements of truth; and it requires learning about the experiences and values in the surrounding culture.[168]

1.3.3.3.2 Method for Identifying Frames

The method for establishing a frame and defining FEs and LUs may operate inductively or deductively. The inductive approach begins with corpus examples of a word, observing repeated complements (FEs) that regularly occur with that word, searching for other words with related meanings that take similar complements, and seeking to identify where FEs

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[166] Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 49.
[167] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 10.
[168] Fillmore and Baker, "A Frames Approach to Semantic Analysis," 320.

'cluster' together with groups of meaning-sharing words.[169] The deductive approach begins

with a preliminary definition of a frame developed from a prototypical lexeme (for example,

[REVENGE] would start with *revenge*), describing and naming FEs observed in corpus data

or intuitively assigned, followed by the selection of other LUs belonging to the frame.[170]

While such steps look relatively simple, they are time-consuming and require significant

amounts of corpus data. FrameNet provides a valuable starting point for characterising many

frames in contemporary English, and we will use it as a point of departure in our frame

analysis. This does not imply that AH and English share identical frames—frames are

necessarily culturally dependent. However, the fact of background conceptual structures

provides a common point for comparing the linguistic instantiation of cultural concepts.[171]

In a monolingual context,

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[169] Sue Atkins, Charles J. Fillmore, and Christopher R. Johnson, "Lexicographic Relevance: Selecting Information From Corpus Evidence," *IJL* 16 (2003): 251–80.

[170] Fillmore and Baker, "A Frames Approach to Semantic Analysis," 321–22.

[171] Frame Semantics has been validated in several cross-lingual environments. See Roberto Basili et al., "Cross-Language Frame Semantics Transfer in Bilingual Corpora," LNCS 5449 (presented at the CICLing, Springer, 2009), 332–45; Hans C. Boas, "Semantic Frames as Interlingual Representations of Multilingual Lexical Databases," in *Multilingual FrameNets in Computational Lexicography: Methods and Applications* (De Gruyter Mouton, 2009), 59–100; Godwin Mushayabasa, *Translation Technique in the Peshitta to Ezekiel 1–24: A Frame Semantics Approach*, SSN 63 (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

the lexical and grammatical material existing in the text may be said to 'evoke' the

relevant frames in the mind of the interpreter, since these lexical forms or

grammatical categories exist in the natural language as indices of the frames.[172]

Thus, in translation, the translator aims to evoke the same frame in the target language as

in the source language. When these frames do not successfully map, Fillmore suggests that

the cultural 'cues' within the text (which can only be interpreted validly by a reader familiar

with the cultural practices/frames to which the cues refer) render an accurate construal of

the text inaccessible even if the words and constructions are individually parsable.[173]

1.3.3.4 Prominence in Meaning: Profile/Base Relationships and Trajector/Landmark Alignment

1.3.3.4.1 Lexical Units, Profiles, and Conceptual Bases

In the process of communication, language focuses our attention on specific aspects of what

is communicated. In Frame Semantics, different lexemes focus on different aspects or

components of the frame, a process known as *profiling*. This meaning focus occurs in the

relationship between a **profile** and its **base.** The base is the immediate conceptual content

evoked or presupposed by a lexical unit—a frame.[174] The profile is the elements or features

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[172] Charles J. Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," in *The Cognitive Linguistics Reader*, ed. Vyvyan Evans, Benjamin Bergen, and Jörg Zinken (London: Equinox, 2010), 249.

[173] Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," 249; Mushayabasa, *Translation Technique*, 20.

[174] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 15.

of the base foregrounded by the lexical unit, a portion of the frame singled out for focus.[175]

The profiling (or pairing) of a lexical unit with its background frame means that to understand the lexical unit, we simultaneously accept the relevance of its backgrounded information.

This knowledge may be readily accessible or more deeply cognitively submerged, but its impact may still be evident in language use. For example, the lexical units *land* and *ground* refer to the same entity but are distinct in that one profiles the dry surface of the earth as distinct from *sea* and the other as distinct from *air*.[176] "The sailors were happy to be on land for an extra day," but "The plane touched the ground smoothly." The difference between the lexical units is how they "situate that thing in a larger frame."[177] Thus, in instances where רוּחַ appears to refer to the same or closely-similar entity as another anthropological noun such as לֵב or נֶפֶשׁ, to compare their use we may examine what frames they are being situated within.

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[175] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 66.
[176] Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," 121.
[177] Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," 121.

The act of situating against frames may involve layers of conceptual information. The base frame is often selected from a larger domain or matrix of frames inherent, if not explicit, in the base itself.[178] Consider figure 1.1, where *elbow* and *hand* profile different parts of the human arm against the conceptual base of [ARM].[179] This relatively simple frame is situated within the broader domain/more complex frame of the [HUMAN_BODY].[180] Here we have characterised the entities against a single complex frame. When more complicated or higher-level conceptual structures are involved, we will refer to these as *domains* or *domain matrices* and typographically mark them in small-caps and italics. For example, *COMMUNICATION.*

Figure 1.1. Profile/Base relationship for *elbow* and *hand*
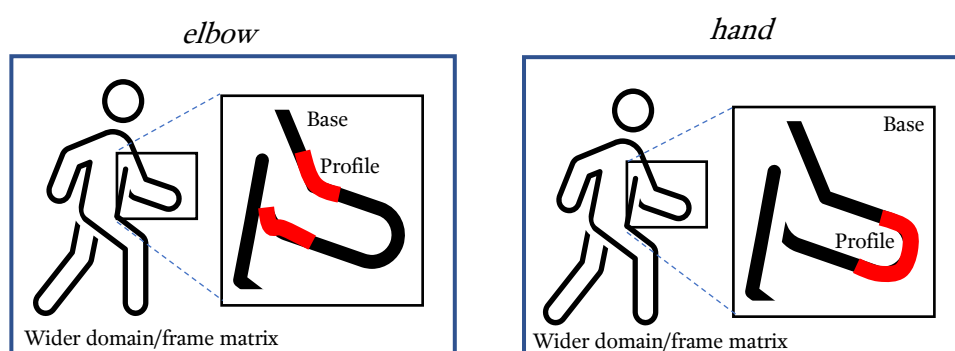
As part of construing the meaning of a lexical unit, we must consider the nature of the implied conceptual base. A single lexical unit may be profiled against several different base frames, leading to the clusters of use noted above.[181] Alternatively, closely related lexical

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[178] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 63; Wolde, *Reframing*, 56–59.

[179] Figure 1 is adapted from Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 64.

[180] For examples of how bases may be situated amongst multiple domains, see Wolde, *Reframing*, 57–58.

[181] For a brief example in Ancient Hebrew, see the comparative profiling of צְדָקָה against the [COVENANT] or [CREATION] frames in Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 53–54.

units may refer to the same event or entity but from distinct perspectives inherent to different conceptual bases.

1.3.3.4.2   Relational Profiles, Trajectors, and Landmarks

Profile/base relationships may also characterise a relationship.[182] These *relational profiles* are most common in word classes that involve multiple entities such as verbs, prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs.[183] Relational profiles may attribute different degrees of prominence to their participants.[184] The more prominent participant is labelled the **trajector** (TR), and the additional participant the **landmark** (LM). Often the LM is what the TR is being related to, a reference entity. For example, we can characterise the use of אַחֲרֵי in Exodus 11:5 as profiling a relationship between the TR and LM in a noun phrase in which the TR is posteriorly located with respect to the LM (figure 1.2).[185]

Figure 1.2. Relational Profile of אַחֲרֵי in Exodus 11:5

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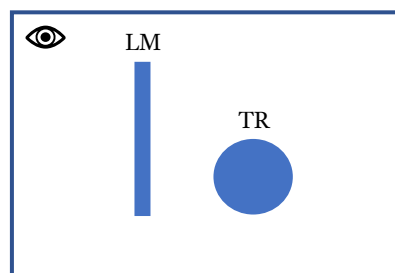
[182] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 67; Wolde, *Reframing*, 106.

[183] The qualification 'most common' is significant, as Cognitive Grammar contains a category of *relational nouns*, see Wolde, *Reframing*, 112–21.

[184] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 70.

[185] This definition and figure are adapted from Daniel L. Rodriguez, "אחר, מ/לפני, and תחת: An Embodied Cognitive Approach to the Biblical Hebrew Prepositions" (Phd Thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 2017), 126–27. We have added an 'eye' icon to indicate the perspective suggested by the relational profile.

A more complex example is the differentiation of the BH verbs חקר and בקש. Stephen Shead

has examined these verbs within the cognitive domain of *SEARCHING* and suggests three

relational profiles these lexical units are involved in: [SEEK], [SEARCH], and [EXPLORE]. All

involve a purposeful searcher (TR) but differ with respect to their LM. As shown in figure 1.3,

in [EXPLORE], the LM is the area; in [SEARCH], the primary LM is the area, but a sought entity

is included as a lower-salience (secondary, marked with superscript ²) LM; and in [SEEK], the

sought entity is the LM, with the area as the secondary LM.[186] Pierre Van Hecke argues that

חקר evokes [EXPLORE] and [SEARCH], but not [SEEK]—which is typically evoked by בקש.[187]

The relative prominence of the landmark and trajector allow closely semantically related

lexical units to be analysed, distinguished, and their perspective understood.

Figure 1.3. Relational Profile of [EXPLORE], [SEARCH], AND [SEEK]

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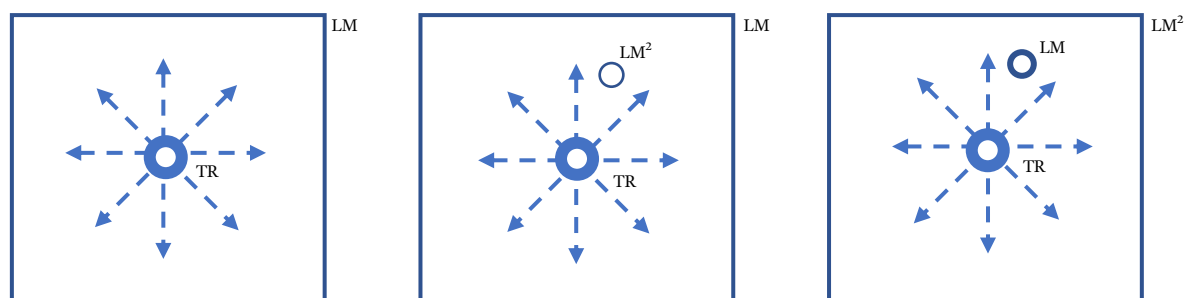
[186] Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 193–322. The figure is adapted from Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics*, 197.

[187] Pierre Van Hecke, "Searching for and Exploring Wisdom: A Cognitive-Semantic Approach to the Hebrew Verb *ḥaqar* in Job 28," in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen Van Wolde (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 149–51; so Wolde, *Reframing*, 182–83.

1.3.3.5   Significance of Cognitive Semantics to this research

Our understanding of meaning above is central to our research. We approach our texts on the understanding that they reflect complex evocations of conceptual content. The lexical units within them must be construed in light of the immediate textual and wider cultural context. Crucially, we cannot focus on רוּחַ alone within each text. Instead, we must seek to understand the frames and profile/base relationships of the lexical units surrounding רוּחַ. While potentially exhaustive, our study will necessarily be selective to those frames and profile/base relationships that involve רוּחַ in their respective roles, and those that indicate the encyclopaedic knowledge expected of a hearer of this text to understand it.

An example of this is the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] cultural frame that we argue is frequently evoked by רוּחַ in our sub-corpus. We will explore this frame later. For now, may note that it involves at least a Creator, a Primeval Human, their Constituent Elements, and a relationship between the Creator and Human. These are rooted in a shared narrative of human origins reflected in, for example, Genesis 2–9 and Psalm 104. When רוּחַ evokes this cultural frame, we must examine the discourse context to assess what elements of it are most salient to the meaning of רוּחַ. The significance of context for meaning is further motivation for our study's detailed analysis of texts. Traditional lexicographic treatments tend to isolate text-fragments to sort them into sense categories. While helpful in providing a sketch of possible uses, this approach often fails to appreciate the full effect of context upon individual instances of a lexical unit, especially the accumulation and variation of meaning across a larger text. We

expect the literary structure of a text, its repetitions, variations, and development to affect the construal of semantically-complex lexemes such as רוּחַ—and the advancement and nuancing of the conceptual content they evoke—as individual instances are encountered across a discourse.[188]

1.3.4   Meaning 'Beyond' the Word: Construction Grammar

Construction Grammar (**CxG**) is a diverse sub-field of CL.[189] It suggests that grammatical *constructions* are the basic building blocks of language.[190] A construction is a conglomerate of morphological, syntactical, phonological, and even intonational constraints that bear semantic content and pragmatic function. A construction is broadly equivalent to Langacker's *symbolic unit*, combining different parameters of form with different parameters of meaning. As such, constructions vary in size and complexity from phonology (e.g. intonation), to the smallest morpheme (e.g. *-ual*), words ("spirit"), complex words

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[188] While we have taken seriously matters of textual criticism and textual history, this approach assumes a certain stability and intention to the canonical shape of the books we examine.

[189] Some varieties of CxG include Fillmore-Kay's *Construction Grammar*, Langacker's *Cognitive Grammar*, and Croft's *Radical Construction Grammar*. For two helpful surveys, see Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, ch. 10; Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, chs. 19–20. The initial theory arose to address idioms in the context of a componential model of grammar, Charles J. Fillmore, Paul Kay, and Mary Kay O'Connor, "Regularity and Idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of *Let Alone*," *Language* 64 (1988): 501–38; William Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 14–29.

[190] Barcelona and Valenzuela, "An Overview," 23; Hans C. Boas, "Cognitive Construction Grammar," in *The Oxford Handbook of Construction Grammar*, ed. Thomas Hoffman and Graeme Trousdale (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1. Croft's RCG maintains they are language specific, Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar*, 50.

("spiritual," N-*ual*), idioms ("poor in spirit"), and larger complex structures (the |PASSIVE| construction: Subject + auxiliary Verb Phrase + Prepositional Phrase_by, "their spirit was broken by the loss"). This necessitates understanding lexicon and syntax as a continuum rather than discrete elements of language able to be considered independently.[191] CxG has tended to focus on the intermediate constructions between words and syntactical units, such as the |WHAT'S X DOING Y?| construction, for example, "What's he doing in my room?"

A sentence is more than a simple combination of parts; it may be broken down into smaller constructions. The larger construction remains "an entity in its own right" and must be understood as a whole for the meaning to be construed correctly and any emergent properties to be apparent.[192] Thus, "What's he doing in my room?" cannot be understood fully by examining each element within it individually when the construction as a whole is "not really asking what someone/something is doing … what the construction does is activate a conventionalized conversational implicature by which the unexpected nature of the state of affairs is conveyed."[193] The grammatical patterns emerging in each language are not innate

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[191] Thus "lexicon and grammar form a gradation consisting solely in assemblies of symbolic structures," Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 5; see also Croft, *Radical Construction Grammar*, 18–25.

[192] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 164.

[193] Barcelona and Valenzuela, "An Overview," 24.

but arise from usage, introducing a diachronic element little explored in CxG literature

(which typically focuses on current, idiomatic use).[194]

1.3.4.1   Significance of Construction Grammar to this research

We will not engage in an exhaustive CxG characterisation of the texts under examination.

However, the core idea that specific lexemes are not the only basic unit of meaning is seen

throughout this study and partially motivates the level of exegetical depth to ensure that רוּחַ

is construed within the appropriate unit of meaning.

1.3.5   Meaning 'Beyond' the Literal: Conceptual Metaphor

Theory and Its Kin

> The human spirit seeks the help of sense experience in order to approach with it
>
> something which is transcendent, in order to express what cannot be expressed.[195]

Perhaps the most influential and contested approach within CL is Cognitive Metaphor

Theory (**CMT**). Initially developed by linguist George Lakoff and philosopher Mark Johnson,

CMT has been adopted in literary, philosophical, scientific, biblical, and theological

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[194] "[T]he mental grammar of the speaker (his or her knowledge of language) is formed by the abstraction of symbolic units from situated instances of language use," Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 478; Martin Hilpert, "Historical Linguistics," in *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak, HSK (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 243–44.
[195] Luis Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, trans. Adrian Graffy, SubBi 11 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2000), 95.

studies.[196] Given the widespread adoption in multiple fields, it is debatable whether there is any longer a single CMT, apart perhaps from a consistent citation and reference to Lakoff's work. We suggest there are two fundamental ideas in CMT that occur in most versions of the theory. Firstly, the nature of metaphor as the projecting of a source frame onto a target frame. Secondly, that linguistic metaphor reflects *conceptual metaphor,* and conceptual metaphor is essential to cognition. The first of these ideas is somewhat disputed; the second is highly controversial. We will introduce these ideas, their reception, and suggest a critically-refined adoption of CMT with elements from Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) for our study.

1.3.5.1   Metaphor and Mapping

Within CMT, metaphor is depicting or conceptualising one thing in terms of another. A (usually more concrete) source frame is related to a (usually more abstract) target frame by a series of *mappings.* These mappings are the projections of some element of the source onto the target.[197]

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[196] George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). Other key developments involved Mark Turner and Zoltán Kövecses: George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, Amazon Kindle ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphors of Anger, Pride, and Love: A Lexical Approach to the Structure of Concepts*, PB 8 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1986); Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010); Zoltán Kövecses, *Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020).

[197] Dancygier and Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, 14.

1.3.5.1.1   Critical Reception of Metaphor and Mapping in CMT

The leading alternate theory is that linguistic metaphors are a matter of categorisation processes.[198] Metaphors generate ad-hoc categories within hearers. The source and target are members sharing relevant properties, of which the source referent is the prototypical member and best exemplar.[199] To say "lawyers are sharks" is to identify these two referents as sharing properties such as predatoriness, lack of compassion, fear-inspiring, etc. *Shark* does not refer to a literal shark but rather to the abstract category of predatory entities.[200] Preliminary experimental data suggests there may be different processing strategies involved in comprehending metaphor depending upon the aptness of the metaphor.[201] This indicates the richness of how metaphorical language interacts with hearers but should not be seen to invalidate theories that may explain other phenomena within its use.[202]

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[198] Sam Glucksberg, *Understanding Figurative Language: From Metaphors to Idioms*, OPS 36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). Gibbs notes that in the three decades of co-existence, the categorisation theory has not been explicitly contrasted with CMT using the metaphorical expressions most studied in CMT, Raymond W. Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars: Conceptual Metaphors in Human Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 109.

[199] Glucksberg, *Figurative Language*, 53.

[200] Glucksberg, *Figurative Language*, 54.

[201] Catrinel Haught, "A Tale of Two Tropes: How Metaphor and Simile Differ," *Metaphor and Symbol* 28 (2013): 254–74.

[202] Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars*, 110.

1.3.5.2   Metaphor and Cognition

The most controversial claim of CMT is that linguistic metaphors indicate the existence of

conceptual metaphors. These are not simply abstracted 'meta-metaphors,' but a claim that

"thought itself is fundamentally metaphorical in nature."[203] Conceptual metaphors are purely

cognitive structures that facilitate how we think about and structure abstract concepts. When

English speakers utter phrases like "without direction in life," "at a crossroads," "she's going

places," or "he's gone through a lot," they are using the concrete language of a PHYSICAL

JOURNEY to describe or depict LIFE.[204] According to CMT, "they do so because thinking about

the abstract concept of life is facilitated by the more concrete concept of journey."[205] The

conceptual metaphor +LIFE IS A JOURNEY+—typically expressed as a |PREDICATIONAL COPULA|

construction following the template +TARGET FRAME IS A SOURCE FRAME+—provides the

structure and impetus for the various linguistic metaphors that reflect it.[206] We may deduce

some of these mappings from linguistic instantiation such as those above (table 1.4):

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[203] Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 3; Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 286.

[204] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 2–3.

[205] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 4.

[206] Again, nomenclature varies between *domain* or *frame*. *Frame* is increasingly popular due to the implication of conceptual access to entire structures, see Dancygier and Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, 17; Karen Sullivan, *Frames and Constructions in Metaphoric Language*, Constructional Approaches to Language 14 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2013); George Lakoff, "Mapping the Brain's Metaphor Circuitry: Metaphorical Thought in Everyday Reason," *FHN* 8 (2014).

Table 1.4. Partial metaphorical mappings for +LIFE IS A JOURNEY+

Source Frame: JOURNEY		Target Frame: LIFE	Examples
Person journeying	→	Person living life	"I haven't gone as far as I'd hoped by 30"
Destination of journey	→	Goal of life	"without direction in life"
Choice of path	→	Significant decisions	"at a crossroad"
Difficulty of travel	→	Difficult events in life	"he's gone through a lot"

Contemporary CMT suggests the selection of source frames for targets is not arbitrary but motivated by experiential and embodied factors such as (1) correlations in experience; for example, +MORE IS UP+ may be motivated by the experience of a vertical scale, or +ANGER IS HEAVY BREATHING+ by physiological experiences accompanying feeling angry; (2) perceived structural similarity; (3) perceived structural similarity induced by more basic metaphors; for example, +IDEAS ARE ENTITIES+ may motivate +IDEAS ARE FOOD+; (4) biological or cultural association of the source with the target.[207] Conceptual metaphors strongly grounded in experience are *primary metaphors*, often occurring as higher-level elements within more complicated metaphorical matrices.[208] For example, Grady develops an earlier suggestion of Lakoff that a collection of independently motivated mappings such as +STATES ARE LOCATIONS+, +CHANGE IS MOTION+, and +CAUSES ARE FORCES+, form an emergent matrix structure that links SPATIAL MOTION and SPATIAL LOCATION with EVENTS and ACTIONS: the

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[207] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 78–88.
[208] Joseph E. Grady, "Foundations of Meaning: Primary Metaphors and Primary Scenes" (PhD Thesis, University of California, 1997).

EVENT STRUCTURE METAPHOR.[209] This emergent structure may be inherited by more specific metaphors such as +LIFE IS JOURNEY+.

1.3.5.2.1 Critical Reception of Metaphor in Thought in CMT

If concepts are inherently metaphorical in nature, metaphors such as +ARGUMENTS ARE WARS+ will always be actively processed as metaphorical even when they are so well-entrenched in language that conventionalised figurative senses frequently appear in use.[210] The interplay of active 'online' processing and retrieval of entrenched metaphorical senses is complex, with evidence supporting cross-domain mappings as psychologically real but only one of several cognitive processes that may be involved in conceptualisation and comprehension.[211] These findings suggest that the 'dynamic construal in context' approach to meaning is likely applicable to figurative language as well, namely, that meaning is not constructed by a single mechanism but a dynamic interplay of situated context, prior experiences, and online construal. If so, we may benefit from the insights of CMT regarding

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[209] George Lakoff, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. A. Ortony, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 202–51; Grady, "Foundations of Meaning," 101–12.

[210] Gerard J. Steen, "Is Metaphor Always a Matter of Thought? Issues in Collecting Converging Evidence," in *Converging Evidence in Linguistics: Methodological and Theoretical Issues for Linguistic Research*, ed. Doris Schönefeld, HCP 33 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 33–54.

[211] Lawrence Barsalou and Katja Wiemer-Hastings, "Situating Abstract Concepts," in *Grounding Cognition: The Role of Perception and Action in Memory, Language, and Thought*, ed. D. Pecher and R. Zwaan (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 129–63; Peer F. Bundgaard, "The Structure of Our Concepts: A Critical Assessment of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as a Theory of Concepts," *JCS* 12 (2019): 1–11.

the relationship of conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors, and the usefulness of analysing patterns of projection between frames in our texts, without having to embrace wholesale the 'thought as metaphor' commitment of mainline CMT.

1.3.5.3 Metaphor and Language

When metaphors are instantiated in language, they produce the literary expressions most familiar to language users. These relate two frames by a series of mappings. To say, "Careful, Dad's been simmering all day, he's about to blow!" is to depict Dad's [ANGER] in terms of [HEAT]: +ANGER IS HEAT+. However, the meaning that emerges from this is not identical to a 'simple' projection of aspects of ANGER onto aspects of HEAT. Rather, there is a process of selective projection from complex *input frames* to form a resultant **conceptual blend.**[212]

1.3.5.3.1 Metaphors and Conceptual Blending

The mapping of aspects of inputs spaces onto one another is guided by and reliant upon a *generic space* that exhibits what these inputs have in common.[213] For example, the nonlinear

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[212] Dancygier and Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, 74. Conceptual Blending Theory (CBT) is most accessibly presented in Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic Books, 2002). For the limitations of simple projections, consider "The surgeon is a butcher." While the mappings between cleaver/scalpel, carcass/patient etc. are straightforward, CMT cannot account for the negative assessment inherent in the utterance. Joseph Grady, Todd Oakley, and Seana Coulson, "Blending and Metaphor," in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics: Selected Papers from the 5th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference, Amsterdam, 1997*, ed. Raymond W. Gibbs and Gerard J. Steen, CILT 175 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999), 101–24.

[213] See further Dancygier and Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, §4.1. For more on the components of blends, see Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 46–50.

development of the intensity of heat/anger is such that a sudden change in the state of the

system occurs at a point in the scale (that is, a substance under heat/pressure tends to

explode abruptly and gradually increasing anger will lead to sudden action); and high

degrees on the scale may yield harmful results (high levels of heat/pressure may lead to the

explosion of the container, and high levels of anger may cause socially-disruptive

behaviour).[214] The resulting blend is a fictive, ad-hoc, and potentially novel conceptual

structure that draws upon this shared structure to equate an explosion of heated/pressurised

substance with a sudden socially-disruptive loss of temper.

Conceptual blends may vary widely in their creativity, complexity, and stability, and even

extend beyond metaphor to explain how concepts are structured and re-structured *in situ.*[215]

CBT provides a significant corrective and complement to CMT, however, given our focus on

the specific linguistic metaphors involving רוּחַ, we will not be employing the full analytical

apparatus of CBT.

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[214] The generic space contains the abstract concepts held in common between the frames, P. Van Hecke, "Conceptual Blending: A Recent Approach to Metaphor - Illustrated with the Pastoral Metaphor in Hos 4,16," in *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. P. Van Hecke, BETL 187 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 220.

[215] See the examples of 'simplex', 'mirror', 'single-scope', and 'double-scope' blends in DesCamp, *Metaphor and Ideology*, 28–39. CBT emphasises the 'real-time' cognitive activity involved in blends, but recognises that repeated patterns and associations may be 'stored' for minimal-processing cost use, Fauconnier and Turner, *The Way We Think*, 372.

1.3.5.3.2   <u>Evaluative and Emotive Functions of Metaphor</u>

The effect of figurative language transcends the communication or clarification of ideas. It is involved in reconfiguring cognitive structures to promote the evaluation of the topic of an utterance.[216] This is a highly complex process given the subjective nature of construals and connotation, and is especially evident in the communication, evocation, and manipulation of emotion.[217] Given its complexity as an experiential, cognitive, and evaluative human system, emotion may be reflected in many ways linguistically.[218] One persistent linguistic mode of depicting emotion is the metonymical presentation of physiological corollaries to the experience of the emotion. +ANGER IS HEAT+ is salient to depict ANGER as body temperature is often perceived to rise when experiencing the emotion.

We do not seek to explicate the structure of emotions in BH per se, but rather how understanding such structures assists in understanding רוּחַ via its role in such figurative depictions. Many helpful studies have explored larger emotional constructs in BH; however, there is a tendency to import CMT analyses of American English without adequate

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[216] Alice Deignan, "The Evaluative Properties of Metaphors," in *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World*, ed. Graham Low, HCP (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 357–74. For example, describing the reduction of staff in an organisation as *slimming down* attempts to correlate a typically positive event (WEIGHT LOSS) with a typically negative event (JOB LOSS).

[217] Philip King, "Metaphor and Methodology for Cross-Cultural Investigation of Hebrew Emotions," *JT* 8 (2012): 9–24.

[218] Monika Schwarz-Friesel, "Language and Emotion: The Cognitive Linguistic Perspective," in *Emotion in Language: Theory, Research, Application*, ed. Ulrike M. Lüdtke, CEB 10 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2015), 157–74.

contextualisation to the cultural and linguistic world of BH.[219] Two more careful studies we will interact with regularly are Philip D. King's work on DISTRESS and Matthew Schlimm's study of ANGER.[220]

The evaluative and emotive usage of figurative language may be related to the mappings themselves or the *entailments* of the mappings. Entailments are implicit mappings that are not expressed but still influence the structure of the blend. For example, +YHWH IS A SHEPHERD+ (instantiated by יְהוָה רֹעִי, Ps 23:1) may primarily communicate God's protection of his people, but may also entail his provision and care, the relative helplessness of the cared for, or interact with a further cultural figuration such as +A KING IS A SHEPHERD+.

Gerard Steen has helpfully drawn attention to a tendency for more novel metaphors (what he calls *deliberate metaphor*) to be pragmatically focussed on changing a hearer's perspective on the topic, while more conventional metaphors (*non-deliberate metaphor*)—by nature of their familiarity—keep attention upon the topic as it stands.[221] Given the small size of the AH corpus, it is difficult to determine what is novel or entrenched in figurative language. Even multiple instances of a similar metaphor does not necessarily imply strong

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[219] See Paul A. Kruger, "A Cognitive Interpretation of the Emotion of Anger in the Hebrew Bible," *JNSL* 26 (2000): 181–93; Paul A. Kruger, "Depression in the Hebrew Bible: An Update," *JNES* 64 (2005): 187–92.

[220] King, *Surrounded*; Matthew Richard Schlimm, *From Fratricide to Forgiveness: The Language and Ethics of Anger in Genesis*, Siphrut 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011).

[221] Gerard Steen, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: Now New and Improved!," *RCL* 9 (2011): 30–31; cf. Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars*, 83–90.

conventionality and thus the lower cognitive salience of source frames. We will tend to

approach most instances of figurative language relevant to understanding רוּחַ as deliberate.

1.3.5.3.3 <u>Identifying Linguistic Metaphors in Discourse</u>

There is no standard approach for identifying metaphor in CMT or wider metaphor studies.

Many proposed methods struggle to distinguish between entrenched metaphors and those

consciously identified as metaphorical by hearers.[222] One of the more accepted methods is

the Pragglejaz Group's *Metaphor Identification Procedure* (MIP), an analytical tool for

identifying metaphor in a discourse.

1. Read the entire text to establish a general understanding of the discourse.

2. Determine the lexical units in the text.

3. For each lexical unit in the text, check metaphorical use:

   Establish the meaning of the lexical unit in context (how it applies to an entity),

   and the relation in the situation evoked by the text (contextual meaning), as well

   as the immediate literary context. Determine if the lexical unit has a more basic

   current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the one in the given

   context. Basic meanings tend to be: more concrete; easier to image, see, hear,

   feel, smell, and taste; related to bodily action; more precise (as opposed to

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[222] Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars*, 60–69.

vague); and historically older. Basic meanings are not necessarily the most frequent meaning of the lexical unit.

4. If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison or contrast with the basic meaning. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical. Repeat steps 1–4 for each lexical unit.[223]

While MIP attempts to moderate the subjectivity of metaphor identification, it still requires a judgement of the relative 'basicity' of a lexical unit in context—a judgement difficult to make given the nature of the AH corpus. As such, we will not follow the MIP as a strict method but as a general guide for identifying figurative language in our texts. Once identified, we will seek to determine what frames these figurative expressions evoke and what mappings they indicate or assume. Our primary concern will be with the individual linguistic metaphors involving רוּחַ. However, to fruitfully compare related metaphors we will provisionally identify salient conceptual metaphors that appear to be evoked in the specific linguistic metaphors in our texts.[224] For example, Philip D. King notes how רוּחַ, לֵב, and נֶפֶשׁ

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[223] Pragglejaz Group, "MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse," *Metaphor & Symbol* 22 (2007): 1–39.

[224] The labelling of conceptual metaphors is somewhat subjective, and thus, disputed, Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars*, 263–64. For example, +ARGUMENTS ARE WARS+ communicates different things to +ARGUMENTS ARE STRUGGLES+, Gibbs, *Metaphor Wars*, 112. Where possible, we use labels already employed by other HB scholars such as Philip D. King; Nicole L. Tilford; and Zacharias Kotzé. This allows for consistent comparison with existing research, provided the labels are neither inaccurate or unhelpfully specific/generic. King, *Surrounded*; Nicole L. Tilford, *Sensing World, Sensing Wisdom:*

appear as metonymies of the human person in depictions of DISTRESS as PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION.[225] Recognising +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION+ as part of a broader -CONSTRAINT- image schema prompts us to note other facets of the text that may recruit from the cognitive structure of restricted space and assist in understanding how and why רוּחַ is used in these metaphors/metonyms.

As with all cross-linguistic study, this kind of analysis is fraught. Different intuitive leaps from frame to frame are made between cultures and language groups, different mappings inferred, and different blends formed depending upon the existing conceptual structures shared within social/cultural groups.[226] One of the potentially anachronistic concepts we invoke throughout this study is SELF. The term itself is readily associated with a post-Romantic 'inwardness', an 'internal self' in which the human subject is an "autonomous, disengaged, self-sufficient, and self-responsible unity, one whose own 'inner depths' are the

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The Cognitive Foundation of Biblical Metaphors, AIL 31 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017); Zacharias Kotzé, "The Conceptualisation of Anger in the Hebrew Bible" (PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2004).
[225] King, *Surrounded*, 156–61; Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 266.
[226] Consider the effect of exchanging the generic space in our example above for a different set of governing interpretative principles for the mapping process and imagine the 'trickle-down' effect to the final blend. Kövecses notes that conceptual metaphors—when apparently shared between cultures—constitute "a generic schema that gets filled out by each culture that has the metaphor. When it is filled out, it receives unique cultural content at a specific level," Zoltán Kövecses, "Why Aren't Conceptual Metaphors Universal?," in *Cognitive Approaches to English: Fundamental, Methodological, Interdisciplinary and Applied Aspects*, ed. Višnja Pavičić Takač, Marija Omazić, and Mario Brdar (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), 283.

sufficient ground of its efforts at self-expression and self-exploration."[227] When used in this study, we do not intend to evoke this modern concept in full, or imply that such an abstract concept of 'selfhood' was extant in the Ancient Hebrew language community.[228] Rather, it is an analytical imposition attempting to negotiate the complicated conceptualisations of the human person in these texts, where the human agent is sometimes viewed as a unity and sometimes with a kind of distinguishable composition.[229] To reinforce the artificiality of this construct, we persist with the use of small-caps to mark when the concept of SELF is being used as a heuristic shorthand.

1.3.5.3.4 Critical Reception of Metaphor and Language in CMT

Much early work in CMT relied upon intuitive judgements of native speakers and haphazard collections of apparently relevant linguistic data. This approach assumed which utterances were metaphorical rather than literal and did not account for the full range of utterances that

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[227] Robert A. Di Vito, "Old Testament Anthropology and the Construction of Personal Identity," *CBQ* 61 (1999): 219–20; see further Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[228] Although Janowski's posits an "Entechung des inneren Menschen" in the mid-late monarchic period rooted in his understanding of לֵב, Bernd Janowski, "Das Herz – eine Bezeihungsorgan: Zum Personverständis des Alten Testaments," in *Dimensionen der Leiblichkeit: Beiträge aus Theologie und Psychosomatischer Medizin. Theologische Zugänge*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Christoph Schwöbel, ThIn 16 (Göttingen: Neukirchener, 2015), 6. Carlson asserts that רוּחַ is "one of the primary methods in which biblical literature articulates notions of the self and of personhood," Reed Carlson, "Possession and Other Spirit Phenomena in Biblical Literature" (PhD Thesis, Harvard Divinity School, 2019), 176.

[229] Janowski's "konstellativen Personbegriffen," Janowski, "Das Herz," 3.

may be in use by a language community.[230] While understandable in its initial publication

by Lakoff and Johnson, this criticism rightly indicates the ongoing need for validation via

corpora and experimental studies.[231]

1.3.5.4   Metaphor and Metonymy

There are many ways in which metonymy and metaphor are similar in CL.[232] Non-basic uses

are examined and collected to infer larger conceptual motivations. However, the two are

increasingly being distinguished. Metonymy is now understood in terms of the conceptual

access it affords. If meaning may be characterised as a concept profile understood against a

domain matrix of encyclopaedic knowledge, metonymy *highlights* one domain/frame within

that matrix to gain cognitive access to the whole.[233]

> Metonymy is an asymmetric mapping of a conceptual entity (the source) onto
>
> another conceptual entity (the target). Source and target are in the same frame, and

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[230] Pragglejaz Group, "MIP."

[231] Similarly, critics of CMT must engage with its more contemporary and robust forms Zoltán Kövecses, "Conceptual Metaphor Theory: Some Criticisms and Alternative Proposals," *ARCL* 6 (2008): 169.

[232] Kövecses, *Metaphor*, ch. 12. See also Jeannette Littlemore, *Metonymy: Hidden Shortcuts in Language, Thought and Communication*, CSCL (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 123–46.

[233] Croft and Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics*, §8.5. Zhang differentiates the two based on a relationship of *similarity* (metaphor) vs *contiguity* (metonymy), Weiwei Zhang, *Variations in Metonymy: Cross-Linguistic, Historical and Lectal Perspectives*, CLR 59 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016), 16.

their roles are linked by a pragmatic function, so that the target is mentally activated.[234]

Central to the CL understanding of metonymy is conceptual **contiguity**: some close association is required between the elements that are being related.[235] For example, +PART FOR WHOLE+, "he drove off in his new set of wheels;" +PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT+, "my wife loves Picasso;" or +PERSON'S SALIENT FEATURE FOR PERSON+, "he's the muscle." To distinguish metaphor and metonymy, we will represent metonyms as +TARGET **FOR** SOURCE+ and metaphors as +TARGET **IS** SOURCE+. In each example, metonymy can be used to "communicate fairly complex ideas relatively efficiently and ... serve as shorthand for much longer events or ideas."[236] Metonymy presumes a significant body of shared knowledge between speakers, making it challenging to analyse in detail.[237] Consider the frequent identification of only the most schematic or abstract levels of metonymy, such as +PART FOR WHOLE+. Identifying "new set of wheels" as instantiating +PART FOR WHOLE+ is correct. However, it fails to provide any granular insights into the actual instantiation: "the highest-

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[234] Antonio Barcelona, "Metonymy," in *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak, HSK 39 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 196. A 'pragmatic function' is "a privileged conceptual link in our long-term memory between the roles of metonymic source and target within the corresponding frame," e.g. CAUSE-EFFECT, PRODUCER-PRODUCED, etc. This link is necessary for the mental activation of target by source, 199. Geeraerts and Zhang prefer 'metonymic pattern' to 'pragmatic function', Zhang, *Variations in Metonymy*, 15.

[235] Zhang, *Variations in Metonymy*, 13; Littlemore, *Metonymy*, 5.

[236] Littlemore, *Metonymy*, 7.

[237] It is also especially prone to misunderstanding when encyclopaedic knowledge is not shared as expected, Littlemore, *Metonymy*, 7.

level metonymy is too general to reveal something about the conceptualization of the target, let alone the variation in the conceptualization."[238]

We noted previously that anthropological terms such as רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, or לֵב are often posited as metonymic of the whole person. To assess this, we would need evidence to support whether +PART FOR WHOLE+ is instantiated by these terms in their texts, as well as *how* these terms represent the entire person and whether they differ in their representation in any way—does one term supplant another in particular genres? In particular eras of language change? Does one reflect a particular aspect of the whole compared to the others?—and *why* they were selected to represent the person in this context. This level of analysis has rarely been undertaken, although a recent exception is Katrin Müller's research into נֶפֶשׁ according to two schematic metonyms: +BODY PART FOR FUNCTION+ and +BODY PART FOR PERSON+.[239]

1.3.6 Meaning 'Beyond' the Obvious: Relevance Theory

While not generally considered part of the Cognitive Linguistic stable, we conclude with one final cognitively-orientated theory worth mentioning: **Relevance Theory** (RT).[240] Relevance

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[238] Zhang, *Variations in Metonymy*, 25.

[239] Müller, *Meine "Seele."*

[240] Given our limited engagement with RT, we primarily refer to Ernst-August Gutt, *Relevance Theory: A Guide to Successful Communication in Translation* (New York: SIL, 1992); over the more technical Ernst-August Gutt, *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: St Jerome, 2000). For the overlap and distinctions between RT and CL, see Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, §13.2.

Theory argues that every act of communication between humans is *intentional* and *inferential.* They are *intentional* because a communicator intends to communicate, intends to communicate something, and seeks to succeed in this *ostensive-inferential* act.[241] This involves finding communicative stimuli sufficient to produce a clear understanding of the intended communication in the addressee's mind. Central to this task is *inference*, the use of encyclopaedic knowledge and contextual clues to construe an utterance in a manner the raw 'code' itself cannot.

> The crucial notion that enables people to know which inferences the communicator intended is *relevance.* ... For an utterance to be relevant, it needs not only to be *new* (in some sense), but it must also link with the *context* in some way.[242]

Relevance Theory suggests that an automatic and subconscious presumption occurs in any communication, where the audience assumes that the "first interpretation which has adequate contextual effects and which did not cause the audience unnecessary processing effort must be the one intended by the communicator."[243] That is, given the particular cognitive 'context' of a hearer, the first construal of an utterance that yields an intelligible

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[241] Gutt, *Relevance Theory*, 14.

[242] Gutt, *Relevance Theory,* 21. *Context* is a subset of the *cognitive environment* of the hearer: "all the facts that the individual is capable of representing in his mind and of accepting as true, or probably true. The sources of this information can be *perception* (seeing, hearing, etc.) *memory*, or *inference*, which can make use of information from the other two sources," Gutt, *Relevance Theory*, 22.

[243] Gutt, Relevance Theory, 25.

sense is presumed to be the intended one. If no such sense is possible with the extant context, the hearer must employ a measure of processing effort to discern one.

1.3.6.1 The Significance for Relevance Theory for our study

Three primary entailments of RT are salient to our study. Firstly, the difficulty of interpreting many ancient texts is due, in part, to the lack of access to clear and complete contextual effects. In place of the contexts of authors/editors and audiences, contemporary audiences substitute their own to make sense of what they hear/read. Once again, we must seek maximal linguistic, cultural, historical, and anthropological data to 'fill out' the context of an utterance.

Secondly, regarding figurative language, RT assumes that such language is not embellishment but more fully communicates the author's intended meaning.[244] Further, the inclusion of figurative language by an author "promises adequate contextual effects," without always providing a rigid definition of what these effects might be. This encourages the audience to "explore and exploit the richness of the cognitive environment … shared with them."[245] Metaphor in communication assumes it can be understood or evoke its intended

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[244] See Gutt, *Relevance Theory*, ch. 4.
[245] Gutt, Relevance Theory, 52.

effect even while its very nature refuses to fully force a particular way in which those effects are achieved.[246]

Finally, the notion of **processing cost** is crucial for the movement from linguistic instantiation, to conceptual structure, to eventual synthesis. For an author to choose a lexeme, construction, or figuration over another presumes it is the most effective for communicating their message or evoking their effects.[247] When this chosen form is difficult—an uncommon metaphor or awkward grammatical constructions—interpreters may presume some significance to this form that justifies the extra processing cost necessary to construe meaning.[248] Anthropological terms (רוּחַ, לֵב, נֶפֶשׁ, and נְשָׁמָה) have frequently been considered 'synonymous' due to their appearance in AH poetic parallels, or in similar metaphorical/metonymic constructions (such as רוּחַ נְכֵאָה, שֶׁבֶר רוּחַ/נִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב). Parallel items may be mutually enlightening, but not necessarily synonymous.[249] Similar constructions may share source frames, have similar or partially-overlapping conceptual structure, or occur at different points in diachronic lexical/grammatical change. Each of these implies that the use

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[246] "This entitles the hearer to use any of the assumptions that come to mind and that the communicator could have expected," Gutt, *Relevance Theory*, 50.

[247] Even the nebulous concept of 'stylistic variation' assumes a desired effect is achieved in the communicative act by intentional *variation* of previously used language.

[248] Gutt, Relevance Theory, 58. Allowing for textual corruption and lost contextual factors that may obscure an otherwise simple utterance.

[249] James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 8.

of different expressions in different contexts for different purposes expects different cognitive engagement.

1.3.7 Conclusion

Cognitive Linguistics is an evolving coalition of connected approaches sharing common core ideas and aims. While requiring new metalanguage and ways of thinking to grasp, it strives towards a laudable integration of mind and body, language and thought, syntax and lexis. This allows for the full complexity of language use and the mutually interpenetrative effect of culture and society on meaning, and meaning on words. CL can never be simplistically applied to a text to produce 'the' correct interpretation of a text or 'the' meaning of a word.[250] Instead, it holds potential to enrich the close reading of ancient texts, such as the Bible.[251] This project seeks to use not one but several of the tools and sub-disciplines of CL together in pursuit of clarity of the anthropological uses of רוּחַ.

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[250] James Alfred Loader, "Job and Cognition in Context - Impressions and Prospects from the Perspective of Exegesis," in *Job 28: Cognition in Context*, ed. Ellen Van Wolde (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 323–24.

[251] While CL offers its own insights, Dirk Geeraerts plausibly argues that it builds on the best of historical-philological semantics, Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 42–44, 276.

1.4 'Wisdom' Texts and רוּחַ

Where will the human רוּחַ be found? At several points above, we have argued for the need to focus this study on an intentional subsection of the available AH texts: the sapiential literature of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes.

1.4.1   The Problem of 'Wisdom literature'

Many introductions to 'Wisdom literature' list three biblical texts and two peri-biblical works as central to the 'genre.' These are Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job, as well as Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon.[252] However, the idea of a 'genre' or 'collection' of such texts is problematic, as Mark Sneed and Will Kynes have argued.[253] They rightly reprove simplistic understandings of a 'Wisdom tradition' (with Proverbs as 'mainstream'), the theory of a formal 'Wisdom school' within Israel, and the failure of form-critical attempts to define the genre to adequately include even the three core canonical books (especially Job).[254] Perhaps Roland Murphy is correct when he suggests that "'Wisdom Literature' is not a form-critical term ...

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[252] 'Peri-biblical' attempts to describe the significance of Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon in the Second Temple period, while maintaining the linguistic and historical delimitation of the Hebrew Bible.

[253] Mark R. Sneed, ed., *Was There a Wisdom Tradition? New Prospects in Israelite Wisdom Studies*, SBLAIL (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015); Will Kynes, *An Obituary for "Wisdom Literature": The Birth, Death, and Intertextual Reintegration of a Biblical Corpus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

[254] Traditional Jewish collections grouped Job, Proverbs, and Psalms as *Sifrei Emet* and Ecclesiastes as *Megilloth*, and a distinct 'Wisdom' category is barely evident prior to nineteenth-century German scholarship, Kynes, *Obituary*, 82–104.

merely a term of convenience."[255] Some elements make such a loose collection heuristically useful. On a lexical level, over half of the instances of חָכְמָה in BH appear in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes (85/149), suggesting a preoccupation with this prototypically sapiential term.[256] On a literary level, there is a tendency towards the use of frame narratives as macro-structuring devices, and short-form proverbs, dialogues, discourses, and even riddles as preferred micro-structures.[257] Within the corpus of the Hebrew Bible and its peri-biblical texts, there appears to be a degree of intertextual relationships between 'Wisdom' books and the wider Hebrew Bible, either in common co-texts appealed to (such as the creation accounts of Genesis 2–3), or, for later texts such as Sirach, the biblical texts themselves.[258] On a theological/conceptual level, there is an emphasis on receiving instruction from older figures (sages, father-figures, etc.) and observing the world to live well in it.[259]

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[255] Roland E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, FOTL 13 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 3.

[256] This is despite strongly varied genre and context, John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 222.

[257] Jennie Grillo, "The Wisdom Literature," in *The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Companion*, ed. John Barton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 182–83.

[258] *Intertextuality* is a 'loaded term' in biblical studies, David M. Carr, "The Many Uses of Intertextuality in Biblical Studies: Actual and Potential," in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen, VTSupp 148 (Brill, 2012), 505–35. It is prominent in Kynes' theory of Wisdom literature as representing (via CBT) a "formalized version of intertextuality," Kynes, *Obituary*, 110–40.

[259] Perhaps the *function* of the category is as significant as the *form*, so Elisa Uusimäki, "Spiritual Formation in Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom Teaching," in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Hindy Najman, Jean-Sébastien Rey, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 57–70; William P. Brown, *Character in Crisis: A Fresh Approach to the Wisdom Literature of the Old Testament*, 1st ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996).

1.4.2   The Selection of our Sub-Corpus

Narrowing our study to Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes yields a suitable number of texts for the level of detailed linguistic analysis we desire: 38 instances of רוּחַ out of 142 in the MT.[260] This limits the comprehensiveness of the research but has some advantages given the nature of the texts.

Firstly, analysing texts within a collection—even one as loose and diverse as this—provides some stability in the reading act. Steen suggests that literary genre functions cognitively as a kind of *schema*, a knowledge structure abstracted from experience and stored by language users to assist in the construal process of both familiar and novel situations/texts.[261] While we do not suggest there was a pre-existent and idealised 'Wisdom' genre/schema extant in the Ancient Hebrew community, the process of reading texts with a similar form and function provides a norm against which deviations (both linguistic and conceptual) are both noticeable and comprehendible.[262] Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes all share a concern with

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[260] That is, we will argue that 38 of the 76 instances of רוּחַ in the three books are anthropological in referent. There are approximately 142 anthropological uses of רוּחַ out of the total 378. In the wider AH corpus, it would include 13/16 tokens for the Sirach; and at least 12/37 for *4QInstruction* (textual damage prevents analysis of much of the remaining 20).

[261] Gerard Steen, "Genres of Discourse and the Definition of Literature," *Discourse Processes* 28 (1999): 109–20.

[262] See the stimulating approach of Michael Sinding, "A Triple-Frame Model of Genre: Framing for Discourse Sequencing," in *Genre in Language, Discourse and Cognition*, ed. Wilbert Spooren, Gerard Steen, and Ninke Stukker, ACL 33 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2016), 305–30. A parallel may be drawn to the form-criticism of the psalter, in which the variations from the expected form are of greater significance precisely because they have a norm from which to deviate.

discovering WISDOM, a basic form of parallel poetry (with all the general expectations of

Hebrew poetry such as density of imagery, terseness, etc.), and at least Job and Ecclesiastes

share a framing narrative. Still, each book approaches its task differently to generate one of

the most richly varied bodies of Ancient Hebrew.[263] The poetic form is manipulated to span

simple proverbs, extended multi-character discourses, the countering of popular maxims,

and the concern with wisdom becomes both asserting and critiquing what is 'wise.'

Secondly, sapiential texts have amongst their manifold concerns the thematic poles of

cosmology and *anthropology*.[264] This dialectic stumbles somewhat in the face of the ruggedly

intrusive *theology* of "the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom" (Prov 1:7; 9:10; Job 28:28;

cf. Eccl 12:13; not to mention Job 38-42), suggesting a third pole is necessary. The mere

observation of such high-level foci may lend little to the actual reading of the texts, as

arguably most parts of the Hebrew Bible relate to one or more of cosmology, anthropology,

and theology. However, there is something to seeking the multifarious and intricate

relationships between such conceptual emphases. For each text, how is humanity conceived

of? How are they part of the created world? Where do they stand before God, the creator of

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[263] "If the wisdom corpus were a choir, melodious harmony would not be its forte. Dissonance would resound at almost every chord," William P. Brown, *Wisdom's Wonder: Character, Creation, and Crisis in the Bible's Wisdom Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 1.

[264] Noted since at least Walther Zimmerli, "The Place and Limit of the Wisdom in the Framework of the Old Testament Theology," *SJT* 17 (1964): 146–58; see also Leo G. Perdue, *Wisdom & Creation: The Theology of Wisdom Literature* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 1994), 1–48, who argues for creation as the overarching framework.

all? One expects a great deal of רוּחַ-talk between such 'poles,' given that there is a partial overlap between the central emphases of Wisdom literature and the central sense-regions of רוּחַ—wind (cosmology), breath and spirit (anthropology), and Spirit (theology)—while its polysemy highlights unity and distinction between these concepts. The use of רוּחַ leverages and elucidates the relationships between these categories and provides insights into the conceptual structure of רוּחַ as well as the literature itself. For example, the "breath" that constitutes the life that Job feels under such threat is God's own רוּחַ imparted to him; and forms the grounds for Elihu's claim that all humans have access to insight because all share this peculiar connection to the divine (Job 32:8).

Thirdly, and directly related to the above, the sapiential nature of the texts highlights the issue of the polysemy of רוּחַ and its complex conceptual structure. By their didactic nature, wisdom texts leverage the full range of poetic techniques to force attention upon their contents.[265] They also appear to employ a high number and density of polysemous lexemes. The intentional exploitation of multi-sense lexemes may indicate a deliberate 'shift' within their discourse from polysemy towards ambiguity to encourage a re-reading of texts as part

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[265] Stefan Schorch, "Between Science and Magic: The Function and Roots of Paronomasia in the Prophetic Books of the Hebrew Bible," in *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. Scott B. Noegel (Bethesda: CDL, 2000), 207–11.

of the contemplative act.[266] Commenting upon Ecclesiastes 1:1–11, Lindsay Wilson notes that:

> the purposeful use of ambiguity is a way of reminding the reader that wisdom observations usually reflect part, not all, of the truth. ... The use of ambiguity thus does not mean that the text fails to communicate its message, but rather implies that the message is more complex than it appears at first.[267]

Some instances of רוּחַ may elude firm definition and delineation of senses because they intend to present multiple valid readings. Differentiating between intentional and incidental ambiguity (due to chronological and cultural distance) is inherently subjective. It must be attempted only as part of the intensive reading and analysis we advocate in this study.[268] This must involve consideration of the wider textual context, as intentional ambiguity may be identified by the introduction of elements later in a discourse that prompt a 're-construal' of רוּחַ considering such new contextual data. When two construals cannot be held

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[266] While we use *ambiguity* in the cognitive semantic sense above, indeterminacy of lexical meaning leveraged for literary purposes is variously categorised as "synonymy," "wordplay," or (generalised) "ambiguity." Doug Ingram explores a more literary (and extreme) "indeterminacy of meaning" in Ecclesiastes, Doug Ingram, *Ambiguity in Ecclesiastes*, LHBOTS 431 (London: T&T Clark, 2006); more widely, see David G. Firth, "Ambiguity," *DOTWPW*, 11–13.

[267] Lindsay Wilson, "Artful Ambiguity in Ecclesiastes 1,1–11," in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, ed. Antoon Schoors, BETL 136 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 364. "Contemplation will often be practised in the face of transcendent realities which are difficult to speak of and resist rigorous description," Alonso Schökel, *Manual*, 67.

[268] For a CL account of intentional lexical ambiguity, see Konrad Żyśko, *A Cognitive Linguistic Account of Wordplay* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2017), 63–140.

simultaneously at the centre of attention, they exhibit *attentional autonomy*.[269] For example,

"John was wearing a light jacket, so was Bill" requires *light* to be construed as either referring

to weight or colour, and we expect the same construal of *light* to hold for both John and

Bill's jackets.[270] However, this can be violated at extra cognitive processing cost to generate

zeugma (or punning). Such additional cost must be justified by the discourse function of the

proposed ambiguity. Intentionality implies communicative function, such as the use

alternate senses of the lexeme may contribute to structuring of the wider discourse;[271] to shift

perspectives on a discourse-item;[272] or to imply or extrapolate conceptual links between the

senses evoked.[273] While adding another layer to the reading and analysis of these texts, the

density of polysemy and poetically-significant ambiguity provide further information about

the lexical and conceptual structure of these lexemes.

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[269] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.3.1.

[270] Cruse, *Meaning in Language*, §5.3.1.

[271] Moshe Garsiel, "Word Play and Puns as a Rhetorical Device in the Book of Samuel," in *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, ed. Scott B. Noegel (Bethesda: CDL, 2000), 198–204.

[272] Such as "to denote reversal" or "to show appearances can be deceiving," Wilfred G. E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques*, 2nd ed., JSOTSupp 26 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1995), 245–46. See Kövecses's example of the multiple understandings of the situation of not wanting to spend money if conceptualised according to the [STINGY] frame versus the [THRIFTY] frame, Zoltán Kövecses, *Language, Mind, and Culture: A Practical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 77.

[273] "The homonymic pun makes readers aware of new connections between ideas that were not previously recognized as connected. The polysemantic pun makes readers aware of the multivalence and complexity of ideas that had previously been thought to be simple and/or one-dimensional," Knut Heim, "Wordplay," *DOTWPW*, 928.

1.5 Methodology

Our research seeks to clarify the usage and emergent lexical and conceptual structure of רוּחַ

by a close reading of its appearances in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job; and benefiting from

the insights and approaches of Cognitive Linguistics. We will devote a chapter to each of

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job.[274] The analysis within each will take the following form:

1.5.1   Orienting to the Book

A brief orientation will introduce critical matters for each book to assist in the situating and

interpreting of the individual texts within them, such as structure, identifiable sub-genres,

etc.

1.5.2   Analysing the Texts

The bulk of each chapter will examine the texts in which רוּחַ is used of a human. We will

discuss and justify the selection of these texts out of the total instances of רוּחַ in the book.

Each text will then be examined according to the following paradigm.

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[274] Given there is no stable order in the Jewish textual traditions of the Ketuvim (compare b. B. Bat. 14b–15a and the Tiberian codices), and precise chronology is difficult to establish, this order is purely pragmatic. We begin with Proverbs, a text characterised by greater textual stability and a useful range of instances of רוּחַ, then the following books ordered by relative number of instances (Ecclesiastes then Job).

1.5.2.1   Establishing the Text

First, we will present the Hebrew text according to BHQ (or BHS where BHQ is unavailable) and an English translation. Text-critical matters will be addressed to establish the text. English translations are typically from the NRSV. Exceptions to this are marked with a single asterisk (*) when a different standard English translation is used, or a double asterisk (**) when the translation is our own. Square brackets ([]) indicate the replacement of a smaller portion of the NRSV with our own translation. In all translations, the English gloss for רוּחַ is replaced with *rûaḥ* to minimise lexical priming prior to the analysis.

1.5.2.2   Examining the Context

The second section will address matters of immediate literary context, especially those that impact upon the construal of the text in question, its lexemes, and its grammatical constructions. Elements of interest include closely proximate lexemes and their frame structure, larger syntactical units that subsume our text, or broader discourse metaphors or themes that will have been encountered in a reading of the full discourse in order.

1.5.2.3   Analysing the Use of רוּחַ

The heart of our study is the close reading of רוּחַ texts to ascertain how רוּחַ is being used and what lexical senses are being evoked. The sequence of this will be driven by the structure of the texts themselves, as even the order in which textual elements are presented influences their construal. However, the general sequence of the analysis will be as follows:

(1) Syntax and Grammatical Constructions

This will examine the syntactical structures in which רוּחַ appears and identify the relevant

grammatical constructions and their semantic significance.

(2) Semantics, Frames, and Profile/Base relations

This will examine the semantic character of the surrounding elements to רוּחַ, both individual

lexical units—especially when syntactically linked with רוּחַ—and the frames they evoke. An

exhaustive frame or profile/base analysis for every lexeme in every text would limit the scope

of our study and not always provide more information than is already accessible by

examining other instances of the lexeme in BH or appealing to existing lexicographic

resources. However, where רוּחַ features as an FE or where wider conceptual structure of a

frame appears significant to understanding רוּחַ, we will provide sketches of the frame

structure. These will be modelled on FrameNet as a general guide, but always corrected

against or generated by an examination of LUs in the Hebrew Bible. For example, to

disambiguate פְּקֻדָּה in Job 10:12, an analysis of the LU with respect to [ADMINISTRATION] in

Jeremiah 52:11; Ezekiel 44:11; 1 Chronicles 24:19; 26:3 compared with [PUNISHMENT] in

Isaiah 10:3; Jeremiah 8:12; 10:15; 11:23 indicates that [ADMINISTRATION] tends to feature FEs

of Place, while [PUNISHMENT] tends to feature FEs of Time. Where there is insufficient

textual data to generate such frames, a more general conceptual background is implied, or a

domain/frame matrix is significant for meaning, we will refer to the profile/base/matrix

model of meaning.

The combination of these other elements provides meaningful contextual information that guides how רוּחַ is to be 'dynamically construed in context.'

(3) Figurative Language

While we employ the basic approach of the MIP to identify figurative language, this will not be applied to every lexical unit in the written analysis. Rather, when figurative language is preliminarily identified, we will examine the instantiated mapping/s—especially regarding how רוּחַ is conceptualised—and possible conceptual metaphors and metonymies that may be reflected by it. Where pertinent, we will refer to prior research or other instances of related metaphors in AH. We will also investigate the communicative effect of the figurative instantiations in the discourse.

(4) Prior construals of רוּחַ

Prior readers of these texts—both ancient (LXX, DSS, Targums, Peshitta) and modern (commentators)—have already been involved in the construal of רוּחַ. Considering the linguistic evidence above, we will engage these 'conversation partners' to evaluate their readings of רוּחַ and other key elements of the text.

(5) Preliminary identification of lexical sense and other observations

Where possible, for each text we will present the most likely lexical sense for רוּחַ and any salient conceptual information that is communicated in this text regarding the perspective, evaluation, or encyclopaedic knowledge assumed by רוּחַ.

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1.5.3 Retrospective Summary

The final section of each chapter will provide a retrospective summary of the lexical senses identified for רוּחַ and initial attempts to relate them to one another and other uses of רוּחַ in BH. Thus, for example, those instances of רוּחַ which have been preliminarily identified as referring to LIFE will be collected, compared, and any emergent meaning explored; similarly, the metaphors related to SPATIAL concepts; etc. =

These sections will accumulate across chapters to form a gradual impression of the lexical senses of רוּחַ and their relationship. We will gather our findings in three categories: (1) the broad *cognitive domains* evoked by רוּחַ (frequently via metonymy), (2) the concepts, frames, or domains that regularly appear in the context of רוּחַ—what we have termed *semantic associations*—and (3) the *metaphors* in which רוּחַ appears and any higher-order schemata that structure them.

1.5.4 Conclusion and Synthesis

Our final chapter will compile the results of our analysis and present our findings both textually using the accumulated categories from the retrospective and visually as a lexical radial network suggesting the motivations that may relate the senses to one another. We will also present avenues for continuing this research into Second Temple and early Christian documents.

2 The Protean רוּחַ — Proverbs

2.1 Orientation to Proverbs

The didactic intent of Proverbs is evident in the early verses of the first chapter (Prov 1:2–6), which is dense with lexemes of overlapping semantic senses of WISDOM. This creates a "coherent profile of estimable character" with the reverential climax of Proverbs 1:7.[1] The introductory section of Proverbs 1–9 sees a series of discourses between the character of a son—the reader—addressed by a father (Prov 1:8–19) and counselled by a personified feminine "Lady Wisdom."[2] The concluding acrostic in Proverbs 31:10–31 brings a "narrative-like conclusion" to the book, with an adult male married to an economically-productive woman, almost as an incarnation of Lady Wisdom within the household (31:11, 23, 28).[3]

While there is broad consensus on the higher-level structure of the book, the nature and extent of relationships or sub-structures between the proverbial sayings of Proverbs 10–31 is disputed.[4] These relationships may be a matter of compositional history (Fox); intentional

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[1] Brown, *Wisdom's Wonder*, 31–39; cf. Arthur Keefer, "A Shift in Perspective: The Intended Audience and a Coherent Reading of Proverbs 1:1–7," *JBL* 136 (2017): 103–16.

[2] This may indicate direct pedagogical intent or reflect an ancient trope of addressing instructions to "sons" (Eccl 12:12). Compare R. N. Whybray, *The Composition of the Book of Proverbs*, JSOTSupp 168 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994), 11–13; Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1–9: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 18A (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 80.

[3] Brown, *Wisdom's Wonder*, 64–66.

[4] For early and significant contributions to this approach, see Raymond C. Van Leeuwen, *Context and Meaning in Proverbs 25–27*, SBLDS 96 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1988); Knut Martin Heim, *Like Grapes of*

literary devices such as repeated keywords, proverbial pairs, or paronomasia (Heim, Waltke); or thematic connections (Lucas).[5] Both proverbial pairs (Prov 25:4–5) and smaller topical clusters (Prov 10:18–21) are readily identifiable. There are also suggestive larger patterns, such as more frequent references to "the king" in Proverbs 16–22 compared to Proverbs 10–15; the prevalence of antithetical parallelism in Proverbs 10–15 compared to the prevalence of 'better … than' structures in Proverbs 16–22; and the 'Yahweh' sayings occurring at the seam of Proverbs 15:33–16:9.[6] Such patterns indicate the plausibility of sub-structures within the collections. Given the Cognitive Linguistic understanding of context, the potential for such structures becomes semantically significant. Immediate literary context exerts a degree of constraint over how a lexical unit is construed. However, because of the disagreement over the motivation and extent of such sub-structures, we will proceed with a "cautious openness to connections between sayings."[7]

Gold Set in Silver: An Interpretation of Proverbial Clusters in Proverbs 10:1–22:16, BZAW 272 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001); cf. Tremper Longman, *Proverbs*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 38–42.

[5] Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 18B (New York: Doubleday, 2009), 480; Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 1–15*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs: Chapters 15–31*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005); Heim, *Like Grapes*, 63; Ernest Lucas, *Proverbs*, THOTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 15–22.

[6] Lindsay Wilson, *Proverbs: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 17 (London: IVP Academic, 2017), 16. On the 'Yahweh' seam, see Katharine J. Dell, *The Book of Proverbs in Social and Theological Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105–16.

[7] Daniel J. Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, BTCB (Grand Rapids: Brazos, 2011), 64.

Linguistically, Proverbs is an apt initial focus for our research. As a formal construct, the *proverb* is often characterised by four attributes: (1) terseness, (2) traditionality, (3) frequent figurative language, and (4) didactic in intent.[8] While the Hebrew term מָשָׁל does not directly describe this construct per se, it is used in Proverbs 1:1 to characterise the book as a collection of primarily two-line sayings (see also Ecclesiastes 12:9). The tendency for proverbs towards terseness makes them an accessible focus for close reading and linguistic analysis.[9] Their propensity towards deliberate figurative language suggests that the metaphors and metonymies encountered will be reflective of conscious conceptual and perceptual movements rather than less salient linguistic structures. They "instruct us in what to notice, how to understand, and how to conduct our lives."[10] Finally, as to didactic intent:

> From the pervasiveness of metaphor to the presence of prototypes to the significant role of passion and emotion in discernment, Proverbs constantly resists a rigid, axiomatic application of universal moral laws. To the contrary, it enjoins the student

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[8] See Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 38–45; Ted A. Hildebrandt, "Proverb, Genre Of," *DOTWPW*, 529; and the stimulating, if Anglo-centric, Neal R. Norrick, *How Proverbs Mean: Semantic Studies in English Proverbs*, TiLSM 27 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2011), ch. 3.

[9] "One might say that proverbs are an encoding compression schema of the mind," Hildebrandt, "Proverb, Genre Of," 529.

[10] Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, 160.

to engage the full range of his cognitive powers—mind, body, emotion, desire—in imaginative modes of moral reasoning.[11]

2.2 Analysis of Proverbs

2.2.1   Selection of Texts

There are 21 total instances of רוּחַ in Proverbs. The majority of these are recognised as anthropological in referent and will be analysed below. The exceptions are Proverbs 11:29; 25:14, 23; 27:16; and 30:4. These all arguably evoke the *WEATHER* domain as should be construed as *wind.* Proverbs 11:29 is ambiguous as רוּחַ only appears with נחל here. If finances are in view from 11:28, it is likely a figurative use of WIND for the insubstantial and temporary (see LXX ἄνεμον; Eccl 1:14; Isa 26:18; Jer 5:13).[12] In Proverbs 25:14, 23; 30:4, רוּחַ is collocated with terms that unambiguously evoke *WEATHER*: נָשִׂיא, גֶּשֶׁם, צָפוֹן, and the tripartite parallel of שָׁמַיִם, מַיִם, and אֶרֶץ. Proverbs 27:16 may have an anthropological sense given its reference to "her" (the "nagging wife" of 27:15). However, the meteorological construal is preferable as the image is the attempt to grasp the ungraspable, as indicated by וְשֶׁמֶן יְמִינוֹ יִקְרָא "and oil with his right-hand grasps."

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[11] Anne W. Stewart, "Wisdom's Imagination: Moral Reasoning and the Book of Proverbs," *JSOT* 40 (2016): 352.

[12] So Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 513; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 544.

The texts for analysis are:

Proverbs 1:23; 11:13; 14:29; 15:4, 13; 16:2, 18–19, 32; 17:22, 27; 18:14; 25:28; 29:11, 23.

While we generally follow the canonical order, we will examine Proverbs 17:22 after Proverbs 15:13. Knut Heim characterises proverbs that exhibit strong semantic and syntactic similarity as "variant repetitions" and best understood by reading them alongside one another.[13] We have chosen not to compare Proverbs 11:13 with 20:19 as the 'variation' is more substantial in the b-colon and lack of רוּחַ in the latter.

2.2.2   Proverbs 1:23

2.2.2.1   Text

תָּשׁוּבוּ לֽתוֹכַחְתִּי הִנֵּה אַבִּיעָה לָכֶם רוּחִי אוֹדִיעָה דְבָרַי אֶתְכֶם׃

Give heed to my reproof; I will pour out my *rûaḥ* to you; I will make my words known to you.

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[13] Knut Martin Heim, *Poetic Imagination in Proverbs: Variant Repetitions and the Nature of Poetry*, BBRS (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 368–73. Scoralick attributes the variation to a "Schreiberfehler," Ruth Scoralick, *Einzelspruch und Sammlung: Komposition im Buch der Sprichwörter Kapitel 10–15*, BZAW 232 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 156–59.

2.2.2.2   Context

The first use of רוּחַ in Proverbs is one of the more complex, but as the first instance "peut-être sera-ce décisif pour éclairer ci-dessous les textes anthropologiques proprement dits."[14]

It is the only instance within the opening section of Proverbs 1–9, amidst the longer form speeches about WISDOM.[15] Proverbs 1:20–33 is the first speech of Lady Wisdom and occurs between two sections of paternal instruction (בְּנִי, Prov 1:8; 2:1).[16] She addresses three categories of person—פְּתָיִם "the simple," לֵצִים "scoffers," and כְּסִילִים "fools"—with whom she appears to have had some history of attempted instruction.[17] The repetition of תוֹכַחַת in Proverbs 1:23a, 25b, 30b alongside עֲצָתִי "my counsel," רוּחִי "my rûaḥ," and דְּבָרַי "my word," suggests a negative or at least exasperated tone.[18] However, Wisdom does not describe the foregone failure of her audience but depicts a dire future to provoke an immediate response of repentant hearing.[19]

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[14] Daniel Lys, *Rûach. Le souffle dans l'Ancien Testament: enquête anthropologique à travers l'histoire théologique d'Israël*, ÉHPR 56 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), 301.

[15] On the relationship of Proverbs 1–9 to 10–31, see the cogent study of Arthur Keefer, *Proverbs 1–9 as an Introduction to the Book of Proverbs*, LHBOTS 701 (London: T&T Clark, 2020).

[16] Murphy, *Wisdom*, 55; Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 197.

[17] פְּתָיִם likely indicates immaturity or inexperience rather than intellectual capacity or moral fault (Prov 1:4). Chou-Wee Pan, "פְּתָה," *NIDOTTE* 3:711–12; Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 98. The לֵצִים and כְּסִילִים are more hardened and culpable. Some suggest they are not the primary addressees, K&D 6:70; Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 178, 203. Fox sees all three addressed, Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 98.

[18] *Pace* Phyllis Trible, "Wisdom Builds a Poem: The Architecture of Proverbs 1:20–33," *JBL* 94 (1975): 508.

[19] Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 97. "While vv. 24–27 contain accusations that will inevitably result in misfortune, v. 23 emphasizes that repentance is possible," Bernd U. Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15: A Commentary on*

2.2.2.3   Analysis

The opening phrase of Wisdom's speech (Prov 1:22) comes across as an "impatient accusation."[20] The hope—however small and unlikely—for her audience depends on yiqtol תְּשׁוּבוּ (Prov 1:23a) and its relationship to עַד־מָתַי (Prov 1:22). Some insist that תְּשׁוּבוּ must be understood as syntactically dependent upon עַד־מָתַי, in which case it continues the list of reasons for Wisdom's frustration and רוּחַ may be construed as a negative outcome in response to a foolish youth's inattention.[21] If, however, תְּשׁוּבוּ is a renewed call for repentance, then רוּחַ may be part of the beneficial response of Wisdom to the youth's attention.[22] עַד־מָתַי often precedes a yiqtol verb to question the extent of the action of the verb.[23] While multiple sequential verbs may be related to עַד־מָתַי, they are usually of the same yiqtol form (Jer 4:21; 12:4). The oddity of both the person- and verb-form shifting in the 2nd

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the Book of Proverbs 1:1–15:33, trans. Stephen Germany, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2019), 93−94.

[20] Ernst Jenni, "מָתַי," TLOT 2:691. Given how frequently this phrase addresses humans in prophetic literature, this may mean that Wisdom's speech "in gewissem Ausmass der häufig vorkommenden prophetischen Gerichtsrede ähnelt," Magne Sæbø, Sprüche, ATD 16.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 50.

[21] Richard J. Clifford, Proverbs: A Commentary, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 41; Roland E. Murphy, Proverbs, WBC 22 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 7; Schipper, Proverbs 1–15, 93; Arndt Meinhold, Die Sprüche: Kapitel 1–15, ZBAT 16.1 (Zurich: TVZ, 1991), 60. So too LXX, but with significant variation in 1:22a.

[22] The "positive motivation" for Wisdom's audience, Bálint Károly Zabán, The Pillar Function of the Speeches of Wisdom: Proverbs 1:20–33, 8:1–36 and 9:1–6 in the Structural Framework of Proverbs 1–9, BZAW 429 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 54.

[23] עַד־מָתַי appears with yiqtol in 16/29 occurrences.

person yiqtol – 3rd person qatal – 3rd person yiqtol chain of Proverbs 1:22 is notable.[24] It is plausible—if unique—that the tendency for עַד־מָתַי to govern bicola might extend to a tricolon, especially given the similar phrase-structure and semantic domain of חמד ,אהב, and שנא in Proverbs 1:22a–c. However, given the lack of a pre-verbal noun and the multiple shifts in person and verb-form, it seems unlikely for the compound to extend its reference to תָּשׁוּבוּ in Proverbs 1:23a.

Given the likelihood that תָּשׁוּבוּ appears as part of a genuine entreaty rather than Wisdom's impatience with her audience, we now turn to consider the significance of this entreaty for רוּחַ. This requires an examination of the semantics of שׁוּב and נבע in Proverbs 1:23.

שׁוּב frequently occurs with a spatial sense of reorienting a body, *to turn*.[25] This spatial sense extends to refer to the redirection of the will, emotion, or intellect.[26] The prepositional construction in which it appears affects the construal of the orienting act.[27] |שׁוּב + לְ| indicates "to turn oneself *towards*," and |שׁוּב + מִן| indicating "to turn back *from*."[28] Of the 88 instances

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[24] J. A. Emerton, "A Note on the Hebrew Text of Proverbs 1:22–3," *JTS* 19 (1968): 610; Zabán, *The Pillar Functions*, 75–85; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 49. Wilson plausibly suggests that the person-shift may single out the "simple" as at a prior stage of rejection and so able to heed the 2nd person address of Prov 1:23–27, Wilson, *Proverbs*, 68.

[25] It is unclear whether it primarily refers to a reorientation to a prior direction, or a reorientation to a new direction, compare William L. Holladay, *The Root* SHUB *in the Old Testament: With Particular Reference to Its Usage in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), 53; J. A. Thompson and Elmer A. Martens, "שׁוּב," *NIDOTTE* 4:56.

[26] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 203.

[27] Heinz-Josef Fabry, "שׁוּב," *TDOT* 14:473.

[28] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 198 n. 14 (emphasis added); Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 99. For the לְ-construction, see, e.g., Josh 1:15; 1 Kgs 19:15. For the מִ-construction, see, e.g., Exod 32:12; Num 8:25; Ezek 18:21.

of the |שׁוּב + לְ| construction in BH, the landmark of the verb (marked by לְ) is usually a place, person, or state rather than an utterance such as תּוֹכַחַת.[29] This suggests a metaphorical use of שׁוּב where reorientation depicts the directing of attention or a change of mind.[30] Wisdom summons her audience to orient their attention to her תּוֹכַחַת, calling their attention to the correction on offer.[31] Such a call suggests the initial yiqtol of Proverbs 1:23a is either imperatival or conditional.[32] The structure of the argument favours the conditional reading:

22   Wisdom laments the lack of prior response from her audience.

23   Wisdom declares the positive opportunity provided by heeding her call—the

        outpouring of her רוּחַ—introduced by the attention-getting particle הִנֵּה.

24–26   Wisdom explains the results of her ultimate refusal to listen to the stubborn,

        introduced by the causal particle יַעַן.

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[29] So Clifford, *Proverbs*, 42 n.6.

[30] Given similar metaphors using נטה (Prov 2:2); סבב (Eccl 7:25); and פנה (Eccl 2:12), Tilford sees this as instantiating a higher-order metaphor, +THINKING IS TURNING,+ Tilford, *Sensing*, 156–69. However, Tilford fails to note the subsequent infinitival verbs of *perception* in these examples, which suggest the orientation is not depicting cognition per se but attention paid to the acts of perceiving wisdom. A more specific metaphor such as +ORIENTING ATTENTION IS ORIENTING SELF+ is more accurate.

[31] Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 98–99. תּוֹכַחַת is often a source of wisdom in Proverbs (Prov 15:10, 31, 32; 29:15).

[32] For the imperatival reading, see Trible, "Wisdom Builds a Poem," 512; Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 18; Longman, *Proverbs*, 92. For the conditional, see Syr.; Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 198; K&D 6:70. For an alternative *future* reading, see GKC §159b; Longman, *Proverbs*, 111; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 7.

The positive motivation for Wisdom's plea comes in the parallel phrases of Proverbs 1:23bc.[33]

נבע is a relatively rare root (10x BH, 9x QH). Almost all of its instances refer to SPEECH (Prov 15:2, 28; Ps 19:3; 59:8; 78:2; 94:4; 1QM 19:7; 1QHᵃ 16:19; 26:13), indicated by its collocation with verbs of speech (אמר, דבר, ענה, רנן), nouns of content (תְּהִלָּה, דָּבָר, אֹמֶר), or organs of speech (שָׂפָה, פֶּה). The nominal usage for a water spring (Isa 35:7; Eccl 12:6) suggests a concrete sense referring to abundant FLUIDIC MOTION may motivate the SPEECH uses.[34] Proverbs 18:4 may reflect this concrete sense when referring to a "gushing stream" (נַחַל נֹבֵעַ), although this depicts a "fount of wisdom" (מְקוֹר חָכְמָה) and is in parallel with "the words of the mouth are deep waters" (מַיִם עֲמֻקִּים דִּבְרֵי פִי־אִישׁ). The +WORDS ARE WATER+ metaphor appears in both cola here, juxtaposing the profundity of wise speech with metaphorical entailments of the necessity and danger of water.[35] Sometimes, נבע suggests forcefulness, often reflecting intense emotion (Ps 59:8; 94:4). Elsewhere, נבע appears to suggest abundance (Ps 78:2; Prov 15:2, 28). Both are plausible entailments of the WATER metaphor.[36]

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[33] The *'oleh wyored* disjunctive accent prior to הִנֵּה may indicate the b-colon is that necessary to understand the significance of the a-colon.

[34] The concrete sense continued to be salient in Aramaic, Jastrow, s.v. "נְבַע;" *CAL*, s.v. "mbʿh." Despite the frequency of the SPEECH use in poetical texts, this indicates a well-entrenched metaphor where the source frame remained nonetheless cognitively salient. For example, Sirᴬ 10:13 employs נבע in parallel with מקוה "reservoir" to depict the internal source of *pride* (זדון) leading to external *wickedness* (זמה) as the movement of a fluid. Eccl 10:1 may reflect the production of *bubbles* as a metaphoric entailment of rushing fluid rather than fermentation per se.

[35] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 71; cf. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 639.

[36] A thoroughly implausible entailment is Venter's suggestion that: "the pouring out of thoughts in 1:23 uses the metaphor for liquid flowing. This can probably point in the direction of sexual intercourse. The masculine body of wisdom ejaculates what it offers into the container body of the hearers to be conceived by them," Pieter M. Venter, "A Cognitive Analysis of Proverbs 1:20–33,"

The inverse intensity/abundance is seen in the use of נטף "to drip" regarding SPEECH in Micah 2:6, 11.

While נבע occasionally appears with בְּ marking the instrument (+פֶּה, Ps 59:8; +קול רנה, 1QM 19:7) or mode of the speech (+שמחות עולמים, 1QM 26:13), only here does it appear with לְ. The word following נבע is usually the trajector of the action: the "poured out" Entity. Psalm 119:171 is the main exception in our corpus, where the instrument of praise, שָׂפָה, appears after the verb and the trajector is elided. רוּחַ is an unexpected noun after נבע. It may profile the instrument of *pouring* (as Ps 119:171), but the emphatic directionality of the intervening לָכֶם implies it is more likely the trajector of the action. Given the frequency of SPEECH-related trajectors for נבע, this strongly associates רוּחַ with the entity of SPEECH.

Before we posit a more specific construal, we may first examine previous construals of רוּחַ and test them in light of our analysis so far.

While the combination of נבע and רוּחַ is unique in BH, it appears twice in later AH texts.[37]

Sir[A] 16:25

HvTSt 75 (2019): 4. There is nothing in the wider usage of נבע, the wider +WORDS ARE WATER+ metaphor, or the literary context of this passage that support this interpretation. This demonstrates the importance of detailed corpus data to support the use of CMTin ancient languages.

[37] There is a related collocation in 1QHᵃ 9:31, ומבע רוח (2x). The immediate context links רוּחַ with the SPEECH process (אתה בראתה רוח בלשון 1QHᵃ 9:29–30a) although 1QHᵃ 9:34 collocates רוח+אנוש, which may profile a part of the SELF. מבע likely is a by-form referring to "flow of breath" and thus an "utterance," *CDCH,* s.v. "נִבְּע." See 11Q10 3:6.

** I will pour out by measure my *rûaḥ*, and with care declare my knowledge.

The overlap of נבע, רוּחַ, and ידע between the texts is remarkable, especially given Ben Sira's regular appropriation of biblical texts.[38] While bold of Ben Sira to take Wisdom's words as his own, it is consistent with Sirach's pedagogy where "the sage gives his teaching authority and legitimization by presenting himself as a conduit through which divine wisdom flows. ... The words that come from his mouth have a revelatory status."[39] Ben Sira departs from Proverbs with במשקל "by measure," and insertion accentuating his *control* over the wisdom he channels.[40] The collocation with שמעו (Sir[A] 16:24a), דברי (24b), and חוה (25b) suggest רוּחַ is similarly associated with SPEECH. However, it is difficult to clarify further whether Ben Sira's own "spirit" is in view as the conduit of divine wisdom, or his wise speech itself.[41]

4Q301 1 1

[--]א[בֹּיעה רוחי ולמיניכם אֹחלקה דברי אליכֹם] -- [ ]

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[38] Von Rad notes how "tradition and interpretation are fused," Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, trans. James D. Martin (London: SCM Press, 1972), 256.

[39] Matthew Goff, "Gardens of Knowledge: Teachers in Ben Sira, 4QInstruction, and the Hodayot," in *Pedagogy in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Karina Martin Hogan, Matthew Goff, and Emma Wasserman, EJL 41 (Atlanta: SBL, 2017), 177.

[40] See 4Q434 1 i 9b–10.

[41] See Schmidt, "these are not disinterested principles but ... Ben Sira's own life and spirit," A. Jordan Schmidt, *Wisdom, Cosmos, and Cultus in the Book of Sirach*, DCLS 42 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 53.

I will pour out my *rûaḥ,* and according to your kinds I will apportion my words to you.[42]

4Q301 may be part of the collection titled *Mysteries* (1Q27, 4Q299–300).[43] This fragmentary work concerns the revelation of wisdom for salvation, set within a strongly dualistic understanding of humanity.[44] The use of נבע, רוח, and דבר together are suggestive of the influence of our text, as is the contextual use of פותי (4Q301 1 3, see פֶּתִי in Prov 1:22). רוּחַ is once again closely linked with SPEECH and the revealing of wisdom. The use of חלק instead of ידע in the b-colon appears to be an interpretation of the meaning of Proverbs 1:23c within the deterministic framework of *Mysteries*.[45] However, as with Sirach, it is difficult to assess whether רוּחַ is to be construed as a part of the speaker, or the speech itself.

Contemporary readings of Proverbs 1:23 tend to construe רוּחַ in one of three ways.[46]

Firstly, some read רוּחַ as evoking ANGER.[47] This construal may be salient given the strength of the warnings in Proverbs 1:24–33. This reading takes תָּשׁוּבוּ as part of the condemnatory sequence of Proverbs 1:22, which we have argued against above. Further, we will argue later

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[42] John Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, ECDSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 228.

[43] Arguments against its inclusion are found in *DJD* 20:113. In favour of its inclusion in *Mysteries* are Armin Lange, "Physiognomie oder Gotteslob? 4Q301 3," *DSD* 4 (1997): 285; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, "Your Wisdom and Your Folly," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Tradition*, ed. F. Garcia Martinez (Leuven: University Press, 2003), 70–73.

[44] Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 194.

[45] Kampen, *Wisdom Literature*, 229.

[46] See further Lindsay Wilson, "Spirit of Wisdom or Spirit of God in Proverbs 1:23?," in *Presence, Power and Promise: The Role of the Spirit of God in the Old Testament*, ed. David G. Firth and Paul D. Wegner (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2011), 150–51.

[47] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 10; Meinhold, *Sprüche 1–15*, 60.

that the use of רוּחַ for ANGER is more complicated than is often suggested and is difficult to

prove without confirmatory lexical collocations such as אַף (Job 4:9), אֵשׁ (Isa 33:11), or even

עָלָה/עַל (Judg 8:3) are absent.[48] רוּחַ as ANGER is an unlikely reading.

Secondly, many read רוּחַ as evoking COGNITION.[49] Wilson perceptively notes that nearly all

English commentators eventually construe רוּחִי as *thoughts*.[50] Hifil ידע "to make known"

(Prov 1:23c) increases the salience of this reading. Similarly, several AH texts relate רוּחַ to

WISDOM (Isa 11:2; Job 32:8; 1QHᵃ 20:14–16; 4Q417 1 i 16–18; 4Q504 8 4–5) and KNOWLEDGE

(Isa 29:24; 1 Chr 28:12). However, it is premature to conclude that "often רוּחַ actually means

mind."[51] There are two related issues. Firstly, much depends on what is meant by *mind* or

thoughts. The AH understanding of COGNITION is challenging to construct, especially from

a contemporary Western standpoint. This may be why few scholars attempt to explain the

use of רוּחַ beyond the gloss "thoughts." Some scholars try to specify what is implied by the

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[48] Verbs of POURING (especially שפך) often feature in the depiction of ANGER, *SDBH,* s.v. "שפך," d. This may reflect +ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID+ (Ezek 14:19; 20:8, 13, 21; 30:15; etc.), Kruger, "Anger," 189; although see Zacharias Kotzé, "Humoral Theory as Motivation for Anger Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible," *SALALS* 23 (2005): 205–9. Crucially, while נבע evokes the same frame it never features in such metaphors in our corpus, and overwhelming occurs in positive expressions such as *praise*.

[49] Crawford H. Toy, *Proverbs*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), 24; Paul van Imschoot, "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'Ancien Testament," *RB* 47 (1938): 27; Trible, "Wisdom Builds a Poem," 512; A. Cohen and A. J. Rosenberg, *Proverbs: Hebrew Text & English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary*, SBOTB (London: The Soncino Press, 1985), 6; R. B. Y. Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, AB 18 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 40; Clifford, *Proverbs*, 40; Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 99–100; Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 204; James Alfred Loader, *Proverbs 1–9*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 95–96.

[50] Wilson, "Spirit of Wisdom or God?," 151–52.

[51] *Pace* Van Pelt, Kaiser, Jr., and Block, "רוּחַ," 3:1072.

evocation of the COGNITION domain. Fox defines רוּחַ as a "component of mind ... usually

associated with emotion and matters of the 'spirit.'"[52] Toy refers to one's "purpose and

determination."[53] Thus, Wisdom expresses her feelings or volition, which, while other facets

of her internal SELF, are specific types (*hyponyms*) of THOUGHT. A second issue is the

difficulty of finding unambiguous instances where רוּחַ in isolation profiles *mind* or *thoughts*.

In texts where this understanding is possible, רוּחַ typically appears in metaphorical

constructions or alongside lexemes that describe the nature of the רוּחַ, such as עֲצוּבַת רוּחַ (Isa

54:6).[54] In many such examples, the use of רוּחַ appears motivated by broader discourse

purposes than simply evoking COGNITION. Consider the WISDOM texts above. Isaiah 11:2

identifies רוּחַ as רוּחַ יְהוָה and is "further characterised as the source of this future king's

wisdom and understanding. ... Knowledge here does not refer to knowledge in general, but

to knowing Yahweh."[55] רוּחַ in 1 Chronicles 28:12 cannot be understood without attention to

intertextual links with the Tabernacle account of Exodus 25–30 and Ezekiel's vision of Ezekiel

40–49.[56] Even apparently more explicit examples such as מַעֲלוֹת רוּחֲכֶם in Ezekiel 11:5 depend

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[52] Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 100. Thus, Wisdom means "to let you know how I feel."

[53] Toy, *Proverbs*, 24.

[54] *HALOT*, s.v. "רוּחַ," 7 lists 53 passages under this sub-sense. Almost all feature another descriptive lexeme alongside רוּחַ, are likely metaphorical, or may be plausibly construed in other ways such as referring to an emotional experience, the "human spirit," or to associate the human with the divine.

[55] J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015), 179.

[56] Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminister John Knox, 1993), 685–86.

on the immediate literary context's use of רוּחַ for the divine Spirit.[57] None of this necessarily

excludes *thought* as a possible sense of רוּחַ. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that in almost

every instance where this usage seems salient, either greater specificity is required or richer

engagement with the discourse context to establish that רוּחַ 'means' *thoughts*.

The final common construal of רוּחַ is that it evokes the DIVINE SPIRIT.[58] Other uses of

[POURING] verbs with רוּחַ appear where God promises to "pour out my *rûaḥ*" (יוק+, Isaiah

44:3 and Joel 3:1; +שפך, Ezekiel 39:29).[59] The collocation is striking, and the variety of verbs

evoking the same frame may indicate נבע functions similarly here. However, נבע more

commonly depicts SPEECH, and even if the concrete sense is in view here, the forcefulness or

abundance of *bubbling* or *gushing* may be more appropriate than the intentionality implied

by *pouring*. This distinction may account for לְ marking the recipient of communication

rather than עַל as the landmark for the action of pouring as in Isaiah, Joel, and Ezekiel.[60]

Furthermore, there is no explicit discourse identification of the רוּחַ as God's here as in the

prophetic texts. However, with Sæbø, it is noteworthy that Wisdom "in eigener Vollmacht

redet."[61] But it does not necessarily follow that this "sonst nur noch im Mund Gottes möglich

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[57] Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, WBC 28 (Dallas: Word, 1994), 161.

[58] Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 38; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 51; Lucas, *Proverbs*, 58; Lys, *Rûach*, 302.

[59] Zech 12:10 also has שפך but with the trajector רוּחַ חֵן וְתַחֲנוּנִים. This may allude to the other prophecies, but "we must be cautious about identifying it … with God's Spirit," Thomas Edward McComiskey, "Zechariah," in *The Minor Prophets: An Exegetical and Expository Commentary*, ed. Thomas Edward McComiskey (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1998), 1214.

[60] Emerton, "A Note on the Hebrew Text of Proverbs 1:22–3," 611.

[61] Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 51.

ist; denn nur Gott kann seinen Geist zur Ausrüstung verleihen."[62] רוּחַ most commonly refers to anthropological phenomena in Proverbs, which should caution against imposing wider canonical concepts here without strong contextual evidence in support.[63]

The lexical meaning of רוּחַ here is sophisticated and is not adequately described by any of the popular suggestions above. A more accurate construal may be found by noting the contextual evocation of the [COMMUNICATION] frame.[64] Not only does נבע frequently profile the medium of communication (EFFUSIVE SPEECH) for this frame in BH, but the parallel c-colon אוֹדִיעָה דְבָרַי אֶתְכֶם profiles an Addressee (אֶתְכֶם), a Medium (WORDS, דְבָרַי), and the frame more generally (hiphil ידע). This suggests that רוּחַ is what is expressed in the act of communication.[65] Furthermore, it is structurally parallel with דָּבָר which may indicate more specifically that רוּחַ should be understood as profiling the Medium rather than the Topic of the communication (as with the THOUGHT construal). John Emerton suggests that רוּחַ

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[62] Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 51.

[63] Wilson, "Spirit of Wisdom or God?," 154.

[64] For English, FrameNet suggests this frame consists of a Communicator conveying a Message to an Addressee, with optional expression of the Topic and Medium of communication. This is an adequate working model for our purposes here.

[65] In his earlier chapter, Wilson appears to construe an implicit process wherein רוּחַ is the "the essence or core attitude of wisdom, [i.e.] building your life on the foundation of the fear of the Lord. This could happen by Wisdom making known her words of reproof and instruction to the youth," Wilson, "Spirit of Wisdom or God?," 155. רוּחַ as *essence* lacks corpus support and suffers from the same lack of clarity *thought* above. It also fails to adequately acknowledge that Wisdom speaks as a personified being. Wilson more recently explains that "she can shape the simple by her ideas through her words," Wilson, *Proverbs*, 69.

profiles BREATH in the sense of "utterance, word."[66] Similar uses of רוּחַ are found in Psalm

33:6 (//דְּבָר) and Isa 11:4, although both texts collocate רוּחַ with an organ of speech (פֶּה,

שָׂפָה). This raises similar concerns to the THOUGHT and ANGER construals above regarding

an isolated noun evoking what is typically evoked by multiple lexemes. However, this

metonymy has stronger support from the literary context. It seems most plausible that רוּחַ

is here profiling BREATH as a metonym for Wisdom's SPEECH.[67] This metonym operates by

the contiguity between the entity involved in the speaking action—the *breath* by which

sounds are produced—and the action itself—*speaking* (+OBJECT/INSTRUMENT FOR

ACTION+).[68] With נבע, רוּחַ describes the effusive speech of Wisdom should she be heeded.

However, regarding the THOUGHT construal above, we noted a tendency for רוּחַ to appear in

passages where other terms may be more centrally evocative of its intended frame, but where

the wider conceptual content of רוּחַ was significant for the discourse (such as evoking related

texts or connoting relationships with God's רוּחַ). While the +BREATH FOR SPEECH+ metonym

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[66] Emerton, "A Note on the Hebrew Text of Proverbs 1:22–3," 612. Emerton's primary evidence is the Syr. of Sir 16:25 where רוחי is translated ܡܠܝ, "my words." This is of limited use given that the Syr. here reads ܪܘܚܝ.

[67] See LXX πνοῆς ῥῆσιν, "utterance of my breath," Al Wolters, *Proverbs: A Commentary Based on Paroimiai in Codex Vaticanus*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 19. Early Christian citations of Prov 1:23 occurred in warnings towards careful speech (1 Clement 57:1–7).

[68] For ANE parallels, see Johannes Hehn, "Zum Problem des Geistes im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament.," *ZAW* 43 (1925): 218–21.

appears the most accurate understanding of רוּחַ here, the complexities of the discourse and the diversity of prior readings may indicate that such conceptual content may be relevant.

Firstly, we noted above the frequency with which רוּחַ refers to aspects of human experience (such as EMOTIONS or VOLITION), especially in Proverbs. רוּחַ for SPEECH may generate an association between the SELF of Wisdom (however specific or generic that association may be), such that what is expressed through her BREATH (as *words*) reflects something of her (Isa 59:21; Ps 77:3–9)—be it her emotions, thoughts, will, or even 'essence.' While here on the level of connotation, such a link may be motivated by a further metonym generated by the internal nature and external communication of both elements, +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+.

Secondly, the relationships between God and WISDOM already extant in Proverbs 1:7, re-instantiated in 1:29, and developed in Proverbs 8 may provoke a re-construal of רוּחַ in light of broader BH links between God and רוּחַ.[69] What is parsed initially as Wisdom's SPEECH may later be perceived as more closely related to the abundant offering of God's SELF (Joel 3:1; Ezek 39:29). Given the textual focus of our study, we will hold these suppositions loosely and allow subsequent texts to validate or invalidate them.

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[69] See the "theological" and "sapiential-educational levels" of Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 93. Similarly, Treier suggests the polysemy of רוּחַ allows for the divine construal: "at the most basic level ... Wisdom breathes out her mouth in speaking. At another level we realise that she is offering to pour out the divine Spirit, the one who knows and makes known to us the mind of God." Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 38.

Proverbs 1:23 is a difficult case to begin our examination of anthropological uses of רוּחַ. The initial use of any lexeme in a discourse has less contextual constraint exerted upon it. In addition, the speaker Lady Wisdom is a fictive entity designed for a literary purpose and minimally-characterised at this early stage of the discourse. However, we tentatively begin our study by construing רוּחַ as figuratively profiling Wisdom's SPEECH via a metonymy of BREATH as the means of communication, while allowing the wider discourse to evoke other conceptual content peripherally, such as the links between Wisdom, רוּחַ, and God, and between SPEECH, רוּחַ, and the person's internal aspect.

2.2.3   Proverbs 11:13

2.2.3.1   Text

הוֹלֵךְ רָכִיל מְגַלֶּה־סּוֹד וְנֶאֱמַן־רוּחַ מְכַסֶּה דָבָר׃

** One who goes about gossiping uncovers secrets, but one who is trustworthy in *rûaḥ* conceals a word.[70]

2.2.3.2   Context

The following instances of רוּחַ all occur in the formally 'proverbial' section of Proverbs, 10:1–31:31. There is general agreement that several immediately preceding proverbs (including

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[70] Schipper translates similarly, although he disturbs the structural balance of the b-colon, "but trustworthy in spirit is one who conceals a word," Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 387.

11:12) refer to SPEECH.[71] Proverbs 11:12 attributes a lack of לֵב to one who despises (בוז) their

neighbour, correlating an anthropological noun with semantic overlap to רוּחַ with the nature

of their speech.

2.2.3.3   Analysis

This proverb exhibits a near-perfect structural balance; each colon consists of two participles

+ noun complements. The participles present "a homogeneous picture of a complex of

sequential scenes as an atemporal relation ... [where] the perception of an action's constancy

through time is represented."[72] The first colon characterises a person. The second colon

expresses their characteristic activity, here, their typical verbal behaviour.

The first figure is the הוֹלֵךְ רָכִיל (Lev 19:16; Jer 6:28; Prov 20:19), an idiom for one who actively

spreads slander.[73] They are attributed with מְגַלֶּה־סּוֹד (Prov 20:19; 25:9). גלה profiles the

uncovering of something, often to depict the revelation of information.[74] Here סוֹד, a

discussion or confidence which is usually secret, is revealed.[75]

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[71] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 490; Lucas, *Proverbs*, 98; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 534–35.

[72] Wolde, *Reframing*, 149–51.

[73] 4/6 instances of רָכִיל appear with הוֹלֵךְ, and Jer 9:3 with יַהֲלֹךְ. The regularity suggests an idiom, Yael Avrahami, *The Senses of Scripture: Sensory Perception in the Hebrew Bible*, LHBOTS (New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 83–84. However, it is readily decomposable given הוֹלֵךְ may express continuity of action, Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 494.

[74] The link between the removal of obstacles to sense-perception and the impartation of knowledge is consistent across עֵנַיִם (Num 22:31; 24:4, 16; Ps 119:18) and אֹזֶן (Ruth 4:4; 1 Sam 9:15; 20:2, 12–13; Isa 22:14), *SDBH,* s.v. "גלה."

[75] סוֹד is usually positively evaluated when referring to divine matters and the intimacy associated with their disclosure, but may be positive or negative when referring to humanity and its community-

The b-colon introduces the contrasting figure: the נֶאֱמַן־רוּחַ. Niphal אמן typically describes a state of proving to be trustworthy, *being faithful*.[76] Psalm 78:8c is the only other collocation of אמן and רוּחַ, referring to the lack of faithfulness to God of an Israelite generation. In Proverbs 11:13b, the activity characterising the נֶאֱמַן־רוּחַ is מְכַסֶּה דָבָר. כָּסָה profiles *covering* something, often to depict the concealment of information (here, generic דָּבָר).[77]

The proverb neatly constructs two inverted realities depicted by aligned and contrasting entities (see table 2.1).

Table 2.1. Structural contrasts in Proverbs 11:13

Implies motion			Implies immobility
Implies motion	הוֹלֵךְ	וְנֶאֱמַן	Implies immobility
	רָכִיל	רוּחַ	
To uncover/reveal	מְגַלֶּה	מְכַסֶּה	To cover/conceal
What is usually secret	סוֹד	דָּבָר	What may be made known

The "wandering gossip" reveals what is typically hidden, while the "trustworthy of *rûaḥ*" conceals what could be made known. A shared metaphorical structure exists between the actions +REMOVING A COVER IS REVEALING A SECRET/COVERING AN OBJECT IS CONCEALING A SECRET+ (Isa 26:21; Prov 26:26), and a possible contrast between the implied motion of הלך

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building confidence or community-destroying conspiracies (Ps 25:14; 83:3; Prov 3:32; 25:9; SirA 7:17; SirB 42:1).

[76] *CDCH,* s.v. "אמן 1." Jepsen notes that when niphal is used of THINGS, it refers to temporal endurance ("lasting, continual, firm") and when used of PERSONS, reliability, Alfred Jepsen, "אָמַן," *TDOT* 1:295.

[77] Helmer Ringgren, "כָּסָה," *TDOT* 7:263.

and an implied static state of אמן.[78] The central nouns רָכִיל and רוּחַ are structurally and

phonetically associated (ר and the velar plosive/fricatives כ/ח), although they are not as

immediately semantically related as the other lexical units. We will return to the possible

relationships between these below.

The use of unique expressions such as נֶאֱמַן־רוּחַ raises the question of *relevance* (in the sense

of Relevance Theory). Communicative acts proceed with an instinctual evaluation of the

processing cost involved for a hearer to construe the speaker's utterance. What about the

novel expression נֶאֱמַן־רוּחַ is considered worth the processing cost?[79] Most readings of this

text derive meaning primarily from אמן, with little reference to רוּחַ. Implicitly, this suggests

that רוּחַ acts metonymically for the whole SELF, such that the person may be characterised

by the affixed participle.[80]

But why the רוּחַ of all 'parts' of the SELF? רוּחַ is most commonly construed as profiling

something of the *inner* nature of the person against the conceptual base of the entire human

person. Waltke construes רוּחַ as referring to the "moral state" of the person, and Wilson as

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[78] A lack of motion is not often salient with אמן, although it is a possible motivation for the *enduring* usage. One chief exception is Job 39:24 where it profiles *standing still*.

[79] It is possible that it was a commonplace expression in the BH language community and so the least costly means of expression. However, the paucity of uses in AH provisionally counts against this.

[80] "The wise person, here called a reliable spirit," Longman, *Proverbs*, 256. Similarly Murphy, *Proverbs*, 82; Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 400; K&D 6:237.

indicating a "matter of character."[81] This relationship is presumably motivated by a

prototypical *internality* attributed to רוּחַ. What characterises it characterises the person.

The LXX evinces an alternative, physiologically-motivated metonym, πιστὸς δὲ πνοῇ κρύπτει

πράγματα. This construes רוּחַ as *breath*.[82] While the reasoning behind the LXX translation is

obscure (and may be incorrect), it may indicate an awareness of the motivation for the

internal profile of רוּחַ via a metonymy such as +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL

SELF+. Alternatively, it may reflect the metonymy suggested above, +BREATH FOR SPEECH+,

with a dative of agency indicating that it is through speech that they conceal what requires

concealing.[83] In support of the SELF construal is the wider use of נֶאֱמָן for people rather than

entities (for example, צִיר נֶאֱמָן, Prov 25:13). In support of the SPEECH metonym is the

structural balance with רָכִיל, which while profiling a human agent, is an agent

characteristically engaged in the act of [COMMUNICATION]. As this is inferable only from

limited contextual parallels, and the awkward if ancient LXX, this remains possible at best.

We may, at least, plausibly suggest a further metonymic use of רוּחַ as either profiling some

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[81] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 495; Wilson, *Proverbs*, 156. Waltke cites BDB, s.v. "רוּחַ," 8, "especially of moral character." However, BDB primarily cites metaphorical constructions for emotional or experiential states rather than moral states per se, where רוּחַ is experiencing DISTRESS via FRAGMENTATION (with דכא, שׁבר, נכה) or mapped on a VERTICAL scale (שפל). Compare "the man of loyal spirit," Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 535.

[82] Wolters translates, "and a trustworthy one hides things with his breath," aligning the dative πνοῇ with καλύπτει rather than πιστός, while admitting the phrase is difficult to understand, Wolters, *Proverbs*, 184.

[83] So "ne souffle pas mot des affaires," David-Marc d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, BA 17 (Paris: Cerf, 2000); *pace* Wolters, *Proverbs*, 184.

part of the human SELF, characterised as internal to the person, or as profiling that person's

SPEECH.

2.2.4   Proverbs 14:29

2.2.4.1   Text

אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם רַב־תְּבוּנָה וּקְצַר־רֹוּחַ מֵרִים אִוֶּלֶת:

** The 'long of nostrils' are great of understanding, and the 'short of *rûaḥ*' exalt stupidity.

2.2.4.2   Context

There is little agreement on the internal structure and divisions of Proverbs 14. Several

proverbs oppose categories of people, with related keywords generating thin relationships

between adjoining proverbs, such as רַב in Proverbs 14:28, 29, or the semantically related

רוּחַ/לֵב and perhaps אַף/קִנְאָה in Proverbs 14:29, 30.[84]

> Durch diese Häufung und Variation synonymer Begriffe dürfte die oft monotone
>
> Stilisierung gegensätzlicher Personengruppen in der Verkündigung der Weisen nun
>
> etwas lebhafter oder gar spielender hervortreten.[85]

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[84] Whybray suggests the location of Prov 14:27 and 28 imply the following proverbs speak to "the relationship between kings and Yahweh," Whybray, *Composition of Proverbs*, 102.

[85] Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 202.

2.2.4.3   Analysis

This proverb contrasts two simple noun clauses, with the strength of the contrast evident in the concluding lexical units of each cola—תְּבוּנָה "understanding," and אִוֶּלֶת "stupidity"—and the spatial opposition of ארך "long," and קצר "short."[86] To understand this use of רוּחַ, we examine each colon in turn, with particular attention to the -LENGTH- spatial schema evoked by קצר/ארך and its structural role in depicting these contrasting categories of person.

The a-colon depicts a category of humanity with the idiomatic phrase, אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם. אַף "nose" is often involved in the figurative depiction of ANGER, especially (if not exclusively) when *hot*.[87] This association is explained as physiologically motivated by the reddening of the nose when experiencing the emotion.[88] This instantiates the high-level conceptual metonymy, +THE PHYSICAL AND EXPRESSIVE RESPONSES OF AN EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION+.[89] In addition to the conceptual relationship of אַף with NOSE, HEAT, and ANGER, there is a further

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[86] "Spatial punning is employed to link wisdom to patience and folly to impatience," Clifford, *Proverbs*, 147. We will explore LENGTH more extensively, but this spatial play also occurs in רב and רום. The spatial world of the SELF is mapped onto the moral status of the SELF with respect to the possession/absence of wisdom.

[87] 117/227 instances of אַף in BH collocate with חרה "to be hot." This consistency leads Schlimm to label this a "dead metonym," where אַף evokes ANGER directly with no cognitive salience attributed to NOSE (e.g. Gen 27:45), Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 82–84. The extent to which entrenched figurative language is cognitive active is debated, as are the grounds and frequency of such entrenchments being rendered more salient in a context. We will return to the conceptualisation of ANGER in BH later, especially as it pertains to רוּחַ.

[88] Mayer I. Gruber, *Aspects of Non-Verbal Communication in the Ancient Near East*, 2 vols., StPohl 12 (Roma: Biblical Institute, 1980), 491; Kotzé, "Conceptualisation of Anger," 97–100.

[89] Zoltán Kövecses, *Emotion Concepts* (New York: Springer, 1990), 134.

relationship between אַף and BREATHING. In BH, the אַף is the organ primarily responsible

for respiration.[90] The dual form, אַפַּיִם, specifically profiles the NOSTRILS (Gen 2:7, 7:22; Exod

15:8; Lam 4:20).[91] אַפַּיִם may extend metonymically to profile the FACE, often as placed to the

ground in respect.[92] Our passage thus refers either to the *nostrils* or *face.* The nostrils may

also be used to figuratively depict ANGER, likely motivated by the change in respiration

experienced with the emotion.[93] The interplay between the physical and figurative uses of אַף

and אַפַּיִם are juxtaposed in Proverbs 30:33, "...pressing the nose (אַף) brings blood, and

pressing wrath (אַפַּיִם) produces strife."

Here אַפַּיִם is modified by the adjective ארך, which may profile spatial LENGTH or temporal

DURATION.[94] אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם is often understood to refer to one who takes a long time to come to

[90] Édouard Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps: En Hébreu et en Akkadien* (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, 1923), 80. While we cannot attribute modern neuroscientific knowledge to ancient folk metonyms, it is interesting that research has indicated nasal breathing is default for human respiration, Christina Zelano et al., "Nasal Respiration Entrains Human Limbic Oscillations and Modulates Cognitive Function," *JNeuro* 36 (2016): 12448–67.

[91] Georg Sauer, "אַף," *TLOT* 1:168.

[92] Via +PART FOR WHOLE+. See Gen 19:1; 42:6; 1 Sam 25:41; 1 Kgs 1:31. Sipilä argues the fixed scenario in which אַפַּיִם unambiguously means *face* prevents it from being the primary sense, Seppo Sipilä, "On Portions, Nostrils, and Anger: A *Crux Interpretum* in 1 Samuel 1:5," *TBT* 61 (2013): 79–80.

[93] Dhorme, *L'emploi Métaphorique*, 81; E. Johnson and J. Bergman, "אַף, אָנַף," *TDOT* 1:353. In Aram. see Sef. III.2, Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, 143.

[94] *HALOT*, s.v. "ארך." It seems relatively common across cultures to express duration in terms of spatial length, see Vyvyan Evans, "Time," in *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Ewa Dąbrowska and Dagmar Divjak, HSK (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2015), 641–61; Roy Ellen, "The Cultural Cognition of Time: Some Anthropological Perspectives," in *Conceptualizations of Time*, ed. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, HCP 52 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2016), 125–48.

the state of anger.[95] However, apart from the paronomastic Proverbs 30:33 and Daniel 11:20,

the dual form, אַפַּיִם, normally evoke the physical NOSTRILS or FACE rather than ANGER. This

suggests a more nuanced understanding of this phrase is necessary.

If אַפַּיִם evokes FACE, to be "long of face" may reflect the physiologically-relaxed state of the

patient person.[96] On the other hand, if אַפַּיִם maintains its more typical referent of *nostrils*

(as profiled against the conceptual base of RESPIRATION), to be "long of nostrils" may reflect

breathing—conceivably motivated by the non-hurried respiration of the unexcited or patient

person. Proverbs 14:17a, while unique in BH, uses the inverse scale of extent with קְצַר־אַפַּיִם:

אַפַּיִם יַעֲשֶׂה אִוֶּלֶת "one who is 'short of breath/nose/anger' commits folly."[97] Construing אַפַּיִם

as FACE within the -LENGTH- schema for emotions seems unlikely, as the "shortening of face"

is a challenging physiological correlation for what would presumably be the inverse of

PATIENCE.[98]

Based on the consistency with which אַפַּיִם is associated with RESPIRATION, and the difficulties

of the FACE construal raised by the bi-directionality of the -LENGTH- schema here and in

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[95] So *CDCH*, s.v. "קָצֵר." Tov suggest LXX μακρόθυμος is a clear interpretative rendering of the Hebrew Emanuel Tov, "Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words," *Bib* 58 (1977): 195.

[96] Gruber, *Aspects*, 483; so Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 605. This must be distinguished from English metaphor where "long of face" depicts SADNESS.

[97] Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 476. קצר אפים occurs elsewhere in 1QS 4:10//4Q424 1 12; 1QS 6:26; 4Q477 2 II 4, again with no clear indication that ANGER rather than IMPATIENCE is profiled.

[98] Gruber suggests קצר אפים refers to *frowning,* Gruber, *Aspects*, 503; so, rightly with hesitation, Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 608.

Proverbs 14:17, we suggest that אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם does profile PATIENCE but via the combination of

two metonyms: +NOSTRILS FOR BREATH+/+LENGTH FOR SLOWNESS+ → +LENGTH OF BREATH

FOR DURATION OF PATIENCE+. This may seem a lengthy detour to arrive at the same concept

of PATIENCE. However, the cognitive mechanisms at work to evoke this emotional experience

are significant to understand רוּחַ in the b-colon.

Before examining the b-colon, it is significant that outside of Proverbs (Prov 15:18; 16:23;

25:15), אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם always characterises God (Exod 34:6 and its intertexts, Num 14:18; Joel

2:13; Jon 4:2; Ps 86:15; 103:8; 145:8; Neh 9:17). The association between PATIENCE and God

suggests a strongly positive evaluation of the virtue—there is something reflective of the

divine in being similarly "long of nostrils."[99] Indeed, the result of PATIENCE here תְּבוּנָה, an

attribute often sourced in God; either as an understanding of God as creator, or the skill or

"understanding" gifted by God by the impartation of the רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים.[100]

The second, opposing, category of person is described in the b-colon as the קְצַר־רוּחַ "short

of *rûaḥ*." קצר often profiles the schematic lack of length or the act of shortening something.[101]

It instantiates the minimum end of the LENGTH scale invoked in the a-colon. While קצר and

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[99] רב strengthens this link, being uses throughout the divine descriptions listed to describe the magnitude of Yahweh's divine qualities, Th. Hartmann, "רַב," *TLOT* 3:1201.

[100] Attributed to God or from God in Exod 36:1; 1 Kgs 4:29; Isa 40:14, 28; Jer 10:12, 51:15; Ps 136:5, 147:5; Job 12:12, 13, 26:12; Prov 21:30; derivate from personified Wisdom, Prov 2:2, 6, 11, 3:13, 19, 5:1, 8:1. Regarding the divine רוּחַ, see Exod 31:3, 35:31.

[101] In Cognitive Grammar terms, קצר profiles a non-processual relationship whose TR is a thing, but lacks a focussed LM, i.e. what the TR is measured against is provided only by context, if at all.

רוּחַ appear fewer times together (Exod 6:9; Mic 2:7; Job 21:4) than אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, there are a

greater variety and more numerous examples of SHORT metaphors instantiated by קצר. These

include: +אַפַּיִם (Prov 14:17); +יָד (Num 11:23; Isa 37:37; Isa 50:2a; Isa 59:1); +נֶפֶשׁ (Num 21:4;

Judg 10:16; Judg 16:16; Zech 11:8); +יוֹם (Ps 69:46; Ps 104:24; Job 14:1); and +שָׁנָה (Prov

10:27).[102]

When depicting TIME (שָׁנָה/יוֹם), both verbal and adjectival forms of קצר profile a prematurely

shortened period against a conceptual base of a schematic time desirable for humans to enjoy

(see especially Job 14:1).[103] With יָד "hand," the SHORT metaphor depicts the limitation of

POWER, following the Ancient Near Eastern association of POWER with HAND.[104] Given the

common anthropological referent, it is most salient to compare נֶפֶשׁ + קצר and רוּחַ + קצר, two

distinct metaphors that are often casually equated.[105]

Exodus 6:9

וַיְדַבֵּר מֹשֶׁה כֵּן אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה מִקֹּצֶר רוּחַ וּמֵעֲבֹדָה קָשָׁה:

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[102] As throughout, '+' affixed to a lexeme indicates a lexical collocation, i.e., where קצר appears with the marked lexeme.

[103] שָׁנָה "years" in Prov 10:27 is likely a novel amplification of the otherwise universal יוֹם "days."

[104] J. Bergman, W. Von Soden, and P. R. Ackroyd, "יָד," *TDOT* 5:418–24. See too *CAD* 7, s.v. "idu;" *DULAT*, s.v. "yd I;" and Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique*, 138–51.

[105] Robert D. Haak, "A Study and New Interpretation of *qṣr npš*," *JBL* 101 (1982): 161; Katrin Müller, *Lobe den Herrn, meine "Seele": Eine kognitiv-linguistische Studie zur* næfæš *des Menschen im Alten Testament*, BWANT 215 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2018), 146–47. More cautiously, Graham I. Davies, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Exodus 1–18*, ICC (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 419.

Moses told this to the Israelites; but they would not listen to Moses, because of their

[shortness of *rûaḥ*] and their cruel slavery.

Mic 2:7

הֶאָמוּר בֵּית־יַעֲקֹב הֲקָצַר רוּחַ יְהוָה אִם־אֵלֶּה מַעֲלָלָיו הֲלוֹא דְבָרַי יֵיטִיבוּ עִם הַיָּשָׁר הוֹלֵךְ׃

Should this be said, O house of Jacob? Is the [*rûaḥ* of Yahweh shortened]? Are these his

doings? Do not my words do good to one who walks uprightly?

Job 21:4

הֶאָנֹכִי לְאָדָם שִׂיחִי וְאִם־מַדּוּעַ לֹא־תִקְצַר רוּחִי׃

As for me, is my complaint addressed to mortals? Why should [my *rûaḥ* not be shortened?]

Numbers 21:4

וַיִּסְעוּ מֵהֹר הָהָר דֶּרֶךְ יַם־סוּף לִסְבֹב אֶת־אֶרֶץ אֱדוֹם וַתִּקְצַר נֶפֶשׁ־הָעָם בַּדָּרֶךְ׃

From Mount Hor they set out by the way to the Red Sea, to go around the land of Edom;

but [the *nephesh* of the people was shortened on the way.]

Judges 10:16

וַיָּסִירוּ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי הַנֵּכָר מִקִּרְבָּם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־יְהוָה וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשׁוֹ בַּעֲמַל יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

So they put away the foreign gods from among them and worshiped the LORD; and [his

nephesh was shortened because of the hardship of Israel.]

Judges 16:16

וַיְהִי כִּי־הֵצִיקָה לּוֹ בִדְבָרֶיהָ כָּל־הַיָּמִים וַתְּאַלֲצֵהוּ וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשׁוֹ לָמוּת׃

Finally, after she had nagged him with her words day after day, and pestered him, [and his

nephesh was shortened to death.]

Zech 11:8

וָאַכְחִד אֶת־שְׁלֹשֶׁת הָרֹעִים בְּיֶרַח אֶחָד וַתִּקְצַר נַפְשִׁי בָּהֶם וְגַם־נַפְשָׁם בָּחֲלָה בִי׃

In one month I disposed of the three shepherds, for [my *nephesh* was also shortened because

of them, and their *nephesh* also abhorred me.]

SHORT metaphors with נֶפֶשׁ and רוּחַ depict the lack or loss of capacity of an Agent to endure

an Event. This is defined according to the perspective of the Agent (they perceive the

situation to be intolerable, *impatience*) or the discourse's evaluation of the Event itself (the

situation is depicted as unbearable, *exhaustion*).[106] We may characterise this metaphor as

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[106] Haak's study above has been very influential in understanding these metaphors and requires a brief note. *Qsr npš* appears in two Ugaritic texts, UDB 1.40 22, 30, 39 and UDB 1.16 VI 33–34. The former lists *b qsr npš* alongside two other causes of sin, *b apkm* "anger," and *b qtt tqtt*, "transgressions you have committed" in a ritual seeking forgiveness. The latter lists *qsr npš* as a category in parallel with *almnt* "widow," for whom the addressed king has failed to maintain justice. Haak argued for a construal of *impatience* in UDB 1.40 and *weakness* in UDB 1.16, reciprocally arguing for these senses in BH for רוּחַ/נֶפֶשׁ+ קצר. While helpfully demonstrating the salience of this metaphor in related

+SPATIAL LENGTH IS CAPACITY TO ACT+. The linguistic instantiations demonstrate limited

mappings apart from the central correlation of LENGTH to CAPACITY, with the verbal use of

קצר entailing a premature 'shortening' of the Agent's רוּחַ/נֶפֶשׁ and thus the restriction of

capacity that might otherwise exist. A common scenario depicts the Event as the perception

of imminent death (see לָמוּת, Num 21:5; Judg 16:16), or grave injustice (Exod 6:9; Zech 11:8;

Job 21:4)—even within God (Judg 10:16, Mic 2:7).[107] Interestingly, sometimes the experience

appears to drive immediate action, especially COMPLAINT (Num 21:5; Job 21:4; Zech 11:9).

Other texts link the experience to resistance to action (Exod 6:8, Judg 10:16?). The adjectival

uses (Prov 14:29) appear primarily to characterise the typical response of the Agent rather

than any specific Event in particular.

The compatibility of רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ in these SHORT metaphors raises two key questions: (1) On

what grounds are these terms semantically compatible in this metaphor? (2) What do these

terms profile, and how does this elucidate the structure of the metaphor?

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language, Haak erroneously combines נֶפֶשׁ and רוּחַ in his comparison without considering motivations
for the lexical variation, misunderstands Mic 2:7, and underestimates the indeterminacy of UDB 1.16
VI 34, see McAffee, *Life and Mortality in Ugaritic: A Lexical and Literary Study*, 104–7. See further
DULAT, s.v. "*qṣr*;" Leila Badre et al., "Notes ougaritiques. I. Keret," *Syria* 53 (1976): 125. There is a
possibly related Akkadian metaphor, *napištu karû*, "to become short of breath, near death," (*En. El.*
VII, 132), although it is not widely-attested and may profile either [BREATH] or [LIFE], see *CAD* 8, s.v.
"karû," 1b2''c'; Takayoshi Oshima, *Babylonian Prayers to Marduk*, ORA 7 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck,
2011), 200.

[107] The metaphor appears on the lips of other prophets against Micah, and רוּחַ is highlighted by its
repetition in Mic 3:5–8 to depict the prophet as ultimately 'filled' with רוּחַ for justice, see Levison,
Filled with the Spirit, 41–47; cf. Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Micah: A New
Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 24 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 309–11.

With respect to (1), using multiple related lexemes to evoke a similar metaphor demonstrates +LENGTH IS CAPACITY+ was a valid and active metaphor in BH.[108] The compatibility of רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ is likely motivated by shared semantic content, such as their common evocation of the concept of LIFE. The metaphoric scenario above thus depicts the premature shortening of *life.* However, the adjectival characterisation of Proverbs 14:29, the stativity implied in Exodus 6:9, and the evocation of this metaphor with respect to God in Micah 2:7 and Judges 10:16 suggest that [LIFE] may be an extension of a more primary frame. The more likely basis of the compatibility of רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ is that both lexemes may profile the act of respiration.[109] [BREATH] is a rare frame for נֶפֶשׁ to evoke, with the strongest links arising from the related verb נפשׁ "to breathe again, to refresh" (Exod 23:12; Exod 31:17; 2 Sam 16:14). Other examples are challenging to distinguish from metonymic relationships with [THROAT] (as an organ for breathing, Job 41:13) and [LIFE] (as the result of breathing, Gen 35:18–19).[110] However, in light of the novel but related metaphor קְצַר־אַפַּיִם (Prov 14:17) and the respiratory construal evident in Proverbs 14:29a, we suggest that both נֶפֶשׁ+ קצר and רוּחַ+ derive from their profiling of BREATH/BREATHING against the conceptual base of the normal functioning of a human body. There are probable physiological motivations for the

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[108] King, *Surrounded*, 96.

[109] Although see Carol A. Newsom, "In Search of Cultural Models for Divine Spirit and Human Bodies," *VT* 70 (2020): 111–14.

[110] On נֶפֶשׁ as BREATH, see Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 126–41, esp. 136–38. Dhorme correlates רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ as BREATH, but then understands this to mutually refer to the INTERNAL SELF (appealing to Isa 26:9), Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique*, 111.

metaphor. Normal breathing rhythms are associated with the normal functioning of the SELF, entailing complete control of one's actions as suggested for אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם in the a-colon. To be SHORT OF BREATH then entails abbreviated breathing patterns, which contextually may evoke IMPATIENCE or DISTRESS. The experience of IMPATIENCE preferentially extends the respiratory reference according to the metonym suggested above, +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+, in which a 'short רוּחַ/נֶפֶשׁ' characteristically lacks self-control and entails (ill-considered) action. The experience of DISTRESS may extend via a different metonym, +BREATH FOR LIFE+, in which a 'short נֶפֶשׁ/רוּחַ' lacks the vital stuff of life and entails inaction or inability to pursue action.

It is difficult to account for why some instances of the metaphor use נֶפֶשׁ and some רוּחַ. Chronological factors seem unlikely given the variety of biblical texts in which each lexeme appears. Lectal preferences are possible but difficult to prove. It may be a matter of lexical focus, in which those instances where the respiratory motivations for the metaphor are more salient prefer רוּחַ (or אַפַּיִם) as more typically evocative of BREATH/BREATHING. By contrast, the stronger metonymic association between נֶפֶשׁ and LIFE lends itself to other uses. In our text here, רוּחַ seems preferentially selected to contrast with אַפַּיִם as part of the overall spatial structure of the proverb. The characteristically 'long of nostrils' (=PATIENT) possess

'broad/much understanding,' while the characteristically 'short of breath' (=IMPATIENT) "elevate folly."[111]

This proverb demonstrates how terse phrases may evoke rich metaphoric and metonymic structures to serve the ethical purposes of the discourse. The -LENGTH- schema establishes an implicit scale for comparing the relative capacity for self-control, depicted in terms of BREATHING. While possibly motivated by physiological patterns associated with the experience of PATIENCE/IMPATIENCE, רוּחַ seems to be also conceptualised in terms of the control of the internal SELF. To be 'short of רוּחַ' is to lack the capacity to control one's actions, while to be 'long of אַפַּיִם' demonstrates the ability to govern oneself. This hints at a conceptual link between the internality of BREATH, the internal SELF, and especially what might be termed the VOLITIONAL SELF—that 'part' of the SELF responsible for action. While the metaphor that presents this conceptualisation is here quite compact and required wider analysis to understand, further associations between רוּחַ and VOLITION will be seen below.

2.2.5 Proverbs 15:4

2.2.5.1 Text

מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן עֵץ חַיִּים וְסֶלֶף בָּהּ שֶׁבֶר בְּרוּחַ׃

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[111] רום profiles the spatial elevation of a TR thing, perhaps to better display it, or to indicate its increase (+MORE IS UP+), see, respectively, Murphy, *Proverbs*, 107; Toy, *Proverbs*, 299.

** A soothing tongue, a tree of life; but crookedness in it, a 'break in *rûaḥ*.'

LXX πλησθήσεται, Tg. נשׂבע, and Syr. ܣܒܥ appear to read שֶׁבֶר "a break" as the verb שׂבע "to be full." The BHQ textual apparatus commentary notes LXX's tendency to confuse ע, ר, and ח, which explains the Greek text but not the Aramaic or Syriac.

2.2.5.2 Context

Proverbs 15:1–7 possess a weak thematic link of SPEECH (see also 15:23, 26, 28), especially the repetition of לָשׁוֹן "tongue," in 15:2, 4.[112]

2.2.5.3 Analysis

This proverb again connects רוּחַ with SPEECH, as well as introducing a group of metaphors in which רוּחַ depicts an experience of DISTRESS via the -FORCE- schema. Our translation above seeks to reflect the structure of the proverb as adjoining non-verbal phrases, which may either equate the halves of each colon—"a soothing tongue *is* a tree of life"—or link them causally—"a perverse tongue *leads to* a broken spirit."[113]

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[112] So Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 608–9; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 212; Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 495. Murphy suggests טוב connects 15:3–4, and 15:4–7 explores SPEECH, Murphy, *Proverbs*, 111–12.
[113] The latter is preferred by Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 496.

The a-colon begins by depicting calming speech as מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן. מַרְפֵּא either derives from רפא

"to heal," suggesting *healing/remedy*, or רפה "to slacken, let go," suggesting

calmness/gentleness.[114] The מ-prefixed nominal form appears 16x in BH, overwhelmingly

evoking the [HEALTH] frame.[115] The collocation with עֵץ חַיִּים and antithetic parallel with שֶׁבֶר

supports reading *healing* or *soothing* here.[116] לָשׁוֹן profiles SPEECH as a central organ involved

in its production (via the metonymy +INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+), leading the compound

phrase to refer to "the therapeutic effects of correct speech that comes from sapiential

knowledge."[117]

This "soothing tongue" is equated with an עֵץ חַיִּים. The phrase is striking for its rarity in the

HB, appearing only in Genesis 2:9; 3:22; 3:24 and Proverbs 3:18; 11:10; 13:12; 15:4.[118]

Unfortunately, the brevity and relative literary independence of the proverbial uses causes

many interpreters to see the arboreal imagery as unrelated to the Genesis 2–3 narrative.[119]

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[114] See *HALOT*, s.v. "מַרְפֵּא I" and "מַרְפֵּא II;" *CDCH*, s.v. "מַרְפֵּא I" and "מַרְפֵּא II."
[115] Jer 8:15; 14:19; 33:6; Mal 3:20; Prov 4:22; 6:15; 12:18; 13:17; 14:30; 15:4; 16:24; 29:1; Eccl 10:4; 2Chr 21:18; and 36:16. Prov 14:30 and Eccl 10:4 are possible exceptions. In the former מַרְפֵּא plausibly explicates חַי rather than stands in opposition to קִנְאָה (a doubtful antonym to *gentle*), so Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 607. In the latter, health may be characterised as wholeness, so D. C. Fredericks, *Qoheleth's Language: Re-Evaluating Its Nature and Date* (Lewiston: Mellen, 1988), 203.
[116] So Toy, *Proverbs*, 304; Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 615.
[117] Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 495.
[118] In later Jewish literature it appears primarily in eschatological contexts, see 1 Enoch 24–25 (especially 25:5) and 4 Ezra 8:52, Peter-Ben Smit, "Reaching for the Tree of Life: The Role of Eating, Drinking, Fasting, and Symbolic Foodstuffs in *4 Ezra*," *JSJ* 45 (2014): 372, 383.
[119] "The tree of life is devoid of mythological significance and serves only as a figure for vitality and healing," Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 158; so Murphy, *Proverbs*, 22; Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, 47; William R. Osborne, "The Tree of Life in Ancient Egypt and the Book of Proverbs," *JANER* 14 (2014): 133. There are limited Egyptian literary and iconographic parallels with biblical usage, although these

While the shorter proverbial form does obscure much "social-historical background," the introduction of the imagery in Proverbs 3:13–20 occurs within a wider matrix of intertextual connections to Genesis 2–3.[120] Without strong contextual constraints in subsequent uses, this suggests עֵץ חַיִּים should be understood in terms of the biblical creation narrative of a tree that grants eternal life, strongly associated in Proverbs 3:13–20 with WISDOM:

> Whereas desiring and taking from the tree of knowledge of good and evil led to the expulsion from Eden, desiring and taking hold of wisdom as the tree of life leads back to the garden—a return or re-entry of sorts.[121]

While lacking substantive literary context, if this allusion is established earlier in Proverbs, even a terse reference later may evoke other elements of the Edenic scene.[122] That is, an

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reflect different relationships between divine figures, wisdom, and the arboreal world, see Karolien Vermeulen, "The Tree of Metaphors: עץ חיים in the Books of Proverbs," in *Conceptual Metaphors in Poetic Texts*, ed. Antje Labahn, PHSC 18 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013), 91–112; Osborne, "The Tree of Life," 114–39. Later texts evoke the Edenic tree rather than a generalised mythological image, Peter T. Lanfer, "Allusion to and Expansion of the Tree of Life and Garden of Eden in Biblical and Pseudepigraphal Literature," in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality*, ed. Craig A. Evans and H. Daniel Zacharias (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 96–108. This may be explained by the later but salient conceptual matrices of WISDOM, *torah*, Jerusalem, and arboreal imagery with Eden intertexts, see Goff, "Gardens of Knowledge," 174–76.

[120] See Christine Roy Yoder, "Wisdom Is the Tree of Life: A Study of Proverbs 3:13–20 and Genesis 2–3," in *Reading Proverbs Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 629 (London: T&T Clark, 2019), 12. For example, the repetition of אָדָם (Prov 3:13; e.g. Gen 2:5, 8), lexemes of DESIRE (חֵפֶץ, Prov 3:15; חמד, Gen 2:9), JEWEL imagery (Prov 2:14–15; Gen 2:11–12), and RIVERINE imagery (Prov 2:19–20; Gen 2:5, 6, 11–13), Yoder, "Wisdom," 12–17.

[121] Yoder, "Wisdom," 12. The depiction "seemingly blurs the two trees planted in the middle of Eden into one tree," 17.

[122] Such elements may include nostalgia for blessings denied, the desire for obedience contrary to the behaviour of the first humans, and the granting of life to others, see *DBIm,* s.v. "Tree of Life;" Junia

entire rich metaphorical frame is evoked: [TREE OF LIFE].[123] This frame needs to be

sufficiently salient to the language community to function as shared cultural knowledge.[124]

The a-colon of our proverb is thus akin to a metaphor-expressing predicate, +SOOTHING

SPEECH IS A TREE OF LIFE+. This metaphor elevates SPEECH beyond simply being pleasant or

helpful to capable of granting LIFE from an external source.[125]

In contrast to the life-giving power of such speech stands סֶלֶף "perversity." The nominal form

is rare (Prov 11:3), while the verbal root profiles geometric distortion. This often extends

metaphorically to ethics (Exod 23:8), destruction (Prov 22:12), or perfidy.[126] The pronominal

PP בָּהּ acts as a grounding strategy for סֶלֶף, focussing the state of distortion to a discourse-

active participant.[127] Given most nouns in the bicolon are morphologically masculine, this

almost certainly references לָשׁוֹן "tongue."[128] The repeated בְּ prepositions associate the

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Pokrifka, "Life, Imagery Of," *DOTWPW*, 432; Longman, *Proverbs*, 139–40; Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Eden Narrative: A Literary and Religio-Historical Study of Genesis 2–3* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 84–117.

[123] William P. Brown, "The Didactic Power of Metaphor in the Aphoristic Sayings of Proverbs," *JSOT* 29 (2004): 145.

[124] To speak of 'a tree of life' in Proverbs "implies a model somewhere, *the* tree, to which one is referring," Vermeulen, "The Tree of Metaphors," 96.

[125] SPEECH takes on "mythic proportions … [and is] cast as the *pre-eminent* source of blessing," Brown, "Didactic Power," 145.

[126] David W. Baker, "סָלַף," *NIDOTTE* 3:267; also Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 485.

[127] For the *grounding* function of pronouns in CG, see Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 312–16. "A third-person pronoun … presupposes that a particular instance of its type has not only been singled out in the previous discourse frame, but is salient enough to be the sole instance that counts for anaphoric purposes," Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 314.

[128] While רוּחַ is also possible, the tendency of pronouns to function anaphorically and the preposition preceding רוּחַ strongly support לָשׁוֹן. לָשׁוֹן is not unambiguously morphologically feminine, although

presence of סֶלֶף and שֶׁבֶר within the לָשׁוֹן and the רוּחַ, respectively.[129] As 'soothing' speech

imparts LIFE from an external source, so 'a twist' in that speech brings about 'a break in *rûaḥ*.'

שֶׁבֶר typically profiles the *fracture* of an object. An Agent violently separates a Whole Entity

into Segments, almost always with negative implications for the Entity's functioning. We

preliminary label this frame [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION].[130] Examples of the Whole Entity

include עֶצֶם "bone" (Exod 12:36; Isa 38:13); דֶלֶת "door" (Gen 19:9); עֵץ "tree" (Exod 9:25);

and נֵבֶל יוֹצְרִים "potter's vessel" (Isa 30:14). The Segments are rarely instantiated, and if so,

only in general terms such as מְכִתָּה "fragments" (Isa 30:14). The Agent responsible for

fragmentation is most frequently God (46x), people (38x), or impersonal subjects such as

hail, winds, lions, and even speech (11x).[131] Given the negative implications for the Entity

(sometimes explicit, Jer 19:10), שבר often extends metonymically (via +EFFECT FOR CAUSE+)

to profile the *destruction* of groups of people (Isa 1:28; 14:25; Jer 48:4; 51:8).[132] The nominal

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its feminine plural form, לְשֹׁנוֹת, appears in Isa 66:8; Zech 8:23; Ps 31:21, making it legitimate to infer
here.

[129] The alternative construal of בְּ is the predicative *beth essentiae* construction seen in Isa 59:7c, שֹׁד
וָשֶׁבֶר בִּמְסִלּוֹתָם, "desolation and destruction *are in* their highways," where the TR is equated with the
LM.

[130] It seems likely that שבר is prototypically evocative of [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION], not only as the
most frequent verb for FRAGMENTATION in BH, but also reflecting a pan-Semitic root. See Akk. *šebru*
and Ugar. *ṯbr, CAD* 17.2, s.v. "šebru;" *DULAT,* s.v. "ṯ-b-r."

[131] B. Knipping, "שָׁבַר," *TDOT* 14:370.

[132] Some passages appear to leverage the physical and metaphorical uses, e.g. Isa 30:26 and God
binding 'the fracture of his people.'

שֶׁבֶר is especially associated with the "impending collapse or destruction of the northern or southern kingdom."[133]

The FRAGMENTATION metaphor evoked by combining שֶׁבֶר with רוּחַ appears several times in the Hebrew Bible and provides an opportunity to observe underlying conceptualisations of רוּחַ. We will explore this below. For now, we note that it typically involves a Force being applied by an Antagonist to an Agonist in the depiction of emotional DISTRESS. The evocation of this metaphor may suggest the physical sense of סֶלֶף may be as salient as the moral, with רוּחַ depicted as a substance distorted to the point of fracture by perfidious speech. Brown suggests this may even extrapolate the arboreal features of [TREE OF LIFE]:

A deceitful tongue, by contrast, causes a 'break' in the spirit, as if the spirit, too, were made of wood. The result is untold anguish.[134]

Given the a-colon has in view the effect of a speaker upon others, it is most natural to attribute potential DISTRESS to the other. In addition to the discussion below, the balanced structure of the proverb implies a contextual constraint upon how רוּחַ is understood. The 'fracturing' of the רוּחַ stands in opposition to the archetypal source of life. This implies that רוּחַ profiles the LIFE of a person.[135] A motivation for this use is the conceptual connection

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[133] Victor P. Hamilton, "שׁבר," *NIDOTTE* 4:39.

[134] Brown, "Didactic Power," 145.

[135] "When one's *rûaḥ* 'spirit' is broken, one's vitality, his morale, his power to promote life, is destroyed," Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 92–93. "A perverse tongue leads to a broken spirit and a reduction in one's life force," Schipper, *Proverbs 1–15*, 496.

between LIFE and BREATH (see the discussion of רוּחַ/נֶפֶשׁ under Prov 14:29; as well as Gen 6:17; 7:15, 22). The Force causing damage is TWISTED SPEECH, again associating רוּחַ with SPEECH—here not as the utterance itself but as that affected by the quality of speech, and thus possibly metonymic of the SELF of the hearer.

2.2.6 Extended Discussion: רוּחַ and the -FORCE- schema

רוּחַ and related anthropological nouns such as לֵב are often depicted as subject to FORCE interactions that lead to states of FRAGMENTATION. Drawing from Philip D. King's analysis of this schema, we will briefly outline the schema in both general and culturally-situated terms before examining the particular role that רוּחַ plays in its metaphorical use with שבר, נכא/נכה, and דכא.[136]

2.2.6.1   The -FORCE- schema

Following the work of Mark Johnson, King outlines a generalised -FORCE- schema as a basic conceptual framework used in lower-level concept structuring. From early in life, forces are experienced via *interaction*. They tend to possess *direction*, *a single path of motion*, a *source* and *target* from and to which they are directed by *agents*, *degrees* of power, and *causal*

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[136] King, *Surrounded*, 210–88.

sequence.[137] When invoked to depict emotional experiences, this general structure often

entails forces of *variable intensity* and some *change of state* or *location* as a result.[138]

The Hebrew Bible rarely engages in abstract discussions of concepts like FORCE but does

reflect aspects of the schema above. For example, the HB depicts entities that interact

forcefully, such as Yahweh, humans, animals, and meteorological forces like *wind*. It also

explicates the nature of their interactions as occurring via direct physical contact between

Agents and Entities (לקח, נכה, נשא), and culturally relevant sources and causations of force

encounters, such as animal herding, cereal harvests, and those involving perishable materials

such as clay and wood.[139]

The -FORCE- schema is metaphorically productive in BH, occasionally depicting positive

experiences (+BEING SAVED IS BEING LIFTED UP+, Ps 9:13), but more commonly experiences

of DISTRESS.[140] When רוּחַ is involved in these DISTRESS metaphors, it is typically the target of

damaging force or as the subject of fragmentation.[141] The metaphors exhibit lexical variability

on the level of main verbs (e.g. דכא, נכא/נכה, שבר) and non-verb targets of the FORCE

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[137] Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*, 43–44; King, *Surrounded*, 211–13.

[138] King, *Surrounded*, 211.

[139] King, *Surrounded*, 212–13.

[140] For example, +BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING FORCIBLY GRIPPED+, +BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING ATTACKED BY WILD ANIMALS+, King, *Surrounded*, 227–30, 236–44 respectively.

[141] +BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCE FORCE DAMAGING PART OF THE BODY+ and +BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FRAGMENTATION+, King, *Surrounded*, 220–22, 222–27, respectively. The latter is likely a subset of the former.

interactions. When [BODY_PARTS] are targeted, they often profile the internal parts of the

body such as לֵב, כִּלְיָה, עֶצֶם, נֶפֶשׁ, and רוּחַ. The polysemy of many of these terms (for example,

many of them may function metonymically for SELF) contributes to ambiguity in the

resulting metaphors. DISTRESS is clearly depicted, but the semantic contribution of the

individual components is less immediately apparent. We will explore such variation as

motivated by the components' own semantic structure, or their function in highlighting

some part of the overall structure of the metaphor. For example, while שבר and דכא both

profile [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION], they may differ in how the interaction is depicted:

> The linguistic forms that suggest that שבר profiles the resultant broken state of the
>
> sufferer, whereas דכא profiles the agent causing fragmentation. They also evoke
>
> different manners of fragmentation. דכא evokes very deliberate and thorough
>
> fragmentation, whereas שבר neither requires a deliberate agent nor evokes such
>
> complete fragmentation.[142]

While we would benefit from analysing every permutation of the metaphors, we will focus

upon the specific instantiations of FRAGMENTATION where רוּחַ profiles the fragmented Entity.

2.2.6.2   רוּחַ and שבר

There are three BH texts where רוּחַ collocates with שבר.

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[142] King, *Surrounded*, 227.

Proverbs 15:4

מַרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן עֵץ חַיִּים וְסֶלֶף בָּהּ שֶׁבֶר בְּרוּחַ׃

** A soothing tongue, a tree of life; crookedness in it, a 'break in *rûaḥ.*'

Isaiah 65:14

הִנֵּה עֲבָדַי יָרֹנּוּ מִטּוּב לֵב וְאַתֶּם תִּצְעֲקוּ מִכְּאֵב לֵב וּמִשֵּׁבֶר רוּחַ תְּיֵלִילוּ׃

* Behold, my servants shall sing for gladness of heart, but you shall cry out for pain of heart

and shall wail for [a brokenness of *rûaḥ*]. (ESV)

Psalm 51:19

זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים רוּחַ נִשְׁבָּרָה לֵב־נִשְׁבָּר וְנִדְכֶּה אֱלֹהִים לֹא תִבְזֶה׃

The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken *rûaḥ*; a broken and contrite heart, O God, you

will not despise.

We may make two immediate observations. Firstly, there is a strong conceptual connection

with לֵב as a related Entity subject to FRAGMENTATION. Secondly, there is substantial

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syntactical variation in how רוּחַ instantiates the FRAGMENTATION metaphor.[143] Isaiah 65:14

features a |CSTR.NOUN + NOUN| construction, prefaced by מִן that likely denotes the cause of

the profiled action. The *wailing* (ילל) is attributed to the existence of a *fracture* (שֵׁבֶר) in the

רוּחַ.[144] Proverbs 15:4 similarly localises the fracture to the רוּחַ via the preposition בְּ. Both uses

are construed negatively given the connotations of סֶלֶף (Prov 15:4) and ילל (Isa 65:14), as

well as the immediate syntactical parallel מִכְאֵב לֵב "anguish of heart" (Prov 14:13).[145] By

contrast, Ps 51:19 modifies רוּחַ with a niphal participle (נִשְׁבָּרָה) as part of describing an

"acceptable sacrifice to God." This |NOUN + NIPHAL_PARTICIPLE| construction tends to be

construed positively, depicting the characteristic state of *humility.* This positive construal is

evident in similar constructions in later Qumran texts (1QS 8:4; 11:1; 4Q393 1 ii_2 7),

although it is difficult to determine whether this is an overall diachronic development or

reflects the influence of Ps 51 on later religious texts.[146]

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[143] Divjak suggests careful attention to syntactical variation is key to distinguishing between "words that share most if not all frames such as, say, "break" verbs, e.g., *break, chip, crack, crash, crush, fracture*," Dagmar Divjak, *Structuring the Lexicon: A Clustered Model for Near-Synonymy*, CLR 43 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010), 2. Similarly, "The only semantic contrast resides in a secondary dimension of meaning, namely, the compositional path leading to the ultimate composition structure," Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 212–13.

[144] Joüon §132d.

[145] See *CDCH*, s.v. "ילל" and כְּאֵב as *pain*, *CDCH*, s.v. "כאב."

[146] For the suggestion of HUMILITY as a pietistic chronological development from a temporally-prior negative depiction of DISTRESS, see Westermann and Albertz, "רוּחַ," 3:1210.

How can two instances of the same metaphor be evaluated so differently? We suggest the differences lie in the grammatical constructions used, and the wider metaphorical networks in which the specific instantiation appears.

Regarding this construction, the main difference is the relative emphasis on the fragmenting Event versus the causing Agent. The nominal uses tend to specify an Agent causing the damage FORCE interaction in the immediate or broader context: God (Isa 65:14) or the "perversity of tongue" (Prov 15:4). The niphal participle profiles a lesser focus on the Agent and highlights the *change* in state rather than the state itself.

Regarding the wider metaphorical networks, Ross persuasively argues that David depicts himself as Jerusalem in Psalm 51, and his sinful self as a damaged wall in need of Yahweh's 'repair work.' This occurs as part of the conceptual blend +PURITY IS STRUCTURAL INTEGRITY+.[147] The blend indirectly associates the cause of the 'damage' to David's רוּחַ with SIN. Crucially, לֵב and רוּחַ function not only as references to David's SELF but also as part of recruiting David into the [ISRAELITE_KINGSHIP] cultural frame (see 1 Sam 13:14b; 16:7–14).[148] Ps 51:19 *does* evoke DISTRESS, but within the inter-textual narrative frames recruited

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[147] William A. Ross, "David's Spiritual Walls and Conceptual Blending in Psalm 51," *JSOT* 43 (2019): 607–26. This blend is grounded in the inter-textual narrative of David and Bathsheba (recruited via the superscription) which "configures and optimizes other mental spaces" within the psalm, 616. For this use of mental spaces in blends, see Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 374–75.
[148] Ross, "David's Spiritual Walls," 622–23.

by the blend, this experience is construed positively as the necessary grounds for God's action in 'repairing' David to functioning cultic and relational status.

Remarkably, both the constructional variation and metaphorical function hold for לֵב as well. לֵב appears with niphal participles of שבר in Ps 34:19; 51:19b; Isa 61:1; and a unique qal passive participle in Ps 147:3. While these have often been understood as characterising the HUMILITY of the human Patient, the focus is actually on the action of Yahweh in addressing their present state of DISTRESS. We even see the combination of +YAHWEH IS A BUILDER+ with +DISTRESS IS FRAGMENTATION+ again in Ps 147:2–3. Thus, the overall positive or negative evaluation of this experience is not determined primarily by context but the relative emphasis upon the state of DISTRESS, its change, or the Agent involved in it.[149]

2.2.6.3   רוּחַ and נכה/נכא

While שבר more frequently evokes [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION] overall, in our sub-corpus רוּחַ appears more regularly with the adjective נְכֵאָה.[150] The consonants could be read as either an adjectival form of נכא "to strike physically" (Isa 66:2), or a niphal participle/qatal form of כאה "to be discouraged" (+לֵבָב Ps 109:16; Dan 11:30). Unfortunately, many of these other instances are textually unstable, with manuscript traditions and ancient versions regularly

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[149] Contra Sigrid Eder, "'Broken Hearted' and 'Crushed in Spirit': Metaphors and Emotions in Psalm 34,19," *SJOT* 30 (2016): 1–15.

[150] We take נכא as a by-form of נכה, with the phonetic similarity between III-ה and III-א verbs motivating an interchange of *matres lectionis*, *BHRG²* §18.4.3.(7).

transposing נכא and כאה.[151] Despite the fallibility of the Masoretic vocalisation, the rarity of

כאה in the BH corpus and the compatibility of these texts with those involving שבר and דכא

lend weight to reading נכא in FRAGMENTATION depictions of DISTRESS.

נכא/נכה profile an Agonist suffering a strong force impact, such as a slap (1 Kgs 22:24) or

flogging (Deut 25:2).[152] This extends metonymically (via +CAUSE FOR EFFECT+, as above for

שבר and DESTRUCTION) to profile military *defeat* (Num 14:45; Isa 16:7). The adjectival form

appears to depict the resultant state of "having been broken into small pieces" due to a

punctiliar impact (as when Mephibosheth is dropped, 2 Sam 4:4). This often entails that the

stricken Entity is unable to perform its function.

There are four BH texts where נכא/נכה appears with רוּחַ.

<u>Proverbs 15:13</u>

לֵב שָׂמֵחַ יֵיטִב פָּנִים וּבְעַצְּבַת־לֵב רוּחַ נְכֵאָה׃

A glad heart makes a cheerful countenance; but by sorrow of heart [the shattered *rûaḥ.*]

<u>Proverbs 17:22</u>

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[151] Isa 66:2 MT suggests a m.sg adjective of נכה, 1QIsaᵃ a fp.pl adjective of כאה. 1Q8 may read niphal כאה or f.sg adjective of נכא. Ps 109:16 suggests a niphal participle of כאה, while LXX κατανενυγμένον "to be pierced" implies a redivision to הלבב + נכא. Dan 11:30 MT suggests niphal qatal כאה while Syr. reads ܐܒܗ "to break."

[152] J. Conrad, "נכה," *TDOT* 9:416. It may also depict [CAUSED_MOTION] as a TR is caused to move from a LM by the force interaction, e.g. Job 30:8 (+מִן marking the LM).

לֵב שָׂמֵחַ יֵיטִב גֵּהָה וְרוּחַ נְכֵאָה תְּיַבֶּשׁ־גָּרֶם:

A cheerful heart is good medicine; but [a shattered *rûaḥ*] dries the bones.

Proverbs 18:14

רוּחַ־אִישׁ יְכַלְכֵּל מַחֲלֵהוּ וְרוּחַ נְכֵאָה מִי יִשָּׂאֶנָּה:

The human *rûaḥ* will endure sickness; but [a shattered *rûaḥ*]—who can bear?

Isaiah 66:2

וְאֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה יָדִי עָשָׂתָה וַיִּהְיוּ כָל־אֵלֶּה נְאֻם־יְהוָה וְאֶל־זֶה אַבִּיט אֶל־עָנִי וּנְכֵה־רוּחַ וְחָרֵד עַל־דְּבָרִי:

** All these my hands have made, and so all these are mine, declares Yahweh. But to this one I will look, to the afflicted and shattered of *rûaḥ*, who trembles at my word.

Compared to שבר, the syntax of רוּחַ+ נכא is significantly more stable, with |ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE| constructions consistently evoking the FRAGMENTATION metaphor.[153] The interaction between the adjective and noun suggests a prototypical norm according to which the noun is profiled. There is an implicit comparison made between an integrous רוּחַ and a 'shattered' one.[154] The adjectival construction also obscures the Agent causing the fragmentation to focus on the resultant state. However, the nature of the integrity and subsequent state are difficult to determine given the polysemy of נכא and רוּחַ. The

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[153] It is possible, if rare, for an attributive adjective to precede its noun, *IBHS* §14.3.1b.
[154] See Wolde, *Reframing*, 147–48.

conceptualisation appears to reflect the רוּחַ as located in the interior of the Agonist, which, when subject to the violent force by circumstance or Antagonist, fails to keep functioning as it should.[155] This function will vary depending on whether the instantiation reflects the physiological motivation for the metaphor such as ragged breathing (רוּחַ as BREATH?), depict the effect of the distress on the person (רוּחַ as SELF or LIFE), or even profile the extended use of נכא to refer to the 'defeated in breath' or even 'driven-out breath' (that is, laboured breathing due to grief or pain).[156] Unlike שבר, לֵב only rarely appears with נכא (Ps 102:5; 109:16). This may imply a conventional association between רוּחַ and נכא, or a semantically-motivated one in which רוּחַ profiles a part of the conceptual structure not readily evoked by לֵב, such as BREATH or LIFE.

2.2.6.4   רוּחַ and דכא

The rarest FRAGMENTATION verb appearing with רוּחַ is דכא.[157] The meaning of the root is indicated by the parallel or collocation with similar FRAGMENTATION lexemes: תכן (Isa 3:15; Num 11:8); שבר (Ps 34:19; 51:19); נכה (Isa 53:4); see too the general FORCE lexemes נגע (Isa

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[155] For Isa 66:2, this may depict the state of the community rather than a personal characteristic, so John Goldingay, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 56–66*, ICC (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2014), 485.

[156] For respiratory explanations, see Murphy, *Proverbs*, 113; "...if that thin column of air, which carries life through the body, is broken, nothing can replace it," Clifford, *Proverbs*, 172. For psychological explanations, see Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 624–25.

[157] As with נכא, there are multiple by-forms: דכה ,דוך, דכך, and possibly דקק. Distinctions between them are difficult, but possible, to determine, see H. F. Fuhs, "דְּכָא," *TDOT* 3:197.

53:4); חלל (Isa 53:5; Ps 89:11). The verb profiles [GRINDING], the application of force to break

an Entity into tiny pieces. This extends metonymically to refer to *oppression* (Isa 3:15; Job

5:4).

There are two texts in wider BH that feature דכא alongside רוּחַ.

Psalm 34:19

קָרוֹב יְהוָה לְנִשְׁבְּרֵי־לֵב וְאֶת־דַּכְּאֵי־רוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ:

The LORD is near to the brokenhearted, and saves the crushed in *rûaḥ*.

Isaiah 57:15

כִּי֩ כֹ֨ה אָמַ֜ר רָ֣ם וְנִשָּׂ֗א שֹׁכֵ֥ן עַד֙ וְקָד֣וֹשׁ שְׁמ֔וֹ מָר֥וֹם וְקָד֖וֹשׁ אֶשְׁכּ֑וֹן וְאֶת־דַּכָּא֙ וּשְׁפַל־ר֔וּחַ לְהַחֲיוֹת֙ ר֣וּחַ שְׁפָלִ֔ים וּֽלְהַחֲי֖וֹת

לֵ֥ב נִדְכָּאִֽים:

* For thus says the One who is high and lifted up, who inhabits eternity, whose name is

Holy: "I dwell in the high and holy place, and also with him who is of [crushed and lowly

rûaḥ,] to revive the *rûaḥ* of the lowly, and to revive the heart of the [crushed]. (ESV)

As with שבר, there are semantic associations between the state of DISTRESS and imminent

salvation from Yahweh (see the movement of Ps 34:19–20), and a link between the state of

'crushedness' and HUMILITY. In Isaiah 57:15, the FRAGMENTATION metaphor with רוּחַ and לֵב

is evoked alongside the -VERTICALITY- schema in which +HIGH STATUS IS UP+ (נשא, מָרוֹם) and

+LOW STATUS IS DOWN+ (רוּחַ + שָׁפָל). This suggests that the experience of DISTRESS as a force-

impacted body part is causally linked with a loss of status and subsequent need for divine

intervention. דכא also appears with compatible lexemes such as נֶפֶשׁ (Ps 143:3); עֶצֶם (Ps 51:8);

and לֵב (Isa 57:15).

2.2.6.5   Provisional Conclusions

The various instantiations of the FRAGMENTATION metaphor for DISTRESS show that it is a

productive metaphor generalised across several evocations of [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION] and

[BODY_PARTS]. While multiple lexemes are compatible within the metaphors, their use is

motivated by the selection of specific verbs and targets. This may reflect the degree of

damage caused (דכא > שבר), the nature of the impact (to *grind* as opposed to *strike*), or to

emphasise or obscure the Agent, change of state, or resultant state. Concerning רוּחַ, there is

overlapping usage with לֵב alongside שבר, as well as other prototypically-internal body parts,

suggesting that some of the semantic compatibility arises from the metonymic potential to

depict the SELF of the Agonist. However, the selection of רוּחַ may be motivated by semantic

elements not shared by לֵב, עֶצֶם, etc. Given the association with HUMILITY (and the -

VERTICALITY- schema for רוּחַ, explored later), and the shared entailment of the limited

functionality of the fragmented Entity, this may indicate that רוּחַ metonymically profiles LIFE

(via +BREATH FOR LIFE+). When one's רוּחַ is 'broken' by some Event or Agent, the capacity

for ongoing life appears limited, and the Agonist requires external intervention to reverse their situation.

2.2.7 Proverbs 15:13

2.2.7.1 Text

לֵב שָׂמֵחַ יֵיטִב פָּנִים וּבְעַצְּבַת־לֵב רוּחַ נְכֵאָה:

** A joyful heart gladdens the countenance; but by pain of heart, a shattered *rûaḥ*.

2.2.7.2 Context

Proverbs 15 has a theological tone imparted by 'Yahweh' proverbs at the start and end of the chapter (15:3, 8–9, 11, 16, 25–26, 29, 33).[158] The middle of the chapter "shifts to the inner person" with לֵב featuring in 15:11, 13–15.[159] Proverbs 15:13 connects to its surroundings by the fronting of לֵב in 15:13–14 and טוֹב in 15:16–17, and their combination in 15:15b.[160]

2.2.7.3 Analysis

This proverb presents a cluster of anthropological nouns juxtaposed with לֵב to depict the effects of the condition of the לֵב upon the exterior (פָּנִים) and interior (רוּחַ) of a person. As the focus of this proverbial cluster is the לֵב, and the attention already devoted to the

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[158] Whybray, *Composition of Proverbs*, 103.

[159] Wilson, *Proverbs*, 185.

[160] Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 372; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 593.

FRAGMENTATION metaphor and רוּחַ above, we will seek to understand לֵב and its condition

to provide a point of comparison to רוּחַ.

In anthropological terminology, לֵב is as ambiguous and disputed as רוּחַ. As we demonstrated

above, the two nouns frequently appear together, and share sufficient semantic content to

be lexically compatible in some figurative constructions.[161] לֵב may refer to the physical organ

(2 Sam 18:14), by metonymic extension to the inner part of something (Jon 2:4; Deut 4:11),

and frequently to the 'inner' part of a person capable of feelings, perception, and will.[162]

Lauha suggests it even "bezeichnet das Antonym eines nach außen sichtbaren Körperteils

oder Phänomens."[163] There is a concentration of usage in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes where

the human SELF is frequently in view, as well as the books focussing on the relationship of

humanity and Yahweh (Deuteronomy, the Major Prophets, and the Psalms).[164] Here in

Proverbs 15:13, לֵב is characterised in the a-colon as שָׂמֵחַ "joyful," a frequent if syntactically-

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[161] Note again Divjak's analysis of near-synonyms: "even if near-synonyms do name one and the same thing, they name it in different ways: they present different perspectives on a situation," Divjak, *Structuring the Lexicon*, 1. See further the simultaneous claims to "synonymy" and "fundamental semantic difference" in Fabry and Tengström, "רוּחַ," 13:377–378.

[162] See Bernd Janowski, "Das Herz - eine Bezeihungsorgan: Zum Personverständis des Alten Testaments," in *Dimensionen der Leiblichkeit: Beiträge aus Theologie und Psychosomatischer Medizin. Theologische Zugänge*, ed. Bernd Janowski and Christoph Schwöbel, ThIn 16 (Göttingen: Neukirchener, 2015), 3–6. Similar sense-relationships (organ, interior, SELF) are in Akk. *libbu, CAD* 9, s.v. "libbu." Ugar. texts only profile organ and SELF, *DULAT,* s.v. "lb."

[163] Risto Lauha, *Psychophysischer Sprachgebrauch im Alten Testament: Eine Strukturalsemantische Analyse von נפש, לב, und רוח*, AASF.DHL 35 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1983), 80.

[164] F. Stolz, "לֵב," *TLOT* 2:639.

variable collocation.[165] The compound profiles the cause or grounds of יטב "to make glad" with the object of the improvement, פָּנִים "face."[166] "One's internal well-being is reflected in one's appearance."[167]

The placement of two emotionally-positive terms (שָׂמֵחַ, יטב) between two anthropological terms depicting internal (לֵב) and external (פָּנִים) aspects of the person emphasises the causative link between the two, implying the effect of experience in one schematic extreme of the human person upon the other. The direction is internal to external. This structure is inverted in the b-colon. The two anthropological terms (רוּחַ, לֵב) are placed between two negative adjectival profiles (נְכֵאָה, עַצֶּבֶת), which closely relates לֵב עַצֶּבֶת and רוּחַ נְכֵאָה via בְּ. At the same time, it generates an overall contrast between לֵב שָׂמֵחַ and רוּחַ נְכֵאָה as opposite ends of human emotional experience.[168]

עַצֶּבֶת primarily refers to internal PAIN in poetical texts (Ps 16:4, 147:3; Job 9:28; Prov 10:10; 14:23; 15:1).[169] While the nominal form and its root predominantly evoke an emotional

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[165] Verbally: Exod 4:14; Zeph 3:14; Zech 10:7; Ps 16:9, 19:9, 33:21, 105:3; Prov 15:30, 23:15, 27:9, 27:11; 1 Chr 16:10. Adjectivally: 1 Kgs 8:66 (abs); Isa 24:7 (cstr); Prov 17:22 (abs); Eccl 2:10; Esth 5:9 (abs); 2 Chr 7:10 (pl. abs).

[166] The lack of the post-preformative י on יֵיטֵב suggests the root is טוֹב, however the impositive *munaḥ* may explain the defective spelling, compare Joüon §76c, §15g. Both roots reference what is *appropriate* to "genre, purpose, or situation," Robert P. Gordon, "טוֹב," *NIDOTTE* 2:346; see too K&D 6:323.

[167] Longman, *Proverbs*, 317; so Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 214.

[168] There is a peculiar mismatch in gender between עַצֶּבֶת (cf. Gen 3:16, 17; 5:29) and לֵב, overcome by the *maqqēp* and the construct relationship. It may function to strengthen the association between the condition of the לֵב and the רוּחַ.

[169] C. Meyers, "עָצַב," *TDOT* 11:278–79.

experience, Ps 147:3 suggests a concrete reference to a *wound*.[170] In this proverb, the relation of עַצְּבַת־לֵב and רוּחַ נְכֵאָה depends upon the relational profile of בְּ. Delitzsch construes בְּ as *comitative,* "being together with or along with."[171] Longman reads it as *locative*, "standing behind a pained or troubled heart is a broken spirit."[172] Murphy understands בְּ *instrumentally*, "the movement ... remains internal, and it proceeds from heart to spirit."[173] Waltke appears to read a *beth essentia*, "the pained and troubled psyche that comes from living in folly ... is equated with a *broken (nᵉkēʾâ) spirit*."[174]

While the parallel between cola is not exact, it seems likely that the 'movement' in the a-colon should be implied in the b-colon. This supports the instrumental reading of בְּ over the equative construal. לֵב and רוּחַ are undoubtedly closely associated here. However, the b-colon distinguishes them by indicating the effect of the לֵב upon the רוּחַ. Just as the a-colon profiles a movement from internal → external, the b-colon profiles an internal → internal movement.[175] This may indicate a shift from lesser to the greater, with רוּחַ נְכֵאָה communicating "a stronger sense of pain and/or emotional brokenness than the phrase

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[170] See the accompanying participle חמשׁ "to bind up" (Isa 1:6; 30:26; Ezek 30:21) and the parallel FRAGMENTATION metaphor, שְׁבוּרֵי לֵב.

[171] K&D 6:323.

[172] Longman, *Proverbs*, 317; so Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 209.

[173] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 112.

[174] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 624.

[175] Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 371; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 112. "An internal influence upon the internal," Longman, *Proverbs*, 317.

בְּעַצְּבַת־לֵב."[176] Alternatively, it may invoke entailments of the FRAGMENTATION metaphor. The internal לֵב produces an external somatic effect when cheerful. When subject to distress, inner pain leads to inner 'brokenness,' an incapacity to continue living and acting as a whole functioning SELF.

There is at least some hint in this juxtaposition that רוּחַ is somehow 'deeper' within the SELF than לֵב, wherein internal pain causes further internal effects not only upon the emotions but vitality and capacity for action.[177]

2.2.8 Proverbs 17:22

2.2.8.1   Text

לֵב שָׂמֵחַ יֵיטִב גֵּהָה וְרוּחַ נְכֵאָה תְּיַבֶּשׁ־גָּרֶם׃

** A cheerful heart improves health, but a shattered *rûaḥ* dries up the bones.

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[176] Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 371. Heim fails to note how בְּ distinguishes רוּחַ and לֵב, insisting that their structural placement makes them "interchangeable and in a sense synonymous."

[177] *Pace* Janowski, "Das Herz," 33. Janowski characterises לֵב as "Sitz der Gefühle, des Verstandes und des Willens das Zentralorgan des Menschen ist," and רוּחַ as "die Quelle der von Gott gewirkten Erneuerung des Menschen," but derives this distinction only from Ezekiel 36:25–27.

The uniqueness of גֵּהָה and similarity to Proverbs 15:13 leads to various readings. Syr. and Tg. gloss גֵּהָה as "body" (ܓܘܫܡܐ, גוף), possibly reading גְּוִיָּה.[178] LXX εὐεκτέω "to be in good condition" is rare but evokes the [HEALTH] frame.[179] The root גהה "to heal" (Hos 5:13) supports reading גֵּהָה as *healing*.[180]

2.2.8.2   Context

As mentioned in the introduction, Proverbs 17:22 is similar to Proverbs 15:13, sharing לֵב שָׂמֵחַ, רוּחַ נְכֵאָה, and יטב. We will examine the two together to better compare their content, especially regarding רוּחַ נְכֵאָה. Both sayings are integrated into their immediate context, with Proverbs 17:22 closely linked to 17:20, 21 via טוֹב, לֵב, and שמח.[181]

2.2.8.3   Analysis

Proverbs 17:22 contrasts לֵב שָׂמֵחַ and רוּחַ נְכֵאָה as opposed states of human emotional experience and their effects upon a person. The a-colon profiles the "cheerful heart" as the grounds for יטב. While we argued in Proverbs 15:13 that יטב profiles the process of making

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[178] So Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 635. Heim suggests that, as "syntagmatic and paradigmatic corresponding elements in Prov 17:22b and Prov 15:13a are body parts, it does seem likely that גֵּהָה also denotes a body part that, in the present context, metonymically refers to the whole body, just as גֶּרֶם … in 17:22b does," Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 370.

[179] See Philo *Mut.* 215; *Prob.* 160; LSJ, s.v. "εὐεκτέω."

[180] See K&D 6:368, followed by Murphy, *Proverbs*, 127; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 61; Longman, *Proverbs*, 349; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 230.

[181] "Whereas verse 20 connected heart and tongue, this one connects heart and spirit," Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 61; see too Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 234–35.

glad, גֵּהֶה here points towards a different understanding. The verb is now profiled against the [HEALTH] frame instead of [BODY_PARTS], suggesting that the profiled action IMPROVEMENT is here of quality rather than aesthetics.[182] Here, an internal state is not exhibited externally, but the effect of the internal state upon a person's overall well-being is in view.

The b-colon follows the structure of the a-colon precisely. רוּחַ נְכֵאָה occupies the same position as לֵב שָׂמֵחַ, presumably to directly contrast them as opposed emotional states. JOY has overall positive results for the person and their body, whilst DISTRESS removes a vital element from the body. The verbal action contrasting יטב in the b-colon is יבש. It profiles the removal of moisture from an Entity, almost exclusively with a negative result.[183] The profiled Entity is here גֶּרֶם "bone." The more common term for *bone* (עֶצֶם) appears with יבש in Ezekiel 37:4, 11 where desiccated bones depict the national hopelessness of Israel.[184] This may suggest that 'dry bones' are an extreme stage of the DEATH cultural script (for the opposite extreme, see Job 21:24). If so, the internal DISTRESS of a 'shattered *rûaḥ*' has potentially life-ending consequences, bringing about the state normally occasioned only by exposure of a corpse. This would indicate that רוּחַ is here conceived of as interior to the

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[182] The TR is still depicted as increasing along an implied scale of 'goodness' (the LM), but the nature of the scale differs according to the base frame.

[183] The piel form is rare (Job 15:30; Nah 1:4) but may accent the result of the drying process, H. D. Preuss, "יָבֵשׁ," *TDOT* 5:374.

[184] In BH, גֶּרֶם appears only 5x to עֶצֶם's 123x. While both עֶצֶם and גֶּרֶם are associated with STRENGTH, the latter may be conceptualised as harder (Prov 25:15 לָשׁוֹן רַכָּה+ as that which is categorically 'soft').

person, and its state affecting that interior.[185] However, as collocated with a depiction of DEATH, רוּחַ is salient as the evidence or presence of LIFE within the body. As above, רוּחַ נְכֵאָה metaphorically entails the cessation of proper function, here the incapacity (real or perceived) to continue living. While a 'shattered *rûaḥ*' arose from the 'anguish of *leb*' in Proverbs 15:13, the specific effects of such a state is depicted here: the degradation of strength even to the terminal state of exposed bones.

2.2.9 Proverbs 16:2

2.2.9.1 Text

כָּל־דַּרְכֵי־אִישׁ זַךְ בְּעֵינָיו וְתֹכֵן רוּחוֹת יְהוָה׃

All one's ways may be pure in one's own eyes, but [Yahweh measures the *rûḥôt*]

The versions vary substantially in the b-colon. Syr. and Tg. repeat ܐܘܪ̈ܚܬܐ/ארחות "way, road" in the b-colon, possibly transposing the consonants of רוּחוֹת. Proverbs 16:2 LXX may be an entirely "variant proverb."[186]

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[185] BONE, like BREATH, is typically invisible to the outside world (Job 33:21).

[186] So Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 1011. Lagarde suspects Prov 16:1–5 was missing to the LXX translator, Paul de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1863), 52.

2.2.9.2 Context

Proverbs 16:1–9 collects a series of proverbs referencing יְהוָה (except 16:8), often contrasting as here divine and human agency (דַּרְכֵי־אִישׁ in 16:2, 7; לֵב +‎ אָדָם in 16:1, 9).[187]

2.2.9.3 Analysis

This proverb contrasts divine and human perspectives on human action. The a-colon focuses upon the human perspective and evokes several closely-packed metaphors. כָּל־דַּרְכֵי־אִישׁ evokes +HUMAN ACTION IS A PHYSICAL PATH+, a metaphor frequently used in the ethical teaching of Proverbs.[188] This metaphor most commonly features at least a direction and a destination—usually mapped to moral decisions and their consequences (Prov 14:12). Frequent entailments include inertia (a tendency to remain on the path once chosen), the presence of impediments along the path as dangers (Prov 11:6), risks involved in straying from the path (Prov 14:22), and spatial complexity in the path implying difficulty in life (Prov 3:6). In Proverbs, לֵב occasionally features as the source of the path (Prov 16:9; 23:19). כָּל־דַּרְכֵי־אִישׁ is maximally inclusive of all possible human actions.[189] As part of the PATH metaphor, דֶּרֶךְ may be characterised using moral adjectives such as יָשָׁר (Prov 14:12; 21:2;

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[187] Heim, *Like Grapes*, 207. On the 'Yahweh' proverbs, see Dell, *Proverbs*, 90–124; Keefer, *Proverbs 1–9*, 143–83.

[188] On Proverbs 1–9, Fox, *Proverbs 1–9*, 128–131; on Proverbs 10–22, Suzanna R. Millar, "The Path Metaphor and the Construction of a Schicksalwirkende Tatsphäre in Proverbs 10:1–22:16," *VT* 69 (2019): 95–108. On דֶּרֶךְ in this metaphor, see Eugene H. Merrill, "דֶּרֶךְ," *NIDOTTE* 1:968; Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique*, 128.

[189] Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 311.

29:27) or תֹם (Prov 10:9; 13:6; 28:6), often indicating the nature of the actions and their resulting condition.[190] Uniquely, here the adjective is זַךְ "pure," a term usually used in cultic texts of unadulterated material such as oil (Exod 27:20; Lev 24:2), but readily extended to ethical uprightness (Job 8:6; 33:9; Prov 20:11; 21:8)—likely instantiating +MORALITY IS PURITY+.[191] בְּעֵינָי is an idiom referring to a "personal and subjective opinion," probably reflecting a metaphor such as +JUDGING IS SEEING+.[192] These three metaphors combine to depict human self-evaluation as inherently tending towards a positive interpretation of one's actions.

The b-colon presents a divine contrast to human evaluation. תֹכֵן profiles the act of MEASURING, where a Measurer determines an Amount of an Entity. For תכן, God is usually the Measurer (1 Sam 2:3; Isa 40:12; Job 28:25), with an implied standard which is rarely directly instantiated (see תֹכֶן, Exod 5:18; Ezek 45:11), but may be inferred from context (as here with בְּעֵינָי).[193] Given בְּעֵינָי was negatively assessed in the a-colon, this suggests a

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[190] K. Koch, "דֶּרֶךְ," *TDOT* 3:287.

[191] *CDCH,* s.v. "זַךְ." See further Joseph Lam, *Patterns of Sin in the Hebrew Bible: Metaphor, Culture, and the Making of a Religious Concept* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 179–206.

[192] Avrahami, *The Senses of Scripture*, 262; Tilford, *Sensing*, 65–66.

[193] There seems no need to restrict the measuring process to WEIGHING per se, contra *CDCH*, s.v. "תכן;" P. Mommer, "תכן," *TDOT* 15:663. This may limit the admittedly suggestive parallels with Egyptian mythology where Thoth weighs a deceased heart against *ma'at*, see 'The Book of the Dead' ch. 125, *AEL* 2:124–131; also Janowski, "Das Herz," 18–19, 25–27. For various levels of integration of this trope, see Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, 106; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 120; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 10; Longman, *Proverbs*, 328. The Qumran usage (especially 1QS) tends towards the piel and a focus on the regulative nature of the action, see Menahem Zevi Kaddari, "Root *tkn* in the Qumran Texts," *RQum* 5 (1965): 221.

discrepancy between divine and human evaluations. The measured Entity is רוּחוֹת. The plural

form is relatively rare in BH (9/348x) and, excluding here, overwhelmingly evokes [WIND].[194]

This conventional usage alongside the profile of תכן would suggest God's creative acts are in

view: "but the measurer of the winds is Yahweh" (~Isa 40:12; Job 28:25). This construal

contrasts finite and subjective self-evaluation of the created human with the infinite and

objective evaluation of the creator of all.[195] Despite the strength of the conventional use of

רוּחוֹת, it remains contextually unlikely. The strikingly similar Proverbs 21:2 reads לִבּוֹת

"hearts," which suggests an anthropological use of רוּחַ is likely here.[196] The plural form may

thus align with the plural of דֶּרֶךְ in the a-colon, generating a conceptual link between the

two nominal phrases.[197] More speculatively, the plural form may function as a plural of

composition or extension, situating רוּחַ as part of the whole אִישׁ, or emphasising the

multiplicity of רוּחַ underlying the many possible 'ways' of a human.[198] As many actions as a

human sees as 'pure,' Yahweh can examine the complex internal reality underpinning the

external.

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[194] Ps 104:4; Jer 49:36; Ezek 37:9; 42:20; Zech 2:6; Dan 8:8; 11:4; 1 Chr 9:24. Ezek 37:9 and Ps 104:4 likely evoke [WIND], but have been re-construed by later Christian uses of the LXX (e.g. Heb 1:7). QH features the plural ~175/570x with more varied usage.

[195] See 4Q511 30 6, where the lack of אדם's involvement in creation is correlated with their inability to 'measure' (לתכן) the (likely divine) רוח; although this fragment may be an incomplete allusion to the difficult Isa 40:13.

[196] So Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 305.

[197] This is enhanced phonologically by the similarity of רכ (דֶּרֶךְ) to רח (רוּחַ), Clifford, *Proverbs*, 157.

[198] Joüon §136b, c. See Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 609 for the former, Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 11, the latter.

רוּחַ here reflects a use we could only previously infer in Proverbs 14:29. רוּחַ motivates the actions of the human SELF, what we will refer to in shorthand as its VOLITIONAL use. Closely related to aspects of לֵב (in the similar Prov 21:2), רוּחַ is conceived of as internal to the SELF and so may not be accessible "to the eyes."[199] Because it is internal, its character is determinative of the quality of the person's actions but is only available to Yahweh for divine examination.

2.2.10   Proverbs 16:18–19

2.2.10.1 Text

לִפְנֵי־שֶׁבֶר גָּאֹון וְלִפְנֵי כִשָּׁלֹון גֹּבַהּ רוּחַ:

טֹוב שְׁפַל־רוּחַ אֶת־עֲנִיִּים מֵחַלֵּק שָׁלָל אֶת־גֵּאִים:

** Before destruction, pride; before stumbling, haughtiness of *rûaḥ*.

It is better to be of a lowly *rûaḥ* among the poor, than to divide the spoil with the proud.

In Proverbs 16:19a, Ketiv עֲנִיִּים "poor, afflicted" may be supported by Syr. ܡܟܝܟ ܥܝܢܐ "humble of eyes" where metathesis inverts *nun* and *yod*.[200] Qere עֲנָוִים "humble" is reflected in LXX

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[199] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 609.
[200] So Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 1012.

τα πεινώσεως and Tg. ועָנוָותא; and supported by עֲנָוָה in the related Proverbs 18:12 (although

it is in contrast to גבה). Here, שָׁלָל "spoil" gives a slight preference to Ketiv as a contrasting

socioeconomic category.[201]

2.2.10.2 Context

Proverbs 16:18–19 form a pair linked by subject (pride/humility) and vocabulary (רוּחַ,

גאה/גבה).[202] There is a possible kinaesthetic motif connecting 16:17 and 18 via דֶּרֶךְ and

כִּשָּׁלוֹן.[203]

2.2.10.3 Analysis

These proverbs should be considered a related pair, and textually and conceptually

juxtaposing רוּחַ via VERTICAL metaphors. Each will be examined individually before exploring

their shared conceptualisation of רוּחַ.

Proverbs 16:18 exhibits a strong syntactical, phonological, and conceptual parallel structure.

Each cola begins with לִפְנֵי, profiling the temporal positioning of the TR (גבה/גָּאוֹן) relative to

the LM (כִּשָּׁלוֹן/שֶׁבֶר).[204] שֶׁבֶר profiles the result of [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION], extended to

depict the *destruction* of groups of people (Isa 1:28). Destruction is portrayed as sequential

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[201] For שָׁלָל as related to both WEALTH and POWER, see 2 Chr 28:8; Ezek 26:12 and Helmer Ringgren, "שלל; בזז," *TDOT* 2:66.

[202] The central placement of רוּחַ and outer placement of גאה/גבה may suggest "ein chiastisch gebautes Spruchpaar," Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 228.

[203] So Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 26; Lucas, *Proverbs*, 123.

[204] Note ג linking the TRs and שׁ linking LMs. On לִפְנֵי, see Wolde, *Reframing*, 142.

to גָּאוֹן, a term for *pride* or *eminence* depending on whether its subject is human or divine. גָּאוֹן derives from גאה "to be high," used both of physical increase in height (of water rising, Ezek 47:5; of plants growing, Job 8:11) as well as figuratively of exaltation (Exod 15:1). The mapping of physical height onto social status suggests a metaphor such as +STATUS IS VERTICALITY+, which may be instantiated relative to the perspective of the discourse as +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+.[205]

King demonstrates how these HEIGHT metaphors may be structured according to a higher-order -VERTICALITY- schema.[206] Embodied experience links the broader schema to a human postural scale. The lower end of this scale is frequently connected with DISTRESS: being bowed, prostrate, or "low." Correspondingly, return to an upright posture depicts relief.[207] The STATUS metaphor employs a similar scale but maps human relationships. HEIGHT has various possible motivations in physiology (1 Sam 17:4; Lev 26:13), geography (eNum 14:40), or cosmology (Ps 103:11; Isa 57:15).[208] When depicting emotions, the inner nature of the experience may preference proprioceptive motivations, given "a more intimate

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[205] For Sumerian parallels in which +LOSS OF POWER IS FALLING+, see Erika Marsal, "Concepts and Metaphors in Sumerian," *ANEToday* 7.8 (2019), http://www.asor.org/anetoday/2019/08/Concepts-and-Metaphors-in-Sumerian. More generally, "status is correlated with (social) power and (physical) power is up," Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 15–16. While the concrete use of verb גאה confirms the metaphor, the predominance of the figurative meaning in nominal uses suggests it is deeply embedded.

[206] King, *Surrounded*, 100–108.

[207] King, *Surrounded*, 126–32.

[208] *DBIm*, s.v. "High, Height, High Place."

connection between proprioception and the individual's sense of corporeal being than any other perceptual modality."[209] The perspective of the discourse is crucial to whether STATUS is a matter of self-perception or reality. If self-perception, this metaphor entails that +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+ or +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+, emphasising the location of the SELF in relation to others.[210] However, to be relatively higher does not necessitate superiority but *perceived* superiority, thus self-elevation or *arrogance*.

Proverbs 16:18b uses rarer vocabulary to communicate a similar meaning to the a-colon. כִּשָּׁלוֹן appears only here in BH (1QHᵃ 17:25; Sir^C 25:23?), but certainly derives from כשל "to stumble."[211] In parallel with the [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION]-evoking שֶׁבֶר, כִּשָּׁלוֹן likely plays to an entailment of the -VERTICALITY- schema in which a sudden movement from HIGH → LOW represents a severe change in circumstances.[212] Waltke suggests שֶׁבֶר and כִּשָּׁלוֹן together form a single depiction: "the ensuring 'shattering' of their body is explained as due to their 'stumbling.'"[213] We infer the ethical potency of this metaphor from a further entailment.

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[209] Tilford, *Sensing*, 151. *Proprioception* refers to the sense of one's own body and its position in space.

[210] Tilford, *Sensing*, 162–64. For example, "lifting" (נשא) the eyes (2 Kgs 19:22) or the head (Job 10:15) are negatively construed when performed by the person (as arrogant), but positively when performed by someone else (Gen 40:3; Ps 3:3).

[211] *CDCH,* s.v. "כִּשָּׁלוֹן." See Jastrow, s.v. "כִּשָּׁלוֹן."

[212] MetaNet notes that +STATUS IS VERTICALITY+ makes use of +CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION+, which also appears to be involved in the structure of the BH DISTRESS metaphors above.

[213] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 27. This FALLING script, however tersely communicated, motivates the unique vocabulary and ethical force of the proverb more persuasively than Heim's conflation of the English metaphor of 'crushing' as severe disappointment, Heim, *Poetic Imagination*, 392.

When the Agent causing movement upwards on the VERTICAL scale is the SELF (that is, when elevating oneself over others beyond what is appropriate), there is a force tendency towards downwards movement to the bottom of the scale. Arrogance leads to destruction as one reaches beyond their place and will tend to be returned to a lower position as a result.

The structural and semantic parallels between the cola exert significant contextual constraint upon גְּבַהּ רוּחַ. גָּבַהּ continues the HEIGHT metaphor. The nominal form profiles the possession of HEIGHT, as of Goliath (1 Sam 17:4) or a tree (Ezek 31:10 רָם לְבָבוֹ+), as well as the presence of PRIDE (Jer 48:29). When relating to an anthropological LM such as אַף (Ps 10:4) or לֵב (2 Chr 32:26), HEIGHT is not favourably portrayed.[214] Some of the uses can be accounted for by cultural models of STATUS. For example, the proud do not lower their eyes or faces in submission, especially to God. However, these do not easily extend to לֵב or רוּחַ. As TRs of the +ARROGANCE IS HEIGHT+ metaphor, they locate the improper self-estimation to within the SELF. The rarity with which רוּחַ instantiates this metaphor (Eccl 7:8) is provocative and frustrating, indicating communicative motivation for its use while limiting our ability to analyse it.[215] Similar instantiations featuring לֵב suggest the *internality* of this arrogance may

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[214] Similarly, the adjectival form גָּבֵהַּ frequently instantiates metaphors involving anthropological entities: עֵינַיִם (Ps 101:5), לֵב (Prov 16:5), and רוּחַ (Eccl 7:8). The alternative nominal form גַּבְהוּת (Isa 2:11, 17; CD 1:15) exclusively profiles PRIDE.

[215] The choice of a near-unique metaphor suggests it cannot be fully expressed using גבה or גבה לב, contra Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 162–63.

be primarily in view.[216] Further inferences from the wider conceptual content accessed by רוּחַ, such as VOLITION (Prov 16:2), may be salient but only suggested rather than substantiated.[217]

Proverbs 16:19 differs structurally from 16:18, employing a comparative 'better-than' construction (מִן ... טוֹב ...) to modify the preceding proverb (see 16:7–8).[218] The inversion of shared phonemes emphasises the contrast between elements: שׁפל and שׁלל, רוח and חלק. שְׁפַל־רוּחַ forms a kind of complement to the proximate גֹּבַהּ רוּחַ of 16:18b.[219] שׁפל profiles being LOW on a schematic vertical scale, as of a tree (Ezek 17:24) or depth (Lev 13:20). As with HEIGHT, this scale is mapped onto social STATUS.[220] When subjectively evaluated, it depicts +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+. When involving רוּחַ, the vertical/character contrast is always in view (Prov 29:23; Isa 57:15).

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[216] It is difficult to easily differentiate the nominal (Prov 16:18 +רוּחַ), verbal (Prov 18:12 +לֵב), and adjectival (Prov 16:5 +לֵב) profiles of גבה and their related anthropological TRs. We posited above that רוּחַ may sometimes be understood as 'deeper' within the SELF than לֵב (Prov 15:13; Isa 65:14).

[217] For example, "Cetter hauteur-de-*r.* n'est rien d'autre que prétention à la puissance personnelle dominatrice sur les autres, et plus simplement à l'autonomie," Lys, *Rûach*, 304.

[218] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 27; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 597. For this construction, see Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 597.

[219] Fox and Delitzsch read the pointing of שְׁפַל as an infinitive construct (see Eccl 12:4), Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 34 n. 82; K&D 6:346. Waltke reads a construct adjective (see Prov 29:23; Isa 57:15), Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 34 n. 82. אֵת and הַלֵּק support the infinitival reading which emphasises the shared state of HUMILITY with the afflicted. Syr., Tg., and similar evocations of the -VERTICALITY- schema in contrast to the proud human (Prov 29:23) or exalted Yahweh (Isa 57:15) supports the adjectival reading.

[220] Both figurative and concrete uses are found in Akk. *šapālu/šuppulu*, which even collocates with *libbu* to indicate DISTRESS, *CAD* 17.1, s.v. "šapālu" 1f.

גְּבַהּ רוּחַ depicts a person arrogantly elevating themselves, but שְׁפַל־רוּחַ represents one who estimates their social status at the opposite end of the scale, *humility.* An entailment of +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+ was the tendency to move towards the low end of the scale: the proud elevate themselves only to suffer a catastrophic 'fall' to low status and distress. A key entailment of +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+ is the Low Entity's need for an external Agent to 'raise them up.'[221] This explains the presence of the שְׁפַל־רוּחַ with the עֲנִיִּים, those subject to suffering at the hands of others.[222] Generally, עֲנִיִּים is not a desirable category to belong to. Still, a low-status or even distressed state is preferable to monetary gain if it associates one with the גֵּאִים and their assured destruction. חַלֵּק שָׁלָל is linked with military campaigns (1 Sam 30:22–24) or similar violence (Prov 1:13), "a warfare term for the victorious dividing the spoils amongst themselves."[223] The military link between VICTORY and STATUS may even explain the expectation of pride, where self-estimation increases with triumph.

These linked proverbs demonstrate a further metaphorical use of רוּחַ. The -LENGTH- and -FORCE- schemata above displayed the flexibility of רוּחַ to participate in metaphors of patience/impatience and distress. רוּחַ was productive as a source of potential embodied motivation for these metaphors such as profiling the breathing patterns reflected in emotional states. It also proved productive in recruiting other metonymic uses such as LIFE

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[221] This is implied in Proverbs (Prov 29:23), but explicitly the role of Yahweh in Isa 57:15.
[222] The repeated אֶת indicating "cohesiveness," Joüon §132g.
[223] Longman, *Proverbs*, 334.

and SELF that map from BREATH, as when the loss of capacity to live is depicted as the fragmentation of רוּחַ.

The -VERTICALITY- schema instantiated in Prov 16:18–19 displays a different conceptual structure that productively involves רוּחַ. This schema is more perspicacious, mainly consisting of a schematic HIGH-LOW scale that maps to social STATUS. When that STATUS is perspectivised it acquires moral significance. +SUPERIOR STATUS IS BEING HIGH+ becomes +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+, and +INFERIOR STATUS IS BEING LOW+ becomes +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+. The internality of רוּחַ, and its reference to a meronym of the SELF makes it salient in this shift to self-evaluation.

Any further nuance to the use of רוּחַ here is difficult to discern. One plausible metaphorical entailment was the need for an external Agent to elevate one's state/status as part of +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+. Given that Yahweh is the most frequent Agent of such a change, this may indicate a particular association between God and the human רוּחַ.

2.2.11   Proverbs 16:32

2.2.11.1 Text

טֹוב אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם מִגִּבֹּור וּמֹשֵׁל בְּרוּחֹו מִלֹּכֵד עִיר׃

** Better 'long of nostril' than a mighty warrior; and one who rules his *rûaḥ* than one who takes a city.

2.2.11.2 Context

This proverb exhibits indirect conceptual links with the rest of Proverbs 16. For example, the use of משל in a chapter with many sayings referring to "Yahweh" and "the king." However, these do not exert any substantive influence upon the meaning here.

2.2.11.3 Analysis

Proverbs 16:32 uses a 'better-than' construction to contrast self-mastery with 'mastery' of others.[224] אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם profiles PATIENCE as in Proverbs 14:23. PATIENCE is preferable to being גִּבּוֹר "mighty." גִּבּוֹר may profile any entity "renowned for his characteristics, such as physical strength, power, bravery, skill, wealth, good character, or a combination thereof," but is commonly evocative of the *WARFARE* domain.[225]

The b-colon relates two participial phrases to the two adjectival phrases of the a-colon. משל profiles an Agent's AUTHORITY over another Entity, marked here with בְּ: "A *māšal* is one who governs the conduct of a subordinate" (Prov 17:2; 22:7).[226] The Agent is profiled only via the pronominal suffix on רוּחַ, which is marked with בְּ as the ruled Entity. To exert control over one's רוּחַ is preferable to being one who 'takes cities.' לכד profiles forceful physical capture and, when evoked against the *WARFARE* domain, refers to capturing territory from an enemy

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[224] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 598.

[225] *SDBH*, s.v. "גִּבּוֹר;" H. Kosmala, "גָּבַר," *TDOT* 2:374.

[226] Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 540.

(Num 21:32; Deut 2:34). לֹכֵד עִיר likely evokes a part of a <u>CONQUEST</u> scenario within the wider

domain (Jer 51:31; Dan 11:15; Neh 9:25), and may potentially be intended as more specific

and of greater intensity than גִּבּוֹר.[227]

רוּחַ rarely appears in contexts of warfare, even figuratively. To understand its use, we will

first examine the 'better-than' structure of this proverb before evaluating several

contemporary construals of רוּחַ.

Fox argues that proverbs using the 'better-than' structure are often motivated by concealed

scenarios that allow the juxtaposition of otherwise 'incomparable' ideas, such as this

proverb's "internal disposition with an unrelated practical and physical power."[228] The false

dichotomy this generates implies a functionally different comparison:

> Better (A) a weak man who is (B) patient than (A') a mighty man who is (B')
>
> impatient.[229]

The superiority of B over B' motivates the relative superiority of A over A'. While perceptive,

once again the semantic contribution of רוּחַ is glossed over, despite its uniqueness in BH.

Fox renders רוּחַ as "temper," although his comments specifically refer to the control of

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[227] עִיר refers to many kinds of settlements, but frequently those with fortification, emphasising their difficulty to capture, A. R. Hulst, "עיר," *TLOT* 2:881.

[228] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 597–98; developing T. A. Perry, *Wisdom Literature and the Structure of Proverbs* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 40–44.

[229] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 598.

"anger."[230] Kruger similarly construes רוּחַ as profiling ANGER, but metaphorically in which +ANGER IS AN OPPONENT (IN A STRUGGLE)+ (deriving from +EMOTION IS A FORCE+).[231] Kotzé argues that רוּחַ ultimately depicts ANGER via a metonym in which +ANGER IS HEAVY BREATHING+ (via +THE PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO AN EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION+).[232] In support of Fox and Kruger's construal is the common understanding of אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם as "slow to anger," LXX's ὀργή, and the multiple lexemes evocative of the *MILITARY* domain which would resonate with רוּחַ as an opponent. However, as argued under Proverbs 14:29, אַפַּיִם likely profiles BREATH rather than ANGER when depicting PATIENCE. This supports construing רוּחַ with Kotzé as similarly evocative of respiration. To master one's רוּחַ is to exert control over one's breathing and the anger it reflects. Proverbs 14:29 provides further guidance by similarly juxtaposing אַפַּיִם and רוּחַ as reflective of emotional states. To be 'short of *rûaḥ*' was to lack the capacity to control one's actions. To be 'long of *ʾappîm*' demonstrates one's ability to govern oneself. In Proverbs 16:32, the semantic compatibility of רוּחַ and אַפַּיִם caused by their possible mutual reference to respiration is salient, as is the close conceptual links between PATIENCE and ANGER that make both readings plausible. The profiling of משל against the *WARFARE* domain suggests that long-term mastery rather than temporary defeat

[230] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 623.
[231] Kruger, "Anger," 190.
[232] Kotzé, "Conceptualisation of Anger," 85.

is in view.[233] This indicates that, as in Proverbs 14:29, the respiratory referent of רוּחַ does

not depict ANGER as the opponent requiring defeat and subjugation, but the SELF: "Conquest

of self is better than conquest of others."[234] We also note that both the Targums and Peshitta

construe the b-colon as referring to the SELF, combining כבש "to press down, subjugate"

with reflexive נפש.[235] If רוּחַ does profile the volitional SELF, this instantiation attributes to it

the need for control at great effort, as comparable to mighty acts of military conquest, which

may suggest an inherent 'unruliness' to the רוּחַ.

2.2.12 Proverbs 17:27

2.2.12.1 Text

חוֹשֵׂךְ אֲמָרָיו יוֹדֵעַ דָּעַת וְקַר־רֹוּחַ אִישׁ תְּבוּנָה:

One who spares words is knowledgeable; one who is cool in *rûaḥ* has understanding.

Qere reads יְקַר "precious" for Ketiv קַר "cold." LXX μακρόθυμος and Syr. ܢܓܝܪܐ support

interpretations of Ketiv, while Vulg. *pretiosi*, supports Qere. Tg. מכיכא "lowly, meek" is

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[233] Even Lys, who frequently equates רוּחַ with *colère*, notes, "on peut d'ailleurs penser que cetter maîtrise de *r.* est plus que limitation de colère," Lys, *Rûach*, 304. Lys also perceptively notes the irony that the "dominateur" is indirectly portrayed as least in control, 304.

[234] Clifford, *Proverbs*, 162.

[235] *CSD*, s.v. "ܟܒܫ;" *CAL*, s.v. "kbš."

uncertain. Both combinations with רוּחַ are unique, but conceptual parallels with Proverbs

14:29 and possible resonances with Egyptian sources support the Ketiv.[236]

2.2.12.2 Context

Proverbs 17 contains few clear subunits. There is a broad theme throughout 17:7–28 around

the figure of the *fool* (נָבָל, אֱלִיל, כְּסִיל), contrasted with the WISDOM and SPEECH vocabulary

of 17:27–28.[237]

2.2.12.3 Analysis

Proverbs 17:27 presents the desirability of restraint in speech and continues the juxtaposition

of SPEECH with רוּחַ. The structure aligns the two lexical pairs across cola (table 2.2):

Table 2.2. Structural alignment in Proverbs 17:27

a-colon		b-colon
חוֹשֵׂךְ אֲמָרָיו	//	וְקַר־רוּחַ
יוֹדֵעַ דָּעַת	//	אִישׁ תְּבוּנָה

חשׂך often profiles a human Agent keeping a Body Part to themselves, and so denying a

Patient an Object or Event.[238] The evaluation of this action is affected by the divine or human

nature of the Agent (compare Gen 20:6; Ps 78:50 and Prov 10:19; 11:24), and the discourse

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[236] So K&D 6:371–372; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 127; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 46; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 637; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 231.

[237] Toy, *Proverbs*, 352–53; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 64; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 637.

[238] *SDBH,* s.v. "חשׂך," 1b.

evaluation of the Object or Event (Gen 22:12; Isa 14:6). Here the profiled Entities are אֲמָרָיו "words," likely construed as potentially harmful and thus the act of withholding them ethically positive.[239] Those exercising such restraint are יוֹדֵעַ דָּעַת "knowers of knowledge." The repetition of this root is rare (Num 24:16; Dan 1:4) but seems at the least a superlative description of their sapiential status.[240]

Given the structural parallel, an association is made between the restrained in speech and the קַר־רוּחַ. The adjective קַר is elsewhere plural and associated mainly with refreshing water sources (Jer 18:14; Prov 25:25).[241] The person characterised as such is an אִישׁ תְּבוּנָה (Prov 10:23; 11:12; 15:21; 20:5), a description always appearing in the b-colon of a parallel couplet, and 4/5x in contrast to foolish behaviour.[242] Waltke notes the collocation of קְצַר־רוּחַ with תְּבִינָה in Proverbs 14:29, suggesting the common sapiential reference point and use of רוּחַ indicates קַר־רוּחַ is "to be equated with the 'patient person.'"[243] The lexical overlap suggests similar meanings, although we must appreciate the shift in metaphorical source frame from [LENGTH] to [TEMPERATURE].

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[239] LXX makes this explicit by modifying ῥῆμα with σκληρόν "harsh."

[240] The context of divine revelation in Num 24:16 and pedagogy in Dan 1:4 makes Clifford's suggestion that this phrase refers to "the contents of the mind of the knower" unlikely, Clifford, *Proverbs*, 168.

[241] The verb קרר "to keep cool, fresh" appears only in Jer 6:7, with various by-forms. The profiling of WATER SOURCES may be reflected in Ugar. *qr*, "source, spring," *DULAT*, s.v. "*qr*." The COLD value for temperature may be seen in QH קֶרַח (4QJubᵃ 5:7; 4Q385 6 14).

[242] So Waltke, *Proverbs 1–15*, 96.

[243] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 64. Syr. and LXX gloss the metaphor with LENGTH metaphors for PATIENCE.

The use of קַר (and byforms) in metaphors is rare in BH, appearing only in Proverbs 25:25

as "cold water" (מַיִם קָרִים) to depict spiritual remedy for the anxious, and in Jeremiah 18:14

for the capacity for Jerusalem to "keep evil fresh."[244] Given the rarity of COLD TEMPERATURE

metaphors in BH, many scholars appeal to the influence of an Egyptian sapiential trope: the

contrast of the 'hot/heated man' (/'hot-mouthed man,' *šmm/ḥmm/t₃*) and the 'silent man'

(/'truly silent,' *grw/grw m₃*).[245]

The 'hot man' appears in, for example, "Instruction of Amenemope" 5.10–6.9; 15.13–14; and

"Instruction of Ptahhotep" 375–378.[246] Their 'heat' is often collocated with parts of the body

such as the mouth (*t₃ r₃*, Amenemope 5.10; 12.16), the belly (*t₃ ḫt*, Ptahhotep 352), and the

heart (*t₃ ib,* Ptahhotep 378).[247] These are associated with lack of self-control, unrestrained

and damaging speech, and heresy.[248]

The 'silent man' appears in, for example, Ptahhotep 68–73; 362–369; and Amenemope 6.7;

7.7–10. While not contained in the New Kingdom and Late Period texts such as Amenemope

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[244] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 334.

[245] So Scott, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, 111; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 132; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 637; and Nili Shupak, "Positive and Negative Human Types in the Egyptian Wisdom Literature," in *Homeland & Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of B. Oded*, ed. G. Galil (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 245–60. On the Egyptian vocabulary, see Nili Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?: The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature*, OBO 130 (Fribourg: University Press, 1993), 117–22; 150–55 regarding the "hot man" and the "silent man" respectively.

[246] See "Instruction of Amenemope," trans. Miriam Lichtheim (*COS* 1.47:115–122); "The Instruction of Ptahhotep," trans. Miriam Lictheim (*AEL* 1:61–80).

[247] Shupak, "Human Types," 251.

[248] Shupak, "Human Types," 251–53.

and Ptahhotep, the 'silent man' is often described in terms of the figurative temperature value

COLD, for example, as "cool-tempered" (*ḳb mꜣꜥ*), "cold-bellied" (*ḳb ẖt*), and as the

"extinguisher of heat" (*ḳbb srf*).[249] These are associated with calm, restraint in speech, and

trust in the gods.[250]

The lack of control in speech and destructive potential of the 'hot man' forms a potent

conceptual *opposite* to the person depicted in Proverbs 17:27. In contrast, the 'silent man'

and his COLD attributes resonate with the idealised person here. There is some evidence of

"Instruction of Amenemope" having been used as a resource for the construction of Proverbs

22:17–23:11, and may influence the HEAT metaphors for negative character types in, for

example, Proverbs 15:18 and 22:24.[251] However, while earlier Egyptian texts characterise the

'silent man' using COLD lexemes, Amenemope and Ptahhotep do not. Either קַר־רוּחַ is an

adaptation of the 'silent/cool man' from a different Egyptian source, arises from a generic

awareness of the metaphor, or is a creative inversion of the 'hot man' trope of Proverbs 15:18

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[249] Shupak, "Human Types," 247; Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, 153–54, 163–64. The Middle Kingdom "Stela of Intef Son of Sent" 8.1–4 contrasts them in terms of TEMPERATURE: "I am silent with the angry [hot] / Patient with the ignorant, / So as to quell strife. / I am cool, free of haste," *AEL* 1:120–123.

[250] Shupak, "Human Types," 247–50; cf. "personal piety" and "humility," Miriam Lichtheim, "Didactic Literature," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno, PDÄ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 259.

[251] See Michael V. Fox, "From Amenemope to Proverbs: Editorial Art in Proverbs 22,17–23,11," *ZAW* 126 (2014): 76–91. While +ANGER IS HEAT+ is a common metaphor in the Bible and wider ANE, the various depictions of a 'hot man' are only in Proverbs, and the 'silent man' is absent, cf. Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, 170-172). The relationship with מַר בַּחֲמַת רוּחַ (Ezek 3:14) is difficult given the ambiguity of Ezekiel's state, although it is frequently understood as ANGER.

and 22:24 that instantiates a common conceptual metaphor similarly without literary dependence.[252]

While the precise mechanism by which it arose may elude us, the קַר־רוּחַ is characteristically unlikely to act or speak in socially-destructive ways. If +ANGER IS HEAT+, with a meaning focus on the destructive nature of the emotion, we might suggest +RESTRAINT IS COLD+.[253] If the COLD metaphor is a creative engagement with the HEAT metaphor, it may not have a precise emotion in view, but rather all that is *not* socially destructive. That said, the use of רוּחַ is more specific than the generic אִישׁ (Prov 15:18) and is likely motivated in some way. It may be analogous to the Egyptian 'hot/cold belly' (*ḫt*), where the body's centre is the location of emotions.[254] However, רוּחַ is more commonly a vehicle figuratively *for* emotions rather than their location. If רוּחַ were ANGER, it might form a terse description akin to the "extinguisher of heat" (*ḳbb srf*), although we have already expressed hesitation with equating רוּחַ with ANGER directly.[255]

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[252] That is, a more abstract conceptual metaphor such as +TEMPERATURE IS CHARACTER+ reflected in a HOT instantiation would structurally allow for generalisation to a COLD instantiation. There is evidence for this across several languages, see Ana M. Piquer-Piriz, "Can People Be *Cold* and *Warm*?," in *Researching and Applying Metaphor in the Real World*, ed. Graham Low, HCP (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), 21–33.

[253] On meaning foci for BH HEAT metaphors, see Zacharias Kotzé, "A Cognitive Linguistic Methodology for the Study of Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible," *JNSL* 31 (2005): 107–17.

[254] Shupak, "Human Types," 251.

[255] *Pace* Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, 171–72.

We suggest instead that the use of רוּחַ is best understood to be motivated by the contextual concern with SPEECH. The Egyptian temperature metaphors frequently refer to the use of the tongue, and the parallel agentive participle phrase חוֹשֵׂךְ אֲמָרָיו suggests that רוּחַ here profiles the SELF as involved in both VOLITION and SPEECH. Both associations have appeared previously in Proverbs. The precise conceptualisation is difficult to ascertain, although it seems to reflect the metonym suggested above +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+. The character of this inner רוּחַ shapes external actions.[256] Given the related metonym similarly instantiated by רוּחַ +BREATH FOR SPEECH+, there may be a creative poetic blend in which the רוּחַ is that part of the SELF from which speech issues, and thus requiring volitional restraint. This is supported by the *uncontrolled* and *destructive* aspects of the HOT metaphor in both Egyptian and BH sources, which may entail that the COLD metaphor implies a *controlled* רוּחַ and *soothing* speech produced by it (see, for example, Prov 15:4). The conceptual relationship between control and PATIENCE is sufficiently clear to make this metaphor's comparison with קְצַר־רוּחַ plausible. However, the distinct source frames activate related but distinct elements of רוּחַ's semantic structure. Both concern the VOLITIONAL role of רוּחַ, but here particularly as regards to SPEECH and as a contrast to the culturally salient HOT metaphor for an uncontrolled and destructive person.

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[256] Waltke perceptively notes that restraint in words and a "cool spirit" may refer to *effect* and *cause* respectively, Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 64.

Any unique literary metaphor is difficult to analyse with certainty, although the existence of

TEMPERATURE metaphors for human characterisation in BH increases our confidence in this

case. Under apparent influence from Egyptian literary metaphors, the more common BH

depiction of a lack of self-control (especially in speech) as HEAT is here inverted to depict a

controlled SELF as COLD. The use of רוּחַ appears primarily to profile the רוּחַ as the VOLITIONAL

SELF, with a possible entailment that the רוּחַ is the source of speech within the SELF, and thus

the character of the רוּחַ will be reflected in the character of the person's SPEECH-behaviour.

2.2.13   Proverbs 18:14

2.2.13.1 Text

רוּחַ־אִישׁ יְכַלְכֵּל מַחֲלֵהוּ וְרוּחַ נְכֵאָה מִי יִשָּׂאֶנָּה׃

The human *rûaḥ* will endure sickness; but a broken *rûaḥ*—who can bear?

2.2.13.2 Context

Proverbs 18:2–23 shares a loose theme of *speaking* and *listening* (18:2, 4, 6–8, 13, 15, 20–21,

23).[257] Waltke notes the alternating pattern of anthropological implications of listening/non-

listening in 18:12–15:

A	Destruction (שבר), pride, and the "human heart" (לֵב־אִישׁ)	12

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[257] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 134; Whybray, *Composition of Proverbs*, 112.

B	Non-listening (בְּטֶרֶם יִשְׁמָע) is folly (אִוֶּלֶת)		13
A'	Sickness, "brokenness" (נכא), and the "human *rûaḥ*" (רוּחַ־אִישׁ)		14
B'	Listening (אֹזֶן חֲכָמִים) is "wise of heart" (לֵב נָבוֹן)		15[258]

2.2.13.3 Analysis

Proverbs 18:14 contains a rare, sustained focus on רוּחַ, and a rare explicit attribution of רוּחַ

to a human. In addition, רוּחַ occurs in the initial position in each colon.[259] This focus

continues in the anaphoric reference to רוּחַ in the pronominal suffixes at the end of each

line.[260]

The a-colon presents the רוּחַ־אִישׁ as the TR of the action יְכַלְכֵּל. In the pilpel, יְכַלְכֵּל concretely

profiles spatial [CONTAINMENT] (Isa 40:12; 1 Kgs 7:26; Ezek 23:32). This frequently extends

to evoke [PROVIDE_SUSTENANCE] (Gen 45:11; 47:12; 2 Sam 19:32–33; 1 Kgs 4:7), possibly

reflecting the iterative nature of the pilpel.[261] While typically such sustenance comes from

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[258] Adapted from Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 79.

[259] See the double initial לִפְנֵי (Prov 18:12) and double final דָּעַת (Prov 18:15) in this saying cluster, Arndt Meinhold, *Die Sprüche: Kapitel 16–31*, ZBAT 16.2 (Zurich: TVZ, 1991), 302.

[260] The 3ms suffix on מַחֲלֵהוּ may be relationally grounded by רוּחַ given its gender flexibility, especially with אִישׁ as the LM of the compound phrase. Stein suggests the relational noun אִישׁ cognitively activates "the referent's situated relationships," e.g. as member of a specific group or as representative exemplar of a group, David E. S. Stein, "Relational Meanings of the Noun אִישׁ *(ʾîš)* in Biblical Hebrew" (PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2020), 215–16. That is, אִישׁ presents the human רוּחַ as characteristic of all humanity.

[261] "The emphasis is on regular preparation of a specific quantity of provisions," Arnulf Baumann, "כול," *TDOT* 7:87.

without, here the רוּחַ is that which sustains from *within* the human person, despite externally caused weakness. מַחֲלֶה is a generic term for *sickness* (probably from חלה "to be weak"), often appearing in the context of the removal of suffering by God (Exod 15:26; 1 Kgs 8:37).

A similar construction to רוּחַ־אִישׁ appears nearby in Proverbs 18:12: לֵב־אִישׁ.[262] לֵב appears to refer to something internal to the human SELF (see Ezek 28:2 and our discussion of the +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+ metaphor).[263] This provides some contextual constraint to read רוּחַ as similarly referring to something internal to the human SELF. However, there is little else in the a-colon itself to elucidate רוּחַ further. Fox thus offers a maximal reading of רוּחַ in implicit contrast to the human body, where רוּחַ is "the totality of a person's psychology and emotions."[264] Clifford pursues a rigorously embodied reading, where רוּחַ profiles BREATH, "a stream of air—invisible and slight—is nonetheless strong enough to defend against life-threatening illness."[265] Clifford's suggestion may be salient given the use of כול elsewhere for CONTAINMENT, with BREATH as the contained Entity. As long as breath remains in a person, they will endure sickness. While plausible, this seems a rather facile point to make with such a unique and emphatic colon. Several scholars suggest that רוּחַ profiles *courage*.[266] While

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[262] This compound is more common than רוּחַ־אִישׁ (2 Sam 15:6, 13; 2 Kgs 12:5; Prov 12:25; 19:21; 20:5).

[263] Wilson, *Proverbs*, 213.

[264] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 642.

[265] Clifford, *Proverbs*, 172.

[266] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 136; "Der Mut," Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 240. Delitzsch opts for a complex reading associating *courage* with VOLITION, "courageous spirit of man ... sustains or endures ... with self-control," K&D 7:10.

this would be an apt construal for the context, corpus evidence for this use of רוּחַ is limited.[267]

Tengström does not cite this verse but appeals to Numbers 27:18; Joshua 2:11; 5:1; Isaiah 19:3 in support of this usage.[268]

Numbers 27:18

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהוָ֣ה אֶל־מֹשֶׁ֗ה קַח־לְךָ֙ אֶת־יְהוֹשֻׁ֣עַ בִּן־נ֔וּן אִ֖ישׁ אֲשֶׁר־ר֣וּחַ בּ֑וֹ וְסָמַכְתָּ֥ אֶת־יָדְךָ֖ עָלָֽיו׃

So the LORD said to Moses, "Take Joshua son of Nun, a man in whom is *rûaḥ*, and lay your hand upon him...

Joshua 2:11

וַנִּשְׁמַע֙ וַיִּמַּ֣ס לְבָבֵ֔נוּ וְלֹא־קָ֨מָה ע֥וֹד ר֛וּחַ בְּאִ֖ישׁ מִפְּנֵיכֶ֑ם כִּ֚י יְהוָ֣ה אֱלֹֽהֵיכֶ֔ם ה֣וּא אֱלֹהִ֔ים בַּשָּׁמַ֣יִם מִמַּ֔עַל וְעַל־הָאָ֖רֶץ מִתָּֽחַת׃

As soon as we heard it, our hearts melted, and there was no *rûaḥ* left in any of us because of you. The LORD your God is indeed God in heaven above and on earth below.

Isaiah 19:3a

וְנָבְקָ֤ה רֽוּחַ־מִצְרַ֨יִם֙ בְּקִרְבּ֔וֹ וַעֲצָת֖וֹ אֲבַלֵּ֑עַ ...

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[267] Although positing this reading, Toy recognises its extreme rarity, Toy, *Proverbs*, 362.

[268] Fabry and Tengström, "רוּחַ," *TDOT* 13:389. Tengström links COURAGE with ANGER as "phenomena associated with aggressiveness, whether anger or courage as the virtue of one's own spiritual strength: these simply called *rûaḥ* without further qualification." Schoemaker earlier linked STRENGTH and COURAGE as "an outgrowth from the concept of the spirit of God," Schoemaker, "The Use of רוּחַ," 18–19.

** Egypt's *rûaḥ* will be devastated, and I will confound their counsel…

In Numbers 27:18, we must note the prior characterisation of Yahweh as אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחֹת לְכָל־בָּשָׂר (Num 27:16) and the parallel description of Joshua as מָלֵא רוּחַ חָכְמָה (Deut 34:9). This suggests what is in view is not Joshua's *courage* but rather his "divine empowerment for leadership."[269] The other passages infer *courage* from the absence of רוּחַ.[270] *Courage* is plausible in Joshua 2:11 (//5:1) and Isaiah 19:3, although we suggest that there are alternate construals of רוּחַ that are at least equally plausible if not superior. For example, the Joshua texts may profile FEAR via its physiological effects.[271] In Isaiah 19:3, the language of PLANNING favours construing Egypt's רוּחַ as their collective will to act against Israel (their VOLITIONAL SELF, as it were), which is to be destroyed.[272] While *courage* seems an inappropriate gloss of רוּחַ throughout, the conceptual overlap with VOLITION in Isa 19:3 may be relevant here. If one still possesses an internal source of action—a 'will to live'—one may endure adverse external circumstances.

The volitional construal is supported by the metaphor in the b-colon. The colon is a relatively rare construction of a dislocated element followed by a rhetorical question of identity (Jer

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[269] Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 551–52; Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 68–69.

[270] Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 153–54.

[271] Josh 5:1 NET, the kings "could not even breathe for fear of the Israelites."

[272] So Lys, *Rûach*, 226. Contra most English translations, בקק profiles a destructive FORCE interaction in BH, A. H. Konkel, "בָּקַק," *NIDOTTE* 1:693.

2:24; 17:9; Ps 76:8; Job 17:15; Prov 27:4). Such questions often anticipate a negative answer: "no-one."[273] The action in question is נשא, which usually refers to the exertion of force by an Agent to raise an Entity vertically, although it is metaphorically highly productive. It evokes ENDURANCE when depicting the sustaining of a heavy burden (Gen 4:13; 13:6; Prov 9:12; 19:19; 30:21). This forms a conceptual parallel with כול, yet allows for alternative construals in the b-colon. With רוּחַ, נשא often profiles *wind* as the Agent of the [CAUSED_MOTION] (Exod 10:19; Isa 41:16; 57:13) or the *spirit of Yahweh* translocating a prophet (1 Kgs 18:13; 2 Kgs 2:16; Ezek 3:12, 14; 11:1; 43:5).[274] While רוּחַ is the lifted Entity rather than the Agent, the conventional translocative usage may suggest an alternate reading here, "to take away." That is, while a functioning רוּחַ sustains one in external suffering, what can remove the problem when it lies instead in the רוּחַ? This shift to an internal experience of DISTRESS is portrayed by modifying רוּחַ with נְכֵאָה to evoke the FRAGMENTATION metaphor for DISTRESS. In the extended discussion above, we noted an implicit comparison with an integrous רוּחַ produced by the |ATTRIBUTIVE ADJECTIVE| construction, confirmed here by the parallel opposition of a functioning (thus, sustaining) רוּחַ and its 'shattered' counterpart. A key metaphorical entailment of [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION] was that the fragmented Entity no longer continues to function properly. Within this proverb, such damage may be limited to

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[273] Adina Moshavi, "What Can I Say? Implications and Communicative Functions of Rhetorical 'WH' Questions in Classical Hebrew Prose," *VT* 64 (2014): 95; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 80.

[274] נשא appears with anthropological terms such as פָּנִים "to show favour" (Prov 18:5) or נֶפֶשׁ "to long for" (Prov 19:18, see Akk. *naśû libbu* "to desire"), but only here with an anthropological use of רוּחַ.

an inversion of the sustaining function of the a-colon רוּחַ. If רוח profiles LIFE, its 'shattered' state indicates the imminent threat of death (Prov 17:22). Or, as we suggested, if רוּחַ profiles the internal source of action within the SELF, the inability to continue acting. The human רוּחַ sustains a person despite external affliction. Yet, if distress is experienced internally to the point of 'breaking' the רוּחַ, it not only fails to provide support but itself becomes an insupportable burden.

While the overall function of רוּחַ in this proverb is relatively straightforward, the precise conceptualisation is difficult to specify. This may indicate deliberate ambiguity to prompt multiple levels of construal within the metaphorical depictions within the aphorism.

2.2.14 Proverbs 25:28

2.2.14.1 Text

עִיר פְּרוּצָה אֵין חוֹמָה אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אֵין מַעְצָר לְרוּחוֹ׃

Like a city breached, without walls; [is a man without restraint of his *rûaḥ*]

2.2.14.2 Context

Proverbs 25–29 forms the second Solomonic collection. Proverbs 25:28–26:28 characterises at least seven "morally inferior types of people," beginning and ending with the metaphor of a failed wall (25:28; 26:28, מִדְחֶה). Thus,

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the section is framed by an inclusio that pictures the ruin of the inferior types of people to a breached wall, escalated from a loss of defense (see 25:28) to utter ruin (26:28).[275]

2.2.14.3 Analysis

Similar to the previous proverbs in Proverbs 25:23–27, this proverb presents an image in the a-colon and its topic in the b-colon, effectively a terse but explicit linguistic metaphor.[276] The cola are related by the repetition of אֵין and the phonological-correlation of אִישׁ/עִיר. This ensures the source-target frame association for the comparison. In both cases, אֵין acts "to negate the presence of something ... in a given place."[277]

The a-colon image is of a "city breached." As noted in Proverbs 16:32, עִיר typically refers to a fortified settlement, confirmed here by the implied prior presence of חוֹמָה "walls."[278] פרץ "to breach" appears only once in this form elsewhere to depict a similar situation, כָּל־הַחוֹמָה

[275] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 343–44.

[276] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 344; Clifford, *Proverbs*, 227.

[277] Joüon §160g. As the respective source and target of the metaphor, the phrases immediately prior to אֵין are dislocated for emphasis, Takamitsu Muraoka, *Emphatic Words and Structure in Biblical Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985), 102–4.

[278] A. R. Hulst, "עִיר," *TLOT* 2:881. The near-universal presence of enceintes in the ANE extends at least to the Early Bronze Age, Sébastien Rey, "Mesopotamian Poliorcetics Before Assyria: Genesis of the Art of Fortification and Siege Warfare," in *Focus on Fortifications: New Research on Fortifications in the Ancient Mediterranean and the Near East*, ed. Rune Frederiksen et al., FFS 2 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 36.

הַפְּרוּצָה (2 Chr 32:5).[279] This is the final state of a ꜱɪᴇɢᴇ cultural script (a script 'run' in 2 Kgs 14:13)—the proverbial city has been attacked and fallen, and their defences not only breached but now absent and unable to prevent further intrusions. In these co-texts, פרץ appears with תפש "to seize, conquer" (2 Kgs 14:13) and its reversal as חוק "to make strong, fortify" (2 Chr 32:5), suggesting that the ꜱɪᴇɢᴇ cultural script refers not only to ᴅᴇꜱᴛʀᴜᴄᴛɪᴏɴ but also ꜱᴜʙᴊᴜɢᴀᴛɪᴏɴ.

The b-colon presents the topic (or metaphorical target) of the ᴜɴᴅᴇꜰᴇɴᴅᴇᴅ/ᴄᴀᴘᴛᴜʀᴇᴅ ᴄɪᴛʏ image: an individual whose מַעְצָר לְרוּחוֹ is absent. As in Proverbs 18:14, אִישׁ without an explicit ʟᴍ often acts as representative of humanity, generalising the target. מַעְצָר is a *hapax legomenon*, but semantically transparent. The abstracting prefix מ- combines with עצר "to restrain," to express *restraint*.[280] עצר often depicts resisting motion or enclosing an Agonist such that they are unable to move or act at will (2 Kgs 17:4; 1 Chr 12:1; Neh 6:10; Jer 33:1). If present here, this forms a provocative parallel with the concrete enclosure of חוֹמָה: "a city wall is meant to keep things out, whereas a "restraint" is meant to hold things in."[281] Supposing the proverbial human cannot 'restrain' the רוּחַ within, it is tantamount to the

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[279] "A good case can be made for understanding the basic meaning to be 'break through (a wall),'" Cornelis Van Dam, "פָּרַץ," *NIDOTTE* 3:688. This extends figuratively to good (Gen 30:30) or ill (Ps 106:29) 'breaking out' upon people, perhaps implying they are typically restrained.

[280] *CDCH*, s.v. "מַעְצָר." Either this uniqueness or a misreading (מעצה) leads to LXX οὐ μετὰ βουλῆς, so BHQ textual apparatus commentary; Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*, HCBE (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 340.

[281] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 791.

vulnerability to enemies from without—a playful and poignant depicting of the human body

as a CONTAINER.[282]

Most scholarly readings of this text understand רוּחַ as referring to "appetites and passions"

in need of curbing.[283] The imagery appears more general than simply the dangers of

unrestrained emotions, or rather, whichever emotions a commentator considers

inappropriate.[284] We have already argued at length for caution regarding how emotions such

as ANGER are depicted (or not) with רוּחַ, and the vagueness of the relationships between

elements in the b-colon restricts the specificity with which we may examine our key term.

However, what is clear is an implication that רוּחַ is here depicted as volatile and/or

spontaneous in character, and so must not be allowed to act without due consideration and,

if necessary, restraint.[285] This suggests that the frequent association between רוּחַ, the SELF,

and the SELF as responsible for VOLITION and action is in view.

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[282] On the depiction of the BODY as a CONTAINER, see Lakoff, *Women, Fire & Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*, 383.

[283] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 194; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 345; Toy, *Proverbs*, 471; K&D 7:173.

[284] Delitzsch insightfully notes that לְנַפְשׁוֹ is not used, which would more readily be construed as *desire*, K&D 7:173.

[285] So Syr., ܐܓܪܐ ܪܘܚܗ, instantiating the LENGTH metaphor for PATIENCE.

2.2.15　Proverbs 29:11

2.2.15.1　Text

כָּל־רוּחוֹ יוֹצִיא כְסִיל וְחָכָם בְּאָחוֹר יְשַׁבְּחֶנָּה׃

[A fool brings out all his *rûaḥ*]; but the wise quietly holds it back.

Tg. מיחשל, Syr. ܢܨܒ read חשב for MT שבח. LXX ταμιεύεται is unclear, as it may refer to both 'paying out' and 'storing up' roles within a household.[286]

2.2.15.2　Context

There is little explicit contextual integration in this proverb, apart from a repeated generic אִישׁ (vv. 1, 3–4, 6, 9–10, 13, 20, 22, 26–27) and both political and familial addressees.[287]

2.2.15.3　Analysis

This proverb is structured around the juxtaposition of the כְסִיל "fool" and חָכָם "wise." These centrally-located terms are enveloped by כָּל־רוּחַ and the נָה- suffix referring back to it. As in

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[286] LSJ, s.v. "ταμιεύω." Compare Wolters, *Proverbs*, 263–64; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 373.

[287] Murphy, *Proverbs*, 220. Waltke links Prov 29:8–10 via the syntactical pattern of initial אִישׁ + genitive/adjective + verb + object, Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 435.

Proverbs 18:14, this suggests that רוּחַ is the topic of the aphorism, the grounds by which the central 'characters' are contrasted.

The fool is characterised by "bringing out of all his *rûaḥ*." Hiphil יצא typically profiles [CAUSE_MOTION], in which an Agent causes an Entity to leave a Position.[288] This figuratively extends to *causation* in |ABS.NOUN + יצא + ABS.NOUN| constructions (Prov 30:33abc). More concretely, the Entity may be a spoken *utterance* when a noun of speech is the TR (Num 13:32; Job 8:10; Prov 10:18; Eccl 5:1). יצא appears with רוּחַ as the Entity in Jeremaiah 10:13; 51:16; and Psalm 135:7 to depict Yahweh's control over the weather. Clifford suggests the intertextual use allows for "comic effect—to show the pomposity of fools" by likening the Entity that comes from them to *wind*.[289] This is plausible given the regularity of the collocation elsewhere, and accounts for the contextual under-specification of רוּחַ here.

Before exploring רוּחַ further, we will turn briefly to the semantics of אָחוֹר and שבח in the b-colon. The usage of אָחוֹר is peculiar, and its collocation with בְּ unique in AH. It typically profiles "the side or part of something away from the spectator or from the direction in which it moves or faces"—that is, the *back* of something from the perspective of the discourse-speaker.[290] Given the common conceptual link between SPACE and TIME, אָחוֹר may also

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[288] *SDBH*, s.v. "יצא."

[289] Clifford, *Proverbs*, 252. Qal יצא appears once with רוּחַ to depict the final breath of the dying (Ps 146:4), compare Ug. *tṣi/yṣat . km . rḥ . npš* "let his life go out as wind." (UDB 1.18 IV:24–25, 36).

[290] *SDBH,* s.v. "אָחוֹר." Fox reads the spatial use as "holding one's emotions back means keeping them in the heart," Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 837. This would be a novel use of אָחוֹר.

profile the temporal *future* (Isa 42:23; Sir^C 6:28), always with לְ. While בְּ is unexpected, it

likely functions similarly to לְ and profiles "a temporal frame in which an event or state of

affairs needs to be positioned."[291] The event is יְשַׁבְּחֶנָה, where נָה- almost certainly refers back

to רוּחַ in the a-colon as the only typically-feminine antecedent in the saying.[292]

While the textual uncertainty of שׁבח makes us cautious, the MT reading seems plausible if

rare and a little unexpected. שׁבח elsewhere profiles the *stilling* of tumultuous seas (+יָם Ps

65:8; +גַּל Ps 89:10 ∴) which would imply רוּחַ is similarly chaotic and destructive in its

'uncalmed' state. Indeed, given the meteorological use of יצא with רוּחַ in possible co-texts to

the a-colon, רוּחַ may even be depicted as an internal squall that should be quieted rather

than allowed to cause damage externally.

Although most do not pursue a figurative reading as above, the STORM depiction may explain

why most ancient versions and modern scholars construe רוּחַ as ANGER, "giving full vent to

their rage."[293] There are several lexemes in the immediate context that do evoke ANGER, אַף

(Prov 29:8b, 22a), רְגַז (29:9b), and חֵמָה (29:22b).[294] Discourse context indeed exerts semantic

constraint on the construals at hand. However, especially in a chapter with evidence of only

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[291] Wolde, *Reframing*, 141.

[292] Longman rightly construes אָחוֹר temporally, but misses the antecedent reference to רוּחַ: "and the wise quiet things down afterwards," Longman, *Proverbs*, 504.

[293] So Syr., ܢܚ; Tg., חמה. Toy, *Proverbs*, 510; Whybray, *Composition of Proverbs*, 128; Murphy, *Proverbs*, 222; Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 439; Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 837; Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 350; Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 152.

[294] Sæbø, *Sprüche*, 350.

loose thematic and syntactical connections, we must also note the syntactical break between

Proverbs 29:11 and the pattern of אִישׁ-initial a-colon and ANGER-lexeme b-colon in Proverbs

29:8–10. Keefer interprets this as evidence that other (less ambiguous) lexemes for ANGER

were available but were not chosen.[295] In addition, the semantics of יצא suggests an

intentional movement from internal to external, rather than the 'unleashing' or 'venting'

characteristic of ANGER, especially when totality is specified via כֹּל. We think a more

persuasive construal is possible.

We noted above an established usage of יצא for the articulation of SPEECH, where the TR of

[CAUSE_MOTION] is the (usually negative) utterance. Previously in Proverbs, רוּחַ could profile

a spoken utterance, often entailing that the utterance reflects the internal SELF of the speaker.

Here, the fool carelessly reveals their entire SELF (which may well include anger) through

their speech.[296] This reading more readily explains the נָה- suffix as the רוּחַ of the wise, calmed

before allowing its expression.[297] "[T]he wise, who are coolheaded, speak only when

necessary and helpful."[298] As with Proverbs 16:32 and 25:28, where רוּחַ is used for SELF as

responsible for action (VOLITION), רוּחַ seems associated with spontaneity and volatility. This

motivates the metaphorical depiction of רוּחַ as a stormy sea requiring calming rather than

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[295] Keefer, *Proverbs 1–9*, 87.

[296] Waltke, although he argues for רוּחַ meaning ANGER, reflects this reading: "the dynamic psychic energy finds its expression in words," Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 439.

[297] The ANGER construal requires the suffix to refer to the fool's 'temper,' which does not suit the ethical contrast of the saying, *pace* Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 439.

[298] Longman, *Proverbs*, 504.

uncontrolled expression. Our suggestion does not exclude the popular understanding of

ANGER, but articulates a related meaning motivated by a different conceptualisation of the

רוּחַ as external SPEECH that communicates the internal SELF.

2.2.16 Proverbs 29:23

2.2.16.1 Text

גַּאֲוַת אָדָם תַּשְׁפִּילֶנּוּ וּשְׁפַל־רוּחַ יִתְמֹךְ כָּבוֹד׃

** The arrogance of humanity brings humiliation; but the lowly of *rûaḥ* obtain honour.

2.2.16.2 Context

Proverbs 29:16, 27 contrast the categories of the 'wicked' and the 'righteous,' perhaps

framing those between them as a distinct group.[299] There may be some conceptual link

between Proverbs 29:22–23 by juxtaposing PRIDE and CONFLICT (see Prov 11:2a; 17:19a).[300]

2.2.16.3 Analysis

Proverbs 29:23 is structured around the central placement of the repeated root שׁפל "to be

low," contrasting fronted elements of each colon: גַּאֲוַת אָדָם and שְׁפַל־רוּחַ. As in Proverbs

16:19, the juxtaposition of גַּאֲוָה and שָׁפָל evokes the -VERTICALITY- image schema and the

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[299] Lucas, *Proverbs*, 183.
[300] Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 845.

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metaphor +STATUS IS VERTICALITY+. גֵּאוּת profiles the HIGH end of the schematic

height/status scale, which in this metaphor emphasises self-perception, *arrogance* (Isa 9:9;

13:3, 11). An entailment of +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+ is the tendency to end up at the

opposite end of the scale, confirmed linguistically by the action involving the arrogant:

תַּשְׁפִּילֶנּוּ "to bring low, humiliate" (Isa 26:5; Job 40:11).

שְׁפַל־רוּחַ profiles one characteristically located at the LOW end of the height/status scale, the

humble.[301] An entailment of +HUMILITY IS BEING LOW+ is the need for an external Agent to

'raise up' the Agonist to a prior or new state of respect. In Proverbs 16:19, רוּחַ was

conceptualised as the subjective internal SELF, but further specificity proved elusive apart

from a possible (very loose) semantic association with Yahweh as the expected Agent of

restoration. The SELF construal and its possible association with God are supported here by

the parallel with אָדָם, which in Proverbs is most often contrasted with God to emphasise the

categorical difference between HUMAN and DIVINE.[302]

Just as the 'high' are destined to become 'low,' the 'low' are destined to "obtain honour."

יִתְמֹךְ כָּבוֹד forms an imprecise parallel with תַּשְׁפִּילֶנּוּ. תמך often profiles an Agent *grasping* an

Object (such as יָד "hand," Gen 48:17). The temporal duration of the action is contextually

defined and so may refer to *grabbing, holding*, or *holding on to*. Given the contrast with the

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[301] Self-perception may be accented in the LXX neologism, ταπεινόφρονας, Moisés Silva, "ταπεινός," *NIDNTTE* 4:448–54.

[302] Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 450.

inevitable 'fall' of the proud, and the tendency for כָּבוֹד to be attributed by God in BH, it seems to depict the entailment of the HUMILITY metaphor. Those who in their present state cannot access either societal or religious 'glory' will experience divine intervention to allow them to obtain and keep that which was previously denied them.[303]

> The proud do not get what they want, for honour cannot be self-awarded. The lowly, on the other hand, can receive it.[304]

The combined weight of the above elements suggests there may be some wider association between רוּחַ in the HUMILITY metaphor and God. It is the 'humble in/of *rûaḥ*' who receive the desired intervention to be elevated beyond their present state, even here, receiving *glory*. The nature of this relationship between the human רוּחַ and God is vague in Proverbs but will be seen further in Ecclesiastes and Job in the chapters ahead.

2.3 רוּחַ in Proverbs: Preliminary Observations

We titled this chapter "the *protean* רוּחַ" because Proverbs aptly demonstrates the breadth of רוּחַ's semantic range even when limited to anthropological referents. Given this, it is remarkable that Proverbs receives relatively little attention in prior studies of רוּחַ. While

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[303] See Marilyn E. Burton, *The Semantics of Glory: A Cognitive, Corpus-Based Approach to Hebrew Word Meaning*, SSN 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 249–50, 147 n. 57; *pace* L. Ruppert, "תָּמַךְ," *TDOT* 15:695.
[304] Clifford, *Proverbs*, 255.

some instances of רוּחַ in Proverbs occur in unique constructions or appear to be used in unique ways, we may begin to summarise the patterns of use we have observed.

2.3.1 רוּחַ and *COMMUNICATION*

Several passages in Proverbs feature רוּחַ as directly evoking or contextually associated with the domain of *COMMUNICATION*.[305] Despite the fairly obvious embodied connections between respiration and verbal production, most scholarship regarding SPEECH and רוּחַ focuses on prophetic or inspiratory phenomena rather than the concern in Proverbs with 'ordinary' speech.[306]

We noted *COMMUNICATION* as a focal point of the usage in Proverbs 1:23; 11:13; 29:11, and at least peripherally salient in Proverbs 15:4; 17:27. Proverbs 1:23 is a complicated text in many respects and is a challenging starting point for a semantic study. It seemed probable that רוּחַ was profiling BREATH against the conceptual base of COMMUNICATION, where BREATH stood metonymically for Wisdom's SPEECH. However, in Proverbs 1:23; 11:13; 29:11, it began to become apparent the use of רוּחַ for SPEECH appeared motivated by a related use

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[305] We opted for the broader conceptual domain of *COMMUNICATION* rather than the more granular frame of [SPEECH]. רוּחַ directly profiles spoken utterances, but also appears in contexts that relate speech to other concepts such as VOLITION or SELF.

[306] These studies tend to orient themselves towards theological rather than anthropological uses of רוּחַ.

for the internal SELF. The nature of the internal aspect of the human person directly affected

and was expressed or externalised through SPEECH.

There are two further possible instances of רוּחַ evoking *COMMUNICATION*: Proverbs 15:4;

17:27. Both appear in metaphorical constructions, the former in the FRAGMENTATION

metaphor for DISTRESS, and the latter in the TEMPERATURE metaphor for SELF-CONTROL.

Proverbs 15:4 depicts healthy speech as life-giving, on the order of the mythological 'Tree of

Life.' Playing upon the geometric sense of סֶלֶף, 'twisted/perverse' speech causes fracture

damage to the SELF, שֶׁבֶר בְּרוּחַ. Here the רוּחַ is not the source of SPEECH but rather that part

of the SELF impacted by SPEECH from the outside.[307] Proverbs 17:27 instantiates a unique

metaphor drawing from the [TEMPERATURE] frame to depict human PERSONALITY. Most ANE

and BH uses of this metaphor employ [HEAT] as the source frame for emotions such as ANGER

or experiences of DISTRESS.[308] Especially in Egyptian literature, the 'hot' person lacks control

of their actions and especially their speech, suggesting that the 'cold' person maintains

control. Given the potential of רוּחַ to profile both the source of SPEECH and the source of

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[307] Possibly analogous to the two-way link between "Herz" (לֵב), "Ohr," and "Mund," in Janowski, "Das Herz," 38.

[308] See further, Rune Nyord, "Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Medicine and the Ancient Egyptian Conceptualisation of Heat in the Body," in *The Comparable Body: Analogy and Metaphor in Ancient Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Greco-Roman Medicine*, ed. John Z. Wee, Studies in Ancient Medicine 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 12–42, especially 35–36.

action (VOLITION, below), it is an apt metonym for the SELF. However, the parallel with חוֹשֵׂךְ

אֲמָרָיו suggests רוּחַ is particularly associated with control of SPEECH.

2.3.2 רוּחַ and VOLITION

The second association we noted was between רוּחַ and human action. We identified this in

Proverbs 16:2, 32; 25:28 as well as possibly evoked in the metaphors of Proverbs 14:29; 17:27;

18:14; 29:11. In these texts, רוּחַ appears to profile the part of the human SELF responsible for

action against the conceptual base of the entire person.[309] This is difficult to articulate as

there is little explicit evidence of the BH language community understood a typical human

'self.' Still, there is sufficient evidence of a connection between רוּחַ and VOLITION concerning

human persons to reject it outright. The clearest example of this conceptualisation is

Proverbs 16:2, employing a rare plural anthropological referent for רוּחַ, and using רוּחַ as the

Phenomenon FE in evoking the [ASSESSING] frame. This evocation depicts רוּחַ as possessing

some figurative dimension by which it may be assessed and implies a comparison with some

landmark entity. Contextually, this is contrasted with "human eyes," implying the divine

landmark is superior to human judgement as Yahweh can see the internal reality behind

one's "ways." The proximate Proverbs 16:32 contrasts רוּחַ with the -LENGTH- metaphor for

patience, אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם. We suggested in Proverbs 14:29 that this metaphor is likely motivated

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[309] So, e.g., "le centre décisif qui commande toute la conduit de l'être," Lys, *Rûach*, 303.

by RESPIRATION, a highly salient category of רוּחַ even to the point that *impatience* may be depicted as being 'short of *rûaḥ*.' To be comparably patient, one must "rule" (משׁל) their רוּחַ (Prov 16:32). While often presented as a proof-text for reading רוּחַ as ANGER, we argued instead that it profiled the VOLITIONAL SELF, which may indeed involve both ANGER and IMPATIENCE (thus motivating their apparent salience) but not restricted to it. The collocative MARTIAL imagery of משׁל suggests רוּחַ is perceived as a kind of foe in this scene, exerting a force within the person that must be resisted. Similar imagery appears in Proverbs 25:28, where the failure to 'restrain' (עצר) one's רוּחַ is to be like a besieged and conquered city. The רוּחַ appears as internal to the SELF but seeking expression through action, or, as we noted above, particularly the action of SPEECH (e.g. Prov 17:27; 29:11).[310] At the same time, the רוּחַ is not conceptualised entirely negatively, for to have it impaired in some way is damaging also, as demonstrated in the FRAGMENTATION metaphor in Proverbs 15:13; 18:14. A functioning רוּחַ allows one to persist despite external affliction, but when fractured (with the entailing loss of function), it ceases to support the person and instead is depicted as itself a burden (Prov 18:14).

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[310] So Lys, *Rûach*, 303.

2.3.3 רוּחַ and Figurative Schemata

Already we have noted the frequency and conceptual importance of metonymy and metaphor involving רוּחַ. Many of these elaborate metonymic chains or metaphorical extensions of a primary frame profile such as BREATH, especially +BREATH FOR LIFE+ and +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+. Having noted some of the conceptual significance above, we now briefly collect the figurative structural data for some of the image schemata and metaphors.

2.3.3.1   The -FORCE- schema

One of the more common uses of רוּחַ in Proverbs is to portray DISTRESS as part of the -FORCE- schema: Proverbs 15:4, 13; 17:22; 18:14. These metaphors depict the רוּחַ experiencing FRAGMENTATION as the source frame for the SELF experiencing distressing situations. The lexemes of FRAGMENTATION varied, with subtly distinct profiles of the nature, extent, and entailment of the force interaction, and appeared sensitive to different senses of רוּחַ within the metaphorical depictions. Thus, while a 'broken רוּחַ' in Proverbs 15:4 may function as an apt contrast to the 'Tree of Life'—indicating the inability for the person's LIFE to continue— it also may relate to the incoming SPEECH causing the damage. Likewise, a 'shattered רוּחַ' in Proverbs 18:14 may function as a counterpoint to BREATH as LIFE in the a-colon, indicating a life-threatening condition, or the incapacity to act because of suffering in contrast to a VOLITIONAL use. Frequently, the conceptualisation of the רוּחַ as *internal* entails the

magnitude and significance of the distress; it has so affected the person that it reaches their innermost and threatens the integrity of their very SELF, and, indeed, their very LIFE.

2.3.3.2   The -LENGTH- schema

Proverbs 14:29 demonstrates a metaphorical mapping of a spatial conception of a person onto a moral one. The a-colon profiles RESPIRATION (אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם) to depict *patience* as long, slow breathing (similarly Prov 16:32). The b-colon introduces a rare instance of the inverse end of the LENGTH scale, קְצַר־רוּחַ. The immediate comparison with a metonym of RESPIRATION exerts significant pressure for רוּחַ to similarly profile breathing against the conceptual base of a human body, with קָצֵר likely profiling a temporal rather than spatial dimension. Abbreviated breathing is construed as a physiological manifestation of *impatience* (instantiating +EFFECT OF THE EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION+). Given the conceptual overlap between PATIENCE/IMPATIENCE and VOLITION noted above, there is some ambiguity to the precise conceptual pathway of רוּחַ, even if the ethical effect of being able to morally assess the nature of an emotional state via the presence or absence of BREATH remains comprehensible. Interestingly, only two instances of the LONG metaphor using רוּחַ are extant (Eccl 7:8; Sir 5:11). It may be that the entrenchment of אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם was such that any alternate lexical instantiations were minimal save for specific and intentional effect.

2.3.3.3   The -VERTICALITY- schema

Proverbs contains other scalar spatial metaphors using רוּחַ but in the vertical rather than horizontal dimension. Proverbs 16:18–19 spreads a VERTICALITY metaphor over two consecutive sayings addressing pride and humility. This metaphor maps self-estimation onto a vertical scale, a derivation of the more schematic linking of social status to height, +STATUS IS VERTICALITY+. Physical posture appears to motivate this mapping, with those schematically 'low' expressing subservience to those schematically 'high.' The raising/lowering of the רוּחַ implies an internal assessment of status with two significant entailments. For +HIGH STATUS IS UP+, raised entities have a tendency to fall, and thus pride leads to eventual (inevitable?) humbling from an external source (Proverbs 29:23). For +LOW STATUS IS DOWN+, itself likely correlated conceptually with the orientational metaphor +DISTRESS IS DOWN+, an external source is also necessary for a change in their position and thus state, most commonly, via the divine intervention of Yahweh.

2.3.4   רוּחַ and God

With all due caution given the subtly of such associations, we noted Proverbs 1:23; 16:18–19; 29:23 as potentially implying some association between the human רוּחַ and the person of God. This is never explicit but instead arises from wider linguistic features. For example, the larger context of Proverbs 1–9 eventually articulates a strong conceptual connection between WISDOM (personified earlier as Lady Wisdom) and God. This could prompt the

conceptual base against which one profiles רוּחַ in Proverbs 1:23 to shift. Such a shift would render salient uses of רוּחַ that are developed only elsewhere in the wider collection of texts of the HB:

> Le caractère relationnel et actif de *r.* de Dieu, qui établit un lien entre Dieu et l'homme en lui révélant une connaissance.[311]

Similarly, the entailment of the VERTICALITY metaphors instantiated elsewhere in BH frequently imply an Agent responsible for the 'fall' of the proud and the 'lifting up' of the humble, typically God. Again, considering wider usage, this implies רוּחַ profiles some part of the human SELF capable of, involved in, or specially associated with a relationship with the divine.

2.4 Summary of Proverbs

Even at the outset of our study, some patterns of use are emerging. רוּחַ is frequently conceptualised as internal to a person. This appears motivated by one of the more frequent profile-base relations of BREATH against the human body. This 'internal breath' is elaborated in several ways through metaphoric extension and metonymic chains, especially to depict BREATH as standing for LIFE, or as standing for the internal SELF. This SELF is variously

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[311] Lys, *Rûach*, 302.

expressible by SPEECH (closely related to the BREATH metonym) or ACTION, with a frequent entailment of the need for רוּחַ to be controlled or restrained from acting or speaking in ways damaging to one's self or community.

The way these conceptualisations relate to one another is complex. Where רוּחַ primarily evokes one frame, such as [SPEECH] via a metonym such as +BREATH FOR SPEECH+, the profiled element BREATH appears able to recruit structure and encyclopaedic knowledge from other uses of רוּחַ. Thus, רוּחַ as BREATH to depict SPEECH is likely to occur in contexts where the SELF is salient, suggesting that רוּחַ is also activating a further metonym such as +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+. The shared BREATH profile provides access to a network of related uses that may form part of a larger metonymic 'chain,' or indicate that the one profile BREATH remains salient across even elaborate metaphorical and metonymic developments.[312] At this stage of the project, these are speculations based on the data so far, and will be developed further as we progress with our textual study.

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[312] In her study of similar SPEECH metaphors and metonyms in Mandarin, Yu notes the tendency for metonymic chains to skip conceptual "steps," with each "step" capable of its own metaphorical elaborations, Ning Yu, "Speech Organs and Linguistic Activity/Function in Chinese," in *Embodiment via Body Parts: Studies from Various Languages and Cultures*, ed. Zouheir A. Maalej and Ning Yu, HCP 31 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 118.

3 The Liminal רוּחַ — Ecclesiastes

Our examination of Proverbs introduced something of the range of uses of רוּחַ. Many uses in Proverbs touched on the use of רוּחַ for the internal SELF as responsible for action and speech. Many instances also involved רוּחַ in figurative depictions of human experience using spatial image schemata. In Ecclesiastes we see two of these spatial metaphors instantiated: VERTICALITY metaphors for pride/humility and LENGTH metaphors for patience/impatience. We also see at least one use that likely associates רוּחַ with VOLITION, and some new developments in the subtle association of רוּחַ and GOD. However, compared to Proverbs, there is a marked focus on רוּחַ as profiling the frame of [LIFE] alongside several significant cultural frames and biblical intertexts of the creation narratives of the BH language communities.

3.1 Orientation to Ecclesiastes

While the superscription of Proverbs 1:1 associates the work directly with Solomon, Ecclesiastes is more circumspect, introducing the book as דִּבְרֵי קֹהֶלֶת בֶּן־דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלָ͏ִם "the words of Qoheleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem" (Eccl 1:1).[1] This superscription is readily

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[1] We refer to the literary work as "Ecclesiastes" and the persona adopted throughout the central chapters as "Qoheleth." This singular name does not necessitate a single author was responsible for the whole work, although this is not unreasonable. We opt for masculine pronouns for Qoheleth given the grammatical masculine verbs in Eccl 1:2; 12:9, and the identification of the author as חָכָם (Eccl 12:9), see C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, AB 18C (New York: Doubleday, 1997), 96.

construed as evoking Solomon as the "son of David, king of Jerusalem" *par excellence*, and a culturally-salient epitome of wealth, power, pleasure, and wisdom as relevant to Ecclesiastes 1–3.[2] However, there are limitations to a casual identification of Solomon with the author or speaker:

> [I]f we are supposed to be hearing the voice of Solomon, then it is not clear why we are being told about 'the words of Qohelet'. If Solomon or Qohelet is also the author of the book, furthermore, then whose is the voice that talks about them in 1.1 and the epilogue of 12.9-14?[3]

There are many possible literary and historical justifications for the superscription's vagueness, such as a desire to expand upon the character of Solomon, or anonymity in uncertain political circumstances.[4] In CL terms, we may characterise the superscription as an initial *mental space builder* to prompt a reader to begin recruiting and structuring the encyclopaedic knowledge required to conceptualise the discourse before them.[5] The nominal elements evoke rich frames such as [DAVID], [SON OF DAVID], [KING], [JERUSALEM], and even

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[2] See, e.g., 1 Kgs 5:10–13; 1 Chr 29:25.

[3] Stuart Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary*, ICC (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2020), 5.

[4] So Susanne Gillmayr-Bucher, "Solomon: Wisdom's Most Famous Aspirant," in *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines*, ed. Jeremy M. S. Clines et al. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 73–86; George Athas, "Qohelet in His Context: Ecclesiastes 4,13-16 and the Dating of the Book," *Biblica* 100 (2019): 353–72.

[5] For an orientation to Mental Space Theory, see Evans, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 493–523. For mental spaces and psalm superscriptions, see again Ross, "David's Spiritual Walls," 615–16.

[WISDOM] with which readers are expected to be familiar. These combine into an 'Authorial Superscription' base space (Proverbs 1:1; 22:17; 30:1; 31:1; "The Instruction of Ptahhotep," l. 4).[6] The distinctive element here is the ambiguity of the authorial element, קֹהֶלֶת. This is invoked as if cognitively accessible in light of the collocated frames, yet allows a range of possible figures to fill the requisite frame element, from Solomon, to Hezekiah (b. B. Bat. 15a), to any subsequent Davidic descendant.[7]

While the smaller clusters of sayings were the most significant structural aspect of Proverbs, the critical element for approaching Ecclesiastes is the frame-narrative structure. A large central section, predominantly in the first-person, contains the musings of Qoheleth (Eccl 1:12–12:7). This section is framed by a prologue and epilogue, primarily in the third person (Eccl 1:1–11; 12:8–14).[8] The frame is marked by an *inclusio* in Ecclesiastes 1:1; 12:8; as well as base space builders such as דָּבָר (Eccl 1:1, 12:13a).

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[6] For Ptahhotep, see *AEL* 1:62. On proper names as both referring expressions and frame-metonymic expressions evoking rich frames beyond simple historical reference, see Dancygier and Sweetser, *Figurative Language*, 155–58. For example, [SON OF DAVID] inherits not only the [KINSHIP] relation but the ROYAL SUCCESSION cultural script, and even the complex [MESSIAH] frame.

[7] For the "primary author's Davidic pedigree" in light of this and other texts, see George Athas, *Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, SOGBC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2020), 24–25. This is not simply a bold pseudonymous claim for authority, but a multi-textured literary device that allows the conceptual guidance of the DAVIDIC MONARCHY to interpreting his teaching, access to a wide range of biblical intertexts, as well as the capacity to critique human government. See the strategic use of anonymity in Eccl 4:13–16, Athas, "Qohelet in His Context," 358–60.

[8] This structure was brought to prominence in Michael V. Fox, "Frame-Narrative and Composition in the Book of Qohelet," *HUCA* 48 (1977): 83–106. There is a possible third-person intrusion of the frame narrative into the central section to evaluate Qoheleth's progress (Eccl 7:27). Shead suggests 1:2; 12:8 form an 'inner frame,' providing a pithy summary of Qoheleth's teaching rather than

The structure within the central section resists clear delineation, not due to textual corruption or incoherence as much as the nature of the writing itself reflecting Qoheleth's experience.[9] The first-person presentation suggests Qoheleth is concerned with an autobiographical engagement with significant issues he seeks to understand (such as justice and death).[10] He discusses them, despairs of them, has moments of insights about them, and presents preliminary conclusions to them, only to return to them later. This does not mean there is no progress, coherence, or development within the apparently meandering presentation. Eric S. Christianson helpfully suggests a kind of "quest narrative" unfolding throughout the book.[11] Given our focus on רוּחַ, we need concern ourselves with the

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evaluating it, Andrew G. Shead, "Ecclesiastes From the Outside In," *RTR* 55 (1996): 27; similarly Martin A. Shields, *The End of Wisdom: A Reappraisal of the Historical and Canonical Function of Ecclesiastes* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 47. However, the *inclusio* seems to function as the beginning of the frame rather than to be constituent of it, and the opening poem in Eccl 1:3–11 occurs prior to Qoheleth's self-introduction in 1:12. Against this is the provocative contrast of 1:4–11 as a cosmological frame for human finitude, and 12:1–7 a cosmological analogy for human finitude, Agnès Canh Tuyet Nguyen Thi, "La Destinée de l'homme chez Qohelet (Qo 1,4–11 ; 12,1–7)," *RB* 120 (2013): 220–39.

[9] "[T]he structure of Ecclesiastes is *literary and organic*, as befits Qohelet's experience, rather than logical in a scientific sense," Craig G. Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2009), 83.

[10] We use "autobiography" in the broadest sense that Qoheleth narrates his own thought and experience. His mode in this has been compared to "fictional Akkadian biographies with a didactic ending," as well as "testament"/grave biographies, see Tremper Longman, *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography: A Generic and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1991); Leo G. Perdue, "The Book of Qohelet 'Has the Smell of the Tomb about It': Mortality in Qohelet and Hellenistic Skepticism," in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goads: Engaging Qoheleth in the 21st Century*, ed. Cristian G. Rata, Tremper Longman, and Mark J. Boda (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 103–16, respectively. More broadly, see Kynes, *Obituary*, 209–11.

[11] Eric S. Christianson, *A Time To Tell: Narrative Strategies in Ecclesiastes*, JSOTSupp 280 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998); On this "quest," see Stuart Weeks, *Ecclesiastes and Scepticism*, LHBOTS 541 (New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 23; on the "narrative" shape of the work, Michael V. Fox,

immediate literary context of each instance, save for Ecclesiastes 3:19–21 and 12:7, which interact with one another at extreme ends of Qoheleth's quest.[12] Of course, the role of the frame narrative bears upon the interpretation of the whole. If it primarily serves to critique the words of Qoheleth, our passages may be analogous to those of Job's friends. They instantiate רוּחַ but do so reflecting a point of view, theology, or even semantic understanding that is meant to be undermined by the context of the wider work: "Qohelet's theology is not necessarily the theology of the book."[13] While possible, the epilogue appears to function more substantively in the interpretation of the whole work; it "not only fails to contradict Qohelet, but actually claim to be distilling his words in summary."[14] Takeuchi suggests this allows for the rich use of deliberate ambiguity throughout the work, noting such terms as רוּחַ and הֶבֶל, and phrases such as רַעְיוֹן/רְעוּת רוּחַ as likely candidates:

Ecclesiastes: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation, JPSBC (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), xiii.

[12] "Dans le livre de Qohélet, de manière discrète, la question du souffle de l'homme évolue," Canh Tuyet Nguyen Thi, "La Destinée de l'homme Chez Qohelet (Qo 1,4–11 ; 12,1–7)", "La Destinée," 237.

[13] Tremper Longman, "Challenging the Idols of the Twenty-First Century: The Message of the Book of Ecclesiastes," *SCJ* 12 (2009): 208. Others see the epilogue as misrepresenting the central section, Christianson, *A Time*, 1–5; Roland E. Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, WBC 23A (Grand Rapids: Word, 1992), 126.

[14] Shead, "Ecclesiastes From the Outside In," 27; Kumiko Takeuchi, *Death and Divine Judgement in Ecclesiastes*, BBRS 26 (Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2019), 85–86. Shields argues the contrary, in which the epilogist *reveals* the error of Qoheleth's words, Martin A. Shields, "Ecclesiastes and the End of Wisdom," *TynBul* 50 (1999): 128. Christianson suggests the epilogist uses of the frame-narration to "exert control over the narrative perspective," Christianson, *A Time*, 61.

The author may have deliberately chosen to put in Qoheleth's mouth specific words, expressions, and rhetorical questions that can convey more than one implication or cast a range of connotations.[15]

3.2 Analysis of Ecclesiastes

3.2.1   Selection of Texts

רוּחַ appears 24x in Ecclesiastes. The term unambiguously evokes [WIND] in Eccl 1:6 (2x) as part of the opening poem's observation of the natural world. Nearly half of the remaining instances occur in the idioms רְעוּת רוּחַ "a chasing after *rûaḥ*" (Eccl 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6, 16; 6:9), רַעְיוֹן רוּחַ (Eccl 1:17; 4:16), and שֶׁיַּעֲמֹל לָרוּחַ (Eccl 5:16). The former two may reflect רוּחַ as *wind,* a typically 'ungraspable' substance (Prov 11:29; 27:16) expressive of "a futile pursuit or desire."[16] This seems to be the sense of the similar phrase in Hosea 12:2. However, the ambiguity of רעה and רוּחַ increases the number of possible readings—in addition to the possibility of intentional vagueness.[17] The clearer co-text in Hosea 12 inclines us to see the primary evocation of these idioms as profiling [WIND], and so we hesitantly exclude them

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[15] Takeuchi, *Death*, 82–83, see n. 84-85.

[16] Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, xx.

[17] See Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 121–22; Michael V. Fox, *A Time To Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Rereading of Ecclesiastes* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 42–48; Ingram, *Ambiguity*, 112–16. Including Aramaic usage, רעה may evoke at least four AH roots: DESIRE, SHEPHERDING; COMPANIONSHIP; and BADNESS.

from our study for the time being. Future extensions of our work would benefit from applying our CL framework to disambiguating the uses and lexical/conceptual structure of such idioms.

The texts for analysis are:

Ecclesiastes 3:19–21; 7:8–9; 8:8; 10:4; 11:5; 12:7.

3.2.2   Ecclesiastes 3:19–21

3.2.2.1   Text

¹⁹ כִּ֣י מִקְרֶ֣ה בְֽנֵי־הָ֠אָדָם וּמִקְרֶ֨ה הַבְּהֵמָ֜ה וּמִקְרֶ֤ה אֶחָד֙ לָהֶ֔ם כְּמ֣וֹת זֶה֙ כֵּ֣ן מ֣וֹת זֶ֔ה וְר֥וּחַ אֶחָ֖ד לַכֹּ֑ל וּמוֹתַ֨ר הָאָדָ֤ם מִן־הַבְּהֵמָה֙ אָ֔יִן כִּ֥י הַכֹּ֖ל הָֽבֶל׃

²⁰ הַכֹּ֥ל הוֹלֵ֖ךְ אֶל־מָק֣וֹם אֶחָ֑ד הַכֹּל֙ הָיָ֣ה מִן־הֶֽעָפָ֔ר וְהַכֹּ֖ל שָׁ֥ב אֶל־הֶעָפָֽר׃

²¹ מִ֣י יוֹדֵ֗עַ ר֤וּחַ בְּנֵ֤י הָאָדָם֙ הָעֹלָ֥ה הִ֖יא לְמָ֑עְלָה וְר֙וּחַ֙ הַבְּהֵמָ֔ה הַיֹּרֶ֥דֶת הִ֖יא לְמַ֥טָּה לָאָֽרֶץ׃

¹⁹ For the fate of humans and the fate of animals is the same; as one dies, so dies the other. They all have the same *rûaḥ*, and humans have no advantage over the animals; for all is *hebel*.

²⁰ All go to one place; all are from the dust, and all turn to dust again.

²¹ Who knows whether the human *rûaḥ* goes upward and the *rûaḥ* of animals goes downward to the earth?

3:19 MT מִקְרֶה should be read as construct, מִקְרֵה; else it is difficult to reconcile as the

predicate of בְּנֵי־הָאָדָם and הַבְּהֵמָה.[18]

3.2.3   Context

Ecclesiastes 3:16–22 is a critical discussions of DEATH for Qoheleth, cast in terms of the

presence of injustice in the world.[19] רָאִיתִי "I saw" (Eccl 3:16, 22) delimits the unit, while וְעוֹד

(3:16) and the repetition of עֵת "time" (3:17) links this new section to Ecclesiastes 3:1–15.

The problem is that הָרֶשַׁע "wickedness" (3:16 twice) is where it should not be, mocking God's

order for creation.[20] Qoheleth articulates two central ideas: God will indeed judge (3:17), and

God shows humans to be animals (3:18).[21]

3.2.4   Analysis

The first anthropological uses of רוּחַ occur in a cluster, intimately tied via כִּי (Eccl 3:19) to

Qoheleth's juxtaposition of the ordinarily distinct categories of HUMAN and ANIMAL in

Ecclesiastes 3:18. This juxtaposition compares the destiny of members of this category in

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[18] See the BHQ textual commentary; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 558.

[19] Antoon Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 284.

[20] Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 176; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 175.

[21] There may be an implicit link between injustice and the animalistic nature of humanity, so Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 177. We argue that Qoheleth ultimately see a distinction between the categories of HUMAN and ANIMAL but asserts an initial *appearance* of identity because of the mutual experience of death. See Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 543–44.

death and the relative justice of that destiny. To understand how רוּחַ is used, much depends

on the extent to which Qoheleth evokes cultural frames of human origins and compositions,

and the pragmatics of the question in 3:21. This will require a careful examination of

Ecclesiastes 3:19–21 as a unit.

Ecclesiastes 3:19 begins the fronted nominal מִקְרֶה, repeated twice more in this verse.[22] The

three-fold repetition of מִקְרֶה is connected to a significant conceptual category in each

instance. It is first predicated of the category HUMAN via בְּנֵי־הָאָדָם, then ANIMAL via הַבְּהֵמָה,

and then a new category with both HUMAN and ANIMAL together to underscore their identity

via the emphatically redundant וּמִקְרֶה אֶחָד לָהֶם. This 'step-by-step' identification works to

develop the new and unexpected link between the categories of HUMAN and ANIMAL

instantiated in Ecclesiastes 3:18.

The category of HUMAN is evoked by בְּנֵי־הָאָדָם, which appears 16x in the HB and often in

contrast to divine knowledge or action (1 Sam 26:19) or to profile humanity as viewed from

a divine perspective (Gen 11:5; 1 Kgs 8:39; Ps 33:13). Most of the articular forms of this

phrase occur within Ecclesiastes (Eccl 1:13; 2:3, 8; 3:10, 18–19, 21; 8:11; 9:3, 12)—notably

alongside the first mention of אֱלֹהִים as one responsible for giving humanity their task in the

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[22] The nominal likely derives from קרה "to meet" → "to happen," Helmer Ringgren, "קָרָה," *TDOT* 13:159. So Longman, "that which happens," although this likely carries a negative connotation in Ecclesiastes given its frequent association with DEATH, Tremper Longman, *The Book of Ecclesiastes*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 97; Takeuchi, *Death*, 90–91.

programmatic Ecclesiastes 1:13. The article affixed to אָדָם acts as a *grounding element* to

ensure that both author and reader are directing their attention "to the same conceived

entity."[23] In this case, the article explicitly marks a salient conceptual category and grounds

it in the preceding discourse.[24] The description of humans as אָדָם is most common in Genesis

1–11 (46x), Psalms (62x), Ecclesiastes (49x), and Proverbs (45x), which may indicate this

description tends to appear in creational or sapiential texts, or that significant texts such as

Genesis 1–11 are being evoked in later texts.[25] We will address the possibility of such

allusions shortly.

The article on the second categorical nominal הַבְּהֵמָה also marks a salient conceptual category

and ground it in the preceding discourse use of בְּהֵמָה (Eccl 3:18). בְּהֵמָה may generically refer

to ANIMALS, although it most commonly profiles >DOMESTICATED ANIMALS< as members of

the higher-level category LIVING BEINGS that do not belong to the sub-category HUMAN (Gen

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[23] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 276. A "grounding element profiles a thing characterized only schematically, but puts it onstage as focus of attention within the immediate scope," 275. Similarly, Krzysztof J. Baranowski, "The Article in the Book of Qoheleth," in *En pāsē grammatikē kai sophiā: Saggi di linguistica ebraica in onore di Alviero Niccacci OFM*, ed. Gregor Geiger and Massimo Pazzini, SBFA 78 (Milano: Franciscan, 2011), 31–51.

[24] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 284–86. The "genetic use" of the AH article, Joüon §137i.

[25] So Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 21; Matthew Seufert, "The Presence of Genesis in Ecclesiastes," *WTJ* 78.1 (2016): 75–92; David M. Clemens, "The Law of Sin and Death: Ecclesiastes and Genesis 1–3," *Them* 19 (1994): 5–8. However, note the hesitations of Katharine Dell, "Exploring Intertextual Links Between Ecclesiastes and Genesis 1–11," in *Reading Ecclesiastes Intertextually*, ed. Katharine J. Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 587 (London: T&T Clark, 2014), 10–11; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 547. We are open to the influence of Genesis 1–4 upon Qoheleth's quest in, e.g., the collocation of אֱלֹהִים and inversion of טוֹב to רָע in Ecclesiastes 1:13. "There the task given to humankind is good, but here ... it is described as evil," Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 123–24.

1:26, 2:20).[26] By equating the מִקְרֶה of HUMAN with ANIMAL, two typically distinct categories

are collapsed together.

This counter-intuitive clash of categories is motivated by observing their mutual future:

death (Eccl 3:19b). מוֹת זֶה is repeated like מִקְרֶה. However, it is marked this time as part of a

|כְּ...כֵּן| construction, indicating a point of correspondence with a focus upon the subsequent

assertion.[27] For Qoheleth, the death of a human is fundamentally the same death as an

animal.[28] The categorical identification is continued in the next—crucial—phrase: רוּחַ אֶחָד

לַכֹּל. The structure is similar to the third מִקְרֶה-phrase, וּמִקְרֶה אֶחָד לָהֶם. The shared entity is

no longer מִקְרֶה but רוּחַ, and that which it is shared amongst is now הַכֹּל.[29] לַכֹּל is a rare

construction that here seems to heighten the 'they' of human and animal co-referenced by

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[26] This higher-level category is evidenced by the collocation of אָדָם and בְּהֵמָה to profile the entirety of
what lives in a given area (Gen 6:7; 7:23; Exod 9:25; 12:12; Num 3:13; Jer 50:3; 51:62; Ps 135:8). See
G. Johannes Botterweck, "בְּהֵמָה," *TDOT* 2:6; P. T. Davies, "Animal Imagery," *DOTWPW*, 14. Within
LIVING BEINGS the differentiation of the sub-categories HUMAN/ANIMAL is seen in the |מאדם [וְ][עַד־בהמה|
construction in the passages above, where מִן profiles an extremity of origin and עַד an extremity of
extent.

[27] *BHRG*² §40.30.1c.

[28] זֶה uniquely, but poignantly, acts co-referentially: each instance references the other in the discourse
frame to strengthen the conceptual overlap.

[29] לְ + אֶחָד may indicate how one kind of substance/attribute (*x*) is shared between the category marked
by the preposition (Gen 11:6; Exod 26:2, 8, 19; 36:9, 15, 24). It may also function distributively as one
of *x* is given to one category and one of *x* is given to another category (Lev 12:8; 16:5, 8; 23:19). In
either case the 'sameness' of the nominal *x* is in view.

the suffix on לָהֶם previously.[30] Humans and animals share the same fate, and *all* of 'them' share the same רוּחַ.

The final clause in Ecclesiastes 3:19 fronts the nominal phrase וּמוֹתַר הָאָדָם מִן־הַבְּהֵמָה before the negating particle אָיִן to generate the possibility that is some מוֹתַר "advantage" to belonging to the category HUMAN rather than ANIMAL, only then to deny it.[31] This negation is then explained by הַכֹּל הָבֶל.[32] הֶבֶל is a crucial lexeme in Ecclesiastes. Despite its significance, few single glosses accurately construe the ways Ecclesiastes uses this lexeme.[33] Notwithstanding the ambiguity, הֶבֶל appears at least to evoke some idea of *insubstantiality.* This is extended temporally ("brief"), epistemologically ("enigmatic"), and even evaluatively ("senseless"). The הַכֹּל הָבֶל construction (Eccl 1:2, 14; 2:11, 17; 12:8) deftly employs the orthographic similarity between the lexical units to turn 'everything' into 'nothing.'[34]

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[30] כֹּל + לְ are collocated without an adjunct noun, participle, or pronominal suffix only 4/413x (Jer 13:10; Ezra 8:34; 1 Chr 7:5, 29:12).

[31] מוֹתַר is very rare (here, Prov 14:23; 21:5 ∴). It derives from יתר "to be left over," and appears to refer to "those aspects of human life which are lacking in the existence of animals," Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 559–60.

[32] Apart from the framing use in Eccl 1:2; 12:8, this phrase appears with הִנֵּה or כִּי to mark a conclusion to one of Qoheleth's observations.

[33] Surveys of הֶבֶל are innumerable. We benefited from Russell L. Meek, "Twentieth- and Twenty-First-Century Readings of *hebel* (הֶבֶל) in Ecclesiastes," *CBR* 14 (2016): 279–97; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes and Scepticism*, 104–20. Modern scholarship differs vastly on what the term denies: meaning, knowability, durability, or worth.

[34] John Jarick, "The Hebrew Book of Changes: Reflections on *Hakkōl Hebel* and *Lakkōl Zemān* in Ecclesiastes," *JSOT* 25 (2000): 79–80. "Nothing" is poetically satisfying but semantically lacking.

As he reasons through these issues of justice and death, Qoheleth appears to manipulate the referent of הַכֹּל. In Ecclesiastes 3:19a, לַכֹּל referred antecedently to the 'they' of humanity and animals collectively, while in Ecclesiastes 3:19b, הַכֹּל expanded the reference of הֶבֶל to a near-universal extension of the significance of the lack of distinction between HUMAN and ANIMAL. Ecclesiastes 3:20 again repeats הַכֹּל to maintain the broad scope of categories connected by common origin and, especially, common destination.[35]

The collocation of a motive verb (הוֹלֵךְ), a directional preposition (אֶל), and a destination noun, (מָקוֹם), employs the mapping THE DESTINATION OF A JOURNEY IS THE END OF LIFE from the conceptual metaphor +LIFE IS A JOURNEY+ (see also Eccl 6:6; Prov 15:24). This metaphor usually depicts a linear movement to a new destination. Here, Qoheleth identifies the shared HUMAN-ANIMAL destination as identical with their origin: הֶעָפָר "the dust." The subversion of the metaphor depicts a 'zero-sum' nature to existence, in which no ultimate progress is possible.[36]

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[35] This repetition with different referent may "specify the thought of the previous verses and confirm their argument," Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 129.

[36] The parallel structure of הַכֹּל + verb + preposition of motion + הֶעָפָר draws attention to the contrasting directions implied by אֶל/מִן. This is not a "cyclical pattern," which is more evident in the wider natural world in the cosmological poem of Eccl 1:3–11, *pace* Katharine J. Dell, *Interpreting Ecclesiastes: Readers Old and New*, CSHB 3 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 67.

The identification of the origin of humans and animals as הֶעָפָר, alongside מִן אֶל, and שׁוּב, share similarities with the biblical creation texts, particularly Genesis 2:7; 3:19.[37] As well as the collocation of several lexemes between texts, the article in מִן־הֶעָפָר suggests a particular GROUND is in view—a shared cultural reference point.[38]

Genesis 2:7

וַיִּיצֶר יְהוָ֙ה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָֽאָדָ֗ם עָפָר֙ מִן־הָ֣אֲדָמָ֔ה וַיִּפַּ֥ח בְּאַפָּ֖יו נִשְׁמַ֣ת חַיִּ֑ים וַֽיְהִ֥י הָֽאָדָ֖ם לְנֶ֥פֶשׁ חַיָּֽה׃

...then the LORD God formed man from the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and the man became a living being.

Genesis 3:19b

...עַ֤ד שֽׁוּבְךָ֙ אֶל־הָֽאֲדָמָ֔ה כִּ֥י מִמֶּ֖נָּה לֻקָּ֑חְתָּ כִּֽי־עָפָ֣ר אַ֔תָּה וְאֶל־עָפָ֖ר תָּשֽׁוּב׃

...until you return to the ground,

    for out of it you were taken;

you are dust,

    and to dust you shall return."

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[37] "Der Gliechheit von Mensch und Tier belegt Kohelet mit einem Verweis auf die Schöpfung," Melanie Köhlmoos, *Kohelet: Der Prediger Salomo*, ATD 16,5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 129; so Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 304–7; Seufert, "The Presence of Genesis in Ecclesiastes." For post-biblical use, see 1QH[a] 18:3–6, Sir[E] 33:10, and (via LXX) Philo's *Opif.* 134–137.

[38] In a discourse context, "...a particular instance is so prominent as to be the only one that counts," Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 286.

The possibility of links between these texts supports our supposition of the influence of Genesis 1–4 on Ecclesiastes 1:13, and perhaps even an allusiveness inherent to הָאָדָם in Ecclesiastes 3:19.[39] However, direct literary relationships are difficult to prove. We suggest that the strength of the lexical and conceptual connections above intimates at least a clear, rich, and salient shared cultural frame.[40] We provisionally call this the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame and suggest that it contains at least the Formation (often evoked via יצר) of Living Creatures from (מִן) the Ground (עָפָר or הָאֲדָמָה).[41] This cultural frame is highly significant for understanding רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes 3:19 given the role of BREATH in the formation of the human (via נְשָׁמָה, Gen 2:7). Although Genesis never narrates an 'inbreathing' of ANIMALS, both are referred to as נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (Gen 2:7, 19), and both are subsumed by the larger category of LIVING CREATURES with נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ חַיִּים/רוּחַ חַיִּים (Gen 6:17/7:22).[42]

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[39] "[T]he dirt clings to *ʾādām* wherever it goes," Jennifer L. Koosed, *(Per)Mutations of Qohelet: Reading the Body in the Book*, LHBOTS 429 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 36.

[40] Others see Qoheleth engaging with biblical primeval concepts apart from specific texts, so Samuel L. Adams, *Wisdom in Transition: Act and Consequence in Second Temple Instructions*, JSJSupp 125 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 145; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 547. Köhlmoos sees Ps 104:29 as the primary textual influence, a text we will return to under Ecclesiastes 12:7, Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 129.

[41] The focus is on the common origin in the ground/dust, rather than subsequent narrative points of distinction between HUMAN and ANIMAL such as the animals begin brought for naming to the human (Gen 2:19).

[42] The movement from נְשָׁמָה in Gen 2:7 to רוּחַ in Gen 6–7 is puzzling. It seems unlikely to reflect only redactional layers. Perhaps נְשָׁמָה (Gen 2:7) distinguishes the imparted BREATH from the enigmatic use of רוּחַ in the preceding discourse frame (Gen 1:2).

For humans, a return to their ground of origin arises as part of God's judgements against the first humans in Genesis 3:19.[43] The GROUND from which humans and animals are formed is considered part of their constitution (Gen 18:27; Ps 103:14; Job 10:9), as well as the state to which they return at the conclusion of life—an inevitability in the post-Edenic condition of the world.[44]

Qoheleth has sought to collapse the categories of HUMAN and ANIMAL together by appealing to their shared origin, their shared destination in death, and their shared possession of the רוּחַ. He brings this argument to a climax with the question of post-mortem existence (Eccl 3:21).[45] Qoheleth explores a potential distinction between HUMAN and ANIMAL in the direction of their respective רוּחַ. Notably, only the ANIMAL רוּחַ has a direction specified: לָאָרֶץ. This may serve as an explicit contrast to an implied cosmological opposite, such as THE

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[43] Qoheleth seems to "be aware and implicate in his utterances that human wickedness brings death to people themselves, alluding to the human propensity to disobey and sin against God since the Creation (7:16-17, 20, 29)", Takeuchi, *Death*, 96. This is highly salient given his questions surrounding the ubiquity of injustice.

[44] Genesis does not describe the cause of this return to dust. Later poetic reflections such as Ps 104:29; 146:4 link it, as here, with the *departure* (תֵּצֵא, Ps 146:4) or *removal* (תֹּסֵף, Ps 104:29) of the רוּחַ. The removal in Ps 104 is explicit attributed to God, and reflective of a denial of divine presence, see the comments on Eccl 12:7 and Job 34:14–15.

[45] In contrast to the MT articular pointing on הָעֹלָה and הַיֹּרֶדֶת, LXX, Syr., and Tg. construe them as interrogatives. Many infer a theological motivation for the MT pointing in seeking to distinguish at the last between HUMAN and ANIMAL, e.g., GKC §100m; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 29; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 130; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 168. However, the interrogative particle may be pointed differently before gutturals and *yod* (Gen 19:9; Lev 10:19; Num 16:22), although having two variant pointings together when the similar idea in Eccl 3:19 remains unchanged would be strange, James L. Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), 104; Weeks, *Ecclesiastes 1–5*, 561. The interrogative fits the context well, and matches the sceptical idiom מִי יוֹדֵעַ beginning the verse.

HEAVENS.[46] Alternatively, it may play upon the Ground element of the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame, that is, "Qohelet equates the return of the *ruah* to God with the *descent* of the *ruah*."[47]

Qoheleth's hesitancy to overtly depict the destination of the human רוּחַ contributes to the sense in this text that his anthropology is unravelling as he contemplates the possibility of an empirical distinction between the categories he has coalesced.[48] The opening phrase, מִי יוֹדֵעַ, usually introduces something unknowable or in doubt, often due to God's sovereignty (2 Sam 12:22; Joel 2:14; Jon 3:9).[49] Qoheleth's observations lead him to identify humans with animals in light of their nature and death, but—perhaps in light of the primeval history he alludes to—he still wonders if some distinction between them is possible in their respective ultimate destinations.[50] The mere possibility of such a distinction shows that it was a

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[46] See H. H. Schmid, "אֶרֶץ," *TLOT* 1:173.

[47] Athas, *Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, 103. This would be an unexpected confluence of אֶרֶץ and עָפָר/אֲדָמָה. Seow suggests אֶרֶץ references the "netherworld" (Exod 15:12; Num 16:32; Isa 14:12), Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 168. However, these passages depict אֶרֶץ as figuratively 'above' the underworld (to be "swallowed by the earth" is to enter what is beneath), or as a lower end of the VERTICALITY scale in the STATUS metaphor in contrast with "the heavens."

[48] Indeed, "the importance of this section lies precisely in its vagueness; prematurely replacing this indecisiveness with final canonical conclusions would blunt its rhetorical force," Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 158.

[49] Qoheleth also uses it in more generic contexts (Eccl 2:19, 6:12, 8:1). The question is not necessary equivalent with a denial, *pace* James L. Crenshaw, "The Expression *mî yôdēaʿ* in the Hebrew Bible," *VT* 36 (1986): 280, 285; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 37; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 193. מִי יוֹדֵעַ appears elsewhere to attribute agency in an unknowable circumstance to God.

[50] It is difficult to discern whether Qoheleth *desires* a distinction between the destination of HUMAN רוּחַ and ANIMAL רוּחַ, or is he *denounces* the suggestion that there is. Our understanding of מִי יוֹדֵעַ supports the former. The latter is favoured by Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 37; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 129; Thomas Krüger, *Qoheleth: A Commentary*, trans. O. C. Dean Jr., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 93–94; Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 26; Dell, *Interpreting Ecclesiastes: Readers Old and New*, 71; Adams, *Wisdom in Transition*, 151.

common enough part of Qoheleth's conceptual/cultural world to be able to be questioned.

However, it is premature to assign any specific cultural or theological milieu to this belief, and illegitimate to take these as pure ontological statements.[51] Instead, it is an "interim report on Qoheleth's thinking as the drama of his quest unfolds."[52]

It is in this ambiguity that this text provides some insight into Qoheleth's anthropological use of רוּחַ. ANIMAL and HUMAN as categories may not be observably distinguished, but LIVING and DEAD may. What then separates LIVING from DEAD? The רוּחַ. Ecclesiastes 3:19–21 alludes to the primeval narrative of Genesis 1–6 and especially Genesis 2–3—or at least the cultural frame reflected in both texts. These possible intertexts, the juxtaposition of HUMAN and ANIMAL categories, and the immediate contextual discussion of DEATH provide significant constraint for how רוּחַ is used. It almost certainly profiles BREATH. More specifically, it appears to profile the primeval breath imparted to animate creatures to grant life. The metonym +BREATH IS LIFE is likely employed as part of the evocation of the cultural frame, and at least partially recruits the conceptual structure of the narrative of the shared origin of ANIMAL and HUMAN. Furthermore, עָפָר and רוּחַ together likely evoke a cultural model of CREATURELY COMPOSITION.[53] In this model, creatures are composed of a BODY animated by

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[51] *Pace* Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 26; Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 94. Suppositions of post-mortem immortality would profile רוּחַ as the SELF, akin to later concepts of SOUL. This is linguistically possible but would likely require some contextual markers of the cultural concepts necessary to indicate its salience.

[52] Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 157.

[53] Similarly, Newsom, "In Search of Cultural Models," 109–11.

BREATH.[54] When the רוּחַ is not present, the creature returns to הֶעָפָר.[55] It is a separable yet essential part of the creature, not intrinsically present, yet when withdrawn, decomposes the creature to its fundamental unity with the 'stuff' of creation. This is the very point of the question of Ecclesiastes 3:21—if there is no distinction between human and animal life at its elemental level, can there be any ultimate distinction in their post-mortem nature? The ultimate 'fate' of the רוּחַ remains, for now, a mystery, but its centrality to life—animal and human—is evident.

3.2.3   Ecclesiastes 7:8–9

3.2.3.1   Text

טֽוֹב אַחֲרִ֥ית דָּבָ֖ר מֵֽרֵאשִׁית֑וֹ ט֥וֹב אֶֽרֶךְ־ר֖וּחַ מִגְּבַהּ־רֽוּחַ׃

אַל־תְּבַהֵ֥ל בְּרֽוּחֲךָ֖ לִכְע֑וֹס כִּ֣י כַ֔עַס בְּחֵ֥יק כְּסִילִ֖ים יָנֽוּחַ׃

** Better the end of a thing than its beginning; better the 'long of *rûaḥ*' than the 'high in *rûaḥ*.'

** Do not let your *rûaḥ* rush to frustration; for frustration lodges in the breast of fools.

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[54] Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 26. These elements form "two elliptical poles" of human existence, Andreas Schüle, "The Notion of Life: נפש and רוח in the Anthropological Discourse of the Primeval History," *HeBAI* 1 (2012): 498.

[55] In the primeval narrative, the BODY was conceived of as originating in the עָפָר (Gen 2:7).

3.2.3.2 Context

Ecclesiastes 7 displays a shift in the literary style of the book, moving from the extended reflections of Qoheleth to an increasing number of proverbial sayings. This likely indicates a move to the second section of Qoheleth's quest.[56] The cluster of 'better-than' sayings (Eccl 7:1–8) flow from the question, מִי־יוֹדֵעַ מַה טּוֹב (Eccl 6:12).[57] These aphorisms are part of the struggle to understand 'the good' (טוֹב appears 9x in 7:1–12) with a cluster of lexemes typical of proverbial wisdom repeated throughout: כַּעַס (7:3, 9); לֵב (7:2, 3, 4 twice, 7); חָכָם/כְּסִיל (7:4–6; 10–12); and רוּחַ (7:8–9).[58]

3.2.3.3 Analysis

The two sayings in Ecclesiastes 7:8–9 are linked by the repetition of רוּחַ, with 7:9 likely explaining 7:8b.[59]

Ecclesiastes 7:8 varies the 'better-than' structure by combining two comparisons into a single aphorism. The a-colon repeats the argument of Ecclesiastes 7:1b with "conditions reversed," using the b-colon of 7:1 as the a-colon of the 'better-than' structure of 7:8.[60] The lexical units דָּבָר and אַחֲרִית are highly ambiguous. While the verbal root דבר profiles the act of SPEECH,

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[56] See the Masoretic note on Eccl 6:10 as the centre of the book, a suitable 'pivot point.'

[57] So Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 179; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 498.

[58] This may be part of a "rhetoric of subversion" in which Qoheleth manipulates the ambiguity of the lexical stock of such proverbs to critique them, so Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 244.

[59] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 248; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 517.

[60] Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 137.

the nominal דָּבָר may refer to an instance of speech, *word*, or a generic *thing*.[61] The *word* construal is witnessed in Vulg. *orationis* and LXX λόγων.[62] We have previously noted a conceptual link between SPEECH and רוּחַ that may be salient. However, the singular form of דָּבָר and the collocation with אַחֲרִית makes the generic usage more likely.

אַחֲרִית is an orientational noun, profiling the spatial or temporal positioning of a TR relative to an LM, where the TR is further away in a canonical direction away from the Viewer.[63] It is "that which comes after," although it may act figuratively for the extreme boundary of the spatial (Ps 139:9) or temporal (Gen 49:1) area, "end." While the spatial usage is significant for the רוּחַ metaphors below, the temporal use of אַחֲרִית forms a merism with רֵאשִׁעַת "beginning."[64] The "end of a matter" is relatively superior to "its beginning."

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[61] See a similar movement from WORD → ENTITY in Aram. מִלְּה (Dan 2:10), A. Gianto, "מלל," *TDOT* 16:429. Gerleman suggests generic דָּבָר is "a replacement when a specific expression is not immediately available," G. Gerleman, "דָּבָר," *TLOT* 1:329.

[62] So Aarre Lauha, *Kohelet*, BKAT 19 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978), 127. The plural LXX likely arises from dittography, so BHQ apparatus, Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 238.

[63] *SDBH*, s.v. "אַחֲרִית;" Wolde, *Reframing*, 140. The sufformative ית marks an abstract form, Joüon §88Mi.

[64] While "beginning" and "end" form comprehensible conceptual poles, the two lexical units appear infrequently together in BH (Deut 11:12; Isa 46:10; Job 8:7; 42:12 ∴). The rarity may be due to the juxtaposition of canonically HORIZONTAL and canonically VERTICAL lexemes, although see our notes on the spatial metaphors for an alternate explanation. CL research suggests a merismatic use of coordinate antonyms to "indicate what is being said is true of both the opposite states and all states in between," Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, "Antonymy in Language Structure and Use," in *Cognitive Linguistics between Universality and Variation*, ed. Mario Brdar, Ida Raffaelli, and Milena Zic Fuchs (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 173.

The b-colon of Ecclesiastes 7:8 repeats the |טוֹב...מִן| construction without a connective

particle, a unique occurrence in BH within a single bicolon. The second contrast is the

relative value of PATIENCE over PRIDE.[65] This is instantiated by two spatial metaphors

involving רוּחַ: אֶרֶךְ־רוּחַ ([LENGTH]) and גְּבַהּ־רוּחַ ([HEIGHT]). We encountered these metaphors

in Proverbs 14:29 and Proverbs 16:18–19, respectively. In both, we argued that רוּחַ profiled

the INTERNAL SELF—although in the LENGTH metaphor this was motivated by the embodied

experience of abbreviated respiration as representative of a lack of control over the SELF,

associating it with VOLITION.[66] The metaphors here also depict character traits. However,

here, they interact with one another and the spatio-temporal pairing of אַחֲרִית and רֵאשִׁעת.

We initially read these lexical units as a temporal merism, "beginning to end."[67] However,

the SPATIAL source frames of the רוּחַ metaphors recast the entire proverb in SPATIAL terms.[68]

In Proverbs 14:29, the רוּחַ was SHORT. Here the scalar opposite is instantiated, אֶרֶךְ־רוּחַ (Sir[A]

5:11 ∴).[69] This extends the metaphor of רוּחַ as possessing LENGTH to depict רוּחַ as reaching

from the "beginning" to the "end" of a matter, reflecting the wisdom of the a-colon.[70] That

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[65] "Er formuliert die Konsequenz aus der allgemeinen Wahrnehmung mit anthropologischem Schwerpunkt," Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 171.

[66] Note the similarity with Prov 16:32 in Tg. גבר דשליט ברוחיה "a man who controls his *rûaḥ*."

[67] Or possibly, "a former situation and an eventual one," Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 248.

[68] Part of Qoheleth's "spatial play," Christianson, *A Time*, 202.

[69] There is a possible related Aramaic instantiation of this metaphor in 4Q550 1 3–4, בה בש״תא ארכת רוחה די מלכא אﬠﬢל, as part of a curious and complicated court narrative. This is often construed as *appeasement*, e.g., Puech's "l'esprit du Roi s'apaisa," *DJD* 37:13–15.

[70] Murphy's description of the רוּחַ as "stretched out" is apt, Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 65.

is, because the *end* is preferable, one requires a רוּחַ that may extend from start to finish,

rather than one that seeks to elevate itself in ARROGANCE.[71]

The metaphors share a high-level SPATIAL conceptual structure and a common use of רוּחַ as

SELF, although profiled against distinct conceptual bases. The shared structure and profile

allow for a novel blend to emerge. Qoheleth merges +TIME IS SPACE+ ("beginning" is ORIGIN,

"end" is FUTURE) and +EMOTION IS A SUBSTANCE+ ('length of רוּחַ' is PATIENCE, 'elevation of

רוּחַ' is ARROGANCE) to form a poetically and ethically significant blend in which רוּחַ is

idealised spatially (and so temporally) to the conclusion of "a matter," rather than elevated

(in self-perception) to presume control over the outcome, or presume knowledge of the

outcome.

Ecclesiastes 7:9 follows a prohibition-justification structure: | כִּי ...Verb[Jussive]-אַל|. The

prohibited action, בהל, often profiles the experience of FEAR, save in Ecclesiastes, Esther, and

Proverbs, where it typically profiles the undertaking of an action with speed.[72] The infinitival

construction לִכְעוֹס specifies that which one must not hasten towards, *frustration.* כעס is

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[71] Christianson suggests that in 'better-than' proverbs, רוּחַ tends to describe *traits*, with the modifying adjective delineating the expected behaviour of the person or group, Christianson, *A Time*, 202.

[72] Out of 39 instances, few may be construed in terms of MOTION (Eccl 5:1; 8:3; Est 2:9; 6:14; 8:14; Prov 20:21; 28:22; 2 Chr 26:10, 35:21). Blau suggests both senses are related to Arab. *bahara*, "Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung ist veilleicht in klassischßarabischen *inbahara* „atemlos sein" erhalten," Josua Blau, "Etymologische Untersuchungen auf Grund des palaestinischen Arabisch," *VT* 5 (1955): 339. While uncertain, it would be poetically-satisfying for a respiratory verb to collocate with בְּרוּחֲךָ.

often glossed as "anger," but profiles a more complex emotional experience.[73] Qoheleth

favours כַּעַס to describe that which promises but ultimately fails to fulfil in life, such as

wisdom and work (Eccl 1:18, 2:23). The addition of בְּרוּחֲךָ to the prohibition is syntactically

unnecessary, leading many translations to remove it. Once more, we are prompted to raise

the question of linguistic relevance: what justifies the extra cognitive 'cost' of specifying

בְּרוּחֲךָ in addition to תְּבַהֵל לִכְעוֹס?

We suggest the construal of preposition בְּ is significant for understanding the usage of רוּחַ;

particularly whether בְּ profiles *location* (where רוּחַ is the location of frustration) or

instrumentation (where רוּחַ is that which hastens frustration). The majority of instances

where בְּ relates to רוּחַ it marks instrumentality (Exod 14:21, 15:8, 15:10; Isa 4:4, 11:4, 27:8;

Ezek 11:24, 37:1; Zech 4:6, 7:12; Ps 33:6; Job 15:30, 26:13; Neh 9:30).[74] Less frequently, it

localises something 'in' or 'within' the רוּחַ—either the divine person within meteorological

phenomena (1 Kgs 19:11), or anthropologically as an aspect of the person in which particular

actions or characteristics (Ps 32:2) or knowledge (1 Chr 28:12) resides.[75] While the

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[73] כַּעַס has etymological connections with FEAR, Norbert Lohfink, "כָּעַס," *TDOT* 7:283. It also appears in parallel with lexemes of PAIN such as מַכְאוֹב. We use "frustration" for brevity, a more accurate definition might be "displeasure caused by someone else's condition or behaviour," *SDBH*, s.v. "כעס." This is conceptually related to ANGER in BH, which often results from "perceptions of wrongdoing," Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 53–56.

[74] 5/13 of these construe רוּחַ meteorologically, and the Agent employing the instrument is almost exclusively Yahweh. The remaining uses primarily refer to Yahweh's רוּחַ (as some extension of Yahweh), the instrument effective over prophets (Zech 4:6, 7:12; Neh 9:30).

[75] 2 Kgs 2:9 depicts a kind of localisation through metonymy, where the TR *x* is part of the larger entity of *y*. Other uses depict the TR *x* (marked by בְּ) not being located in or with the LM *y*, but rather in

instrumental relationship is more common for רוּחַ, the collocation with יָנוּחַ "to settle down" and the tendency for anthropological referents of בְּרוּחַ to refer to characteristics or traits, it seems more likely that רוּחַ is the *location* in which frustration is wont to be hastened.[76] The fronting of כַּעַס supports this as the topic of the justification clause. It is located in some part of the person, בְּחֵיק כְּסִילִים. חֵיק refers to the front of the body, particularly associated with relational intimacy (as of a child to a mother).[77] "The fool coddles his vexation, nurtures it, lets it grow, while all along, of course, it is gnawing at him."[78]

The כְּסִילִים are the antithesis of the WISE in many sapiential texts.[79] In Ecclesiastes 7:8, the virtue of patience is espoused. Here, the fool's frustration becomes characteristic of them. This proverb structurally contrasts negative MOTION (בהל) with negative STATIVITY (נוח) at the start of the a-colon and end of the b-colon. The verbs themselves are not evaluative, but both are applied to a common element, כַּעַס, which should neither be hastened nor allowed to remain settled. רוּחַ and חֵיק are both identified prepositionally as the location of כעס, depicting them as aspects or elements of the person in which emotions such as frustration

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physical or figurative contact with it (Mal 2:16), where רוּחַ is marked by בְּ as that kept watch over. This contact may even be construed socially between two persons, see Prov 16:32, Eccl 8:8.

[76] This does not imply that רוּחַ therefore means *mind*, *pace* Fabry and Tengström, "רוּחַ,"13:377.

[77] חֵיק is frequently the LM location against which another Entity is profiled, hence almost always marked by a preposition (17/38x with בְּ for localisation). Once, in Job 19:27 it seems to be depicted as a container in which the כְּלָיָה "kidneys" (also associated with emotional experience) are located.

[78] Michael V. Fox, *Qohelet and His Contradictions*, JSOTSupp 71 (Sheffield: Almond, 1989), 230.

[79] M. Sæbø, "כְּסִיל," *TLOT* 2:620–21.

may be found. Both terms profile interiority to the human SELF, such that for negative

emotions to be found or encouraged in them is to have it taint the entirety of the person.[80]

Ecclesiastes 7:8-9 uses רוּחַ in two complementary ways. The first saying uses רוּחַ as the target

frame for a pair of spatial metaphors—one a novel development of an existing metaphor

(אֶרֶךְ־רוּחַ), and the other an established one (גְּבַהּ־רוּחַ). Idealised character traits are depicted

according to the spatio-temporal background of START to END to generate conceptual clarity

and ethical response. The interior SELF is the primary focus of these metaphors, with

associations of VOLITION present in other uses of the metaphor in Proverbs and exploited

here.[81] The second proverb similarly depicts רוּחַ in spatial terms and in close association with

character traits: it can have כַּעַס localised 'in' it. In contrast to the more expansive conception

of Ecclesiastes 7:8, 7:9 anchors רוּחַ to the person such that it may relate conceptually to חֵיק.

In this way, the proverbs develop one another to present patience rather than arrogance or

frustration as the ideal.

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[80] Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 186. Longman is correct to suggest that the locative use of בְּרוּחֲךָ
"may indicate a kind of deep-seated and perhaps concealed or unexpressed anger," but erroneously
construes this as "uncontrollable anger that has overcome a person," Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 188.

[81] Lys appeals to an embodied correlation of respiration to emotional experience here to deny
volitional control, "on est objectivement forcé de conclure qu'il ne sait pas diriger ni maîtriser ni
posséder son propre souffle pas plus qu'il n'est capable de paître le vent," Lys, *Rûach*, 327.

3.2.4 Ecclesiastes 8:8

3.2.4.1 Text

אֵין אָדָם שַׁלִּיט בָּרוּחַ לִכְלוֹא אֶת־הָרוּחַ וְאֵין שִׁלְטוֹן בְּיוֹם הַמָּוֶת וְאֵין מִשְׁלַחַת בַּמִּלְחָמֶה וְלֹא־יְמַלֵּט רֶשַׁע אֶת־

בְּעָלָיו:

No one has power over the *rûaḥ* to restrain the *rûaḥ*, or power over the day of death; there

is no discharge from the battle, nor does wickedness deliver those who practice it.

3.2.4.2 Context

Ecclesiastes 8:1 begins a new section of Qoheleth's reflections, introduced by two מִי

questions. This section questions the role of the 'wise man' in the presence of 'the king.'

"Qohelet the pessimist now turns pragmatist."[82] The monarch is described in superlative,

nearly divine, terms (8:3–4), especially in the chain of כִּי clauses in Ecclesiastes 8:6–7.

However, these correspond to the four negative clauses of Ecclesiastes 8:8, suggesting there

are limits even to the supreme monarch. Ecclesiastes 8:9 summarises the section, repeating

key terms (שלט ,רַע ,אָדָם) to conclude that the exercise of authority (limited as it is in our

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[82] Athas, *Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, 174. See further a plausible Ptolemaic historical context to these instructions that ground Qoheleth's seemingly "enigmatic or even nonsensical" instructions, 176–177.

verse) leads to רַע "evil." Qoheleth leaves the concluding pronominal suffix intentionally ambiguous as to whether the 'ruler' or the 'ruled' are those who suffer this evil.[83]

3.2.4.3 Analysis

Ecclesiastes 8:8 consists of four negative statements in simple conjunction with one another, having "in common that they escape control and manipulation."[84] The first statement combines אֵין with an indeterminate noun and adjective to form an equivocal construction.[85] This excludes any member of the category HUMAN from being characterised by שַׁלִּיט "having power." שַׁלִּיט evokes the [AUTHORITY] frame. In this frame, a Ruler has the means to affect the Ruled (often marked by בְּ or less commonly עַל) within a certain Domain (often marked by לְ), occasionally attributed to some Source.[86] When evoked by שלט, the Ruler is typically human (Gen 42:6; Eccl 2:19; 7:19), but with a divine Source of their authority (Eccl 5:18; 6:2). The Ruled is typically marked by בְּ (Psa 119:133; Eccl 2:19). The root and its frame recall Ecclesiastes 8:4 where the king's word is שִׁלְטוֹן "powerful."[87] Here, by contrast, no human can exert authority over the רוּחַ.

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[83] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 284; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 215.

[84] Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 84. The shift from אֵין to לֹא in the fourth statement reflects the move from nominal to verbal clauses.

[85] Joüon §160i.

[86] Adapted to BH data from the FrameNet frame [AUTHORITY].

[87] Fox, *Qohelet and His Contradictions*, 248.

The use of רוּחַ is difficult to discern clearly. Most translators and commentators opt for a meteorological (*wind*) or anthropological (*spirit/breath*) construal.[88] Almost all scholars admit the plausibility of the alternate construal, suggesting either an intentional and finely-balanced ambiguity, or insufficient textual data to decide.[89] The collocated verbs evocative of [AUTHORITY] and [RESTRAINT] initially appear equally salient for both construals. To make even a preliminary decision, we will examine the evidence for the different conceptual bases against which we may profile רוּחַ.

The infinitival clause לִכְלוֹא אֶת־הָרוּחַ likely marks the purpose of such (potential if not actual) control. כלא tends to depict a generalised spatial RESTRAINT. The nominal forms כֶּלֶא and כְּלִיא typically refer to human imprisonment (1QHᵃ 13:40; בֵּית כֶּלֶא in 1 Kgs 22:27; 2 Kgs 17:4; Isa 42:22; Jer 37:15), which likely extends to intentional physical detention (of enclosing

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[88] For the meteorological construal, see Lauha, *Kohelet*, 150; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 214; Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 282–83; Daniel C. Fredericks and Daniel J. Estes, *Ecclesiastes & The Song of Songs*, AOTC 16 (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2010), 189; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 611–12; Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 192. For the anthropological, see Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 157; Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 56; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 79; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 152; Christianson, *A Time*, 206.
[89] George Athas recruits historical and cultural data to offer a new interpretation. He suggests רוּחַ profiles WIND as a Hellenistic metaphor of POLITICAL POWER: "the wind is not merely a symbol of impossible attainment, but also a political symbol and barometer" (Eccl 1:6), Athas, "Qohelet in His Context," 369. The double use of רוּחַ becomes a reference to "two political entities, namely the Seleucids in the north and the Ptolemies in the south," Athas, "Qohelet in His Context," 369. The historical context of the Tobiads and Onias is certainly a possible mental space that might be recruited to make such a metaphorical blend work, especially if Qoheleth desired to make his political satire accessible only to those with the necessary encyclopaedic knowledge. However, the validity and salience of the +POLITICAL ENTITIES ARE WINDS+ metaphor needs to be established in BH. Dan 11:4 is possible evidence, but may equally refer to the Diadochi's association with the four compass points in Dan 8:8.

livestock, 1 Sam 6:10).[90] However, the verb only applies to human imprisonment in Jeremiah 32:2–3 (see also 4Q381 33ab+35 8), with two figurative extensions.[91] First, the physical detention of an Agent describes VOLITIONAL restraint. In these uses, the SELF 'imprisons' the desire to act or the action itself within themselves (Exod 36:6; 1 Sam 25:33; Ps 119:101)—most often in the negative to indicate *generousity*, "do not withhold" (Gen 23:6; Isa 43:6; Ps 40:10).[92] Second, it was used of liquid elements of ancient cosmology—שָׁמַיִם, טַל, and מַיִם (Gen 8:2; Ezek 31:15; Hag 1:10)—where the waters appear to be functioning as Agents within the narrative and כלא indicates the reversal of a previous action by implicit divine volition.

The use of שלט to describe power over the Ruled, and כלא of restraining or imprisoning an actual or narratival Agent suggests that רוּחַ is more likely anthropological rather than meteorological in referent. No human, even those in highest societal power, may truly control or restrain the רוּחַ of another. The article on both instances of רוּחַ in this verse may accentuate this, emphasising the uniqueness of the SELF as against those seeking to

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[90] See Akk. *kalû* "to detain, delay, hold back," *CAD* 8, s.v. "*kalû*."

[91] Ps 88:9 conceptualises the author's distress as +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS LACKING SPACE TO MOVE+, where כלא depicts the Agonist's distress as being 'shut in,' entailing that they are unable to escape from the experience, King, *Surrounded*, 161–63.

[92] The SELF is depicted not as a CONTAINER as in the positive usage, but as the Agent responsible for imprisonment (usually the 'Antagonist' when the SELF is imprisoned) with the capacity to exert force sufficient to prevent the movement of some Entity, be it physical objects (Exod 36:6), harmful desires (1 Sam 25:33), or even the metaphorical "paths" in life (Ps 119:101). This force is explicitly *not* exerted, leading to the intentional release of the (usually positive) Entity. This is a remarkable inversion of the BH -CONSTRAINT- schema explored in King, *Surrounded*, 141–43.

control/constrain it.[93] The repetition of רוּחַ serves no apparent purpose unless it is to allow

two different viewpoints on the same anthropological frame evocation. רוּחַ is profiled against

an anthropological base in both instances, but with differing viewpoints on its—one that is

perspectival (focusing on the contrast between internal and external power) and one that is

functional (focusing on the capacity/incapacity of preserving life).

The first (with שׁלט) emphasises the lack of control over the SELF of another. רוּחַ is, as in

Ecclesiastes 7:9, depicted as deeply internal to the SELF, contrasted with the 'external world'

over which rulers may exert their authority.[94] The second (with כלא) preferentially evokes

the metonymic use of רוּחַ to represent LIFE (the 'life-breath,' Eccl 3:19–21).[95] כלא depicts the

inability to confine the רוּחַ, to prevent its escape. No one has the power to prevent the

departure of the 'life-breath' when it comes time to separate from the body. This construal

is supported by the second 'incapacity' statement, וְאֵין שִׁלְטוֹן בְּיוֹם הַמָּוֶת. Power, especially

political power, is exposed by its inability to control the time of death of oneself or another.[96]

While we have noted previously the tendency for repeated lexemes to be profiled similarly

in a single context, the caveat has always been that sufficient contextual influence may guide

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[93] See under Eccl 3:19–21 for Langacker's understanding of the article as restricting possible referents to what is most salient in the discourse, or so prominent in encyclopaedic knowledge to be the most likely referent. אֶת supports this, as it "is used when the information status of the object is high within the discourse structure," *BHRG²* §33.4.2.

[94] Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 157. "The spirit, its fate and movement, is not bound to the realm of human governance." Christianson, *A Time*, 205.

[95] So Tg.; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 84; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 282; Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 56.

[96] The article on הַמָּוֶת, as רוּחַ, emphasises the singularity of the event.

subsequent construals differently. The shared conceptual base of the *internality* of רוּחַ to the

human is key to both uses, with a shift, however subtle, in the exact profile-base relationship

suggested by the repetition of the lexical unit in different scenes.[97]

With all due caution when approaching polysemous terms that divide readers, רוּחַ appears

to primarily profile the internal aspect of the human SELF against the person as a whole, with

two subtle shifts in perspective between the uses that reflect an emphasis on either the

volitional character of that internal aspect, or the essential *vitality* it represents. Given the

strength of the actions profiled by שׁלט and כלא, and contrary to the apparent and perhaps

even implicit power of authorities over others, it may imply that the רוּחַ presents an

'unruleable' quantity—unable to ever truly come under the sway of another, and certainly

unable to be kept past its due. The power of others over the individual is at least relativised,

if not diminished, by its very presence in the world. Regarding the difficult sense

differentiation of רוּחַ here and in Ecclesiastes 11:5, Lys helpfully notes:

> Mais ici encore c'est ambigu; et cette ambiguïte même n'est pas sans signification,
>
> car nous comprenons mieux combien est ridicule la prétention de l'homme telle que
>
> nous l'avons rencontrée à propos du vent, si l'on sous-entend derrière le vent le sense

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[97] We admit that the repetition of the article may clash with detecting a distinction, given the tendency
of the use of the article to indicate a discourse-prominent entity.

de souffle: si l'homme n'est pas maître du vent, il l'est encore moins de son propre souffle, précaire signe de la vie que Dieu seul peut lui donner.[98]

3.2.5 Ecclesiastes 10:4

3.2.5.1 Text

אִם־ר֤וּחַ הַמּוֹשֵׁל֙ תַּעֲלֶ֣ה עָלֶ֔יךָ מְקֽוֹמְךָ֖ אַל־תַּנַּ֑ח כִּ֣י מַרְפֵּ֔א יַנִּ֖יחַ חֲטָאִ֥ים גְּדוֹלִֽים׃

If the *rûaḥ* of the ruler rises against you, do not leave your post, for calmness will undo great offenses.

BHS suggests emending יַנִּיחַ "to rest" to יָנִיא "to hinder."[99] However, this destroys the wordplay of repeating the root between cola.[100]

3.2.5.2 Context

The מוֹשֵׁל "ruler" appears previously in Ecclesiastes 9:17, perhaps linking this saying with the siege anecdote of 9:13–16.[101] Thematically, it may also relate to Ecclesiastes 8:3, where Qoheleth speaks of when it *is* appropriate to depart from an authority figure. However,

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[98] Lys, *Rûach*, 327.

[99] So Lauha, *Kohelet*, 183.

[100] Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 318; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 239; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 96.

[101] This anecdote may allude to Sennacharib's siege of Jerusalem, re-told against Qoheleth's contemporary situation, Athas, *Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, 187.

Ecclesiastes 8:3 referred to the מֶלֶךְ "king" rather than the less specific and presumably more local מוֹשֵׁל.[102] The sayings in Ecclesiastes 10:5–7 use various terms for those in power, הַשַּׁלִּיט (5), עֲשִׁירִים (6), and עֲשִׁירִים (7), although these may be part of a parabolic 'example story' that "it takes only a small problem to wreak havoc in the world."[103] If so, Fox's observation on the broader message of these sayings is accurate:

> As uncertain, perilous, and frustrating as life can be, it still holds possibilities for prudent and sensible action. In 10:4–20 Koheleth observes some ways of adjusting to the realities one faces.[104]

3.2.5.3   Analysis

Ecclesiastes 10:4 discusses how to deal with local authorities. This proverb shifts to a direct address of the reader (עָלֶיךָ) from the more general gnomic advice of the prior verses. אִם introduces a hypothetical situation which grounds the ethical exhortation marked by כִּי in the b-colon.[105] The problem is the potential for רוּחַ הַמּוֹשֵׁל תַּעֲלֶה עָלֶיךָ.

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[102] Fox, *Qohelet and His Contradictions*, 267; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 101. Köhlmoos helpfully glosses מוֹשֵׁל as "Amtsträgers." Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 218. Lauha maintains "מושל »Gewalthaber« kann der König oder sonst ein hoher Vertreter der Staatsgewalt sein, mit dem der Untergebene fortwährend zu tun hat und von dessen Willkür er abhängig ist," Lauha, *Kohelet*, 184.

[103] Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 241.

[104] Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 67.

[105] William Bivin presents a sophisticated CL treatment of אִם as a *mental space builder*, William E. Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality in Biblical Hebrew Revisited: A Cognitive Linguistic Account" (PhD Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2017). Eccl 10:4 is classified as a 'content conditional clause' which participates in "building background mental spaces against which the main ... clause is used to make a prediction," Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 115.

רוּחַ is almost exclusively construed as profiling the ANGER of the ruler "rising against you."

This makes good sense of the text, and is supported by scenarios depicting ANGER in BH

involving social superiors as the experiencers of the emotion and perceived wrongdoing as

the cause.[106] However, in light of the function of עַל, the wider SPATIAL image schema that

appears to underpin this text, and our wider questions over רוּחַ and ANGER posed earlier, we

suggest this construal requires re-evaluation.

עלה generally denotes "movement from a lower to a higher place."[107] This lends itself to a

wide range of figurative usage, including two especially relevant to this verse: 'ascent' as

gaining *superiority* over another, evoking the orientational metaphor +HEIGHT IS STATUS+;

and 'going up' with *hostile intent*, possibly motivated by cultural models of <u>MILITARY ACTION</u>

where defensive structures were associated with geographical height or high walls.[108] Both

uses combine עלה with an עַל-PP, with the status use emphasising the extent of the superiority

of a person over another (Deut 28:43, Ps 137:6, Prov 31:29).[109] However, the combination is

more frequent with the hostile action use (Judg 6:3; 15:10; 1 Kgs 15:17).[110] The use of עלה +

עַל provides two potential avenues for understanding this verse: the ruler may 'come against'

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[106] See Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 57.

[107] G. Wehmeier, "עלה," *TLOT* 2:885.

[108] Conversely, defenders could 'fall upon' (ירד) attackers (2 Chr 20:16).

[109] עַל alone may evoke the STATUS metaphor (Ps 95:3), with the combination intensifying the distance in space, and thus status.

[110] In military contexts, this construction is usually collocated with a verb evoking the [WARFARE] frame directly such as חנה (1 Sam 11:1); תפש (2 Kgs 18:13; Isa 36:1); חרב (Jer 50:21).

you in *hostility*, or the ruler may 'elevate himself' above you in *status*.[111] More specifically, it is the רוּחַ of the ruler which may be involved in one of these two scenarios.

The collocation of עלה and רוּחַ is not common in BH. The closest combination of רוּחַ, עלה, and עַל appears in Ezekiel 20:32a: וְהָעֹלָה עַל־רוּחֲכֶם הָיוֹ לֹא תִהְיֶה "what rises *ʿal* your *rûaḥ* shall never happen…" This unique idiom looks to be a lexical variant of the more common |עַל־ לֵב + עלה construction (2 Kgs 12:5; Isa 65:17; Jer 3:16; 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; 44:21; Ezek 38:10 ∴). This construction refers to the presence (or non-presence, Isa 65:17) of a memory, thought, or desire. However, the subject and object in Ezekiel 20 is the reverse of Ecclesiastes 10:4. This is not something 'coming upon' the רוּחַ, but the רוּחַ 'coming upon' another.

A second co-text follows the structure of Ecclesiastes 10:4 very closely, again with some lexical variation.

2 Samuel 11:20a

וְהָיָה **אִם־תַּעֲלֶה חֲמַת הַמֶּלֶךְ** וְאָמַר לְךָ מַדּוּעַ נִגַּשְׁתֶּם אֶל־הָעִיר לְהִלָּחֵם

…then, if the king's anger rises, and if he says to you, "Why did you go so near the city to fight?"

This text appears in a hypothetical אִם construction, features yiqtol עלה, an authority figure, and a lexeme centrally-evocative of ANGER, חֵמָה.[112] While, again, unique, this is strong evidence for construing רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes 10:4 as ANGER.[113] If רוּחַ *does* profile ANGER here, we must address several issues concerning its use. Firstly, the issue of linguistic relevance. 2 Sam 11:20 attests to a 'less-effortful' depiction of the displeasure of a ruler increasing. What motivates Qoheleth's choice of a more obscure way to communicate his message?[114] Conversely, what makes רוּחַ more suitable to express Qoheleth's communicative intent? This leads to the second issue, the nature of the connection between רוּחַ and ANGER. Schlimm notes that "although there are cases in which [רוּחַ] has connections with anger … רוּחַ is not innately connected with anger."[115] Does רוּחַ profile ANGER according to biological metonymy such as heavy breathing (similarly to HEAT above)?[116] Does it instantiate a meteorological metaphor for the destructiveness of WIND?[117] The context offers little to justify such readings. The third, albeit less significant, issue is the witness of the ancient versions. While often

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[112] חֵמָה "heat" profiles ANGER as a perceived physiological symptom of raised body temperature when experiencing the emotion (via +THE PHYSICAL RESPONSES TO AN EMOTION FOR THE EMOTION+). It often depicts "fierce anger that involves at least the possibility of deadly violence," Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 87.

[113] So Lauha, *Psychophysischer*, 228.

[114] Tg. avoids this by interpreting רוּחַ as an EVIL SPIRIT acting *externally* upon the ruler.

[115] Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 86 n. 42.

[116] On +HEAVY BREATHING FOR ANGER+, see Johnson, *Vitality*, 379; Kotzé, "Methodology for the Study of Metaphor," 113.

[117] For +ANGER IS A HOT WIND+, particularly as motivated by the Mediterranean sirocco, see John Wright, "Rûaḥ: A Survey," in *The Concept of Spirit: Papers from The Concept of Spirit Conference Held at St. Paul's College, University of Sydney, 21–24 May 1984*, ed. D. W. Dockrill and R. G. Tanner, Prudentia (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1985), 10; Kotzé, "Conceptualisation of Anger," 163.

glossing רוּחַ with lexemes that may evoke ANGER, such as ὀργή (Prov 16:32 LXX), θυμός (Prov 29:11 LXX), and ܪܓܙܐ (Prov 29:11 Syr.), here they follow the MT quite closely: πνευμα + ἀναβῇ (LXX); ܣܠܩ +ܪܘܚܐ (Syr.); and *spiritus* + *ascendere* (Vulg.).

If רוּחַ does indeed profile ANGER, we suggest that it does so with the intent of recruiting wider lexical content for רוּחַ, such as the *contingency* of human life that relativises human authority in Psalm 146:3–4.[118] However, apart from strong similarities to the 2 Samuel 11 co-text, there is little in this text that necessitates רוּחַ be understood as ANGER or explains how it might function as such figuratively. With the caution required when disagreeing with near-universal readings of a text, we may now offer a related but more-nuanced understanding of this verse that better accounts for the use of רוּחַ.

We suggest that in Ecclesiastes 10:4, the SPATIAL verb and preposition evoke the metaphor +ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH+ previously encountered in Proverbs 16:18–19. As Tilford explains regarding the VERTICALITY scale structuring this metaphor:

> In ARROGANCE IS BEING HIGH and HUMILITY IS BEING LOW, the emphasis is on the locative dimension of proprioception, that is, where the body is in relation to other

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[118] The association of רוּחַ with LIFE and its loss with DEATH (see Eccl 3:19–21 above) "is due no doubt to the effort of the psalmist to put princes in their place," Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 27–28.

bodies. Pride and humility are characterized as the location at which one is situated (EMOTIONS ARE LOCATIONS).[119]

This accounts for עַל profiling the relative HEIGHT (and thus STATUS) difference between the ruler's רוּחַ and the proverbial "you;" and has greater co-textual support in the frequent depiction of PERCEIVED STATUS as VERTICAL HEIGHT. In Proverbs 16, we argued that רוּחַ referred to the internal SELF of the arrogant person, which when 'raised' above another signifies an assertion of superiority over the other. This is an internal estimation that did not necessarily reflect reality, which may imply a note of subversion if the מוֹשֵׁל is depicted as a lower-level local authority. We also noted that one key entailment of the +STATUS IS HEIGHT+ metaphor was a general force tendency to move from higher to lower. What is elevated higher on the implied VERTICAL scale has a greater tendency to be returned to a much lower value—the arrogant tend to be catastrophically humbled. This entailment would explain the counsel here to מְקוֹמְךָ אַל־תַּנַּח "not abandon your position." Here again, SOCIAL STATUS is depicted in SPATIAL terms, with מָקוֹם referring to "a person's social station or professional, official position," and Qoheleth's counsel to *not* move (נוח) in contrast to the movement profiled by עלה.[120] If the ruler elevates themselves arrogantly over you, it is neither for you

[119] Tilford, *Sensing*, 164.

[120] J. Gamberoni, "מָקוֹם," *TDOT* 8:536; on this social reading, see Treier, *Proverbs & Ecclesiastes*, 212; Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 182. The repetition of נוח in the b-colon appears to bear a different sense than *abandon*. Given the phonological similarity with רוּחַ, this wordplay may conceptually and semasiologically link the cause, response, and outcome of the scenario depicted in this proverb—even if the outcome appears deliberately ambiguous. For the b-colon provoking "multiple readings that

to proudly contest them or meekly grovel before them, but to maintain the social 'level' that befits your role until the equilibrium is restored.

If we have correctly understood this verse, רוּחַ is not referring to ANGER, but as part of a spatial metaphor for ARROGANCE. רוּחַ profiles the internal SELF—not of the hearer as throughout Proverbs, but the ruler. The 'rising' of their רוּחַ depicts their (dubious?) self-evaluation, pridefully elevating their SELF above another. There is, as noted previously, conceptual overlap between the experience of ARROGANCE and ANGER, which makes the ethical significance of this saying similar on either construal, and which may explain how רוּחַ could construed as referring to one rather than the other.[121] However, in light of the wider use of the + STATUS IS HEIGHT+ metaphor, we suggest that careful attention to broader uses of רוּחַ and the specific details of the syntax of our text demonstrates how רוּחַ is used, beyond a simple gloss.

stimulate [readers] to reflect critically on the advice of the text, instead of following it without question," see Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 183.

[121] For cautions and methods of analysis to distinguish related emotional experiences in BH, see Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 87–88. For example, קנא "jealousy" is collocated with an ANGER lexeme 23/70x in BH, because "anger in the Hebrew Bible typically results from perceptions of wrongdoing. Jealousy, meanwhile, results from a particular type of wrongdoing: a perceived violation of who should receive or possess what," Schlimm, *Fratricide*, 66.

3.2.6   Ecclesiastes 11:5

3.2.6.1   Text

כַּאֲשֶׁר אֵינְךָ יוֹדֵעַ מַה־דֶּרֶךְ הָרוּחַ כַּעֲצָמִים בְּבֶטֶן הַמְּלֵאָה כָּכָה לֹא תֵדַע אֶת־מַעֲשֵׂה הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת־הַכֹּל:

Just as you do not know how the *rûaḥ* comes to the bones in the mother's womb, so you do not know the work of God, who makes everything.

3.2.6.2   Context

The immediate context of this verse suggests a discussion of RISK in the political (Eccl 10:16–20) and economic (Eccl 11:1–6) realms, addressed to the audience directly in second person forms.[122] The discussion vacillates between two fundamental tenets, the sovereign yet hidden designs of God and the need to act nonetheless. Thus, Ecclesiastes 11:5 is,

> the pivotal assertion for 11:3–6, and it reflects the basic observation of the second half of the book: human ignorance, especially of the work of God (8:17).[123]

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[122] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 338.

[123] Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 109.

3.2.6.3 Analysis

The precise meaning of רוּחַ is frequently abstruse, in part due to its polysemy, but more regularly in sapiential contexts due to what appears to be intentional and stimulating ambiguity. While many of our texts so far have been readily classified as anthropological, Ecclesiastes has presented at least two instances where it is difficult to decide between anthropological and meteorological uses of רוּחַ: Ecclesiastes 8:8 and 11:5. As with Ecclesiastes 8:8, we suspect that, on balance, this should be understood anthropologically, but will attempt to prove this using the insights of Cognitive Linguistics.

The central issue with construing רוּחַ anthropologically here is the clear meteorological profile in the preceding verse.

<u>Ecclesiastes 11:4</u>

שֹׁמֵר רוּחַ לֹא יִזְרָע וְרֹאֶה בֶעָבִים לֹא יִקְצוֹר׃

Whoever observes the *rûaḥ* will not sow; and whoever regards the clouds will not reap.

The collocations זרע "to sow" and קצר "to reap" depict a cultural <u>HARVEST</u> model, which recruits the [WEATHER] frame. The parallel lexical unit to רוּחַ, עָב "cloud" directly evokes this frame, exerting contextual pressure upon רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes 11:4 to be understood as part of this frame also. Given the tendency for lexical units to evoke a single frame within a single discourse context, this suggests that רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes 11:5 profiles *wind*:

Da רוח im vorangehenden Vers die Bedeutung »Wind« hat und eine plötzliche Änderung im Gebrauch nicht anzunehmen ist, handel es sich auch in V. 5 offenbar um den Wind und seine unberechenbaren Wege.[124]

However, the principle of common frame evocation is a general observation, and with sufficient contextual constraint, other construals are possible.[125] This is complicated by the author's fondness for ambiguity in key terms, implying the possibility of a text to be read, reflected upon, and re-read with differing meaning.

The two factors here that suggest a change in profile/base relationship are the lexical inclinations of עֶצֶם and its modifying preposition. עֶצֶם "bone" tends to appear in parallel with other lexical units of the [BODY_PART] frame, such as בָּשָׂר, נֶפֶשׁ, לֵב.[126] These are frequently conceptualised as schematically interior to the body, even constituting a merism with עוֹר "skin" (Job 19:20; 30:30; Lam 4:8).[127] However, רוּחַ does not typically pair with עֶצֶם. The two are linked in Ezekiel 37:5, where the רוּחַ as LIFE-BREATH is divinely imparted to bring the exposed and dry (long-dead) עֲצָמוֹת back to life. Similarly, Job 10:11–12 depicts the "knitting together" (סכך) of Job's bones as the formation of his interior, "clothed" (לבש) with skin and

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[124] Lauha, *Kohelet*, 202; so Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 231; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 257.

[125] LXX moves from ἄνεμος (Eccl 11:4) to πνεῦμα (Eccl 11:5).

[126] K.-M. Beyse, "עֶצֶם," *TDOT* 11:306–7. Köhlmoos notes this, but does not consider the possibility of רוּחַ filling this role, Köhlmoos, *Kohelet*, 231.

[127] עֶצֶם and its merism often depict DISTRESS, as the condition of the bones reflects the overall wellbeing of the person (Job 33:19; Ps 6:3; 31:11), Robert B. Chisholm, "עֶצֶם," *NIDOTTE* 3:497.

flesh, and this composite form being made alive (רוּחַ//חַיִּים). These intertexts suggest that

רוּחַ/עֶצֶם are compatible as interior parts of the human that combine to impart life.

However, the relationship between these lexemes depends on which preposition connects

them. The verse begins with the comparative compound, כַּאֲשֶׁר. Most often, subsequent

comparisons are separated by וְ and repeat כַּאֲשֶׁר (Gen 21:1; 26:29; Deut 29:12; Judg 2:18).

Here, כַּאֲשֶׁר is aligned structurally with כָּכָה, a relatively rare anaphoric adverb usually used

to direct attention to a previous discourse entity.[128] This is the only instance where כָּכָה refers

back to a כַּאֲשֶׁר clause, focussing the audience's attention on Qoheleth's assurance of their

ignorance (לֹא תֵדַע... אֵינְךָ יוֹדֵעַ).[129] The anomaly occurs with the modification in the MT of

עֲצָמִים with כְּ, indicating broad agreement between a TR and its LM. Does this indicate a

further comparison on the same level as כַּאֲשֶׁר? That is, "As you cannot know the path of the

wind—like the bones in a pregnant womb—so you do not know the work of God who makes

everything."[130] This is possible, but one would expect at least וְ marking the second

comparison.[131] While כְּ is the more difficult reading and enjoys the support of the versions,

it seems preferable to read בְּ with some manuscripts and Tg.[132] בְּ often locates a TR as spatially

within a LM area. The LM is עֲצָמִים "bones," possibly metonymically standing for an entire

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[128] *BHRG²* §40.28.(2)

[129] Jer 19:11 collocates כַּאֲשֶׁר and כָּכָה, but the order is reversed as part of a different structure.

[130] Modifying and extending Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 180.

[131] Lauha suggests it may be asyndetic, Lauha, *Kohelet*, 199.

[132] See the textual commentary of BHQ; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 108; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 262; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 328; Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 335; Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 774.

BODY or at least its internal framework (via +PART FOR WHOLE+).[133] The TR is the more enigmatic דֶּרֶךְ הָרוּחַ "the way of the *rûaḥ*." דֶּרֶךְ typically refers to a physical PATH, extended metaphorically to refer to the *manner* of an Agent.[134] The article grounds this instance of רוּחַ to a discourse-salient referent. While this may contextually refer to the *wind* of Ecclesiastes 11:4, it may equally appeal to an instance of רוּחַ paradigmatically significant to the language community. Given the close collocation with עֶצֶם, we suggest this paradigmatic רוּחַ is the LIFE-BREATH culturally attributed with imparting life to the human form (Eccl 3:19–21; Ezek 37:5–6; Zech 12:1).[135] The emphasis here, then, is on human ignorance of how רוּחַ as BREATH brings life to the child in utero. Yet, notably, Qoheleth locates רוּחַ within the BODY of the child within the WOMB of the pregnant mother (בְּבֶטֶן הַמְּלֵאָה).[136] This suggests an instance of the metaphor +THE BODY IS A CONTAINER+ we will return to below. As with רוּחַ which appears meteorologically in Ecclesiastes 11:4 and anthropologically in 11:5, מָלֵא likely references the "full clouds" of Ecclesiastes 11:3:

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[133] See Judg 19:29; Lam 4:7, Beyse, "עֶצֶם," 11:305. Similarly, Akk. *eṣemtu* in BAM 248 ii 58 references "a separate body" coming from a woman in labour, so *CAD* 4, s.v. "*eṣemtu*;" Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 337.

[134] The metaphor is productive in the rhetorical question in 2 Chr 18:23, "Which way did the Spirit of Yahweh go when he went from me to you?" This refers not only to the mechanism (i.e. *path*) by which Yahweh's רוּחַ passes from one prophet to another, but also accuses Micaiah of claiming to know the mysterious behaviour (i.e. *way*) of the typically mysterious רוּחַ.

[135] So Tg. רוח נשמתא דחיי. Similarly, Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 337; Fox, *Ecclesiastes*, 73; Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 109; Crenshaw, *Ecclesiastes*, 180.

[136] The feminine adjective מָלֵא "full" metaphorically depicts the pregnant mother via +SALIENT BODY PART FOR THE WHOLE PERSON+, evoked by בֶטֶן "belly, womb," see Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 773.

When the clouds are "full" one knows that it will probably rain, but one does not know what the wind might do. The result is beyond human control. By the same token, when a woman is "full," one knows that an infant will probably be born, but one knows nothing about the mysteries of the life-breath—how, when, or even *if* the life-breath might enter the body of the fetus.[137]

While this verse has not yielded much new lexical information, it has provided an opportunity to demonstrate how CL may assist in solving textual problems and distinguishing between semantic senses of closely co-occurring lexical items.

3.2.7   Ecclesiastes 12:7

3.2.7.1   Text

וְיָשֹׁב הֶעָפָר עַל־הָאָרֶץ כְּשֶׁהָיָה וְהָרוּחַ תָּשׁוּב אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר נְתָנָהּ׃

...and the dust returns to the earth as it was, and the *rûaḥ* returns to God who gave it.

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[137] Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 345.

The jussive vocalisation of וְיָשֹׁב, while odd, is comprehensible.[138] These vocalisations

predominate in the Writings (Prov 15:25; Job 10:16; 15:33; 18:9; 27:22; 33:11; Eccl 12:7; Dan

8:12). Schoors plausibly suggests it phonologically aligns וְיָשֹׁב with וְנָרֹץ (Eccl 12:6b).[139]

3.2.7.2   Context

The final section of Qoheleth's reflections (Eccl 11:7–12:7) focuses on the need to *rejoice*

(שמח, 11:8, 9–10) and *remember* (זכר, 11:8, 12:1).[140] Ecclesiastes 11:9–10 reflect upon the

former verb, 12:1–7, the latter. Both sub-sections concern life and death, and appear to be

addressed to a young audience (Eccl 11:9) as a climactic summary of the interplay of joy and

mortality throughout. While Ecclesiastes 12:8 provides one final overview of the entire quest

of Qoheleth (הבל!), Ecclesiastes 12:1–7 begins with a call to focus on God (5:6; 7:18; 11:9).

The poem repeats the temporal |עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא + YIQTOL.VERB| construction in 12:1b, 2, 6, and

בְּ in 12:3a, 4b, creating five subordinate clauses to the main verb, וּזְכֹר (12:1a). It is laden with

imagery of a great house or town decaying, often understood as depicting the effects of age

upon the human body.[141] Ecclesiastes 12:6 introduces the final metaphors that refer to

death.[142]

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[138] So Joüon §114l.

[139] Schoors, *Ecclesiastes*, 819.

[140] Bartholomew, *Ecclesiastes*, 343.

[141] Murphy, *Ecclesiastes*, 118; Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 264; Fox, *Qohelet and His Contradictions*, 294–96. Others see an eschatological scene, Krüger, *Qoheleth*, 203–4; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 351–52.

[142] Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 272. There are several textual issues in Eccl 12:6. NRSV follows Qere to emend יְרָחֵק (qal, "to be removed") to יֵרָתֵק (niphal, "to be snapped," unattested). BHQ (with Vulg.,

3.2.7.3 Analysis

Ecclesiastes 12:7 concludes the final section of the poem of 12:1–7. To understand its use of

רוּחַ we first examine the structure of 12:7, then the metaphors immediately preceding it in

Ecclesiastes 12:6, and finally the cultural frame that is centrally evoked.

The clauses in Ecclesiastes 12:7 are structurally parallel to one another (see table 3.1),

consisting of a yiqtol verb, a directional prepositional phrase, and a relative clause with a

qatal verb. Cook suggests this structure functions temporally, to contrast the future (עַד אֲשֶׁר,

Eccl 12:6a) and "past-present" (הָיָה, Eccl 12:7b).[143] The articular form of עָפָר and רוּחַ, the

pre-verbal location of הָרוּחַ, and the shift in preposition from עַל → אֶל suggest that the

structure focuses attention on רוּחַ. While word order in AH is hardly a simple topic—

particularly in poetry—the location of הָרוּחַ relative to its a-colon equivalent suggests it as

marked in some way, conceivably as the new topic of discussion[144]

Syr.) suggests יִנָּתֵק (niphal, "to be torn apart," Isa 33:20), which while difficult to mistake as יְרָחֵק
seems superior to the Qere. However, the textual commentary of BHQ errs in conforming ונרץ to the
versions and reading it as רוץ rather than a minor morphological alteration to וירץ aligning it with the
other yiqtols.

[143] John A. Cook, "The Verb in Qoheleth," in *The Words of the Wise Are Like Goads: Engaging Qohelet in the 21st Century*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Tremper Longman, and Cristian G. Rata (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 326–27.

[144] Most BH scholars agree that verbs *tend* towards the front of clauses, Muraoka, *Emphatic*, 28–41; Nicholas P. Lunn, *Word-Order Variation in Biblical Hebrew Poetry: Differentiating Pragmatics and Poetics*, PBM (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2006), 8.

Table 3.1. Structural alignment of elements within Ecclesiastes 12:7

Qatal	Rel. Clause	Directional PP		Yiqtol		
הָיָה-	כְּשֶׁ-	עַל־הָאָרֶץ	הֶעָפָר	וְיָשֹׁב		a
נְתָנָהּ	אֲשֶׁר	אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים		תָּשׁוּב	וְהָרוּחַ	b

The move from עַל to אֶל between cola also occurred in Ecclesiastes 12:6b. This emphasises a conceptual parallel between עָפָר and רוּחַ and the containers of the prior verse, heightening the sense of their inevitable destination.[145] Finally, the over-specification of the destination of the רוּחַ by the relative clause and נְתָנָהּ ensures a focus upon אֱלֹהִים.[146] This frames Ecclesiastes 12:1–7 with God as בּוֹרְאֶיךָ "your creator" (12:12) and God as 'רוּחַ-giver'.

Now we turn to examine the metaphors immediately before our verse in Ecclesiastes 12:6. These depart from the HOUSE-sourced figures of Ecclesiastes 12:1–5 to refer to DEATH (introduced by the כִּי clause in 12:5b as הָאָדָם אֶל־בֵּית עוֹלָמוֹ). In addition to the text-critical issues, some individual lexemes in Ecclesiastes 12:6 are obscure: גֻּלַּת may refer to a *bowl* for lamp-oil (Zech 4:2), and גַּלְגַּל to a *wheel*.[147] The verbs שׁבר, רצץ, רחק all profile *destruction* by dissolution—something whole being reduced into parts. The nouns profiling the destroyed

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[145] Bar suggests a subtle distinction in imagery, where עַל depicts how "the body lies on the ground, as it were, whereas the *ruaḥ* returns *to* God," Shaul Bar, *I Deal Death and Give Life: Biblical Perspectives on Death* (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2010), 213.

[146] Compared a similar but more elliptical text in Sir[B] 40:11, כל מארץ אל ארץ ישוב ⟦ ⟧ ואשר ... ממרום ⟦ ⟧ ... אל מרום "All that is from the earth returns to the earth [ ] and that which ... is from above to above..."

[147] Usually chariot wheels, or perhaps more generally of something *spinning*, e.g., "whirlwinds" (Ps 77:19). Some suggest it too refers to a bowl, *CDCH*, s.v. "גַּלְגַּל III;" perhaps derived from Akk. *gulgullu*. "bowl" usually of metal, *CDA*, s.v. "gullu(m)."

Entities appear paired. חֶבֶל and גֻּלָּה (12:6ab) are linked by composition (precious metals of great value), possible cultic allusions, and a causal implication: the rope snaps and the bowl it supports is crushed. כַּד and גַּלְגַּל (12:6cd) are linked by prepositional phrases locating them at water sources. The objects themselves are likely evoking metaphors for LIFE, as throughout Proverbs. In Proverbs 13:9, +LIFE IS A LIT LAMP+; Proverbs 10:11, 13:14, +LIFE IS A FOUNTAIN+. The target nouns are primarily CONTAINERS. This likely instantiates the metaphor +THE BODY IS A CONTAINER+, with the contents of this container mapped to human LIFE. The metaphorical entailments of this depiction are leveraged in the DESTRUCTION scenario here. When the containers are ruined, their contents may no longer be contained within them, and even if located at a source, cannot be 're-filled.'

This imagery abruptly shifts in Ecclesiastes 12:7 to refer to הֶעָפָר, הָאָרֶץ, הָרוּחַ, and הָאֱלֹהִים. As we argued in Ecclesiastes 3:19–21, these lexical units evoke the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] rich cultural frame. The sudden move from the CONTAINER metaphors for LIFE in Ecclesiastes 12:6 to the cultural model of CREATURELY COMPOSITION suggests that, not only are the human BODY and LIFE still in view, but also the CONTAINER metaphor should be inferred in Ecclesiastes 12:7 as well. When the CONTAINER of the human BODY is fractured, the body returns (וְיָשֹׁב) to הֶעָפָר from which it was initially formed.[148] The collocation of עָפָר and שׁוּב

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[148] LXX χοῦς likely reflects Gen 2:7 LXX, while γῆ appears in Gen 3:19 LXX. Van der Meer demonstrates that χοῦς profiles SLUDGE rather than DUST, i.e. moist particulate matter, in keeping with the irrigation of the landscape in Gen 2:5–6 and the POTTER motif, Michaël van der Meer, "Anthropology in the Ancient Greek Versions of Gen 2:7," in *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life*

is associated with Genesis 3:19, where Yahweh declares a 'return to dust' as the ultimate fate of אָדָם after their rebellion.[149]

כְּשֶׁהָיָה is a curious construction, lacking the expected *tertium quid* the longer כַּאֲשֶׁר הָיָה often includes (Josh 1:17; 3:7), leaving it to be inferred by the rather blunt היה ending to the clause.[150] It suggests an inevitability to the dissolution to 'dust' which is not present in the other CONTAINER metaphors in Ecclesiastes 12:6, yet also appears to continue the depiction of a 'vessel' of some sort brought to ruin and the precious 'life' within unable to be contained any longer. In this case, רוּחַ is implied to be the contents previously contained within 'the dust.' The article again suggests a restriction, either contextually or in broader accessible knowledge, of רוּחַ to a single "eligible candidate": *the* LIFE-BREATH once sent out and now returning (Gen 6:3; Ps 104:29; 146:4).[151] Significantly, in the psalm texts, the removal of the divine רוּחַ causes the dissolution of the creature. Here it appears to be the reverse—the return of the body to its origin leads to a return of the רוּחַ to "God who gave it." This may then reflect the identification in Genesis 6:3 of the רוּחַ that fills the human as, in fact, God's רוּחַ— imparted to humanity to grant them life and returning to its source upon death.[152]

(Gen 2:7): The Problem of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity, ed. Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and George H. van Kooten, TBN 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 52–54.

[149] It thus depicts "a reversal of creation, the dissolution of human creation," Longman, *Ecclesiastes*, 273.

[150] *IBHS* §11.2.9b.

[151] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 284–86.

[152] Schüle, "The Notion of Life," 495.

Ecclesiastes 12:7 immediately precedes the inner-frame summary of all of Qoheleth's teaching in 12:8; they are the 'final words' of Qoheleth at the climax of his quest. The narrative end of his musing is an extended reflection upon *death*. However, the final words do refer to a relationship between human and God—not an essential 'immortal soul' being released from its imprisoning body, but the dependency of humanity upon God for the life that so easily slips away with the 'breaking' of the fragile body formed for man.

> This is no clear statement of mortality or immortality, but a fragmentary resignation, according to which the final phase of life is submerged under the early phase of death. What this text offers, therefore, is of decisive importance: the soulful loss of the playful vitality of Gen 2:7. This vitality is transformed to a whimper in the face of the divine decree, "to dust you will return."[153]

3.3 רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes: Preliminary Observations

3.3.1   רוּחַ and LIFE

The most prominent use of רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes is to profile the concept of LIFE—not due to raw frequency, but rather its place in both the preliminary discussion in Ecclesiastes 3:19–21 and as the concluding note before the epilogue in Ecclesiastes 12:7. Cast initially against

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[153] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 21–22.

the conceptual background of justice/injustice (Eccl 3:16–17), רוּחַ is the grounds to compare

HUMAN and ANIMAL as categories. Members of the HUMAN category can claim no advantage

over members of the ANIMAL category because they share both a common רוּחַ (רוּחַ אֶחָד לַכֹּל,

Eccl 3:19) and a common fate, death. The common source and destination for both is

specified in Ecclesiastes 3:20 as הֶעָפָר "the dust," evoking the creation accounts of Genesis

2:7; 3:19, or at least the cultural frame salient for both texts. These co-texts depict humans

as being formed of עָפָר and divine BREATH, although Genesis 2:7 employs נִשְׁמַת חַיִּים rather

than רוּחַ (despite their latter equivalence in Gen 6–7) and 3:19 only describes the return to

עָפָר and does not mention the BREATH. Animals are formed instead from הָאֲדָמָה (Gen 2:19),

similarly evocative of [GROUND], though perhaps less of the <u>POTTER</u> motif so strongly

resonant in Genesis 2:7. Despite the lexical variation, there appears to be an appeal of some

kind to the narrative/conceptual structure of the formation of both human and non-human

creatures as part of establishing their equivalence. Indirectly, the collocation of רוּחַ and הֶעָפָר

appeals to a conceptual connection between the two as elements of a cultural model:

<u>CREATURELY COMPOSITION</u>. This is not bald-faced dualism where the 'physical' הֶעָפָר and

'spiritual' רוּחַ conflict, but identifies them as mutual and complementary elements.[154] The

complementarity is significant, for while Qoheleth struggles to distinguish the categories of

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[154] Ed Noort, "Taken from the Soil, Gifted with the Breath of Life: The Anthropology of Gen 2:7 in Context," in *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life (Gen 2:7): The Problem of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and George H. van Kooten, TBN 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 2.

HUMAN/ANIMAL, he can distinguish the binary states of LIFE and DEATH. They are separated only by the presence or absence of the רוּחַ. This is echoed in the closing verses of Ecclesiastes 12:7, again as the climax to a discussion of DEATH. In Ecclesiastes 3:19–21, humanity comes from and goes to the dust. In Ecclesiastes 12:7, the רוּחַ explicitly comes from and returns to God. The human SELF is conceptualised as a kind of CONTAINER for life. Once 'broken,' the constituent elements return to their origin—the dust and the Creator respectively. Given the lexical allusions to Genesis 3:19, there may be an inevitability to this end to human life. Combined with the incapacity of 'restraining' the רוּחַ when it departs (Eccl 8:8), this perhaps lays the conceptual groundwork for the epilogical plea to "fear God," upon whom humanity is entirely contingent.

If Ecclesiastes 11:5 is construed anthropologically, the initial giving of רוּחַ to each successive human is one of the great mysteries, creating an epistemological as well as ontological contingency. As Wagner helpfully notes,

> Es ist bemerkenswert, dass der anthropologische Begriff *ruᵃḥ* nicht (ursprünglich) einen Körperteil ... bezeichnet, sondern eine (von Gott kommande) (Natur-) Kraft. Damit wird deutlich, dass fürden Hebräer die 'Vitalität' letzlich nict aus dem Menschen selbst ableitar und erklärbar ist.[155]

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[155] Andreas Wagner, "Wider die Reduktion des Lebendigen," in *Anthropologische Aufbrüche. Alttestamentliche und interdisziplinäre Zugänge zur historischen Anthropologie*, ed. Andreas Wagner, FRLANT 232 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 194.

On a conceptual level, רוּחַ and LIFE appear related by a transparent metonym chain. רוּחַ

profiles BREATH against the conceptual base of a human body, BREATH is associated with LIFE

via either +CAUSE FOR EFFECT+ or +EFFECT FOR CAUSE+ (it is difficult to determine precisely

which given our corpus, but the conceptual link is evident in the order of Job 34:14–15; Ps

104:29–30), with an apparent extra step emphasising the *internality* of both BREATH and LIFE:

+THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL LIFE+. The relationship between BREATH and LIFE

is not merely physiological but—arguably—derived from the specific anthropology of the

biblical creation narrative of God forming humanity from הֶעָפָר and breathing life into

them.[156]

3.3.2 רוּחַ and VOLITION

While the concept of VOLITION as the source of action is not as clearly evoked in Ecclesiastes

as in Proverbs, the first usage of רוּחַ in Ecclesiastes 8:8 presents the inability of one person

to exert authority over the רוּחַ of another. It is prototypically 'unrulable' by others, suggestive

of a similar concept to Proverbs where one's own רוּחַ needs 'ruling' to prevent harm to others.

A person can only truly control themselves—a surprising note of individuality given the

attention to social structure throughout the latter half of the book, but resonant with the

balanced scepticism and sagacity when dealing with the realm of politics.

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[156] "There occurs ... a juxtaposition of life and death in Genesis 2–3 that provides entrée to the spirit in Israelite scripture," Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 15.

3.3.3 רוּחַ and Figurative Schemata

Ecclesiastes continues to demonstrate how רוּחַ may feature in novel and established metaphors and metonyms. Surprisingly, none of the metaphors of DISTRESS in Proverbs are extant in Ecclesiastes, but several instances of רוּחַ configured *spatially* are crucial to Qoheleth's formation of character. The internal SELF, especially regarding moral conduct, is figuratively a place with dimensions where things may be LONG or HIGH, with implications both for the reading SELF (Eccl 7:8–9) and in dealing with those whose internal dimensions are askew (Eccl 10:4).

3.3.3.1 The -LENGTH- Schema

The -LENGTH- schema reappears in Ecclesiastes 7:8 using the rare inverse of the metaphor found in Proverbs 14:29; 16:32. The 'long' רוּחַ appears only here and in Sirach[A] 5:11, although is comprehensible given אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם and קצר נֶפֶשׁ/רוּחַ examined in Proverbs. Here, the LENGTH metaphors is uniquely juxtaposed with the -VERTICALITY- schema and the [HEIGHT] frame: "the long of *rûaḥ* are better than the high of *rûaḥ*" (Eccl 7:8). The common usage of the higher-order [DIMENSION] frame renders this juxtaposition parseable, even though the respective figurative expressions elsewhere construe רוּחַ differently. Both figurations view the functional/dysfunctional רוּחַ as internal to the person as part of the playful use of spatial

mappings here.[157] The location of רוּחַ within as part of the moral shape of the person is reinforced in Ecclesiastes 7:9 where כַּעַס is said to be 'within' the רוּחַ.

3.3.3.2 The -VERTICALITY- Schema

A 'high *rûaḥ*' in Proverbs depicted ARROGANCE. In addition to Ecclesiastes 7:8, we argued this was also instantiated in Ecclesiastes 10:4. Rather than the more common construal of רוּחַ as ANGER, we suggested that רוּחַ profiles the self-perception of the social superior which should provoke a reaction of steadiness and calm from the wise reader. In light of the consistency and explanatory power of this metaphor, perhaps the proof-texts cited for רוּחַ as ANGER might be reconsidered, notably the similar [HEIGHT] source frame of Judges 8:3.[158]

3.3.4   רוּחַ and God

Unlike Proverbs, there is some direct linguistic evidence of רוּחַ encoding a relationship with God. This occurs contextually via the intertexts of Genesis 2–3 that involve God's activity as the primeval imparter of BREATH to humanity (Eccl 3:19–21), and indirectly in the ongoing giving of BREATH in reproduction (Eccl 11:5, in parallel with "the works of God"). More

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[157] In Late Middle and Early Modern English, PRIDE is often conceptualised as internal to the person and as UP on a vertical scale, with influence from biblical texts evident, see Heli Tissari, "Justified Pride? Metaphors of the Word *Pride* in English Language Corpora, 1418–1991," *NJES* 5 (2006): 24–25.

[158] The other commonly cited texts for רוּחַ as ANGER—Ps 18:16; Isa 25:4–5; 30:27–28—arguably instantiate the metaphor +ANGER IS WIND/SIROCCO+, in which רוּחַ plays a key role but as a figurative evocation of the emotion rather than directly 'meaning' it.

significantly, in the climactic verse of the book, God is explicitly invoked as the GIVER and RECEIVER of the רוּחַ (Eccl 12:7).

3.4 Summary of Ecclesiastes

Ecclesiastes instantiates a relatively central frame relationship for רוּחַ, that of LIFE as the gift of God primevally, individually, and, ultimately, temporarily. This sense of רוּחַ is extraordinarily productive elsewhere and poignantly used to structure Qoheleth's musings as they circle indelibly around the central pole of *death.* Despite the apparent cyclical nature of the world, death remains the ultimate destiny of all things, especially the human subject.

4 The Exhausted רוּחַ — Job

The variety of uses of רוּחַ in Proverbs demonstrated how a single lexical unit might represent

many facets of the human SELF, action, and experience. Our previous chapter on Ecclesiastes

displayed the capacity of רוּחַ to evoke rich cultural models, narratives, and intertexts, such

as the primeval creation story and the contingency of human life it depicts. As we turn to

the book of Job, we face abundant anthropological instances of רוּחַ, exhibiting the rich range

of usage of Proverbs as well as the evocativeness, ambiguity, and poignancy of Ecclesiastes.

Perhaps even more than in the words of Qoheleth, we see in Job the poetic leveraging of the

polysemy of רוּחַ. While we will usually be able to identify a primary frame evocation or

conceptual profile, the poet of Job heightens the lexical ambiguity by providing multiple

relevant frames, domain matrices, cultural models, and conceptual bases in the literary

context to render salient uses or encyclopaedic knowledge associated with רוּחַ beyond the

primary use. This leads to what we will term *Joban ambiguation*, the manipulation of the

context of a lexical unit to achieve the opposite of *disambiguation* and generate relationships

between uses, associations, and conceptual structure evoked by רוּחַ. As Carol Newsom notes

regarding the character of Job's use of language throughout his speeches:

He pries apart words themselves, setting their different meanings against one another, as he tried to bend them to his expressive purposes.[1]

4.1 Orientation to Job

By almost every literary metric, Job is an anomaly. Unlike Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, it has no explicit or implicit link to Solomon, or indeed, any author. It features a frame structure like Ecclesiastes but uses an actual prose narrative to establish and critically reflect upon the central poetic discussions.[2] One of the critical chapters is an extended discourse upon the topic of WISDOM (Job 28), even though much of the interaction between Job, his companions, and God undermines human sapiential activity.

On one level, we must allow the text to stand apart, somewhat incongruous within itself and the texts with which it came to be collected.[3] On another level, much of what makes Job unique may be understood as highly sophisticated techniques used to hold together apparently dissonant worldviews and styles of writing to stimulate the audience:

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[1] Carol A. Newsom, *The Book of Job: A Contest of Moral Imaginations* (London: Oxford University Press, 2003), 130.

[2] Carol A. Newsom, "The Book of Job: Introduction, Commentary, and Reflections," in *1 & 2 Maccabees, Introduction to Hebrew Poetry, Job, Psalms*, ed. Leander E. Keck, NIB 4 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 323–24.

[3] "It is not easy to study a book which is the only one of its kind," Francis I. Andersen, *Job: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 14 (Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press, 1976), 34.

Far from being an embarrassment, recognition that the book is at odds with itself is

key to understanding its meaning and purpose. Dialogue is at the heart of the book

of Job.[4]

The text is structured around the juxtaposition of the frame prose narrative of Job's divinely-

allowed affliction (Job 1:1–2:13) and divinely-ordained vindication (Job 42:7–17). "Upon this

simple plot an unknown writer of superlative genius has erected a monumental work."[5]

Almost as a challenge to the simplicity of Job's piety being challenged, tested, and

exonerated, the book's central section (Job 3:1–42:6) consists of layers of poetic dialogues

between Job and his companions, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar. These are supplemented by

a previously unnamed companion Elihu and a final speech by Yahweh himself. It is in these

dialogues that many anthropological uses of רוּחַ appear, usually in Job's responses to his

companions (although each friend uses רוּחַ at least once, but not more than twice—save

prolix Elihu). The cyclical nature of these conversations does not reflect a mere verbose

repetition of essentially analogous ideas. Rather, each companion brings a distinctive

worldview into dialogue with Job's situation.[6] With each cycle of discussion, the conversation

displays subtle development, such as in the "clear and sharp use of metaphors to express the

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[4] Newsom, "Job," 323.

[5] Andersen, *Job*, 16.

[6] These worldviews are salient for the CL enterprise, although they defy easy classification. For a valiant effort to do so, see Susanna Baldwin, "Miserable but Not Monochrome: The Distinctive Characteristics and Perspectives of Job's Three Comforters," *Them* 43 (2018): 359–75.

experience of distress."[7] The same ideas, metaphors, and intertexts are raised within similar

contexts, examined, tweaked, and raised again. This cycle provides layers of figure/ground

and profile/base data, multiple perspectives on salient concepts and lexemes, and multiple

instances of familiar and novel figurations that accumulate through the text. To remind us

of the significance of the cyclical discourse, we will collate the texts we examine under the

cycle of discourse they appear within.

4.2 Analysis of Job

4.2.1   Selection of Texts

רוּחַ appears 31x in the Job. The following instances evoke the *WEATHER* domain: Job 1:19;

21:18; 26:13; 28:25; 30:15, 22; 37:21; 41:8.[8] This is evident from their appearance in stock

phrases such as רוּחַ גְּדוֹלָה (1:19), collocation with meteorological terms such as שָׁמַיִם (26:13),

מַיִם (30:15), שְׁחָקִים (37:21), or as part of cultural models such as <u>HARVEST</u> indicated by תֶּבֶן+

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[7] Pierre Van Hecke, "'I Melt Away and Will No Longer Live': The Use of Metaphor in Job's Self-Descriptions," in *Conceptual Metaphors in Poetic Texts: Proceedings of the Metaphor Research Group of the European Association of Biblical Studies in Lincoln 2009*, PHSC 18 (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013), 69–70.

[8] Lilly suggests a further instance by repointing Job 27:22 from בָּרוֹחַ יִבְרָח "he will surely flee," to בְּרוּחַ יִבְרָח "by the *ruah* he will flee," Ingrid E. Lilly, "Conceptualizing Spirit: Supernatural Meteorology and Winds of Distress in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSupp 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 842. Her thesis that רוּחַ's contribution to anthropology is indebted to the *Chaoskampff* motif is interesting, but there is no contextual or manuscript support for her reading of Job 27:22.

(21:18). Job 4:9 refers to divine anger via the metonym +SNORTING IS ANGER+ (רוּחַ אַפּוֹ).

While this uses an anthropological source frame, it does so to characterise God rather than

a human.[9] There are several ambiguous instances of רוּחַ: Job 4:15; 8:2; 15:2; 15:30; 16:3;

30:15. Most of these are potential meteorological uses occurring in unique collocations or as

part of curious figurative constructions, such as דִּבְרֵי־רוּחַ "windy words" (16:3), or דַּעַת־רוּחַ

"windy knowledge" (15:2).[10] Job 4:15 appears to be a rare use of רוּחַ to refer to beings neither

divine nor human. Such beings are associated with revelation in Job.[11] Alternatively, this may

be a claim to divine authority on the part of Eliphaz.[12] Job 32:20 and 39:25 contain the

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[9] For a description of this metonym, see Kotzé, "Conceptualisation of Anger," 82–83.

[10] Job 16:3 probably responds to Eliphaz's reproach of Job for his "windy knowledge" in 15:2, "in the sense that they are empty and thus lacking efficacy. Genuine words are more substantial," David J. A. Clines, *Job 1–20*, WBC 17 (Word, 2006), 378; Edward L. Greenstein, "Truth or Theodicy? Speaking Truth to Power in the Book of Job," *PSB* 27 (2006): 245–47. Job 15:2 places רוּחַ in parallel with קָדִים "east," suggesting the [EAST WIND] is in view, with its associations with unpredictability (Job 38:24) and destruction (Job 1:19). See Tryggve Kronholm, "קָדִים," *TDOT* 12:504. These instances might be metonyms/metaphors of emotion, such as +QUICKENED BREATHING FOR ANGER+, +ANGER IS A HOT WIND+, although it would be necessary to explain how the different domains evoked would form a coherent figurative network in the context. How do 'quickened breathing' and 'knowledge' cohere? Can it lucidly stand in parallel with an internalised *sirocco*? It is more viable to see an evocation of WEATHER to depict Job's knowledge and Eliphaz's argument as *insubstantial*.

[11] See the notes on Job 20:3; 32:8. Longman suggests "an otherworldly presence," Tremper Longman, *Job*, BCOTWP (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 118. On Job 20:3, Duhm construes רוּחַ as "windy," implying Zophar imitations Bildad and Eliphaz's use above, Bernhard Duhm, *Das Buch Hiob Erklärt*, KHC 16 (Freiburg: Mohr, 1897), 105; similarly Greenstein, "Truth or Theodicy?," 246.

[12] So Clines, "rather than describing a mysterious wind ... Eliphaz is describing a theophany," Clines, *Job 1–20*, 130. See James E. Harding, "A Spirit of Deception in Job 4:15? Interpretive Indeterminacy and Eliphaz's Vision," *BibInt* 13 (2005): 137–66; Ken Brown, *The Vision in Job 4 and Its Role in the Book: Reframing the Development of the Joban Dialogues*, FAT2 75 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 79–83.

cognate verb, רוח. Only the former of these features in the analysis due to its proximity and wordplay with רוּחַ in Job 32:18.

As we have seen in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes so far, רוּחַ often implies or recruits more comprehensive lexical information than what it is primarily profiling in context. Especially given the Joban poet's predilection for ambiguity in lexical units, the choice of רוּחַ for the meteorological, theological, and other uses above may well have implications for our understanding of the anthropological uses. However, we will have to restrict our study to those uses we can justify as referring to a human person or human experience. These will include:

Job 6:4; 7:7, 11; 9:18; 10:12; 12:10; 15:13; 17:1; 19:17; 20:3; 21:4; 27:3; 32:8, 18–20; 33:4; 34:14–15

CYCLE 1: JOB 4–14

4.2.2 Job 6:4

4.2.2.1 Text

כִּי חִצֵּי שַׁדַּי עִמָּדִי אֲשֶׁר חֲמָתָם שֹׁתָה רוּחִי בִּעוּתֵי אֱלוֹהַּ יַעַרְכוּנִי:

For the arrows of the Almighty are in me; my *rûaḥ* drinks their poison; the terrors of God are arrayed against me.

4.2.2.2 Context

The first anthropological use of רוּחַ occurs in Job's response (Job 6–7) to Eliphaz's first speech (Job 4:1–5:27). Job laments over the magnitude of the tragedy that has befallen him to justify his response of לאה "impatience, exhaustion," which Eliphaz confronts in Job 4:2, 5.[13]

Johan de Joode argues for a gustatory metaphor uniting Job 6:3–7, noting the string of FOOD lexical units דֶשֶׁא "fodder" (Job 6:5), אָכַל "to eat" (6:6a), טָעַם "to taste" (6:6b), and לֶחֶם "food" (6:7b).[14] The metaphorical structure would suggest the head clause for our verse, דְּבָרַי לָעוּ (6:3c), be understod as "my words have been devoured" (לעע II "to swallow," Obad 16; rather than לעע I, "to speak rashly," Prov 20:25).

4.2.2.3 Analysis

The opening כִּי explains Job's declaration above about the nature of his speech. He cannot receive detached advice because he identifies (for the first time in the dialogues) God as the ultimate cause of his suffering.[15] Job conceptualises his distress as an attack by שַׁדַּי "Almighty," a term commonly found alongside אֵל in Genesis, and introduced as a moment

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[13] G. H. Gerald H. Wilson, *Job*, UTB, ed. Robert L. Hubbard Jr. and Robert K. Johnston (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 58. The lament moves from a metaphor of objectivity (BALANCE, 6:2) to a metaphor of subjectivity (Job's own INJURY, 6:7), and "from the generic doctrine of cause and effect (per Eliphaz) to the very personal experience of a particular sufferer," C. L. Seow, *Job 1–21: Interpretation and Commentary*, Illumination (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 456.

[14] Johan de Joode, *Metaphorical Landscapes and the Theology of the Book of Job: An Analysis of Job's Spatial Metaphors*, VTSupp 179 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 157–58.

[15] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 170.

of divine revelation to Abram in Gen 17:1. After Genesis, שַׁדַּי is relatively infrequent until

appearing thirty-one times in Job 5:17–40:2 as the primary means (alongside אֱלוֹהַ) of

referring to the divine.[16]

שַׁדַּי is portrayed as a *warrior*, firing projectiles against Job and arraying his forces of בִּעוּתֵי

"terrors" against him. חִצֵּי profiles ARROWS against a conceptual base of [WARFARE].[17] Bows

and arrows were typical of ANE warfare, favoured for their ability to physically separate

attacker and victim.[18] This allowed for "quick, unexpected and even random destruction,"

which may motivate the figurative use of arrows as a DIVINE WEAPON (Lam 3:13; Ps 18:14;

38:2; 64:7; 120:4), and to conceptualise DISTRESS.[19] The use of archery to depict DISTRESS

instantiates the -FORCE- schema we examined under Proverbs 15:4, +DISTRESS IS BEING

STRUCK BY ARROWS+.[20] This 'divine target practice' has ongoing effects, indicated by the

arrows still being "with" Job (עִמָּדִי). While an unusual use of the preposition, it is evocative:

"one imagines the arrows piercing the body, with the shafts sticking out—i.e. still 'with'

Job."[21]

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[16] שַׁדַּי may thus evoke the God of the patriarchal covenant in keeping with Job's literary setting, while also general enough for use by the 'foreign' companions, contrasting the use in the prologue and epilogue of אֱלֹהִים and יְהוָה. See M. Weippert, "שַׁדַּי," *TLOT* 3:1309–10.

[17] Of 55 instances, only Proverbs 7:23 profiles it against the base of [HUNTING], *pace* B. E. Kelle, "Warfare Imagery," *DOTWPW*, 829.

[18] King, *Surrounded*, 254.

[19] Kelle, "Warfare Imagery," 829.

[20] King, *Surrounded*, 256.

[21] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 469. Note the parallel of עִמָּדִי with בִּי in Job 28:14, suggesting *internal* location. Especially alongside רוּחַ this would be a rare but not unthinkable locational sense. Alternatively, the

אֲשֶׁר links the arrows of שַׁדַּי with their effect upon Job's SELF.[22] שָׁתָה "to drink" evokes a further metaphor, +EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS INGESTING IT+, used elsewhere of עַוְלָה "injustice" (Job 15:16) and לַעַג "derision" (Job 34:7).[23] Particularly salient is Job 21:20b, וּמֵחֲמַת שַׁדַּי יִשְׁתֶּה "let him drink of the wrath of the Almighty" (see Ps 75:9).

Job blends two metaphors, +GOD IS AN ARCHER+ and +EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS INGESTING IT+, by varying the standard ARCHER metaphor to refer specifically to חֲמָתָם "poison." While the verbal root חמה is typically associated with HEAT (and metaphorically, ANGER), ANE cognates suggest it was also used for POISON (Deut 32:24; Ps 58:5; 140:4).[24] Clines rightly notes that poison arrowheads do not appear in biblical texts.[25] Nevertheless, it was a known practice in the classical world.[26] חֲמָתָם elevates the intensity of the depicted attack upon Job, and, given the Joban poet's love of allusory sound-play and 'ambiguation,'

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preposition may underscore the experience of "bodily violation," Dan Mathewson, *Death and Survival in the Book of Job: Desymbolization and Traumatic Experience*, LHBOTS 450 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 97.

[22] רוּחִי is certainly the Ingestor of [DRINKING] (שתה) rather than the Ingestible, contra LXX, Édouard Paul Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 2nd ed., ÉBib (Paris: Libraire Victor Lecoffre, 1926), 70. The |PARTICIPLE ... אֲשֶׁר| construction frequently interposes an Agent between the particle and the participle (Gen 41:28; Mic 6:1), however, שתה almost always has a human Ingestor, especially when metaphorically depicting the Agonist suffering divine displeasure.

[23] This resonates with de Joode's suggested gustatory metaphor, although the weight of lexemes evoking the WARFARE scenario resists eliminating the dual source frames articulating Job's DISTRESS, de Joode, *Metaphorical Landscapes*, 157–59.

[24] See *CAD* 7, s.v. "imtu;" *DULAT*, s.v. "ḥmt III."

[25] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 171.

[26] Didorus Siculus (*Bib. hist.* 17.103) records the use of snake venom against Alexander by the Brahmin soldiers of Harmatelia (*Bib. hist.* 17.103). See further Adrienne Mayor, *Greek Fire, Poison Arrows & Scorpion Bombs: Biological and Chemical Warfare in the Ancient World* (New York: Overlook, 2003), 75–97.

may also encourage the audience to understand that God's ANGER is conceptualised in the WARFARE imagery.[27]

The combination of the DRINKING metaphor with the WARFARE metaphor generates a dissonant picture. It is not Job's body—the landing site of the arrows—that 'drinks' their poison, but his רוּחַ. While the +GOD IS AN ARCHER+ metaphor does not require a specific target for the Agonist, when the target is explicit, it marks a greater intensity of distress. For example, Psalm 38:3 marks the *depth* of the arrows (נְחָתוּ); Lamentations 3:13 names the *kidneys* as target (כִּלְיָה, see Job 16:13), which "implies a more hopeless predicament."[28] רוּחַ, however, is an indirect target, drinking the poison borne by the arrows rather than necessarily suffering the direct impact of them.

There are several possible motivations for the use of רוּחַ as the focus of the attack. The first is that רוּחַ profiles LIFE (via +BREATH FOR LIFE+).[29] The envenoming of Job's רוּחַ emphasises the divine intent not just to hurt Job, but end his life.[30] This construal fits the WARFARE metaphor, the specification of the poison, and the broader context of Job's lament. A second

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[27] That is, the poet juxtaposes the conventional use of חֵמָה for ANGER with the contextual use for POISON to encourage the audience to conceptually relate the two. See K&D 11.1:110–11. On the severity of the attack, the presence of poison indicates this was no "target practice" but actual warfare, Longman, *Job*, 137.

[28] King, *Surrounded*, 256.

[29] "[L]e principe vital est directement atteint par les calamités que symbolisent les flèches empoisonnées," Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 70.

[30] So Clines, *Job 1–20*, 171; Seow, *Job 1–21*, 456.

possibility is that רוּחַ profiles Job's SELF, typically internal and so depicting his suffering as not superficial but affecting all his person.[31] The other instances of the DIVINE ARCHER metaphor in Ps 38 and Lam 3 support this reading. Both construals are salient, although the LIFE use is perhaps more readily supported by the immediate context. However, there is an additional element to the use of רוּחַ that must be considered, if only as an implication made possible by the wider lexical content accessed by רוּחַ.

The WARFARE metaphor of Job 6:4 is embedded within a כִּי-clause explaining the SPEECH of Job (עַל־כֵּן דְּבָרַי לָעוּ, Job 6:3b). If the LIFE use is motivated by a metonym of BREATH, it is possible that the poet intends to elaborate or imply a further figurative use. In Proverbs, we noted instances in which רוּחַ as BREATH was associated with SPEECH, either directly (+BREATH FOR SPEECH+, Prov 1:23), or indirectly when רוּחַ as SELF was depicted as the internal source of SPEECH. The contextual ascription of Job's words in Job 6:3b would then form a contextual base against which רוּחַ is profiled, and the speech act grounded as the response demanded by the murderous actions taken against him.[32] According to this construal, the 'poison' of God's apparent homicidal efforts has seeped into that part of Job's SELF responsible for

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[31] So K&D 11.1:110–11. Longman relates this verse to Job's emotions, although he consistently links metaphors involving רוּחַ to *depression* without much in the way of explanation, Longman, *Job*, 137.
[32] If we follow de Joode, the 'devoured' words (6:3) correlate to the 'devouring' רוּחַ (6:4).

SPEECH, and so Job's own words about his situation have been 'poisoned,' expelling forth complaints in response.[33]

The addition of a c-colon to form a "poetic triplet that stands out amid a sea of couplets" suggests that "the attack by the warrior is still not over."[34] The metaphor shifts slightly within the WARFARE cultural model, from God as individual archer to God as "a general marshalling his mighty army."[35] Qal ערך profiles the lining up of objects, such as wood for a fire (Gen 22:9). It is used figuratively of careful argument in a legal case (Job 13:18; 23:4; 32:14), as well as the arrangement of troops in rows for battle (Gen 14:8; Judg 20:20; 1 Sam 4:2; 2 Sam 10:8).[36] Again, while these are distinct metaphorical uses, they are ripe for Joban manipulation to evoke initially the MILITARY depiction of God's armies arrayed against Job to assault him (see also Job 9:17–18; 16:7–17; 19:6–12), and then the LEGAL CASE that Job feels caught up in later in the discourse. The instantiated metaphor +DISTRESS IS DIVINE MILITARY ASSAULT+ is linked with Job's use of BODY imagery in his 'case' against God,

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[33] Hence Job 6:5–7, "He follows his opening defense with two proverbs affirming complaint as a natural response to deprivation and suffering," G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 58.

[34] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 456.

[35] John E. Hartley, *The Book of Job*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 132.

[36] Victor P. Hamilton, "עָרַךְ," *NIDOTTE* 3:533. Hamilton further suggests a connection between the legal and military usage as a *contest,* see the use of יְצַב in both contexts (Job 33:5; 1 Sam 17:16, respectively).

instantiating the primary metaphor, +THE BODY IS A CONTAINER+, with boundaries that are subject to threat and violation.[37]

In this first text, Job perceives his troubles as a military attack upon himself by God. Unlike most other depictions of DISTRESS in these terms (Job 16:13–20), it is not his bones, skin, or flesh that is the target, but an internal entity, רוּחַ. Job appears to choose this level of specificity to accent his perception of the deadliness of these divine actions. However, there is also contextual warrant to see an implicit conceptualisation or alternate construal of רוּחַ as explaining his complaining words. His complaint is a direct result of God's attacks upon a core part of his SELF that, once affected, must respond with verbalisation. Once Job identifies God as the ultimate cause of his suffering, he expresses "his ultimate wish for God to crush him finally and decisively (6:8–9)."[38]

4.2.3   Job 7:7

4.2.3.1   Text

זְכֹר כִּי־רוּחַ חַיָּי לֹא־תָשׁוּב עֵינִי לִרְאוֹת טוֹב׃

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[37] Greenstein sees the military and bodily images to be woven together where the body, especially the skin, is depicted as a protective wall in need of segmentation and invasion (see Job 16:12–13), Edward L. Greenstein, "Metaphors of Illness and Wellness in Job," in *"When the Morning Stars Sang": Essays in Honor of Choon Leong Seow on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Scott C. Jones and Christine Roy Yoder, BZAW 500 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 47.

[38] Mathewson, *Death and Survival*, 97.

Remember that my life is *rûaḥ*; my eye will never again see good.

4.2.3.2   Context

Job 7 begins with a general lament of the human condition (Job 7:1–6).[39] The shift from the indicative (Job 7:1–6) to imperative (Job 7:7) suggests a new stanza.[40] While the introduction of second-person forms seems to address God, this is not made explicit. That said, the characterisation of the addressee as נֹצֵר הָאָדָם "watcher of humanity" (Job 7:20, Prov 24:12), alongside the resonance of Job 7:17 with Psalm 8, suggests that God is being addressed.[41] Surrounding Job 7:7 are images and lexical units describing the *brevity* of his life: יָמַי קַלּוּ מִנִּי־אָרֶג "my days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle" (7:6), עָנָן (7:9), and הֶבֶל "breath" (7:16).

4.2.3.3   Analysis

Job 7:7 opens with a |זכר[Impv] + כִּי| construction introducing what must be recalled or attended to (Deut 5:15; 15:15; 16:12; 24:18, 22; Judg 9:2; Job 35:24 ∴). The primary LM of this mental act is the compound nominal phrase, רוּחַ חַיָּי, although it may extend to the b-colon. Imperatival זכר is a feature of prayers (Ps 25:6–7; 74:2, 18, 22; 89:48, 51), most frequently

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[39] Possibly alluding to the difficulty of humanity's work from the primeval narrative, see Job 5:1; Gen 2:15; 3:17, so Manfred Oeming, "To Be Adam or Not to Be Adam: The Hidden Fundamental Anthropological Discourse Revealed in an Intertextual Reading of אדם in Job and Genesis," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 22.

[40] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 495.

[41] "If these words are not spoken *to* God, they are spoken *in the direction of* God: they are for God's hearing," Clines, *Job 1-20*, 183.

with explicit address to God as אֲדֹנָי or יְהוָה.[42] The lack of such an address suggests that "God

must have temporarily overlooked ... that his life is no more substantial than air."[43]

Job is all too aware of his tenuous grasp on life, considering what has been inflicted on him.

He is but a 'breath' away from ceasing to exist. A direct and embodied use of רוּחַ is relatively

rare compared to the more frequent metaphoric and metonymic elaborations we have noted

throughout our study. Similarly rare is the combination of רוּחַ and חַי. In Ecclesiastes 3, the

immediate context of רוּחַ appeared to allude to the primeval gift of life from God to humanity

also seen in texts such as Genesis 2–3. We suggest the collocation of רוּחַ with חַי indicates a

further plausible connection with a subsequent part of the primeval history.[44] The Flood

narrative of Genesis 6–7 contains a cluster of instances of רוּחַ חַיִּים to refer to 'the breath of

life' that is both taken away (Gen 6:17; 7:22) and spared (Gen 7:15) by God.[45] Admittedly,

here חַי is singular. Nevertheless, the infrequency of these two nouns occurring together

suggests "a cynical play," not "on the animation of the first human in Genesis 2:7," but the

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[42] *Pace* Clines, *Job 1-20*, 186.

[43] Clines, *Job 1-20*, 186.

[44] So Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 91.

[45] The intertextual links are reinforced by עָנָן in Job 7:9, see Gen 9:13, 16. While functioning quasi-adverbially here, שׁוּב linked רוּחַ with [PRIMEVAL CREATION] in Eccl 3:19–21; 12:7; and Ps 104:29, and may be a further subtle link. Atypically, שׁוּב and ראה are in different forms, Joüon §177b.

Flood account where God alternately removes or extends life.[46] As Alonso Schökel notes regarding such inner-biblical allusions:

> Citing [another biblical text] in order to change the meaning, to turn the citation against someone, is a polemical device, even more surprising when used against God.[47]

The b-colon introduces the motif of SIGHT that runs through Job 7:8. Job cannot return to his previous state of any טֹוב "good." Even should God relent, he will already have dissipated into nothingness (וְאֵינֶנִּי, Job 7:8b). The degradation of SIGHT is thus linked with the experience of DEATH, providing a common conceptual background to the construal of רוּחַ as profiling LIFE suggested above.[48]

We suggest that רוּחַ here profiles LIFE (via +BREATH FOR LIFE+). Specifically, LIFE as conceived of in the cultural history of the primeval narrative of Genesis 6–7. The usage in the Flood narrative evokes the creation of humanity in Genesis 2 via the explicit conceptual linking of רוּחַ חַיִּים with נְשָׁמָה and אַפַּיִם (Gen 7:22). Given our arguments in Ecclesiastes, it would seem

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[46] G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 68. Lilly suggests the *Chaoskampff* motif of Gen 1–9 and parallel ANE sources is the ultimate source of this anthropology, where *winds* bring and dispel bodily harm: "human life is wind, suspended between life and death," Lilly, "Conceptualizing Spirit," 840. Van Loon also construes WIND, although more accurately seeing a meaning focus on the insubstantial and thus transitory nature of Job's life, Loon, *Metaphors*, 94–95.

[47] Alonso Schökel, *Manual*, 144.

[48] "Death, the end of life, is sometimes described as an end of sensory experience, and the deterioration process of the senses in old age leads to death," Avrahami, *The Senses of Scripture*, 213.

a shared cultural mythos of the formation and inspiration of humanity, and the removal/sparing of the Noahic generation, formed part of the encyclopaedic knowledge recruited by specific uses of רוּחַ. The LIFE-BREATH God sought to extinguish in the Flood was the same as that given to creatures by God, and it is this to which Job now draws his listener's attention. In Ecclesiastes, we observed that the meaning focus of the metonym +BREATH FOR LIFE+ is often the *fragility* of the ongoing state of life. Just as ongoing respiration is essential for human life, so BREATH is associated with brevity and temporariness, and by extension, is figuratively what separates death from life. However, unlike similar passages that employ this metonym and meaning focus (often with הֶבֶל, Ps 39:6; 62:10; 144:3–4), its usage here does not entail hope in God who grants ongoing life. Instead, even as Job pleads for God to remember the brevity of his life, he desires to *be forgotten* that he might be allowed to come to his (apparent) inevitable end like those under divine judgement in Genesis 6–7.

4.2.4   Job 7:11

4.2.4.1   Text

גַּם־אֲנִי֮ לֹ֤א אֶחֱשָׂ֫ךְ פִּ֥י אֲֽדַבְּרָ֗ה בְּצַ֥ר רוּחִ֑י אָ֝שִׂ֗יחָה בְּמַ֣ר נַפְשִֽׁי׃

** I—for my part—will not restrain my mouth; I will speak with my *rûaḥ* in straits; I will lament with my soul in bitterness.[49]

4.2.4.2   Context

After he laments the general human condition (Job 7:1–6), and directly addresses his (divine?) listener regarding the inevitability of his fragile life coming to an end (7:7–10), Job begins to bring his first response to a close. The start of a new stanza is suggested by the tricolon structure and the opening גַּם־אֲנִי (see below), with the theme of BITTERNESS prominently used as a 'pivot' in this concentric structure.[50]

4.2.4.3   Analysis

The opening compound of Job 7:11, גַּם־אֲנִי, is often understood as an introduction to the climax of Job's speech.[51] However, the |PRONOUN + גַּם| construction marks the inclusion of the pronominally-marked Agent into some Event or State (Gen 27:34; Exod 6:5; Deut 12:30).[52] More specifically, it indicates Job's reaction to Eliphaz's own words in Job 4:2 or 5:8.[53]

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[49] The רוּחַ clause is indebted to Robert Alter, *The Wisdom Books: Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. A Translation and Commentary* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 36.

[50] Fokkelman, *Job in Form*, 214.

[51] Some understand גַּם as introducing a conclusive piece of information for a discourse, Van Hecke, *From Linguistics*, 381; Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 93.

[52] *BHRG* §40.20. So Seow, *Job 1–21*, 506.

[53] Job 4:2 has the stronger link conceptually with RESTRAINED SPEECH, while 5:8 is linked by the topicalised pronoun.

Three first-person verbal clauses follow, a negated yiqtol and two cohortative constructions. Each features an anthropological noun: פִּי, רוּחַ, and נֶפֶשׁ.

In אֶחֱשָׂךְ פִּי לֹא, חשׂך profiles a human Agent keeping a Body Part to themselves, and so denying a Patient an Object or Event (Prov 10:19; 17:27; Jer 14:10).[54] Similarly to Proverbs 10:19 (שָׂפָה+) פִּי is the metonymic source of SPEECH (Exod 4:15), via +BODY PART FOR FUNCTION+. The topic of SPEECH is continued in the latter two clauses, which both relate to the domain of *COMMUNICATION* and instantiate common metaphors of DISTRESS localised to רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ.[55]

דבר profiles the act of speaking itself, with בְּ often indicating the Addressee.[56] However, when marking an organ of speech (פִּי, Deut 23:24; 1 Kgs 8:15; 2 Chr 6:4; לָשׁוֹן, Ps 39:4), בְּ may profile the Entity (LM) by which the Speaker (TR) communicates.[57] This appears to extend to emotional states such as קִנְאָה (Ezek 5:13) or גֵאוּת (Ps 17:10).[58] The less common שׂיח similarly profiles the production of sounds, but as culturally associated with acts of contemplation (Isa 53:8; Ps 77:7; Ps 119:15, 23, 27, 48, 148) or lament (Ps 55:18; 77:4).[59]

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[54] *SDBH*, s.v. "חשׂך," 1b. Given the Joban poet's fondness for the Patriarchal narratives, גַּם־אָנִי and חשׂך may be an ironic allusion to Gen 20:6 where God prevents Abimelech from sinning.

[55] Interestingly, the more common דבר is combined with the rare metaphor צַר רוּחִי, while the less common שׂיח is paired with the much more common מַר נַפְשִׁי.

[56] Gerleman, "דָּבָר," 1:328.

[57] Wolde, *Reframing*, 141.

[58] We might alternatively construe it as locating the speech event "in" a particular mode, *BHRG* §39.6.4. This suits our reading of צַר, with בְּ depicting being 'in' the state of constraint.

[59] *SDBH*, s.v. "שׂיח."

Müller argues שׂיח "überall um die Äußerung der Emotion als ein eindrücklich hörbares Geschehen."[60] The emotional states affecting Job's speech involve anthropological nouns in figurative conditions of DISTRESS.

צַר has the concrete sense of spatial narrowness or constriction (Num 22:26; 2 Kgs 6:1; Arad ostracon 3). It is used to depict DISTRESS according to the -CONSTRAINT- image schema.[61] This schema conceptualises DISTRESS as an Agonist with a force tendency towards movement being surrounded by an external Antagonist restricting that movement.[62] The implied movement has already been invoked via חשׂךְ "to hold back" in the a-colon.[63] One of the common metaphors instantiating this schema is +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION+. The mappings in BH are listed below (table 4.1).[64]

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[60] Hans-Peter Müller, "Die hebräische Wurzel שׂיח," *VT* 19 (1969): 364–65.

[61] This is a strongly embedded metaphor. However, the spatial sense appears to remain salient as seen in the figurative contrast with larger spaces (Ps 25:17; 31:8), Heinz-Josef Fabry, "צַר I," *TDOT* 12:456–57; Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 166; King, *Surrounded*, 150. Arad ostracon 3 (ca. 6th century BCE) refers to binding two donkeys together, exemplifying the concrete sense.

[62] King, *Surrounded*, 140–44; developing Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*, 21–22. Significantly for Job's argument, the *cause* of the DISTRESS is always external to the Agonist in BH, King, *Surrounded*, 204.

[63] See also Job 18:7.

[64] Adapted from King, *Surrounded*, 167.

Table 4.1. Partial metaphorical mappings for +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION+

Schematic Structure	Source Frame: PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION		Target Frame: EXPERIENCING DISTRESS
Agonist's force tendency	Free person (often in motion along a path to a desired destination)	→	Self (often seeking to achieve purposes)
Antagonist's force tendency	Entities obstructing movement	→	Distressing experiences prevent achieving purposes
Causation	Potentially deliberate action of Agent causing obstructing Entities	→	Potentially deliberate action of other to hinder purposes of self
Resultant action	Person is held in place, vulnerable to attack and unable to reach destination	→	Self is vulnerable to worse disaster, and may never be able to achieve purposes
Metaphorical Entailments	Removal of obstructions / entering a wide space	→	Relief from situation of distress

This metaphor frequently uses target nouns that are metonymic of the SELF, such as נֶפֶשׁ
(צרר+, Ps 27:12; 37:8; 143:11; 1QHᵃ 7:19; 17:28; +עטף, Jon 2:7), לֵב (+צָרָה, Ps 25:17; +עטף, Ps
61:2), and רוּחַ (+עטף, Ps 77:3; 142:3; 143:4):

> [T]he cognitive model of distress is understood partly in terms of the רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, or לֵב
> being constrained, a constraint on the vitality, life, and mind of the individual in
> distress.[65]

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[65] King, *Surrounded*, 160; see also Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 266. King argues עטף retains some of its concrete sense "to wrap," 159.

There may be a physiological motivation for these anthropological terms being associated with CONSTRICTION. However, it seems more likely that their shared profile of the *interior* of the person heightens the intensity of the effect of the DISTRESS.[66] "His inner person feels the pain."[67] In this text, the choice of רוּחַ makes for cogent and salient wordplay given the prior uses to evoke LIFE via BREATH:

> To suggest constriction of breath … fits the trope of death in the chapter—even if Job is being choked and cannot breathe, he will still speak.[68]

Or, again, as noted under Job 6:4, the shared [BREATH] frame may be leveraged to imply secondary metonyms apart from the primary evocation, such as +BREATH FOR SPEECH+. The 'constricting' of Job's רוּחַ in suffering paradoxically compels his complaining speech—"squeezing the words out of him," as it were. At the least, we may observe a lexical and contextual association between רוּחַ and SPEECH.

The c-colon metaphor, מַר נַפְשִׁי, also depicts DISTRESS but via a distinct primary metaphor, +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING BITTERNESS IN THE BODY+.[69] This metaphor often involves נֶפֶשׁ (Judg 18:25; 1 Sam 1:10; 22:2; Isa 38:15; Ezek 27:31; Prov 31:6), especially in Job (Job 3:20; 10:1; 21:25; 27:2). The prevalence of נֶפֶשׁ may be motivated by its concrete use

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[66] *Pace* King, *Surrounded*, 157–58, 160.

[67] Longman, *Job*, 146.

[68] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 507.

[69] See the analysis of King, *Surrounded*, 322–54. In BH, מַר substances are typically understood as more dangerous than BITTER substances in English, King, *Surrounded*, 352.

for the THROAT (as related to appetite and consumption) or its use for a human person.[70]

The phrase describes the "emotional, physical, or psychological" state resulting from Events

caused by Antagonists that drives the Agonist to action.[71] In light of possible

physiological/experiential wordplay of רוּחַ, Seow suggests it depicts the "throat's rejection"

of unpalatable food (see נֶפֶשׁ +דְוַי, Job 6:7).[72] A key aspect of this metaphor is the

internalisation of the 'bitter substance,' and thus the effect of the life-events it represents.

Just as CONSTRICTION (צַר) affects even the רוּחַ, this BITTERNESS (מַר) extends to the interior

SELF.[73] This internalised state similarly expresses itself verbally in Job's lamenting 'groans'

(שִׂיח).

Job is unable to remain quiet as his circumstances affect him to the core of his being. Despite

his tentative grasp on life, he cannot but allow his distress to be expressed in unrestrained

speech. The Joban poet depicts this DISTRESS as the constraint of his רוּחַ—closely associated

with SPEECH—juxtaposed with the inevitability of speech arising from that distress, thus

linking רוּחַ again with the domain of *COMMUNICATION*.

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[70] Claus Westermann, "נֶפֶשׁ," *TLOT* 2:746. See Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 266.

[71] King, *Surrounded*, 335. It is thus neither *anger, despondency,* or *depression* (with their inherent tendency towards inaction)—*pace* Longman, *Job*, 146; Gary V. Smith, "מָרַר," *NIDOTTE* 2:1102—but perhaps best understood as *desperation.*

[72] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 496.

[73] Newsom suggests בְּמַר נַפְשִׁי "can also describe those who are so alienated that they defy social convention and can even be dangerous (Judg 18:25; 1 Sam 22:2)," Newsom, "Job," 395.

4.2.5   Job 9:18

4.2.5.1   Text

לֹא־יִתְּנֵנִי הָשֵׁב רוּחֶי כִּי יַשְׂבִּעַנִי מַמְּרֹרִים:

* He does not let me catch my *rûaḥ*. But sates me with bitterness. (NJPS)

4.2.5.2   Context

Job 9 begins Job's second speech of Cycle 1, responding to Bildad's words in Job 8. The LEGAL

CASE motif running through the coming chapters is introduced in Job 9:14–15, where Job

questions whether he can "answer" (אֶעֱנֶנּוּ) God, even though he is "innocent" (צָדַקְתִּי).[74] Job

9:17 may explicitly mark the reason for Job's disbelief (using a rare causal sense of אֲשֶׁר), or

more likely acts as a relative clause referring to the implied divine subject—present in

pronominal suffixes but unnamed since Job 9:13.

4.2.5.3   Analysis

Job 9:18 opens with the construction |INF.ABS. + לֹא־נתן|, which profiles the restriction of

capacity to act in a certain way—although it most frequently occurs with an embedded lower-

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[74] This takes the form of a string of אִם 'content conditionals' in Job 9:15–20, see Bivin, "The Particle
אִם and Conditionality," 105–6. The introduction of this legal claim is combined with a reiteration of
God's role as creator (see שְׂעָרָה, 9:17): "This big view of God as a powerful creator is important to
observe, for otherwise Job's accusation might seem as if he has little regard for God," Lindsay Wilson,
Job, THOTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 69.

level |INF.CSTR + לְ| construction (Gen 31:7; Exod 3:19; 1 Sam 18:2).[75] The pronominal suffix

on נתן profiles the Recipient of the [GIVING] act—the one restricted from the desired action.[76]

רוּחִי הָשֵׁב reiterates the first-person pronoun, emphasising the SELF of Job as the active focus

of the bicolon (so יַשְׂבִּעַנִי in the b-colon).

In BH, שׁוּב collocates with רוּחַ to depict the reinvigoration of an individual after food or drink

(Judg 15:19; 1 Sam 30:12).[77] However, both contexts reference dire situations, suggesting

that a return to LIFE is in view rather than simple refreshment.[78] If Job is not allowed to gain

any 'amount' of his רוּחַ back, it indicates that "so relentless is that assault that Job has no

chance to catch his breath."[79] As in Job 8:2, רוּחַ likely profiles LIFE, but with the metonymic

source frame [BREATH] salient to the physiological difficulty of breathing when in distress.

Job is not merely winded but denied that which is essential for his continued existence. Once

more, we observe the meaning-focus of the +BREATH FOR LIFE+ metonym: the *fragility* of life

embodied by the contingency of breath. Where breath is easily denied, life is easily

endangered.

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[75] E. Lipiński and H.-J. Fabry, "נָתַן," *TDOT* 10:94.

[76] Michael A. Grisanti, "נָתַן," *NIDOTTE* 3:206.

[77] QH differs slightly. 1QS 7:23 refers to spiritual 'backsliding' (i.e. one's *rûaḥ* being oriented away from where it should), and 4Q416 2 iv 8 (hiphil) of "turning her [your wife's] *rûaḥ* to your will."

[78] Barry G. Webb, *The Book of Judges*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 390.

[79] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 235.

Nogalski makes the intriguing suggestion that the hiphil suggests RESTRAINT given the use of שוב in Job 9:12, 13. In Job 9:13a, Job used a respiratory metonym to profile God's ANGER, אֱלוֹהַ לֹא־יָשִׁיב אַפּוֹ "God does not restrain his anger." He returns to the same language here. None could restrain God's ANGER, but now God "restrains my breath, making it difficult for the speaker to breathe."[80] This second explanation fails to account fully for negated נתן. Rather, in the movement from the a- to the b-colon, God prevents Job from regaining something vital, and 'fills the gap' created by the denial of breath with something negative: מַמְרֹרִים "bitterness."

This movement is confirmed by the connective כִּי marking the b-colon as a counter-statement to the negative a-colon.[81] Hiphil שבע profiles SATIATION (Ps 107:9; 145:16), usually after filling with food (Isa 58:10; Ezek 32:4).[82] It almost exclusively refers to a positive experience, save here and Lamentations 3:15. In both cases, the discourse SELF speaks of being filled with BITTERNESS. We encountered above the general metaphor +EXPERIENCING SOMETHING IS INGESTING IT+ (Job 6:4), and the more specific +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING BITTERNESS IN THE BODY+ (Job 8:2). To be *filled* or *sated* with a BITTER

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[80] James D. Nogalski, "Job and Joel: Divergent Voices on a Common Theme," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 134.

[81] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 214; Jan P. Fokkelman, *The Book of Job in Form: A Literary Translation with Commentary*, SSN 58 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 61.

[82] G. Gerleman, "שבע," *TLOT* 3:1266.

SUBSTANCE conceptualises a deep, intense state of DISTRESS.[83] Here an external Agent has forced the internalisation of distressing events into Job. Bitter substances were often associated with POISON in BH (מְרוֹרַת פְּתָנִים, Job 20:14), which may suggest that not only is Job denied the life-sustaining רוּחַ, but in its place, he is filled with life-damaging events.

Once more, the Joban poet uses figurative expressions involving רוּחַ to depict Job's life as under threat by external—divinely-caused—events. Job's perception of threat again profiles רוּחַ as LIFE via the BREATH metonym, with the conceptual base of the respiratory action of the human body very much relevant to the construal. This may also indicate the salience of the +THE BODY IS A CONTAINER+ encountered in Ecclesiastes 12:7, where God was conceptualised as the Agent responsible for gifting the human with BREATH to bring about LIFE, and the recipient of that BREATH upon death. Taken together, the CONTAINER metaphor and BREATH metonym imply that Job's SELF must be filled with something to function as a 'living being.' Job feels denied the stuff of life by the very one who is meant to grant it, and instead is filled with the stuff of distress and death.

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[83] "It becomes [an] image of force-feeding, a way in which the body's desire to be well-nourished is turned against itself," Yosefa Raz, "Reading Pain in the Book of Job," in *The Book of Job: Aesthetics, Ethics and Hermeneutics*, ed. Leora Batnitzky and Illana Pardes, PJTC 1 (De Gruyter, 2015), 89.

4.2.6 Job 10:12

4.2.6.1 Text

חַיִּים וָחֶסֶד עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי וּפְקֻדָּתְךָ שָׁמְרָה רוּחִי׃

You have granted me life and steadfast love, and your [care has preserved my *rûaḥ*].

4.2.6.2 Context

Job 10 is the second section of Job's response to Bildad. Fokkelman observes an "exceptional intensity" in the high density of first- and second-person pronouns (52x and 43x, respectively).[84] Job 10:8–11 details the apparent care shown by God in forming Job, building to a string of [BODY_PART] nouns in Job 10:11.[85] These move from external to internal: עוֹר "skin" → בָּשָׂר "flesh" → עֶצֶם "bone" → גִּיד "sinew." Job 10:12 forms a hinge upon which this micro-narrative of creation turns to a meditation on the apparent care with which God 'undoes' Job (Job 10:13–22).

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[84] Fokkelman, *Job in Form*, 219.

[85] Begins with a dramatic call to "remember," זְכָר־נָא (Job 10:9). This can be read positively as implying that "it would be out of character now for God to destroy his handiwork," L. Wilson, *Job*, 73; Andersen, *Job*, 166. Alternatively, "it seems to Job that the deity's intimate knowledge of him serves a malicious purpose, enabling the hunger to kill his prey," James L. Crenshaw, "Beginnings, Endings, and Life's Necessities in Biblical Wisdom," in *Wisdom Literature in Mesopotamia and Israel*, ed. Richard J. Clifford, SBLSymS 36 (Atlanta: SBL, 2007), 94.

4.2.6.3   Analysis

Job 10:12 builds on the description of his physical creation in "concrete, sensuous terms."[86]

He introduces the topic of God's CARE with a unique pre-verbal noun combination, חַיִּים וָחֶסֶד.

Despite the rarity of the collocation, the alliteration of ח closely holds the two together.[87]

Both are typical gifts of God: LIFE and RELATIONSHIP.[88] This is emphasised by עָשִׂיתָ עִמָּדִי,

combining the Agent focus of עשׂה with the Recipient focus of עם.[89] The compound often

refers to God's חֶסֶד (Gen 19:19; 20:13; 47:29; 1 Sam 20:14, although never +חַי). The use of

עשׂה for the act of creation in Job 10:8, 11 likely motivates its use, juxtaposing God's role in

Job's creation with his apparent failure in their ongoing relationship.

The interplay of first- and second-person pronouns continues in the central placement of

עִמָּדִי "with *me*" and וּפְקֻדָּתְךָ "*your* visitation." פְּקֻדָּה either refers to *oversight* (Num 3:32, 36;

Isa 60:17; Ezek 44:11)—evoking the [ADMINISTRATION] frame—or of *visiting to punish* (Isa

10:3; Jer 8:12; Ezek 9:1)—evoking the [PUNISHMENT] frame.[90] Our text lacks any contextual

elements that unambiguously profile פְּקֻדָּה against one frame or the other—possibly as part

of Job's ironic critique of God's attention to him.

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[86] Newsom, "Job," 414.

[87] "Phonic repetition fuses two elements without destroying the duality," Alonso Schökel, *Manual*, 21.

[88] Longman, *Job*, 179; G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 107.

[89] Eugene Carpenter, "עשׂה," *NIDOTTE* 3:546; *IBHS* §11.2.14b.

[90] The [ADMINISTRATION] frame tends to feature a FE of Place (e.g. PPs of מִן, אֶל, לְ, see Jer 52:11; Ezek 44:11; 1 Chr 24:19, 26:3); whilst the [PUNISHMENT] frame tends to feature a FE of Time (e.g., עֵת, יוֹם, and שׁנה, see Isa 10:3; Jer 8:12; 10:15; 11:23; 23:12).

One would think it absolutely thrilling to have God so involved in one's life. Job's experience of God's involvement in his life ... has led him to a negative conclusion.[91]

The subsequent predicate שָׁמְרָה רוּחִי similarly appears positive upon initial reading, "watched over my *rûaḥ*." Qal שמר often profiles the PROTECTION or MAINTENANCE of an Entity, which may extend to figurative goods such as one's speech (Prov 21:23), or indirectly to refer to DILIGENCE in the enacting of a responsibility (Exod 23:13).[92] Yet, such close observation may also appear in negative contexts wherein the scrutiny is for the purpose of attack (1 Sam 19:11; 2 Sam 11:16).[93]

פְּקֻדָּה and שָׁמְרָה exhibit unstable frame evocations, presenting the reader with two valid construals with opposed meaning in this discourse context: God's protection of Job's רוּחַ (frequently of God's care for his people, Gen 28:15, 20; Ps 12:8; 121:4) or his critical analysis of Job to his detriment (Job 10:14, אִם־חָטָאתִי וּשְׁמַרְתָּנִי). The Joban poet *ambiguates* these lexical units to provoke reflection upon how the same experience may be at the same time positive in the eyes of the community, and a cause of significant suffering for Job.

Given the ambiguous perspective of the other lexical units in the b-colon, רוּחַ also has fairly even contextual constraint upon its use. The anthropological nominals in Job 10:11 suggest that רוּחַ should be understood as another 'part' of Job's person, perhaps even on a continuum

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[91] Longman, *Job,* 179. For positive readings, see Clines, *Job 1–20*, 248; Fokkelman, *Job in Form*, 222.
[92] G. Sauer, "שמר," *TLOT* 3:1381.
[93] Keith N. Schoville, "שָׁמַר," *NIDOTTE* 4:182.

with the prior meronyms and understood to profile the 'innermost' part of Job's SELF (see Proverbs 15:13). In support of this is the parallel עִמָּדִי, which similarly topicalises Job's SELF. However, given the previous usage in this speech (Job 9:18), the contrast with lexemes evoking LIFE (חַי, and indirectly, חֶסֶד),[94] and the allusion to Genesis 2–3 in וְאֶל־עָפָר תְּשִׁיבֵנִי (Job 10:9), there is a similar contextual impetus to construe רוּחַ as LIFE.[95] It is difficult to discern whether both senses are intended to be conflated—רוּחַ as LIFE is instantiated as the most 'inside' part of Job for God to 'keep'—or, as with פְּקֻדָּה and שָׁמְרָה, whether we are prompted to reconstrue רוּחַ depending upon the perspective taken on the other ambiguous lexical units in the context—Job's LIFE as protected by God is reconsidered as Job's INNER SELF inspected for fault by God, with the ironic twist that God's own 'inside' (לֵבָב, Job 10:13) is hidden from Job.

4.2.7   Job 12:10

4.2.7.1   Text

אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חָי וְרוּחַ כָּל־בְּשַׂר־אִישׁ׃

** In whose hand is the life of everything living thing; and the *rûaḥ* of all human flesh.

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[94] God's חֶסֶד "counteracts" the power of death, D. A. Baer and R. P. Gordon, "חסד," *NIDOTTE* 2:210.
[95] So Andersen, *Job*, 168.

4.2.7.2   Context

Job answers Zophar's brief argument (Job 11) in Job 12–14. Job 12:7–12 is a creational polemic where Job calls the creatures of the world to witness to 'the way the world works.' Job 12:10 consists of a relative clause referring to 12:9 and its concluding content כִּי-clause, יַד־יְהוָה עָשְׂתָה זֹּאת "…that the hand of Yahweh has done this?" The use of the Tetragrammaton is surprising, appearing only here outside of its prolific use in the prose frame and Yahweh speeches of Job 38–42.[96] The content clause appears verbatim in Isaiah 41:20b, referring to Yahweh's provision for Israel via his sovereign control over the world.[97] This appeal to other creatures and their knowledge of "the hand of Yahweh" is in direct opposition to the personal testimony of Job's friends.

4.2.7.3   Analysis

The relative particle retopicalises the "hand of Yahweh" via the dislocated element בְּיָדוֹ, drawing the focus of the clause to Yahweh's agency and possession of נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חָי and רוּחַ כָּל־בְּשַׂר־אִישׁ.[98]

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[96] Seow suggests יַד־יְהוָה is "set phrase" that could not be meaningfully varied, Seow, *Job 1–21*, 624. The distribution reflection this. יַד collocates with יְהוָה 39x, but only 2x with אֱלֹהִם, and once each with אֱלֹוהַ (Job 19:21) and אֵל (Job 27:11).

[97] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 294; Christina L. Brinks Rea, "The Thematic, Stylistic, and Verbal Similarities Between Isaiah 40–55 and the Book of Job" (PhD Thesis, University of Notre Dame, 2010), 170–77.

[98] The re-iteration of יַד ensures the conceptualisation of "direct divine intervention," but for woe rather than weal, Scott C. Jones, "Corporeal Discourse in the Book of Job," *JBL* 132 (2013): 850. Contrast this with Eliphaz's depiction of Job in Job 15:25–26.

כָּל־חָי may refer to humans alone (Gen 3:20; Psa 143:2; Job 30:23?), animals and humans (Gen 8:21; Ps 145:16), or possibly animals alone (Job 28:21).[99] The primeval history uses נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה (Gen 1:20–21, 24, 30; 2:7, 19; 9:10, 12, 15–16) to refer to both animals and humans as members of the category, LIVING CREATURES (see notes under Eccl 3:19–21). The string of singular nouns בְּיָדוֹ נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חָי with distributive כָּל likely emphasise God's inescapable sovereignty, the life of *every* living thing is each held in God's 'hand.'[100]

וְרוּחַ כָּל־בְּשַׂר־אִישׁ is a unique construct chain in BH. כָּל־בָּשָׂר has parallels again in Genesis 6–9 (14x) as well as in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel where "all flesh" is frequently all humanity witnessing God's acts. Genesis 6–7 also connects רוּחַ with כָּל־בָּשָׂר (Gen 6:3, 17; 7:15) to refer to all living creatures. Similarly too, Numbers 16:22; 27:16 emphasise God's sovereignty over all by virtue of creation.[101]

The specification of אִישׁ is unexpected and appears redundant. However, it ensures that רוּחַ כָּל־בְּשַׂר is constrained to >HUMANS< rather than the larger LIVING CREATURES category.[102] The general reference of the a-colon is restricted to refer specifically to God's authority over

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[99] See the likely inclusive CD 12:20, 1QS 4:26, 1QHᵃ 7:35; and anthropocentric 1QS 10:18.

[100] *IBHS* §7.2.2b.

[101] Ashley, *Numbers*, 314. Num 16:22 occurs frequently in later texts, see 1 En.; Jub. 10:13; *Post.* 67;

[102] *Pace* Mitchell Dahood, "Ugaritic *ušn*, Job 12,10 and 11QPsaPlea 3–4," *Biblica* 47 (1966): 107. Given the structural opposition of אִישׁ and בְּיָדוֹ, אִישׁ profiles MORTAL as against DIVINE (Gen 32:39; Num 23:19; Job 9:32, 32:13; Hos 11:9).

and possession of human life. The parallel terms רוּחַ and נֶפֶשׁ overlap conceptually at several

points, as נֶפֶשׁ may metonymically profile LIFE or SELF, and even rarely to BREATH.[103]

La vie de l'individu dépend de la *néphesh* aussi bien que de la *rouaḥ* et c'est pour-

quoi l'un et l'autre termes sont identifiés à *ḥayy* ou *ḥayyim* la « vie ».[104]

The similar texts in Numbers 16:22; 27:16; and Genesis 6:3, 17; 7:15, suggest some level of

appeal to the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] cultural frame, even if only generally. Combined with

the movement from a slightly more general a-colon to a slightly more specific b-colon, it

may be that רוּחַ evokes BREATH as part of the CREATURELY COMPOSITIONAL cultural model

recruited from this cultural frame. Job is depicting God in a maximal role of creator of all

and sustainer of all. God is, then, responsible for the life of all. While this may only be as

part of subverting pious tradition, it still demonstrates the metonym +BREATH FOR LIFE+ as

core to the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] cultural frame, as well as the meaning focus of this

metonym in the fragility and contingency of human life.

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[103] D. C. Fredericks, "נֶפֶשׁ," *NIDOTTE* 3:133. Fredericks is too confident in asserting that "breath" is the lexeme's "basic biblical meaning." See the more rigorous comparison in Müller, *Meine "Seele,"* 126–205. While possible, רוּחַ does not necessitate reading נֶפֶשׁ as *breath, pace* Seow, *Job 1–21*, 633.
[104] René Dussaud, "La néphesh et la rouaḥ dans le 'Livre de Job,'" *RHR* 129 (1945): 24.

4.2.8   Job 15:13

4.2.8.1   Text

כִּי־תָשִׁיב אֶל־אֵל רוּחֶךָ וְהֹצֵאתָ מִפִּיךָ מִלִּין׃

* ...that you turn your *rûaḥ* against God, and bring such words out of your mouth? (ESV)

4.2.8.2   Context

Job 15 begins Cycle 2 of the speeches, which follows the same order of Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, interspersed with Job's responses. The general tone intensifies, Job's companions become more strident in their critique, and Job more confident of his 'rightness.' In Job 15:7–10, Eliphaz deals with Job's reaction to his companions, while 15:11–13 addresses Job's reaction to God.[105]

Again our verse depends directly on the preceding one: מַה־יִּקָּחֲךָ לִבֶּךָ וּמַה־יִּרְזְמוּן עֵינֶיךָ "why does your heart carry you away, and why do your eyes flash..." (Job 15:12). There is a common cyclical assumption in which רוּחַ is read as ANGER in Job 15:13 in light of 15:12, and the rare lexemes and metaphors of 15:12 are understood accordingly.[106] רזם only occurs

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[105] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 351.
[106] Longman, *Job*, 227; Andersen, *Job*, 191; L. Wilson, *Job*, 92.

here, leading many to suggest metathesis of רמז "to gesture, hint."[107] However, most post-

BH uses of רמז suggest SECRECY rather than ANGER.[108] Clines helpfully notes that "your heart

carry you away" may refer to errors in THOUGHT, construing the yiqtols as modal rather than

present-tense, "Why let your thoughts carry you away..."[109] The use of לֵב as the Agent in an

instantiation of the -FORCE- schema is unique, where it occasionally features as a Target of

the force interaction—the role that Job now fills. Given the uniqueness of the idiom, it is

challenging to validate the possible readings and avoid an arbitrary selection of sense. With

due caution, we suggest that Job 15:12 is Eliphaz's lament of Job allowing his thoughts to

lead him away from the truth, and his eyes betray his jealousy.[110]

4.2.8.3   Analysis

Given the difficulty of Job 15:12, it is unsurprising that Job 15:13a contains several uncertain

elements. This begins with the relational profile of כִּי. It is understood as marking

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[107] For רמז, see Job 15:12 Tg./Syr., Isa 3:16 Tg., Jastrow, s.v. "רְמַז." Pope cites Arab. *ramaza* for "to dwindle," Marvin H. Pope, *Job*, 3rd ed., AB 15 (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 116; so Clines, *Job 1–20*, 342. The idea is that Job has failed to "see" (=understand) God rightly and so been led astray.

[108] This is consonant with other actions involving the eyes, especially קרץ+, Ps 35:19; Prov 6:13; 10:10. Kotzé plausibly suggests that metaphors involving עַיִן may reflect an ANE cultural conception of magic—the "evil eye"—thus incurring the wrath of God, Zacharias Kotzé, "Magic and Metaphor: An Interpretation of Eliphaz' Accusation in Job 15:12," *OTE* 20 (2007): 152–57. However, Kotzé's argument supports the use of EYE metaphors for JEALOUSY rather than ANGER. Dunham suggests a further possible parallel with the Sumerian *engalgalutim* ("the very great eye"), a symbol of wisdom, implicating Job in an arrogant claim to omniscience, Kyle C. Dunham, *The Pious Sage in Job: Eliphaz in the Context of Wisdom Theodicy* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock, 2016), 117.

[109] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 340, 352. In BH, the EYES may reflect the HEART's contents, Dunham, *The Pious Sage*, 117; Hartley, *Job*, 247.

[110] Closely related to "frustrated pride," Hartley, *Job*, 247.

temporality (NET), causality (Longman), content (Clines, Fokkelman), or confirmation (Seow) of the previous clause.[111] In |מָה + כִּי| constructions, the content and causal readings are similar, as seen in the subsequent verse, מָה־אֱנוֹשׁ כִּי־יִזְכֶּה "What is man that he should be pure?" (Job 15:14a). George W. Coats has usefully distinguished between |כִּי + PRONOUN/NOUN + מָה| and |כִּי + VERB + מָה| constructions. The former marks abasement towards a social superior, with consequent actions detailed in the כִּי-clause when referring to the discourse 'I,' and grave insult when referring to another discourse Agent.[112] Without a clearer understanding of the מָה-clause in Job 15:12, we are disadvantaged in understanding the full significance of 15:13a. Still, it would seem in character for Eliphaz to be rebuking Job via this construction: "Because your heart has carried you away, and your eyes betray your jealous, you should not turn your *rûaḥ* to God and bring such words from your mouth."[113]

The remaining elements of Job 15:13a also present multiple possible construals: שׁוּב ,אֶל, and רוּחַ. Given the strong emotions Eliphaz attributes to Job in Job 15:11–12, many read תָשִׁיב אֶל־אֵל רוּחֶךָ (Job 15:13) as Job expressing his ANGER against God, "so that you vent your rage against God" (NIV2011).[114] In support of this are the use of BREATH metonyms for ANGER

[111] Longman, *Job*, 226; Clines, *Job 1–20*, 340; Fokkelman, *Job in Form*, 85; Seow, *Job 1–21*, 702.
[112] George W. Coats, "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas," *JBL* 89 (1970): 14–26.
[113] Coats examines several instances where the Joban poet varies the more general construction with similar effect, Coats, "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas," 23–25.
[114] So Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 194; Andersen, *Job*, 191; Clines, *Job 1–20*, 341; G. Wilson, *Job*, 164.

elsewhere (+אַף, Exod 15:7; Ps 18:16; Job 4:9), although these examples feature God as the angry Agent. Perhaps Eliphaz ironically inverts the typical Agent to place Job in the 'divine' slot as part of his critique of Job's perceived arrogance.

However, in addition to our previous hesitations regarding a simplistic equation of רוּחַ and ANGER, the collocation of these three elements together renders ANGER only a possibility.

Consider two pieces of counterevidence. Firstly, the prior collocation of hiphil שׁוּב with רוּחַ in Job 9:18 referred to God's restriction of Job's life due to the relentlessness of the divine assault.[115] We noted that רוּחַ+ שׁוּב occurs in Judges 15:19; 1 Samuel 30:2 to refer to the restoration of strength/LIFE, and +אֶל in Ecclesiastes 12:7 of the LIFE-BREATH returning to God upon death. Secondly, while hiphil שׁוּב appears in the context of ANGER in Isaiah 66:15, it does not refer to the *venting* of divine anger but the reiteration of previously express anger, and with a different figurative structure.[116] שׁוּב profiles a TR orienting towards an LM, with the locative PP specifying the LM (see notes under Prov 1:23). With אֶל, the LM is often a prior location to which the TR is returning (Isa 37:7; Hos 5:4). It seems unlikely that רוּחַ profiles ANGER here.

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[115] This does not require us to read both texts precisely the same given the polysemy of verb and nominal. However, in addition to the general CL tenet that prior construals exert an influence on subsequent ones, the speeches in Job have demonstrated a tendency to interact with one another's vocabulary.

[116] ANGER in Isa 65 is explicitly conceptualised as +ANGER IS HEAT+ (+אֵשׁ, +חֵמָה), rather than via רוּחַ.

Instead, we suggest that the complex cultural frame, [PRIMEVAL CREATION], is the more plausible conceptual base against which רוּחַ should be understood. This frame is evoked contextually in Job 15:7, הֲרִאישׁוֹן אָדָם תִּוָּלֵד "were you the first man born?" and possibly in Job 15:8 in reference to הַבְסוֹד אֱלוֹהַ "in God's counsel," evocative of Proverbs 8:22–31 and the relationship between Wisdom, creation, and humanity.[117] Job does not have any "primacy in creation" that he might "pontificate with such certainty about how the world is run."[118] Despite the intervening verses, these creational themes seem the most salient conceptual base for רוּחַ, suggesting BREATH as the gift of God is its primary referent.

While Ecclesiastes 12:7 uses this same collocation of רוּחַ, שׁוּב, and אֶל, and same profile-base relationship to depict the end of human life, the context of Job 15:13 suggests that Eliphaz is not questioning Job's imminent death.[119] "Les paroles que Job profère ne sont pas les derniers soupirs d'un mourant, mais des manifestations de son état d'âme."[120] Instead, the context presents a clear conceptual base for רוּחַ, but then offers multiple possible construals using that profile/base relationship.

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[117] Note רֵאשִׁית (Prov 8:22) and לִפְנֵי גְבָעוֹת חוֹלָלְתִּי (Prov 8:25b). *Pace* Clines, Eliphaz does not evoke the *Urmensch* in Job 15:7ff, but the FIRST HUMAN cultural model related to the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame, where the first man, Adam (אָדָם), enjoyed face-to-face communication with God, Oeming, "To Be Adam," 25.

[118] L. Wilson, *Job*, 92.

[119] So Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen Zur Hebräischen Bibel: Textkritisches, Sprachliches Und Sachliches* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 6:241.

[120] Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 193–94.

There are at least three possibilities for how BREATH is used here. The first is that [BREATHING] may be the source frame for the metonymy, +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+. Job is accused of turning his SELF against God. This accounts for readings that imply an emotion such as anger or hubris (so Syr. ܪܘܚܗ ... ܘܡܦܩ, evoking the metaphor +ARROGANCE IS PHYSICAL HEIGHT+, see under Eccl 10:4). If Job is angry against God, or arrogant in his opposition to God, this would be reflected by such self-revelation.

The second—and weakest—possibility is that this text leverages a metaphorical *entailment* of רוּחַ we encounter later in Job: a broad association between רוּחַ and WISDOM. This occurs in passages such as Genesis 41:38; Exodus 28:3; 31:3; 35:31; Deuteronomy 34:9; and in Aramaic, Daniel 4:5–6, 15; 5:11–12, 14, 20; 6:4.[121] This association becomes highly significant in the Elihu speeches, when the human רוּחַ is linked to God's רוּחַ, the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame, and the capacity for and presence of WISDOM in a person.[122] Job is accused of turning his God-given capacity for wisdom—granted to him by the רוּחַ shared with all—against the one who gave it to him.[123]

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[121] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 34–86; 118–53. This association is elaborated throughout Second Temple literature, 1QHᵃ 5:35–36; 20:14–15; 21:34. See Rony Kozman, "Ezekiel's Promised Spirit as *Adam*'s Revelatory Spirit in the Hodayot," *DSD* 26 (2019): 30–60; Matthew Goff, "Adam, The Angels And Eternal Life: Genesis 1–3 In the Wisdom of Solomon and *4QInstruction*," in *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*, ed. Geza G. Xeravits and Joszef Zsengeller, JSJSupp 142 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1–21.

[122] Regarding Job 32:8, "Le souffle qui se trouve dans l'homme est à la fois principe de vie et de sagesse, car il émane directement du créateur," Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 434.

[123] Dunham appeals to the sapiential trope in which "Adam, viewed in his original state, [is] the apex of human wisdom and perfection prior to the Fall," Dunham, *The Pious Sage*, 115.

The final, and we suggest most plausible, elaboration of רוּחַ as BREATH is via the SPEECH metonymy. The connection between רוּחַ and SPEECH has been observed previously in Job, and is highly salient in the context given פֶּה and מִלָּה in the b-colon. An entailment of this metonymy is the expression of the SELF (and its cognitive, affective, and volition content) via the utterance. The Targum reflects this in portraying רוּחַ as the Agent of TURNING and ותהנפק "uttering," "your *rûaḥ* turns to God and utters..."

The b-colon explicitly topicalises SPEECH, וְהֹצֵאתָ מִפִּיךָ מִלִּין "and bring such words from your mouth."[124] יצא profiles a unidirectional process where the TR moves away from the LM, in contrast to the bidirectional process of שׁוּב. This spatial play may account for its occasional use to refer to the production of SPEECH (although note hiphil מִלָּה+ יצא, Job 8:10).[125] The locating of the source of these words in פֶּה (the bodily-outer source of speech) provides a broad parallel to רוּחַ (the bodily-inner source of speech) as a deeper source directed towards God.

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[124] It is difficult to assess the evaluative sense of מִלָּה. Dahood appeals to Phoenician *mtmll* to suggest "speaking derisively" (see Job 30:9b), Mitchell Dahood, "Karatepe Notes," *Bib* 44 (1963): 72–73. Post-BH and Syriac usage is more neutral, and may reflect poetic register.

[125] The hiphil binyan lends itself to figurative causative uses, e.g., "to bring forth" plants, children (Gen 1:24; Isa 61:11; 65:9), Ernst Jenni, "יצא," *TLOT* 2:563–64. Alternatively, it may intensify the qal, "allow such words to *escape* from your mouth" (NET).

4.2.9 Job 17:1

4.2.9.1 Text

רוּחִי חֻבָּלָה יָמַי נִזְעָכוּ קְבָרִים לִי׃

** My *rûaḥ* is bound [/broken], my days are snuffed out, the grave is ready for me.

4.2.9.2 Context

Job 16–17 contains Job's reply to Eliphaz's second speech. The previous three stanzas (Job 16:2–6, 7–17, 18–22) develop an extended metaphor of Job's DISTRESS as a DISINTEGRATED BODY.[126] "He now moves beyond the destroyed body to speak of his destroyed spirit," then to social destruction in Job 17:2–7.[127] The abrupt elements of this tricolon form a startling bridge between the dramatic Job 16:22 and the address to God in Job 17:3.

4.2.9.3 Analysis

The a-colon of Job 17:1 is terse, with רוּחַ topicalised at the front of an abbreviated clause. It is the profile determinant for חֻבָּלָה, the Masoretic pointing of which suggests a pual qatal feminine form. A masculine pual appears in Isaiah 10:27, and the corresponding piel often

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[126] On *disembodiment* in Job, see Alec Basson, "Just Skin and Bones: The Longing for Wholeness of Body in Job," *VT* 58 (2008): 287–99; Amy Erickson, "'Without My Flesh I Will See God': Job's Rhetoric of the Body," *JBL* 132 (2013): 295–313; de Joode, *Metaphorical Landscapes*, 68–74.
[127] Seow, *Job 1-21*, 753. On the link between BODY, SELF, and RELATIONSHIPS, see Basson, "Just Skin and Bones," 288; Jones, "Corporeal Discourse," 846–47.

evokes a FORCE interaction, "to destroy" (Isa 13:5; 32:7; 54:16; Eccl 5:6).[128] Thus, חבל may

profile the [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION] frame, "my *rûaḥ* is broken."[129]

However, חבל has at least four homographs: "to take as a pledge," "to birth," "to bind," and

"to ruin."[130] Cognitive semantics favours concrete physical senses as motivating more

extended uses, suggesting a plausible relationship between these homographs.[131] The

concrete sense of being PHYSICALLY BOUND with ropes might motivate being 'bound' in

pledge and the muscular constriction in the spasms of childbirth.[132] It is more difficult to

posit a direct physical motivation for *ruin,* although the established link between DISTRESS

and the -CONSTRAINT- schema may support its general validity.[133] Similar semantic ranges

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[128] There are textual issues with Isaiah 10 which prevent us from deriving reliable semantic data, see H. G. M. Williamson, *Isaiah 6–12*, ICC (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 587–89. Williamson concludes חבל means "forcefully removed," presumably akin to Akk. ḫabātu "to take away by force," *CAD* 6, s.v. "ḫabātu A." A similar -FORCE- lexeme, חתת "to shatter," appears in the comparable Isa 9:3.

[129] So Clines, *Job 1–20*, 392; Longman, *Job*, 240; L. Wilson, *Job*, 98.

[130] H. A. Hoffner, "חָבַל II," *TDOT* 4:180. Some omit "to bind" as a verbal form (although see Job 24:3, Sir^B 34:6), but it is witnessed nominally as חֶבֶל "rope."

[131] Following King, *Surrounded*, 151–52, 160.

[132] Alternatively, Rabbinic tradition depicts 'cords' holding an infant in their mother until the start of labour, H.-J. Fabry, "חבל IV," *TDOT* 4:189. The DEBT usage may refer to distraints which would relate to the physical binding of animals or people, Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*, Hermeneia 30 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 83–85.

[133] King, *Surrounded,* ch. 6. Gamberoni sees strong links between ROPE imagery and the RUIN usage, J. Gamberoni, "חָבַל III," *TDOT* 4:188.

exist for ROPE, DEBT, and CHILDBIRTH in Qumran Aramaic and Akkadian.[134] Thus, it is at

least plausible that Job 17:1 reads, "My *rûaḥ* is bound."[135]

Both the [FRAGMENTATION] and [CONSTRAINT] frames are known source frames in

metaphors of DISTRESS, and both are productive in context. If the [CONSTRAINT] frame is

preferred, it instantiates +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION+. In Job

7:11 (with צר), רוּחַ either profiled LIFE as metonymically related to BREATH, or profiled the

internal SELF (emphasising the extent of the impact of the distressing events). The former is

perhaps slightly more salient here given the evocation of DEATH in the b- and c-cola.

If חבל evokes the [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION] frame, it profiles an Agent causing irrevocable

damage to an Entity by an impact Event.[136] The Entity in view is רוּחַ, which in previous

instantiations of +EXPERIENCING DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FRAGMENTATION+ functioned

metonymically for LIFE, highlighting the end state of the fragmented SELF unable to perceive

life continuing after the Event. At times, there were implications or secondary evocations of

VOLITION in which the fragmented SELF was unable to continue in active life.[137] Given the

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[134] *DQA*, s.vv. "חבל I-II." *CAD* 6, s.vv. "ḫabālu A," "to oppress;" "ḫabālu B," "to borrow, owe;" "ḫabālu C," "to tie, snare, harness."

[135] Similarly King, *Surrounded by Bitterness*, 160.

[136] Thus, *ruin* is semantically valid via +EFFECT FOR CAUSE+. So *SDBH,* "A causative action whereby someone brings an event to an end," *SDBH,* s.v. "חבל."

[137] Here, see Hartley's description of "the will to live," Hartley, *Job*, 268. Similarly, Longman describes Job as "depressed and discouraged," Longman, *Job*, 240.

contextual focus on DEATH explored below, LIFE seems more likely in view.[138] The intensity of חבל entails the finality of the end state (at least as perceived and depicted by Job), indirectly attributing a fragility to Job's רוּחַ that rendered it vulnerable. The perceived finality to Job's suffering, and its inevitable end in death, are seen in the b- and c-cola.

The b-colon subverts the frequent use of יוֹם as "time units of life, but for Job they are now the opposite: time units of death."[139] זעך is likely a unique by-form (or early transmission error) of דעך, possibly influenced by Arabic cognates. דעך profiles the extinguishing of a wick, frequently instantiating the inverse of the metaphor +A LIT LAMP IS LIFE+, that is, +SNUFFING OUT A WICK IS DESTROYING A PERSON+ (Job 18:6, Prov 13:9). The 'snuffed out' person is frequently "the wicked."[140] The metaphor highlights the brevity of the action—how easily the wicked are ended—here applied to Job's life. He is, by implication, "the wicked," easily and swiftly extinguished.[141] A potential entailment of the LAMP metaphor is a movement from LIGHT → DARKNESS. DARKNESS has been a frequent metaphorical source for Job and Eliphaz's discussions of DEATH (Job, 3:4–6, 9, 16, 20; 10:21–22; 16:16; Eliphaz, 5:14; 15:22, 23, 30).[142] The Joban poet appears creatively moving from one cola concerning DEATH

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[138] So Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 221.

[139] Fokkelman, *Job in Form*, 238; Newsom, *Job: A Contest*, 131–34.

[140] Jerome A. Lund, "דְעַךְ," *NIDOTTE* 1:960.

[141] While we cannot prove it definitively, the movement from רוּחַ "breath/wind" to the central image of EXTINGUISHMENT, usually of a lit wick, is poetically satisfying.

[142] Note יוֹם־חֹשֶׁךְ in Job 15:22–23. On DARKNESS in Job, especially +BEING IN DISTRESS IS BEING IN A DARK PLACE+, see King, *Surrounded*, 307–14; Sophia A. Magallanes, "Bringing Wisdom Back Down to Earth: A Wisdom Reading of Job 28" (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2011), 51–59.

to another by this blending of metaphors: "Darkness is closing in upon him, a foretaste of the darkness of death."[143]

The final colon maintains the focus on Job's SELF via first-person suffixes. As Job's רוּחַ is irrevocably damaged—his life 'brought to an end'—he is left with that which represents DEATH, קְבָרִים "graves," rather than what represents LIFE, רוּחַ.[144] חֻבָּלָה implied an Agent responsible for ruining Job's רוּחַ, and implicitly 'snuffing out' his days and consigning him to the grave. This may imply Job's companions, with their mockery working 'backwards' from Job's exterior relationships to his internal SELF. However, it seems more likely that God is once more the implied antagonist of Job, succinctly bringing life to a near-end by his actions.

We have explored two possible construals of Job 17:1 based on the semantic possibilities of חבל. Despite the different metaphorical frames, רוּחַ as the target of CONSTRAINING or FRAGMENTING actions seems to refer to Job's LIFE. If we are permitted a poetic flourish, Job is pictured as gasping for air, seeing his life dwindling as if God's tightening grip were snuffing the stuttering wick of his life-spark, consumed by the subsequent darkness of the grave.

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[143] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 392.

[144] The plural form is likely extensive to contrast the singular interior of רוּח with its expansive external opposite.

4.2.10 Job 19:17

4.2.10.1 Text

רוּחִי זָ֣רָה לְאִשְׁתִּ֑י וְ֝חַנֹּתִ֗י לִבְנֵ֥י בִטְנִֽי׃

** My *rûaḥ* is strange to my wife; I yearn for my own family.

4.2.10.2 Context

Job replies to Bildad's second speech in Job 19, marked by intense exasperation. Job 19:13–20 returns to the nexus of social relationships and wellbeing of self, moving through levels of relationships in each verse, each grounded by a first-person suffix: אַחַי "brother" (13) → עֲבְדִּי "relatives//friends" (14) → וְאַמְהֹתַי//גָּרֵי בֵיתִי "guests//maidservants" (15) → וּמְיֻדָּעַי//קְרוֹבָי "servants" (16) → כָּל־מְתֵי סוֹדִי "wife//family" (17) → בְנֵי בִטְנִי//אִשְׁתִּי "youngsters" (18) → עֲוִילִים "intimate friends//beloved" (19).[145] אֲהַבְתִּי//

Every relationship is eroded, and with it Job's status in the household, community, and family.[146] The climax of this is another vivid depiction of bodily disintegration (Job 19:20),

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[145] While a movement from "his outer circle to his innermost one" is attractive, the terms do not follow a clear order of intimacy, *pace* Seow, *Job 1–21*, 800. L. Wilson is correct that, "the cumulative picture is of his being totally and utterly abandoned by the entire community," L. Wilson, *Job*, 104.

[146] G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 205.

ironically offering Job a new avenue to confront God without the "false witness" of his body against himself.[147]

4.2.10.3   Analysis

The a-colon of Job 19:17, רוּחִי זָרָה לְאִשְׁתִּי, is commonly understood as Job's breath being repulsive to his wife, "implying she will not come near him."[148] If זָרָה is understood as a novel by-form of זור "to be repulsive," this is possible.[149] Support may come from a further unique nominal, זָרָא, in Numbers 11:20, referring to the result of the month of meat that Yahweh gives to the complaining Israelites.[150] However, this may refer to physical illness (so LXX, Syr.) or vomiting, distancing it from an evaluative use.[151] While the morphology is unique, if vomiting is in view, we suggest that זור "to squeeze" plausibly reflects the contractions of the stomach to expel food.[152]

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[147] Erickson, "Without My Flesh I Will See God," 305. De Joode suggests metaphorical BOUNDARIES provide figurative unity to 19:6–20, firstly with +ENMITY IS SETTING AN UNWANTED EXTERNAL BOUNDARY+ in the "net" (19:6), "wall" (19:8), and "siegeworks" (19:12)—of God's perceived actions in 19:6–12—then the outcome of these erected 'barriers' in the estrangement of Job's community, instantiating +SOCIAL GROUPS ARE CONTAINERS+, with Job firmly on the 'outside,' de Joode, *Metaphorical Landscapes*, 74–76.

[148] Longman, *Job*, 258.

[149] So Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 252. See Akk. *zêru, CAD* 21, s.v. "zêru," "to hate, avoid."

[150] "Yahweh is going to punish the people by giving them what they asked for to excess," Ashley, *Numbers*, 211.

[151] *LEH*, s.v. "χολέρα," "cholera, nausea, dysentery;" *CSD*, s.v. "ܐܦܘܬܐ," "nausea."

[152] Or even, "to wring out," so Judg 6:38; *HALOT*, s.v. "זור I."

However, Job 19:13–20 contains no reason for the relational alienation, which renders the issue of Job's halitosis an odd inclusion:

> Hitherto it has seemed that what has alienated people from him has been the evidence of divine displeasure presented by the enormity of his sufferings; it would be something of a disillusionment then to find that the chief problem is his halitosis.[153]

It seems more likely that זָרָה refers here to the state of "being a stranger" (Job 19:13, 15, 27; so Tg.).[154] This profiles Job's alienation from his wife. Carol Newsom suggests the REPULSIVE and STRANGE readings are a further example of Joban wordplay, where a seemingly innocuous construal is conceptually linked to a more serious one.[155]

If Job's alienation from his wife is in view, what does רוּחִי refer to? It may still profile BREATH, something experienced by another only in great physical proximity, thus symbolic of the spatial distance between Job and his wife (evoking +PHYSICAL PROXIMITY IS RELATIONAL PROXIMITY+). While plausible, this would be a unique use in Job. Alternatively, and more

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[153] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 448. Similarly, Seow, *Job 1–21*, 818; Erickson, "Without My Flesh I Will See God," 310.

[154] Usually, זור as ALIENATION appears with מִן modifying the LM rather than לְ as here. 11Q10 2:6 רוח המכת לאנתתי "a spirit humiliated my wife" appears to reflect the lower view of Job's wife in T. Job, Émile Puech, "Glanures Épigraphiques: Le Livres des Proverbes et le Libre de Job à Qumrân," in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of* Julio Trebolle Barrera: *Florilegium Complutense*, ed. André Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales, JSJSupp 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 292.

[155] Newsom, "Job," 476.

resonant with other uses in the book, רוּחַ profiles Job's LIFE, or his interior SELF symbolic of his ongoing existence (so Syr., which substitutes a simple first-person pronominal suffix).[156] Both construe רוּחַ as figurative: the former as respiration experienced only in proximity representing relational intimacy; the latter emphasising Job's ongoing existence as a living being, representative of the SELF *par excellence.* With Newsom above, perhaps this is Joban ambiguation to conceptually enfold both Job's internal and external SELF as alienated from those around him.

The b-colon is somewhat obscure, וְחַנֹּתִי לִבְנֵי בִטְנִי. In BH, חנן is typically "to favour, be gracious to."[157] Many commentators suggest Arabic and Syriac cognates, *chnn* "to stink," and سَنَّ "rancid," to provide a more precise parallel with the halitosis reading of the a-colon.[158] While possible, it seems convoluted to choose an otherwise unattested verb with identical morphology to a vastly more common one. Furthermore, the common use of חנן is rendered cognitively more salient by אֶתְחַנֵּן "I implore compassion" (hithpael, Job 19:16b)—an unexpected inversion of the social order for Job, a master, to ask of his servant. However, it is difficult to find a clear sense of the qal with respect to בְנֵי בִטְנִי.

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[156] For the LIFE construal, see Clines, *Job 1–20*, 448. For the SELF construal, see Seow, *Job 1–21*, 817–18.

[157] *HALOT*, s.v. "חנן I."

[158] K&D 10:345, *HALOT*, s.v. "חנן II." Clines, *Job 1–20*, 428 shows the circularity of arguments concerning זור and חנן.

בְּנֵי בִטְנִי appears to refer to Job's children, given בֶּטֶן often connotes *womb* in contexts with child-bearing women (here, Job's wife).[159] Yet, the prologue is clear that Job's children have died.[160] Many suggest the phrase instead refers to Job's brothers ("wombmates").[161] However, this does not resonate with related idioms which occur from the mother's perspective (בֶּן־בִּטְנָהּ, Isa 49:15) or refer to one's own children (פְּרִי בִטְנִי, Mic 6:7). It seems we have misunderstood חנן. Unattested cognates should be treated carefully, but of the list of unconvincing proposals, we find Seow's the most convincing. He suggests that, if Arabic cognates are necessary for understanding this text, *ḥanna* "to yearn, long for" is superior to *chnn* "to stink."[162] Job expresses his desire for his lost children, especially given how distant even his wife has become.

While difficult, this text displays the depths to which Job's disintegration has gone. His relationships are dissolving in keeping with his bodily decomposition.[163] He is now physically and socially unrecognisable and unrelatable. His life itself is strange to even his most intimate partner, his wife, showing the depths of the external decay. This anticipates the climax of Job's speech in 19:26–29, where Job envisages the destruction of his flesh such that

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[159] See parallels with רֶחֶם (Job 3:11; 10:18–19; 31:15; Ps 22:10).

[160] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 449; *pace* Robert Gordis, *The Book of Job: Commentary, New Translation, and Special Studies*, Moreshet (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1978), 449.

[161] Hartley, *Job*, 289; Clines, *Job 1–20*, 449.

[162] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 818; K&D 10:345–346.

[163] Or, with the CONTAINER metaphor, as Job's external bodily BOUNDARY fails, a new relational BOUNDARY excluding him from the social CONTAINER is erected.

he may confront God, וְלֹא־זָר "and not a stranger" (Job 19:27).[164] Here, even his רוּחַ does not escape the alienation of his closest relationships.

4.2.11 Job 20:3

4.2.11.1 Text

מוּסַר כְּלִמָּתִי אֶשְׁמָע וְרוּחַ מִבִּינָתִי יַעֲנֵנִי:

** Censure that disgraces me I hear, and *rûaḥ* from my understanding causes me to answer.

4.2.11.2 Context

Job 20 contains Zophar's second and final speech. He begins distressed at how Job has attacked him (Job 20:1–3), especially as Job switched to second-person singular references in Job 12:7–9 to rebuke Zophar directly.[165]

4.2.11.3 Analysis

Job 20:3 consists of balanced cola with two nominals, a first-person suffix, and a yiqtol verb. מוּסַר כְּלִמָּתִי is a unique phrase, linking INSTRUCTION with INSULT. מוּסַר typically profiles verbal instruction, although this may extend to correction and even punishment.[166] In

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[164] Job in his failing flesh sees himself a stranger to God, as his decaying body appears to declare a guilt he is certain he does not bear, Erickson, "Without My Flesh I Will See God," 310.

[165] Job 20:3 may specifically refer to Job's rebuke in 19:28–29, L. Wilson, *Job*, 109.

[166] *SDBH*, s.v. "מוּסָר." Jer 30:14 and Hos 5:2 appear to evoke PUNISHMENT without INSTRUCTION. However, this is an intentional highlighting of the result of ignoring instruction over the activity itself.

construct with a pronominal suffix, it can be causative, as in Isaiah 53:5, מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ "chastisement that makes us whole."[167] כְּלִמָּה profiles the state of social disgrace, the failure to meet expectations against a conceptual base of INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS. The verbal cognate may play into the Joban legal motif, with Job's friends' seeking to "humiliate' him by proving him in the wrong."[168] Job's response to Zophar either *disgraces* him or *proves him wrong* (or perhaps, the ambiguity raises the question of which to the hearer). Together, the phrase suggests "censure that disgraces me."[169] Such presumptuous insult begs an answer.

Unfortunately, Zophar's climactic response to Job's challenge is neutered by its ambiguity. רוּחַ is used in many ways throughout Job, מִן is a flexible preposition, and even יַעֲנֵנִי could be understood as qal, "answers me," or hiphil, "causes me to answer."[170] We will address these in reverse order.

Regarding ענה, the versions support the qal reading, however, the hiphil seems slightly more likely given the responsorial nature of Zophar's words (see הֲזֹאת in Job 20:4a).[171]

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[167] *IBHS* §9.5.2c.

[168] Clines, *Job 1–20*, 260.

[169] Similarly, Seow, *Job 1–21*, 848–49. See Tg. רדותא דכסופי.

[170] For qal, see NRSV, Longman, *Job*, 266. For hiphil, see NET, Clines, *Job 1–20*, 473.

[171] The reversed polarity of the rhetorical question in Job 20:4 is the best contextual evidence that Zophar feels the need to answer rather than conceding an answer from another.

The function of מִן in רוּחַ מִבִּינָתִי is uncertain. It likely profiles the disassociation of רוּחַ from

בִּינָה, either to mark relative *comparison* of one to the other—"a *rûaḥ* beyond my

understanding"—or the *source* of the implied movement—"a *rûaḥ* from/out of my

understanding."[172] The preposition appears twice more with בִּינָה, once when Yahweh first

responds to Job, אַל־תִּיגַע לְהַעֲשִׁיר מִבִּינָתְךָ חֲדָל (Job 39:26a); and in Proverbs, הֲמִבִּינָתְךָ יַאֲבֶר־נֵץ

(Prov 23:4). In both instances, מִן marks the source and thus cause for the event in view. This

supports the *source* construal (so LXX |ἐκ + GENITIVE| construction), although Job 20:3 has

an explicit subject, making the entire construction distinct from the other examples. In

support of the *comparative* construal is the similar idea expressed by Eliphaz in Job 4:12–17,

where רוּחַ profiles a category of personal beings linked with authoritative revelation.[173] It is

tempting to see another intended ambiguity in which Zophar claims to be speaking *out of*

his understanding. In contrast, the hearer sees that he speaks *beyond* what he can

understand.

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[172] Joüon §133e. Preferring *privation* over *comparison*, see Longman, *Job,* 264. The *source* construal is favoured by Clines, *Job 1–20,* 471; Seow, *Job 1–21,* 849; Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:135; Fokkelman, *Job in Form,* 103. G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 213; L. Wilson, *Job*, 109 equivocate.

[173] Incidental support comes from בִּין in Daniel 1:17; 9:22–23; 10:1 as "a technical term for the understanding of visions and auditions," H. H. Schmid, "בין," *TLOT* 1:232. Contra Clines' there is nothing to establish that Job 20:3 *must* refer to reason "since Zophar is not given to supernatural revelations," Clines, *Job 1–20*, 471 n. 3.

There seem no definitive grounds to determine the function of מִן with certainty, and thus how רוּחַ relates to בִּינָה. We proceed with the provisional conclusion that מִן profiles רוּחַ as finding its *source* in Zophar's בִּינָה.

If רוּחַ is depicted as finding its origin in Zophar's בִּינָה, it is the cause for Zophar's *answer* (ענה). The association between רוּחַ and COMMUNICATION, especially SPEECH, has been well established. Previously, רוּחַ profiled the utterance in the speaking act itself, likely via +BREATH FOR SPEECH+. The entailment of this metonym—that what is spoken reflects the internal SELF of the speaker—is salient given the מִן PP. Zophar *hears* Job's words which cause his "disgrace," and these provoke Zophar to *answer* Job by a true reflection of himself arising from his בִּינָה.

4.2.12   Job 21:4

4.2.12.1   Text

הֶאָנֹכִי לְאָדָם שִׂיחִי וְאִם־מַדּוּעַ לֹא־תִקְצַר רוּחִי׃

* Is my complaint directed to a human being? [Or] why should [my *rûaḥ* not be shortened?] (NIV2011)

4.2.12.2   Context

Job 21 concludes the second cycle of speeches with Job's reply to Zophar's final speech. Job prefaces his speech with a long introductory plea to be heard (Job 21:2–6) before addressing

each friend in turn: Eliphaz (21:8–13); Bildad (21:17–18); and Zophar (21:19–32), and a stinging assessment of their words (21:34).[174]

4.2.12.3   Analysis

Job 21:4 moves from two imperatives pleading for engagement with Job's words (שִׁמְעוּ, 21:2; שְׂאוּנִי, 21:3) to a bicolon length 'alternative question' where two or more possible answers are suggested (see Gen 17:17).[175]

In the a-colon, אָנֹכִי places Job's "complaint in contrast with another."[176] Others would be expected to complain לְאָדָם "to a human being," to such interlocutors as Job faces.[177] אָדָם may be a subversion of Zophar's denial of Job's intimacy with God (Job 20:4), or a general collective noun for humans as distinct from God, the other interlocutor and true source of Job's perceived injustices (see שׂיח in Job 7:13; 9:27; 10:1; 23:3).[178] Either use identifies the real issue being God's lack of response. As argued under Job 7:11, שִׂיחַ refers to the generation of sounds as part of the [COMPLAINT] or [COGITATION] frames, with the [COMPLAINT] frame firmly evoked here.

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[174] Seow, *Job 1–21*, 866. Job 21:4–6 "set the tone for the rest of the chapter," G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 223.
[175] *BHRG²* §42.2.1(3)(b).
[176] K&D 10:397–98; Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:144. "[T]he protests of most people will be against other humans, while Job's is particularly distressing because it has to be against God," David J. A. Clines, *Job 21–37*, WBC 18A (Thomas Nelson, 2006), 506.
[177] Contra Duhm and Ehrlich, לְ is comprehensible as marking the addressee of the complaint or the topic, Clines, *Job 21–37*, 505; *pace* Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 6:264–65; Duhm, *Hiob*, 109.
[178] The subversive construal follows Oeming, "To Be Adam," 26–27. The categorical construal follows Claus Westermann, "אָדָם," *TLOT* 1:33.

The relationship between the cola is complicated by the interrogative, מַדּוּעַ (21:4b).

Uniquely, this is connected to the normal introductory particle for the second alternative

question, אִם. מַדּוּעַ invariably appears at the start of its clause, and often marks the

subsequent clause after a הֲ...אִם polar question (Jer 8:19, 22; 14:19; 22:28; 49:1; and following

הֲ...הֲ in Mal 2:10). However, the collocation of two potential interrogatives does not

necessitate reading the b-colon as an abbreviated conditional as in Jeremiah.[179] Rather, הֲ...אִם

is a specific |ALTERNATIVE QUESTION| grammatical construction. With Bivin, we understand

אִם as creating a mental space within the הֲ-clause, a 'question space'.[180] The הֲ-clause

establishes the topic of the question, and אִם marks alternate, hypothetical scenarios within

the topicalised 'space.'[181] The use of a WH- interrogative, מַדּוּעַ, in the אִם-clause is novel, but

appears to draw attention to the causation of the state in the b-colon with the Agent

(indirectly) topicalised in the a-colon. Combined with the negated-yiqtol, it links the answer

to the question in the a-colon with the causation of the state in the b-colon, "why should my

rûaḥ not be shortened?"[182]

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[179] *Pace* Clines, *Job 21–37*, 506. See Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," §5.2.5.

[180] Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 245.

[181] That is, the אִם-clause is to be interpreted within the scope of the 'הֲ space,' to bind the second clause to the discussion of the first (for polar questions) or to prompt a new mental space with a new setting scenario.

[182] *Pace* Bivin, alternative questions may convey that an answer to the question "is, or should be, obvious," Adina Moshavi, "Can A Positive Rhetorical Question Have a Positive Answer in the Bible?," *JSS* 56 (2011): 254.

לֹא־תִקְצַר רוּחִי instantiates a metaphor we encountered under Proverbs 14:29 (+SPATIAL

LENGTH IS CAPACITY TO ACT+). We argued that SHORT metaphors with רוּחַ depict the lack or

loss of capacity for an Agent to endure an Event. The loss of capacity may be construed as

impatience when depicted from the discourse-Agent's perspective, or as *exhaustion* if

depicted from the discourse's perspective. The verbal evocation of this metaphor entails a

premature 'shortening' of רוּחַ, a restriction of capacity that should otherwise exist. A second

entailment is the provocation of COMPLAINT in response to the Event (Num 21:5; Zech 11:9).

Both entailments seem relevant here. Under Proverbs 14:29, we explored two construals of

רוּחַ in light of the metaphor, LIFE or SELF, particularly as responsible for action. The former

resonates with prior uses of רוּחַ to depict Job's fragile life under divine assault. Given the

indirect reference to God in the a-colon, this is plausible. Because God is the true focus of

Job's complaint, why would his life not be prematurely cut short? However, this may also

relate indirectly to the SELF construal:

> Job's 'protest' ... has of course been direct entirely against God as the author of his
>
> suffering. But God has not responded, and the effect on Job is a deep psychic
>
> weakness.[183]

While the metaphor is clear, the use of רוּחַ within it is more ambiguous. We suggest that the

Joban poet here 'ambiguates' the LIFE or SELF senses of רוּחַ by manipulating the evaluative

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[183] Clines, *Job 21–37*, 523.

perspective—what may at first be construed as the *impatience* of Job at his companions (note the focus on their responses in Job 21:3, 5) is equally the danger of his life being cut short given the divine identity of his interlocutor.

Cycle 3: Job 22–31

4.2.13   Job 27:3

4.2.13.1   Text

כִּי־כָל־עוֹד נִשְׁמָתִי בִי וְרוּחַ אֱלוֹהַּ בְּאַפִּי׃

...as long as my breath is in me, and the *rûaḥ* of God is in my nostrils

4.2.13.2   Context

Cycle 3 extends from Job 22:1 to at least the end of Job 27. Job is introduced as the speaker in Job 26:1 (likely responding to Bildad's terse final speech, Job 25:1–6), and in 27:1 as *continuing* his discourse, וַיֹּסֶף אִיּוֹב שְׂאֵת מְשָׁלוֹ.[184] This phrase is repeated of Job in Job 29:1, and later in Job 36:1 to mark Elihu's continuing speech. The introductory formulae are often read as secondary insertions trying to bring order to a disarrayed text.[185] While the text of

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[184] שְׂאֵת מְשָׁלוֹ may refer asseveration rather than continuation (Isa 14:4; Mic 2:4; Hab 2:6, "take up this taunt").

[185] Clines, *Job 21–37*, 980; Gordis, *Job*, 275.

Job 27–31 is difficult, and could be attributed to his companions, it remains plausible to see

Job as speaking throughout this section.[186]

4.2.13.3   Analysis

Job begins his speech in Job 27:2 with a remarkable oath, חַי־אֵל. |חַי־X| invokes an Agent (X)

as guarantor of the actions of the speaker, with the specific Event being guaranteed often

marked by אִם, or less commonly כִּי.[187] There are two peculiarities to this oath. The first is

the Agent invoked by Job, אֵל, when יְהוָה is the near-exclusive divine title in oaths (44x).[188]

This may reflect the preference in the dialogues for אֵל or אֱלוֹהַ. The second peculiarity is the

use of both כִּי (Job 27:2) and אִם (27:3) as potential complements to the oath formula. Conklin

argues that both particles are capable of marking complements to oath formulae, with כִּי

complementising an elided verb, שבע, "By the life of X, [I swear] *that…*"[189] When כי is

followed by אִם, Conklin insists that כִּי is the true complementiser, with אִם marking an

apodosis.[190] Thus, Job 27:2–4 would be rendered, "By the life of God—who has deprived me

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186 Lo examines the options for reallocating sections of this chapter in Alison Lo, *Job 28 as Rhetoric: An Analysis of Job 28 in the Context of Job 22–31*, VTSupp 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 178–87. For Job as the heavily ironic speaker throughout Job 27, see Andersen, *Job*, 236; L. Wilson, *Job*, 129. For Job as speaker throughout Job 27–31, see G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 288–292.

187 It is more correctly an oath-authenticating rather than an exclamatory formula, *pace* Joüon §165e. It "notifies the hearer or reader that a hypothetical scenario will be considered and it prompts the construction of hypothetical mental spaces in which the information will be elaborated," Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 176.

188 Contra Pope, *Job*, 190.

189 Blane Conklin, *Oath Formulas in Biblical Hebrew*, LSAWS 5 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 48–52.

190 Conklin, *Oath Formulas in Biblical Hebrew*, 57–58. See 11Q10 10:9–10, [] הן לכמ.

of justice, and the Almighty who has made my life bitter—³[I swear] that while my breath is in me, and the *rûaḥ* of God is in my nostrils, ⁴if my lips speak falsehood…"[191] Our verse is not a parenthesis to the oath but part of the substance of it.[192] This is the first oath sworn by Job in the book, at the same time sworn in the name of אֵל *and* characterising God as denying Job justice and causing his suffering (Job 27:2).

כָּל־עוֹד נִשְׁמָתִי בִי may underscore the temporal duration or extent of Job's נְשָׁמָה. For the temporal reading, כֹּל draws attention to עוֹד, "all the while my breath is in me."[193] The extensive reading implies tmesis between כֹּל and נְשָׁמָה. This similarly draws attention to the intrusive עוֹד to emphasise the predicate, בִי, "all my breath is still in me."[194]

נְשָׁמָה profiles BREATH.[195] As with רוּחַ, the presence of נְשָׁמָה is connected to the presence of LIFE (1 Kgs 17:17; Sir^A 9:13).[196] This use is associated with the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] cultural

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[191] Bivin helpfully articulates how an [OATH] frame assists in correctly construing אִם and אִם־לֹא clauses in oaths as non-inverted, Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 180–81.

[192] *Pace* Samuel Rolles Driver and George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job, Together with a New Translation*, ICC (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921), 1:226; Hartley, *Job*, 369.

[193] "Here again is the quintessential expression of the spirit in the shadow of death. Job reckons with the reality of pending, perhaps impending, death, when he knows that he will speak only "as long as" he has breath and spirit within him," Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 18. See also Clines, *Job 21–37*, 642; Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:184; L. Wilson, *Job*, 129. See also 1 Kgs 17:17 where sickness persists עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נוֹתְרָה־בּוֹ נְשָׁמָה "until no breath remained in him."

[194] So John Gray, *The Book of Job*, THB 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), 336. See also 2 Sam 1:9, כִּי־כָל־עוֹד נַפְשִׁי בִי.

[195] See further Dussaud, "La néphesh et la rouaḥ"; T. C. Mitchell, "The Old Testament Usage of nešāmâ," *VT* 11 (1961): 177–87.

[196] Remarkably, only here and in Job 34:14 does it have a pronominal suffix attached.

frame in Genesis 2:7 (also Gen 7:22; Isa 2:22; 42:5; 57:16), which has featured several times

in Job so far. When collocated with כֹּל, כָּל־נְשָׁמָה stands metonymically for the category of

LIVING HUMANS (Deut 20:6; Josh 10:40; 11:11, 14; 1 Kgs 15:29; Ps 150:6; Sir[A] 9:13; 11Q5

19:4), possibly "in their capacity as mortal beings."[197] The locative PP בִי further evokes the

CREATURELY COMPOSITION cultural model in which BREATH must be located internal to the

person for life to persist. This is confirmed in the similar PP בְּאַפִּי in the b-colon, instantiating

the typical bodily location for BREATH (Gen 2:7; 7:22). The emphasis on the internal location

of BREATH may instantiate the CONTAINER metaphor encountered in Ecclesiastes 12:7. His

BREATH is currently 'in' him, but contained in the fragile CONTAINER of his body, and so his

life is contingent. This meaning focus may motivate נְשָׁמָה in the a-colon, as it often

accentuates the expelling of air (Job 4:9; 37:10; Ps 18:16; see נשם "to pant," Isa 42:14 ∴).

While the strongest association is between נְשָׁמָה and LIFE, there is a secondary association

with SPEECH. This occurs in Proverbs 20:27 and Job 26:4, both of which have been

traditionally used as evidence for נְשָׁמָה as the "human spirit."[198] However, both are more

plausibly construed as evoking BREATH as part of the metonymy +BREATH FOR SPEECH+ (as

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[197] H. Lamberty-Zielinski, "נְשָׁמָה," *TDOT* 10:68.

[198] BDB, s.v. "נְשָׁמָה," 4. Fox indicates this was a later Rabbinic development, Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 676. See Jastrow, s.v. "נְשָׁמָה."

רוּחַ in Prov 1:23).[199] The significance of this possible usage of נְשָׁמָה is that, if salient here, it imposes a contextual constraint on the construal of רוּחַ in the b-colon.

The parallel usage of נְשָׁמָה and רוּחַ appears only in Genesis 6–7, Isaiah 42:5; 57:16; and Job 4:9; 32:8; 33:4; 34:14 (several of which we explore below). As with נְשָׁמָה, רוּחַ is located within Job's body (בְּאַפִּי), however, while the suffix marked נְשָׁמָה as explicitly Job's, רוּחַ is in construct with אֱלוֹהַּ. This echoes Eliphaz's depiction of God's destructive respiration in Job 4:9—נְשָׁמָה in construct with אֱלוֹהַ, and רוּחַ with אַף—which may ironically link Job's experience with God's ANGER. However, more clearly here, the association of רוּחַ with אֱלוֹהַּ presents a 'border case' for our working distinction between anthropological and theological uses of רוּחַ. We have observed several instances where the רוּחַ of a human is closely associated with, sourced from, and destined to return to, God. Here it is placed in a direct construct relationship with אֱלוֹהַ. This strongly suggests that רוּחַ is a common entity shared between God and the human. God imparts רוּחַ to the human as part of their formation. After one's 'enlivening,' Ecclesiastes depicted רוּחַ as held in the CONTAINER of the BODY until death, upon which it returns to God. If we allow for common conceptual ground between Job and Ecclesiastes (suggested by their mutual reference to elements of [PRIMEVAL CREATION]), the

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[199] For Proverbs, see Waltke, *Proverbs 15–31*, 158. Fox supports the BREATH construal, and argues for the SPEECH metonymy, but only for Job 26:4, Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 676. For Job, see Longman, *Job*, 314.

explicit marking of רוּחַ as 'God's breath' accentuates the inevitability of the return of רוּחַ to

its source, and thus the poignancy of עֹד (see Job 27:5).

Given the parallel with נְשָׁמָה and the cultural model evoked here, רוּחַ primarily profiles LIFE.

However, there is sufficient contextual pressure to raise a possible secondary frame

evocation—possibly a further Joban ambiguation, or at least an element of רוּחַ's wider lexical

content recruited by the context as an inference or semantic association. This is the link

between BREATH and SPEECH. נְשָׁמָה is plausibly involved in the same metonym as רוּחַ,

+BREATH FOR SPEECH+, even in the nearby co-text of Job 26:4.[200] The context of Job 26:4

features verbs and body parts involved in the *COMMUNICATION* domain: דבר, שָׂפָה, לָשׁוֹן, and

הגה. Indeed, Hartley notes two anthropological triads that conceptually associate the

lexemes: נֶפֶשׁ (2b), נְשָׁמָה (3a), רוּחַ (3b); and אַף (3b), שָׂפָה (4a), לָשׁוֹן (4b).[201] נְשָׁמָה, נֶפֶשׁ, and

רוּחַ are all typically 'internal' to the body, while the latter three body parts are external organs

of SPEECH. The BITTER metaphor instantiated with נֶפֶשׁ (Job 27:2, see notes under Job 7:11)

typically entails an impetus to action such as verbalisation. This could suggest that 'as long

as' the BREATH in Job 27:3 remains inside him it will not be the source for any ill-speech that

might be expected given his situation. As the רוּחַ is characterised as 'God's,' Job certainly

could not use the speech it generates to "speak falsehood" (27:4).

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[200] Of course, given the difficulty of these central chapters, this proximity depends on how one
arranges and attributes the text.

[201] Hartley, *Job*, 368 n. 2.

4.2.14   Job 32:8

4.2.14.1   Text

<div dir="rtl">

אָכֵן רוּחַ־הִיא בֶאֱנוֹשׁ וְנִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי תְּבִינֵם׃

</div>

** In fact, the *rûaḥ* is in mortals; and the breath of the Almighty makes them understand.

4.2.14.2   Context

Job 32 marks the intrusion of a previously unheard friend, Elihu, prefaced by a short narrative (32:1–6) highlighting the other friends' inability to persuade Job and introducing Elihu's passion for addressing Job. The rhetorical function, literary quality, and textual integrity of the Elihu speeches have always been controvertible. A full survey of scholarship and detailed argument of our position is unnecessary for our semantic task; although we incline towards reading the Elihu speeches as original, in their correct position, and their intrusion upon and variation from the prior discussion serves a literary purpose in the overall work.[202] Job 32:6–22 is primarily Elihu's own justification for speaking:

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[202] For recent overviews of Elihu scholarship, see Ragnar Andersen, "The Elihu Speeches: Their Place and Sense in the Book of Job," *TynBul* 66 (2015): 75–94; Martin A. Shields, "Was Elihu Right?," *JESOT* 3 (2014): 155–70. We consider the speeches as preparatory for Yahweh's judgement of Job's situation, both conceptually as they 'review Job's case,' and narratively, as they delay Yahweh's evaluation to "set the reader free from observing the dilemma solely through Job's eyes," L. Wilson, *Job*, 156–57; similarly, Choon-Leong Seow, "Elihu's Revelation," *TT* 68 (2011): 270; G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 359.

In vv 6b–10 he argues that he is entitled to speak, in vv 11–14 that he needs to speak, and in vv 15–22 that he must speak.[203]

The use of רוּחַ in Elihu's speeches is marked by a regular collocation with נְשָׁמָה (Job 32:8; 33:4; 34:14) and direct association with God (שַׁדַּי, Job 32:8; 33:4; אֵל, Job 34:14, from 12). As we noted in Job 27:3 above, these contest our working distinction between human and divine categories of use for רוּחַ. They could plausibly be attributed to either category. This does not exclude these texts from our study, but shows that the large-scale semantic categories of anthropology, theology, and meteorology are only accurate in general. Further, we suggest that one of the uses of רוּחַ is to provide a common lexical unit that links these conceptual categories together in texts.[204] We will proceed with the hypothesis that Elihu refers to the human רוּחַ to argue that it is actually derived from the divine רוּחַ, especially in the context of attributing wisdom to people.

4.2.14.3   Analysis

Elihu begins his justification for addressing the group by explaining his prior silence (Job 32:6–7) with a |אמר ... אָכֵן| construction (Jer 3:19–20; 8:8; Psa 82:6–7; Zeph 3:7) in Job 32:7–8. W. Randall Garr aptly describes the function of this construction:

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[203] Clines, *Job 21–37*, 716.

[204] Hartley's question is pertinent throughout, "By *spirit* does he mean his own spirit or the Spirit of God?" Hartley, *Job*, 434.

אמר frames discourse that is believed to be true, but, when followed by אכן, is

demoted to dispreferred status."[205]

Elihu remained silent because of his conviction that "many years teach wisdom" (Job 32:7b),

that is, his seniors were more suitable to offer דֵעַ "knowledge" (32:6b).[206] Now he suggests a

different source of wisdom: רוּחַ־הִיא בֶאֱנוֹשׁ // נִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי.[207] To understand these, we will first

examine the role of the pronoun in Job 32:8a, and thus the relationship between נִשָׁמָה ,רוּחַ,

and בין. Then we will discuss the semantics of בין, before considering רוּחַ and נִשָׁמָה and their

categorical relationship with שַׁדָּי.

The relationship between רוּחַ and the other elements in the bicolon depends upon our

construal of הִיא.[208] There is some debate about whether pronouns may function as a copula

in verbless clauses in BH, as a focus-marker resuming a left dislocated constituent, or both.[209]

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[205] W. Randall Garr, "אָכֵן," *JNSL* 33 (2007): 69. This does not necessitate that the prior clause consists of "previous doubt or false presupposition," *pace* Muraoka, *Emphatic*, 132; Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 6:308; Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:234. The construction seems to profile a change of mind rather than a complete denunciation of what precedes it, see Garr's gloss of "I thought (אמר) … in point of fact (אכן) …"

[206] Almost certainly Elihu means *knowledge* rather than *opinion,* so Andersen, *Job*, 265; *pace* Clines, *Job 21–37*, 685.

[207] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 18–19; Alter, *Wisdom Books*, 134.

[208] Duhm finds the pronoun nonsensical, emending it to תָּאִיר, Duhm, *Hiob*, 154.

[209] The copula use is suggested by *GVG* 2 §53c, and its most prominent critic is Takamitsu Muraoka, "The Tripartite Nominal Clause Revisited," in *The Verbless Clause in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Approaches*, ed. Cynthia L. Miller, LSAWS 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 198–201; Joüon §154i. Recent studies tend to accept multiple possible uses, see Geoffrey Khan, "Some Aspects of the Copula in North West Semitic," in *Biblical Hebrew in Its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Steven E. Fassberg and Avi Hurvitz, PIIAS 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 155–76; Robert D. Holmstedt and Andrew R. Jones, "The Pronoun in Tripartite Verbless

Many instances may be interpreted as either copula or resuming a left dislocation (Gen 36:8; 42:6; Deut 4:35; 2 Sam 7:28), some are difficult to understand according to the dislocation model only (Isa 52:6; Ps 44:5), and there is significant comparative linguistic data to support the copula usage, suggesting that both models are reflected in BH use as the language changed.[210] There remains, however, difficulty in identifying which function of the pronoun is at work. הִיא and רוּחַ agree in person, which allows both uses.[211]

The *maqqef* joining the elements may support the copula reading, as subject pronouns are "accentually independent,"[212] although it is rare for the second element in these constructions to be a prepositional phrase. The pronoun is present to clarify the relation between the elements of clause which are "particularly vulnerable to syntactical ambiguity."[213] In, for example, Isaiah 44:11, the pronoun indicates which nominal element is the subject of an independent clause, rather than an unmarked relative clause[214]

Clauses in Biblical Hebrew: Resumption for Left-Dislocation or Pronominal Copula?," *JSS* 59 (2014): 53–89.

[210] Edward Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*, 2nd ed., OLA 80 (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), 496–97; Holmstedt and Jones, "The Pronoun in Tripartite Verbless Clauses," 71–73; *pace* Muraoka, "The Tripartite Nominal Clause Revisited," 199.

[211] A lack of person agreement counts against a dislocation analysis, Holmstedt and Jones, "The Pronoun in Tripartite Verbless Clauses," 59.

[212] Holmstedt and Jones, "The Pronoun in Tripartite Verbless Clauses," 62. See the *mûnaḥ* conjunctive accent on הִיא, Jacobus A. Naudé and Cynthia L. Miller-Naudé, "At the Interface of Syntax and Prosody: Differentiating Left Dislocated and Tripartite Verbless Clauses in Biblical Hebrew," *SPL* 48 (2017): 229.

[213] Naudé and Miller-Naudé, "At the Interface," 230.

[214] Naudé and Miller-Naudé, "At the Interface," 230–31. See also Lev 14:13.

If רוּחַ־הִיא is construed according to the dislocation model, it marks רוּחַ as the topic of the clause.[215] After אָכֵן, this implies a contrast with prior alternatives, namely, Elihu's previous deference to age (Job 32:7).[216] The dislocation model identifies רוּחַ with נִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי to emphasises the connection between what is characteristically within humanity and what is directly attributed to God. While either reading is plausible, the left-dislocation is slightly preferable given the structural parallels with the b-colon and Elihu's overall intent to distinguish himself from prior voices.

We turn now to the other end of the bicolon to consider בין. The qal and hiphil forms of בין are often said to have significant semantic overlap in the non-causative forms of hiphil.[217] Non-causative בין profiles the process of moving from a state of unawareness to knowledge about a topic (Job 32:9).[218] However, the context of Elihu asserting a new source of wisdom suggests בין is causative here—the moving of others from unawareness to knowledge.[219] Causative hiphil בין typically features a core Learner FE (Ps 119:130; Isa 40:14; 2 Chr 35:3) and a non-core Topic FE (Ps 119:27; Isa 28:9; Neh 8:7).[220] Here the Learner FE is filled by

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[215] Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:234; cf. Stephan Lauber, *Weisheit im Widerspruch: Studien zu den Elihu-Reden in Ijob 32–37*, BZAW 454 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 47.

[216] Muraoka, *Emphatic*, 72–74.

[217] *HALOT*, s.v. "בין," hif. 1; Helmer Ringgren, "בִּין," *TDOT* 2:102; cf. W. Randall Garr, "The Semantics of בי״ן in the *qal* and *hiphil*," *VT* 63 (2013): 536–45. Garr plausibly notes a higher intensity and agentivity in the hiphil (see Job 28:23).

[218] *SDBH,* s.v. "בין," 1b.

[219] Contextually, it is closely linked to ידע and חָכְמָה in Job 32:7b, two frequently occurring collocations. See Ringgren, "בִּין," 2:102.

[220] Adapting the transitivity observations of Garr, "The Semantics of בי״ן," 540 n. 16.

the third person masculine plural suffix, ־ֶֶם. This plural may refer to the metonymic representation of the elders in Job 32:6, or indicate that אֱנוֹשׁ should be understood collectively for mortal humans (so Ps 144:3; Job 36:25). The former is resumed, and the latter contrasted with זְקֵנִים "the aged" in Job 32:9.[221] The notable facet of בין here is the atypical focus on the *source* of knowledge rather than the Learner or Topic. This is central to understand Elihu's claim to be able to speak to his elders. Age alone does not provide insight (32:9), the presence of the רוּחַ/נְשָׁמָה does.

רוּחַ is frequently localised 'within' a person via בְּ. Rarely, humanity in general is in view (בָּאָדָם, Gen 6:3; בְּאִישׁ, Josh 2:11); more commonly it is localised to the organs of respiration (בְּאַפָּיו, Gen 7:22; בְּאַפִּי, Job 27:3; בְּפִיהֶם, Ps 135:17). Most often it is simply 'in' an individual, בּוֹ (Gen 6:17; 7:15; Num 27:18; Judg 13:25; 2 Kgs 19:7). The localisation within אֱנוֹשׁ seems to be part of a categorical juxtaposition between נְשָׁמָה and רוּחַ generating a contrast between HUMAN and GOD. רוּחַ is associated with the HUMAN category, located 'within' mortal humanity. It is then directly linked to וְנִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי, categorically divine and so 'external.' Given the overwhelmingly anthropological reference of רוּחַ in Job so far, it is difficult to dissociate the lexical unit from prior human uses. What we have come to associate with internal human LIFE and SELF is traced back to and identified with God.

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[221] So Hartley, *Job*, 431; Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 434.

As in Job 27:3, the collocation of רוּחַ and נְשָׁמָה suggests they mutually profile BREATH, most commonly as part of the metonymic profiling of LIFE, but with a provocation implication of the generation of SPEECH. We suggested above that the two together are alluding to the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame, particularly motivated by their mutual use in Genesis 6–7. Key elements invoked here are the identification of the BREATH with God's own רוּחַ (Gen 6:3), the location of BREATH internal to the human, and BREATH imparting life to all LIVING CREATURES (Gen 6:17; 7:22). Between the collective use of אֱנוֹשׁ and the universality implied by this cultural frame, it seems unlikely that Elihu uses רוּחַ (or נְשָׁמָה) to refer to a unique divine endowment restricted from others.[222] Rather, he asserts the universality of נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ—from God but present in humanity—that provides WISDOM.[223] This gift, rather than age (ironically, itself dependent on ongoing BREATH), allows even he, the younger man, to speak.[224] However, Elihu will move from this universal point to focus attention on himself (see Job 33:4 below).

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[222] So K&D 10:211; Andersen, *Job*, 265; Clines, *Job 21–37*, 718; G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 364; Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 19, 66. *Pace* Paul Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschließenden Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1910), 100; Paul van Imschoot, "Sagesse et Esprit dans l'Ancien Testament," *RB* 47 (1938): 33–34; Gerhard von Rad, *Wisdom in Israel*, trans. James D. Martin (London: SCM Press, 1972), 55; Seow, "Elihu's Revelation," 263; Andersen, "The Elihu Speeches," 94; L. Wilson, *Job*, 159.

[223] Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:280; Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 434; Norman C. Habel, *The Book of Job: A Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1985), 451.

[224] Elihu's argument "takes the form of comparing axiom with axiom," Newsom, *Job: A Contest*, 203.

The use of נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ here confirms the semantic movement already noted in Job 27:3—the

BREATH in humans that grants LIFE is identified directly with God's נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ. What is new

here is the direct causation between the presence of this רוּחַ and the capacity for WISDOM;

although if we accept a literary unity between Elihu's speeches and the prior sections of the

book, it is a natural conclusion given the theocentric understanding of wisdom in Job 28:23–

28.[225]

A final element that may be relevant the use of רוּחַ here is the possibility raised above of the

נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ matrix being used to profile SPEECH. As with Job 27:3, this does not seem the

primary profile/base relationship implied from the context. However, Elihu does strongly

link (לָכֵן, 32:10) his new belief in the source of wisdom in נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ with subsequent SPEECH

(אמר, שמע, חוה, 32:10).[226] While only implicit here, in the next passage, Elihu will

emphatically link רוּחַ with SPEECH.

4.2.15 Job 32:18–20

4.2.15.1 Text

<div dir="rtl">

¹⁸כִּי מָלֵתִי מִלִּים הֱצִיקַתְנִי רוּחַ בִּטְנִי׃

¹⁹הִנֵּה־בִטְנִי כְּיַיִן לֹא־יִפָּתֵחַ כְּאֹבוֹת חֲדָשִׁים יִבָּקֵעַ׃

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[225] Note especially hiphil בין in Job 28:23 with God as a rare subject, in contrast to אֱנוֹשׁ in Job 28:13.
[226] *IBHS* §39.3.4e.

²⁰אֲדַבְּרָה וְיִרְוַח־לִי אֶפְתַּח שְׂפָתַי וְאֶעֱנֶה׃

* ¹⁸For I am full of words, and the *rûaḥ* within me constrains me.

¹⁹Inside I am like wine that has no outlet, like new wineskinsready to burst!

²⁰I will speak, so that I may find relief; I will open my lips, so that I may answer. (NET)

מָלֵתִי is a unique variant of מָלֵאתִי "I am full" (Jer 6:11; Mic 3:8). It may be a simple defective

spelling, or an intentional variation to align it morphologically with מִלְּתִי.

4.2.15.2   Context

Elihu continues his introductory justification for speaking, addressing the friends in second-person in Job 32:10–14, and then returning to third-person from 32:15. Elihu's own SPEECH is the central topic of this section.[227] The friends are spent in their dispute with Job (32:12, 15, 16), but Elihu is ready to "play the role of arbiter."[228]

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[227] Lauber, *Weisheit im Widerspruch*, 196.
[228] Habel, *Job*, 453.

4.2.15.3   Analysis

Elihu begins Job 32:18 by providing the reasoning (כִּי) for his most recent insistence that he

join the discussion.[229] The first line of his reasoning is terse, מָלֵתִי מִלִּים "I am full of words."

מלא profiles [FULLNESS]: the state of a Container containing an amount of Contents. Here,

the TR is implicitly proximate to an implied LM of maximal capacity (Gen 26:15; Josh 3:15;

Zech 9:15; 2 Kgs 4:6).[230] The Container is Elihu, and the Contents (TR) are מִלָּה, a rare lexeme

in BH to describe *utterances*.[231] "Elihu, unlike his friends, is not short of words."[232]

Elihu will shortly depict his situation in the only simile in his speech (Job 32:19). However,

prior to this, he explains the consequences of his 'fullness': הֱצִיקַתְנִי רוּחַ בִּטְנִי (32:18b).

צוק may concretely refer to the exertion of pressure, as evidenced by cognates in Akkadian

and Ugaritic.[233] More frequently it figuratively depicts DISTRESS (Judg 14:17; 16:16; Isa 29:2,

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[229] אַף־אֲנִי appears 11x in BH, usually in divine speech but 3x in Elihu. It draws attention to the role of an Agent in a "corresponding reaction" to a prior action, i.e., the failure of the companions to "answer" Job. See C. H. J. Van der Merwe, "The Biblical Hebrew Particle אף," *VT* 59 (2009): 282.

[230] Regarding the use of מלא with רוּחַ in Exodus 28:1–3, Levison argues that the verb implies "lavishness": "Filling connotes completion, full-filling, fruition, wholeness, fullness," Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 57–58.

[231] 34/38x in BH are in Job. The lexeme is likely borrowed from Aramaic, occurring 24x in Daniel 2–7, 38x in QA, 4x in Old Aramaic texts, e.g., *KAI* 222 B 8, 41; and ~40x in Imperial Aramaic. See Gianto, "מלל," 16:429. מִלָּה/מלל may refer specifically to negative speech, but there is usually some contextual description to imply this (Job 30:9; Dan 7:8, 11, 20, 25; *KAI* 224.2).

[232] Clines, *Job 21–37*, 722. In a similar scenario to here, David attributes his oracular מִלָּה to the רוּחַ יְהוָה speaking to him (2 Sam 23:2).

[233] Ug. ṣq (UDB 1.6 II 10), "to grasp, push, put pressure on," "distress" *DULAT*, s.vv. "ṣ-q," "ṣq." Akk. sâqu, "to become narrow, tight; to constrict," *CAD* 15, s.v. "sâqu." See also H. Lamberty-Zielinski, "צוק I," *TDOT* 12:301–2.

7; Jer 19:9). As with the related צרר (often collocated with צוּק, Deut 28:53–57), the figurative

use is structured according to the -CONSTRAINT- image schema (Job 7:11). The spatial scene

is validated by the verb רוח in Job 32:20, a root used for *space* (Jer 22:14), and derivatively,

relief (1 Sam 16:23). In this DISTRESS metaphor, the Agonist is Elihu, and the Antagonist is

רוּחַ בִּטְנִי.

While רוּחַ and בֶּטֶן co-occur in BH (Job 15:2; 19:17; Eccl 11:5), this is the only time רוּחַ is

directly located in or attributed to בֶּטֶן. בֶּטֶן typically refers to the internal part of a person,

especially around the abdomen. It refers most frequently to the womb (Ps 22:11; 139:13; Job

1:21; 31:8) but also proximate organs such as the stomach (Judg 3:21; often +מלא, Ezek 3:3;

Ps 17:14; Job 20:23). Given the frequent association with מלא, בֶּטֶן may evoke a more specific

form of the metaphor +THE BODY IS A CONTAINER+.[234] While this may form part of a

subversive self-depiction of Elihu, בֶּטֶן likely means more than a bloated belly.[235] Nili Shupak

argues בֶּטֶן is associated with the *COMMUNICATION* domain, conceptualised as the location in

which words are stored (Job 15:2, 35; Prov 20:27; 22:18; 26:22).[236] The uses in Proverbs

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[234] de Joode, *Metaphorical Landscapes*, 68–69.
[235] Commentators delight in characterising Elihu as flatulent, J. Gerald Janzen, *Job*, IBC (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1985), 218; Pope, *Job*, 243; Longman, *Job*, 384; cf. Newsom, *Job: A Contest*, 201.
[236] Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, 292.

suggest that this is bidirectional: words may enter the SELF to be located in the בֶּטֶן or, as here, in the בֶּטֶן awaiting release.[237]

The wider association between בֶּטֶן and verbal communication, the [FULLNESS] frame evoked by מִלִּים (Job 32:18a), and Elihu's relief arising from דבר (Job 32:20a) all serve as semantic constraints upon רוּחַ. Just as רוּחַ was to be found 'in' (בְּ) Job's nostrils in Job 27:3, and 'in' mortal humanity in Job 32:8, so now it is 'in' Elihu's בֶּטֶן.[238] It seems plausible that what was an implication of נְשָׁמָה/רוּחַ in Job 32:8 may now be centrally evoked: רוּחַ as SPEECH (via +BREATH FOR SPEECH+). This retains the BREATH profile indicated in Job 32:8 (which seems likely given the single discourse context) but elaborates it along a more specific metonymic pathway. Elihu may thus link three key ideas together: the wisdom-granting רוּחַ within him by virtue of being human (that is, BREATH as LIFE), רוּחַ exerting distress-causing pressure within his at-capacity בֶּטֶן (that is, BREATH as SPEECH), and the words he will speak to answer Job. Given that the SPEECH metonym for רוּחַ typically entailed that the words reflect the

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[237] The idiom חַדְרֵי־בָטֶן is plausibly related to Egyptian *ḥnw n ẖ.t* "casket of the belly," also the storage location for a sage's words, see Instructions of Amenemope 3.13, and Shupak, *Where Can Wisdom Be Found?*, 295–96. Dhorme views בֶּטֶן as only a step in the internalising process, Dhorme, *L'emploi Métaphorique*, 134.

[238] While difficult to prove, the bidirectionality of בֶּטֶן may allow for Elihu to have become "full" of his companions' words, and they cause him distress. Only by allowing his רוּחַ (which, in fact, is divinely-given) release in his own words may he "find relief" (וְיִרְוַח־לִי) and "answer" (וְאַעֲנֶה) Job and the companions.

internal nature of the speaker, Elihu is making a significant claim to the authority of his forthcoming speech.

4.2.16 Job 33:4

4.2.16.1 Text

רוּחַ־אֵל עָשָׂתְנִי וְנִשְׁמַת שַׁדַּי תְּחַיֵּנִי׃

The *rûaḥ* of God has made me, and the breath of the Almighty gives me life.

The desire to move this verse to after Job 33:5 or 6 is understandable and cogent.[239] However, it is plausible that the MT reflects an alternating and gently intensifying movement linking Elihu's truthfulness and his createdness: 3 → 5, 4 → 6.

4.2.16.2 Context

Following closely from his רוּחַ-grounded description of his need to speak (Job 32:18–20), and his dedication to refuse to flatter or show partiality (32:21–22), Elihu moves from a general preface to addressing Job directly (Job 33:1–7). He is the only one to address Job by name (Job 33:1), instructing him to listen to his words, now, at last, released.

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239 Duhm, *Hiob*, 157; Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 445; Gray, *Job*, 399.

4.2.16.3   Analysis

To establish his truthfulness and sincerity of speech, Elihu again appeals to רוּחַ and נְשָׁמָה in a compact and balanced bicolon.

While in Job 32:8 רוּחַ was located within humanity, and נְשָׁמָה attributed to שַׁדַּי, here Elihu retains the characterisation of נְשָׁמָה but now identifies רוּחַ as רוּחַ־אֵל. As mentioned above, the divine names vary throughout the book, making it difficult to attach significance to the differing usage. That said, this is the only instance in BH of רוּחַ with אֵל. LXX interprets אֵל in apposition to רוּחַ, πνεῦμα θεῖον "a divine spirit." This is supported by a 'generic' use of אֵל with רוּחַ in QH, referring to angelic figures associated with the (heavenly) sanctuary: רוחי אלי עולמים "the spirits of the perpetually divine beings" (4Q405 19 3).[240] The related רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים occurs 16x in BH, almost always in an anthropological context, leading Levison to argue that אֱלֹהִים refers to the character rather than divine-identity of רוּחַ.[241] These related uses may explain רוּחַ־אֵל as referring to the qualitatively divine nature of רוּחַ. However, אֵל has only been used as a title for God throughout Job, and is in parallel here with a further title, שַׁדַּי. This makes the qualitative reading unlikely.

Rather,

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[240] See James R. Davila, "The Macrocosmic Temple, Scriptural Exegesis, and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *DSD* 9 (2002): 4. Davila notes the influence of Isa 63:7–14 (especially verse 10) on רוּחַ language in "Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice," Davila, "Macrocosmic Temple," 17.

[241] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 38–40, 74–80.

Die allgemeine Aussage in Hi 32,8, dass Weisheit jeden Menschen durch Gottes

Geist auszeichnet, wird in Hi 33,4 präzisiert und auf Elihu bezogen.[242]

Elihu takes the general statement of Job 32:8—which he previously used to lend authority to

his (forthcoming) speech (Job 32:18)—and applies it directly to himself with first-person

pronouns suffixed to both verbs in the bicolon. This is not an arrogant claim that "God was

personally involved in his [Elihu's] own creation, not just in that of the first man or pair."[243]

Rather, like Job 27:3, it associates the presence of divinely-sourced LIFE-BREATH with the

guarantee of true speech.[244] This association is even more closely tied to the [PRIMEVAL

CREATION] frame, not only by רוּחַ and נְשָׁמָה, but also by חיה (only here and Job 36:3 in piel),

and the POTTER cultural model (Isa 64:8; Jer 18:3–6) which is linked with the composition of

the human as עָפָר in Job 10:9.[245]

However, Elihu is not verbatim recapitulating Job 32:8. Here, he attributes רוּחַ־אֵל with his

"making." עשה evokes a number of related frames, like [INTENTIONALLY_CREATE] (Gen 1:26;

3:21; 1 Sam 8:12; Jer 18:3–4), [BUILDING] (Gen 13:4), or [COOKING] (Gen 18:6). In general,

a Maker produces a new Made Entity, usually from Components. God is the Maker in many

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[242] Tanja Pilger, *Erziehun im Leiden: Komposition und Theologie der Elihureden in Hiob 32–37*, FAT2
49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 58.

[243] *Pace* Hartley, *Job*, 438.

[244] For the LIFE construal of רוּחַ here, see Driver and Gray, *Job*, 1:283–84; Clines, *Job 21–37*, 726; G.
H. Wilson, *Job*, 369.

[245] *DBIm*, s.v. "Clay."

contexts, including in Job 32:22. Here, Elihu is the Made Entity and רוּחַ־אֵל the Maker. In

our sub-corpus, it is novel for רוּחַ to be an active Agent involved in the creative process,

rather than as the BREATH component of a living creature. This is not entirely dissonant with

the concept of רוּחַ as imparted from God to humanity (individually or collectively) to grant

life, and suggests that it may be similarly withdrawn, leading to death and the dissolution of

the person.

4.2.17   Job 34:14–15

4.2.17.1   Text

אִם־יָשִׂים אֵלָיו לִבֹּו רוּחֹו וְנִשְׁמָתֹו אֵלָיו יֶאֱסֹף׃¹⁴

יִגְוַע כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָחַד וְאָדָם עַל־עָפָר יָשׁוּב׃¹⁵

* ¹⁴If he should set his heart to it and gather to himself his *rûaḥ* and his breath,

¹⁵all flesh would perish together, and man would return to dust. (ESV)

Some manuscripts, LXX, and Syr. read יָשִׂים "he sets" as יָשִׁיב "to return," and delete לִבֹּו. This

makes רוּחַ the subject of שׁוּב analogous to Ecclesiastes 12:7; Psalms 104:29; 146:4; Job 9:18;

15:13. It also makes רוּחַ the expected parallel term to נְשָׁמָה as previously.[246] The emendation

is plausible, but it seems to reflect a desire to strengthten the links with Psalm 104 we discuss

below. While שׁוּב could easily be changed to שִׂים, the insertion of לְבּוֹ is harder to justify. The

existing text presents some novelties, such as לֵב, רוּחַ, and נְשָׁמָה in sequence, it appears

comprehensible without emendation.[247]

4.2.17.2   Context

Our final instance of רוּחַ appears in Elihu's second speech, where he addresses Job's views

(Job 34:5–9) before clarifying his own views to the companions (34:10–15).[248] This

clarification begins with three statements. The first is a confirmation of retribution theology:

"For according to the work of a man he will repay him, and according to his ways he will

make it befall him." (Job 34:11 ESV) The second is a confirmation of God's justice (34:12).

The final statement is a confirmation of God's sovereignty over his creation, and the

dependent relationship of creation upon God as Creator (Job 34:13–15).[249]

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[246] Duhm, *Hiob*, 164; Driver and Gray, *Job*, 2:255–56; Hartley, *Job*, 453; Gray, *Job*, 415. In favour of MT, Clines, *Job 21–37*, 774; Wilson, *Job*, 387.

[247] So Tg., Clines, *Job 21–37*, 749.

[248] L. Wilson, *Job*, 165.

[249] Pilger, *Erziehun im Leiden*, 80; Gordis, *Job*, 387.

4.2.17.3   Analysis

There are several complexities in Job 34:14–15 that affect how רוּחַ is construed, arising largely from the dense collocation of grammatical constructions in common and uncommon forms. The first of these is the opening construction, לִבּוֹ יָשִׂים אֵלָיו. This appears twice in the prologue (Job 2:3 with אֶל; 1:8 with עַל), where God directs *attention* to an Agent: |AGENT + הֵ| + שִׂים QAL. + לֵב + אֶל/עַל.[250] It is novel to depict *God* turning his attention to something, and equally so for that something to be the non-specified referent of the 3ms suffix on אֵלָיו rather than an explicit (discourse-prominent) Agent or Entity.

The second element to note is the governing conditional particle introducing the idiom, אִם. It marks a 'content conditional' clause, which, while rare in BH, is frequent in Job due to the persuasive nature of the discourse.[251] These clauses present a binary alternative future by explicitly discussing a hypothetical Event while implicitly presenting the inverse of that event as the other possible outcome. Elihu presents a hypothetical situation in which—if God were to decide to "gather to himself his *rûaḥ* and his breath"—the outcome would be Job 34:15.

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[250] The prepositions may interchange when profiling the spatial goal rather than path of movement of an Entity/Agent, *BHRG²* §39.3.(3).

[251] See Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 104–5. This distinguishes the function of אִם in Job 34:14 from that of 34:16, a "conditional speech-act command," in which the "*if*-clause appears to conditionally modify, not the *contents* of the main clause, but the *speech-act* which the main clause carries out," Barbara Dancygier and Eve Sweetser, *Mental Spaces in Grammar: Conditional Constructions*, CSL 108 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 113. Bivin applies this to BH in Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," §4.3.3. Elihu is insisting that Job does have the understanding necessary to hear Elihu's case and act accordingly (as confirmed by the imperatives embedded in the construction).

אסף frequently refers to the *gathering* of Entities together. Often this implies an ANE HARVEST cultural model (Exod 23:10, 16; Ruth 2:7; Job 39:12; Gezer Calendar), but also refers to people or livestock being brought into a shared space (Gen 29:22; Num 11:16). אסף may also profile the *withdrawal* of something, such as friendship (Jer 16:5), disgrace (Gen 30:23), or life itself (+נַפְשִׁי, Ps 26:29). This *withdrawal* process is primarily in view, with the implicit alternative situation being that if God chooses *not to do so,* then life continues. Perhaps, with Clines, this might be understood as follows:

> The fact that [God] does not treat all humans this way, though he has the power to do so, is proof that he discriminates between humans, which is to say that he operates according to the law of retribution.[252]

However, considering what we argue below, the presentation of this hypothetical divine decision is not a strict application of the retributive principle, but rather emphasising the divine prerogative over and capacity to control what is his.[253] Elihu is highlighting the *contingency* of life on God's ongoing will.

The *effect* of this content conditional should not be missed. It introduces a string of 3rd person suffices that direct attention to God as the primary Agent in this hypothetical scene:

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[252] Clines, *Job 21–37,* 775.

[253] This resonates with Bivin's argument that this type of conditional clause tends to use yiqtol verbs to perspectivise the hypothesised events to the FUTURE from the standpoint of the speaker, Bivin, "The Particle אִם and Conditionality," 123.

he that "sets" is he that (may) "gather" what is *his.* This emphasises the theocentricity of anthropological reality:

> the breath of living creatures is not just their own breath but the breath of God. It is *his* spirit (רוחו) and *his* breath (נשמתו) that sustain life.[254]

The third noteworthy element in this text is the seriousness of humanity's contingency upon divine sustenance, emphasised in the alternative future of Job 34:15. The structure focuses attention upon the central lexical units of the bicolon—יַחַד and collective אָדָם—emphasising the significance of Elihu's speech for the entirety of humanity.[255]

Having clarified these points of grammar, we turn now to the vocabulary of these verses. Even if we do not emend שׂים, there is a remarkable overlap of lexemes with other texts, particularly Psalm 104:29 and Ecclesiastes 12:7.[256]

Job 34:14–15

אִם־יָשִׂים אֵלָיו לִבֵּו **רוּחוֹ** וְנִשְׁמָתוֹ אֵלָיו יֶאֱסֹף׃

יִגְוַע כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָחַד וְאָדָם עַל־עָפָר יָשׁוּב׃

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[254] Clines, *Job 21–37,* 774.

[255] יַחַד often marks "actions done together," relationally, spatially, or temporally, George J. Brooke, "יַחַד," *NIDOTTE* 2:425. De Moor suggests a derived temporal sense here, "all at once, at one time," J. C. de Moor, "Lexical Remarks Concerning *yaḥad* and *yaḥdaw*," *VT* 7 (1957): 354.

[256] Driver-Gray, *Job,* 1:297; Gray, *Job,* 417; Clines, *Job 21–37,* 74.

Psalm 104:29

תַּסְתִּיר פָּנֶיךָ יִבָּהֵלוּן תֹּסֵף רוּחָם יִגְוָעוּן וְאֶל־עֲפָרָם יְשׁוּבוּן:

Ecclesiastes 12:7

וְיָשֹׁב הֶעָפָר עַל־הָאָרֶץ כְּשֶׁהָיָה וְהָרוּחַ תָּשׁוּב אֶל־הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר נְתָנָהּ:

Schultz notes "close and extensive" correspondence between the Joban and Psalm passage, even suggesting that "one text [is] either expanding or abbreviating the other."[257] Frevel argues even more strongly that Elihu is *using* Psalm 104 as a known text previously cited by Job against him "with a different intention but in the same manner as before."[258]

> Elihu ... uses Ps 104 to argue that Job should accept the impenetrability of God's activity within the general presumption of his justice and that his benevolent activity is recognisable in his creation (cf. Job 37:7).[259]

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[257] Richard L. Schultz, "Job and Ecclesiastes: Intertextuality and A Protesting Pair," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 200.

[258] Christian Frevel, "Telling the Secrets of Wisdom: The Use of Psalm 104 in the Book of Job," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 162. This involves an heuristic assumption that "the function of the textual relationship [between intertexts] is to *enhance* and *deepen* the understanding of the argument of the book of Job," Frevel, "Telling the Secrets," 158. Evidence for a widespread knowledge of Ps 104 is found in the Qumran documents. Ps 104:29 is alluded to in 11Q5 E ii 8; 4Q419 8 ii 7. 11Q5 is closer to Job 34:14–15 than Ps 104:29 MT, see Tigchelaar, *ThWQ,* s.v. "רוּחַ Rûaḥ."

[259] Frevel, "Telling the Secrets," 162.

Similar links between Job's speeches and Psalm may be seen in Job 9:8 // Ps 104:2; Job 24:5, 8, 12, 25 // Ps 104:23, 18, 11, 14–15; as well as Elihu's later allusion, Job 36:27 // Ps 104:13.[260]

If there is a plausible link between Job 34 and Psalm 104, what of the similarity with Ecclesiastes 12? Schultz dismisses any connection, explaining the correspondence as "consisting of merely the common use of the words רוח, עפר, and שוב."[261] However—beyond Schultz and Frevel—we argue that the collocation of these terms and the conceptual structures they represent indicate a common reference which may go beyond intertextual reference.[262] They indicate the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] cultural frame. This rich cultural frame captures the creation of humanity from the combination of GROUND and BREATH, as well as the potential for human dissolution (recruiting the CREATURELY COMPOSITION cultural model). The salience of this encyclopaedic knowledge is strengthened if we consider other primeval texts that are often referenced in discussions of Job 34:14–15—Genesis 2:7; 3:19; 6:17; 7:21–22.[263] We note also two rare expressions that increase the probability of specific connections between these texts: the direct collocation of נְשָׁמָה and רוּחַ (Job 34:14; Gen 7:22)

[260] Frevel, "Telling the Secrets," 160–61.

[261] Schultz, "Job and Ecclesiastes," 200.

[262] Intertextuality "should be understood not only as a literary theory but also as a historical and contextual one," allowing for shared cultural elements available to composers and readers, Christopher B. Hays, "'You Destroy A Person's Hope': The Book of Job as a Conversation About Death," in *Reading Job Intertextually*, ed. Katharine Dell and Will Kynes, LHBOTS 574 (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013), 220.

[263] Hartley, *Job*, 454; Hartley, *Job*, 454; Pope, *Job*, 257; Clines, *Job 21–37*, 774; G. H. Wilson, *Job*, 387; L. Wilson, *Job*, 166.

and the rare verb גוע "to die" (Job 34:15; Ps 104:29; Gen 6:17; 7:21). This verb appears 8/24x in Job alone (exclusively in Job and Elihu's speeches, Job 3:11; 10:18; 13:19; 14:10; 27:5; 29:18; 36:12).[264]

Shared elements between the texts include: (1) the origin of the human as "dust" enlivened by רוּחַ (2) "all flesh" can die[265] (3) death equals a return to the "ground"/"dust" (4) רוּחַ can be "gathered" leading to death/return to ground.

Job 34:14–15

אִם־יָשִׂים אֵלָיו לִבּוֹ **רוּחוֹ** וְ**נִשְׁמָתוֹ** אֵלָיו יֶאֱסֹף:

יִגְוַע כָּל־בָּשָׂר יָחַד וְאָדָם עַל־עָפָר יָשׁוּב:

Psalm 104:29

תַּסְתִּיר פָּנֶיךָ יִבָּהֵלוּן תֹּסֵף **רוּחָם** **יִגְוָעוּן** וְאֶל־עֲפָרָם יְשׁוּבוּן:

Genesis 2:7

וַיִּיצֶר יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֶת־הָאָדָם **עָפָר** מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפַּח בְּאַפָּיו **נִשְׁמַת** חַיִּים וַיְהִי הָאָדָם לְנֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה:

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[264] It is extant only in AH with no clear cognates, Helmer Ringgren, "גּוַע," *TDOT* 2:438.

[265] It is difficult to determine whether כָּל־בָּשָׂר (Job 34:15) refers to the category HUMAN or LIVING BEINGS. The related texts tend towards the maximal category, while the immediate parallel with אָדָם may restrict the references to humans as the moral agents Elihu is discussing.

Genesis 3:19

בְּזֵעַת אַפֶּיךָ תֹּאכַל לֶחֶם עַד **שׁוּבְךָ** אֶל־הָאֲדָמָה כִּי מִמֶּנָּה לֻקָּחְתָּ כִּי־**עָפָר** אַתָּה וְאֶל־**עָפָר תָּשׁוּב**׃

Genesis 6:17

וַאֲנִי הִנְנִי מֵבִיא אֶת־הַמַּבּוּל מַיִם עַל־הָאָרֶץ לְשַׁחֵת **כָּל־בָּשָׂר** אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ **רוּחַ** חַיִּים מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם כֹּל אֲשֶׁר־בָּאָרֶץ

יִגְוָע׃

Genesis 7:21–22

וַיִּגְוַע כָּל־בָּשָׂר הָרֹמֵשׂ עַל־הָאָרֶץ בָּעוֹף וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבַחַיָּה וּבְכָל־הַשֶּׁרֶץ הַשֹּׁרֵץ עַל־הָאָרֶץ וְכֹל **הָאָדָם**׃

כֹּל אֲשֶׁר **נִשְׁמַת־רוּחַ** חַיִּים בְּאַפָּיו מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר בֶּחָרָבָה מֵתוּ׃

As throughout Elihu's speeches so far, what was previously implied by the instantiation of

the [PRIMEVAL CREATION] frame (or the texts that similarly evoke it) is made explicit. It is

God's רוּחַ and God's נְשָׁמָה that fill humans and prevents their return to dust. As in

Ecclesiastes, the presence or absence of רוּחַ separates life and death. The strong identification

of the רוּחַ in "all flesh" as God's heightens the inherent contingency of creatures on their

Creator, and again blurs distinctions between anthropological and theological uses to

achieve this end. Elihu invokes this shared cultural fragment as evidence of God's

benevolence in ruling the world, and likely too as evidence of his justice. If God refuses to

withdraw the entity that sustains all life, he must have some reason that Job cannot (or will

not) grasp.

4.3 רוּחַ in Job: Preliminary Observations

The book of Job demonstrates the highest frequency of anthropological uses of רוּחַ in our sub-corpus. While there is some variety in usage, we see some consistency in how רוּחַ was presented and used rhetorically. Semantic associations that featured regularly in our other texts were hardly extant, such as VOLITION, while the metonyms related to LIFE and SPEECH were much more frequent. This suits the structure and emphasis of the work as a whole, where Job sees himself as 'fighting for his life' against Yahweh's attacks and the harassment of his companions.

As part of the verbal jousting that constitutes the central section of the book, there was a significant number of texts that exhibited frame instability. We termed this Joban 'ambiguation,' where multiple construal of lexical units, clauses, and entire verses were presented as salient depending upon which elements in the context where highlighted. These appeared frequently enough to suggest an intentional literary device by the Joban poet, especially when using רוּחַ. If one danger of biblical semantics is "illegitimate totality transfer"—importing semantic information from multiple distinct uses into single instances—the Joban poet seems fond of "legitimate partial transfer" in which semantic and conceptual information is recruited from related uses and rendered salient by the literary context.

4.3.1   רוּחַ and LIFE

A marked feature of Job is the plethora of uses of רוּחַ profiling LIFE, most likely via the

+BREATH FOR LIFE+ metonym. What was a literarily significant but hardly central frame

evocation in Ecclesiastes, and rarely seen in Proverbs, appears to be the preferred construal

in Job. We saw this use in Job 6:4; 7:7; 9:18; 10:12; 12:10; 17:1; 19:17; 27:3; 32:8; 33:4; 34:14–

15.

The biblical creation accounts appear to form part of the sub-structure for the LIFE

conceptual profile in Job. In addition to the texts influencing Ecclesiastes (Genesis 2:7; 3:19),

the collocation with חַי in Job 7:7 suggests an influence from Genesis 6:17; 7:15, 22, where

the רוּחַ חַיִּים is both taken and spared by God in the Flood. The possibility of either salvation

or destruction is highly salient for Job, emphasising the tenuousness of his situation. God is

the explicit or implicit source of רוּחַ—and so of Job's life—but this is leveraged ironically

given Job perceives God as his greatest threat: "the physical breath is visible evidence of the

invasive divine influence."[266] Intertexts are especially significant in Job's final speech (Job

27:3 נְשָׁמָה+אַפַּיִם, see Gen 2:7) and the Elihu monologue (Job 32:8 נְשָׁמָה+; 33:4 נְשָׁמָה+חיה;

34:14–15 נְשָׁמָה +עָפָר +עָדָם). The final use in Job 34:14–15 is lexically similar to Psalm 104,

while still broadly resonant with the Genesis accounts. Proving textual relationships is

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[266] Gray, *Job*, 336.

incredibly difficult, but these instances of רוּחַ indicate at least the presence of the [PRIMEVAL

CREATION] cultural frame and related encyclopaedic knowledge within the language

community.

Two entailments regularly feature in the LIFE uses of רוּחַ in Job. We see a connection between

divine and human generated in the life-giving act, as רוּחַ is given at creation and returned at

death. Job conceives of this connection as salient 'in the middle' between creation and death,

entailing a relationship of contingency between God and Job (/all humanity).

4.3.2   רוּחַ and *COMMUNICATION*

One of the best examples of the lexical ambiguity of רוּחַ in Job is the evocation of the

COMMUNICATION domain. For example, we argued that in Job 6:4, the target of God's divine

archery is Job's LIFE itself. At the same time, the immediate textual context implies the

salience of רוּחַ as SPEECH, a related but distinct BREATH metonym. In this secondary reading,

Job's words are hereafter 'poisoned' by God's venomous attacks. This is possible by the

shared metonymic structure of רוּחַ as BREATH, which normally would result in distinct

senses. The Joban poet provides sufficient contextual information to prompt the audience to

relate these two uses for their literary and rhetorical ends.

Allowing for the conceptual 'blurriness' arising from Joban ambiguation, we identified a

number of texts where the SPEECH metonym is at least possible: Job 6:4; 7:11; 15:13; 20:3;

27:3; 32:18–20. On Job's lips, this use inevitably arises in the context of distress (Job 6:4;

7:11), with רוּחַ as the target in metaphors of WARFARE or CONSTRAINT. רוּחַ is internal, and when attacked, reacts with speech. The reactionary speech from Job's רוּחַ offends Eliphaz (Job 15:13), like God granted Job his רוּחַ, and so to turn it against God is unconscionable. Elihu also depicts himself as in DISTRESS, thought not from an outside attack upon his רוּחַ like Job. Rather, it is his own רוּחַ that seeks release through his forthcoming speech to Job.

4.3.3   רוּחַ and WISDOM

רוּחַ as God-given LIFE and as SPEECH are linked by their common metonymic source frame of [BREATH]. These two concepts are linked with a further semantic association in Job, רוּחַ and WISDOM. Zophar implies such a connection when he explains that his speech arises מִבִּינָתִי "from my understanding" (Job 20:3), suggesting that his insight finds its expression through his speech. Elihu similarly links בין with רוּחַ (Job 32:8), but anchors this in the creational connection between God and human via the impartation of the LIFE-BREATH. As LIFE is granted to all, so is WISDOM, regardless of normal cultural markers of age and status. Several scholars link the provision of LIFE-BREATH with the provision of WISDOM, often in contrast to viewing it as a charismatic endowment of the divine Spirit.[267] However, few agree or even attempt to explain *how* WISDOM and רוּחַ are linked. Levison, for example, argues that

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[267] So Dhorme, *Le Livre de Job*, 434; Wolff, *Anthropologie*, 65; Habel, *Job*, 451; Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 80–81; Newsom, "In Search of Cultural Models," 114–18. For רוּחַ as the divine Spirit in WISDOM contexts, see Cornelis Bennema, "The Strands of Wisdom Tradition in Intertestamental Judaism: Origins, Developments and Characteristics," *TynBul* 52 (2001): 65–66; van Imschoot, "Sagesse," 34–37.

רוּחַ came to be associated with WISDOM simply because a long life allows the experiences and time necessary for the "painstaking mastery of crafts and the persistent pursuit of understanding."[268] While possible, vitality and the capacity it provides for gaining knowledge and skill does not seem to fully account for our Joban texts, nor the contexts of Exodus 31:3; Deuteronomy 34:9; Isaiah 11:2; Daniel 5:11 (Aram.).[269]

This association is developed outside of the HB in the texts of the Judean Desert such as 1QHᵃ 4:17; 6:8–13; 4Q418 77 4; 4Q504 8r 4–5.[270] While רוּחַ is not πνεῦμα, the latter is also linked with WISDOM in Sirach 39:6 LXX; Wisdom of Solomon 1:6; 7:7, 22.[271] Within Job, the texts that link רוּחַ with WISDOM suggest that the divine רוּחַ, LIFE, and SPEECH form a matrix of which WISDOM is part. Perhaps, just as the human SELF may be accessed through רוּחַ-sourced speech, so the divine SELF may be accessed through the רוּחַ shared between God and humanity.

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[268] Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 82.

[269] Despite the significant efforts of Levison, *Filled with the Spirit,* 34–86.

[270] 4Q504 is especially interesting as it explicitly links Adam's creation with wisdom.

[271] Arguably, Sirach and Wisdom aim to "defend, explain, and rearticulate traditional ideas in ways that were comprehensible to minds, both Jewish and non-Jewish, schooled in Greek culture." Matthew Edwards, *Pneuma and Realized Eschatology in the Book of Wisdom*, FRLANT 242 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 17. Kubat argues that despite the linguistic differences, πνεῦμα in Wisdom is consciously being used in line BH רוּחַ, Rodoljub S. Kubat, "The Spirit in the Wisdom of Solomon and Its Old Testament Background," in *The Holy Spirit and the Church according to the New Testament*, ed. Predrag Dragutinović et al., WUNT 354 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 289–93.

4.3.4   רוּחַ and God

As mentioned, Job makes the most explicit and repeated connections between רוּחַ and God of our sub-corpus. This is especially so in the direct identification of רוּחַ (alongside נְשָׁמָה) as God's רוּחַ in Job 27:3 and Elihu's speeches. These 'borderline' cases could be categorised as theological rather than anthropological uses, but are included because they emphasise that God's רוּחַ is imparted to and constituent of Job, Elihu, and so all humans. The use of רוּחַ with reference to God is closely linked with the LIFE use above, with God as the giver and ultimate receiver of the רוּחַ. Human life is thus contingent upon his will (Job 34:14–15). רוּחַ also links God and human speech (Job 27:3; Job 32:8, 18–20). The same רוּחַ granted to Job and Elihu is the source of their speech, with the contextual entailment that their speech is trustworthy and significant.

4.3.5   רוּחַ and Figurative Schemata

רוּחַ is productive for figuratively depicting experiences, appearing in metaphors and metonyms of DISTRESS and PATIENCE in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Two of these metaphorical schemas are found in Job: -FORCE- schematic metaphors of CONSTRAINT (Job 7:11; 17:1), and -LENGTH- schematic metaphors of PATIENCE (Job 21:4).

4.3.5.1   The -FORCE- Schema

רוּחַ featured in Proverbs as the target noun for the experience of FRAGMENTATION, the "broken/shattered *rûaḥ*." An entailment of these metaphors was רוּחַ ceasing to function as

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previously—usually indicating the end of life or loss of volitional capacity. Job instantiates a similar schema but with a distinct primary metaphor evoked by two lexemes. In Job 7:11 and 17:1, CONSTRAINT was used to depict DISTRESS via צַר and חבל, respectively. The primary metaphor +PHYSICAL CONSTRAINT IS DISTRESS+ is intensified by the internal location of the רוּחַ, with the BREATH sense markedly productive. With צַר, רוּחַ appears to depict the source of SPEECH, where the constraint of his רוּחַ paradoxically caused Job to verbalise his distress. With חבל, רוּחַ appeared to depict LIFE, with a possible physiological motivation of constriction limiting his respiration, causing the imminent death Job foresees.

4.3.5.2   The -LENGTH- Schema

Despite being known as 'Job the Patient,' only one LENGTH metaphor for PATIENCE is instantiated in Job 21:4, וְאִם־מַדּוּעַ לֹא־תִקְצַר רוּחִי. The SHORT metaphor was explored in Proverbs 14:29 and its inverse in Ecclesiastes 7:8–9. The metaphor invokes an implied horizontal scale of extent, where a TR is mapped against the scale in a *state* ("a *long* rope") or as an argument in a *change of state* verb ("reading this will *lengthen* your attention span"). Without an objective scale in the context, an implied and subjective archetypical entity functions as a LM against which the TR may be profiled (a long rope has length greater than a schematically-typical rope).[272] The relative simplicity of this schema is complicated by the

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[272] Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar*, 186.

conceptual relationship between SPACE and TIME in which DURATION is frequently conceived of in terms of LENGTH.

4.3.6 רוּחַ and SELF

Given the tendency for רוּחַ to be conceptualised as prototypically internal to the human person, we have often referred to it as profiling some *aspect* or *part* of the human SELF. While the terminology is imprecise, it seeks to express that there is usually some act of *highlighting* intended by this use of רוּחַ, as of VOLITION or SPEECH. רוּחַ only functions as a metonym for the entire person is very specific ways, largely being motivated by the BREATH profile. That said, there appears to be at least one instance of a more generalised metonymy in Job 19:17, where Job's very being repels his previously closest relationship. Given the possible poetic resonances and entailments of רוּחַ and BREATH with both LIFE and INTIMACY, this may be intentionally ambiguous or open-ended.

4.4 Summary of Job

Job reflects once more a wide variety of related senses for רוּחַ. There is a marked weighting towards LIFE as the temporary and contingent state Job so tenuously holds to, with a concurrent association of the relationship between God and human sustained or at least generated by the רוּחַ. This relationship is constructed upon a shared cultural frame of the primeval creation of the human, with the present implications explored by Job and his friends

in both metaphors of DISTRESS (with רוּחַ the target of God's perceived negative actions) and

in relatively novel ways as allowing access to divine WISDOM.

5 The Path of the רוּחַ — Conclusions

5.1 The Elusive רוּחַ Once More

רוּחַ often depicts what is ungraspable, the *wind* that may not be gripped, the *breath* whose mysterious paths we cannot fathom. Qoheleth's catch-cy, "a chasing after רוּחַ," describes futile acts. Many of the texts we have analysed have felt just at the edge of comprehensibility, tantalising hearers with meaning, only to resist a firm grasp at the last. It seems appropriate given the emphasis upon metaphor within Cognitive Linguistics and our sapiential corpus to adopt a governing metaphor for this concluding chapter. Inspired by the motive and geographical implications of *path* from Ecclesiastes 11:5, we collect the findings of our analysis in terms of an exploratory JOURNEY.

5.2 Charting Our Course: Cognitive Linguistics and רוּחַ

The goal of our research was to better understand the varied uses of רוּחַ in three ways:

(1) Focussing on the anthropological uses of רוּחַ

(2) Confining our study to a small representative sub-corpus (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job) to allow for maximal engagement with the texts

(3) Applying the insights of Cognitive Linguistics to enrich our analysis of these texts and assist in relating our findings to one another

Despite the dangers of attempting an integrative project with a semantically-complex lexeme, we have demonstrated that it is possible to bring insights from related strands of contemporary linguistics to bear on an ancient text. The insights from CL have provided greater confidence in identifying senses of רוּחַ in ambiguous contexts. At times this has allowed us to isolate the most likely use of רוּחַ, as in Proverbs 17:27, or to better evaluate the options in Ecclesiastes 11:5. At other times, CL has indicated the validity of multiple possible construals of רוּחַ in a text. This allowed us to recognise and appreciate how authors have used lexical ambiguity of key terms such as רוּחַ to engage audiences in multiple layers of meaning in a text (Job 15:13; 27:3).

Even with our restricted corpus, much was left unsaid. Each new text raises many questions, and CL assisted in providing some new answers, or better arguments for previous answers, to understand רוּחַ.

5.3 Sketching Our 'Map': An Outline of the Lexical and Conceptual Data of רוּחַ

Having surveyed our anfractuous path, we may now collect and present what we have observed along the way. In our chapter-end retrospectives we categorised our findings for

רוּחַ according to conceptual clusters such as *COMMUNICATION* and LIFE where רוּחַ may be said to 'mean' *speech* or *life*; metaphorical uses where רוּחַ was involved in depicting an experience or event; and semantic associations in which רוּחַ appears alongside concepts such as VOLITION or WISDOM with sufficient regularity to indicate they are part of its semantic content even if רוּחַ does not ever 'mean' WISDOM.

5.3.1   Cautions and General Observations

רוּחַ has a vast range of potential meanings. The historical process by which meanings develop is Daedalian even in contemporary languages, and more so in ancient languages with limited and specialised corpora. We have not and do not seek to account for the historical relationships and changes between the uses of רוּחַ.[1] Throughout our study, we have noted what we consider plausible explanations for how some senses may relate to others, such as proposing the metonyms +BREATH FOR LIFE+ or +BREATH FOR SPEECH+ and the higher-order metonyms structuring them, +CAUSE FOR EFFECT+ or +OBJECT/INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+. These may explain historical movements within the AH language community but are not intended as diachronic arguments. Rather, they are suggestions of how concepts may be related when accessed by lexical units in these texts.

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[1] Admittedly, following our survey of the ANE linguistic context we did posit a pathway of development from *wind* to *breath* to *life* that we suggested may be relevant for רוּחַ.

With these caveats, we may make two general observations. The first is that our corpus

contained a significant proportion of uses of רוּחַ related to BREATH. This does not necessitate

that *breath* is the 'core' or 'prototypical' meaning of רוּחַ, only that it is particularly productive

in the texts we examined, and as a relatively more concrete sense may motivate other uses.

We observed רוּחַ as *breath* per se (Job 9:18), as well as motivating metaphorical depictions

of PATIENCE and IMPATIENCE (Prov 14:29; Eccl 7:8; Job 21:4); metonymic depictions of

SPEECH in terms of *breath*, either directly (Prov 1:23) or inferable from context (Job 6:4; 7:11;

15:13; 32:18–20). Given the nature of figurative language, this does not require *breath* to be

immediately salient to the usage of metonyms involving רוּחַ even if they are conceptually be

related to *breath*. For example, we suggested the common depiction of רוּחַ as *internal* to the

human person may relate to its usage for the SELF, via something like +THE INTERNAL BREATH

FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+. When רוּחַ appears to refer to the human SELF, we do not necessarily

need to infer respiration as relevant to the usage (Prov 29:23; Eccl 10:4; Job 6:4).

Alternatively, authors may increase the salience of uses of רוּחַ that motivate other uses, as

when רוּחַ is *restrained* to evoke DISTRESS as well as to imply verbal response (Job 7:11; 32:18–

20).

The uses of רוּחַ associated with *breath* included evoking cultural frames and cultural models.

We noted one cultural frame and a related cultural model that was especially important in

our sub-corpus: [PRIMEVAL CREATION] and CREATURELY COMPOSITION (Eccl 3:19–21; 12:7;

Job 7:7; 12:10; 27:3; 33:4; 34:14–15). The first of these is a rich cultural frame where רוּחַ

evoked the *life-breath* imparted by God to humanity to grant them life. We also argued that—considering other texts of the Hebrew Bible that reflect this cultural frame such as Genesis 2–3; 6–7; Psalm 104—this frame includes the fate of humanity when such breath is removed: death. The frame recruits a cultural model which conceptualises the human person as consisting of (at least) an internal רוּחַ/נְשָׁמָה and a body created from עָפָר, with the removal of one element leading to the dissolution of the person.

Our second general observation is the frequency with which multiple construals of רוּחַ in a single text appear not only possible but intentionally encouraged by authors. This was particularly evident in Job. Intentional ambiguity allows concepts to be linked via normally-distinct paths of construal, which may motivate the extensive use of רוּחַ as a lexeme suited to such techniques, allowing access to a wide range of conceptual information that subtleties in literary context may activate. Attributing intent to ancient authors is dangerous, and the risk of importing semantic content from distinct senses into every instance of a lexical unit is real. However, our analysis supports at least the possibility that רוּחַ is used for its ambiguity, rather than despite it.

5.3.2   רוּחַ and LIFE

רוּחַ often profiles LIFE (Prov 15:4; 17:22; Eccl 3:19–21; 8:8; 11:5; Job 9:18; 10:12; 27:3). The conceptualisation of רוּחַ as LIFE is likely motivated by *breath* as the cause and corollary of life on a physical level. However, it goes beyond a simple observation of respiration. We noted

the possibility of the human person being metaphorically depicted as a CONTAINER in which רוּחַ is within the human body until the barrier of the container is breached. When רוּחַ is present within a person they are alive, and when not, they are dead. Yet, רוּחַ is depicted as potentially having an existence beyond the integrous human CONTAINER, capable of directional movement (Eccl 3:19–21), and especially associated with God as giver and receiver (Eccl 11:5; 12:7; Job 12:10; 27:3; 33:4; 34:14–15). The links generated between רוּחַ, LIFE, and God in Ecclesiastes and Job suggest an entailment of the BREATH-LIFE metonym is the *fragility* and *contingency* of LIFE. רוּחַ is all too easily 'released,' and continues to be present within a person at the mercy of the one who gives it (Eccl 12:7; Job 34:14–15).

5.3.3   רוּחַ and *COMMUNICATION*

The use of רוּחַ for SPEECH also appears conceptually motivated by *breath*. The production of sounds is understood as contiguous with the action of producing them (+OBJECT/INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION+). This usage was one of the least apparent in scholarship, although our analysis established it as either a primary or possible secondary evocation in Proverbs 1:23; 11:13; 29:11; Job 6:4; 7:11; 15:13; 20:3; 27:3; 32:18–20.

The SPEECH use of רוּחַ often appeared in the context of depictions of DISTRESS or discussions of VOLITION. In the DISTRESS scenarios, the distressing action targets the רוּחַ, with an entailment of the DISTRESS metaphors being a tendency to respond verbally (Prov 15:4; Job 7:11). In the VOLITION contexts, control of רוּחַ is often collocated with restriction of speech

(Prov 17:27; 29:11). This may be a feature of conceptual association where רוּחַ is naturally linked with self-control of which speech is a prime example, or it may indicate that the desire to link these two concepts motivates the use of רוּחַ, as it may evoke either.

A key entailment of this use of רוּחַ is that the speech generated reflects the SELF. This entailment may be generated by the typical internality of רוּחַ to a person and the externality of the communicative act. If the metonym +THE INTERNAL BREATH FOR THE INTERNAL SELF+ is valid, it could conceivably link with +BREATH FOR SPEECH+ to imply that the internal SELF is expressed through the external words.

5.3.4   רוּחַ and WISDOM

The association between רוּחַ and WISDOM appears mainly within the Elihu discourse in Job (Job 32:8), although it has parallels elsewhere in the HB (Exodus 31:3; Deuteronomy 34:9; Isaiah 11:2; Daniel 5:11), and gained currency in later Jewish texts. The conceptual motivation for the association of רוּחַ with WISDOM remains unclear, although we suggested it may relate to both the LIFE and SPEECH uses of רוּחַ and a further conceptual link between רוּחַ, LIFE, and God. Just as רוּחַ may profile SPEECH that reflects the SELF, the impartation of רוּחַ from God to humanity may provide the means by which God may give WISDOM to humans.

5.3.5   רוּחַ and God

The semantic associations between רוּחַ and God are variable as to their salience and strength. Ecclesiastes 12:7; Job 27:3; 32:8; 33:4; 34:14–15 directly identify the human רוּחַ as belonging to, originating with, and maintained by God. This appears to recruit the cultural frame [PRIMEVAL CREATION] as well as potential intertextual relationships. There are other possible, but weaker, associations between רוּחַ, GOD, and WISDOM that later texts develop.

5.3.6   רוּחַ and VOLITION

The association between רוּחַ and human action is regularly supported by context but difficult to articulate given the vagueness of terms like *will* and *volition,* and their relationship to the heuristic meta-concept of SELF. Our analysis suggests that רוּחַ may profile the SELF as responsible for action—what we imprecisely termed the VOLITION association, or, for grammatical simplicity, the VOLITIONAL SELF. This association/usage was present in Proverbs 16:2; 16:32; 25:28; 29:11; Ecclesiastes 7:9; 8:8, and salient to metaphorical uses in Proverbs 14:29; 17:27; 18:14; Ecclesiastes 7:8–9; and Job 21:4. It often depicts the need for self-control—the restriction of action or speech that may otherwise be the instinctive response to surrounding events or people. The wise person must *rule* (משל) their רוּחַ (Prov 16:32), and not fail to *restrain* it (Prov 25:28), lest uncontrolled action or speech cause harm to themselves or others.

5.3.7 רוּחַ and Figurative Schemata

Many uses of רוּחַ in our sub-corpus instantiate a metonym or metaphor, making attention to figurative language a pivotal, if underutilised, facet of understanding it. We have examined the metonyms for SPEECH, LIFE, and SELF above, and now summarise our analysis of the metaphors we encountered.

5.3.7.1 רוּחַ and the -LENGTH- schema

Metaphors of LENGTH in our corpus depict PATIENCE and IMPATIENCE as the relative LENGTH or SHORTNESS of רוּחַ (Prov 14:29; 16:32; Eccl 7:8; Job 21:4). The SHORT metaphor is more common, with אֶרֶךְ־רוּחַ appearing only in Ecclesiastes 7:8 in BH (and Sir^A 5:11 in AH). The collocation of קְצַר־רוּחַ with אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם (Prov 14:29) suggests that *breath* is salient to רוּחַ here. The anthropological key terms evoke a physiological metonym in which the nature of one's breathing patterns reflect one's emotional state, and the degree of control one has over it. However, we also noted a salient link between רוּחַ and the VOLITIONAL aspect of the SELF. Whether this link arises from metaphors such as this, or motivates them, we were unable to determine.

5.3.7.2 רוּחַ and the -VERTICALITY- schema

Metaphors of HEIGHT in depict ARROGANCE or HUMILITY as the relative HEIGHT or LOWNESS of רוּחַ (Prov 16:18–19; 29:23; Eccl 10:4). The conceptual structure of these metaphors is complex, involving other metaphors such as +SOCIAL STATUS IS PHYSICAL HEIGHT+,

embodied motivations of physical posture, and cultural models of <u>HONOUR AND SHAME</u>.

Despite this, our analysis supported רוּחַ as profiling the SELF (either of oneself, or the discourse-relevant 'SELF' of another). The position on the metaphorical VERTICAL scale depicts self-evaluation as relatively superior or inferior to others. We argued that this metaphor better explains texts where רוּחַ is commonly understood as ANGER. ARROGANCE and ANGER are sufficiently conceptually-related that they may be confused, but our analysis supported their distinction in the interest of clarifying the uses of רוּחַ.

Our analysis also suggested two entailments of the HEIGHT metaphors. The self-exalted 'high of *rûaḥ*' will eventually be humbled via the schematic force tendency of elevated object to fall.[2] Conversely, the 'low of *rûaḥ*' require another Agent to elevate them from their state. The frequent contextual implication/expectation is that God is the bringer of justice who causes both the 'fall' of the proud and the 'salvation' of the humbled.

5.3.7.3 רוּחַ and the -FORCE- schema

Two related metaphors appeared in our corpus as instantiations of the -FORCE- schema, where רוּחַ is the target in a depiction of DISTRESS. Building on the work of Philip D. King, we examined how רוּחַ is the Entity subject to fragmenting or constrictive FORCE interactions

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[2] This does not require רוּחַ to be conceptualised as an object per se (although when profiling SELF this would be comprehensible), but rather that the structure of the schema is recruited in the metaphorical depiction involving רוּחַ.

as part of the metaphors +BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FORCE DAMAGING PART OF THE

BODY+; +BEING IN DISTRESS IS EXPERIENCING FRAGMENTATION+; and +EXPERIENCING

DISTRESS IS PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION+. Job 17:1 could be construed as evoking either

metaphor depending upon how חבל is understood.

5.3.7.3.1 רוּחַ and FRAGMENTATION metaphors

A relatively frequent metaphor depicts רוּחַ as the Entity subject to [CAUSE_FRAGMENTATION].

This metaphor was instantiated by two roots in our corpus, שבר (Prov 15:4) and נכא/נכה

(Prov 15:13; 17:22; 18:14), and elsewhere with דכא. In our extended discussion of these

metaphors, we argued that the grammatical constructions and root used to instantiate the

metaphors nuances the depiction of the distressing event. Nominal instantiations involving

שבר tend to specify an Agent causing the damage (Prov 15:4), while niphal participial

instantiations emphasise the change in state of the Entity. With שבר, the context suggested

רוּחַ profiles the LIFE of the person, with a secondary association with SPEECH as affecting the

internal state of the person. The adjectival instantiations of נכא implicitly compared an

integrous רוּחַ to a 'shattered' one, obscuring the Agent causing the damage to foreground

the resultant state. With נכא, רוּחַ profiles the internal SELF.

5.3.7.3.2 רוּחַ and CONSTRAINT metaphors

At least twice in Job, רוּחַ appears as the targeted Entity in the metaphorical depiction of

DISTRESS as PHYSIOLOGICAL CONSTRICTION. The metaphor was instantiated by two roots,

צר/צרר (Job 7:11) and צוק (Job 32:18)—as well as potentially חבל (Job 17:1). In Job 7:11;

32:18, רוּחַ likely profiles the internal SELF. However, there was evidence of Joban ambiguation (or at least wordplay) involving רוּחַ as BREATH. In Job 7:11, this implied a metonymic link between BREATH and LIFE, as if Job were being choked to death. In Job 32:18, BREATH and SPEECH were associated, as if Elihu were so full of things to say he was about to burst. Given the threat to life and desire to respond to opposition throughout Job, these may be contextual effects rather than inherent to the metaphor or רוּחַ.

5.3.7.4   רוּחַ and a TEMPERATURE metaphor

Proverbs 17:27 contained a unique metaphor in AH, קַר־רוּחַ "cold of *rûaḥ,*" depicting human PERSONALITY in terms of TEMPERATURE. This may be a novel development of existing metaphors of HEAT used to depict ANGER or DISTRESS. Alternatively, as we argued, this text reflects the influence of Egyptian didactic literature and their trope of the 'hot man' and the 'cool/silent' man. The Egyptian 'hot man' is characterised by a lack of control over their actions and especially speech, while the 'cool man' is characterised by self-control and silence. Proverbs 17:27 may be a 'Hebrew spin' upon this trope, where רוּחַ profiles the SELF as responsible for actions (VOLITION) or more likely speech (*COMMUNICATION*).

5.4 The Territory Ahead: Limits and Possibilities for Further Study of רוּחַ

Our study consciously pursued a restricted corpus to allow for a detailed analysis of our texts. Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job yielded sufficient texts to give us some confidence in the preliminary outline of רוּחַ above, while providing opportunities to engage with many other related texts in the Hebrew Bible and wider Jewish literature. To further develop, nuance, validate, and correct our analysis, we need to extend it beyond the confines of the three books.

In addition to examining further texts in the Hebrew Bible, we might extend to other Ancient Hebrew texts such as *4QInstruction*. This document contains uses that may further our understanding of רוּחַ and SELF (4Q416 2 iii 5–7), and the matrix of רוּחַ-*COMMUNICATION-WISDOM* and God (4Q418 77 2–5). We might even extend our analysis to Greek texts, examining uses of πνεῦμα, not as on a continuum with רוּחַ, but so as to compare how the lexical and conceptual task of translation across languages and cultures is reflected through Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and even early Christian texts. For example, we might examine the association of πνεῦμα and WISDOM in Sirach[LXX] 39:6 and Wisdom 7:7; the link between creation, LIFE-BREATH, and πνεῦμα in Wisdom 15:16; or the interplay of divine and human πνεῦμα in Romans 8:16 and 1 Corinthians 2:10–11.

5.4 The End of the Road

The range of possible uses of רוּחַ allows it to be used in Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job in the contemplation and expression of difficult and complicated subject matter: the nature of the human person, their experiences, actions, struggles, and relationship to others and God. We began our study with linguist John Taylor's comment that encountering entities that are difficult to categorise provokes a feeling of unease, and so too unknown words. While רוּחַ is familiar enough to not be recognised, its rich and varied semantics frequently leaves us asking: "Well, what *is* it?"[3] Yet it is precisely the capacity of רוּחַ to access so many conceptual categories that allows it to generate relationships between concepts that our texts wish to hold together. Even in this preliminary study of the anthropological uses of רוּחַ alone, we have seen its poignancy and profundity. It depicts the effects of the world upon humanity, when the capacity to continue seems shattered beyond repair, subject to the self-exaltation of those in power, and struggling to control the impulses within them. It confronts humanity with the fragility of existence, and the tension of wisdom at once a part of and alien to the human. It binds humans to their creatureliness, formed of breath and dust, while tempting them with a peculiar, mysterious, and elusive bond with Yahweh, the God of life, wisdom, and self.

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[3] Taylor, "Categories and Concepts," 163.

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