

Metaphor Coherence in the Book of Job

By

Lance R. Hawley

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The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Ronald L. Troxel, Professor, Hebrew and Semitic Studies

Jeremy M. Hutton, Associate Professor, Hebrew and Semitic Studies

Michael V. Fox, Professor Emeritus, Hebrew and Semitic Studies

Rachel F. Brenner, Professor in the Center for Jewish Studies

Jordan D. Rosenblum, Associate Professor, Religious Studies and Jewish Studies

Hanne Løland Levinson, Assistant Professor, Classical and Near Eastern Studies

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Dedicated to

Laura K. Hawley, my constant friend and devoted wife

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Abstract

Within the book of Job, the interlocutors (Job, the friends, and Yahweh) seem to largely ignore one another's arguments within their dialogical discourse. This observation leads some to propose that the dialogue lacks conceptual coherence. I argue that the interlocutors tangentially and sometimes overtly attend to previously stated points-of-view and attempt to persuade their counterparts through the employment of metaphor. I use the theoretical approach of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to assess metaphorical expressions that evoke two distinct conceptual domains, the target domain *SPEECH* and the source domain *ANIMALS*. Beyond explaining the individual metaphorical expressions, I show how *SPEECH* metaphors cohere with one another throughout the dialogue, most perceptibly in the expressions of *WORDS ARE WIND*. The character of Job's speech as dangerous or threatening is a regular topic for Job and his friends. Their disagreements are apparent in my comparison of their *SPEECH* metaphors. *ANIMAL* metaphors also cohere, particularly perceptible in the *JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL* metaphor. In these cases, the dialogue demonstrates intentional picking-up on previously stated arguments. By surveying the dialogue for a target domain (*SPEECH*) and a source domain (*ANIMALS*), I show that both are significant for evaluating the discourse. The survey of a target provides insight into the overt topic of their debate, the worth of words in this case. The survey of a source provides a means for evaluating the speakers' assumptions, since metaphorical construal is grounded in shared source knowledge.

I also argue that the animal images in the divine speeches are not metaphorical, in spite of recent scholarly interpretation that reads them as such. Rather, Yahweh appears as a sage to question the negative status of wild animals that Job and his friends assume in their significations of *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS*. This is especially apparent in Yahweh's strophes on the lion and the wild donkey, both of which appear multiple times in the metaphorical expressions of Job and his

friends. The interlocutors use metaphorical elaboration, extension, and questioning in their competing construals of the world and Job's suffering.

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Oxford, 1907
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BT</i>	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
<i>COS</i>	<i>The Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by W. W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden, 1997–
EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain
ESV	English Standard Version
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999
<i>HS</i>	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IBC	Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JHNES	Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies
<i>JNSL</i>	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSB	Jewish Study Bible, 2 nd ed.
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>KAI</i>	<i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> . H. Donner and W. Röllig. 2d ed. Wiesbaden, 1966–1969

KTU	<i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24/1. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976. 2d enlarged ed. of <i>KTU: The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places</i> . Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. Münster, 1995 (= CTU)
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PSB	<i>Princeton Seminary Bulletin</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
ResQ	<i>Restoration Quarterly</i>
RIMA	The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
UBL	Ugaritisch-biblische Literatur
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
Vulg.	Vulgate
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

Chapter 1 – The Joban Discourse as a Conceptual Network

1.1 – Introduction

In her book on the dialogical character of the book of Job, Carol Newsom (2003a, 119) claims that the discourse between Job and his friends becomes “a struggle over metaphors and a conflict over stories.” Instead of proceeding with evidentiary arguments, the interlocutors employ poetic tropes and metaphoric imagery to persuade each other of the veracity of their understanding of retribution and the ethics of suffering, which are the primary issues in the book of Job. Newsom’s observation raises a number of questions about the use of metaphor in the book of Job. In what sense do the interlocutors “struggle over metaphors”? Do they explicitly respond to one another’s metaphors? What, if anything, is different about Job’s use of metaphor from that of his friends? How might the divine speeches address the conceptual metaphors employed by Job and his friends? These questions all relate to the larger issue of *how* the interlocutors (Job, the friends, and Yahweh) attend to one another’s arguments. Within the literary construct of the book, Job and his companions respond to one another, at least in the sense that they take turns speaking. However, the degree to which each interlocutor advances his own argument by countering the opponent’s point of view is unclear. This study seeks a way forward for understanding the nature of the Joban discourse by assessing the interlocutors’ use of metaphor, examining their patterns of cognition as they depict their understanding of the world and Job’s particular situation via metaphor.

The discourse between Job and his companions is one in which each side grows increasingly frustrated with the other. Although the dialogue seems to devolve into entrenched speeches for and against their respective points of view, the speakers demonstrate a level of common knowledge about the way that the world functions. In the course of their speeches, they

express numerous metaphors to support their arguments. Acts of metaphor production and interpretation depend upon interlocutors having shared basic assumptions and knowledge of the world, which are grounded in embodied experiences (Gibbs, Lima, and Francozo 2004, 1189-1210). In order to make meaning of metaphorical construals, the speakers and hearers must have a common source world. Although this source world is based upon their experiences, Job's case presents a challenge to the understanding of that world that he and his friends maintain. Their value system and basic beliefs about matters such as the cause-and-effect nature of retribution are questioned in the course of the book, and metaphor bears witness to this because it is a primary vehicle for their argumentation. As Jindo (2010, 249) says, "Metaphor can convey not only a proposition, but also a specific perspective, or orientation, through which to perceive and experience that proposition." In the book of Job, metaphorical construal discloses the speakers' assumptions and variant perspectives on Job's suffering, highlighting key areas of agreement and disagreement throughout the discourse.

This chapter introduces the book of Job as a network of signified concepts. All interpretation of written texts involves the activation of cognitive processes through literary media. I therefore introduce this study of activated concepts in metaphorical expressions with a description of the book of Job as both a literary discourse and a cognitive discourse. The former task includes describing the discourse worlds within the book of Job, describing the literary style of the dialogue, and identifying the book as a wisdom discourse. After attending to these introductory topics, I present the principle of "coherence" and begin to address the issue of coherence in the Joban dialogue. Finally, I introduce a cognitive linguistic approach to discourse and the study of conceptual metaphors within the discourse of the book of Job. I conclude the chapter with the basic proposals of this study and a description of how I will proceed. In the

second chapter, I turn my attention to the analysis of particular metaphorical expressions.

1.2 – Activating the Joban Conceptual Network

When one reads and attempts to comprehend the book of Job, one activates a vast conceptual network. It is nothing unique to the Joban discourse that the text signifies an extended web of concepts, since any literary text is a reflection of its author's cognitive processes and is cognitively activated when a reader reads and interprets, completing the attempt to "transmit" meaning from author to reader.¹ What makes the book of Job distinctive is not that it represents a conceptual network, but that its conceptual webs are constructed in unique patterns, focused on particular conceptual domains, such as the justice of God, wisdom, friendship, the value of piety, and the experience of human suffering, to name the book's primary topics.

Construction of meaning does not reside in the text itself, but in the dynamic process of communication between author and reader (Spivey 1997, 25-28, 122-129).² Since the author of

¹ The phrase "transmit meaning" is an expression of the conduit metaphor, a metaphorical way of explaining communication between speaker and hearer or author and reader. For a description of the conduit metaphor, see §2.1.4. Some literary critics and cognitive scientists criticize the conduit metaphor for being an inaccurate description of the actual process of meaning-making, which literally takes place within each individual's mind without having a component of direct transference; however, the metaphor remains a necessary means for describing basic communication and interactions between speakers and hearers. For criticism and defense of the conduit metaphor, see Nasiadka 2009; Eubanks 2011, 142-193.

² For an overview of various approaches to understanding meaning in discourse, including structuralism, poststructuralism, deconstructionism, and constructivism, see Spivey 1997, 96-121. Spivey argues for a constructivist perspective, which attributes meaning-making to both constructive agents, the writer and the reader, who perform literate acts (116). Constructivism critiques the poststructuralist dismissal of human agency, epitomized by the pronouncement of "the death of the Author" by Barthes (1977, 148), but still recognizes the instability of meanings as texts are written and read by different people in different contexts. Constructivists put special emphasis on human cognition and the relationship of text processing to social and psychological matters; thus, it coincides well with cognitive linguistics. As Oatley (2003, 166) says, writing on

the book of Job is inaccessible to modern readers, interpretation involves the reconstruction of ancient mental processes by means of textual study, a challenge to say the least, but not a task to be discarded.³ Ultimately, the making of meaning happens in the mind of the reader as he or she interacts with the multiple textual signifiers (morphological, syntactic, and semantic) that constitute the text.⁴ To complicate matters further, the ancient conceptual patterns within the Joban discourse are only accessible to readers through the book's literary characters, whose speeches may or may not reflect the author's point of view. The uncertainty about the ultimate meaning of the book of Job is largely due to the hidden nature of the author's perspective. Since the majority of the book of Job proceeds as a series of speeches that demonstrate particular views of the world and human experiences, the content of their speeches is the primary stimulus for meaning-making. To employ a modern spatial metaphor for understanding, the effort in what follows is to "get into the minds" of the interlocutors in the book of Job, namely, Job, the friends, and Yahweh, by assessing the textual expressions of their cognitive patterns throughout their discourse in light of what we are able to perceive of their shared source world.

cognitive poetics, a subfield of cognitive linguistics, "'Dream' and 'imagination' are good metaphors for fiction. They place the onus in the right place for a new cognitive poetics: the responsibility for a piece of fiction is shared. The writer offers a kit of parts, or a set of cues. The reader does the construction, and makes the imagined dream start up and run."

³ While I hold the view that there were likely multiple authors and editors of the book of Job, for the sake of discourse description I refer to a singular author, unless it is important to make the distinction.

⁴ This reframes the historical-critical approach to ancient texts, but it does not invalidate it. Historical criticism is valid inasmuch as the attempt to access authorial conceptual patterns, ancient or modern, is essential to basic communication. A reader/hearer is able to make meaning of a text without concern for authorial intent, but, assuming the author has an intended meaning, this approach leads to a communication breakdown. In this study, I am making an interpretive *choice* to attempt to understand the author's intent because I believe that the book of Job was written to communicate the authorial meaning to readers; thus, I proceed as a modern reader attempting to access the ancient patterns of cognition that are signified in the book of Job.

1.3 – “Discourse” in the Book of Job

Some commentators on the book of Job use “discourse” as a synonym for “speech.” For example, Seow (2013, 33, 38) writes of “Elihu’s discourses” and “YHWH’s two discourses.” Others, such as Newsom, who interprets the narrative prologue as a “monological discourse” (2003a, 25), understand each segment of the book of Job as a genre of discourse. While I do not disagree with these uses of the term, in this study I reserve “discourse” for the author’s whole work or for the entire corpus of speeches occurring within the discourse world of the characters, so that I take into account the interaction of multiple expressions of metaphor throughout the single discourse of Job 3:1-42:6.⁵

1.3.1 – *Discourse Worlds of the Book of Job*

The book of Job is a single written corpus that proceeds on at least three discourse levels. The first is as a literary representation of an author’s discourse communicated to potential

⁵ I take the Elihu speeches as a later addition to the dialogue and, therefore, do not systematically consider his expressions of metaphor in my analysis. In my view, Job 32-37 is an interpolation that interrupts the literary progression of Job’s final speech (29-31) to the divine speeches (38-41). I would add chapter 28, agreeing with Clines (2006, 908-909) and Greenstein (2003b) that it is the final portion of Elihu’s speech. The best evidence for the later addition of Elihu is that he is not included in the prologue or the epilogue. While it is true that “the absence of Elihu from the framework is a problem for any view of the composition of the book” (Clines 2006, 709), it is more likely that an editor would chose not to alter the existing framework by adding Elihu than for an author to compose Elihu’s speeches at the same time as the rest of the book but fail to include him in the composition of the framework, especially in places where the other friends show up (2:11 and 42:7). Other arguments for the secondary nature of Elihu include (1) the different style of 32-37, including a narrative introduction, genealogical information (32:2), and Elihu’s use of direct quotation, (2) Elihu directly addresses Job by his name, which none of the friends have done, and (3) the distinct linguistic profile in Elihu’s speeches (Dhorme 1967, xcvi-cv; Wahl 1993, 1-35).

readers. On the second level, the narrator seeks to communicate with a narratee.⁶ The third level is represented by the dialogue between the multiple interlocutors in the book of Job. The “speakers” and “hearers” are different in each of these three levels.⁷ The reader of the book of Job participates in the first level of discourse by encountering the narrator and the characters on the second and third levels. Indeed, the three discourse levels represent embedded worlds of communication, the third level within the second, and the second within the first. This is the case for any literary discourse that involves a narrator recounting events about characters who speak directly to one another within the narrative.⁸

The characters themselves and their speeches are expressions of the author’s conceptualization. The only real discourse is between author and reader, but the reader of the

⁶ The narrator is usually an anonymous but trustworthy representative of the author’s point of view, but the narrator is not equivalent with the author. The author may conceivably create a narrator with whom he or she disagrees. As Walsh (2009, 101) says, “The narrator inhabits the secondary world, the world of the narrative, in which the story happened; the author inhabits the primary world, the world in which we read the text.” The “worlds” about which Walsh writes from a literary critical viewpoint are “discourse worlds” in cognitive poetics. Literary critics suppose an intermediate level between the primary world of the author and the discourse world of the narrator, namely, the world of the implied author (Walsh 2009, 8-9).

⁷ I use “speaker” and “hearer” because characters speak to one another within the narrative world of the book of Job. However, I do not imagine that these speeches were ever literally spoken by historical figures. The dialogue is a literary construct that is intended to be read and interpreted. While metaphors occurring in poetic pieces like the book of Job are constructed more carefully than the typical use of metaphor in actual speech, the cognitive processes for metaphor in the speaker/author and hearer/reader are the same in both contexts. See Kövecses 2010, 299, for the issue of “timescales” in face-to-face dialogue, a factor that the reader does not directly experience. Langacker (2008, 477-479) also differentiates between spoken and written discourse. For example, interlocutors in spoken discourse often speak simultaneously or finish one another’s sentences. This is difficult to incorporate into a written composition.

⁸ Stories often exhibit complex overlap between levels, such as when the primary narrator of a story is also a main character. In some cases, a character within a narrative tells a story and thereby creates another embedded level by becoming a narrator. Werth (1994, 90-94) labels these embedded levels as “sub-worlds.”

book of Job conceptualizes directly in relation to the dramatic narrative and the poetic speeches, which are imaginative discourses.⁹ The third level is especially prominent in the book of Job since the narrator is almost entirely silent in Job 3:1-42:6, and the supposed oral dialogue between the book's characters is the reader's primary access point into understanding the author's message. The dialogue is therefore the appropriate focus of this study on the "Joban discourse."

What I have labeled "third level," cognitive poetics (a subfield of cognitive linguistics) identifies as a "discourse world" (Stockwell 2002, 91). The primary focus of cognitive poetics is the cognitive processes of readers as they engage literary works, recognizing that the ability of readers to conceptualize fictional characters, places, and events as if they were real emerges from their ability to create conceptual worlds from "limited and under-specified strings of language in texts" (Stockwell 2002, 92).¹⁰ Discourse worlds are imaginary, but they are conceptualized as actual insofar as readers use the same cognitive abilities to keep track of events and elements in the discourse world as they do in real time interactions. Moreover, in certain modes of literature, the discourse world becomes a mediating domain for reality (Stockwell 2002, 94). The mode of the wisdom dialogue in the book of Job implies just such a cognitive projection from the imaginary discourse world of the speeches about Job's suffering onto the world of the readers in which such suffering and explanatory tropes about suffering are a reality.

⁹ My analysis agrees with Habel's suggestion that the book of Job is modeled on the traditional biblical narrative (1985, 26). Although the dialogue is primarily poetry, the overall structure of the book follows a narrative plot.

¹⁰ Stockwell (2002, 96-98) considers discourse world theory alongside mental space theory, both being theoretical approaches that describe the cognitive functions of hypothetical situations that require imagination. Discourse worlds are blended spaces. For mental space theory, see Fauconnier and Turner, 2002; and §2.1.5 below.

When a reader encounters the speeches and characters in the book of Job, he or she is introduced not only to orations, but also to characters with diverse systems of viewing the world. As Stockwell (2002, 94) says, “Each character . . . has a virtual discourse inside their fictional heads.” The reader of the book of Job has the enormously difficult task of keeping track of the different belief systems represented by the characters and any changes in perspective as the characters develop throughout the discourse. A close reading of the book of Job will interpret the speeches as reflections of fuller characters with potentially diverse social experiences, backgrounds, and knowledge, even if the reader’s access to the ideas of these characters is limited to recorded “utterances.” One way of accessing the larger cognitive worlds of the various interlocutors is through observation of their use of metaphor.

1.3.2 – *Reading Metaphors in an Author’s Discourse*

As previously stated, the effort in this study is to analyze the first-level discourse issue of what the author intended for ancient readers to understand. I seek to interpret the book of Job as the author’s implied audience would have interpreted the book, that is, the audience that the author had in mind while writing (Booth 1983, 138; Iser 1978, 34-38).¹¹ This presumed addressee is expected to have the necessary linguistic abilities and interpretive skills to

¹¹ Technically, the reader constructs an image of the author called an “implied author.” As Walsh (2009, 8) says, “In order to read a narrative as a coherent unity, the reader must *posit* a singular authorial mind to explain that coherence” (emphasis original). To explain the implied reader, Walsh continues, “The ‘implied reader’ (some critics speak of the ‘ideal reader’) is the reader who understands perfectly and precisely what the implied author is saying, and brings nothing extraneous to that understanding. Or, to put it another way, the implied reader has all and only those capacities that the implied author expects.”

understand precisely the author's intended meaning.¹² Iser (1978, 34) describes the implied reader as one who “embodies all those predispositions necessary for a literary work to exercise its effect—predispositions laid down, not by an empirical outside reality, but by the text itself.” The implied reader is the reader whom actual readers attempt to approximate on the basis of the text.

As for reading metaphors, if an author intends for the reader to activate certain salient features of a metaphor, that is, features of a source domain that are projected onto a target domain (Løland 2008, 42-47), it is up to actual readers to choose the correct salient features. In the course of my study, I will propose interpretations of metaphorical mappings that I take as plausible interpretations for ancient readers. Modern readers who seek historical, authorially intended interpretations of texts, must attempt to reconstruct the shared knowledge that the author anticipated having with readers (Løland 2008, 55). The basis for reconstructing shared knowledge and implied audience is the text itself, but pieces of contextual evidence from studies of ancient Near Eastern literature and culture also contribute significantly to reconstructing the common knowledge between ancient authors and readers.

Cognitive linguistic studies on communication support the essential role of shared knowledge for making meaning. As Hanks (1996, 230) asserts, “Speech production is a social

¹² Any attempt to reconstruct a real audience for the book of Job is highly speculative, but, generally speaking, it was likely written/recorded for and originally read/performed within the Israelite scribal community (Van der Toorn 1991, 74). Clines (1994, 2-11) attempts to describe the implied author and implied social setting of the book of Job, arguing that the self-presentation of the text is that it was written as an intellectual work of art for a leisured and literate class by a wealthy man who adhered to patriarchal principles. Clines distinguishes between the actual author and the implied author in order to distance his reconstruction from speculative attempts at situating the book of Job historically, nevertheless his reconstruction remains a reflection of what he must imagine to be the real circumstances behind the production of the text of Job.

fact.” What two people *must* share in order to communicate is “the ability to orient themselves verbally, perceptually, and physically to each other and to their social world” (290). Hanks continues, “This implies that they have commensurate but not identical categories, plus commensurate ways of locating themselves in relation to them” (290). The endeavor to interpret the expressions of metaphor in the book of Job with a concern for authorial intention must seek to reconstruct the shared conceptual categories between the author and the implied audience.

My assumption going forward is that the dialogue was written to be read as a coherent string of speeches and that the author expected readers to be able to understand (even if with difficulty) the poetic expressions of metaphor occurring throughout the dialogue. Modern readings best fulfill the communicative function of an ancient text by attempting to read in accord with ancient readers who shared the author’s culturally specific mindset. This is not fully possible, but I hope to show that it is a reasonable pursuit as I argue for “best” interpretations of metaphor in the discourse world of the Joban dialogue.

1.3.3 – *The Literary Style of the Joban Dialogue*

The literary style of the dialogue contributes to the impression of the book of Job as an unreal interchange.¹³ It is characterized by long poetic speeches that provide minimal access to

¹³ I am separating out Job 3:1-42:6 as the corpus for this study, not for composition-historical or generic reasons, but because it represents a coherent discourse level. In the discourse world represented by the sequential speeches, the various interlocutors act as speakers and hearers. Yahweh is silent until the very end of the discourse, but he is nonetheless present to hear the entire debate. He is an interlocutor as much as Job and his friends. Although the dialogue proper is usually limited to the three speech cycles (Job 3-27), the wisdom discourse also incorporates Job’s final speech and the divine speeches. For discussion of “wisdom dialogue” as a distinct genre in Job 3-27, see Newsom 2003a, 80.

communicative features such as gesture or interruption.¹⁴ Since written texts are formal and only allow for one speaker at a time, most non-verbal conventions of actual speech are difficult to represent in literary form without narrator intervention, even if the reader might imagine eye rolling or hand waving, for example, within the discourse world. Biblical representations of speech often reflect features of simple vernacular language, but differences remain, such as written discourse being more syntactically complicated with more subordinate clauses and nominal elements (Polak 2001, 57-72). Moreover, the formal poetic style of the Joban dialogue sets it apart from everyday speech like no other text in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁵ The elevated language of the dialogue compares best with prayers and prophetic utterances that are characterized by complex syntactic structure, parallelism, sophisticated lexical register, and extended metaphor (Polak 2001, 89-94; Hoffman 1991, 402). The interlocutors are depicted as educated rhetoricians, who attempt to persuade the other interlocutors with poetic arguments that feature rare vocabulary and complex imagery.¹⁶

¹⁴ In everyday conversation, interlocutors often finish one another's sentences, interrupt one another, gesture, pause, and mark continuation or ending of speech prosodically (Hanks 1996, 207-211). These are not prominent features in literary representations of dialogue.

¹⁵ Polak (2001, 74-81) discusses Gen 12:11b-13; Judg 14:11-20; 2 Kgs 5:20-27; and Ruth 1:8-9a as examples of "cultivated" character discourse, but he recognizes that these do not compare well with the book of Job. In another essay, Polak (1996, 61-97) compares the prose and poetry sections of the book of Job, noting that even the direct speech within the prose introduction exhibits poetic features.

¹⁶ Greenstein (2003a, 651-652) characterizes the Hebrew of the book of Job as "highly learned and specialized, and its rhetorical uses are elegant and sometimes even intricate." On the use of archaisms and Aramaisms as a means for characterization of speakers in the debate speeches as patriarchal and non-Israelite, see Cheney 1994, 203-275. Cheney concludes that "all of the human speakers appear to share a similar ethnolinguistic and temporal-linguistic staging" (273). In this, he concurs with arguments that some of the linguistic features of Job and his friends reflect Transjordanian dialects of Hebrew (Rendsburg 1990, 10-11). Seow (2013, 20-24) calls the foreign words and forms "literary affectations" to emphasize the characters' foreign provenance, but he also emphasizes that the characters do not consistently or even dominantly

The structure of the Joban dialogue is highly regular with clear markers of change of speaker, at least until the middle of the third speech cycle where it becomes difficult to identify the speaker.¹⁷ Beyond simple turn-taking, the characters always speak in the same order, with

use linguistic idiosyncratic expressions that are unlike biblical Hebrew. Greenstein (2003a, 653) also warns against looking for actual dialects in the Joban Hebrew because of the sporadic use of non-Hebrew linguistic features. On the linguistic creativity of the Joban poet and the artificiality of some of the forms and lexemes, see Greenstein 2003a, 651-666; 2013, 331-346.

¹⁷ I agree with Hoffmann (1991, 405-411) that the cyclical pattern of Job is sufficiently regular to warrant the expectation that it should be carried forth in the third cycle. Rather than contributing the confused state of the third cycle to the author's creativity, for example, by claiming that Zophar did not have anything new to say, we should do our best to reconstruct the speeches so that the final cycle includes Bildad's full speech and Zophar's final speech. For a summary of scholarship on the redaction of the third speech cycle, see Witte 1994, 7-55. Witte (1994, 239-247) neatly demonstrates that there are numerous proposals for reconstruction. One common reconstruction of chapters 25-27 is as follows: Bildad in 25:1-6; 26:5-14; Job in 26:1-4; 27:1-12 (or 27:1-7); and Zophar in 27:13-23 (or 27:8-23) (Terrien 1963, 180-189; Pope 1965, 163-174; Gordis 1978, 534-535; Habel 1985, 37-38; Cheney 1994, 45-46). The only portion of the reconstruction that is critical for my study is the identification of 26:2-4 as belonging to Bildad's speech rather than to Job as it is in the MT, making Bildad's final speech 25:2-26:14. Here I agree with Clines (2006, 628-630), who also moves 26:2-4 to the beginning of Bildad's speech. See §3.4.3.3. Janzen (1985, 171-174), Seitz (1989, 12-13), Good (1990, 281-290), Newsom (2003a, 161-168), and Seow (2013, 29-30) attempt to read it all together as it appears in the MT. For the argument that there are only two speech cycles, see Wolfers 1993, 385-402, who maintains that each speech cycle begins and ends with Eliphaz. In his view, the boundary between the two cycles is 15:16 and 15:17. The speeches from chapter 23 on are Job's monologue, only briefly interrupted by Bildad's short speech in 25:2-6, who could not help but speak according to Wolfers. Van der Lugt (1995, 504-519) also challenges the standard view of three cycles by proposing two cycles between the friends and Job (chs. 4-14 and 15-26) and a third cycle between Job and God (chs. 27-31, 38-41). A primary criterion of his argument for the macrostructure of the speeches is that each speech-cycle comprises 270 lines of Hebrew poetry, defining a poetic line by the masoretic verse (518). This is unconvincing in my view, in part because he counts both bicola and tricola as single lines of poetry, which misrepresents biblical poetry (a bicolon is two lines of poetry and a tricolon is three). In addition, the cycles themselves as Van der Lugt reconstructs them have no consistent pattern. The 270 lines of each cycle is constructed in variant ways, the second cycle containing two speeches from Eliphaz and Bildad and one from Zophar, and the third cycle containing only two speakers, Job and Yahweh. Van der Lugt attributes chapter 24 to Bildad and chapters 25-26 to Job. He also attributes all of chapters 27-28 to Job as the initial speech of the third cycle. The primary problem is the relegation of the cycle structure to stylistics at the expense of content, which appears to be artificial and forced.

Job taking every other turn. In actual conversation, turn-taking is necessary, but speakers and hearers are not concerned with maintaining a strict order of speech (except in cases of regulated debate). The dialogic, formal form of the Joban discourse compares best with non-Israelite ancient Near Eastern literary dialogues, especially Babylonian Theodicy, which corresponds with the book of Job thematically and stylistically (Weinfeld 1988, 222-225; Müller 1991, 137-139; Van der Toorn 1991, 59-75; Cheney 1994, 96; Newsom 2003a, 80-81).¹⁸ Set up as a dialogue in which a sufferer and his friend alternate speaking about divine justice, Babylonian Theodicy exhibits its technical poetic style with the two characters speaking eleven lines each turn, forming stanzas that make an acrostic when read vertically that includes the name of the scribe behind the text (Van der Toorn 1991, 70; Foster 1996, 790).¹⁹ Both the book of Job and Babylonian Theodicy use a dialogic literary style to contrast interpretations of particular situations of suffering and to express dissatisfaction with over simplistic doctrines of divine retribution. The turn-taking enables an author to present both sides of an argument and reach a

¹⁸ See Hoffman 1991, 406-408, for a comparison of the Joban dialogue with the dialogue of the plague narrative in Exodus 7-11. Two other ancient Near Eastern texts that compare well with the book of Job are A Dialogue between a Man and His God and “I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom.” The Old Babylonian text, A Dialogue between a Man and His God, is broken, but it is a dialogue that appears to include a narrative introduction and three speeches, a lament from a sufferer incorporating a statement of uncertainty about any wrong that he has done, a comforter who encourages the sufferer to endure, and a divine response that assures the sufferer that his misery is over. “I Will Praise the Lord of Wisdom” (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*) uses highly intellectual language and has several thematic and imagistic commonalities with the book of Job. Foster (1996, 307) describes the author as “steeped in the scholarly lore of his age, including medical texts” and one who “makes use of every poetic devise in the Akkadian repertory.” However, “I will Praise the Lord of Wisdom” is a monologue and it recounts a *past* event of suffering, both major literary dissimilarities from the book of Job.

¹⁹ Van der Toorn (1991, 70) translates the acrostic as “I am Saggil-kinam-ubbib, religious specialist, one who blesses the god and the king” and comments that it adds to the “artificiality” of the dialogue.

somewhat open-ended conclusion that is “to serve as a point of departure for future reflection” (Van der Toorn 1991, 69).²⁰ The elevated form of uninterrupted speech corresponds well with the wisdom function of the book, providing space for the characters to develop extended arguments (or at least repeat their arguments in multiple ways) that represent various points of view.

1.3.4 – *The Book of Job as a Wisdom Discourse*

The book of Job is a wisdom discourse, intended not to give an accurate historical account of events or spoken words, but to consider and question various aspects of the human experience (Van der Toorn 1991, 69-70).²¹ Broadly defined, wisdom literature is a category or

²⁰ Van der Toorn (1991, 62-65) includes the Egyptian work, *Dispute of a Man with His Ba*, with Babylonian Theodicy and the book of Job as representatives of “literary dialogues” that revolve around a particular issue (theodicy), which he differentiates from other ancient Near Eastern dialogues that are written for the purpose of entertainment or to present everyday conversations.

²¹ It is virtually a given in scholarly circles that the book of Job is fiction, even if there is some historical figure behind the narrative tale. Job is listed in Ezek 14:14, 20, alongside Noah and Daniel, as an exemplar of righteousness, so something of the legend of Job likely circulated prior to the book of Job, but this does very little to corroborate the historicity of the wisdom tale. Most early interpreters of the book of Job attempted to situate Job historically; however, a few considered him a character of fable. One anonymous rabbi suggests in the midst of his exposition that Job was a typological figure, saying, “Job never was and never existed, but is only a typological figure” (*b. Baba Bathra* 15a). For support, he compares the book of Job with Nathan’s parable about the man with only one lamb, which he speaks to David in 2 Samuel 12. The book of Job is a parable in the rabbi’s view. Rabbi Samuel b. Nahmani refutes this stance with a quick reference to the introduction of the book where both Job and Uz are named. In R. Samuel’s view, by explicitly naming Job and his hometown, Scripture instructs the reader to recognize the historicity of the book of Job. Most of the early rabbinic debate centered on the historical details of Job’s time period, ethnicity, and his moral character; his historicity was usually a given. For rabbinic and early Christian interpretation of the book of Job, see Baskin 1983, 7-43; Weinberg 1994, 281-296; Kalman 2005. In the 12th century CE, Maimonides (1947, 296) reasserted the parabolic nature of the book of Job, claiming that it is a “fiction, conceived for the purpose of explaining the different opinions which people hold on Divine Providence.” For a more recent argument from a religious perspective that the book of Job is meant to be understood as fiction, see Lerner 1990, 215-220.

mode of literature that, whatever its literary form, implores readers to gain understanding about right living and to apply it to one's life.²² Sneed (2011, 60) puts it well, saying, "Wisdom literature conjures up a world of cognitive and moral enhancement." It invites the reader/hearer to gain insight, often presenting particular situations or instances in order to demonstrate general life principles.²³ Readers of the book of Job are not to fixate on the historicity of the story, but to reflect on its themes and apply the insights to their own situations.

The importance of interpreting the book of Job as wisdom literature is to properly recognize its literary conventions and its function as a text.²⁴ The book signals the reader to

²² Sneed (2011, 55, 59-60) helpfully distinguishes between a generic world with predetermined conventions, values, and expectations and a worldview that is held by a particular social group. Biblical pieces of literature labeled "wisdom" (Proverbs, Qohelet, and Job) share in a mutual generic world; they all assume a pedagogical function and work on the assumption that understanding is primarily based in human observation. Sneed's point is that, contra to Crenshaw (1998, 10), the texts do not necessarily represent a particular tradition or a community of sages with distinct commitments and perspectives about the world. A text in a particular mode (wisdom literature) does not necessitate a group of people who strictly abide by the mores of the mode (wisdom scribes) to the exclusion of other modes. In my view, it is still appropriate to speak of "sages" that write, study, teach, and counsel on the basis of commitments reflected in wisdom literature. Job and his friends function as sages with particular expectations of their responsibilities as counselors. What is inappropriate is to maintain that sages were opposed to and separated from other daily activities that are associated with different types of text. Textual modes or categories correlate well with particular activities, such as pedagogy (wisdom literature), sacrifice (cultic literature), prophecy (prophetic literature), and farming (instruction manual), but do not imply distinct all-encompassing worldviews.

²³ This is indeed very much like metaphor processing, in which a source conceptual domain is activated for the sake of better describing or understanding a target domain. See Lakoff and Turner 1989, 162-166, for conceptual processing of proverbs and the *GENERIC IS SPECIFIC* metaphor, by which a specific-level happening is generalized and reapplied to a new context. Sullivan and Sweetser (2010, 309-328) explain proverbs as cases of "Generic is Specific" blending.

²⁴ Westermann (1977, 27-39) argues that the book of Job is a lament and that the dialogue revolves around the consolation of Job. While Job certainly laments throughout the book, the work as a whole is not limited to this one genre. It is no more a lament than a didactic narrative or a theophany. The book of Job is made up of several genres, none of which is an appropriate label for the whole book (Seow 2013, 47-61). Wisdom literature is a somewhat amorphous

interpret its narrative and dialogue as a dramatization of human suffering, lament, and intervention in order to raise particular philosophical, theological, and moral issues. The author of the prologue uses schematization, repetition, and exaggeration, creating a story of the *most* righteous and blessed man who endures the *most* horrific series of tragedies all in quick succession to highlight the issue of disinterested piety. The question in Job 1:9, “Is it for nothing that Job fears God?” (הֲחִנָּם יִרְאֶה אֱיֹב אֱלֹהִים), not only sets the stage for the rest of the narrative, but also raises the important issue of *why* one should fear God and what this has to do with right living. Moreover, Job’s dramatic loss creates cognitive dissonance for Job and his friends, setting the stage for the debate between the various interlocutors of the dialogue, who have no knowledge of the deal that God has made with the *śāṭān*. The ensuing debate certainly revolves around Job’s particular crisis, but the issues are universal. The problems of human suffering, divine sovereignty, and the terms of retribution do not belong to Job alone.

The Joban dialogue also exhibits its wisdom qualities in the characterization of the interlocutors. They are sages, that is, teachers (not necessarily professional) who demonstrate

category, but a category or mode of literature nonetheless. As Fox (2000, 17) says, “Wisdom literature is a *family* of texts. There are clusters of features that characterize it. The more of them a work has, the more clearly it belongs to the family. In fact, in the case of Wisdom literature, the family resemblances are quite distinctive, especially among the didactic texts” (emphasis original). Fox submits the biblical book of Proverbs as prototypical Wisdom literature, and appropriately so, since it states its purpose as a book for teaching wisdom and understanding (Prov 1:2-6). While some call into question a distinct wisdom scribal tradition, “wisdom” remains a suitable label for literature that demonstrates an international outlook with a focus on understanding the principles of the world through human experience and observation. Generally, wisdom literature aims to teach the doctrines of how to succeed in life and/or question the efficacy of these doctrines. For more on the characteristics of wisdom literature, see Zimmerli 1964, 146-149; Whybray 1974; Crenshaw 1998, 9-15; Hunter 2006, 3-24. For a recent challenge to those (especially James Crenshaw) who assert the distinctiveness of a wisdom scribal tradition, see Sneed 2011, 50-71. Sneed does not seek to do away with the category of wisdom literature, but simply questions whether the wisdom scribes were at odds with priestly or prophetic scribes or whether the sapiential scribal tradition was a tradition on its own.

extensive knowledge of the natural world (e.g., Eliphaz in 4:10-11; Bildad in 8:11-19) and attempt to apply it to particular life situations by means of parables and other figures of speech. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar seek to remind Job of the traditional doctrines of wisdom (4:8; 5:2, 17; 11:12; 15:17-20).²⁵ The friends, however ineffectual, attempt to use their knowledge to restore Job (5:8; 8:4-7; 11:13-19). Their folly is not in their lack of knowing wisdom sayings or having right intent, but in the misapplication of traditional principles of wisdom (compare Job 4:8 with Prov 22:8 or Job 18:5 with Prov 13:9). Their words are not fitly spoken (Prov 25:11) and their rebuke is without substantive evidence (Job 6:25). Job criticizes his friends as ineffectual counselors and questions their application of the doctrine of retribution; it has proved correct in the past but does not hold up in light of his current status (6:24; 9:2; 12:1-3; 16:2-5). He demonstrates his role as a sage by his past acts of counsel (4:3-4), his consciousness of rhetoric (16:4-5), and his consolation of the needy (29:24; 30:25).²⁶ When Yahweh finally speaks, he too is a sage, using rhetorical questions and natural imagery to defend his הַיָּדֹנָי and to instruct, reorient, and restore Job.²⁷

²⁵ For the friends as sages, see Albertz 1990, 243-261. Although I disagree with Albertz's reconstruction of two distinct and opposed groups of educated elites in the post-exilic era on the basis of Eliphaz's description of "the wise" (הַחֲכָמִים) as wicked in Job 5:12-13, he rightly emphasizes the pastoral role of righteous sages.

²⁶ See Terrien 1990, 231-242, for the view that Job was a sage even if he appears to be a fool in the eyes of his friends for his unrestrained speech. Besides references back to his past status as a wise authority figure (Job 4:3-4; 15:2; 29:21-25), Job regularly asserts his familiarity with traditional wisdom and exhibits a wealth of knowledge about the natural world.

²⁷ For Yahweh as Sage, see Habel 1992, 21-38. For the restorative function of Yahweh's rhetorical questions, see Fox 1981, 57-60. See also the discussion of the tone of the divine speeches in §5.2.

1.4 – The Joban Dialogue as a Coherent Discourse

A major issue with the nature of the Joban dialogue is whether the speeches respond to one another or advance coherent arguments. Several rhetorical and literary features are subsumed within this broader topic of speech connectivity, such as word repetition, allusion, and metaphor. In this section, I introduce the principle of coherence as it pertains to dialogue and review scholarly assessments of the level of coherence in the Joban dialogue. I particularly address the issue of whether or not the speeches in the Joban dialogue function as responses to earlier expressions of speech.

1.4.1 – *The Principle of Coherence*

In discourse and text-linguistic theory, “coherence” signifies a prerequisite of communication between speakers and hearers. A coherent text successfully mediates the communicative process. Some text-linguists distinguish between “coherence” and “cohesion,” the latter being a property of a *text* that exhibits continuity of relations between sequential sentences or utterances (Hatakeyama, Petöfi, and Sözer 1985, 58, 67-70; Van de Velde 1989, 190). Cohesion is syntactic connectedness and coherence is a reader-dependent process of semantic comprehension (Van de Velde 1989, 190).²⁸ I agree with others who argue that the division between cohesion as a syntactic issue and coherence as a semantic issue creates a false dichotomy between interdependent linguistic categories (Werth 1984, 60-77; Bosch 1989, 218).

²⁸ For an account of this distinction between coherence and cohesion in relation to biblical studies, see Van Wolde 1998, 168-172. More recently, Cuffey (2015) has dealt extensively with the principle of coherence in the book of Micah. He surveys discourse and literary studies of coherence and decides on a broad definition that relates to a communication model for interpretation in which an author “gives coherence” and a reader “seeks coherence” (73-83).

The interaction of syntax and semantics is necessary for the determining coherence. As Werth (1984, 60) maintains, coherence is “an umbrella-term covering all discourse-connectivity.” In his model, connectivity involves text-level features including cohesion (syntactic connectivity), collocation (lexical connectivity), and connectors (logical connectivity), all of which are subordinate to coherence (semantic connectivity).²⁹

While I agree with Werth that syntax and semantics are inseparable for determining coherence, others rightly stress that coherence involves not only the textual structures, but also the cognitive processes of speakers and hearers (authors and readers) (Hatakeyama, Petöfi, and Sözer 1985, 36-88; Lundquist 1985, 151-175; Petöfi 1985, 176-188). A coherent discourse is one which has “an acceptable configuration of relations between the individuals and the states of affairs denoted by the discursive occurrences” (Charolles 1989, 3). Ultimately, interpreters determine acceptability and therefore determine coherence. They rely upon connexity-indicators in the text, which project coherence, but meaningful coherence is a construct of the human mind. As Ellen Van Wolde (1998, 168) says, “Coherence is . . . a product of a dynamic interaction process between the text and the reader.” Hearers begin with the assumption that sequences of utterances are intended to be coherent and work toward making meaning (Charolles 1989, 3;

²⁹ Werth’s notion of coherence challenges the formal autonomy of the linguistic modulars of lexicon, syntax, and semantics, a proposition that Langacker (2008, 10-13) calls the “exclusionary fallacy.” Langacker argues for a nonmodular view of language and the integrated nature of semantic, phonological, and symbolic structures. His major claim is that “lexicon, morphology, and syntax form a continuum fully reducible to assemblies of symbolic structures” and that these symbolic structures are incorporated within semantic and phonological structures (Langacker 2008, 15). Langacker (2008, 491) briefly addresses the topics of “coherence” and “cohesiveness,” but his definitions are general and do not match the typical use of the terms in discourse and text-linguistic theory. His definition of “cohesiveness” as “overlapping form or content” is more in line with the dominant notion of coherence.

Viehweger 1989, 272-273).³⁰ They activate interrelated systems of knowledge to construct coherence, including language knowledge, encyclopedic knowledge, illocutionary knowledge (rhetorical goals of the speaker), and schema knowledge, such as knowledge of genre (Viehweger 1989, 259-260).³¹ Coherence is therefore “a dynamic procedure underlying every language production, by which the individual knowledge systems participating in text production are instrumentalized and controlled, relative to an action plan . . . as a result of text interpretation” (Viehweger 1989, 262). If hearers are not able to construct coherence, it is because texts do not have the necessary connexity-indicators or hearers do not have the appropriate knowledge base. When I refer to a “coherent text,” I mean a text that marks connection (connexity-indicators) of sentences and speeches, so that readers who have the appropriate knowledge will perceive the text as coherent.

1.4.2 – *Speech as “Response” and Progression in the Joban Dialogue*

Thus far, I have argued for reading the literary discourse of the Joban dialogue as a coherent set of speeches that signify a conversation between the characters; however, some readers of the book of Job deny that there is continuity between the speeches. A basic challenge to the identification of Job 3-27 as “dialogue” is the suggestion that the interlocutors’ speeches

³⁰ With regard to metaphor in discourse, Kövecses (2010, 298) argues convincingly that there is pressure for metaphors to cohere with their contexts. He says, “we are under constant pressure to be coherent with the situations (contexts) in which we speak and think metaphorically.” Thus, interpreters are primed for understanding metaphorical mappings in light of their physical, social, and cultural contexts.

³¹ Cognitive linguists would be quick to point out that these categories of knowledge are intricately interrelated, all stemming from human embodied experiences. See Steen and Gavins 2003, 9, for a brief synopsis of the cognitive linguistic argument against the Chomskyan division of lexical and encyclopedic knowledge.

do not respond to one another. Whybray (1974, 65) makes this claim, saying, “There is little attempt by the speakers to seize upon points made by those who have preceded them, and there is little development of thought as the book proceeds, as would be the case if the dialogue were modeled on real disputations.” Pope also argues this point:

Actually it is scarcely appropriate to call this section of the book a dialogue. There is not here the give-and-take of philosophical disputation aimed at the advancement of understanding and truth. Rather each side has a partisan point of view which is reiterated *ad nauseam* in long speeches. There is no real movement in the argument. Attempts to find progression in the debate and subtle differences in the character and personality of the three friends are labored and unconvincing. (1964, lxx)

The first aspect of Pope’s criticism is that there is no “give-and-take” or acknowledgment of the other interlocutors’ arguments. As others agree, the interlocutors are said to “restate their positions with increasing vehemence, making little or no attempt to meet the arguments of their opponents” (Scott 1971, 154) and to “talk past one another” (Murphy 1990, 39; Crenshaw 1998, 96). The speeches simply pick up on their own individual lines of argument with no concern for counterpoint.

The second part of Pope’s criticism is that there is “no real movement.” As Driver and Gray (1921, lvi) say, the friends “cover the same ground again and again.” Others comment on the lack of progression in the dialogue, characterizing it as moving forward in a circular fashion (Von Rad 1972, 210; Zuckerman 1991, 249 n. 280). Zuckerman interprets the seeming lack of progression as a feature of the wisdom dialogue genre and is quick to point out that Pope’s description misses the generic point of reiteration for the purpose of evoking disgruntlement in readers. Newsom (2003a, 85) supports Zuckerman’s view and argues that wisdom dialogues do not seek to promote one voice over another or resolve the debate by means of a resolution; however, she still argues for progression in the dialogue, saying, “Ideas develop by means of the dialogue that could not have been articulated at the beginning of the conversation. Yet at the end,

two incommensurable ways of apprehending and engaging the world remain simply juxtaposed, both requiring acknowledgment” (2003a, 85). Thus, some scholars who acknowledge a lack of linear progression of argument still maintain a notion of progression.

Pope’s view may be contrasted with the position of Habel, who says,

Contrary to the opinion of some scholars, the book of Job is not a disparate collection of narration and speech materials with relatively little internal cohesion or connection. . . . The artist’s way of integrating materials does not reflect a pedantic, point-for-point correspondence between argument and rebuttal, or between challenge and response. The approach is tangential; verbal associations are made by indirect allusion; and literary connections are often playful. (1985, 50-51)

There is therefore contention regarding two related but distinct questions. First, what evidence do we have that the interlocutors listen and respond to one another? Second, is there progression of argument in the Joban dialogue?

Michael Lyons (2013, 169-177) recently addressed the first issue by looking at “intratextual” quotations and allusions within the book of Job.³² He argues that the author creates coherence by using allusion to link speeches together. Lyons (173) exemplifies this with Elihu’s allusion in 34:12 (אִם-יַעֲשֶׂה אֱלֹהִים לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה וְשֹׁדֵי לֹא-יַעֲשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט) “Surely, God will not do wicked and the Almighty will not pervert justice”) to Bildad’s rhetorical question in 8:3 (הֲאֵל יַעֲשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט וְאֵם-שֹׁדֵי (“Will God pervert justice? Or the Almighty pervert what is right?”). He also points to Job’s quotation in 9:10 of Eliphaz in 5:9, both lines being identical (עֲשֶׂה גְדֻלּוֹת עֲדֹאִין חֶקֶר וְנִפְלְאוֹת) “[God] does great things beyond being searched out and wonders beyond number”) (Lyons 2013, 174). Job turns the words of Eliphaz by speaking them in the context of God being

³² “Intratextuality” refers to the textual interactions *within* a single book. See Carr 1998, 97; Kövecses 2010, 285.

an unstoppable force with whom he is unable to communicate.³³ Lyons argues that quotation and allusion in the book of Job invite the reader to read more closely and ask, “Did I see these words before somewhere? Does this character represent the other fairly?” (176). The allusions add to the coherence of the dialogue and create “an atmosphere of relentless disagreement” between the interlocutors (177). Rather than ignoring one another’s arguments, they counter them through intratextual allusion. Lyons demonstrates a level of coherence that counters Pope’s statement.

Course (1994) takes up the issue of speech and response by approaching the introductory lines of the “disputation speeches” in Job 4-24 through the lens of rhetorical criticism. He acknowledges that a speech may connect with any portion of another speech, but limits his study to the “introductions” (first three to eight verses) simply to narrow the scope of investigation (Course 1994, 13-14). He looks for word repetition, synonymous words, and thematic connections, putting the most weight on the word repetitions for signaling coherence (14-15). While some of Course’s proposed connections are better supported than others, he demonstrates subtle but significant interaction between the interlocutors, especially in the first cycle of speeches. More specifically, he shows the common occurrence of speakers criticizing the qualities of each other’s speeches (155-156). The interlocutors often overlook the surface level content of the arguments and criticize the act of speech itself. Course also investigates the reoccurring themes in the introductions, namely, identifying the keepers of wisdom, Job’s reputation and character, and God’s justice. He finds that speakers often respond to the immediately preceding speeches, negating the argument for “delayed reaction” (a speaker responding to earlier speeches instead of the one that immediately preceded) as a guiding

³³ Lyons’s other examples include Job 34:7 > 15:16; 18:4 > 9:5 and 14:18; 41:2, 10 > 3:8, 9; 15:14-15 > 4:17-18 and 7:17; 42:4b > 38:3 and 40:7.

principle (contra Whedbee 1977, 14). As for progression of argument in the speeches, Course finds that “less effort was expended to relate the introductions together” in the latter two speech cycles (Course 1994, 149).

My study overlaps somewhat with Course’s work because both projects investigate the relative coherence among the speeches.³⁴ While Course does not deal explicitly with metaphor, his prime example of speech and response is the multiple expressions of “windy words” which happens to be a metaphorical expression to which I devote significant attention in chapter 3. On the one hand, my study is less limited than Course’s because it is not restricted to the introductory verses of the speeches but seeks to take into account expressions of metaphor anywhere in the dialogue. I also devote a chapter (ch. 5) to the conceptual coherence between the speech cycles and a portion of the divine speeches, which Course does not incorporate into his study. On the other hand, my study is more limited by the concepts that I have selected to trace through the dialogue (SPEECH and ANIMALS).³⁵ The rhetorical connections between the speeches that do not relate to metaphorical expressions of these concepts are not directly pertinent to my argument. What I anticipate being able to contribute to the issue of speech interaction is a demonstration of conceptual coherence (or lack of it, if that is the case) as a consequence of significations of particular concepts throughout the discourse. A discourse coheres not only because of word repetition and allusion, but because of a basic-level coherence of concepts. In other words, two people can have a coherent conversation without repeating one another’s

³⁴ Although I find Course’s work generally convincing, I disagree with him with regard to some specific cases. See, for example, §3.4.2.3 n. 129.

³⁵ According to the convention of cognitive linguistics, I represent concepts, conceptual domains, and conceptual metaphors with small capitalization.

words, as long as they are repeating significations of the same concepts. Word repetition adds to the level of perceptibility of coherence, but not necessarily to the coherence itself.

Newsom (2003a, 96-97) suggests that Job and his friends respond to one another in the form of “iconic narratives” (friends) and “counterimages” (Job).³⁶ For example, in the second portion of Eliphaz’s first speech, he verbally gives Job a series of images that portray God’s justice (5:9-16). Newsom (2003a, 102-103) labels these images “mini-narratives” and says that they offer Job “a trope of transformation.” When Job responds, he does not offer straightforward rebuttal; rather, he speaks a counter-narrative. For example, in 9:5-10 Job imitates the form of Eliphaz’s hymn of praise, but exchanges the images of God’s justice for images of divine violence. Newsom (2003a, 124) explains the dynamic of the interlocutors’ responses, saying, “One cannot refute a story by an argument. One has to tell a different story.”

According to Newsom (2003a, 138), Job’s primary “counterimage” is the legal metaphor, by which Job reframes the meaning of “righteousness” before God, shifting away from the friends’ moral imagination, which is grounded in the discourse of prayer, to a moral imagination that is grounded in a “quasi-legal dispute.”³⁷ Her claim is that Job counters Eliphaz’s rhetorical

³⁶ In Newsom’s discussion of narrative theory, she argues that these images are parables that operate according to metaphorical processes (2003a, 99). She draws upon Turner (1996) for her combination of narrative theory and metaphor. Turner is a well-known cognitive linguist, who argues for a theory of “blending,” a broader label for what Newsom proposes. See Fauconnier and Turner 2002.

³⁷ Newsom resists the claim that the legal metaphor is pervasive. She criticizes Habel’s (1985, 54) statement that the legal metaphor is “integral to the structure and coherence of the book of Job.” Although she puts significant weight on the legal metaphor, she says that “legal language establishes its presence in a much more subtle and exploratory fashion than Habel suggests” (Newsom 2003a, 150-151). Her brief comment on context and repetition is essential for explaining the high level of perceptibility of the legal metaphor. She says, “Context or the clustering of terms may suggest a legal nuance, but the reader often must make an active judgment whether to hear legal overtones or not” (Newsom 2003a, 150). Given this warning, Newsom hears many “legal overtones” in her analysis.

question in 4:17a, “Can a human be righteous before God?” (הַאֲנוּשׁ מִצְדִּיק לִפְנֵי יְצָדֵק), by bringing “righteousness” into a legal context in 9:2-4, “Truly, I know this is true: how can a man be righteous (צָדִיק) with God? If one desired to contend (רִיב) with him, he would not answer him once in a thousand times.” Job thus frames his innocence in a forensic context, which opens a way for him to complain about God as a violent and unjust judge (9:17-24).

Newsom’s explanation of images and counterimages as a means of response in the dialogue illustrates the “give-and-take” between the interlocutors. They do not counter one another’s arguments with pure logic or with exact points of disagreement; rather, they signify their perspectives with competing narratives. Throughout Newsom’s work, she refers to metaphor as a device for the disclosure of these competing narratives (2003a, 33, 57-59, 63, 76, 90, 95-97, 99, 101, 111, 117-121, 131-135, 150-156, 162, 240-241, 244, 249); however, she does not do so systematically or seek to unpack the linguistic features of most metaphoric construals in the book of Job.³⁸ Her discussion of metaphor is more anecdotal and abstract than mine. Nevertheless, her study demonstrates the importance of metaphor for the portrayal of the Joban interlocutors’ various points of view. She provides ample reason to systematically examine the metaphorical expressions in the book of Job.³⁹

³⁸ Newsom (2003a, 154-155) does briefly refer to the cognitive theory of metaphor and mapping. She compares “local metaphors” and “generative metaphors” and argues that the legal metaphor is “generative” because it serves “to reinterpret situations.” From a cognitive linguistic perspective, this is a false dichotomy. Some metaphors provide opportunity for more general structures, but all metaphors are “generative” in the sense that they cause the activation of mappings between two domains, which causes a new conceptual structure. The legal metaphor in the book of Job does frame Job’s argument and enables him to imagine his complaint as a “case,” but that is because of the extended nature of the metaphor and its prevalence throughout the book.

³⁹ Doak (2014) picks up on much of Newsom’s argument and looks specifically at plants and animals in the book of Job as they relate to humanity’s place in the cosmos. See Doak 2014, 30, for his comments on Newsom. He argues that the interlocutors disagree about metaphors for “the

Progression of argument is only peripherally related to the coherence of dialogue, since a dialogue may be coherent and not progress. Progression necessitates coherence, but coherence does not necessitate progression. Regarding progression of argument in the Joban dialogue, many recognize a change in the debate's temperament even though the basic points of dispute do not shift dramatically for either side in Job 3-27 (Scott 1971 154; Westermann 1977, 41-50; Gordis 1978, 526). Job turns from his death-wish in chapter 3 to a desire for a legal face-to-face with God by which he would voice his complaint (13:15; 14:15-17; 23:3-6). His is a subtle move from complete despair to imagined hope. Even in a text where he longs for the Sheol, he expresses hope that it will serve as a safe place until God restores him (14:13).⁴⁰ Clines (1989, 331) comments on 14:13, saying, "Job has come a long way from the simple self-cursing hopelessness of chap. 3 and the demand for death and the absence of God in chaps. 5-6 to the wish, absurd though it might be, of a future when God could 'remember' him kindly, in wrathless tranquility."⁴¹ But Job's speeches do not progress systematically. As Clines (1989,

self", claiming, "Thus, for the Joban characters in dialogue we find a rollicking argument concerning just which metaphors for the self are appropriate" (42). Coherence of the dialogue is not Doak's concern, so I do not summarize his work above, but his general aim and argument is in line with mine; that is, to consider metaphor as a primary means for understanding the Joban discourse.

⁴⁰ Irwin (1933, 150-164) proposes that Job's argument moves toward his real hope for an intermediary/redeemer. He reads Job's hope for Sheol in 14:13 together with his call for a redeemer in 19:25 to interpret the redeemer as a dying god who serves as an advocate or mediator for him with God. Thus he finds the "answer" to the dialogue in these calls for mediation. I agree that the mediator passages reflect Job's hope, but his hope is fleeting. Moreover, he evidently feels no need for a mediator in 23:3-7 where he imagines a face-to-face meeting.

⁴¹ I believe Clines intends "chaps. 6-7" instead of "chaps. 5-6."

xliii) says, “Job’s mind is confused, flexible, and experimental. In every one of his eleven speeches he adopts a different posture, psychologically and theologically.”

Clines (1989, 331) contrasts the dynamic move in Job’s speeches with the “static dogmatism of the friends.” However, while it is true that Job’s character develops more than the friends, there is also a shift in tone in the friends’ speeches, especially for Eliphaz, who begins with moderate rebuke in chapters 4-5, reminding Job of his fear of God, past good works, and integrity, but then moves to castigation in his second speech (ch. 15) and blatant accusation in his third speech (ch. 22) (Westermann 1977, 41-43).⁴² Therefore, all of the characters in the dialogue subtly progress in their attitude toward the other interlocutors and their perspective on Job’s situation.⁴³

⁴² Westermann argues that the disputation speeches of Job and his friends demonstrate a well-planned and detailed structure that come to a climax in Job 21, where Job refutes the friends’ doctrine of retribution, and Job 22, where Eliphaz gives the final accusation of Job. He sees progression for the speeches of both parties: *Es ist in den Reden der Freunde und in den Reden Hiobs ein Gefälle erkennbar, das auf diesen gleichen Punkt zuführt* (1977, 50). For the significance of Eliphaz’s accusation in Job 22:5-9 as a criminal charge, see Shveka and Van Hecke 2014, 99-119. They claim, “By filing criminal charges against him, he [Eliphaz] and his friends become litigants in a parallel lawsuit with Job” (100). Thus, the legal metaphor is implored not only for construing Job’s accusation of God, but also of the friend’s accusation of Job.

⁴³ Hoffman (1991, 409-410) argues that the reader of the book of Job should not expect coherence or any kind of sequentiality. While I agree with his polemic against scholars who attempt to equalize the lengths of speeches in the first two cycles of the Joban dialogue or rearrange the speeches to make them cohere better, I disagree with his view that the speeches do not cohere as they now stand. Hoffman bases his claim on ancient Near Eastern parallels, such as Babylonian Theodicy, that, in his view, do not have “meaningful continuity.” But consider the fifth and sixth speeches in Babylonian Theodicy. In the fifth speech, the sufferer illustrates the prosperity of the impious with the wild ass, the lion, and the parvenu; each of these neglects to bring offerings to the gods but still prospers. In the sixth speech, the wise friend responds using the very same subjects, but claims that all three will be destroyed eventually. I agree that there is not significant ideological progression from beginning to end of Babylonian Theodicy, but the speeches still cohere and exhibit progression. The progression is exhibited in the final scene when the sufferer is moved to supplicate his god and goddess to have pity. This dynamic of coherence and subtle progression is also reflected in the book of Job.

1.5 – A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to Discourse

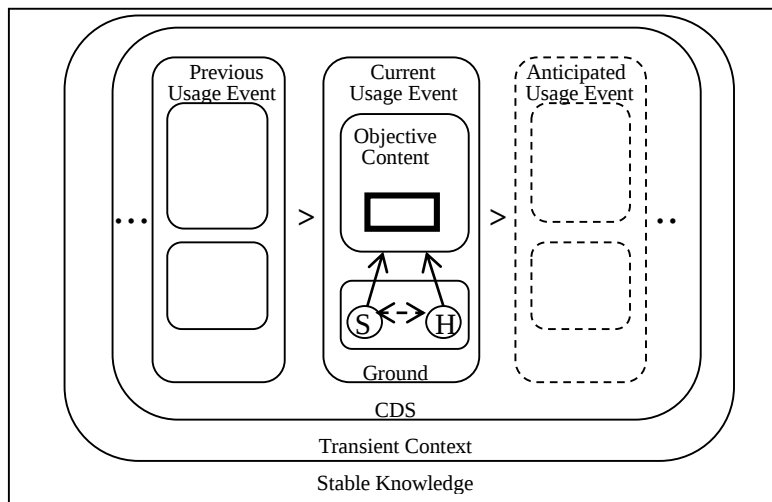
Since coherence is determined by a reader's dynamic and cognitive encounter with a text and involves the reader's encyclopedic knowledge, cognitive linguistics is the proper framework for assessing coherence in the Joban discourse. Cognitive linguistics is also the essential backdrop for evaluating the function of metaphor in discourse. I begin this section with a description of "discourse" according to the principles of cognitive grammar before turning to the issue of metaphor coherence in discourse.

Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of modern linguistics, distinguished between "sign," "signified," and "signifier." As he put it, *Le signe linguistique unit non une chose et un nom, mais un concept et une image acoustique* ("The linguistic sign unites, not a thing and a name, but a concept and an acoustic image") (1972, 98). He labeled the acoustic image as "signifier" and the concept as "signified." Together, these two make up a "sign" (67). Even though cognitive linguists generally disagree with Saussure's understanding of *langue* (the language system) as autonomous, his distinction between *langue* and *parole* (expressions of language) and his semiotic description of language anticipate the essential principle of symbolic structures in cognitive grammar (Thibault 1997, xix, 214, 242, 278-279; Nerlich and Clarke 2007, 597-598).

The symbolic relationship between words and meaning is of central importance to Ronald Langacker's work on cognitive grammar, which makes the fundamental claim that grammar is symbolic, defining "symbol" as "the pairing between a semantic structure and a phonological structure" (Langacker 2008, 5). He argues convincingly that symbolic structures characterize all levels of language expression, from individual lexical units to large and complex discourses. According to Langacker (2008, 457-458), a discourse is made up of multiple consecutive instances of language use or "usage events," each including the phonetic detail of the expression

and the conceptualization of the expression in its full context. Expressions in usage events can be various lengths, from a single word to a sentence to an entire speech. The size of the usage event depends on one's "analytical purpose" and, therefore, is determined by speakers and hearers. Any particular usage event involves the speaker and hearer individually accessing the necessary conceptual data for creation or comprehension of the expression. Although there must be considerable overlap between the conceptual activation of the speaker and that of the hearer for adequate communication, the usage event is not identical for the two participants, since conceptualization is ultimately an individual process. The lexemes that make up usage events "recruit" and "exploit" encyclopedic knowledge and "construe" the knowledge by profiling particular relevant aspects of that knowledge (Langacker 2008, 458). Context determines relevancy and is therefore essential for making meaning.

Langacker (2008, 460) claims that a discourse is a series of usage events in which at least one speaker expresses utterances and one hearer apprehends them in relation to other utterances. The utterances are not comprehended as isolated occurrences. He explains, "Each [usage event] pertains in some way to what has gone before – whether by building on it, reacting to it, or just by changing the subject – and sets the stage for what will follow" (2008, 460). Each usage event activates multiple conceptual domains, so that an extended discourse like the book of Job represents an expansive conceptual network that becomes increasingly complex as the dialogue proceeds. He illustrates the dynamics of discourse with the following diagram.



Langacker 2008, 466.

Langacker's figure illustrates the conceptual strata of dialogue between two individuals ("conceptualizers"), each playing the dual roles of speaker (S) and hearer (H). The "objective content" is the external object of their current usage event. The "ground" represents the relationship between speaker and hearer in their context in a particular time and particular place of interaction (Langacker 2008, 259). The "current discourse space" (CDS) is a more general version of the ground. It encompasses the entire conceptual network upon which two interlocutors base their communication (Langacker 2008, 466).⁴⁴ A major component of the CDS is the conceptual integration that happens between usage events as a discourse progresses. The integrated conceptual structure that dialogue participants assemble as discourse proceeds through time is a substrate for each consecutive expression (Langacker 2008, 486).⁴⁵ As the discourse

⁴⁴ Langacker does not differentiate between a discourse with two or more speakers and a discourse with only one speaker and one real or imagined hearer. Multiple consecutive speeches by multiple speakers qualify as one discourse, just as one speech by one speaker is also discourse.

⁴⁵ Readers have the same cognitive experience of integration. As Oatley (2003, 166) says, "In reading, we assimilate what we read to the schemata of what we already know. The more we know the more we understand, and we project what we know to construct a world suggested by the text."

develops, the conceptual substrate becomes more complex and more conceptual content is available for recall. The “transient context” is the determinative factor for profiling particular salient aspects of knowledge. The context of any given usage event includes not only prior linguistic expressions in the current discourse space, but also the physical, cultural, and social circumstances in which usage events occur (Langacker 2008, 464-465).

Langacker provides a description of discourse in terms of symbolic structures and cognitive functions. His description does not drastically challenge conventional understanding of dialogue, but he provides terms for various levels of context that correspond with cognitive grammar and cognitive linguistics. Since cognitive linguistics is the proper framework for understanding metaphor and since my task is to assess the metaphorical expressions in the discourse of the book of Job, his description of discourse is adopted here. If the book of Job is understood as a string of usage events that build upon one another, then as the discourse progresses, interlocutors have an ever-increasing network of conceptual content available for recall. The challenges that the Joban dialogue presents for interpreting metaphor include determining which contextual features are salient for individual usage events and how speakers are conceptually integrating metaphorical expressions with earlier usage events that express metaphor.

While Langacker’s description of discourse provides the necessary framework and terminology for understanding multiple expressions of metaphor as they occur in the conceptual network of the book of Job, other theoretical approaches to discourse also put special emphasis on interpreting language construal in relation to larger linguistic patterns. Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) argues from a “functionalist” (although not explicitly cognitive linguistic) perspective that language use relates directly to social contexts (Schleppegrell 2012, 21-34). This

approach takes into account the way varying social and cultural contexts influence specific language choices, such as transitivity or register (Schleppegrell 2012, 22). Schleppegrell (29) claims that SFL “offers powerful tools for comprehensively exploring meaning in language at the levels of genre, register, and clause and for accounting for differences between speakers, differences over time, or differences in context.”⁴⁶ This broad approach compliments Langacker’s account of discourse especially well since it focuses explicitly on language in *context* and the rhetorical nature of grammatical construal. While I adopt Langacker’s description of discourse and find his approach to be the most precise and beneficial for analysis of metaphor in discourse, my study shares a common goal with SFL: to assess discourse ideology in light of language construal.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “Tools” is an inappropriate metaphor for what SFL offers, which is really a set of abstract categories for describing how language relates to context.

⁴⁷ Much of the scholarly literature on discourse fits within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which focuses on the way power dynamics and social inequalities shape the language of discourse (Van Dijk 2001, 352-371). This broad field of study, incorporating multiple research disciplines, seeks to expose and critique social structures that perpetuate injustice by analyzing the dialectic relation between material realities and semiotic features of discourse (Fairclough 2012, 9). CDA has its foundation in the grammatical categories of SFL (Fairclough 2003, 145-146). A major point of departure with CDA is that the approach of cognitive linguistics is *descriptive*, attempting not to critique discourse or argue for particular changes in discourse, but to provide an accurate account of how language expression relates to cognitive processing. According to Fairclough (2012, 14-15), the methodology of CDA involves identifying “obstacles to addressing the social wrong” and “possible ways past the obstacles.” Langacker and other cognitive linguists accept the importance of social structures and practices or their semiotic relations, but they assume social realities as an essential aspect of context. Part of cognition is being aware of other people, imagining and engaging their mental experiences (Langacker 2008, 500). While other approaches to discourse may present valid interpretive lenses for analyzing the book of Job, such as using CDA to assess the important power dynamics involved with Job’s societal status, the cognitive linguistic model outlined above provides the best backdrop for understanding conceptual metaphors and their interrelations in a written discourse. For discussion of CDA and Conceptual Metaphor Theory, see Charteris-Black 2004, 28-30. Charteris-Black (2004, 29) relates his work on metaphor to CDA, saying, “The primary aim of [CDA] is to make explicit political and ideological motivations that would, otherwise, be implicit

1.6 – Metaphor Coherence in the Joban Discourse

In a cognitive linguistic understanding of discourse, the emphasis is on the conceptual nature of coherence. “Connexity-indicators” are linguistic symbols that activate a conceptual network, drawing attention toward the conceptual connectedness of various symbolic construals, such as words, sentences, or whole speeches. Conceptual coherence is at least in part a matter of concepts and conceptual domains being activated in consistent ways in multiple, integrated usage events.

In my analysis of coherent conceptual metaphors, I propose that multiple expressions of various metaphors in the book of Job demonstrate conceptual coherence; that is, they activate concepts within conceptual domains of knowledge in similar ways and share cross-domain mappings. These expressions do not typically occur sequentially, but appear throughout the discourse of the Joban dialogue. They exhibit various levels of conceptual overlap, some of them are perceptibly coherent, giving the reader a reason to read the dialogue as a coherent discourse. Coherence between two expressions of metaphor does not mean that the two expressions have an identical conceptual structure, but that the conceptual metaphors share a significant enough level of conceptual structure for a reader to potentially identify them as “coherent.”

Kövesces (2010, 285-289) distinguishes between intertextual and intratextual metaphor coherence. Intertextual coherence is his label for particular metaphors that are reused in different historical time periods. Intratextual coherence refers to coherence which results from a conceptual metaphor or a particular conceptual domains within a metaphor being evoked multiple times in a single text. The kind of intratextual coherence in which one interlocutor

or concealed. It is a major claim of this work that analysis of metaphor is one way in which this can be done.”

usurps a metaphor that was earlier expressed by a different interlocutor seems likely in the Joban dialogue. While a usurpation of metaphor involves a conceptual move away from the original expression, this kind of competition between metaphors still demonstrates coherence (Kövesces 2010, 288). Metaphor competition involves one interlocutor's expression making minor conceptual changes in metaphorical mappings in response to another interlocutor's earlier expression of metaphor.

Metaphor is an essential part of any rhetorical act of persuasion.⁴⁸ Within the conceptual web of a discourse like the book of Job, numerous expressions of metaphor occur, signifying a seemingly limitless number of cognitive processes. Most research on conceptual metaphor seeks to explain cognitive theory in-and-of-itself and so takes as its starting place particular metaphorical expressions that are well suited for making points about conceptual processes.⁴⁹ However, a growing number of studies begin with a literary corpus and seek to analyze the metaphors that are expressed within it (Hanks 2006, 17-35; Semino and Steen 2008, 232-246). Because of the ubiquity of metaphor in extended discourse, metaphor study is an increasingly common approach to understanding a discourse's ideologies and main arguments.⁵⁰

Many studies of metaphor in discourse focus on topical discourses such as science (Rohult 2008, 139-149; Semino 2008, 125-167), politics (Chilton 1996; Zinken 2003, 507-523; Musolff 2004; Semino 2008, 81-124; Charteris-Black 2014), education (Cameron 2003), and

⁴⁸ For an overview and critique of the history of metaphor studies before the time of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, see Johnson 1981, 3-47.

⁴⁹ For example, the main point of *Metaphors We Live By* (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) is that people depend upon metaphor in everyday language and cognition. Therefore, the illustrations throughout their groundbreaking book are chosen to exemplify the conventional nature of metaphorical thought.

⁵⁰ On the ubiquity of metaphor, see Lakoff and Johnson 1980.

economics (Eubanks 2000; Charteris-Black 2004, 135-169; Koller 2004). These works consider corpuses of written and spoken texts to trace metaphor shifts and to demonstrate how metaphor frames particular points of view. For example, Elena Semino (2008, 1-4) examines an article about different perspectives on the progress made during a G8 political summit on poverty in Africa and contrasts the metaphors expressed by summit participants. Bono, U2's lead singer, describes the achievement of the summit as a mountain that has been climbed only to reveal higher peaks. In other words, there are still greater metaphorical obstacles to overcome. Semino does not note it, but Bono's metaphor coheres with the mountain concept signified by the "summit" name itself. Tony Blair also imagines the summit as a pathway to "getting things done step by step" but does not highlight the metaphorical entailment of "obstacles" as Bono does. Blair's use of metaphor highlights the positive outcomes of the summit rather than the work that remains. This example shows how people use variations of metaphors to give alternative interpretations of the same event, although this case does not demonstrate *intentional* interaction between these two commentators.

There are, however, instances where metaphors are intentionally placed side-by-side for comparison and compete with one another for prominence. For example, when Coca-Cola ran an advertisement during the 2014 Superbowl with a multilingual rendition of "America the Beautiful," it sparked debate in various media outlets about the national identity of America (Leveen 2014; Fiano 2014). The debate revolved around competing metaphors. Those who were upset by the advertisement claimed that America is a "melting pot" and called on non-native English speakers to culturally assimilate by learning and speaking English. Others responded by critiquing the "melting pot" metaphor and asserting a "salad bowl" metaphor that implies cultural individuality and multiple spoken languages within a single community or country

(D’Innocenzo and Sirefman 1992, x; Thernstrom 2004, 47-59). These two metaphors represent opposing sides of the immigration debate, each of them vying for prominence. The melting pot image is an entrenched metaphor in the American psyche and has a rhetorical force that is not easily overcome. This case exemplifies the dynamic of intentional metaphor competition as it occurs in dialogic discourses.

These topical discourses that reflect debate around particular issues correspond well with the kind of metaphor interaction that might be expected in the Joban dialogue, because the discourse presents conflicting points of view on particular issues and events. Moreover, since the book of Job is a single *literary* dialogue, we have good reason to suspect the expressions of metaphor to be more complex and novel and therefore more perceptible. As Semino and Steen generalize,

Most scholars seem to agree that the metaphorical expressions typically found in literature are more creative, novel, original, striking, rich, interesting, complex, difficult, and interpretable than those we are likely to come across in non-literary texts. It is also often claimed that literary writers use metaphor to go beyond and extend our ordinary linguistic and/or conceptual resources, and to provide novel insights and perspectives into human experience.⁵¹ (2008, 233)

It is not that metaphors in literature necessarily present new conceptual patterns, but that literature commonly expresses metaphorical patterns in novel ways. Poets exploit metaphors through extension, elaboration, questioning, or combining of conventional conceptual metaphors that also underlie everyday metaphorical language (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 67-69; Kövecses 2010, 53-55).

⁵¹ Semino and Steen (2008, 243) also critique this view supposing that the idea of literary metaphor being more novel may be partially due to readers paying more attention to metaphor in literature than for example in journalism. If this is the case, the genre itself triggers readerly expectations for certain levels of metaphor novelty.

To be sure, expressions of metaphor in the book of Job are not all novel. The Joban poet relies upon numerous conventional metaphors, most of which usually go unnoticed by readers. These conventional expressions of metaphor are potentially important for understanding an author's linguistic presentation, but arguments for metaphor interaction throughout a literary discourse rightly focuses on the more novel expressions of metaphor that reveal more about an author's intent. Since metaphorical patterns are not simply a matter of authorial style, but are subtle reflections of his or her worldview, it is possible that the Joban author has created interlocutors who demonstrate their conflicting worldviews by their various metaphorical expressions (Semino and Steen 2008, 239).⁵² This remains to be seen.

Studies of coherent metaphors in particular discourses often take the form of “metaphors for *target domain* in the corpus of _____.” For example, “‘The Death of the Moth’: Recurrent Metaphors for Life and Death in Virginia Woolf’s Writing” (Sandbach-Dahlstölm 2008, 151-161). In biblical scholarship, target domains that have been surveyed include SIN (Lam 2012), ANGER (Kotzé 2005, 118-125), EMOTION (Basson 2009, 121-128), and, most commonly, GOD (Brettler 1998, 97-120; Basson 2006; Labahn 2006, 239-256; Løland 2008). The advantage of tracing a target domain is to analyze a particular theme throughout a corpus.

Alternatively, studies of coherent metaphors may trace source domains in the form of “*source domain* metaphors in the corpus of _____.” Biblical scholars have studied numerous source domains in various literary corpuses.⁵³ These studies include sources such as ILLNESS and

⁵² Studies on the metaphorical utterances of characters in Shakespeare’s plays have shown how various characters signal contrasting worldviews by their use of metaphor (Freeman 1993, 1-18; Barcelona 1995, 667-688).

⁵³ For recent reviews of scholarship on metaphor and the Hebrew Bible, see Weiss 2006, 20-32; Jindo 2010, 8-21; and Chau 2011, 27-58.

HEALING (Hong 2006), PATH/WAY (Zehnder 1999; Lund 2007), TREES/PLANTS (Nielsen 1989; Jindo 2010, 151-240), MARRIAGE (Moughtin-Mumby 2008), CHILDBIRTH (Bergmann 2008), ANIMALS (Labahn 2005, 67-97; Forti 2008); HONEY (Forti 2006, 327-341), LION (Strawn 2005), and BODY (Szlos 2005, 185-195; Gillmayr-Bucher 2005, 197-213; Jones 2013, 845-863).⁵⁴ Recently, Doak (2014) has addressed PLANTS and ANIMALS in the book of Job as these sources map with HUMAN SELF.⁵⁵

Other studies survey literary corpuses for expressions of entire metaphors, in which both the source and the target remain the same. For example, PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in Jeremiah (Chau 2011, 198-308; Foreman 2011), GOD IS WATER in Jeremiah (Holt 2005, 99-117), and GOD IS KING in the Hebrew Bible (Brettler 1989; Moore 2009). There is much validity to this approach, but the scope of these studies is necessarily smaller than studies that only limit themselves to a particular source or target.

1.7 – The Aim of This Study

I have chosen to survey two groupings of coherent metaphors in the book of Job, one via a target domain and another via a source domain. First, in chapter 3, I survey metaphors that signify SPEECH within the Joban discourse. By investigating the target SPEECH, I am able to assess a topic to which the interlocutors of Job regularly focus their attention. I have chosen

⁵⁴ These studies do not all adopt a cognitive linguistic perspective on metaphor or seek to develop a particular theory of metaphor, nevertheless, they maintain a focus on conceptual domains that would be labeled “source” in Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

⁵⁵ Doak seems to adopt the basic premises of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, but he does not explore the theory or interact often with the linguistic features of particular metaphorical expressions. He departs from the theory by distinguishing between “analogy” and “metaphor” as two different binary/comparative relationships (Doak 2014, 38-42). I would include Doak’s “analogies” as a type of metaphor, since they involve cross-domain mapping.

SPEECH in particular because it is the primary action in the book. The interlocutors critique one another's speeches by speaking. Second, in chapter 4, I survey the concept ANIMALS as it is signified in metaphorical expressions. By investigating the source domain ANIMALS, I am able to garner insight into the interlocutors' assumptions about the animal world and its mappings with multiple targets, including and especially PEOPLE. Job and his friends frequently construe Job as a wild animal. The similarities and differences between their construals reveal their conflicting understandings about Job's character and suffering.

A secondary purpose for choosing one target domain (SPEECH) and one source domain (ANIMALS) is to compare the value of the surveys for assessing coherence in the book of Job. Is one type of study more or less valuable for exegetical purposes? On the surface level, it would seem that tracing a target domain would reveal more about the meaning of a discourse since the target is a topic of the text. However, variations of a source domain in metaphor may lead to fresh insights into the give-and-take of the Joban dialogue. Additionally, the conceptual domain ANIMALS is an important part of the divine speeches. Source domains are based on commonly assumed knowledge. If the divine speeches critique the knowledge base of Job and his friends, ANIMALS may expose aspects of God's critique. In particular, it may be that God's conceptualization of ANIMALS questions the metaphorical construals of Job and his friends. I turn my attention to this issue in chapter 5.

Chapter 2 – Conceptual Metaphor Theory and the Joban Discourse

זְכַרְנֵיכֶם מִשְׁלֵי־אֶפֶר
לְגִבֵּי־חֶמֶר גְּבִיכֶם

Your reminders are proverbs of ashes;
your defenses are defenses of clay.
- Job 13:12

2.1 – Introduction

This chapter lays the theoretical groundwork for assessing intratextual metaphors within the expansive discourse of the book of Job. My primary model for describing the cognitive processes of metaphor and the relative coherence between multiple metaphors within a discourse is Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). CMT advocates for a distinction between *metaphorical expressions*, the linguistic utterances of metaphor, and *conceptual metaphor*, the cognitive transference of information from one conceptual domain of experience (source) to another (target) that occurs within the brain of an individual speaker or hearer (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 50, 55). In CMT, metaphor is not primarily a matter of words or rhetoric, but of thought and action. In this chapter, Job 13:12 serves as a touchstone for grounding the cognitive linguistic theory in a particular metaphorical expression, מִשְׁלֵי־אֶפֶר (“proverbs of ashes”). After defining important terms and explaining the systems of the conceptual theory of metaphor, I provide a few criteria for identifying perceptibly coherent metaphors in the book of Job.

2.2 – Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The parallel lines in Job 13:12 demonstrate Job’s frustration with his companions and the perceived inadequacy of their speeches. In the terms of CMT, the first metaphorical expression זְכַרְנֵיכֶם מִשְׁלֵי־אֶפֶר (“your reminders are proverbs of ashes”), projects conceptual content from the

concept ASHES, the source domain, onto the concept PROVERBS, the target domain.⁵⁶ The resulting metaphor is PROVERBS ARE ASHES. CMT, chiefly established by George Lakoff, maintains that metaphor imposes elements of conceptual knowledge and structure (image schema) from a source domain upon a more abstract target domain, thereby creating new knowledge and schematic structure within the target concept. Each speaker or hearer has a set of cognitive mappings that he or she brings to a given text.⁵⁷ Lakoff (1993, 245) defines “mapping” as “a fixed set of ontological correspondences between entities in a source domain and entities in a target domain.” The mappings themselves do not activate the metaphor; rather, they enable the transference of conceptual information, a process that is *activated* through the conceptual construal. Traditional linguistic factors, such as part of speech and syntactic environment, influence the nature of cognitive mapping inasmuch as these fixed conceptual correspondences are activated by specific *metaphorical expressions*.

Lakoff and other cognitive linguists do not approach words as objects that have properties in and of themselves or building blocks made up of roots and affixes. They argue against an objective view of grammar that treats words, sentences, and discourses without taking into account the way *people* understand them. CMT is founded on the principle that grammar itself must be studied in relation to human experience and social interaction (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 204-205).⁵⁸ Metaphors demonstrate how people categorize and effect real meaning. They

⁵⁶ I discuss these lexemes and the concepts that they evoke later, but I proceed for now assuming מִשְׁלֵי-אֵפֶר as “proverbs of ashes” in order to illustrate the principles of CMT.

⁵⁷ Although there is evidence that some mappings at the most generic level are universal, most mappings are learned through experience (Kövecses 2005; Yu 2008, 247-261).

⁵⁸ Lakoff argues for a generative semantic approach, rather than Noam Chomsky’s generative syntax. Lakoff studied under Chomsky, but departs from his basic principle of linguistic “competence.” They both view linguistics as a branch of psychology, but Chomsky argues that it

are “true” because they create structure between two concepts within the human brain.

Lakoff’s view of metaphor relates to cognitive categories that are organized via prototypes and basic levels. Basic-level concepts (e.g., SPEECH) are cognitively central to multiple specific-level concepts (Lakoff 1987, 13). They are in the middle of a generic-to-specific cognitive hierarchy.⁵⁹ SPEECH is conceptually basic, while SHOUTING and WHISPERING are specific types of the basic concept.⁶⁰ “Basic” is not to be confused with “primary” or “generic,” which are descriptors of concepts that relate most closely to human embodied experience. “Basic-level” conceptualization is an essential aspect of Lakoff’s description of cognitive categorization. He argues convincingly that basic-level categories are the easiest concepts for the human brain to recall and perceive. Children learn basic-level concepts like FLOWER and DOG before they learn superordinate concepts like PLANT and ANIMAL or subordinate concepts like DAISY and TERRIER. At the basic level, categories have greater cultural significance, things are remembered more readily, and concepts are perceived holistically (a single gestalt). The basic level is the level at which most of human knowledge is organized (Lakoff 1987, 13, 32-38, 46; Taylor 2003, 48-53).

is an independent branch that is not reliant upon human understanding of language. Lakoff claims that linguistics is rightly understood as “performance,” that is, language in relationship to conceptual categories within the human mind. See Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 205, for their criticisms of Chomsky.

⁵⁹ Lakoff (1987, 51) asserts that properties that define basic-level categories are not inherent to the objects, but have to do with the way people interact with objects. This is part of his larger argument that human categorization is systematized around prototypical basic concepts that he labels ICMs for “Idealized Cognitive Models” (68).

⁶⁰ See Lakoff (1987, 72), for his Idealized Cognitive Model, ORDINARY COMMUNICATION.

2.3 – Concepts and Domains

Terminology in cognitive grammar and CMT is often inconsistent, making it all the more important for scholars to define terms precisely and use them consistently.⁶¹ According to cognitive grammar, words are symbolic entities that pair phonological structure with semantic structure and provide access into an encyclopedic network of knowledge (Croft and Cruse 2004, 30; Langacker 2008, 5, 16-17, 21-22).⁶² Words symbolize concepts, which correspond to the meaning that words evoke in the mind of the speaker or hearer.⁶³ A concept is a unit of knowledge relating to a coherent segment of experience (Kövecses 2010, 324).⁶⁴ For example, the word אֶשׁ symbolizes the concept ASHES, which includes a person's encyclopedic knowledge of all things pertaining to the entity itself, such as properties such as texture, color, weight, typical function, relationship with the process of burning, worth in human culture, and collective

⁶¹ My own choice of terms is heavily influenced by George Lakoff and Ronald Langacker, although they do not often agree on terminology, so I find myself constructing a hybrid from the two of them. Since my focus is on conceptual metaphor, my terms generally come from CMT; however, I have found that the precision of Langacker's grammar (2008) has explanatory power for the finer details of metaphor theory. Therefore, I adopt his terminology where I think it is more precise or explains a theoretical point more clearly.

⁶² Langacker (2008) applies the notion of symbolic complexity to all grammatical categories. Lexical items, which include any entrenched expression attaining the status of "conventional unit," represent one level of symbolic structure. They are assembled from lower level symbolic structures (morphemes) and are part of higher level symbolic structures (multiword instantiations).

⁶³ Langacker (2008, 46) points out that "concept" may suggest a static notion, so he decides on "conception" as a more accurate term that conveys a dynamic quality. He is correct that one should not think of concepts as fixed entities that are separate from human cognition, but rather dynamic and varied entities within individual brains. Nevertheless, because it is the more regular term in CMT and cognitive linguistics, I prefer to maintain "concept" and simply clarify its definition.

⁶⁴ See Langacker 2008, 33-34, for an attempt at differentiating between various types of basic concepts.

nature. Concepts also incorporate knowledge based on an individual's experience, so that a modern reader might include within the concept ASHES a memory of participating in the liturgy of Ash Wednesday and being marked on the forehead with ashes to symbolize mourning and repentance. Insofar as people do not have the same experiences, elements of concepts vary from person to person and from culture to culture and evolve over time.

Part of the terminological confusion in cognitive linguistics is the lack of distinction between a concept and a domain. Indeed, most concepts are also domains.⁶⁵ Langacker (2008, 44) defines a conceptual domain as “any kind of conception or realm of experience.” He asserts, “Any cognitive structure – a novel conceptualization, an established concept, a perceptual experience, or an entire knowledge system – can function as the domain for a predication” (1991, 61). The distinction between a concept and a domain is a matter of the conceptual relationship between a more generic cognitive level (domain) and a more specific cognitive level (concept).

⁶⁵ In my understanding, domains are equivalent to Fillmore's “frames” and Lakoff's “idealized cognitive model.” See Lakoff 1987, 68; Taylor 2003, 90; and Croft and Cruse 2004, 8,10-15, for other terms used for individual concepts that encompass multiple other concepts. Croft and Cruse (2004, 15) also briefly describe Fillmore's frame semantics and compare it with Langacker's “domain” concluding that they are identical. Lakoff (1987, 68) defines an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) as “a complex structured whole, a gestalt” using four structuring principles: propositional structure, image-schematic structure, metaphoric mappings, and metonymic mappings. His claim is that people organize knowledge by means of ICMs. Contrary to the assertion that frames are identical to domains, Sullivan (2013, 22-28) fully distinguishes domain from frame, limiting domains to “metaphor input domains,” which she defines as “the cognitive structure comprising all schematic information potentially available for mapping via a given metaphor” (22). In other words “domains” are limited to the structure which may be cognitively transferred in metaphor. In her view, “frames” are less abstract but similar to Langacker's “domains” and are used to identify links between metaphoric and non-metaphoric language (23). Sullivan adopts Langacker's profile/base description, but identifies the cognitive structures that are profiled as frames and the bases as domains (25). She then identifies evoked concepts or roles within the frame as “elements” (EXERCISER within the frame EXERCISE). While I appreciate Sullivan's effort to unpack the correlation between cognitive structures and the profile/base relationship, I am uncertain about her distinction between domains and frames and do not adopt her redefinition of “domain” in my analysis.

For example, LIQUID is a more generic concept than the basic concept WATER. People arrange concepts in hierarchies, occupying higher or lower levels of conceptual organization (Langacker 2008, 45). Domains and concepts do not necessarily or usually relate to one another typologically (“water is a type of liquid”). Most often a concept is a feature within a domain of experience or scenario. For example, DRINKING is a common conceptual domain for WATER.⁶⁶ Each domain includes multiple concepts; however, when a word is spoken, it denotes or symbolizes only the conceptual knowledge and structure from one concept within the domain. This concept is “profiled” against the entire domain (“the base”) (Croft and Cruse 2004, 15). If someone were to exclaim, “I am so thankful for water!” after taking a drink of water, certain parts of conceptual knowledge and structure of the concept WATER are profiled in relationship to the domain DRINKING.⁶⁷ The domain cognitively assists the hearer in activating the appropriate conceptual knowledge within the concept WATER so as to make sense of the statement. The domain also serves to exclude unintended meanings. For example, the domain DRINKING excludes the meaning “I appreciate water for washing,” which would require the domain WASHING and would profile other features of conceptual knowledge within WATER.

The concept ASHES, when signified by אֶפֶר, is profiled against at least four different domains in the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁸ It most commonly indicates a symbolic substance profiled in the

⁶⁶ There are cognitively irreducible generic domains, for which there are no higher levels of generality (e.g., space, time, color). Langacker (2008, 44-45) asserts that these are not concepts, but more general realms of experience. In my view, his generic domains are equivalent to the most schematic concepts.

⁶⁷ A concept is not necessarily a type of the domain. The concept/domain relationship should be distinguished from the category/type relationship.

⁶⁸ אֶפֶר may also signify the more general concept of DUST or DIRT, or at least represent a close parallel in the regular occurrence of אֶפֶר וְאֶפֶר. I have chosen to identify the concept as ASHES because of the occurrences of אֶפֶר that signify a tangible substance that would result from

domain MOURNING.⁶⁹ In Job 2:8, for example, Job sits “in the midst of the ashes” (בְּתוֹךְ־הָאֵפֶר) to mourn his losses. In Mal 3:21, אֵפֶר represents the wicked as a substance upon which the righteous tread following divine judgment. This verse profiles the substantive quality of ASHES, as the end product of complete annihilation, against the domain DESTRUCTION (also Ezek 28:18).

Furthermore, DESTRUCTION functions as a concept within the domain JUDGMENT. Other domains within which ASHES is profiled include HUMILITY (Gen 18:27) and WEAKNESS (Ps 147:16), both of which activate aspects of ASHES (their supposed uselessness or their physical characteristic of frailty) to symbolize the position of the creation in relationship to the creator.

In some cases, the domain is not clear. In Job 30:19, Job accuses God of throwing him into the mire so that he has become like dirt and ashes (הֲרִנִּי לְחֹמֶר וְאֶת־מִשְׁלַל כְּעָפָר וְאֵפֶר).⁷⁰ The domains HUMILITY, DESTRUCTION, and WEAKNESS all provide potentially different meanings for אֵפֶר in this verse. Within the base HUMILITY, ASHES would profile the insignificance of Job; within DESTRUCTION, ASHES would profile the status of Job as the product of God’s punishment; within WEAKNESS, ASHES would profile the light and ephemeral state of Job’s life (see Job

burning. For example, Num 19:9-10 refers to אֵפֶר הַפָּרָה, “the ashes of the heifer.” Ashes may be gathered (Num 19:9-10, וְאָסַף אִישׁ טָהוֹר אֶת אֵפֶר הַפָּרָה), placed upon one’s head (2 Sam 13:19, וַתָּקַח), and spread out (Isa 58:5, וְאֵפֶר יִצִּיעַ). The representation of Hebrew concepts with English lexemes is always problematic; however, it is more problematic to simply transliterate in all caps (e.g., ĪEPHER), which only delays the interpretive process and leaves the lexeme without conceptual definition. It is best to use the English lexemes and define them or nuance them appropriately.

⁶⁹ See 2 Sam 13:19; Isa 58:5; 61:3; Jer 6:26; Ezek 27:30; Jonah 3:6; Ps 102:9; Job 2:8; 42:6; Lam 3:16; and Esth 4:1-3.

⁷⁰ The *hitpaal* of מִשְׁלַל only occurs in Job 30:19. Clines (2006, 931) translates the line as “and I have come to look like dust and dirt,” attempting to represent the reflexive component of מִשְׁלַל in the *hitpaal*, “to show oneself” (955). However, while מִשְׁלַל implies comparison, it does not necessarily signify visual likeness. For example, Job may be like dirt insofar as they both lack worth.

30:22), much like the common image of chaff in the wind. The ambiguity with this 30:19 is largely due to its metaphorical construal. Job does not literally relate to the concept of ASHES. This highlights the issue of conceptual knowledge and metaphor. Almost all of the biblical occurrences of אָפֶר activate metaphorical mappings and access knowledge that has little to do with dictionary definitions.

2.4 – Source Domains, Target Domains, and Mappings

According to CMT, in metaphor, two conceptual domains that do not otherwise relate in the hierarchy of conceptual categories are brought into relationship with one another, so that a concept in one domain (source) partially defines a concept in the other domain (target). This is commonly given the form TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN.⁷¹ Two kinds of correspondences define mapping between source and target: ontological and epistemic. Ontological correspondences are between features of the source domain and features of the target domain. For example, in the metaphor ANGER IS A HOT FLUID, correspondences include CONTAINER/BODY, HEAT SCALE/ANGER SCALE, and EXPLOSION/LOSS OF CONTROL (Croft and Cruse 2004, 197). Epistemic correspondences are between relational entailments that link features within the source

⁷¹ Eubanks (2000, 22), rightly cautions against the assumption that the *meaning* of a metaphor is summed up in this syntactically simple representation of the conceptual metaphor. He says:

Typically, conceptual metaphors are named in the A is B form: Argument Is War, Happy Is Up, More Is Up, Time Is Money, People Are Plants. The implication, intended or unintended, may be that each subject and each predicate refers to an uncomplicated domain and that target and source stand in fixed relation. The Aristotelian bifurcation appears to be perpetuated. But this appearance is erroneous. Conceptual metaphor provides us precisely the tools we need to go beyond Aristotle's algebra.

Nevertheless, the nomenclature of TARGET IS SOURCE remains useful for labeling metaphors.

domain and relational entailments that link features within the target domain. For example, AN EXPLOSION IS DAMAGING TO A CONTAINER AND DANGEROUS TO BYSTANDERS / LOSS OF CONTROL IS DAMAGING TO A PERSON AND DANGEROUS TO OTHERS (Croft and Cruse 2004, 196-197).⁷² Thus, according to CMT, certain conceptual features and entailments (relations) within ASHES correspond to particular features and entailments within PROVERBS in the conceptual metaphor PROVERBS ARE ASHES. These cognitive correspondences or mappings are activated by the expression מְשָׁלִי-אֶפֶר. When mapping is activated, the salient conceptual structure (ontological and epistemic) is transferred from the source domain into the target domain.⁷³ Readers determine saliency on the basis of textual and historical context. Salient features stand out to the reader as possible features and relations that are available for transference (Løland 2008, 42-47).

In the case of PROVERBS ARE ASHES, there is very little shared schematic structure between the two concepts. The lack of correspondence is partially responsible for the metaphor's novelty, because it causes the hearer to strain to understand the mapping.⁷⁴ According to the invariance principle, the schematic structure of PROVERBS will determine the available mappings

⁷² “Epistemic correspondences” are the same as “metaphorical entailments.” The distinction between features and relations is similar to the distinction that Langacker (2008, 103-112) observes between nouns that profile “things” and verbs that profile “processes.”

⁷³ I am avoiding the often used “mapping” to describe this process and reserving this term for the actual correspondences. Instead, I refer to the cognitive movement from source to target as “transference” to avoid confusion.

⁷⁴ Lakoff and Johnson's seminal work, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), demonstrated that conceptual metaphor is deeply imbedded in everyday thought, usually going unnoticed by speakers and hearers. Their primary interest was showing the conventionality of metaphors like LIFE IS A JOURNEY and ANGER IS WAR. While I embrace the notion that metaphor is essential to human reasoning in conventional contexts, I am particularly interested in novel or unconventional metaphors, in which the mapping is noticeable to hearers, even if they are somewhat difficult to comprehend. For an argument that semantic distance between two concepts makes the metaphor more dynamic, see Hanks 2006, 22.

with the source domain ASHES.⁷⁵ Some of the conceptual, ontological features within the domain PROVERBS include: WISDOM, FOLLY, A SPEAKER, A HEARER, SAYINGS, SAGE, STUDENT, MEMORY, and TRANSFERENCE OF MEANING. Epistemic relations in PROVERBS include: WHEN A SAGE TEACHES A STUDENT A SAYING THE STUDENT ACQUIRES WISDOM and PROVERBS ARE INTENDED TO INSTRUCT HEARERS ABOUT RIGHT LIVING. These conceptual structures are evoked by מִשְׁל in wisdom contexts.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Lakoff (1993, 215) explains the invariance principle, saying, “Metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive topology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain, in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.” The schematic structure of the target domain, therefore, determines what ontological elements and epistemic relations are possible to transfer from the source domain. Kövecses (2010, 130) exemplifies the invariance principle with “She gave him a kiss.” While the kiss is metaphorically an object that is transferred to a receiver, the nature of the event, kiss, does not allow for the additional entailment from the source domain that an object can be retained after being given. One cannot keep a kiss. For an explanation of the invariance principle for biblical scholars, see Chau 2015, 1-13.

⁷⁶ מִשְׁל is not limited to “proverb” as a particular linguistic form of expression or a particular genre (Landes 1978, 138; Polk 1983, 565; Fox 2000, 54); rather, it evokes various types of sayings including allegories (Ezek 17:1-10), parodies or taunts (Deut 28:37), prophetic words (Num 23:7, 18; 24:3, 15, 20, 21, 23), adages (1 Sam 10:12; 24:14; Ezek 18:2), and arguments (Job 27:1; 29:1). A common denominator is difficult to ascertain for these sayings. The conceptual label SAYING is too broad for מִשְׁל and more specific labels, such as ADAGE or TROPE, are no more accurate than PROVERB. Besides PROVERB, which I have chosen to use as a representation of מִשְׁל in Job 13:12, the best label may be SAYINGS OF PROJECTION, because מִשְׁל is a saying that projects one narrative or principle onto a different situation. The friends are projecting traditional wisdom teachings onto Job’s situation. Fox (2000, 54-55) argues that מִשְׁל has two meanings: trope and saying. In his description, a trope involves comparison; it evokes an image that is “displaced from its primary, surface meaning so as to represent something else, by virtue of an imputed similarity” (54). Sayings, in his view, do not involve comparison, but are מִשְׁלִים by virtue of their being well known and their currency in public wisdom (55). While I agree with Fox’s distinction between tropes and sayings, I maintain that sayings become well known because they too project meaning on the basis of similarity. There is also comparison in these sayings. If “Is Saul too among the prophets?” became a מִשְׁל (1 Sam 10:12), then it was displaced from its primary, surface meaning in its original context and projected into a new context by virtue of the new context’s similarity to the original. The comparison in a trope is overt within its literary context, while the comparison in a saying is brought out only by the speech act or its discourse context. The linguistic expressions of sayings or proverbs often do not include overt signification of a target domain; nevertheless, they project source imagery just as parables do (Turner 1996, 5-6) (see Job 27:1 and 29:1).

Beyond these ontological and epistemic correspondences, the conceptual structure of SPEECH includes the higher level metaphor SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS, with the elaboration that they may be objects with varying value, objects that are light or heavy, objects with physical features such as texture, taste, length, and strength.⁷⁷ This generic metaphor, SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS, provides schematic structure within the domain PROVERBS and is essential for the mappings in the metaphor PROVERBS ARE ASHES. Since the metaphor SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS is well established, speakers and hearers are able to activate basic-level and specific-level mappings of description. On account of this generic metaphor, PROVERBS may take on physical structure, so that the physical elements within ASHES (dark, light weight, burned, bitter, messy, etc.) may map with the metaphorically physical elements of PROVERBS (height, weight, shape, etc.). The physical elements in PROVERBS via SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS are generic slots that are filled by the literal, specific elements in the source.

PROVERBS ARE ASHES might also transfer symbolic conceptual knowledge from ASHES into the domain PROVERBS, intending the reader to imagine proverbs as a metonymic symbol of mourning. If this is the case, Job 13:12 would mean “proverbs causing sadness.” This interpretation would reflect human experience with ashes in the context of mourning rituals. But, of course, Job 13:12 is not projecting *all* of the conceptual knowledge from ASHES onto PROVERBS. The domain within which ASHES is profiled determines the specific features of ASHES that transfer. To ascertain the activated mappings, the hearer must depend upon the context and the syntactic construal of the expression.

⁷⁷ On SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS, see §2.6.

2.5 – Symbolic Assemblies and Construal

CMT does not address the issue of how various syntactic structures influence conceptual mapping, but it is a necessary part of evaluating metaphors as they are expressed in actual texts.⁷⁸ My interest here is how symbolic assemblies unfold in the process of reading and how syntax influences the construal of metaphorical sayings.⁷⁹ In Job 13:12, the lexeme אֶפֶר evokes particular elements of schematic knowledge from the larger encyclopedic conceptual inventory within the conceptual domain ASHES. Saliency is determined by the reader on the basis of textual and historical context (Løland 2008, 44). These salient elements are cognitively transferred onto the target PROVERBS, so that מִשְׁלִים takes on the characteristics of אֶפֶר. However, the line is not simply “proverbs are ashes.” The two terms are in construct, “proverbs *of* ashes,” forming a single nominal expression.⁸⁰ The lexical head of the noun, מִשְׁלִים, is modified by אֶפֶר.⁸¹ The function of the modifier in this particular construct assembly is to identify the essential property

⁷⁸ Deignan (2006, 107) explains this gap in CMT, saying, “It is important to reiterate at the outset that Conceptual Metaphor Theory was not developed in order to explain linguistic patterns. The relationship is the other way round; patterns observed in language provide some of the main evidence which led to the development of the theory.” Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 146) address the issue of compositionality and “patterns into which words fit” as triggers of the imagination. Sullivan (2013) provides the most comprehensive study of metaphoric language and grammatical constructions. See Sullivan 2013, 3-4, for a survey of the few studies of metaphor and grammar.

⁷⁹ For the term “symbolic assembly,” see Langacker 2008, 161. In cognitive grammar, the term “construal” is used to describe a particular point of view that one has towards a text that is happening in time. See Langacker 2008, 55.

⁸⁰ Langacker (2008, 310) defines “noun” as “any expression that profiles a thing.” “Noun” is the same as a “nominal structure” or “nominal expression.” It is not limited to a single lexeme.

⁸¹ Langacker (2008, 311) adopts the term “head” from generative grammar, but defines it by describing its cognitive function as “used primarily for the profile determinant at any level of organization.” It is the controlling element that is profiled by the nominal expression.

of the head: thing *of* property (Knorina 2008, 179-182).⁸² The genitival modifier, אָפֶר, serves as an attributive that characterizes the head, so that there is no perceptible cognitive difference between “proverbs of ashes” and “ashen proverbs.”⁸³ Adnominals profile a specific property of a lexical noun (Langacker 2008, 319). In Job 13:12, מִשְׁלֵי־אָפֶר is an expression of “proverbs with the defining characteristic(s) of ashes.”

In Langacker’s terminology, a modifier is a “component structure that contains salient substructure elaborated by the head” (Langacker 2008, 203). When a head noun “elaborates” the substructure of the modifier, the head becomes less schematic and more specific.⁸⁴ In the case of “proverbs of ashes,” PROVERBS gains conceptual specificity from the salient substructure imported from ASHES. This transference is necessarily metaphorical with “proverbs of ashes” because the concept PROVERBS does not already have a schematic slot for the substructure of ASHES. In the nonmetaphorical examples that Langacker provides, such as “jar lid” and “tall

⁸² Knorina (2008) advances two other possibilities for construct formulations that commonly represent metaphor, namely, “property *of* thing” and “function *of* argument.” The noun-noun genitival relationship is similarly described by Waltke and O’Connor (1990, 141-154). Knorina’s categories roughly fall within Waltke and O’Connor’s adverbial and adjectival genitive categories.

⁸³ For examples of the attributive genitive, see Waltke and O’Connor 1990, 148-149. Deignan (2006, 111) uses corpus data to demonstrate that literal nouns often function adjectively or verbally when used in their metaphorical senses. Sullivan (2013, 6-7, 63-86) illustrates the semantic difference between predicating adjectives, such as “*blood-stained* wealth,” and domain adjectives, such as “*spiritual* wealth.” In the former the wealth is literal and “blood-stained” signifies the source domain, but in the latter the wealth is metaphorical and “spiritual” indicates the target domain. In “ashen proverbs,” “ashen” is a predicating adjective that signifies the source domain. Sullivan explains, “A predicating adjective, whether in metaphoric or non-metaphoric language is distinguished by several characteristics, including its ability to appear in the predicate/post-copula position” (7). “Ashen proverbs” fits this category because it may be turned around as “proverbs that are ashes” without shifting its grammatical meaning.

⁸⁴ See Langacker’s figure 7.14 (2008, 203). Langacker (2008, 56) explains that concepts and expressions are organized in elaborative hierarchies from schematicity to specificity (e.g., object > tool > hammer > claw hammer).

giraffe,” the heads (“lid” and “giraffe”) have existing schematic slots for the modifiers (“jar” and “tall”) within their concepts (Langacker 2008, 198). LID has a schematic slot for CONTAINER > JAR, and GIRAFFE has a slot for SIZE > TALL; however, PROVERB does not have a slot for BURNED SUBSTANCE, DIRT, or even PHYSICAL OBJECT. A metaphorical transference from the modifying conceptual structure of ASHES to the head concept PROVERBS is therefore required to make sense of “proverbs of ashes.” PROVERBS profiles this *new* substructure of ASHES in Job 13:12. Taking into account the genitival construal of the phrase מִן־לֵּי־אֶפֶר, the precise metaphorical mapping provides the means of transference from a specific substructure of ASHES to a more generic substructure of PROVERBS. It is overly simplistic to identify the metaphor PROVERBS ARE ASHES; nevertheless, this conventional construction remains useful for highlighting the transference from part of the schematic structure of ASHES into the conceptual domain of PROVERBS.

2.6 – Hierarchy of Conceptual Metaphors and the Conduit Metaphor

CMT proposes that concepts are arranged in a hierarchical pattern from generic to specific. Metaphors are arranged along these same lines. For example, the sentence “Max’s recovery from cancer was an uphill climb, but he reached the mountain top” activates the specific-level metaphor MAX’S CANCER RECOVERY IS A MOUNTAIN HIKE, which is embedded within the basic-level metaphor SICKNESS RECOVERY IS A HIKE, which is embedded within the more generic metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (MAX’S CANCER RECOVERY IS A MOUNTAIN HIKE > SICKNESS RECOVERY IS A HIKE > LIFE IS A JOURNEY). There are also multiple intermediate levels, such as LIFE IMPROVEMENT IS A WALK, which is between SICKNESS RECOVERY IS A HIKE and LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

At their most generic level, the mappings in metaphors are directly grounded in embodied

experience. The metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS makes sense because people experience reaching destinations as fulfilling purposes. Generic metaphors like this, from which specific metaphors are made, are called “primary metaphors” (Kövecses 2010, 95). One such primary metaphor is LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, which is grounded in the experience of analyzing the structure of physical objects.⁸⁵ This particular primary metaphor is also an “ontological metaphor” because it gives objective structure, substance, shape, or status to entities that are not physical (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 25-26; Kövecses 2010, 83). Other ontological metaphors that relate to LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE are THE MIND IS A CONTAINER, IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, and COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER. When taken together, this set of primary metaphors is called the “conduit metaphor” because each one is necessary for understanding and describing the human experience of communication (Kövecses 2010, 84).

My description of the conduit metaphor, in which the human mind is the container, is based on Kövecses 2010; however, in much of the literature on the conduit metaphor, the words themselves are highlighted as containers for ideas (LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS). Michael Reddy (1979, 284-324) was the first to identify and bring attention to the conduit metaphor. He exemplifies WORDS ARE CONTAINERS with the following sayings: “You have to put each concept into words very carefully,” “Try to pack more thoughts into fewer words,” and “Insert those ideas elsewhere in the paragraph” (287). Words as containers can be hollow or filled with emotion. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 10-13) brought Reddy’s theory into prominence as a partial basis for their ground-breaking work, *Metaphors We Live By*. They cite expressions,

⁸⁵ Kövecses (2010, 95) says, “The experiential basis of LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE is the correlation between physical structures (like that of a house) and the abstract principles that enable us to make, take apart, rearrange, or otherwise manipulate them.”

such as “You can’t simply stuff ideas into a sentence any old way” and “His words carry very little meaning,” as examples of the conceptual metaphor LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR MEANINGS (11). Sweetser (1990, 20) provides further exemplary expressions of LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS, including, “What did you get out of that talk?” and “empty words.”

Grady (1998, 205-218) questions whether every expression of the conduit metaphor is based on the experiencing of putting objects into a container and taking them out. He claims that the COMMUNICATION IS SENDING mapping gets less attention in Lakoff and Johnson’s work, with the result that the transmission of the message is underemphasized. His argument is that containment and transference in the conduit metaphor draw upon two different primary metaphors, and that the conduit metaphor is actually a “collage” of metaphors within the domain LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION (1998, 216). Instead of WORDS ARE CONTAINERS, sayings such as “Your ideas come across beautifully” are based on the metaphor TRANSMISSION OF ENERGY IS TRANSFER and emphasize a different feature of the conduit metaphor, namely, the dynamic process of communication rather than the linguistic object of the expression (Grady 1998, 215).

The metaphorical transference in the act of communication is grounded in the physical act of listeners interpreting acoustic signals that arrive at their ears. As Grady explains, “Meaning is metaphorically transferred while physical signals, notations, etc. are literally transferred” (1998, 215). Reddy also proposed that the metaphorical transference of meaning is based upon the literal features of sound waves produced in linguistic expressions and received bodily by hearers (1979, 290). He suggests that this physical experience is the ground for speakers metaphorically ejecting thoughts and feelings and hearers taking words into themselves (Reddy 1979, 291). The bodily grounding for understanding communication is only possible because

people are metaphorically construed as containers. MIND IS A CONTAINER is evident in phrases such as, “You should get those ideas out where they can do some good” (Reddy 1979, 291). Or consider the phrase, “Your speech went right over their heads.” While WORDS may be conceptualized as CONTAINERS by hearers in this metaphorical construal, it is only as an elaboration of OBJECTS (OBJECTS > CONTAINERS). The emphasis is on the trajectory or physical height of the words as physical objects rather than their shape as containers. The hearers are containers who are not able to receive the speech because the words were too “elevated.” The full conduit metaphor must take into account not only WORDS ARE CONTAINERS, but also the mapping PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS. While speakers and hearers put ideas into or take ideas out of words (LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS), they also take ideas out and receive ideas into their minds to make transmission possible (PEOPLE ARE CONTAINERS). Various metaphorical expressions emphasize different metaphorical steps of the communication scenario.

As for Prov 13:12, the conduit metaphor is essential for understanding PROVERBS ARE ASHES. Proverbs in the book of Job always correspond to the concept SPEECH and are analyzed through the IDEAS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS metaphor. The metaphorical mapping in IDEAS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS and the concept SAYINGS/PROVERBS are both subsumed within the domain LINGUISTIC COMMUNICATION. Thus, by means of the conduit metaphor, Job and his friends metaphorically eject, receive, and analyze ideas. The objectifying of PROVERBS allows for the metaphorical mapping with physical objects such as ASHES. Proverbs can thus be weighed, looked at, smelled, or moved, so that in מִשְׁלֵי-אֶפֶר, ashes define the physical make-up of the friends’ proverbs.

2.7 – Blending

Blending Theory (BT), or Conceptual Integration Theory, advanced most prominently by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), is essentially a refined version of CMT as far as it pertains to metaphor.⁸⁶ Conceptual blending is a theory that applies to any kind of analogy in which a person uses his or her imagination, and is, therefore, far more expansive than a theory of metaphor (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 35). Advocates of BT have introduced “mental spaces,” which are “small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action” (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 40). The difference between mental spaces and conceptual domains is that domains refer to *long-term* schematic and specific knowledge, whereas mental spaces are temporary constructions that meet the immediate communicative needs of speakers and hearers. Mental spaces are constructed “on-line,” in the moment of communication (Kövecses 2010, 267).

BT adds two conceptual spaces to the description of the metaphorical process, namely the “generic space” and the “blend.”⁸⁷ The generic space provides schematic structure for the source domain and the target domain and contains connections between elements that the source and target have in common (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 41). The blend is the mental space that

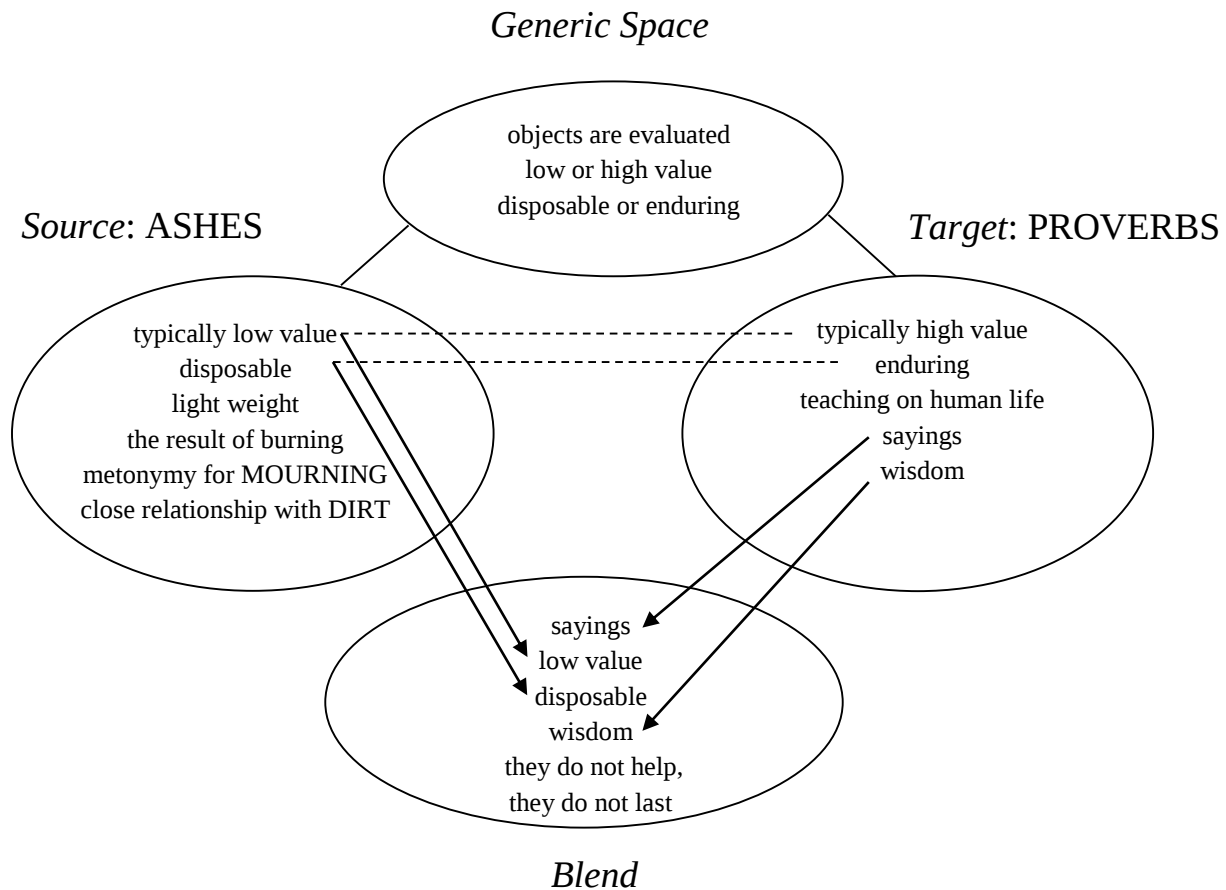
⁸⁶ Grady, Oakley, and Coulson (1999, 101-124) acknowledge the close relationship between CMT and BT, but favor BT because it has more explanatory power for metaphorical expressions such as “The surgeon is a butcher,” in which the concept of INCOMPETENCE does not come from the source (BUTCHER) or the target (SURGEON) but from the blend itself. They conclude, “The conventional pairings and one-way mappings studied within CMT are inputs too and constraints on the kinds of dynamic conceptual networks posited within BT” (120).

⁸⁷ Fauconnier and Turner write very little about metaphor in *The Way We Think* (2002), but they acknowledge that the metaphorical process is one of the important processes that use blending. See especially their sections on single scope and double scope integration networks for similarities to metaphor analysis in CMT (2002, 126-135).

includes the projected elements that are transferred from both the source and the target domains.⁸⁸ It is a product of human imaginative capabilities that combines elements from two domains to create emergent structure that is not otherwise in either the source or the target domains. This emergent structure may also project back on the input domains, so as to create new structure in a long-term conceptual domain. The emergent structure in the blend is a result of unreal fusion of elements from two domains needing two new elemental features for completion (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, 48). People use blends to understand hypothetical situations or any other imaginative conceptual relationship. Metaphor is simply one such mental process.

According to the categories of BT, the PROVERBS ARE ASHES metaphor may be illustrated as follows, assuming for now that some part of the physical structure of the ashes is profiled in relation to the metaphorical physical structure of PROVERBS.

⁸⁸ BT usually uses “input 1” and “input 2” instead of “source” and “target.” This eliminates the notion of one-way transference between the two domains. Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 127) do use “source” and “target” for single-scope networks, which is the primary integration network for metaphor, but then default to “inputs” for more complex networks. I maintain that in metaphor these two conceptual domains have distinct roles. Metaphorical blends still necessitate a grounded source and an abstract target, which functions as the focus or topic of the conceptual integration. Kövecses (2010, 302-303) helpfully describes the relationship between Blending/Conceptual Integration Theory and CMT as follows: “Many of the metaphorical blends are invented as a result of the influence of what I call the ‘immediate cultural context.’ . . . It seems to me that CIT needs CMT because, without it, it could often not account for *why* it operates with the frames and mental spaces that it does in conceptual integration networks.”



The generic space contains the abstract commonalities between the source and target domains and defines the mapping (dotted lines) between these two input spaces. PROVERBS and ASHES do not have many common elements or entailments, except their status as physical objects (via SAYINGS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS) that may be evaluated. The source domain and target domain have mappings, but the transference (solid lines with arrows) is not between the two inputs; rather, the profiled elements from each concept are put into the blend to create a new, unreal mental space that incorporates WORDS from PROVERBS and their low value and ephemeral status from ASHES. The sayings of Job's friends are physical objects made from a good-for-nothing product.

2.8 – The Essential Role of Context

In order to explore the conceptual possibilities within the metaphor itself, I have held off on bringing contextual information from the book of Job to bear on PROVERBS ARE ASHES, but context is essential for determining the domains within which concepts are profiled.⁸⁹ The textual information surrounding מְשָׁלִים־אֶפֶר determines the conceptual elements that are transferred from source and target to the blend. This is especially true for novel metaphors like PROVERBS ARE ASHES, which do not have existing conventional, default mappings.

2.8.1 – *The Syntactic Context*

The most important contextual information for determining meaning in metaphor is typically in the immediately surrounding texts. In the case of Job 13:12, זְכָרְנֶיכֶם alerts the hearer to the kind of proverbs the speaker is characterizing. The 2mp suffix in זְכָרְנֶיכֶם signifies JOB’S FRIENDS, who have been speaking to him in turn, so the nature of their speeches should correspond with “proverbs of ashes” from the perspective of Job. The lexeme זָכָרוֹן symbolizes a physical marker of remembrance (for example, a memorial stone in Exod 28:12). Translations such as “memorable sayings” (NASB) or “maxims” (NRSV) import SPEECH into the concept MEMORIAL because זָכָרוֹן is in a verbless clause with מְשָׁלִים, but this is an anomalous conceptualization of זָכָרוֹן. The nonphysical sense of זָכָרוֹן in 13:12 is not a literal feature of MEMORIAL; rather, it is due to the same primary metaphor we observed earlier, LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, by which the physical properties of a visible sign are

⁸⁹ Both syntactic and semantic meaning is determined by inexhaustible levels of context. Contrary to formalism, “literal” or “core” meaning of an utterance may not be determined separately from context (Hanks 1996, 93, 140-142).

transferred in order to enable one to understand IDEAS in physical terms.⁹⁰ Thus, by the metaphor MEMORIALS ARE SAYINGS, זָכָרוֹן conventionally symbolizes nonphysical memorials that are texts (Exod 17:14) or individual memories (Qoh 1:11; 2:16). In Job 13:12, the correspondence with מְשָׁלִים indicates that זָכָרוֹן maps with the friends' speeches. There are therefore two conceptual metaphors signified by זָכָרוֹנְכֶם מְשָׁלֵי־אָפֶר, namely MEMORIALS ARE SAYINGS and PROVERBS ARE ASHES. The expressions of these metaphors are syntactically dependent on one another. The latter is embedded within the former, so that the fuller evocation is MEMORIALS ARE PROVERBS OF ASHES, with PROVERBS OF ASHES elaborating SAYINGS. My translation, "reminders," is an attempt at preserving the ambiguity of the verse itself.⁹¹ I do not believe זָכָרוֹן necessarily activates the literal meaning of a physical memorial marker in Job 13:12, but the common association with physical objects may help the hearer understand the mapping with ASHES. The friends' speeches attempt to *remind* Job of the principles of wisdom through their proverbial sayings. Moreover, by labeling them as אָפֶר, Job is undercutting the supposed enduring nature of the friends' proverbial wisdom. They seek to give him lasting memorials, but instead they offer ephemeral ashes.

⁹⁰ While this primary metaphor leads to the sense זָכָרוֹן being non-physical, this may well be a case of polysemy. If so, זָכָרוֹן came to have multiple "facets," that is, distinguishable components of a single sense or pre-meaning (lexical meaning prior to contextual construal) (Croft and Cruse 2004, 110-117). These facets would have included physical reminders (MEMORIALS) and non-physical reminders (SAYINGS). Ancient readers of Job 13:12 may have had both of these facets in their lexicon for זָכָרוֹן and would not have necessarily recognized the diachronic development of signification via metaphor. Nevertheless, the conventional metaphor is still responsible for the extension that leads to the polysemy.

⁹¹ The translation of metaphors is fascinating and often difficult. On the one hand, a translation such as "your memorials are proverbs" allows for the metaphorical use of זָכָרוֹן to be evoked, so that the hearer may need to work at interpreting the construal. On the other hand, translating זָכָרוֹן as "maxims" completely conceals the metaphor, emphasizing the conventional nature of the metaphor. Assuming a dynamic equivalence model of translation, the translator's task is to determine the level of conventionality in the source language and then translate the same level of conventionality into the target language.

2.8.2 – *The Poetic Context*

Still more contextual information is necessary to understand the domain within which ASHES is profiled. Is ephemerality really the issue? The second line of Job 13:12, לְגַבֵּי־חֹמֶר גְּבִיכֶם (‘‘Your defenses are defenses of clay’’), is syntactically and semantically parallel to the first.⁹² The main contextual insight that the line provides for interpreting the metaphor PROVERBS ARE ASHES is the semantic parallel between אֶפֶר and חֹמֶר. Whatever conceptual domain that the concept ASHES is profiled within (MOURNING, HUMILITY, DESTRUCTION, or WEAKNESS), the concept CLAY is also likely to be in it. חֹמֶר signifies CLAY in Isa 29:16; 45:9; 64:8; Jer 18:4, 6; Job 10:9; 33:6 and MUD or MORTAR in Gen 11:3; Exod 1:14; Isa 10:16; 41:25; Nah 3:14; Job 30:19. MORTAR is possible in Job 13:12 if גֶּבַע signifies a fortress or defense structure of some sort; however, CLAY makes better sense if the point is that the friends’ defenses are weak, since clay, whether in its soft or hard form, is a weaker substance than mortar. In either case, חֹמֶר signifies a common material with no special value. This contextual information from the parallel line suggests a constraint for the metaphorical mappings between PROVERBS and ASHES, which discounts conceptual knowledge in ASHES such as its metonymic relationship to MOURNING. Job is not likely saying that his friends are speaking proverbs of sadness, in part because CLAY is not part of the domain MOURNING. However, CLAY and ASHES share conceptual structure, both being

⁹² There are three options for גֶּבַע. With some hesitation, I side with BDB (146), against Clines 1989, 282, and *HALOT* (1:170), who take גֶּבַע to be a cognate with Syriac *guyaba* ‘‘an answer.’’ While ‘‘answers’’ parallels מַשְׁלִים better than other options, this meaning would be anomalous in the Hebrew Bible. The most common meaning of גֶּבַע is ‘‘back.’’ In Job 15:16 it refers to the back of a shield, so some translations translate ‘‘defenses’’ (NASB, NRSV) and BDB (146), has ‘‘breastworks.’’ A third option is ‘‘platforms of clay’’ since גֶּבַע in Ezek 16:24, 31, 39, signifies platforms (mounds?) for illicit worship that Ezekiel decries. While aspects of the first and third options have merit, I have translated גֶּבַע as ‘‘defense’’ because in English it can refer to a verbal defense or a physical object (it is polysemous), and this ambiguity seems to be the idea in Job 13:12a.

relatively weak and common physical objects with little enduring value. This seems to indicate that the intended blend, activated by the expression מְשָׁלִים־אֶפֶר, is “proverbs are weak objects with little enduring value.” Depending on additional conceptual knowledge that the speaker or hearer might have about ASHES or CLAY, other elements may be added to the blend. For example, clay pots break easy, so a hearer might legitimately imagine (i.e., blend) the friends’ arguments being physically broken.

Metaphor recursion also serves as a constraint for metaphor interpretation (Eubanks 2000, 26). Multiple expressions of metaphor within a given culture or within a literary corpus exhibit patterns of mappings. Although we have little access into the cultural context of the author of the book of Job, if the text itself repeats the metaphor WORDS ARE OBJECTS OF HIGH OR LOW VALUE several times (this is the focus of my next chapter), this metaphor recursion *may* include clearer cases of entrenched mapping patterns and help interpreters understand more novel and more specific expressions like Prov 13:12.

2.9 – Criteria for Identifying Perceptibly Coherent Metaphors

The principles for interpreting metaphor in discourse are the same as those employed for analyzing the cognitive functions activated by particular metaphorical expressions. The difference is a matter of degree (Langacker 2008, 457, 499).⁹³ As I proposed in the first chapter, a discourse like that of the book of Job is conceptually expansive. Through the progression of speeches between Job and his friends, the conceptual substrate becomes increasingly complex and more conceptual content is available for recall. This does not mean that interlocutors or

⁹³ A basic claim for Langacker throughout his work on cognitive grammar is that there is no boundary between grammar and discourse. These are just different levels of conceptual networks.

readers remember every saying that has been expressed previously in the discourse; rather, the human brain tends to store basic-level conceptual content. One finds Job and his friends interacting through numerous linguistic expressions, but only focusing on a few basic conceptual domains. The level of metaphor coherence between speakers is more likely to be on this basic level than found in catchword type of allusion at the specific conceptual level.

The context of Job 13:12a goes far beyond the parallel line in 13:12b or even the immediate speech that Job is giving. The hearer must also consider broader levels of discourse, including the other speeches of Job, the friends' speeches, and the narrative setting for the dialogue (בְּתוֹךְ-הָאֵפֶר "among the ashes" Job 2:8).⁹⁴ These contextual factors influence the selection and employment of particular metaphors within discourse (Kövecses, 2010, 295-297). Readers of Job have good reason to expect some level of coherence, simply because human discourse, set within a specific narrative context, naturally seeks to make sense.⁹⁵ Indeed, sense making is the very reason that metaphors are typically employed.

In the discussion of context, we have already observed metaphors working together as a coherent unit in the parallelism of Job 13:12. In this section, I lay out criteria for finding

⁹⁴ Langacker (2008, 464-67) claims that context has overlapping dimensions: physical, cultural, social, and linguistic. Each of these dimensions is important for understanding expressions within a discourse, although the linguistic dimension rightly receives the most attention in biblical studies because of limited access to cultural context. Nevertheless, as much as possible, interpreters ought to consider all cultural factors including the material cultural findings by archaeologists that demonstrate ancient experiences within everyday life in the ancient Near East. Knowledge of ancient life-ways is especially important for understanding source domains in metaphors, since source domains are more experientially based than the more abstract target domains.

⁹⁵ Kövecses (2010, 298) calls this mechanism the "pressure of coherence." He claims that "we are under constant pressure to be coherent with situations (contexts) in which we speak and think metaphorically." See §1.4.1 on coherence.

intratextual metaphors within the discourse of the book of Job.⁹⁶ There are two levels at which intratextual metaphors occur within a dialogue. First, a speaker may intentionally respond to another speaker's previous use of metaphor by purposefully extending, elaborating, or questioning the metaphor and by presenting a newly formed construal (e.g., highlighting a different element in the source domain) (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 67-70).⁹⁷ Second, a speaker may use a cohering metaphor without awareness of the conceptual transference that he or she is making. This second possibility is common in everyday speech and likely happens within the discourse of the book of Job; however, in a literary discourse like Job, deliberate metaphor interaction is also probable.

Whether the intratextual use of metaphor in the Joban discourse is purposeful or an involuntary outcome of speakers in dialogue about a small number of topics is largely

⁹⁶ Kövecses (2010, 285) distinguishes between intertextual metaphors that make several different texts coherent and intratextual metaphors that lend coherence to a single piece of discourse (see §1.6). The more general and more often used term “intertextuality” is defined with a wide range of meaning among various theorists. Intertextual theory has its beginnings in Saussure's sign/signifier distinction and is articulated by Kristeva and other poststructuralists of the 1960's. See Allen 2000 for the history of intertextual theory. The move from structuralist to poststructuralist approaches to texts is quite similar to the shift from traditional approaches of metaphor to the cognitive approach of CMT. Both shifts recognize that meaning is not in the text itself, but in something outside of the text that determines meaning within the text, namely the context, human experience, and the cognitive processes of the reader. Intertextuality supposes that reading is a process of moving between texts, where meaning exists within a network of textual relations. Cognitive theory supposes meaning exists in a network of concepts.

⁹⁷ For example, I once told my wife about how tired I was, saying, “I am dying,” using a relatively conventional metaphor SLEEP IS DEATH. She immediately extended the metaphor, replying, “You are killing yourself,” thus adding an element of agency to my passive expression. Her extension also questioned my conceptual metaphor, pointing out that I was tired because of the choices I had made and not because of some unknown outside force. As Kövecses (2010, 288) says, “Often, however, we are not aware of potential further ‘usurpations’ of the metaphor against our intentions. This situation has its dangers and can be the source of other people turning a metaphor against us in a debate over contentious issues.”

determined by factors that make metaphor perceptible to the hearer.⁹⁸ Three evaluative criteria are important for judging the perceptibility of a given metaphor. More perceptible intratextual metaphors will be 1) novel, 2) specific, and 3) spatially proximate. The perceptibility of two metaphorical expressions interacting conceptually is a matter of gradation. There are stronger and weaker cases, partially depending upon the hearer's conceptual framework and ability to perceive.

First, novel or unconventional metaphors are more perceptible to speakers and hearers. Novel metaphors, such as *PROVERBS ARE ASHES*, activate mappings between two concepts that have very little generic structure in common. The unconventionality in novel metaphors stands out to hearers because the mappings are not cognitively automatic.⁹⁹ Novel metaphors challenge hearers to make meaning, that is, to find the mappings and transfer the appropriate conceptual elements and relationships from the source to the target. The more novel the metaphor, the more likely it is for a hearer to notice and struggle with the mappings of the metaphor (Semino and Steen 2008, 238).

Second, the level in the conceptual hierarchy (generic to specific) that the expression activates is directly related to the perceptibility of a metaphor and its coherence with other

⁹⁸ Hanks (2006, 17) uses “metaphoricity” to describe the perceptibility or dynamic nature of metaphors within a corpus.

⁹⁹ There are other factors that contribute to unconventionality. Deignan (2006, 119) shows that source domains are often symbolized by nouns, which highlight the metaphorical mappings more clearly than verbs. See also Pragglejaz Group 2007, 28. Source domains tend to focus around concrete nouns, while target domains focus on language describing abstract processes and relationships. When expressions like *זְכַרְתֶּם מִשְׁלִי־אֶפֶר* use nouns to symbolize the conceptual metaphor, the mapping is likely more apparent to the hearer than when verbs are used to express metaphorical actions. Crisp (2003, 108) explains, “It is . . . generally far easier to decide the metaphoricity of nouns. This is because their prototypes are typically richer and more detailed and so provide a source domain basis for particularly well defined mappings.”

metaphors. Expressions that activate high-level, more generic conceptual metaphors are more difficult to perceive as metaphorical than expressions that activate low-level, more specific metaphors (Kövecses 2010, 289-290). The conceptual level is also an important factor in whether we can legitimately claim that multiple metaphors interact. Both Job and his friends undoubtedly use primary metaphors like LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE, but this shared use of metaphor says very little about the content or meaning of their dialogue.¹⁰⁰ These maximally generic-level metaphors provide no structure for the dialogue.¹⁰¹ However, basic-level and specific-level metaphors have the potential to make a discourse perceptibly cohere if they appear repeatedly throughout the discourse (Charteris-Black 2004, 244-249; Kövecses 2010, 285).

Third, the greater the physical, spatial distance in the text between two expressions of metaphor the more difficult the coherence is to perceive.¹⁰² The coherence between Job's two parallel metaphors in Job 13:12 is perceptible in part because of the proximity that the poetic

¹⁰⁰ See Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 107-110. As Eubanks (2000, 24) says, "Extreme abstraction – the notion that disparate domains are precisely equivalent on an abstract level – fails to account for the effort of metaphor."

¹⁰¹ Kövecses (2010, 289) calls this high level of conceptualization the "supraindividual level," which consists of a static and highly conventionalized system of mappings. In his paradigm, "supraindividual" is one level of abstraction more than "generic level" (292).

¹⁰² Berlin (2008, 131) shows how proximity affects the perceptibility of parallelism saying, "The less intervening material there is between the parts of the parallelism, the more perceptible it will be." This principle is applicable to multiple expressions of coherent metaphors. It is also helpful for explaining why individual metaphorical expressions are more or less perceptible, although in some cases of individual metaphors there is no "intervening material," because there is no lexeme that signifies the target. While a lexeme indicating the source concept must be present in the text, genres, such as proverbial sayings, do not necessarily include any lexical reference to the target. The target may also be indicated by the broader context or the genre. For proverbs, the target HUMAN LIFE is often implied by the genre, so that only the lexical expression of the source set in the form of a proverb induces metaphorical transference (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 174).

form of parallelism asserts. This principle raises questions about the various degrees of textual distance and perceptibility. For example, how might the hearer relate Job's PROVERBS ARE ASHES metaphor to Bildad's FOOLISH SPEECH IS WIND metaphor in 8:2 (וְרוּחַ כְּבִיר אֶמְרֵי־פִיךָ, "the words of your mouth are a mighty wind") or his effort to *remind* Job of the ancient metaphor THOSE WHO FORGET GOD ARE DYING PLANTS (Job 8:8-13)? If it is reasonable that Job 13:12 is intentionally relating conceptually to these earlier metaphors (and I am not concluding here that it is), then what about Eliphaz's WISE WORDS ARE OBJECTS THAT STRENGTHEN in Job 4:4 (כּוֹשֵׁל יִקְיִמּוּן מְלִיכָה, "Your words would raise up one who stumbles, and you would make bent knees strong") with reference to Job's past life as a sage? Even if both expressions activate WISE SAYINGS ARE OBJECTS WITH VARYING DEGREES OF STRENGTH, the textual distance between Job 4:4 and Job 13:12 is too great to expect a hearer to perceive or a speaker to intend the latter to be understood in relation to the former.¹⁰³

While it would be my delight to find the interlocutors recognizing and intentionally taking up the metaphorical expressions of the other interlocutors, it is more likely that the messages conveyed by the numerous, varied expressions of metaphor cohere on a less specific and more generic conceptual level. The examples in the preceding paragraph are not the best cases of intentional intratextuality, but they express the conceptual world of each interlocutor and lead the reader into the basic content of the discourse debate. The interlocutors are far more likely to be debating whether proverbial wisdom is an object of value than whether proverbial wisdom is ashes or gold. That being said, many of the metaphors in the book of Job are

¹⁰³ Langacker (2008, 465) says, "There is no particular limit as to how far back in a discourse the currently relevant context extends." While this is true, as with many of his categories, it is a matter of degree, so that there are more likely and less likely cases of interaction between two particular usage events.

expressed at the specific level. The hearer's task, therefore, is to interpret the specific-level concepts as elaborations of basic-level concepts, so that the assessment of coherence traces what is cognitively central in the dialogue. Surveying metaphorical expressions in Job and grouping them according to their basic-level conceptual projections enables one to assess how the interlocutors dialogue about basic domains, such as SUFFERING, RETRIBUTION, LIFE, DEATH, and WISDOM.

2.10 – Conclusion

In this chapter, I have laid the groundwork for the study of intratextual metaphors within the discourse of Job. The way forward is to survey the multiple expressions of metaphor that Job and his friends utter throughout their heated dialogue. Conceptual Metaphor Theory offers a way into the conceptual world of the discourse by providing the necessary terminology and linguistic rigor for assessing the way individual metaphors function as well as how they cohere with other metaphors in discourse.

In Carol Newsom's analysis of the divine speech in Job 38-41, she argues that God, a mostly silent interlocutor in the book of Job, challenges Job's "symbolic map" (1994, 9-27). Without a doubt, within the literary construct of the book, Job and his friends exhibit "symbolic maps," that is, conceptual networks that enable them to depict the world according to their experiences. Their expressions of metaphor exhibit their conceptual networks, reveal their shared assumptions, and highlight their unique perspectives on Job's situation. If it is the hearer's charge to interpret the conceptual patterns within in the discourse, then analysis of coherent metaphors throughout the Joban dialogue is an essential task for modern interpreters.

Chapter 3 – SPEECH Metaphors in the Joban Dialogue

אִם-אֶצְדֵּק פִּי יִרְשִׁיעַנִי
תָּם-אֲנִי וַיַּעֲשֵׂנִי

Even if I am righteous, my mouth condemns me.
I am blameless, but it declares me crooked.
- Job 9:20

3.1 – Introduction

Within the discourse world of the book of Job, speech is the primary means for characterization, plot development, and exposition of themes.¹⁰⁴ The narrator intervenes very little and there is no indication that the characters pause between speeches, so the narrative time of the imagined conversation approximates the time-span that it takes to read Job 3:1-42:6.¹⁰⁵ Not only is speech the sole significant action for most of the book, but the relationship between speech/silence and wisdom is a recurrent topic of the Joban dialogue. Speech reveals inner disposition and character, whether that character is pious or wicked. Accordingly, the words that the interlocutors speak are the only means by which Job and his friends are able to discern each other's moral integrity. Readers and interpreters also only have access to the characters via their words and they too are invited to evaluate the wisdom or folly of the speakers on the basis of speech.

The evaluations of speech begin in the book's introduction where the outcome of the divine test hangs upon the substance of Job's speeches: more specifically, whether or not Job

¹⁰⁴ See §1.3.1, for discussion of the “discourse worlds” of the book of Job.

¹⁰⁵ See Bar-Efrat 1989, 147-150, for an explanation of conversation and narrative time. He says, “In conversations the speed of narrated time approximates that of narration time though it does not correspond to it exactly.” The lack of exact correspondence is due to factors such as the stylization of literary representations of speech that are “devoid of idle chatter” (150). While the Joban dialogue is highly stylized, the interlocutors do not seem concerned with abbreviating their speeches; rather, the poetic style adds to the impression of the characters being long-winded.

will speak a curse against God. The narrator affirms Job's initial passing of the test in 2:10 by directing the reader's attention to Job's speech, "In all of this, Job did not sin *with his lips*." In the end, God himself judges Job and the friends on the basis of their speech (38:2; 42:7). The correlation between moral standing and speech is, therefore, a central theme for the book of Job.

In this chapter, I survey SPEECH as a target domain for metaphors in the Joban discourse. My survey also takes into account metaphors for WISDOM when it is related to SPEECH, as it is in Job 13:12. These two concepts are inseparable, since speech is the means by which Job and his friends are judged to be wise or foolish. I assess metaphorical construals for SPEECH on their own and comment on metaphor coherence among the various expressions throughout the chapter. After discussing SPEECH within the Joban discourse, I focus on the metaphorical evaluations of speech in order to draw attention to the interlocutors' points of disagreement, criticisms, and coherence in the dialogue. The survey shows that tracing metaphorical coherence through a target domain is most exegetically beneficial when multiple expressions evoke a particular basic-level source domain. As for SPEECH metaphors in the book of Job, the significations of WORDS ARE WIND are the most perceptibly coherent.

3.2 – SILENCE in the Book of Job

Before turning to the topic of SPEECH, it is useful to consider its corollary SILENCE, which often marks humility, submission, or compliance.¹⁰⁶ The theme of silence first appears with the narrator's report in Job 2:13 that the friends sat with Job seven days and seven nights "and no

¹⁰⁶ Psalm 50:21 demonstrates the contrast between compliance in silence and noncompliance in rebuke: "You have done these [wicked] things and I have been silent; you thought that I was just like you. But I will rebuke you and I will set it out before your eyes" (אַלֶּה עֲשִׂיתָ וְהִתְחַרְשְׁתָּ דְּמִיתָ לִּי וְתָהִי אֵלֶיךָ). The psalmist must speak, lest his silence be taken as agreement with the evildoer.

one spoke a word to him because they saw that his suffering was extreme” (וְאִין־דָּבַר אֵלָיו דְּבַר כִּי) (ראה כִּי־גָדַל הַכָּאֵב מְאֹד). In spite of their propensity for speech, Job and his friends adhere to the maxim to keep silent unless one has a timely or instructive word, in which case one should speak carefully and limitedly (Prov 10:19; 13:3; Qoh 6:11; Sir 28:24-26). The friends only break their silence in chapter 4, because Eliphaz feels the need to rebuke Job for his initial speech in chapter 3. Verbal rebuke is appropriate for one who acts foolishly, affording even a “fountain of life” (Prov 10:10-11). While wisdom often demands silence, speech is necessary for demonstrating wisdom and administering correction, as Sir 4:23-24 advises: “Do not refrain from speaking at the proper moment, and do not hide your wisdom. For wisdom becomes known through speech, and education through the words of the tongue.”

Job repeatedly replies to the friends, because, in his view, they offer no acceptable rebuke. He vows to stop speaking if they are able to teach him: “Teach me, and I will be silent. But how have I gone astray? Make me understand” (הוֹרִינִי וְאֲנִי אֶתְּרִישׁ וּמַה־שִּׁגִּיתִי הִבִּינוּ לִי) (6:24). Likewise, in 13:19 he claims that he would be silent and expire (אֶתְּרִישׁ וְאָגָנָע) if one were able to convict him. Silence represents submission to superior teaching and effective rebuke. Zophar expresses this notion in 11:3, where he asks, “Will your empty talk silence men?” (בְּדִידָה מְתִים) (יִתְּרִישׁוּ). The implied assumption is that only wise speech causes others to be silent; if Job spoke correctly or became silent, the friends would evidently cease with their rebuke. In 29:21-22, Job recalls his former elevated status, when others used to listen to him and silently wait for his counsel (לִי־שָׁמְעוּ וַיִּחַלּוּ וַיִּדְּמוּ לְמוֹ עֲצָתִי), so that after he would speak they would not reply (אֶתְּרִי דְּבַרִּי) (לֹא יִשְׁנוּ) (see §3.4.3.4). This explains his agitation at his interlocutors’ incessant replies. Job’s most emphatic plea for silence is Job 13:5, where he exhorts, “O that you would be completely silent! That would be wisdom for you.” (מִי־יִתֶּן הִתְּרַשׁ תִּתְּרִישׁוּן וְתִהְיֶה לָכֶם לְחֵכְמָה). In Job’s perspective,

the friends' rebuke demonstrates disrespect and lack of knowledge, but the friends feel the same way about Job's speeches. Therefore, the dialogue progresses with one dissatisfying speech after another.

Silence as a sign of submission is physically expressed through the gesture of placing of one's hand upon the mouth.¹⁰⁷ In chapter 29, Job recalls how he took his seat in the square, when rulers restrained speech before him and set their hands upon their mouths (29:9, וְכָרְךָ יָשִׁימוּ לִפְיָהֶם). The covering of the mouth corresponds to the image of princes "hiding" their voices and their tongues "clinging" to their palates when in Job's presence (29:10). They were silent before Job because he was pious and showed compassion for the marginalized (29:11-17). This text presents the gesture as a sign of submission to authority, but also a symbolic recognition of superior wisdom and piety.

The most important gesture of silence in the book is by Job before God in 40:4. After Yahweh completes his first speech from the storm by challenging Job to answer, Job responds with "Look, I am insignificant. How should I reply to you? I place my hand over my mouth." (הֵן (קִלְתִּי מֶה אֲשִׁיבָךְ יְדֵי שְׁמָתִי לְמוֹפִי). Yahweh is the only authority before whom Job submits. Job's gesture of silence demonstrates his submission and respect; it is an oblique confession of the

¹⁰⁷ The hand to mouth gesture occurs six times in the Hebrew Bible. In Judg 18:19, it accords with an emphatic command to be silent. In Prov 30:32, the gesture emphasizes silence, but in this case it is in order to end foolish speech. In Mic 7:16, it is a gesture of shame, awe, and silence in the presence of the powerful acts of God. The other three texts are in Job, all of which indicate that the gesture is a symbol of silence. Besides Job 29:9 and 40:4, examined in the main text, Job proposes the image in 21:5, where Job calls his friends to look at his sickly state and be appalled. He imagines them covering their mouths in horror, implying that his suffering deserved a response of empathetic silence instead of verbal rebuke. See Newell 1984, 307-310. The meaning of the gesture for silence is clear in Sir 5:10-13, "Stand firm for what you know, and let your speech be consistent. Be quick to hear, but deliberate in answering. If you know what to say, answer your neighbor; but if not, *put your hand over your mouth*. Honor and dishonor come from speaking, and the tongue of mortals may be their downfall."

efficacy of Yahweh's teaching (Newell 1984, 310). Through his gesture, Job recognizes Yahweh as Sage and symbolizes his silent submission before the divine authority.

3.3 – Expressions of the Conduit Metaphor in the Book of Job

The covering of one's mouth with the hand is a physical expression and conceptual extension of the conduit conceptual metaphor (see §2.6). The hand represents an obstacle for communication, the transference of words from a speaker's mouth to a hearer's ear. The primary metaphor COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER is the basis for the typical human understanding of communication (Kövecses 2010, 84). This MIND-CONTAINER is often elaborated metonymically as BODY-CONTAINER, signifying the speaker's mouth, which is "filled" with words (23:4), and the hearer's ears as openings to the body-container that metaphorically eject or receive ideas. The physical covering of one's mouth is, therefore, the metaphorical covering of the mind-container, so that words, which metaphorically contain ideas, cannot escape. Once a word is spoken, it enters the ear, which is the hearer's boundary for receiving and testing the message (Job 12:11; 29:11).¹⁰⁸

There are several verbal expressions of the conduit metaphor in the Joban dialogue, with varying degrees of novelty. In Job 4:2, Eliphaz begins his reply to Job's first speech by asking, "Who is able to restrain words?" (וְעֶצֶר בְּמִלִּין מִי יוֹכֵל). The verb עֶצֶר plus בְּמִלִּין conveys an image of

¹⁰⁸ Although ears are the literal means for hearing sound waves of speech, they also signify the metonymic place of understanding, so that "I hear you" often means "I understand you" in communication contexts, rather than referring to the literal sense of hearing. Other senses, such as sight and touch, also relate to body boundaries and signify potential elaborations of the BODY FOR A MIND metonym. For example, one may say, "I see what you mean," so as to evoke the eyes as the metonymic place of understanding and ideas as metaphorical physical objects to see.

holding back words in order to not let them out of the container.¹⁰⁹ The only other biblical occurrence of this verb with reference to speech is Job 29:9 (שָׁרִים עֲצָרוּ בְּמַלִּים) where it parallels the gesture of covering the mouth. By means of his rhetorical question in 4:2, Eliphaz portrays his break from silence not as a decision, but as a natural consequence of Job's speech. His question highlights his inability to hold back his words; he is *compelled* to override his silent status by the need to rebuke Job.

Neither can Job hold back his speech. Throughout his speeches, Job resolutely decides to continue speaking even though he recognizes the potentially harmful consequences of his words (9:20). In 7:11, after reflecting upon the ephemerality of his life, he says, "I also will not hold back my mouth. I will speak in the distress of my spirit. I will complain in the bitterness of my soul." (גַּם־אֲנִי לֹא אֶחָשֵׁךְ פִּי אֶדְבָּרָה בְּצַר רוּחִי אֲשִׁיחָה בְּמַר נַפְשִׁי).¹¹⁰ The first line of this verse activates the conduit metaphor. The verb חָשַׁךְ, like עָצַר, indicates restraining (2 Sam 18:16; Prov 11:24; 13:24; Job 38:23), but often with a non-physical sense of preventing one from sin or danger (Gen 20:6; 1 Sam 25:39; Ps 19:14; Job 33:18; Prov 29:11). Besides Job 7:11, two other biblical occurrences of חָשַׁךְ refer to restraining speech: Prov 17:27, "One who holds back his words has knowledge." (חֹשֶׁךְ אִמָּרָיו יֹדֵעַ דָּעַת) and Prov 10:19, "One who holds back his lips is wise." (חֹשֶׁךְ שְׂפָתָיו מְשִׁכִּיל) (see also §3.4.3.2 on Job 16:5). Conventional wisdom mandates that Job restrain his speech, but Job claims that his situation calls for an exception; thus, he "will not hold back" his words.

¹⁰⁹ Throughout this work, I refer to verbs by their unpointed triconsonantal root. I do this as a matter of convenience, not because there is a distinct "root meaning." Verbs only have meaning in their derived *binyanim*. I specify particular *binyanim* when it matters for my point, otherwise I intend for the triconsonantal root to symbolize the meanings in all *binyanim*.

¹¹⁰ I translate גַּם as "also" and take it as an emphatic reference to Eliphaz's use of the conduit metaphor in 4:2 (Seow 2013, 506-507). Alternatively, it may be a correlative particle ("therefore") that marks a Job's conclusion in light of 7:9-10 on the inevitability of death (Dhorme 1967, 104; Gordis 1978, 81; Clines 1989, 164).

Similar to the use of “lips” in Prov 10:19, Job expresses “mouth” as a metonymy for SPEECH. Holding back one’s mouth is cognitively parallel to physically covering one’s mouth as a gesture of silence. While *לֹא אֶעֱשֶׂה פִּי* in 7:11 is apparently an expression of a highly conventional metaphor (the author did not likely intend for the reader to imagine Job physically holding onto his speech), the metaphor still coheres with the cluster of metaphors that make up the conduit metaphor.

Job 10:1 presents another expression of the conduit metaphor. Here Job resolves to “let loose” his complaint upon himself and speak in the bitterness of his soul (*אֶעֱזֹבָה עָלַי שִׁיחִי אֲדַבְּרָה*). Since his complaint is presented orally, and the last line of the verse explicitly refers to the act of speaking, *אֶעֱזֹבָה* with *שִׁיחִי* must correspond to Job’s speech act. While *עִזַּב* in the *qal* may refer to leaving alone or abandoning, it makes most sense to take it as “let loose” or “release” in 10:1, since *אֶעֱזֹבָה* is followed by the preposition *עָלַי* (compare the releasing of prisoners in 2 Chr 28:14; also Gen 39:6; Exod 23:5).¹¹¹ This is also the meaning of the verb in Job 20:13, where a wicked person conceals wickedness in his mouth and “does not let it go” (*לֹא יַעֲזֹבֶנָּה*). In 20:13 “letting go” signifies releasing the wickedness rather than savoring it or swallowing it.¹¹² The verse implies that a righteous person would spit out the wickedness. Although the topic of the metaphor is not clearly speech, the image parallels the conduit

¹¹¹ In 9:27, Job entertains the idea of “forgetting his complaint” (*אִם-אֶמְרִי אֲשַׁכַּח שִׁיחִי*) and “putting off his sad face” (*אֶעֱזֹבָה פָּנַי*), but knows that no resolution will come of a disingenuous shift in disposition. In the second line, *אֶעֱזֹבָה פָּנַי*, where the object of *עִזַּב* is Job’s state of lament and there is no indirect object (marked by *עָלַי* in 10:1), the meaning is “to put off” or “to abandon.”

¹¹² The metaphor in 20:13 seems to draw upon the source FOOD. The clearest signification of FOOD is *לֶחֶם* in v. 14, but the verb *מתק* (“to be sweet”) in v. 12 also signifies FOOD or DRINK (see Exod 15:25; Prov 9:17). The image is of a person savoring a sweet tasting substance that turns out to be poison once the person has swallowed it.

metaphor, since the mouth is the opening of the human container that functions as the body's gatekeeper. The metaphorical expression "vomiting words" (WORDS ARE VOMIT) makes sense because they are both ejected from the body, words metaphorically so, via the conduit metaphor. Whatever the exact image of 20:13, in 10:1 Job is certainly not leaving his complaint behind; rather, he resolves to speak it and release it upon himself (עָלַי), that is, to speak in spite of the potential harm that it will cause him. He resolves to give full reign and free expression to his complaint.

In chapter 15, Eliphaz affirms Job's earlier recognition that his speech is self-condemning (9:20) and details the deleterious biological process of Job's speech (15:12-13). Eliphaz asks Job in 15:6, "Why does your heart take you? And why do your eyes flash,¹¹³ so that you set your breath against God and bring out words from your mouth?" (מַה־יִּקְרָא לְבָרָךְ וּמַה־יִּרְזָמוֹן עֵינֶיךָ כִּי־תִשָּׁיב)¹¹⁴ In this verse, he traces the process of speech from internal thought and disposition to its externalization in speech. In Eliphaz's view, Job's offensive words issue from his internal decision against God. Again, the mouth is understood as a boundary between internal ideas and external speech. It functions as the final barrier for words before they are "set free."¹¹⁵

¹¹³ יִרְזָמוֹן is a *hapax legomenon* and its meaning is not clear. *HALOT* (3:1210) suggests "wink" and *BDB* (931) has "wink, flash" on the basis of *rmz* ("to make a sign") in Aramaic, Mishnaic Hebrew, and Arabic, assuming metathesis in the MT. Seow (2013, 714) cites the Arabic verb *razama*, "to be still, firm," which he takes as a reference to staring eyes. For other explanations, see Clines 1989, 342.

¹¹⁴ See §3.4.4 for a discussion of רוּחַ, where I interpret 15:13 together with WIND metaphors. I translate it as "breath" here because it better parallels the physical body parts in the other three lines.

¹¹⁵ Zophar expresses a similar notion of internal thoughts prompting him to speak. In 20:2 he is compelled to reply to Job by his "disquieting thoughts" (שִׁעֲפִים). He is disturbed by Job's speech and is prompted by a spirit (רוּחַ) beyond his understanding to reply (v. 3).

This image of venting thoughts is especially apparent in the metaphors that Elihu employs in 32:17-20. Having overheard the dialogue and being dissatisfied with the outcome, he becomes full of words, so that the wind or gas (רוח) in his belly gives him pains (v. 18). His belly, the storehouse of his words, is an unvented, new wineskin that is ready to burst open (v. 19). The only way for him to ease his bloated stomach is to give voice to his thoughts: “I must speak, so that it will be relief for me. I will open my lips and I will answer.” (אֲדַבֶּרָה וַיִּרְוַח־לִי אֶפְתָּהּ (שְׁפָתִי וְאֶעֱנֶה, 32:20).¹¹⁶ Elihu draws upon the conduit metaphor, elaborating THE MIND IS A CONTAINER and IDEAS ARE OBJECTS as ELIHU’S BELLY IS AN UNVENTED WINESKIN and WORDS ARE GAS. He employs this extended set of metaphors in order to convince his audience that he cannot help but speak. If he holds back his words any longer, he will burst open.

Most of the conduit metaphors examined thus far are expressed in order to justify speech, taking the speaker as the topic and focus on the internal-to-external movement of words. With the exception of Elihu’s extended metaphor, the above expressions of the conduit metaphor are relatively conventional and, therefore, not highly perceptible. The degree of perceptibility increases when the interlocutors evaluate words previously expressed in the course of the dialogue. The topic also shifts from justifying the action of speech to describing the content of speech, which puts the focus less on verb signifiers and more on nouns, which are semantically less flexible and tend to promote more perceptible elaborations of metaphor (Deignan 2006, 109). I now turn to these more perceptible elaborations of the conduit metaphor that are expressed in various evaluations of SPEECH throughout the dialogue.

¹¹⁶ רוח in *qal* signifies the idea of making space or emptying. The other biblical occurrence in *qal* is with reference to an evil spirit leaving Saul in 1 Sam 16:23.

3.4 – Metaphorical Evaluations of SPEECH in the Book of Job

Job and his friends regularly begin their speeches with brief evaluations of the preceding dialogue (Course 1994), and their evaluations are always critical, never acknowledging the validity of the other's point of view. For this reason, the interlocutors give the appearance of not listening to one another, but their evaluations of speech show that they pick up on phrases and concepts that others in the dialogue have previously presented. Before setting out to explain their metaphorical evaluations, I will survey the non-metaphorical evaluations of SPEECH in the Joban dialogue. These are more readily understandable and demonstrate the basic evaluatory criticisms more clearly than the metaphorical evaluations.

3.4.1 – *Three Sets of SPEECH Evaluations*

The first evaluation of speech in the book is Job's assessment of his wife's suggestion that he curse God and die: "You speak like one of the foolish women" (2:10). Besides this statement, the narrator's appraisal of Job in 2:10 ("In all this, Job did not sin with his lips"), and Yahweh's statement in 42:7, the evaluations of speech belong to the dialogue. There are three sets of critique in the dialogue between Job and his friends: 1) Job's evaluations of his own speech, 2) the friends' evaluations of Job's speech, and 3) Job's evaluations of the friends' speech. This third category reveals Job's irritation with his friends. The friends never assess the value of their own speeches; they are not self-critical characters. The first two sets of critique dominate the dialogue and center on the nature and consequences of Job's arguments. His speeches are judged as unorthodox and dangerous, and they eventually provoke Yahweh to respond. Yahweh himself evaluates Job's words in his opening lines, "Who is this who darkens counsel with words without knowledge?" (מִי זֶה מְחַשֵּׁיךָ עֲצָה בְּמַלְיָן בְּלִי־דַעַת) (38:2).

3.4.1.1 – Job Evaluates His Own Speech

Job acknowledges that he speaks without caution. In 6:3, Job responds to Eliphaz with an admission that his words have been “rash” (לעז) on account of the severity of his suffering.¹¹⁷ In 9:20, he alleges that his mouth double-crosses him; even though he is righteous and blameless, he says, “my mouth condemns me” and “it declares me crooked” (אִם-אֶצְדֵּק פִּי יִרְשָׁעֵנִי תִם-אֲנִי (וַיִּצְקֶשְׁנִי). Apparently feeling that he is already condemned, he resolves to speak his mind and to continue his accusation that God distorts justice: “It is all the same; therefore I say, ‘He destroys both the blameless and the wicked’” (אֶחָת הִיא עַל-כֵּן אֶמְרֹתִי תִם וְרָשָׁע הוּא מְכַלֶּה) (9:22). In 10:1, he “releases” his complaint upon himself, evidently knowing the hazardous consequences that accompany his complaint against God. Nevertheless, in the next verse (10:2), he asks God to teach him why he contends with him, which shows that he maintains some hope for a proper resolution or at least insight into his suffering.

The tension between Job’s self-condemnatory complaint and his hope that God will hear his case becomes prominent in chapter 13. He states in 13:3 that his desire is to argue with God. His friends malign him for it, but he persists in his dispute against God. In 13:13, he commands his friends to be silent and to allow him to keep speaking, adding “let come on me what may” (וַיַּעֲבֹר עָלַי מָה) as an admission of the potential danger in his speech. The hazardous nature of his words is confirmed in 13:14, where he likens his decision to argue against God to the action of

¹¹⁷ The verbal form לָעַז is difficult. With Delitzsch 1949, 1:110; Fohrer 1963, 160; Gordis 1978, 70; Clines 1989, 158; BDB 534; and HALOT 2:533; I take לָעַז as the 3mp of the geminate root לעז or hollow root לוע meaning “to speak rashly” or “stammer.” This meaning coordinates with OG, φαῦλα (“worthless” or “careless”). The only other occurrence of לעז is Prov 20:25, “It is a trap for a man to speak rashly ‘It is holy’” (מוֹקֵשׁ אָדָם יֵלַע קֹדֶשׁ). Job’s confession in 6:2-3 that his words have been “rash” on account of his “vexation” (כַּעֲשִׁי) may be in response to Eliphaz’s proverbial statement in 5:2, “Surely, vexation kills the fool” (כִּי-לְאֹוִיל יִהְרָג-כַּעֲשׁ) (Habel 1985, 144-145; Seow 2013, 454).

an animal mauling itself, “I will take my flesh in my teeth” (see §4.3.2.1). In spite of his belief that God may kill him, Job does not wait to speak, but resolves to argue his ways before God’s face (v. 15).¹¹⁸ His hope consists of a reframed dialogue with God, in which God would remove his oppressive hand, and they would speak to one another in an orderly fashion (13:21-22). The legal metaphor so prevalent in Job’s speeches (see 9:33-35) is a means for Job to reimagine his scenario and to state his hope that God will hear his case and decide upon his innocence.¹¹⁹ In 23:3-6, Job again expresses his desire for a face-to-face hearing with God, saying in vv. 3-4, “O that I knew where I might find him, that I might come to his dwelling place; I would set out before him what is right and fill my mouth with arguments.” (מִי־יָדַעְתִּי וְאֶמְצָאֵהוּ אֲבוֹא עַד־תְּכוֹנָתוֹ) (אֶעֱרָכָה לְפָנָיו מִשְׁפָּט וּפִי אֲמַלֵּא תוֹכָחוֹת). He imagines that his speech would be effective in this newly envisioned trial format.

¹¹⁸ With Gordis 1979, 144; Habel 1985, 225; and Clines 1989, 312-313; and against Fohrer 1963, 238, 251; Tur-Sinai 1967, 225; and Seow 2013, 659; I understand v. 15 (הֵן יִקְטְלֵנִי לֹא אֵיחָל אֶדְרֹכֶי) (אֶל־פָּנָיו אוֹכִיחַ) as “Look, he may kill me, but I will *not* wait. I will argue my ways before his face.” This translation is in line with the *ketib* (לֹא) and OG, against the *qere* (לֹ) (“Though he slays me, I will wait *for him*”), which takes Job’s statement as an expression of hope. I interpret the *ketib* as a pious correction that is out of place in the context of Job’s complaint (Jacobson 1981, 67). I understand הֵן יִקְטְלֵנִי לֹא אֵיחָל as “I will not wait (to speak),” rather than a simple statement of hopelessness (“I have no hope”). The b-line of v. 15 implies speech as Job resolves “to argue” his ways before God. Verse 16 also conveys some hope, “Also, it [my argument] is my salvation” (גַּם־הוֹשָׁע־לִי), even if restoration is a distant possibility in Job’s view. Job understands that whether he will die or be rescued, his condemnation or his salvation is directly dependent on his decision to voice his complaint. Since there is no resolution if he is silent, he *decides* to speak whatever the consequences. Habel (1985, 225) compares Job’s resolution to continue speaking with Elihu’s waiting for the friends to finish speaking. In contrast, Habel says, “Job, however, does not plan to ‘wait’ silently for God to speak, but will take the initiative even if it proves disastrous.”

¹¹⁹ For the prevalence of the legal metaphor in the book of Job, see Richter 1959; Roberts 1973; Dick 1979; Habel 1985, 31; Magdalene 2007; and Shveka and Van Hecke 2014.

Job, therefore, fully recognizes that his act of arguing with God is life-threatening and ill-advised from the perspective of conventional wisdom, but he holds his argument out as his only hope. There is no hope for him in disingenuous silence. As he says to God in 9:27-28,

אִם-אֶמְרִי אֲשַׁכַּח שִׁיחִי
אֶעֱזֹבָה פָּנַי וְאֶבְלִיגָה
יִגְרָתִּי כָל-עֲצָבֹתַי
יִדְעֵתִי כִּי-לֹא תִגְאֹנֵנִי

If I say, “I will forget about my complaint
and put off my sad face and smile,”
I am afraid of all my pain.
I know that you will not acquit me.

Job’s only hope is to give voice to his complaint and accept the consequences. There is no integrity or hope for restitution in his silence or simple change of disposition.¹²⁰ In a sense, Job has nothing left to lose, so the risk of speech is minimal; nevertheless, his self-evaluations show that he grasps completely the potential for his accusation against God to lead to his condemnation and death. In this, he agrees with the friends’ evaluations of his speech.

3.4.1.2 – The Friends Evaluate Job’s Speech

The primary focus of the friends’ criticism is not Job’s supposed past sin but his current foolish speech. Their goal is to convince Job to stop speaking, and they issue repeated warnings that his accusations prove his folly and are leading to his condemnation. In 11:2-3, Zophar asks

¹²⁰ To “forget” his complaint in this context is to deliberately “ignore” his argument or put it out of mind. See Fox 2000, 120, for this meaning with regard to the strange woman “forgetting” her covenant with God (וְאֶת-בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיהָ שָׁכַחָה, Prov 2:17). In an echo of 9:27-28, Zophar suggests that if Job called upon God and removed wickedness from his tents (11:13-14), then he would be able to forget his trouble (כִּי-אֶתָּה עָמַל תִּשְׁכַּח, 11:16) and lift his face (כִּי-אֶזַע תִּשָּׂא פָנָיִךְ, 11:15). When Job describes “forgetting” his case, it entails a decision to be silent, but Zophar argues that repentant prayer and removal of sin are the prerequisites for “forgetting trouble.”

whether “a man of lips” should be found innocent (אִם־אִישׁ שְׁפָתָיו יִצְדָּק), seemingly evoking LIPS as a metonymy for SPEECH and referring to Job’s loquacious behavior. In the parallel line, he accuses him of speaking a “multitude of words” (רַב דְּבָרִים, 11:2), and in 11:3 he speaks of Job’s empty talk (בְּדִירָה) and mocking (וַתִּלְעַג).¹²¹ In 15:6, Eliphaz claims that Job condemns himself with his mouth and that his own lips testify against him, which echoes Job’s earlier statement in 9:20 that his mouth condemns him.¹²² The friends and Job do not disagree about the dangerous nature of Job’s speech; rather, they disagree about the certainty of the punishment that Job will receive from God, the friends expressing more consistent confidence in a disastrous outcome. The friends entertain no hope for Job to succeed in his case and consider his complaint to be a sign of folly and even wickedness. The only hope that they offer him is restoration through repentant prayer and declaration of praise to God (5:8-16; 8:5; 11:13-15), a form of speech that Job finds dishonest and unpalatable in his case.¹²³

¹²¹ Zophar’s speech in chapter 20 is almost entirely about the destruction of the wicked. He finishes his speech in 20:29 by saying, “This (destruction) is the portion of a wicked man from God and the inheritance of his word from God.” (זֶה חֵלֶק־אָדָם רָשָׁע מֵאֱלֹהִים וְנַחֲלַת אָמְרוֹ מֵאֵל). In my view, וְנַחֲלַת אָמְרוֹ refers to the wicked man’s word, which brings about punishment. The destruction/portion of the wicked person is “the inheritance of his word.” Clines (1989, 480) states that “word” is difficult here and considers various emendations or creative interpretations, none of which is satisfactory. But “word” makes good sense if it is understood in light of the friends’ retributive linking of foolish speech and divine punishment. Zophar begins his speech in 20:3 by calling Job’s speech “a chastisement that insults me” and closes his speech by pointing to the severe punishment for a wicked word.

¹²² Cheney (1994, 277) points to 15:6 as Eliphaz’s antithesis to the narrator’s proclamation in 2:10 that Job did not sin with his lips.

¹²³ On the friends’ recommendation of prayer, see Newsom 2003a, 109-115.

3.4.1.3 – Job Evaluates the Friends’ Speech

The third set of evaluations is Job’s evaluations of the friends’ speeches. Job’s assessment is that they offer false rebuke (6:25), ignore the content of his argument (13:6; 21:2-3), and speak lies for God (13:7). He claims that they are unwise and use their words to cause him harm (17:10; 19:2-3, 22). Their counsel is justified in their own eyes, but their instruction has little value because it is out of place (13:12). Job is innocent, so their rebuke does not apply to him; their words are pointless and injurious. Job 21:34 exemplifies his perspective: “How will you comfort me with breath? As for your answers, unfaithfulness remains.” (וְאַיִךְ תַּנְחֵמוּנֵי הָבָל (וְתִשׁוּבוּתֵיכֶם נִשְׁאַר־מַעַל). Job maintains that the friends’ responsibility is to comfort him, but instead they offer speeches that are ephemeral (הָבָל) and malicious (מַעַל).¹²⁴

3.4.2 – *DESTRUCTIVE WORDS*

Having surveyed the prosaic significations of *SPEECH*, I begin analysis of the metaphorical evaluations of *SPEECH* with the conceptual metaphor *WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS*. Two expressions of this metaphor are in Eliphaz’s first speech where he elaborates the *DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS* slot with *SWORD* and *WHIP*. In the other two possible occurrences of *WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS*, the metaphor is less apparent either because the meaning of the lexeme that potentially marks *DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS* is not clear (18:2) or the *DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS* slot is not elaborated (19:2).

¹²⁴ For הָבָל as “breath” in 21:34 to evoke *EPHEMERALITY*, see §3.5.2 n. 168.

3.4.2.1 – Job 5:15-16

In Job 5, Eliphaz presents the argument that Job should seek God and give praise for God’s rebuke. In vv. 15-16, Eliphaz recounts how God rescues the needy from the injustice of the powerful. Their injustice is evident in their weapon-like words.

וַיִּשַׁע מִחֶרֶב מִפִּיהֶם	15 He saves from the sword from their mouths ¹²⁵
וּמִיַּד חֲזָק אֲבִיּוֹן	and the needy from the hand of the powerful. ¹²⁶
וַתְּהִי לְדָל תִּקְוָה	16 There is hope for the poor,
וְעִלְתָּה קִפְצָּה פִּיהָ	and injustice shuts its mouth.

פֶּה signifies SPEECH in both of these verses. Verse 16 implies that God silences unjust *people*, with עִלְתָּה functioning as a metonym for people who practice injustice (Seow 2013, 442). The metaphor in v. 15a is more difficult. Reading with the MT, the sword proceeds from the mouth of the wicked; therefore, SWORD maps with WORDS OF THE WICKED. The conceptual metaphor is WORDS ARE WEAPONS or, more specifically, WORDS OF THE WICKED ARE SWORDS. This metaphor does not otherwise occur in the book of Job, but appears in Psalms a few times (Pss 57:5; 59:8; 64:4). The closest parallel is Ps 59:8, which refers to “swords on their lips”

¹²⁵ See Clines 1989, 117, for scholarly emendations of מִחֶרֶב מִפִּיהֶם. Seow (2013, 441) emends to מִחֶרֶב מִפִּיהֶם and translates “he saves the devastated from traps.” Pope (1965, 44) and Habel (1985, 117) emend מִפִּיהֶם to פְּתִיִּים “simple ones” to parallel אֲבִיּוֹן. I agree with Clines (1989, 117) that the MT makes fine sense if “the sword from their mouth” is understood metaphorically.

¹²⁶ The ellipsis in v. 15a is unusual because the object in the second line, אֲבִיּוֹן, is implied for the first line. On account of this abnormal construction, Dhorme (1967, 67) and Seow (2013, 442) revocalize מִחֶרֶב as מְחָרֵב (*hophal* participle) “ruined man” or “devastated one.” If this emendation is correct, the WORDS ARE WEAPONS does not occur in this verse. However, while the revocalization is possible, it would be an anomalous use of the verb חָרַב to signify a single person or type of person (Delitzsch 1949, 1:101).

(חַרְבוֹת בְּשִׁפְתוֹתֵיהֶם) that the evil nations speak, evidently meaning that the words themselves are their weapons.

3.4.2.2 – Job 5:20-21

Just a few verses after Eliphaz signifies WORDS OF THE WICKED ARE SWORDS, he refers literally to the “power of the sword” and metaphorically to the “whip of the tongue.”

בְּרָעַב פָּדָה מִמָּוֶת	20 In famine, he redeems you from death,
וּבְמִלְחָמָה מִיַּד חֶרֶב	and in war, from the power of the sword. ¹²⁷
בְּשׁוֹט לְשׁוֹן תִּתְּחַבֵּא	21 You are hidden from the whip of the tongue. ¹²⁸
וְלֹא־תִירָא מִשֹּׂד כִּי יָבוֹא	And you will not fear violence when it comes.

The “whip of the tongue” (בְּשׁוֹט לְשׁוֹן) is parallel to other tangible acts of devastation from which God rescues according to Eliphaz. The lexeme שׁוֹט most commonly signifies the nominal concept WHIP (1Kgs 12:11, 14; Isa 10:26; Nah 3:2; Prov 26:3). In Job 9:23, “If the whip kills suddenly” (אִם־שׁוֹט יָמִית פְּתָאֵם), שׁוֹט may refer to a more general scourge that brings disaster, but there is no clear indication of this generalization in 5:21. Moreover, the parallel with חֶרֶב in v. 20b suggests an actual weapon. Since tongues do not literally whip people, “the whip of the tongue” in 5:21 is metaphorical and refers to malicious speech (MALICIOUS SPEECH IS LASHING

¹²⁷ “The hands” (יָדַיִם) of the sword is an idiom for the sword’s power to kill. This idiom also occurs in Jer 18:21 and Ps 63:11. One may reason that “hands” serves as a metonym for the person who wields the sword and has the actual power for violence.

¹²⁸ The ב preposition on בְּשׁוֹט should possibly be emended to מ (מִשׁוֹט) since the versions indicate “from.” For orthographic and phonological examples of the מ/ב interchange, see Tov 2012, 230-231. Fohrer (1963, 133) supposes that ב is a scribal error resulting from the ב prepositions at the beginning of both lines in v. 20. Alternatively, ב may simply intend “from” in this case (Sarna 1959, 310-316; Dhorme 1967, 70; Blommerde 1969, 45; Seow 2013, 445).

WITH A WHIP). Seow (2013, 445) proposes that the image here is not just slanderous speech, but something more menacing and parallel to the life-taking appetite of Môt in Ugaritic mythology. While the parallels with “death” (מָוֶת), “war” (מִלְחָמָה), and “violence” (דָּבָר) suggest tangible causes of devastation, the “lashing” of the tongue does not imply consumption as does the mouth of Môt. Burns (1991, 96) argues that an image of a plague makes best sense because of the parallel nouns. Therefore, he says that the scourge of the tongue indicates a “social plague” and includes “any verbal activity that undermined the moral foundations of a society.” While I agree that “the whip of the tongue” encompasses any kind of malicious speech and emphasizes the extreme danger of such speech, the image of a whip-tongue conveys speech as a powerful *weapon* of destruction, so the metaphor is WORDS ARE WEAPONS, rather than WORDS ARE A PLAGUE.

3.4.2.3 – Job 18:2

At the beginning of Bildad’s speech in chapter 18, he comments on Job’s use of words. The sense of his metaphorical expression is obscure because of the uncertain meaning of קִנְיָ in 18:2a. With reservation, I include this verse here because some argue that Bildad’s expression refers to words as traps.

עַד־אַנָּה תְּשִׁימוֹן קִנְצֵי לְמַלִּין	2 How long will you set ¹²⁹ traps for words? ¹³⁰
תְּבִינֵנו וְאַחֵר נִדְבֵר	You should think, and afterward we will speak.

The meaning of the verse is likely in line with the introductory lines of other speeches, which often comment on the ignorance or foolishness of one's opponents (8:2; 11:2-6; 12:2-3; 15:2-6; 19:2-3; 20:3). Bildad implores Job to think before speaking (v. 2b) and criticizes Job in 18:3-4 for speaking to them as if they are stupid (see §4.3.2.3). Whether there is a DESTRUCTIVE WORDS metaphor in 18:2 depends on the signification of קִנְצֵי, which appears to be a plural construct of קִנְיָ, an otherwise unattested word in the Hebrew Bible. There are two main scholarly interpretations of this word. First, some explain it as “trap, snare” on the basis of the Arabic verb *qanaṣa* meaning “ensnare” (BDB 890; Driver and Gray 1921, 2:116; Pope 1965, 124; Gordis

¹²⁹ Course (1994, 105, 108, 154) emends תְּשִׁימוֹן to the 2mp of נָשַׁם (“to breathe, blow, pant”), but he does not provide evidence. He also translates קִנְצֵי as “end,” so that the idea is “blowing an end.” He then draws a parallel between 18:2 and the “windy words” image in 16:3a, “Is there an end to your windy words?” In my view, his emendation of תְּשִׁימוֹן in 18:2 is unwarranted. Course’s interpretation comes off as an attempt to force a text into a paradigm of coherence, so that 18:2 more clearly responds to 16:3. His project seeks to find connections between the speeches (as does mine), which can lead to skewing the evidence to support a desired outcome. On the one hand, it is natural and expected to read for coherence. On the other hand, one must be on guard to not impose coherence without substantive evidence.

¹³⁰ I take Job as the subject of the plural verbs תְּשִׁימוֹן and תְּבִינֵנו. See Clines 1989, 409-410, and Seow 2013, 779, for an overview of interpretative solutions to this incongruence. Seow thinks that the plurals are Bildad’s way of grouping Job with the wicked, whom he refers to in the plural in v. 5a (771). Habel (1985, 280) says that Bildad uses the plural form as “a traditional exordium style to emphasize his sarcasm by echoing the plural language used by Job (12:2; 19:2).” This raises the possibility that Bildad is virtually quoting Job, as Job does in 16:3 (Tur-Sinai 1967, 285; see §3.4.4.6), so that readers should imagine Bildad mimicking Job’s criticism of the friends. Gordis (1978, 190) argues that this cannot be the case, because the verbs in 18:3 (נִשְׁכְּנוּ and נִבְטְנוּ) are also plural, referring to the speaker and his company (that is, Bildad and the friends). Verse 18:3 could also be part of the quotation, except that the pronominal suffix (בְּעֵינֵיכֶם), which refers to the eyes of the speaker’s opponents, is also in the plural; thus both the subject of 18:3 (“we,”) and the addressee (“your eyes”) are plural. Tur-Sinai (1967, 286) emends to a singular pronominal suffix in order to account for taking 18:2 as a quote.

1978, 190; Habel 1985, 280-281). Habel (1985, 279) translates the line as, “How long will you set word snares?” and correlates this with “word games.” Job is not otherwise accused of being sneaky or tricky with his words, so this interpretation is unlikely. Moreover, traps are not for games, but for hunting prey, as the multiple expressions of TRAP in 18:8-10 make clear. If “traps” is the correct translation, it correlates with the threat he poses to his friends; he lays traps for their words. In light of v. 3, where Bildad questions if Job considers them animals, Bildad’s accusation may be that Job sets verbal traps for the friends as if he is hunting them like animals. He considers them stupid enough to fall prey to his arguments.

A second explanation is to take קִנְיָ as “end of” as an Aramaizing by-form of קִנְיָ with dissimilation of the geminate by an insertion of *nun* (Fohrer 1963, 297; Clines 1989, 404; Seow 2013, 779; HALOT 3:1115;). 11QtgJob reflects this reading with סוף “end” (Clarke 1982, 20–21). LXX has “will you not stop” (οὐ παύσῃ), evidently taking it as a form of קָנָה, but the Greek does not lexically signify the concept WORDS. Perhaps, “end” makes better sense of “think” in the second line, meaning that Job should be quiet and consider the words of the friends. The problem with taking the line as “How long will you put an end to words?” is that Job has not stopped talking. Rather than being silent, putting an end to words would have to mean something along the lines of subverting the dialogue or at least misusing words.¹³¹

Neither interpretive option is entirely convincing. In the first option, “traps” corresponds well with the DESTRUCTIVE WORDS metaphors in the book of Job, especially with 19:2 (see below). However, there is only weak philological evidence for the existence of the noun קִנְיָ. The second option, “end,” is more probable, although the meaning of “putting an end to words” is not

¹³¹ Clines (1989, 404) adds a preposition in his translation, “How long *before* you will end your speeches.” Seow (2013, 779) argues against adding the preposition, but does not otherwise explain his translation of “How long will you put an end to words?”

clear. If קנצי is an Aramaizing by-form of קץ, there is no DESTRUCTIVE WORDS metaphor in 18:2. The idea of Job somehow harming words and their corresponding concepts by speaking his complaint may be present, but in this case, words are the recipient of Job's abuse rather than his weapon.

3.4.2.4 – Job 19:2

Job's initial response to Bildad's speech on the fate of the wicked is to criticize the friends' words as hurtful, questioning how long they will abuse him.

עַד־אָנָה תּוֹגִיּוֹן נַפְשִׁי וּתְדַכְּאוּנִי בְּמַלִּים	2 How long will you torment my soul and crush me with words?
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The plural verbs in 19:2 suggest that Job is addressing all three friends, as is typical of Job's speeches, but the verse seems to specifically address Bildad's expression in 18:2. Bildad has criticized Job for his misuse of speech, and Job counters by disparaging his friends for their harsh words. According to 19:3, they shamelessly seek to humiliate him ("These ten times you have humiliated me. You are not ashamed that you mistreat me." זֶה עָשָׂר פְּעָמִים תְּכַלְמוּנִי לֹא־תִבְשׁוּ (תִּהְיוּ לִי תִּהְיוּ לִי)). Both 19:2 and 18:2 begin with "how long" (עַד־אָנָה), a question that occurs only in these two Joban texts and Bildad's expression in 8:2 (עַד־אָן). Other parallels include the signification of SPEECH with the lexeme מַלִּים, the *paragogic nun* on verbs, and use of נַפֶּשׁ to signify the locus of Job's pain (Course 1994, 115-116; Van der Lugt, 1995, 229). On this last point, Bildad accuses Job in 18:4a of tearing his own soul (טָרַף נַפְשׁוֹ), and Job counters in 19:2 by blaming the friends for tormenting his soul (תּוֹגִיּוֹן נַפְשִׁי).

The nature of the metaphor in 19:2b hinges on the meaning of דָּכָא in the D-stem. In some cases, the word signifies a more general idea of harm, such as “crushing” someone “at the gate” (Job 5:4; Prov 22:22), likely referring to unfair judgment or financial abuse. This is the accusation that Eliphaz levels against Job when he accuses him of sending widows away empty handed and “crushing” the arms of orphans (22:9). One might argue that the lexeme signifies the abstract meaning of “to do harm” without indicating whether the harm is physical, spiritual, or emotional. Alternatively, I contend that the literal signification of the lexeme is physical crushing and that “crushing with words” is a conventional metaphor. In the majority of its occurrences, דָּכָא refers to physical affliction or killing (Isa 53:5, 10; Pss 89:10; 94:5; Job 4:19; 6:9). In Isa 3:15, the verb is in parallel with טָהַן (“grind”) in order to metaphorically portray God crushing people. The nominal form, דָּכָא, occurs two times with both texts signifying physical objects that are crushed (testicles in Deut 23:3 and dust in Ps 90:3). The associations of דָּכָא with physical pulverization are the best indicators that this is the literal meaning of the verb. Typically, lexemes gain senses through metaphorical extension on a trajectory from physical and specific to non-physical and abstract (Lakoff 1987, 416-417; Sweetser 1990, 19-20; Kövecses 2010, 252, 255-257). Thus, the abstract sense of “crushing with words” relies on understanding דָּכָא metaphorically. The metaphorical nature of “crushing” is unambiguous in Ps 34:19 where the Psalmist says that God “saves the crushed in spirit” (וַאֲתֵּדְכָא־יְרוּחַ יוֹשִׁיעַ); he uses the construct with רוּחַ to explicitly mark the metaphorical and non-physical nature of “crushing.”

The metaphor in 19:2 is, therefore, THE FRIENDS’ WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS. Job’s claim is that their speeches metaphorically pulverize him. Still, the metaphor is conventional. The parallel lexeme, יָגַה (“to torment”), does not obviously occur with images of physical affliction, so the context does nothing to make the WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS

metaphor stand out.¹³² Additionally, since there is no nominal signifier of a weapon or harmful implement, as there is in Job 5:15, 21, the perceptibility of the metaphor is low. The author does not likely intend for the reader to struggle with the metaphorical meaning. The conventional metaphor is simply a subtle way for Job to portray his friends as his enemies and accuse them of verbal abuse.

Coherence

The best case for coherence between the expressions of the DESTRUCTIVE WORDS metaphor is between 5:15-16 and 5:20-21. Both are part of Eliphaz's speech, so the spatial proximity is close, they are novel expressions of metaphor, and they both signify the same basic conceptual metaphor, namely, WORDS ARE WEAPONS. In 5:15-16, Eliphaz claims that God saves the needy from "the sword of their mouth," that is, the speech of the unjust, and in 5:20-21, he assures Job that God will save him from "the whip of the tongue." The metaphorical expressions exhibit Eliphaz's hope for Job, since he aligns Job with the needy rather than the wicked in these expressions. At this point, Eliphaz does not intend to portray Job's words as "destructive."

By the time Bildad speaks in chapter 18, however, the friends have seemingly lost hope. Bildad criticizes Job for "setting traps for words" (or "putting an end to words"). If Bildad's expression signifies "traps," it does not clearly cohere with those of Eliphaz in chapter 5, since traps belong to the conceptual category of HUNTING rather than WEAPONS. Job's expression in 19:2, however, picks up on Bildad's "how long" question, by asking how long the friends will devastate him with words. Job's rhetorical accusation evokes the WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE

¹³² Lamentations 1:5, 12 may suggest physical affliction since it refers to the tangible suffering of God's people at the hand of God (Habel 1985, 299).

OBJECTS conceptual metaphor that coheres well with Eliphaz's portrayal of words as weapons. The spatial proximity between 19:2 and 5:15-16, 20-21 is too distant to argue for perceptible coherence, but the development of the dialogue is still exposed by comparing these metaphorical construals. Whereas Eliphaz asserts that "the wicked" wield weapons of unjust speech, Job implicitly groups his friends among the wicked for "crushing" him with these very weapons. He is ironically in need of God's deliverance from *their* tongue-lashing.

3.4.3 – STRENGTHENING WORDS

Some words demolish or devastate; other words enliven and strengthen. In the book of Job, there are three references to Job's use of language to strengthen people, either in his pre-suffering stage of life (4:3-4; 29:21-23) or in hypothetical circumstances (16:4-5). Additionally, in 26:2, Bildad expresses the WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS metaphor to question whether it applies to Job's words. All four expressions of WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS cohere at a specific level because they all use elaboration to specify WORDS as JOB'S WORDS.

3.4.3.1 – Job 4:3-4

In Eliphaz's first speech, he reminds Job of how he used to enliven sufferers by means of his speech, but criticizes Job for not heeding his own life-giving words.

הִנֵּה יִסְרֶתָּ רַבִּים	3 Look, you have corrected many,
וְיָדַיִם רַפּוֹת תְּחַזֵּק	and you would strengthen weak hands.
כֹּזֵל יְקִימוּן מִלֵּידָה	4 Your words would raise up one who stumbles,
וּבִרְכָּיִם כָּרְעוֹת תַּאֲמִץ	and you would make bent knees strong.

In this affirmation of Job, Eliphaz identifies Job as a teacher and sage. It is not that Job spoke encouragement to help sufferers get through difficult times, but that his rebuke or admonishment resulted in the weak becoming strong. The verb יסר in all *binyanim* signifies instruction involving discipline in response to sin or moral instruction for avoidance of sin.¹³³ It often occurs with reference to God rebuking his people (Lev 26:18; Jer 10:24; Hos 10:10; Ps 118:18). In these texts, God's action is not wrathful condemnation but his gracious chastisement. The verb also signifies verbal correction or warning against sin in contexts where one is teaching wisdom to subordinates or sufferers (Deut 8:5; Isa 8:11; Pss 39:12; 94:10, 12; Prov 19:18; 29:17). In Hos 7:15, the prophet writes in the voice of God, "I disciplined, I strengthened their arms. And yet they plan evil against me." (וְאֶנִּי יִסְרְתִי חֲזֻקְתִּי וְרוּעָתָם וְאֵלֵי יִחְשְׁבוּ-דָרַע). Although the means for God's discipline is not necessarily speech in Hos 7:15, the image of strengthening arms is parallel to the strengthening of hands in Job 4:3. In both texts, correction provides metaphorical physical strength.

The verbs signifying "to strengthen" in Job 4:3-4 occur regularly to express inner resolve. חזק often refers to becoming resolute, courageous, or mighty without obvious reference to physical strength, but when it has a body part as its object, as in the "hands" of Job 4:3, it signifies corporeal empowerment. The image of strengthening hands occurs multiple times in the Hebrew Bible as a metaphor for inner resolve or courage (in *qal*, Judg 7:11; 2 Sam 2:7; 16:21; Ezek 22:14; Zech 8:9, 13; in *piel*, Judg 9:24; 1 Sam 23:16; Isa 35:3; Jer 23:14; Ezek 13:22). אָמַץ also commonly refers to the formation of faith or the lack of fear. As with חזק, the verb's primary sense in all *binyanim* is growth in physical strength or firmness, but through metaphorical

¹³³ The few cases in which simple teaching of a skill is the topic include Isa 28:26 (instruction for farming) and 1 Chr 15:2 (instruction in singing).

extension it comes to signify inner resolve. As is typical with metaphor, the abstract conceptual domain EMOTION, or perhaps CHARACTER is more fitting for the present discussion, is described in terms of embodied and physical experience (Lakoff 1987, 416-417; Sweetser 1990, 19-20; Kövecses 2010, 252, 255-257). Thus, while the verb alone may signify the metaphor INNER RESOLVE IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH in certain discourse contexts, when the object of the *piel* verb is a body part (“hands”) the metaphor is more explicit and perceptible. The only other case of strengthening (אַמַץ) knees is Isa 35:3, where the people of God are called to strengthen their weak hands (חַזְקוּ יָדֵיכֶם רַפּוֹת) and stabilize their stumbling knees (בְּרַפְּיָם כְּשָׁלוֹת אַמְּצוּ). Here too the body metaphor intends inner resolve and encouragement.

The third image of physical renewal in Job 4:3-4, “your words have raised up one who stumbles” (כִּשְׂלָה יִקְיִמוּן מִלֵּידָה), makes clear that Job’s medium for restoring strength is speech. The conceptual metaphor in 4:3-4, JOB’S WORDS OF INSTRUCTION ARE OBJECTS THAT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH, elaborates the primary metaphors of the conduit metaphor for basic communication. Most explicitly, the conventional metaphor RIGHT THINKING OR MORAL RECTITUDE IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH specifies the primary metaphor LOGICAL STRUCTURE IS PHYSICAL STRUCTURE. The seemingly idiomatic sense of the metaphorical expressions in 4:3-4 (especially true for “strengthening hands”) would seem to indicate that the conceptual metaphors are fairly conventional. However, the repeated signification of bodily status (weak hands, stumbling, unstable knees) represents an extension of the typically conventional image and enhances the metaphor’s perceptibility.

3.4.3.2 – Job 16:4-5

In a similar recognition of Job’s ability to verbally strengthen those who suffer, Job imagines a role reversal with his friends. He begins his speech in 16:2 by responding to Eliphaz’s metaphorical suggestion in 15:35 that godless people conceive trouble (עָמַל) and give birth to sin (אָוֶן). Job picks up on עָמַל and calls his friends “troublesome comforters” (מְנַחֲמֵי עָמַל), that is, comforters who bring misery (Course 1994, 100; Seow 2013, 732). This reflects his earlier portrayal of the friends as deceitful and useless healers (13:4). In 16:4-5, he criticizes the rhetorical strategies of his friends by imagining a role reversal.

גַּם אֲנֹכִי כְכֶם אֲדַבֵּרָה	4 I also might speak like you,
לִוְיִשׁ נִפְשְׁכֶם תַּחַת נִפְשִׁי	if only you were in my place.
אֲחַבִּירָה עֲלֵיכֶם בְּמַלִּים	I could join words against you, ¹³⁴
וְאֶנִּיעָה עֲלֵיכֶם בְּמוֹ רֹאשִׁי	or I could shake my head against you.
אֶאֱמָצְכֶם בְּמוֹ-פִי	5 I could strengthen you with my mouth,
וְנִיד שִׁפְתֵי יִהְיֶה	or quivering could hold back my lips. ¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Finkelstein (1956, 328-331) proposes that חָבַר is cognate with Akkadian *hbr*, “to make a sound.” He translates 16:4c as “I could harangue you with words” (331). For this interpretation, see also Loretz 1961, 293-294; and Clines 1989, 369. *HALOT* 1:287 has “be brilliant in words against.” This would be the only case of חָבַר with this meaning in biblical Hebrew. With Gordis 1978, 174; Habel 1985, 264; and Seow 2013, 741-742, I am taking חָבַר in its usual sense in biblical Hebrew “to join together”; that is, “I could make a joining with words” (BDB 288) or “I could compose words.”

¹³⁵ I take נִיד as the subject and שִׁפְתֵי as the object of יִהְיֶה (Gordis 1978, 175; Seow 2013, 742), rather than the common interpretation of נִיד שִׁפְתֵי as a construct chain. Seow (2013, 742) suggests that disjunctive accent on נִיד indicates that the Masoretes did not understand the nouns as construct, but the accent is the conjunctive *tarḥa* in the book of Job. The more convincing evidence for taking נִיד as the subject and שִׁפְתֵי as the object are the parallel wisdom texts that have חֹשֶׁךְ with objects of speech, namely, Job 7:11 (“mouth”), Prov 10:19 (“lips”), and Prov 17:27 (“words”). The line makes most sense with “hold back my lips” as an idiom for silence. See §3.3 on these verses and the conduit metaphor.

There are two primary ways that scholars interpret Job 16:4-5. First, some contrast the images of rebuke and scorn in v. 4 (ways Job *could* speak to his hypothetical friends) with the images of encouragement and restrained speech in v. 5 (ways Job *would* speak to the friends) (Habel 1985, 271; Clines 1989, 379; Seow 2013, 729). These scholars indicate the contrast between v. 4 and v. 5 by introducing either the contrasting conjunction, “but,” or by translating the verbs in v. 4 with “could” and the verbs in v. 5 with “would.” This interpretation is strained, however, because the Hebrew does not indicate any such contrast. The second approach is to read all of the images of Job’s response in vv. 4-5 together as ways that Job would positively console the friends if they were in his place (Gordis 1978, 174-175; Newsom 1996, 457-458). This interpretation presents a more coherent structure of vv. 4b-5, but is strained by the disparity in the images themselves. While there is scholarly consensus that Job views “strengthening with words” and “withholding lips” in v. 5 positively, the nature of “joining words against” and “shaking the head against” is disputed. Newsom and Gordis claim that to “shake the head” can be a positive gesture, but every other biblical occurrence of this gesture with the verb נוּע (always in *hiphil*) is associated with mocking or taunting (2 Kgs 19:21; Pss 22:8; 109:25; Lam 2:15).¹³⁶ If “shaking the head” is a form of consolation, it is in line with rebuke for the sake of recovery as we have in the “correction” of 4:3-4. In my view, all of the actions are presented as valid possibilities for Job. He *could* compose arguments against them or even mock them, he *could* strengthen them with words or withhold words out of sympathy. Although I take the images in v. 4 as harsh forms of rebuke, I agree with Newsom that Job is saying “that he, too, is master of all

¹³⁶ The gesture of mockery is also signified with the verb רָאָשׁ + נוּע in Jer 18:16 and Ps 44:15. Gordis argues that “shaking the head” is a positive image of consolation in Job 2:11 and 42:11 where the verb is נוּע in *qal*. These are indeed texts with a positive image of consolation, but neither of these texts lexically signify HEAD.

the various strategies of conventional consolation” (1996, 458). The point of Job’s fictive role reversal is to point out the ineffectiveness of *all* of the friends’ rhetorical strategies. As v. 6 says, neither speech nor silence will alleviate his pain. Neither do his friends’ strategies for counsel have worth.

The conceptual metaphor coordinated with SPEECH in 16:5a, “I could strengthen you with my mouth” (אֶעֱצֶרְכֶּם בְּמוֹ-פִי), is EMOTIONAL RESOLVE IS PHYSICAL STRENGTH, as was the case in 4:4. The more specific elaboration of WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS is again JOB’S WORDS OF INSTRUCTION ARE OBJECTS THAT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH. The text does not specify how Job would encourage the sufferer, whether by correction as in 4:4 or by affirmation. The only indication of verbal instruction is that he could strengthen with his mouth, which is a metonymy for his speech. Unlike 4:4, there are no lexemes that signify a recipient’s physical body, so the metaphor in 16:5a is highly conventional. It closely coheres with the metaphor in 4:4, but it is much less perceptible.

3.4.3.3 – Job 26:2-4

The identity of the speaker in chapter 26 is disputed. In my view, the second person singular verbs and the singular pronominal suffixes indicate that the addressee is Job. The message of the chapter also makes most sense from the perspective of one of the friends, so it is best to take chapter 26 as a continuation of Bildad’s very short speech in chapter 25.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ See §1.3.3 n. 17, for a summary of scholarship on the redaction of the third speech cycle. See also Witte 1994, 7-55; 239-247.

מִה־עֲזָרְתָּ לְלֹא-כֹחַ	2 How have you helped one without strength
הוֹשַׁעְתָּ זְרוּעַ לֹא-עֹז	or assisted the powerless arm?
מִה־יָעֲצָתָּ לְלֹא חָכְמָה	3 How have you counseled one without wisdom
וְתוֹשִׁיָּה לְרֹב הוֹדָעָתָּ	or revealed insight to the multitude?
אֶת-מִי הִגַּדְתָּ מִלִּין	4 By whom have you declared words?
וְנִשְׁמַת-מִי יֵצֵא מִמֶּךָּ	And whose breath has come out from you?

Bildad uses rhetorical questions in 26:2-4 to portray Job as an inept counselor. In v. 2, he asks a question regarding those who are physically weak, who have no strength (לֹא-כֹחַ) and arms with no power (זְרוּעַ לֹא-עֹז).¹³⁸ In v. 3, Bildad sets these images of physical weakness in parallel with images of cognitive deficiency. The conceptual metaphor is drawn out by this parallel. The source domain PHYSICAL WEAKNESS is presented in v. 2, and the target domain MENTAL DEFICIENCY is expressed in v. 3. Verse 4 signifies SPEECH as the means by which Job might give aid. “By whom” and “whose breath” focus Bildad’s argument on the source of Job’s speech, implying that his speech is not divinely inspired (Clines 2006, 631). Bildad’s rhetorical questions indicate the conceptual metaphor JOB’S WORDS OF INSTRUCTION ARE OBJECTS THAT DO NOT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH, which is the opposite of Eliphaz’s expression in Job 4:3-4 (JOB’S WORDS OF INSTRUCTION ARE OBJECTS THAT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH). His criticism represents a reversal in evaluation of the efficacy of Job’s use of language (Clines 2006, 631). While the SPEECH metaphor in 26:2-4 closely coheres with other expressions of STRENGTHENING WORDS, the perceptibility of intratextual coherence is low due to the textual distance between the

¹³⁸ For the association of עֹז and יָשַׁע with giving physical strength, see Clines 2006, 631.

expressions. Nevertheless, the coherence demonstrates the contrast or progression in the friends' perspective with regard to the central topic of Job's speech.

3.4.3.4 – Job 29:21-23

Perhaps the most novel expression of the conduit metaphor in the Joban dialogue is in Job's final speech, where he focuses on the value of the words themselves. Recalling his pre-suffering days, he claims that people used to listen to him, waiting silently for his counsel. In order to describe the value of his speech to others, he draws upon the source domain RAIN.

לִי־שָׁמְעוּ וַיִּחַלּוּ	21 They listened to me, and they would wait,
וַיִּדְמּוּ לְמוֹ עֲצָתִי	and they would be silent before my counsel.
אַחֲרַי דְּבָרִי לֹא יִשְׁנוּ	22 After I spoke, they would not reply.
וְעֲלִימּוֹ תִטֵּף מִלִּי	My word would drip upon them.
וַיִּחַלּוּ כַּמָּטָר לִי ²³	23 They would wait for me as for rain,
וּפְתֵיחֵם פָּעְרוּ לְמַלְקוֹשׁ	and they opened their mouths as for spring rain.

In vv. 21-22a, Job remembers that others in the town council were silent before him while he orally demonstrated his wisdom. The supposition is that there was no need for further speech after Job would speak because he had said all that was necessary with perfect clarity and truth (see §3.2 on SILENCE). Job's self-assessment is perhaps an exaggeration of his abilities as a wise counselor (Clines 2006, 993), but there is no explicit indication that the author wishes to portray Job as pompous. Just as in the prologue where the narrator records Job's blameless character, so here Job recalls the respect that he garnered for his truthfulness and exactitude.

The metaphorical expression begins in v. 22b with נָטַף (“to drip”), which occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible with reference to rain (Judg 5:4; Ps 68:9; Job 36:27). In most of the other occurrences, it signifies the dripping of liquid substances of value (honey in Prov 5:3; myrrh in Song 4:11; 5:5, 13; wine in Joel 4:18; Amos 9:13). A second sense of the verb is associated with prophecy as prophets are called to “preach” (Ezek 21:2, 7; Amos 7:16; Mic 2:6, 11). This sense, which is always signified with the *hiphil*, may have come about via metaphorical extension, portraying prophecy as “making words flow” (*HALOT* 2:694). If this is so, then the image of Job’s words “dripping” on his subordinates is not a surprising metaphor for authoritative speech. Nevertheless, in light of the clear reference to rain in v. 23, it makes best sense to understand נָטַף as a lexical evocation of the WORDS ARE RAIN conceptual metaphor.

The image of “waiting” silently on Job’s words in v. 21 parallels the “waiting” for Job’s counsel as for rain in v. 23a (וַיִּחְלוּ כְמָטָר לִי). The 1cs suffix on the *lamed* preposition may stand for Job’s presence with the meaning that they waited for Job to arrive, but it is more likely a metonymy for Job’s speech, because this forms a better parallel with vv. 21-22 and v. 23b (Clines 2006, 942). In v. 23b, the people are imagined as thirsty, as they open wide their mouths for a drink of spring rain (וַיִּפְתְּחוּ פִּצְעוֹתָם לְמַלְקוֹשׁ). Here, the WORDS ARE LIFE-GIVING OBJECTS metaphor is in full view.¹³⁹ The specific component metaphors activated by v. 23 are JOB’S WORDS ARE RAIN and JOB’S AUDIENCE IS A THIRSTY PEOPLE, with the epistemic correspondence WHEN THE PEOPLE OPEN THEIR MOUTHS FOR RAIN THEIR THIRST IS SATISFIED.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ The conceptual metaphor is marked by the *kaph* preposition (כְּמָטָר). The linguistic expression is a simile, but CMT recognizes simile as a means of activating conceptual metaphor. See §4.3.1.1 n. 188.

¹⁴⁰ For “epistemic correspondences” as relational entailments, see §2.4. Doak (2014, 168) explains Job 29:22-23 as a plant metaphor, so that the image of rain falling on the people activates PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. If this is the case, then the metaphor is JOB’S HEARERS ARE DRY

The salient feature of the concept RAIN in 29:23 is its ability to satisfy human need. The image of rain falling on the people is also important for Job's portrayal of his relationship with his hearers. They have a vertical relationship. His elevated status and the people's utter dependence upon him are brought out by the verbs נָטַף and פָּעַר. He drops his words on them from above, and they open their mouths to receive from below. The metaphorical image is an elaboration of the conduit metaphor. What makes it more perceptible than other elaborations that I have examined thus far are the specific-level elaborations of the slots in the conduit source domain that map with SPEECH. First, the PHYSICAL OBJECTS slot in WORDS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS is elaborated as RAIN. Job's expression activates the physical properties of rain, the human experience of being rained upon, and the high value of rain. These tangible features of RAIN serve to highlight the high value of JOB'S WORDS. Second, the verbs נָטַף and פָּעַר have specific associations with rain and human reception. Unlike verbs with broader senses (e.g., "to strengthen"), these verbs signify specific actions for sending and receiving. In the conduit metaphor, COMMUNICATION IS SENDING IDEAS FROM ONE MIND-CONTAINER TO ANOTHER, the SENDING concept is elaborated as RAINING, and the OPENING of the receiving MIND-CONTAINER is elaborated with MOUTH.

Coherence

As for coherence with other SPEECH metaphors, the metaphor in 29:21-23 coheres most perceptibly with JOB'S WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS (4:4; 16:5) and JOB'S WORDS ARE

PLANTS and HEARERS' NEED FOR INSTRUCTION IS PLANT NEED FOR RAIN, rather than HEARERS' NEED FOR INSTRUCTION IS HUMAN THIRST. This is possible, but "they opened their mouths" (פִּתְּחוּ) and lack of any plant lexemes in vv. 22-23 leads me to the conclusion that the source domain is HUMAN THIRST.

NOT STRENGTHENING OBJECTS (26:2-4), although the conceptual metaphor in 29:21-23 is more perceptible than these other texts because of the specific-level elaborations. In my view, there are no apparent allusions or purposeful reuses of particular metaphors between the expressions of JOB'S WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS; rather, the coherence is simply a consequence of Job and his friends debating the value of speech and what Job's use of speech says about his moral status at various points in their dialogue.

3.4.4 – WINDY WORDS

The most perceptible case of coherence between multiple metaphorical expressions with the target SPEECH is the repetition of WORDS ARE WIND. There are five instances of Joban interlocutors expressing this metaphor to disparage the speech of other interlocutors: Job 6:26; 8:2; 15:2-3; 15:30; and 16:3.¹⁴¹ In this section, I examine each of these expressions in their individual speech contexts and in the larger context of the dialogue. Before turning to this primary task, however, it is necessary to consider the concept WIND and its lexical signifiers in the book of Job.

3.4.4.1 – WIND in the Book of Job

The primary lexeme for evoking the concept WIND is רִיחַ. The other concepts signified by רִיחַ are SPIRIT and BREATH, although the more common lexeme for BREATH is נְשָׁמָה or less frequently הֶבֶל (see Job 21:34). In many of the Joban occurrences of רִיחַ, it is difficult to determine the intended sense. The situation is further complicated because the concepts WIND,

¹⁴¹ Elihu's expression in 32:18 could also be added, but I do not consider his speeches as part of the dialogue.

BREATH, and SPIRIT have shared conceptual properties. For example, in Job 4:15, Eliphaz describes receiving a message from God as רוח passing over his face, evidently evoking the image of a revelatory vision as a breeze. In Job 19:17, Job complains that his wife is repulsed by his “breath” (רוח). He may intend the image of his breath stinking, or he refers to his wife loathing his “spirit” in a general sense of his life. Or perhaps, since speech is correlated with status in 19:16, he refers to his wife despising his words, with רוח signifying “wind” as a metaphor for speech. I do not think that this third option is likely, but the ambiguity of the image demonstrates both the multiple senses of רוח and the conceptual overlap between these senses.

The conceptual overlap is especially apparent in contexts of speech in which a person’s spirit (a person perceived according to his/her inner disposition) causes one to breathe out audible words, which have the physical property of air movement, that is, a kind of wind. For example, in Job 7:11, Job determines resolutely to keep speaking, saying, “I too will not hold back my mouth. I will speak in the distress of my *spirit*; I will complain in the bitterness of my soul.” (גם־אני לא אֶחָשֹׁךְ פִּי אֶדְבָּרָה בְּצָר רוּחִי אֲשִׁיחָה בְּמַר נַפְשִׁי). The parallel of רוּחִי with נַפְשִׁי indicates that the intended signification of רוח is SPIRIT, reflecting his inner disposition.¹⁴² However, in the context of “not hold back my mouth” (see §3.3), perhaps, רוח also activates the image of breath or wind. The utterance of his distress comes out of his mouth with the physical properties of wind (see also Job 15:13). Similarly, when Elihu begins his speech in 32:8, he associates the “wind in man” (רוּחַ־הָאָדָם בְּאִנּוּשׁ) with the “breath of the Almighty” (נְשֵׁמַת שְׁדֵי) as a force that gives understanding. While Elihu refers to internal powers that sustain life (see also 33:4; 34:14), it is

¹⁴² See Job 12:10 for this same word pair where both lexemes relate not to inner disposition, but to life forces that allow for animal and human existence, “In his hand are *the life* of every living thing and the *spirit* of every human being (אֲשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ נֶפֶשׁ כָּל־חַי וְרוּחַ כָּל־בָּשָׂר־אִישׁ). Here too, the רוח of man’s flesh may intend to activate the concept BREATH.

assumed that נִשְׁמָה and רוּחַ are exhibited in the mode of speech, since he juxtaposes “giving understanding” in v. 8 with the image of “days speaking” and “years teaching wisdom” in v. 7. Thus, while “spirit” best captures the sense of רוּחַ in 32:8, the physical properties of wind may also be active in Elihu’s concept of SPIRIT.

The shared conceptual features of the various senses of רוּחַ are largely responsible for the efficacy of WINDY WORDS metaphors in the Joban dialogue. Since this section is in preparation for analysis of these metaphors, the focus here is expressions that help determine the Joban concept WIND. There are two primary bases against which WIND is profiled, namely, DESTRUCTION and EPHEMERALITY.

WIND is most commonly profiled in the book of Job against the base DESTRUCTION. In Job 1:19, a “great wind” (רוּחַ גְּדוֹלָה) came from the wilderness and destroyed the house of Job’s eldest son and killed all of Job’s children. Eliphaz seems to allude to this scene of devastation in 4:9 with the implication that Job’s children were justly punished. Here, he claims that the wicked “perish by the breath of God” (מִנְשַׁמַּת אֱלֹהִים יֵאָבְדוּ) and “come to an end by the wind of his nose” (וּמָרוּחַ אָפוּ יִכָּלוּ).¹⁴³ Job expresses a similar image in 21:18, questioning whether the wicked are like straw before the wind (יִהְיוּ כְתִבָּן לִפְנֵי-רוּחַ) and like chaff carried away by the windstorm (וּכְמִץ).¹⁴⁴ While the emphasis of this text is the insignificance of the wicked, the wind and the storm are images of destructive divine power (see also Pss 1:4; 11:6). The previous line, 21:17b, claims that God apportions acts of destruction by his anger (חֲכָלִים יִחַלֵּק בְּאַפוֹ), signifying

¹⁴³ The more common translation of אָפוּ is “his anger” or “his fury” (Pope 1965, 34; Gordis 1978, 42; Hartley 1988, 107; Clines 1989, 107; Seow 2013, 380; NRSV; NASB; ESV), but the parallel with נִשְׁמָה suggests that the image is of God breathing out his destructive wrath from his nostrils (Habel 1985, 113; JSB 1502).

¹⁴⁴ The interrogative in 21:18 is implied by the parallel with 21:17, which begins with כִּמָּה.

“anger” with אַפוֹ, perhaps intending the association of God’s breath since the image of wind immediately follows.¹⁴⁵ In 27:20-21, the speaker (Job or Zophar) imagines God bringing a windstorm (סִיּוֹף, v. 20) to carry off the wicked and the east wind (קָדִים, v. 21) to lift them up and blow them away (שָׁעַר).¹⁴⁶ Except for the interchange of רוּחַ and קָדִים, 27:20-21 expresses the same image as 21:18, namely, God subduing the wicked by his wind-power.¹⁴⁷

Job signifies the concept of WIND twice in chapter 30, both times with the lexeme רוּחַ. In 30:15, he complains, “Terrors are overturned upon me; they drive away my dignity like the wind; my safety has vanished like a cloud.” (הִקְהַפּוּ עָלַי בְּלִהוֹת תַּרְדֹּף כְּרוּחַ נִדְבָתִי וּכְעָב עָבְרָה יִשְׁעָתִי).¹⁴⁸ In

¹⁴⁵ If this is correct, there is remetaphorization of ANGER IS A NOSE, since it takes a conventional metaphor ANGER IS A NOSE and makes it novel through extension of NOSE/BREATH as WIND.

¹⁴⁶ The verb שָׁעַר and the nominal form סִיּוֹף/שְׁעָרָה signify the concept WINDSTORM. In 9:17, Job claims that God beats him up with a “windstorm” (שְׁעָרָה). When God does finally speak in chapter 38, he does so out of a “windstorm” (סִיּוֹף, 38:1), although contrary to Job’s expectation, God appears in power in order to teach Job and not to abuse him.

¹⁴⁷ Job 26:13 may be another case of God using wind to destroy his enemy. Bildad, in my view the speaker in chapter 26, conjures the image of God as the destroyer of “the fleeing serpent” and “Rahab” (see §4.2) in vv. 12-13. If the first line of v. 12 imagines God “disturbing” (רָגַעַ) the Sea, it makes sense for the parallel image in v. 13a, “by his wind the heavens are cleared” (בְּרוּחוֹ שָׁמַיִם), to be another aspect of God’s overcoming the beasts of chaos. However, the act of God clearing or beautifying by his wind or breath is not overtly violent. If God’s wind is not destructive, it is at least a powerful creative force.

¹⁴⁸ In spite of the incongruity in number and gender between בְּלִהוֹת (fem. pl.) and הִקְהַפּוּ (masc. sg.), בְּלִהוֹת is the only subject that makes sense with הִקְהַפּוּ. Since Job 30:15 is the lone occurrence of הִפַּךְ in the *hophal*, Duhm (1897, 143) emends to *niphal*, תִּקְהַפּוּ. Gesenius 1910 (§145o) explains the fem. pl. subject with a 3ms verb as a variation that coordinates with the predicate preceding the subject (for examples, see Deut 32:35; 1 Kgs 11:3; Isa 8:8; Jer 13:18; Mic 2:6; and Ps 57:2). I agree with Dhorme (1967, 440), Gordis (1978, 334), and Clines (2006, 952) that emendation is unnecessary. Duhm (1897, 143), Driver and Gray (1921, 2:215), Kissane (1939, 185), Tur-Sinai (1957, 426), Fohrer (1963, 414), and Good (1990, 128) revocalize תַּרְדֹּף as a *niphal* תִּרְדֹּף, and, thus, “My dignity is pursued like the wind.” However, the metaphor is convoluted with this revocalization, because wind becomes a thing pursued or driven away, rather than the force that drives Job’s dignity away. Tur-Sinai (1957, 426) translates “is blown away as by the wind,” keeping wind as the blowing force. It is better to either maintain בְּלִהוֹת as the subject of the second line ([terrors] pursue my dignity as does the wind) or read תַּרְדֹּף as a 2ms verb with God

this description, the salient feature of wind is its force to move an object with its blowing.

Terrors pursue Job's dignity, just as the wind blows light objects. In the third line of v. 15, Job's salvation or safety vanishes like a cloud, which coordinates with the WIND metaphor of Job's dignity being pursued as by wind. The full image incorporates the wind blowing and moving clouds. The cloud exemplifies ephemerality and the wind is a powerful force. In 30:16-21, he vividly depicts the physical abuse that he has endured at the hand of God, and then claims in v. 22a, "You lift me up to the wind and make me ride" (תשאני אל-רוח תרכיבני). This too must be an image of affliction, in which Job is driven and tossed by God's powerful wind. Both depictions of wind in chapter 30, therefore, portray it as a destructive force.

The second base against which WIND is profiled is EPHEMERALITY. The primary example of this conceptual scenario is Job 7:7. In 7:1-10, Job laments the hardship and the brevity of human life, saying in 7:7, "Remember that my life is wind; my eye will not again see what is good." (זכר כי-רוח חיי לא-תשוב עיני לראות טוב). By calling upon God to recognize that his life is wind in the context of other expressions of the fleeting nature of life, he metaphorically evokes the temporal properties of WIND. Wind comes and goes quickly. The ephemeral nature of wind and its correspondence with human life is also the topic of Ps 78:39, "He remembered that they are flesh, a wind that passes and does not return." (ויזכר כי-בשר המה רוח הולך ולא ישוב), a verse to which Job 7:7 may be alluding (Clines 1989, 186).

Among the biblical wisdom books, Qohelet most commonly expresses the WIND domain with the salient features of EPHEMERALITY and INCONSTANCY. The first signification of WIND in Qohelet profiles REPETITIVENESS or REGULARITY, as the wind goes round and round its fixed

as the subject. I opt for taking בלהות as the subject because God is not otherwise an obvious subject of the existing metaphorical image of Job being besieged and tortured until 30:19-20.

circuit (1:6), but the more typical image is the senselessness or aimlessness of the wind. Taken together, the wind is a force that blows regularly on a general scale but inconstantly from moment to moment. The inconstant nature of wind is evident in Qohelet's repeated phrases רעות רוח ("desire of wind" in 1:14; 2:11, 17, 26; 4:4, 6; 6:9) and its synonym רעיון רוח (1:17; 4:16).¹⁴⁹ The implication of these expressions is that wind is a symbol of unreliability. Fox (1999, 48) translates the phrases as "thoughts of wind," that is, thoughts defined by the inconstant nature of wind, which projects a metaphor for senselessness.¹⁵⁰ In some of the occurrences of רעות רוח/רעיון, "windy desire" seems to imply more than senseless thoughts but also ambitions that do not lead to reliable or lasting outcomes (EPHEMERALITY). For example, in Qoh 2:11, the teacher assesses the work of his hands and his troublesome toil as "windy desire" (הַקָּל וְרַעוּת רוּחַ) with "no profit" (אֵין יִתְרוֹן תַּחַת הַשָּׁמַשׁ). In Qoh 5:15, the author questions whether there is "profit" (יִתְרוֹן) in "working for wind" (יַעֲמֹל לְרוּחַ). The verse identifies wind as a substance of little value because of its ephemerality; human toil leads to nothingness. As Qoh 5:14 says, "He will take nothing by means of his labor that he may bring in his hand" (וּמֵאוּמָה לֹא יִשָּׂא בְעָמְלוֹ שְׂיִלָּהּ בְּיָדוֹ).¹⁵¹ Similar association between wind and elusive or worthless features of life are found in Prov 11:29; 27:16; and 30:4. The expression of LIFE IS WIND in Job 7:7, therefore, reflects a regular

¹⁴⁹ For the synonymous nature of רעות רוח and רעיון רוח, both retaining their Aramaic meaning "desire" or, more generally, "thought," see Seow 1997, 121, and Fox 1999, 42-45.

¹⁵⁰ In Qoh 11:4a, רוּחַ also evokes INCONSTANCY (שֶׁמֶר רוּחַ לֹא יִנָּרֵעַ), with the defining feature being the wind's unpredictability. The proverb urges the reader to sow in spite of not being able to know the exact force or timing of the wind.

¹⁵¹ LXX appears to read שְׂיִלָּהּ, "that it should go," representing it with the subjunctive, πορευθῆναι, and taking the potential gain from labor as the subject. However, the *hiphil* jussive in the MT, שְׂיִלָּהּ, "that he may cause to go" (i.e., "bring"), makes fine sense and is supported by manuscripts that have יוֹלֵךְ (Seow 1997, 207).

metaphorical mapping in the sapiential literature between the worthlessness of wind and the worthlessness of life. More specifically, it is the ephemeral nature of wind that typically leads to the evaluation of worthlessness.¹⁵²

The survey above demonstrates that DESTRUCTION is a regular base for profiling WIND in the book of Job, with Job 7:7 as the only obvious representative expression of WIND against the base EPHEMERALITY.¹⁵³ However, thus far, I have not considered WIND in the Joban expressions of WORDS ARE WIND. While DESTRUCTION may very well be the base domain in these metaphorical expressions for SPEECH, in the following analysis of WORDS ARE WIND, I consider both EPHEMERALITY and DESTRUCTION as possible bases for the various metaphorical construals.

¹⁵² In Job 7:16, Job claims that his days are “a breath” (הֶבֶל יָמַי). Here, הֶבֶל refers to the brevity of Job’s life and thus likely evokes the source domain BREATH. I do not include a study of הֶבֶל here because it does not occur in Joban metaphorical expressions for SPEECH.

¹⁵³ In Job 28:25, the author proclaims that God “makes weight for the wind” (לַעֲשׂוֹת לְרוּחַ מִשְׁקָל), thus attributing tangible substance to the wind. The “weight” of wind may refer to the pressure that the wind imposes (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:243; Delitzsch 1949, 2:112), especially since the other natural substances (water, rain, and thunderstorms) are forces that God restrains. This would be an anomalous meaning of מִשְׁקָל, since in every other biblical occurrence it signifies an object’s actual heaviness. Alternatively, the wind may have been viewed as a weightless object, so that the speaker possibly lauds God’s ability to make impossibly small amounts of weight (Fohrer 1963, 399; Dhorme 1967, 412; Tur-Sinai 1967, 408). In the context of God creating measures, limits, and paths for various natural features (28:25-26), either interpretation is possible. Perhaps, both the force of the wind and its weightlessness are implied in v. 25a. If so, the paradox of the divine power to create an invisible and insubstantial object that nevertheless has extreme force is evoked by the speaker’s expression. The mysterious nature of the wind according to this interpretation, would exhibit divine wisdom and would correspond with Newsom’s point that in 28:25-27 “wisdom, after all, is not in some place beyond place but in the wind, waters, rain, and thunderstorms” (Newsom 2003b, 303). In any case, this verse does not negate or substantiate the ephemeral status of wind.

3.4.4.2 – Job 6:26

Job's first reply to Eliphaz begins with a portrayal of the great "weight" of his excruciating suffering (6:2-7), before he turns his plea to God for death (6:8-13). He then addresses the unfaithfulness of his friends who have abandoned him in his time of need like a dry wadi in the months of heat (6:14-21).¹⁵⁴ In vv. 22-23, he rhetorically questions his friends about whether he has requested gifts or deliverance from them, with the implication being that he has no need for the kind of deliverance from distress (צָרוֹת in 5:19 and מִי־צָר 6:23) or ransom (פְּדָה in 5:20 and 6:23) that Eliphaz has advocated.¹⁵⁵ This sets up Job's further challenge and direct criticism of his friends' speech in 6:24-26.

הוֹרוּנִי וְאֶנִּי אֶתְּרִישׁ	24 Teach me! And I will be silent.
וּמַה־שָּׁגִיתִי הִבִּינוּ לִי	But how have I gone astray? Make me understand.
מַה־נִּמְרָצוּ אִמְרֵי־יֵשָׁר	25 How are upright words sickening?
וּמַה־יּוֹכִיחַ הוֹכַח מְכָם	How does your rebuke give rebuke?
הֲלֹהוֹכַח מְלִים תִּחְשְׁבוּ	26 Do you intend to rebuke words,
וּלְרוּחַ אִמְרֵי נֹאֵשׁ	or consider words of one who despairs as wind?

¹⁵⁴ See Joode and Van Loon 2014, 46-51, for an explanation of this extended metaphor in light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

¹⁵⁵ For semantic correspondences between Eliphaz's speech in Job 4-5 and Job's speech in Job 6-7, see Beuken 1994, 58-70. However, Beuken does not discuss 6:22-23 as part of Job's response to Eliphaz.

Job challenges his friends to teach him or to point out his error in v. 24.¹⁵⁶ He promises to be silent if one of them is able to offer him understanding (see §3.2 on silence). His point in vv. 25-26 is that they offer him false rebuke. The “upright words” of v. 25 are possibly those of true teaching and convicting rebuke, which the friends (just Eliphaz at this point) believe they have spoken to Job (Seow 2013, 465). In this interpretation, which translates the line as an exclamation (“How painful are upright words!”), the upright speech is “painful” (נִמְרָצוּ) insofar as right teaching causes distress by exposing the faults of wrongdoers (Clines 1989, 181). It seems more likely, however, that Job refers to his own speech as “upright words,” so that he imagines his truthful speech as distressing or sickening to his friends (Habel 1985, 150). This interpretation recognizes the parallel between “upright words” (אֲמָרֵי-יֵשָׁר) and “words of one who despairs” (אֲמָרֵי נֹאֵשׁ) in v. 26, which I take as references to the words of Job. This understanding of “upright words” as Job’s words also makes more sense of נִמְרָצוּ as a verb of provocation.¹⁵⁷ Job sarcastically questions how honest speech is so sickening to the friends, that they feel compelled to rebuke him. In 16:3, Job uses the same verb in the *hiphil* with reference to inward distress and the compulsion to speak, מַה-יִּמְרִיצֶךָ כִּי תַעֲנֶנָּה, “What sickens you that you continue to answer?” Job 16:3 also contains a WINDY WORDS metaphor, which I examine below (§3.4.4.6).

¹⁵⁶ Seow (2013, 464) understands v. 24 as a continuation of the quote in vv. 22-23, thus, “[Have I said], ‘Instruct me and I will be silent; explain to me how I have erred.’” In my view, it makes better sense to take it together with vv. 25-26 as part of Job’s commentary on the friends’ ineffectual rebuke and as a challenge for them to offer him true (יֵשָׁר) teaching.

¹⁵⁷ The likely signification of מָרַץ is “to be ill” based on the Arabic (*mrḏ*) and Aramaic (*mr*), both signifying sickness (*HALOT* 2:637; *BDB* 599). Gordis (1978, 76) acknowledges this translation as the most straightforward, but then concludes, “This meaning is obviously inappropriate here and in Job 16:3.” He does not recognize the relationship between the distress that the interlocutors experience as they listen to one another and their compulsion to speak. This dynamic fits with the multiple expressions of the conduit metaphor above, in which the speakers are unable to restrain speech.

The rebuke of the friends is in response to Job's speech, but since Job's words are upright, they have nothing to correct. Both v. 25b and v. 26a refer to this empty rebuke. In v. 26a, Job asks, "Do you intend to rebuke words?" (הֲלֹהֹכַח מִלִּים תִּחְשְׁבוּ). Some commentators take מִלִּים as adverbial, so that Job questions the oral mode of the friends' rebuke (Gordis 1978, 77, "Do you regard your empty words as proof?"; Hartley 1988, 139, "Do you intend to reprove me with words?"; and Clines 1989, 181, "Do you think to convince with words?"), but there is no other way to rebuke than by speech. Instead, Job accuses the friends of rebuking or arguing against his speech, which he has self-characterized as "upright" in v. 25.¹⁵⁸

The WIND metaphor is lexically signified in v. 26b, וְלִרְוּחַ אֲמָרִי נֶאֱשׁ, which takes its verb, נֶאֱשׁ, from v. 26a (Good 1990, 64-65). The direct object of the gapped verb is אֲמָרִי נֶאֱשׁ, and the *lamed* preposition marks the point of comparison, "Do you consider the words of one who despairs *as* wind?" This is the usual function of *lamed* + noun with חָשַׁב (compare Job 19:15, אֲמִהְיֵי לְזָר תִּחְשְׁבֵנִי, "My maidservants consider me as a stranger;" also Gen 38:15; 1 Sam 1:13; Job 13:24; 33:10; 35:2; 41:19, 24). In light of this syntactic description and the identification of the despairing man as Job, the conceptual metaphor is relatively straightforward as WORDS OF ONE WHO DESPAIRS/WORDS OF JOB ARE WIND. Job, of course, questions this metaphor. He accuses the friends of characterizing his words as wind by the way they attempt to rebuke him.

Against which base is WIND profiled in 6:26? Both DESTRUCTION and EPHEMERALITY provide possible meanings. If DESTRUCTION is the base, then the friends portray Job's words as a dangerous force. If EPHEMERALITY is the base, then he imagines that they treat his speech as

¹⁵⁸ Clines (1989, 181) argues that there is no criticism of Job's words in Eliphaz's speech in chapters 4-5, but Beuken (1994) and Course (1994) have demonstrated that it contains a considerable critique of Job's speech in chapter 3.

insubstantial or fleeting. Most commentators see a reference to the ephemerality of Job's words (Driver-Gray 1921, 1:66; Fohrer 1963, 162; Dhorme 1967, 93; Gordis 1978, 77; Newsom 1996, 389; Seow 2013, 483). Seow (2013, 483) suggests that the friends view Job's words as "trivial nonsense, light stuff easily blown away." But wind is the force that blows and not an object like chaff that is blown away.¹⁵⁹ The best clue for the EPHEMERALITY base is Job's construal in 7:7, "my life is wind," where the salient feature of WIND is its quick passing. In light of this, the implication in 6:25 may be that his friends treat his speech as an object that passes quickly; it is an unreliable and empty force. His basic problem with his friends would be that they do not take his arguments seriously.

With the majority of the Joban texts evoking WIND on the base DESTRUCTION, it is possible that Job accuses his friends of treating his words as a destructive force. The survey of metaphorical evaluations of SPEECH in the book of Job in this chapter has also demonstrated that the power of words to destroy or strengthen is a regular topic of their debate. However, since Job agrees that his words are potentially destructive (§3.4.1.1), it is more likely that the accusation is profiling WIND on the base EPHEMERALITY. It would be odd to have Job asking, "Do you consider my words as a destructive force?" when he himself acknowledges the dangerous nature of his complaint. Job reverses the criticism of ephemeral words by portraying the friends' rebuke as no rebuke at all in vv. 25b-26a. While they intend to rebuke his use of speech, treating it as wind, it is their rebuke that is truly inappropriate and insubstantial.

¹⁵⁹ Dhorme (1967, 93) also holds this view, saying, "The words of Job must be considered as a light feathery thing which is the sport of the winds." Driver and Gray (1921, 1:66) take the *lamed* preposition as "for the wind" and understand the words of Job to be "quickly blown away, so that they need not be taken too seriously." I do not see how Job is telling his friends to dismiss his words. Even in 6:3, where Job admits that his words are "rash," he is convinced that what he has to say is true.

If Job refers to his own words as אִמְרֵי־יֵשָׁר, as I have argued, there may be another point of contrast between יֵשָׁר (“uprightness”) in v. 25 and the uneven nature of “windy” words in v. 26. While יֵשָׁר commonly signifies HONESTY and RIGHTNESS, this meaning is likely a metaphorical extension of physical straightness or levelness, albeit a highly conventional metaphor. This extension is evident in texts that associate יֵשָׁר with walking and level paths or roads, such as Prov 14:2, “One who walks in his uprightness fears Yahweh, but one whose paths are crooked despises him” (הוֹלֵךְ בְּיֵשָׁרוֹ יִרָא יְהוָה וְגִלּוֹז דְּרָכָיו בּוֹזֵהוּ) (see also Prov 2:13). “Uprightness” and “crookedness” are clearly not physical properties, but the proverb still evokes the image of walking straight and crooked paths. The verb יָשַׁר and the adjective יָשָׁר exhibit this same relationship between the literal concept STRAIGHTNESS (for יָשַׁר, see 1 Sam 6:12; Isa 40:3; Prov 3:6; 9:15; for יָשָׁר, see Isa 26:7; Jer 31:9; Ps 107:7) and the conventional metaphorical extension to RIGHTNESS. At the risk of over-reading, perhaps, in 6:25-26 Job is contrasting the straightness or physical integrity of his speech with the friends’ claim (according to Job) that his words are wind, that is, a substance that is nonsensical, inconsistent, and insubstantial. While this argument partially depends on the author intending אִמְרֵי as a perceptible marker of metaphor, which is unlikely given its highly conventional sense, it coordinates with the featured mappings between WIND and WORDS.

In sum, Job’s expression of WORDS ARE WIND in 6:26 most likely profiles WIND on the base EPHEMERALITY. It is best to understand Job’s portrayal of his friends’ criticism as an accusation of his words being insubstantial and nonsensical, without evoking the base DESTRUCTION. Nevertheless, DESTRUCTION is closely associated with WIND throughout the Joban narrative and dialogue, so Job’s interlocutors can pick up on Job’s expression and extend his use of it by activating the concept DESTRUCTION, as Bildad does in chapter 8.

3.4.4.3 – Job 8:2

In reply to Job’s speech in Job 6-7, Bildad introduces his first speech with a description of Job’s words as a “mighty wind” (רוּחַ כְּבִיר).

עַד־אֵן תִּמְלֹל־אֵלֶּה	2 How long will you speak these things,
וְרוּחַ כְּבִיר אֶמְרֵי־פִיךָ	and the words of your mouth be a mighty wind?

Bildad appears to be directly responding to 6:25-26 (Habel 1985, 174; Course 1994, 49-53; Seow 2013, 527). Not only does he employ a WINDY WORDS metaphor in 8:2, but he also repeats the construct אֶמְרֵי with reference to the words of Job, so that אֶמְרֵי־פִיךָ (8:2b) alludes to אֶמְרֵי־יִשָּׁר (6:25) and אֶמְרֵי נֹאֵשׁ (6:26). Since Bildad’s expression in 8:2 immediately follows Job’s speech, the allusion to 6:25-26 is more apparent.

Pope (1965, 63), Dhorme (1967, 112), and Tur-Sinai (1967, 145) propose that the adjectival phrase רוּחַ כְּבִיר refers to a large quantity of wind.¹⁶⁰ According to Tur-Sinai, Bildad accuses Job of “much vapid talk” (145). Similarly, Habel (1985, 174) translates the line as “your words are but a big wind!” and explains Job’s words as “hot air.” כְּבִיר can signify quantity, as in Job 15:10, where it refers to a large number of days.¹⁶¹ If this is the case in 8:2, the question in 8:2a, “How long will you speak these things?” indicates that Bildad’s criticism in 8:2b is that Job

¹⁶⁰ I understand כְּבִיר as an attributive adjective modifying רוּחַ, rather than a substantive referring to Job (“the breath of one that is mighty,” so Driver 1948, 170). The masculine form of the adjective with a feminine noun, רוּחַ, is unusual. The omission of the final *mater* may be an error, due to conservative orthography, or an archaism, with the correct rendering being רוּחַ כְּבִירָה (Seow 2013, 480, 527). More likely, רוּחַ is to be understood as masculine in this case, as it appears to be in Job 4:15; 20:3; 41:8. See Driver 1948, 170, for other biblical examples of רוּחַ as masculine.

¹⁶¹ On the Aramaism כְּבִיר, see Seow 2013, 527. Seow argues that Bildad’s vocabulary characterizes him as being a Shuhite from the Transjordan. He also cites Bildad’s use of מִלֵּל as an Aramaism that marks his foreign status.

continues to speak. The LXX, πολυρῆμον (“verbose”), also supports taking כָּבִיר as a signifier of quantity.

However, with reference to wind, the similar phrase in 1:19, רוּחַ גְּדוֹלָה (a “great wind” that caused the destruction of Job’s children), suggests that רוּחַ כָּבִיר refers to the destructive force of a “strong wind.” Bildad alludes to this scene of destruction in 8:4, immediately following רוּחַ כָּבִיר, “If your children sinned against him, he sent them into the hand of their transgression” (אִם-בָּנָיָהּ (תִּטְאוּ-לֹו וְיִשְׁלָחֵם בְּיַד-פְּשָׁעָם). In the majority of biblical occurrences of כָּבִיר, it functions as an adjectival signifier of STRENGTH or POWER (Isa 17:12; 28:2; Job 34:24; 36:5). In light of this more common use of כָּבִיר and Bildad’s allusion to 1:19 in 8:4, it seems most likely that Bildad criticizes Job’s words as a devastating force (Fohrer 1963, 188; Clines 1989, 202). Bildad is not mocking Job’s words as a large quantity of emptiness, but as a powerful force of destruction. As Fohrer (1963, 188) says, Bildad characterizes Job’s words as “violent outbursts” (*heftigen Ausbrüche*). I agree that the base against which WIND is profiled in 8:2 is DESTRUCTION rather than EPHEMERALITY.

If Bildad’s construal of Job’s words as a “mighty wind” is an allusion to Job’s question in 6:26, as I maintain, then Bildad essentially affirms Job’s suspicion. Job asks in 6:26, “Do you intend to rebuke words or consider words of one who despairs as wind?” And Bildad replies with another question, “How long will you speak these things, and the words of your mouth be a mighty wind?” He does indeed consider Job’s words as wind; however, he implies that they are not just an inconstant or unreliable wind (EPHEMERALITY), but a “mighty wind” that causes ruin (DESTRUCTION). Thus, Bildad intensifies the nature of the metaphor by signifying a different base for conceptualizing WIND with the lexeme כָּבִיר. Job questions whether the friends discount his arguments as nonsensical, and Bildad answers with an implication that his words are dangerous.

3.4.4.4 – Job 15:2-3

Job laments the finality of death and the hopelessness of life in chapter 14. Eliphaz responds in chapter 15 with a claim that Job’s speech is self-condemning (15:5-6). He begins his rebuke with two questions regarding the incongruity between Job’s supposed wise character and his unprofitable talk.

הַחֶכֶם יַעֲנֶה דַעַת־רוּחַ וַיִּמְלֵא קִדְיִם בְּטֶנּוֹ	2 Does a sage answer with windy knowledge or fill his belly with the east wind?
הוֹכֵחַ בְּדָבָר לֹא יִסְכּוֹן וּמִלִּים לֹא־יִוָּעִיל בָּם	3 Does he argue with a word that is of no use and with words by which no one will profit?

The sage of v. 2 refers to the supposed character of Job.¹⁶² Eliphaz at once reminds Job that he is supposed to be a wise man (as he testified in 4:3-4) and rebukes him for not living up to the standard of wisdom. He questions whether a sage would speak with “windy knowledge” (דַעַת־רוּחַ). This construct phrase signifies the construct assembly “thing of property.” Just as with “proverbs of ashes” in 13:12, the attributive genitive profiles a specific property of the head noun. Therefore, the image in 15:2 is “knowledge with the property of wind.” The interpretive issue is identifying the property of the concept WIND that maps with Job’s knowledge. The knowledge itself is demonstrated through his speech or, more specifically, his “reply” (עֲנָה). Eliphaz may be criticizing Job’s expression of knowledge as empty, inconstant, and unreliable (EPHEMERALITY) or as harsh, destructive, and violent (DESTRUCTION).

¹⁶² Alternatively, Eliphaz could be questioning whether he himself, as a wise man, should reply to Job’s windy knowledge. However, 15:2b, “or fill his belly with the east wind,” discounts the option of taking Eliphaz as the sage who “answers” (Seow 2013, 698). The nominal expression דַעַת־רוּחַ functions as an adverbial accusative, thus “with windy knowledge” (Seow 2013, 709).

Scholars are divided over the base that 15:2 evokes. Tur-Sinai (1967, 208) says that windy knowledge is “knowledge without consistency.” Pope (1965, 108) claims that Eliphaz calls Job “a bag of hot air.” Gordis (1978, 160) also asserts a base of EPHEMERALITY, taking the phrase as a reference to “empty words.” Alternatively, Clines (1989, 347) interprets “windy” as a sign that Job’s expressions are “tempestuous and violent.” Likewise, Driver and Gray (1921, 1:132) maintain that windy knowledge and the east wind are both “violent and hurtful.” A third option is that “windy knowledge” evokes EPHEMERALITY and that “the east wind” in 15:2b evokes DESTRUCTION (Fohrer 1963, 266-267; Seow 2013, 710).

There is good reason to interpret the verse in light of both of these bases. On the one hand, 15:3 addresses the expression of useless words that have no profit. The image here coincides with the unreliability or insubstantiality of the wind, so that Job’s replies are characterized as erratic and without benefit. Eliphaz’s criticism does not necessarily address how convincing Job’s arguments are, but he takes up the practical consequence of Job’s speeches. Thus, the image of wind in 15:2 may rhetorically question whether a wise man would reply with “empty” knowledge that has no positive outcome. On the other hand, the second line of 15:2, “or will he fill his belly with the east wind” (וַיִּמְלֵא קִדְיִם בְּטֶנֶן), evokes an image of a harsh wind. The target of Eliphaz’s question remains SPEECH, because the context makes it clear that “filling his belly” is for the purpose of speaking words, which corresponds to the container schema in the conduit metaphor.¹⁶³ The “east wind” (קִדְיִם) is the scorching wind of the desert that moves with

¹⁶³ Hartley (1988, 244) and Clines (1989, 347) claim that the proper locus for words of understanding is the heart, so Eliphaz’s construal of the wind in “the belly” is a disparagement of Job’s words as unreasonable. While Eliphaz is criticizing Job’s impassioned speech in 15:2b, the belly (בְּטֶנֶן) is not to be negatively contrasted with the heart, in my view. When used as an image relating to speech, the belly is a morally neutral storehouse of words. It is the place that words reside after having been consumed (Prov 18:8, 20; 22:17-18). Amenemope instructs the reader to make his sayings “rest in the casket of your belly” (also 11.10-11; 22.15-16) (COS, 1:116). In

destructive force (Gen 41:6; Exod 10:13; Isa 27:8; Jer 18:17; Ezek 17:10; 19:12; 27:26; Hos 12:2; 13:15; Jonah 4:8; Ps 48:8; Job 27:21; 38:24). The “east wind” in 15:2 is, therefore, no gentle breeze, but rather a harsh and violent wind. Eliphaz moves beyond the conceptual base EPHEMERALITY to DESTRUCTION with the image of the east wind. He portrays Job’s speech not merely as unbeneficial, but also destructive. As Clines (1989, 347) says of the east wind, “It well expresses his sense of Job’s intemperate passion, so unbecoming in a sage, and his outrage at how destructive to sound theology Job’s words are.” This violent force is the source of Job’s misguided and injurious speech.

While distinguishing the bases against which WIND is profiled is essential for understanding the nature of the dialogue about SPEECH in the book of Job, Eliphaz’s questions in 15:2-3 demonstrate conceptual overlap between ephemeral, erratic, or unprofitable speech and destructive speech. It seems that for the friends, any speech which does not have a potentially positive outcome is not only useless but also harmful. In their view, Job’s speeches are both pointless and a sign that he has turned against God (15:13). Eliphaz’s criticisms directly contrast Job’s own assertion that he has understanding (12:2-3; 13:3) by portraying Job as a fool, as one whose oral expressions are EPHEMERAL and DESTRUCTIVE.

3.4.4.5 – Job 15:30

WIND is a recurring source concept for depicting Job’s words in Eliphaz’s speech in chapter 15. In 15:12-13, he asks Job, “Why does your heart take you and your eyes flash that you

Ezek 3:3, Ezekiel is told to eat a scroll as a metaphorical way of consuming the prophetic message that then resides in his belly. The metaphor works well because the stomach is both the place for consumed food and “consumed words.” Thus, while the belly is occasionally part of an image for a fool (Job 32:18), it is not in itself a negative feature in SPEECH metaphors.

turn your breath (רוּחַ) against God and bring out the words of your mouth?” (מִהֲיִקְנֶה לִבְךָ וּמִהֲ) (יִרְזָמוּן עֵינֶיךָ כִּי־תָשִׁיב אֶל־אֵל רוּחְךָ וְהִצָּאתָ מִפִּיךָ מִלִּין:). He concludes his speech with another reference to Job’s windy words, suggesting that they are self-destructive.

לֹא־יָסוּר מִגִּיחֶשֶׁק	30 He (the wicked person) will not turn aside from darkness.
יִנָּקֶתוּ תִיבֶשׁ שְׁלֶהֶבֶת	A flame will dry up his shoot.
וְיָסוּר בְּרוּחַ פִּי	And he will turn aside by the wind of his mouth. ¹⁶⁴

Among commentators who translate the MT without emendation, many take the 3ms suffix pronoun on פִּי as marking God as the source of the punishing wind, so that God scorches the wicked with the breath of his mouth (Tur-Sinai 1967, 258; Gordis 1978, 158; Hartley 1988, 253; Wolfers 1995, 149). In 4:9, Eliphaz evoked this very image, although the lexeme for breath was different (נִשְׁמָה). In the context of chapter 15, however, it makes best sense to take the antecedent of the 3ms suffix as “the wicked person” (see רָשָׁע in 15:20), who is also the subject of יָסוּר in v. 30c (Seow 2013, 706-707). First, “the wicked person” is the subject of לֹא־יָסוּר in 15:30a, so that there is symmetry between “not turning aside from darkness” and “turning” or “going astray” by foolish speech in 15:30c. Second, “flame” (שְׁלֶהֶבֶת) is the subject of 15:30b, and God is not referenced as the primary punisher; rather, throughout Eliphaz’s speech, the punishment of the wicked is self-inflicted. According to the principle of intrinsic retribution, the

¹⁶⁴ LXX has ἄνθος “flower” or “blossom,” therefore, Driver and Gray (1921, 1:139, 2:101); Fohrer (1963, 264); Dhorme (1967, 223); and Clines (1989, 344) emend פִּי to פָּרוֹחַ, “his blossom.” LXX also takes “wind” as the subject of the second line, “the wind withers his bud” (τὸν βλαστὸν αὐτοῦ μαράναι ἄνεμος) and has no representation of שְׁלֶהֶבֶת. In my view, emendation of the MT is unnecessary, especially in light of the other WINDY WORDS metaphorical expressions in the Joban dialogue. Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate support reading פִּי (Seow 2013, 724).

wicked bring about their own destruction (writhing, dread, the sword, ruined cities, and poverty) by “running against God” (15:26).¹⁶⁵ In the case where there is an outside punisher, the agency is given to “distress” and “terror” (15:24). Third, we have observed that in this speech רִיחַ serves as a metaphor for foolish speech (15:2, 13). Moreover, every occurrence of “mouth” in chapter 15 (vv. 5, 6, and 13) refers to Job’s mouth as a metonym for his speech. The interpretation that the “wind of the wicked person’s mouth” refers to careless and self-condemning speech fits well with Eliphaz’s claim in 15:6 that Job’s mouth is the source of his condemnation, “Your mouth condemns you, not me. And your lips testify against you.” (יִרְשִׁיעַךָ פִּיךָ וְלֹא־אֲנִי וּשְׁפָתֶיךָ יַעֲנִי-בָךְ). In 15:30, Eliphaz subtly groups Job with the wicked or at least suggests that Job is speaking in a way that deserves punishment.

If I am correct that “the wind of his mouth” refers to the speech of the wicked, the conceptual metaphor is WICKED SPEECH IS WIND. In this text, the base against which WIND is profiled is DESTRUCTION. In 15:30a, the wicked person is committed to darkness, and in 15:30b he is withered by a flame. These images of suffering or self-induced punishment are contextual clues that the “wind” of 15:30c is a destructive force that causes the wicked person to go astray.

¹⁶⁵ See Fox 2000, 89-92, on “intrinsic retribution”: “Evildoers destroy themselves by means of the evil that they themselves create” (89-90). According to Fox, Wisdom literature formulates retribution as a process of cause and effect, but also assumes that natural consequences are “natural” because God created a just world. Thus, God’s judgment is presumed in intrinsic retribution insofar as God created the world to function according to natural causality. As will be apparent in the next chapter on animal metaphors, the friends regularly depict the suffering of the wicked according to the principle of intrinsic retribution (e.g., the wicked are caught in their own traps); however, Job makes explicit God’s role as the punishing agent (e.g., God hunts him).

3.4.4.6 – Job 16:2-3

Job responds to Eliphaz’s criticism of his “windy” expressions at the beginning of his speech in chapter 16. In his most direct reply to the nature of the friends’ speeches, he immediately picks up with the SPEECH IS WIND metaphor in 16:3.

שְׁמַעְתִּי כְּאֵלֶּה רַבּוֹת	2 I have heard many things like these.
מִנְחָמֵי עֵמֶל כְּלָכֶם	All of you are troublesome comforters.
הֲקֵץ לְדִבְרֵי־רוּחַ	3 “Is there an end to words of wind?
אוֹ מִה־יִּמְרִיצֶךָ כִּי תַעֲנֶה	Or what sickens you that you (continue to) answer?”

The plural noun and suffix pronoun of v. 2 indicates that Job addresses his reply to all three of his friends. He calls them “troublesome comforters,” picking up on Eliphaz’s use of עֵמֶל in 15:35 to signify the product that a wicked person conceives (Course 1994, 99-100; Seow 2013, 732; see §3.4.3.2). The 2ms suffix on יִמְרִיצֶךָ and 2ms prefix on תַּעֲנֶה marks a shift in addressee in 16:3. It may be that Job turns his attention directly toward Eliphaz and accuses him alone of expressing “words of wind” (Fohrer 1963, 284; Hartley 1988, 257). However, this would be unusual, especially since Job returns to the plural in v. 4.¹⁶⁶ More likely, v. 3 is a virtual quotation of the friends (Tur-Sinai 1967, 262; Clines 1989, 379; Ho 2009, 205; Seow 2013, 741).¹⁶⁷ The paraphrased quote is set up by Job’s mention in v. 2a to “things like these”

¹⁶⁶ Job does occasionally address his friends in the singular (Job 12:7-8; 21:3b). Job 12:7-8 may reflect an otherwise known proverb and, therefore, be a citation, but it still represents Job’s address to the friends. Job 26:2-4 is also an address in the singular, but I take this as part of Bildad’s final speech (see §3.4.3.3).

¹⁶⁷ For the use of unmarked quotations in the book of Job, see Gordis 1939/40, 140-147; 1965, 169-189; 1981, 410-427, and Fox’s corrective (1980, 416-431). More recently, Ho (2009, 703-715) picks up on Fox’s criteria for unmarked quotations and offers extended arguments against

that he has heard, which seems to refer to Eliphaz's speech in chapter 15, including the criticism of Job in 15:2-6. If this is correct, the expression of the WORDS ARE WIND metaphor in 16:3 is a repetition of Eliphaz's rhetorical question in 15:2. In both cases, Job's words are the topic of criticism.

The issue of the limits of speech in the Joban dialogue is primarily focused on Job's speech rather than that of the friends. The friends implore Job to leave off with his complaint, but Job resolves to continue stating his case no matter the consequences. Therefore, it makes best sense to take 16:3b ("what sickens you that you continually reply," *אִי מֵה־יִמְרִיץֶךָ כִּי תַעֲנֶנָּה*) as a paraphrase of the friends' perspective; it is Job who continues to speak in spite of their warnings and the dire consequences. The friends can only wonder what "sickens" Job that he repeatedly replies to their speeches.

In 16:3, Job expresses WORDS ARE WIND for the first time since he initiated it in 6:26, where he questioned whether the friends considered his words to be wind. Both Bildad and Eliphaz picked up on the metaphor to construe Job's speech as violent and destructive. They affirmed that they do indeed treat Job's words as wind. Now Job in 16:3 returns to the metaphor only to paraphrase the friends' perspective and portray their counsel as "troublesome" (*עֲמָל*). Clearly, Job finds their use of the WORDS ARE WIND metaphor out of place as a description of his speeches.

those who interpret Job 12:7-12; 21:19a, 22; 42:3a-4 as quotations. Ho (2009, 205) argues convincingly that Job 16:3 meets the criteria for a virtually marked quotation. He also maintains that 4:17; 22:20; and 33:13 are virtually marked quotations.

Coherence

The WORDS ARE WIND metaphors cohere on a basic conceptual level. Each expression of this metaphor lexically signifies both the target WIND and the source WORDS. Additionally, each expression of the metaphor is directed at the words of Job. Even in 15:30, where the target is THE WORDS OF THE WICKED, Eliphaz subtly groups Job with the wicked. He uses the same rhetorical strategy in 15:2-3, where he questions whether “a wise person” would “answer with windy knowledge.” As I argued above, Eliphaz has Job in mind as the supposed wise person who is speaking foolishly. The regular focus on JOB’S WORDS as the conceptual topic of the conversation when the WORDS ARE WIND metaphor appears makes the metaphors cohere on a more specific level.

The WORDS ARE WIND metaphor is also novel and therefore more perceptible. Since WORDS and WIND have few points of structural similarity, the metaphorical mappings are strained, so that the reader/hearer is forced to struggle with the meaning. As I have tried to demonstrate, there are two possible bases against which WIND may be understood as a source domain for SPEECH, namely, EPHEMERALITY and DESTRUCTION. For each construal of WORDS ARE WIND, context determines which base is evoked by the metaphorical expression. The activated mappings of the metaphor are not automatic, which raises the level of perceptibility. Besides lexical repetition, the arguments for Job 8:2 being an allusion to 6:26 and 16:2-3 being an allusion to 15:2-3 are strengthened by the specific-level activation and the multiple possibilities for conceptual bases. In sum, the features that make metaphors novel and difficult also make them more readily apparent, so that when multiple expressions of a single metaphor are in close textual proximity, the reader is more likely to perceive the coherence as allusion.

The WORDS ARE WIND metaphorical expressions demonstrate a basic disagreement between Job and his friends over the value of Job's speeches. Job never admits to his speech being "wind" but readily perceives that the friends view his speeches as ephemeral. The friends go further and criticize his words as destructive, subtly grouping him with the foolish and the wicked. Their perspective is that Job's accusations against God demonstrate his sin and will lead to certain punishment. Job does not disagree that his words are potentially dangerous, but resists the portrayal of his accusations as either ephemeral or destructive. There is real substance and validity to his words because he speaks honestly. Therefore, he questions the metaphor JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND and even cites it as an example of the friends' "troublesome" counsel.

3.5 – Conclusion

In this chapter, I have surveyed metaphorical expressions that have SPEECH as their target domain. While there are multiple occurrences of the conduit metaphor that serve to structure the interlocutors' conceptualization of their conversation, this study focuses on the cases where speakers elaborate the generic-level schema of the conduit metaphor and, specifically, the generic-level metaphor WORDS ARE OBJECTS, to evaluate the words of one another. The elaborations of this metaphor in the dialogue include WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS, WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS, and WORDS ARE WIND. In the last metaphor, both the target concept, WORDS, and the source concept, WIND, are basic-level concepts, so the multiple construals of this metaphor have more potential for evoking perceptible coherence.

3.5.1 – *Agreement about SPEECH*

As for their shared conceptualizations of SPEECH, the interlocutors all draw upon the conduit metaphor. They do not question the conceptual metaphor WORDS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS or the elaborations of PHYSICAL OBJECTS as DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS, STRENGTHENING OBJECTS, or WIND. Job and his friends also largely agree about the function and purpose of speech. They all support the value of restrained speech and the principle of genuine rebuke and right teaching leading to silence (Job 6:24; 11:3; 13:19; 15:2-6; 29:9, 21-22). In spite of their commitment to this principle, each of them determines that Job's particular situation calls for speech. For Job, his suffering justifies his complaint and accusation. For the friends, Job's dangerous speech justifies their rebuke. It is therefore not surprising that SPEECH is regularly evoked as a target domain for metaphorical expressions, especially in the beginning of their speeches when they attempt to defend their reasons for speaking.

3.5.2 – *Agreements and Disagreement about Elaborations of WORDS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS*

The metaphor competition between Job and his friends results from their disagreement about the quality of one another's speeches. For example, Job's elaboration of WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS as WORDS OF JOB'S FRIENDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS in 19:2 ("How long will you torment my soul and crush me with words?") conflicts with Eliphaz's signification of WORDS OF THE WICKED ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS in 5:15-16, 20-21. Job is not directly responding to Eliphaz's metaphorical expression, but a comparison of the variant elaborations of SPEAKER demonstrates Job's rhetorical point that his friends are speaking against him as wicked people would do.

As for the STRENGTHENING WORDS metaphorical expressions, all of them evoke JOB'S WORDS as their target. Job and Eliphaz agree that Job was a wise counselor in his pre-suffering state. They both draw upon the conceptual metaphor JOB'S WORDS ARE OBJECTS THAT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH to depict his former experiences as a counselor (4:3-4; 29:21-23). Bildad, however, questions this metaphor, expressing JOB'S WORDS OF INSTRUCTION ARE *NOT* OBJECTS THAT IMPART PHYSICAL STRENGTH in 26:2-4. Bildad's rhetorical questions do not elaborate the metaphorical slots differently than Eliphaz's statements in 4:3-4, but the context of Bildad's questions shows a reversal in perspective. The metaphors cohere, but the image of Job as a wise counselor is reversed.

The expressions of WORDS ARE WIND also elaborate WORDS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS, but they do so on a more specific level than most of the SPEECH metaphors. The source domain DESTRUCTIVE OBJECT is elaborated as WIND and even as EAST WIND or MIGHTY WIND. If WIND is the basic-level concept, then EAST WIND and STRONG WIND are specific-level elaborations of the same basic source domain. The interlocutors do not disagree that WIND can be elaborated in this way; rather, they disagree whether it is right to construe JOB'S WORDS as WIND at any level. Job questions this metaphorical mapping and the friends reassert it. Their dispute is not over the metaphor WORDS ARE WIND as much as the elaboration of WORDS with JOB'S WORDS.

I concluded the last chapter with a proposal that Job 13:12a, "Your reminders are proverbs of ashes," may cohere at multiple conceptual levels with other expressions of WORDS ARE PHYSICAL OBJECTS. The survey in this chapter shows that Job's expression in 13:12a only coheres on a generic level. There are no other expressions that signify WORDS ARE ASHES. The only expressions that cohere with 13:12 are the cases where WIND is profiled on the base of EPHEMERALITY (6:26 and possibly 15:2-3). I only briefly mentioned 21:34, "How will you

comfort me with breath? As for your answers, unfaithfulness remains.” (וְאִיךָ תַּגְמִינִי הֶבֶל) (וַתְּשׁוּבַתִּיכֶם וְשֹׁאֵר־מַעַל אֶפֶר), but this expression also coheres with 13:12. In both cases, Job criticizes his friends’ arguments as ephemeral. While הֶבֶל in 21:34 does not signify the same concept as אֶפֶר when it is profiled against the base EPHEMERALITY, both signify insubstantial objects, even if הֶבֶל is commonly metaphorically extended to evoke non-physical concepts such as NONSENSE or VANITY.¹⁶⁸ Although the conceptual metaphor WORDS ARE INSUBSTANTIAL OBJECTS appears less frequently in the book of Job than the elaborations of OBJECTS AS DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS or STRENGTHENING OBJECTS, both of which show the efficacy (negative or positive) of words, Job 6:26; 13:12; and 21:34 cohere because their source concepts are all profiled against EPHEMERALITY. All three of these texts that characterize words as “weak arguments” are from the speeches of Job, perhaps because Job’s friends are singularly interested in criticizing Job’s words as destructive, rather than simply ephemeral or unimportant.

3.5.3 – *Progression in the Dialogue*

If taken together as a single character, the friends show some progression in perspective from Eliphaz’s recollection of Job’s aptitude for empowering others with his words (4:3-4) to Bildad’s doubt in Job’s abilities (26:2-4), but this is not adequate evidence for showing dialogic progression through metaphorical expressions of coherent metaphors. Only taking into account the SPEECH metaphors, the best evidence for progression of argument is the repeated expressions

¹⁶⁸ For the literal meaning of הֶבֶל as “vapor” and its polysemous senses, see Fox 1986, 409-427; 1999, 27-35; and Miller 2002, 53-90. I translate הֶבֶל as “breath” in Job 21:34, because it corresponds with the theme of speech. Qohelet 6:11 evokes this same image of metaphorically vaporous speech with הֶבֶל, “For if there are many words, they increase breath. What profit is there for man?” (כִּי יִשְׁדָּבְרִים הַרְבֵּה מִרְבִּים הֶבֶל מִה־יִּתֵּר לָאָדָם).

of JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND. I have argued that Bildad's expression in 8:2 ("How long will you speak these things, and the words of your mouth be a mighty wind?") alludes to Job's expression in 6:26 ("Do you intend to rebuke words, or consider words of one who despairs as wind") by taking up the JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND metaphor. Bildad shifts the base against which WIND is profiled from EPHEMERALITY to DESTRUCTION with the descriptive adjective "mighty" (נָכִיר), so as to make the point that Job's words are not simply to be disregarded as fleeting or senseless, but to be rebuked as dangerous. By Job 16:3, Job's suspicions are confirmed that his friends do indeed consider his words as wind. The repetition of JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND throughout the dialogue with variant base domains demonstrates the progression of argumentation.

Chapter 4 – ANIMAL Metaphors in the Joban Discourse

וְאִלֵּם שְׂאֵל־נָא בְּהֵמוֹת וְתִרְדּוּ
וְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיַגִּדְלֶךָ

But ask the animals and they will teach you;
or the birds of heaven and they will tell you.
- Job 12:7

4.1 – Introduction

Source domains are not usually the obvious or the most productive places to look for coherence in a discourse because they rarely represent the topic of a dialogue or literary work. The primary exception to this is when one speaker questions the validity of another's metaphorical construal, in which case the competing metaphors demonstrate a type of coherence – one relates to another through direct contrast in a particular feature of the source domain. Since the Joban dialogue presents conflicting points of view, it may be the case that the interlocutors draw upon their cognitive sources in variant ways to expose flawed mappings in the other interlocutors' metaphorical construals. It is my contention that this is an important dynamic for understanding Yahweh's speeches, as he presents a challenge to the shared source world, or "symbolic map" as Newsom (1994, 14) calls it, of Job and his friends. In order to demonstrate this point, I will survey and analyze the conceptual domain ANIMAL as it is expressed in the dialogue of the book of Job and then question whether the animal images in the divine speech cohere with ANIMAL as it is signified in the metaphorical expressions in the three speech cycles.

The status of animals is not the topic of the dialogue between Job and his friends, yet they regularly utilize what they know about animals (especially those that are wild) as a vehicle to make assertions germane to their topic. Job and his friends disagree at times about particular mappings of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and specific elaborations of this metaphor, but they build their opposing arguments on the foundation of their shared assumptions and evaluations about the

natural world. For example, in the metaphorical expressions that activate the source domain LION in the dialogue, Job and his friends consistently portray this animal as God's enemy. They share the assumption that the lion is a dangerous and even immoral animal. They agree in their negative evaluation of the lion, but they disagree in their elaborations of PEOPLE ARE LIONS. In this chapter, I trace and explain metaphors that have the source domain ANIMAL. As will become apparent, the most common metaphor that draws upon this source is PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, since the focus of the Joban dialogue is the human condition. Many of these cases, especially when the source is PREDATORY ANIMALS, relate to the more specific category of WICKED PEOPLE and the generic-level schema RETRIBUTION.

4.2 – The Source Domain ANIMAL

In attempting to understand ancient conceptualizations of animal categories, one must keep in mind their folk classifications rather than their modern scientific taxonomy (Wapnish 1995, 233-235). Since folk classifications of animals reflect categories formed through interactions with real world animals, understanding them must focus on the *perceived* structures of the world (Wapnish 1995, 238). Biological features of animals are only important for determining the folk classifications in the book of Job insofar as they relate to the distinct observable attributes of various animals, such as their habitat or the level of threat that they pose to humans.¹⁶⁹ As Atran (1990, 37) says, these types of functional distinctions “mark the boundaries that living kinds have in relation to one another and in relation to ourselves.” Our

¹⁶⁹ This is typical for folk classifications, for, as Wapnish (1995, 248) says, the most common distinguishing features in folk systems are “size, behavior, and habitat.” Atran (1990, 37) supports this as well, relating the conceptualizations of habitat to the human experience, claiming, “Life-form divisions seem to be made on the basis of those habits of life that determine the place of each being in that local environment pertaining to man's everyday life.”

primary access to how the author of the book of Job perceived ANIMAL and its subordinate concepts is the text itself. Ancient Near Eastern texts, especially the Hebrew Bible, and zooarcheological records help situate the Joban author's perceptions within his broader cultural context.¹⁷⁰

The conceptual domain ANIMAL is not a basic conceptual category. A short example of the relation between DOG and ANIMAL evidences this. Normally, when a person sees a picture of a dog, he or she will immediately label it as “dog” and not “animal.” In this case, DOG is the basic conceptual level and ANIMAL is more generic or superordinate. The basic-level animal concepts are the most distinct and usually the first level, lexically encoded, taxonomic grouping (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973, 215-216; Wapnish 1995, 246). For example, DOG and LION are lexically signified in biblical Hebrew with *קָלֵב* and *אַרְיֵה* and represent two distinct conceptual domains. They are markedly differentiated from one another, more so than say LION (*אַרְיֵה*) and YOUNG LION (*קַפִּיר*), a specific level of “varietal taxa” (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973, 216).

There are also intermediary conceptual categories between basic levels and generic levels, such as DOMESTIC ANIMAL and WILD ANIMAL, although these are not necessarily lexically encoded and are therefore more difficult to define. These two domains have prototypical and fringe members, as do all categories, but were seemingly distinct conceptual domains in ancient Israel. Generally speaking, domestic animals were appreciated for their obedience, tameness, and economic value, while wild animals were often despised, pitied, or feared because of their lack of contribution or threat to human society.¹⁷¹ In metaphor, these positive or negative associations

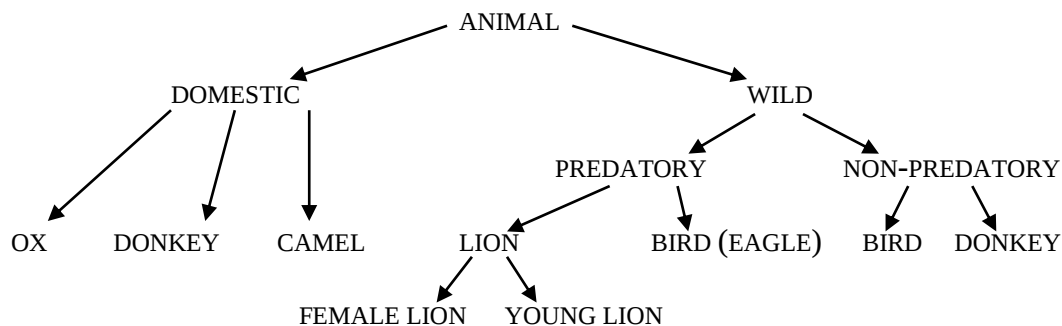
¹⁷⁰ See Wapnish (1995, 238-249) for discussion of how philologists and ethnobiologists proceed in the effort to describe ancient conceptualizations of animal categories without access to native speakers.

¹⁷¹ For similar phenomena in Mesopotamian animal symbolism, see Watanabe (2002, 147-154),

are highlighted as they are projected onto positive or negative features of PEOPLE.

The domain ANIMAL entails several more specific conceptual levels. Beyond DOMESTIC ANIMAL and the basic category DOG, people acquire more specific conceptual categories such as TERRIER and GOLDEN RETRIEVER as knowledge and experience progress. These more specific conceptual levels may become basic for some people. For example, a dog breeder who has countless experiences with particular breeds of dogs, might automatically label a picture of a dog by the name of its breed (e.g., “terrier”).

The following illustration is not comprehensive, but attempts to show a few of the animal concepts that are signified lexically in the book of Job. Any such tree diagram is an oversimplification, in part because concepts belong to individuals and may vary according to personal experiences. Nevertheless, the diagram aims to give a general description of the conceptual relationships and their sequential levels of specificity with the more general at the top and the more specific at the bottom.



who demonstrates that domestication is also associated with civilization. In Mesopotamian literature the divide between the wild and the civilized is epitomized by the relationship between Gilgamesh and Enkidu. When the harlot tames Enkidu, he loses his animalistic instincts, is put at enmity with the animals, and gains wisdom; thus, civilization wins out. In the moment of his full transformation into his new status as a man, he becomes a hunter of lions (Tablet II. P 110; George, 14).

The speakers in the book of Job occasionally express specific-level knowledge of animal species as they differentiate between various subspecies. Eliphaz, for example, uses five different lexemes to distinguish varieties of “lion” in 4:10-11. The poet’s characters demonstrate a specialized knowledge of the natural world, but the use of multiple lexemes that signify LION in Job 4:10-11 does not necessitate that each lexeme signifies a different basic-level concept for Eliphaz. More likely, LION remained basic and some lexemes evoked more specific-level concepts within the LION domain.

The expression of multiple lexemes may be due as much to the need for variation in parallelism as it is an effort to characterize Eliphaz as a zoologist. In the case of 4:10-11, the lexeme that activates the more basic concept (אַרְיֵל, “lion”) is expressed in the first poetic line and then lexemes that signify more specific-level concepts (e.g., נֶפֶץ, “young lion”) follow.¹⁷² While the basic level is the expected level to find perceptible coherence between metaphors, since this level has the highest degree of cultural salience (Taylor 2003, 50-54), there are cases in the book of Job where multiple expressions of specific-level concepts demonstrate coherence; thus, my study includes significations of all hierarchical levels within the domain ANIMAL.

I have chosen not to include beasts such as the sea-monster (תַּיִם) in the general survey of ANIMAL significations in the Joban dialogue. Cognitive linguists recognize that people have mental categories with prototypical members and fringe members and that these will vary

¹⁷² See §4.3.1.2 for discussion of the lion lexemes in 4:10-11. Berlin (2008, 74) labels this common phenomenon “particularizing,” the move from superordinate lexeme to subordinate lexeme in Hebrew parallelism. In cognitive linguistic terms, the lexeme that signifies a basic-level concept in the a-line is more likely to elicit a lexeme that signifies a specific-level concept in the b-line than the other way around. See Berlin (2008, 71-72). Kugel (1981, 29) also supports this observation in his discussion of word pairs, as he says, “The pairs themselves may bring out the ‘what’s more’ relationship of B to A, for, as has been pointed out, the second word of the pair sequence is most often the rarer and more literary term.”

according to personal and cultural experience (Wapnish 1995, 237; Taylor 2003, 63-82). The effort to assign the sea-monster, Leviathan, and Behemoth to either modern-day animal categories or purely mythological categories does not take into account the ancient knowledge base or systems of categorization. The sea-monster, which appears as a primordial beast of chaos associated with the sea in Isa 27:1; 51:9; Jer 51:34; Ps 74:13; and in Ugaritic literature (KTU 1.3.III.36-37), does not likely belong to the category ANIMAL for most modern-day westerners without adding the qualification of “mythical.” The question, however, is whether it belonged to ANIMAL for the author of the book of Job and his early readers for whom the sharp distinction between mythical and natural was likely nonexistent.¹⁷³ In some biblical texts, the sea-monster is simply one of God’s creatures and not plainly associated with chaos (Gen 1:21; Ps 148:7), suggesting that they were conceptualized within the domain ANIMAL. My inclination is that these

¹⁷³ The תנין may have been part of the SERPENT category as it is clearly so in a few biblical occurrences (Exod 7:9-12; Deut 32:33; Ps 91:13). Snakes occur as an infrequent image in the Joban dialogue. The only possible SERPENT metaphor is in Job 20:14-16.

לְחֹמוֹ בְּמַעְיוֹ נִהְפָּךְ	14 His food is overturned in his stomach.
מְרוֹרַת פְּתָנִים בְּקִרְבּוֹ	Poison of asps is within him.
חֵיל בָּלַע וַיִּקְאֵנוּ	15 He swallows wealth and vomits it.
מִבֶּטְנוֹ יוֹרְשָׁנוּ אֵל	God drives it out from his belly.
רֹאשׁ-פְּתָנִים יִינָק	16 He will suck the poison of asps.
תְּהַרְגֵהוּ לִשׁוֹן אֶפְסָה	The tongue of a viper will kill him.

In this text, Zophar imagines evil as snake *venom*, not as the snake itself, so the source domain is SNAKE VENOM. His expression is an extended food metaphor in which a wicked person tastes evil. It is sweet at first (20:12) but then turns out to be deadly. It is comparable to the invitation of Lady Folly in Prov 9:17, “Stolen water is sweet, and bread eaten in secret is pleasant.” Zophar draws upon SNAKE VENOM to express the deadliness of evil. Unlike the majority of animal metaphors in the book of Job, PEOPLE is not the target in Job 20:14-16; rather, the conceptual metaphor is EVIL IS SNAKE VENOM. Since this expression signifies neither the target PEOPLE nor the animal itself within the source domain ANIMAL, it lacks any kind of conceptual coherence with the other animal metaphors in the book of Job.

beasts were categorized as non-prototypical animals for the author of the book of Job and his early readers, but that they defy modern classifications on account of their non-prototypicality.¹⁷⁴ On the one hand, they have clear associations with Northwest Semitic myth. On the other hand, they are described realistically in the book of Job, especially in Yahweh's second speech (40:15-41:26). Newsom's explanation of these beasts as "liminal beings who belong to the boundaries of the symbolic world" is an appropriate description of their non-prototypical place within the domain ANIMAL (2003a, 248). This also accords with ancient Near Eastern folk classifications, which include similar fantastic beasts in ANIMAL. As Wapnish (1995, 243) says about Mesopotamian literature, "It is not unusual for mythological creatures to be included with those palpably real."

The sea-monster, Behemoth, and Leviathan all exhibit a power and status that is beyond the typical animal and, therefore, do not readily fit within any of the various basic animal domains. In addition, they do not make up a classificatory group of their own. While there may be overlap (see Isa 27:1, where Leviathan closely parallels the sea-monster), each of these is best approached as a special case. They are also unique insofar as their signifying lexemes in the

¹⁷⁴ I am less certain about Rahab who appears non-metaphorically in Job 9:13 and 26:12 as God's enemy in the primeval creation battle. Rahab is closely associated with the sea in Job 26:12, Isa 51:9-10, and Ps 89:10-11, but none of the biblical texts make explicit its identity or categorization as an animal, unless the "fleeing serpent" (נָחָשׁ בָּרִיחַ) of Job 26:13 is synonymous with Rahab as Day (1985, 39) proposes. Rahab may be a deity, an animal, or, as I think most likely, a deified animal, but it is never clear. Ancient Near Eastern parallels suggest that Rahab has similarities with sea deities. For example, Rahab has "helpers" in Job 9:13 as does Tiamat who enlists her "helpers" to fight for her according to *Enuma Elish* IV, 107. In Ugaritic mythology, Yamm is accompanied by several other deified monsters (including *tnn*) and powers in his fight against Anat (KTU 1.3.43-44). While the Bible demythologizes these beings to some extent, the character of Rahab exhibits mythological characteristics and exemplifies the difficulties involved with categorizing these marginal and extraordinary beasts. For more on Rahab, see Day (1992, 5:610-611; 1985, 38-41), who identifies it as a mythological sea-serpent and suggests that Rahab is an alternative name for Leviathan.

Joban contexts do not clarify their identity. They each appear to be one-of-a-kind. Behemoth, for example, is a singular animal in Yahweh's speech (Job 40:15-24), and is lexically signified with a word in the masculine singular that simply means "beast" or perhaps "super-beast" (Fox 2012, 261), which reveals a certain unfamiliarity with the animal itself.¹⁷⁵

In the only metaphorical signification of these animals in the Joban dialogue (7:12), Job parallels the sea-monster with the sea, both being chaotic objects of God's careful surveillance ("Am I the sea or the sea-monster that you place a guard over me?" הַיָּם־אֲנִי אִם־תִּנָּן כִּי־תִשָּׂם עָלַי (מִשְׁמָר).¹⁷⁶ Job may still be understood to conceptualize the sea-monster as an animal here, but the grouping with "sea" blurs the line somewhat between wild animals and mythical powers (compare the reference to Rahab//Sea in Job 26:12).¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Behemoth is usually identified as the hippopotamus (Keel 1978a, 127-141; Clines 2011, 148-157; and Fox 2012, 261-263). I agree that many of Behemoth's features resemble the hippopotamus and that the author of the book of Job may have had something like this creature in mind, but maintain that this modern-day classification is not ultimately possible or profitable. If Behemoth, like Leviathan, was a non-prototypical animal, it was not experienced and categorized as an animal by the Joban author as modern interpreters experience and categorize the concept HIPPOPOTAMUS. In Yahweh's speech, Behemoth was conceptualized as an animal outside of the human experience and at the margins of human understanding. It is described in terms of better known animals ("like the cattle" in 40:15) and has characteristics that do not align with the hippopotamus (its "cedar like" tail, 40:17; its mountain habitat where all the beasts of the field [חַיֵּי הַשָּׂדֶה] play, 40:20); thus it is best interpreted as an animal that defies clear classification. If classification must be assigned, it is best to designate Behemoth as a "hippopotamus-like animal," emphasizing its marginal characterization.

¹⁷⁶ For a discussion of *tnn* in Ugaritic Literature with reference to Job 7:12, see Diewert 1987, 203-215.

¹⁷⁷ Ancient Near Eastern iconography demonstrates an imaginative belief in creatures that combine the features of several different predatory animals. For example, the *mušḫuššu*, which combines lion legs with eagle talons with a serpent body and head with a single horn (Jones 2011, 673-674). Among other places, the figure appears on the Babylonian Ištar gate. For this and other occurrences of leonine and serpentine iconography and its relation to Babylonian and Assyrian deities, see Wiggermann 1995, 455-462, and Watanabe 2002, 126-141. Wiggermann (1995, 461) concludes that the snake-dragons are neither gods nor demons; rather, they are visible monsters that serve the deities. Their combination of features adds to their

As for the character of Leviathan, the two occurrences of this creature in the book of Job are dissimilar. In Job's initial speech, he recognizes Leviathan as a beast of chaos with clear mythological associations (3:8). However, in Yahweh's description (Job 40:25-41:26), like Behemoth, Leviathan is a fantastic creature described in mostly realistic terms and does not appear to be God's primordial enemy.¹⁷⁸ The author of the book of Job seems to exploit the

conceptualization as mythical because they cannot be categorized within one life-form domain (Wapnish 1995, 270). In Israel, the relation between composite beasts and the divine sphere is represented in tabernacle/Temple iconography, including the mixed forms of cherubim (Exod 25:18-22; 26:1; 1 Kgs 6:18-32; Ezek 1:5-11; Ps 18:11; see Meyers 1992, 1:900) and seraphim (Num 21:8; Isa 6:2). Levitical law forbids cross-breeding of animals (Lev 19:19) because composite animals belong to the sacred sphere, God's holy space within the Temple (Milgrom 2000, 1656-1661).

¹⁷⁸ The literature on Behemoth and Leviathan is voluminous. For a partial bibliography, see Doak 2014, 218 n. 75. See Fox 2012, 264-266, for a recent discussion of the natural classification of Leviathan in Yahweh's speech. He argues that Leviathan most closely resembles a whale in Yahweh's speech and not a crocodile as often interpreted. For the view that Leviathan is a crocodile, see Keel 1978a, 141-156, and Clines 2011, 155-157. Keel understands Behemoth and Leviathan to be animal embodiments of evil that Yahweh, resembling the Egyptian god Horus, must defeat repeatedly (157). Clines (2011, 155) argues that large whales are not found in the Mediterranean, Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, so Leviathan must not be a whale. However, killer whales are found in the western Mediterranean, false killer whales have been sighted off of the Egyptian coast, and sperm whales are occasional visitors to the eastern Mediterranean (Wapnish 1995, 259-261). In any case, scholarly uncertainty about the natural classification of Leviathan in Yahweh's speech testifies to the lack of clarity in the description itself. If the author is attempting to describe a real whale, it is an inaccurate depiction, imagining a fire breathing whale with limbs and scales. In my view, it is best to classify Leviathan as a sea-serpent that blends components of multiple observed creatures, so that we should not attempt to identify it with a particular animal. This partially accords with Day's view (1985, 68-72), who takes Leviathan in all cases as a mythical sea-serpent. However, I disagree with Day that Leviathan in Yahweh's speech is the chaos monster of Northwest Semitic mythology, defeated by God in the creation myth. God exhibits awe and admiration for Behemoth and Leviathan, not enmity (Newsom 2003a, 249-252; Fox 2012, 266-267). It is best, therefore, to take Leviathan as a creature that was actually believed to inhabit the sea, even if it does not fit within our modern system of classification. As Fox (2012, 265) says, "The inaccuracies in descriptions of monstrous but actual beasts do not prove that they are mythological, only that they were not well known." Doak (2014, 219) echoes this, saying, "Ancient audiences had no resources with which to know one way or the other whether remote, strange animals did truly exist, and thus they were willing to engage in speculation about non-obvious beings beyond what readers today could tolerate."

ambiguous classification of Leviathan in order to demonstrate Yahweh's alternative point of view about the function of this wild creature in the created world. While I believe the occurrences of these beasts may cohere with other significations of WILD ANIMAL in the book of Job, I do not include them in my survey.¹⁷⁹ This is partially in order to limit the scope of the chapter, but also because the ancient categorization of such beings is largely inaccessible.

I also do not include texts that signify INSECT. Most expressions of INSECT in the book of Job parallel worms or moths with significations of DEATH or ROT (Job 7:5; 13:28; 17:14), so that INSECT coheres better with DEATH than Joban significations of ANIMAL.¹⁸⁰ With the exception of Job 25:6, where the text signifies PEOPLE ARE MAGGOTS and PEOPLE ARE WORMS (אִם כִּי־אֲנֹשׁ רִמָּה וְכִן־אָדָם תּוֹלְעָה, “How much less a man who is a maggot, and a son of man who is a worm?”) to express the lowliness of humans before God, INSECT is not a source domain for metaphorical construal in the Joban dialogue.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ Some scholars attempt to demonstrate how Behemoth and Leviathan are counterparts for Job. Habel (1985, 561) hints at this suggesting that the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan “invite comparison with Job.” More boldly, Gammie (1978, 219-226) maintains that Behemoth and Leviathan are didactic characters that Yahweh presents to Job as mirror images “wherein Job could gather perspective on his own fulminations” (225). He does not discuss these images as metaphors, but his description cites several hints at conceptual overlap between Job and these two beasts. For similar, more recent, arguments, see Ahuis 2011, 72-91, and Doak 2014, 218-229. Doak (225) claims that “the human self in conversation with the animal [Behemoth] is, of course, none other than Job.” He assesses several points of comparison between Job's self-description and Yahweh's description of the two beasts, such as his bones sticking to his skin (19:20) and Behemoth's bones like “bronze tubes” (40:18).

¹⁸⁰ Job 4:19 may include a reference to the moth as an agent of destruction, יִדָּכְאוּם לְפָנֵי־עֵשׂ (“they are crushed a moth”), but it is better to emend the MT, so that the *mem* of the first word in v. 20, מִבְּקָר, is taken as the 3mp pronominal suffix of עֲשֵׂם, “they are crushed before *their* maker.”

¹⁸¹ See Forti 2015, 161-169, for a discussion the moth in Job 13:28, וְהָיָה כְּרִקְבִּי אֲכָלוֹ עֵשׂ (“He wastes away like a rotten thing, like a garment eaten by a moth.”). She argues that 13:28 should be placed after 14:2 as an expression of the ephemerality of life. Wherever it is placed, I maintain that there is not a moth metaphor in this text; rather the metaphor is MAN IS A GARMENT, because the features of GARMENT that are projected onto the domain PEOPLE. The כ preposition

In the following survey, I begin by providing a brief description of context and a translation of each text that evokes ANIMAL, noting any meaningful text critical issues as necessary. Second, I specify the lexemes that signify the ANIMAL domain and discuss the concepts and the various conceptual levels that the lexemes activate. Third, I make a case for conceptual metaphor mappings in light of multiple contextual factors. For each basic animal domain, I begin with any non-metaphorical significations of the animal concept in the book of Job and the descriptive information that accompanies the signification, so as to fully describe the conceptualizations of ANIMAL throughout the discourse.

4.3 – PREDATORY ANIMAL Metaphors

Metaphorical expressions and their conceptual mappings provide insight into various categorical distinctions. Within the WILD ANIMAL domain, the conceptual differences between PREDATORY ANIMAL and NON-PREDATORY ANIMAL are reflected in their mappings with different types of people in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMAL metaphors. While NON-PREDATORY DESERT ANIMAL serves as a source for portraying outcasts, the poor, or fools, PREDATORY ANIMALS is almost always projected onto WICKED PEOPLE in the book of Job. As will be shown, the instinct of predatory animals to kill their prey makes them a common source for imagining scenarios in which wicked people abuse or take advantage of innocent people. Predatory animals pose a threat not only to other animals but also to people, increasing their level of supposed wickedness

on כְּבִיָּה marks the source as GARMENT. While the salient feature is the garment's susceptibility to destruction by the moth, MOTH is not the source domain. One might argue that the verse implies mapping between MOTH and GOD (God is the agent who destroys the person, just as a moth destroys a garment), especially in light of v. 27, where Job portrays God as an oppressive prison guard. However, the topic in v. 28 is the man who wastes away and not the agent who destroys. In my view, MOTH is profiled as a feature of GARMENT, but it is not projected onto the target.

from the perspective of humans. Some animals, such as the jackal, kill rodents and other small creatures, but they do not threaten the lives of people, so they are regularly grouped with non-predatory desert animals. The bigger the threat to human life, the better the source for projecting wicked behavior.

4.3.1 – LION

The lion exemplifies wildness and is prototypical for the conceptual domain PREDATORY ANIMAL. Jones (2011, 671) argues this point convincingly, concluding, “The eagle is the ‘lion’ of the sky, the eel the ‘lion’ of the sea, and the serpent the ‘lion’ of the earth. The four-legged king of beasts is the center term.” The book of Job exhibits the lion’s prototypicality by including significations of LION far more frequently than any other predatory animal. In Job 28:8, the poet presents the lion (לִשְׂחָל) as an animal that roams the liminal and desolate places of the earth.¹⁸² This text claims that miners go beyond the limits of any wild animal, even the lion, to places “forgotten by feet” (v. 4, הַנְּשָׁכְחִים מִנִּי-רֶגֶל, *ni-irgel*). The information about LION is minimal in 28:8, but it is clearly an animal at the fringes of inhabitable space.

The parallel between the lion and the “sons of pride” (בְּנֵי-שָׁחַץ) in 28:8 categorizes the lion with lofty creatures.¹⁸³ In Israel and other ancient Near Eastern cultures, the lion served as a

¹⁸² See Jones 2011, 667, for לִשְׂחָל in Job 28:8. I comment on the identification of this lexeme as “lion” in my discussion of Job 4:10 below.

¹⁸³ Job 41:26 proclaims Leviathan as king over all of the sons of pride (בְּנֵי-שָׁחַץ). According to Mowinckel (1963, 97) and Jones (2011, 683), בְּנֵי-שָׁחַץ refers to a reptilian group of creatures in the image and type of their king, Leviathan the sea-monster. Jones’s view is partially based on Targum 11Q10 which translates בְּנֵי-שָׁחַץ with תַּנִּין. To be clear, Jones does not argue that שָׁחַץ signifies serpent, but that a hard and fast dichotomy was not made between the serpent and the lion in the ancient Near Eastern concepts of zoology. I am not convinced that a “son of pride” necessarily belongs to the animal type of its king. The lion, and perhaps Job himself, might well be conceptualized as “sons of pride.” Fohrer (1963, 391) suggests that the phrase simply signifies

natural symbol for royal and divine authority.¹⁸⁴ This is evident, for example, in the biblical depiction of Solomon's throne surrounded by fourteen lion statues (1 Kgs 10:19-20). The concept LION most often relates to entities that are not only powerful, but show their power by destroying those who are weaker. This is not necessarily a negative image (see Prov 19:23; 20:2), especially when the act of destruction corresponds with an act of divine retribution (for example, Jer 4:7; Hos 5:14; 13:7), but many texts associate the lion with acts of treachery (for example, Jer 2:30; Joel 1:6-7; Pss 7:2; 10:9; 17:12; 22:14, 22; Job 4:10; Lam 3:10). As we will see, RETRIBUTION is an essential conceptual component of LION as it is activated in the metaphorical expressions of the Joban interlocutors.¹⁸⁵

4.3.1.1 – Job 3:24

In chapter 3, Job begins the dialogue with an extended death wish. He concludes his first speech in 3:24-26 with a statement of his current miserable status, which includes the first possible animal metaphor of the dialogue. This expression raises a multitude of questions about the nature of highly conventional metaphors, sometimes labeled “dead” metaphors.

“big game” (*Hochwild*). Besides the two occurrences in the book of Job, רָחַץ occurs in Mishnaic Hebrew with the meaning “pride” that is associated with disgrace (Jastrow 1943, 1550a).

¹⁸⁴ For Palestine, see Caubet 2002, 223; for Egypt, see Teeter 2002, 267; for Mesopotamia, see Watanabe 2002, 42-56.

¹⁸⁵ The association of the lion and the wild ass with wickedness is not unique to Israel. In the fifth speech of Babylonian Theodicy, the sufferer illustrates the point that the wicked gain wealth without showing piety by pointing to the onager who eats without sharing with the god and the lion “that devoured choicest meat” but did not bring an offering to the goddess. These two animals parallel the parvenu who pays no attention to the mother goddess. The friend then replies that the headstrong wild ass is pierced with an arrow, the enemy lion is trapped with a pit, and the parvenu is burned by the king. The sufferer questions the retribution schema and the friend reinforces it. It is not coincidental, in my view, that these two animals are the most significant sources for illustrating retribution in the Joban dialogue.

כִּי־לִפְנֵי לֶחְמִי אֲנַחֲתִי תָבֹא וַיִּתְּכּוּ כַּמַּיִם שִׁאֲגָתִי	24 For my groaning comes before my food and my roarings are poured out like water.
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“My roarings” is possibly a conventional expression of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE LIONS. Habel (1985, 112) understands it this way, saying, “In these verses Job indulges his feelings of unrelenting misery. His ‘roaring’ is like that of a lion in pain.” As a general principle, identifying the conceptual domain that a lexeme activates in a particular case does not hinge solely on how frequently the lexeme activates a domain elsewhere; however, in this case, there are a sufficient number of examples to suspect that שִׁאֲגָה activates the LION domain in Job 3:24. Four out of seven occurrences of שִׁאֲגָה in the Hebrew Bible signify LION SOUND (Isa 5:29; Ezek 19:7; Zech 11:3; Job 4:10). The other two occurrences of the noun (excluding Job 3:24) do not otherwise lexically indicate LION; rather, they seem to intend the more general idea of a loud sound of complaint (Pss 22:2; 32:3). The verbal form of the root שִׁאֲג occurs seventeen times, eleven of which clearly signify LION SOUND (Judg 14:5; Isa 5:29; Jer 2:15; 51:38; Ezek 22:25; Hos 11:10; Amos 3:4, 8; Zeph 3:3; Pss 22:14; 104:21).¹⁸⁶ Two occurrences do not have an overt reference to LION (Pss 38:9; 74:4). The remaining four occurrences signify Yahweh making a “roaring” sound (Jer 25:30; Joel 4:16; Amos 1:2; Job 37:4), which may be conventional expressions of GOD IS A LION.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ I am not assuming an underlying “root meaning” for nouns and verbs of the same root. Barr (1969, 100-106) exposes the many problems with what he labels “the root fallacy.” While there are several examples of nouns and verbs from the same roots that have similar senses in biblical Hebrew, such similarity must be deduced from actual usages in literary contexts. In the case of שִׁאֲג, the noun and the verb correspond well in multiple contexts, generally profiling the same concept on the same range of bases.

Context must be considered in each of these occurrences. In some cases, the LION metaphor is readily apparent. For example, in Hos 11:10, “[Yahweh] roars like a lion” (כְּאַרְיֵה (יִשְׁאָג), the conventional metaphor is made explicit by the nominal signification of LION and the marking of the conceptual metaphor with *q*.¹⁸⁸ In other cases, such as Ps 22:2, “My God, my God, why have you abandoned me? Far off from my salvation are the words of my roaring.” (אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי לָמָּה עֲזַבְתָּנִי רְחוֹק מִיִּשְׁעֶיךָ דְּבַרִּי שִׁאָּגָה), PEOPLE ARE LIONS is seemingly imperceptible because nothing else in the immediate context signifies the LION concept.¹⁸⁹

In Job 3:24, שִׁאָּגָה is parallel with אִנְחָה (“groaning”), an audible sign of physical or

¹⁸⁷ Seow (2013, 372-3) argues that שִׁאָּגָה in Job 3:24 relates to the “thunderous” roar of Yahweh in Job 37:4. He maintains that Yahweh’s “roar” was identified with the sound of thunder of an approaching storm. In his view, Job’s “roar” being poured out like water imitates Yahweh’s pouring out the cosmic waters. But there is little evidence that שִׁאָּגָה signifies WATER or STORM outside of Job 37:4, a text that could just as well be an expression of metaphor (GOD IS A LION). Seow cites Isa 17:12-13 where human roars are likened to the roars of the sea, but here “roar” is שִׁאָּן, a more common indicator of the sound of the sea (also Pss 51:55; 65:8). Seow also cites Hos 11:10 as an example of a roar of the divine warrior, but here GOD IS A LION is clearly the metaphor.

¹⁸⁸ Steen (2011, 37) argues that simile marks metaphor as deliberate, saying, “The lexical signal *like*, moreover, makes it explicit that the sender wants the addressee to perform a cross-domain mapping between these two conceptual categories.” For the particular point about *q* in biblical Hebrew, see Joode and Van Loon (2014, 47).

¹⁸⁹ A reader of Psalm 22 might possibly retroactively activate LION in v. 2 on the basis of v. 14, פָּצוּ עָלַי פִּיָּהֶם אַרְיֵה טָרֵף וְשָׂאָג (“They open their mouth over me, a roaring and tearing lion”). But the lion metaphor in v. 14 has the psalmist’s enemy as its target, whereas in v. 2 it is the lamenter himself who sounds the roar. I have translated שִׁאָּגָה as “roaring” in Ps 22:2 and Job 3:24 for the sake of consistency, not because “roaring” necessarily activates the same concept as שִׁאָּגָה. If there is no metaphor in these texts or if the metaphor is highly conventional and thus imperceptible, then translating with “groaning” is a closer equivalent in English. Metaphor conventionality is a critical in translation studies. For recent discussion of Description Translation Studies and the cognitive approach to metaphor, see Schäffner 2004, 1253-1269; Kövecses 2005, 131-162; and Fernández 2013, 265-282.

emotional distress that does not signify an animal sound in any of its biblical occurrences.¹⁹⁰ It is hard to see how Job's suffering being lion-like would enhance the image in 3:24 as PEOPLE ARE LIONS does in other texts where the metaphor is explicit. Lion roaring is associated with hunger in Ps 104:21, but it is not in the context of lament. Isaiah 5:29, Ezek 19:6-7, and Ps 22:14 associate lion roaring with prey and thus food, but the emphasis in these texts is the fierceness of the lion rather than suffering. Zechariah 11:3 imagines lions lamenting for their destroyed pride, but hunger is not explicitly in view. Without overt contextual signifiers of LION, the use of *לִנְיָהּ* in 3:24 compares best with scenes of lament in Ps 22:2 and Ps 32:3. Whether the author intends to activate PEOPLE ARE LIONS in 3:24, therefore, largely depends on the conventionality of *לִנְיָהּ* itself for describing human lament.

Metaphors typically become more conventional with sustained use (Bowdle and Gentner 2005). One possible historical reconstruction for *לִנְיָהּ* is that it originally belonged solely to the semantic domain of “lions” and only activated the LIONS conceptual domain. When PEOPLE ARE LIONS began to be used, *לִנְיָהּ* would have activated the metaphor on its own without any additional contextual signifier. Over time, the metaphor became entrenched or, as Croft and Cruse (2004, 205) put it, “laid down as an item in the mental lexicon.” As a result of repetitive

¹⁹⁰ Clines (1989, 102) argues that the image of Job's “groaning” and “roarings” are on account of his hunger and thirst, since his “groaning comes before his food” and “roarings are poured out like water.” Job's lament would then be a claim that his only sustenance is his audible sighs of hunger. But Job does not lament because of hunger; rather, he groans in spite of having food. His food brings him no relief. Clines (102) maintains that “the conjunction of bread and water impels us to see here . . . an image of sustenance.” He makes this claim partially on the basis of reading *לִנְיָהּ* as “For my sighs *are* my daily bread” (68, 75, emphasis mine). This makes a nice parallel with “like water” (*כַּמַּיִם*) in the second half of the verse, but it is better to take *לִנְיָהּ* temporally or spatially (“in the presence of”). Job groans in the presence of his food, evidently because it does not ease his discomfort. For a similar view, see Wolfers 1995, 377-378; and Seow 2013, 370-372.

use of the metaphor, *ḥayyā* semantically drifted, so that it no longer automatically activated LIONS but became a more general polysemous term with multiple microsenses.¹⁹¹ Some rightly question whether there is any on-line metaphoric processing once a word demonstrates systematic polysemy (Steen 2011, 30-31). My hypothetical historical reconstruction of the signification of *ḥayyā* is admittedly speculative.¹⁹² Even if it is correct, it is difficult to know the point in this diachronic process that the occurrence in Job 3:24 represents. Without further contextual indication, it is unwise to draw strict conclusions about the possible metaphor activation in this verse.¹⁹³

In my view, it is doubtful that Job 3:24 alone would have activated PEOPLE ARE LIONS for ancient readers, although conventionality is extremely hard to determine without access to native speakers. On the one hand, it seems likely that if we were to ask an ancient speaker of Hebrew about the sound that a lion makes, he or she might answer with *ḥayyā*.¹⁹⁴ On the other hand, if we asked the same speaker to define *ḥayyā*, he or she may well have answered not with “the sound a

¹⁹¹ “Microsenses” of lexemes signify various meanings within different conceptual domains. See Croft and Cruse 2004, 126-134, for an explanation of “microsenses.” In their description, microsenses “do the bulk of the ‘semantic work’ of the lexeme” (127). If *ḥayyā* has multiple microsenses, and if one were to ask out of context, “Did you hear the roar?” the responder would be inclined to respond with “What kind of roar?”

¹⁹² A valid case could also be made that *ḥayyā* was originally a general term for a “loud, low pitched noise” and over time became associated with lions as well as noises like thunder.

¹⁹³ Strawn (2005, 345-346) leans toward *ḥayyā* and *ḥayyā* being “distinctively leonine lexemes,” and supposes that the sound of a lamenter may have been thought to be similar to the sound of the lion’s roar. But he hedges and admits that these lexemes in contexts of human lament could be unrelated to the lion.

¹⁹⁴ See Strawn (2005, 345-349) for other lexemes that signify lion sounds. With the exception of *ḥayyā*, they are not common words, and they do not exhibit a high percentage of occurrences in the LION domain.

lion makes” but with a more general “a loud low-pitched noise.” For the purpose of this study, highly conventional metaphors are less important because they are less perceptible. Perceptibility corresponds with deliberate metaphor and discourse coherence. If the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE LIONS is latent in 3:24, it is unlikely that readers would have noticed such a mapping, at least upon first reading it.¹⁹⁵ However, the metaphor may have become more noticeable in the larger discourse, especially in light of the use of לָאֵשׁ in Eliphaz’s first speech.

4.3.1.2 – Job 4:10-11

Eliphaz responds to Job’s first speech by reminding him of the fate of the wicked. He illustrates his point that the wicked perish by drawing Job’s attention to the suffering of lions in Job 4:10-11, a detailed text that includes five different words that signify LION.

¹⁹⁵ Conventionality of metaphor is a major issue among cognitive linguists. Conceptual metaphor is frequently conventional, in which case the mapping is unconscious and difficult to detect. Much of the debate between Lakoff and those who oppose his description of metaphor surrounds this issue of conventionality, specifically with regard to the difference between a conventional metaphor and a literal statement. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 32), argue, for example, that the expression “he’s in love” is a conventional use of the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A CONTAINER. This is conventional to the extent that the mapping between concepts is automatic, effortless, and entrenched among the members of a linguistic community. See also Lakoff and Turner 1989, 53, 55. While Lakoff’s theory of conventional metaphor is generally valid in my view, some cases, such as the “roaring” of Job 3:24 and idiomatic expressions, pose a challenge. For an example of the conventionality of idiom, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 44-45) claim that “Our marriage is on the rocks” is a conventional expression of LOVE IS A SEA VOYAGE. See also Croft and Cruse 2004, 200. This phrase may have its origins in such a metaphor, but for some readers (including me) it does not activate SEA VOYAGE or even JOURNEY. The idiom has simply become part of the RELATIONSHIPS conceptual domain. If one can derive the intended meaning without understanding the conventional metaphor, it causes one to wonder if the metaphor continues to exist in an active state. Again, the interest of my study is primarily the linguistically *unconventional* uses of metaphor, so the distinction between conventional metaphor and literal meaning is less important than the distinction between dynamic metaphors and conventional metaphors (Hanks 2006, 17-18).

שֹׁאֲגַת אַרְיֵה וְקוֹל שֹׁחַל	10 The roar of a lion, the sound of a lion,
וְשִׁנֵּי כְּפִירִים נִתְּעוּ	and the teeth of young lions are torn out.
לִישׁ אֲבִד מִבְּלִי-טָרֶף	11 The lion perishes for lack of prey,
וּבְנֵי לְבִיא יִתְפָּרְדּוּ	and the cubs of the lion are scattered.

The precise distinctions between the various lion concepts signified by five different lion lexemes are not readily apparent.¹⁹⁶ The most common noun that signifies LION in the Hebrew Bible is אַרְיֵה.¹⁹⁷ It likely stands first in 4:10-11 because it signifies a prototypical lion, that is, an adult male lion.¹⁹⁸ Adult male lions typify the most salient elements of LION, namely, STRENGTH, PREDATION, and ROARING.¹⁹⁹

The second lexeme, שֹׁחַל, occurs seven times in the Hebrew Bible, including three

¹⁹⁶ I will highlight aspects of each lexeme as they pertain to the lexical expression in Job 4:10-11, but see Strawn 2005, 294-326, for a thorough analysis and identification of these lexemes and their Semitic cognates.

¹⁹⁷ LXX consistently translates אַרְיֵה with λέων, and the Vulgate with *leo* in all but one instance. For discussion of versions, see Kaplan 1981, 34; and Strawn 2005, 298.

¹⁹⁸ For evidence that אַרְיֵה signifies an adult male, see Nah 2:12-13 where a lion (אַרְיֵה) hunts prey for his cubs (גְּרוֹתָיו) and his lionesses (לְבָאֲתָיו) (Strawn 2005, 298, 300).

¹⁹⁹ Borowski (1998, 196) rightly notes that female lions do most of the hunting. However, the reality of lion behavior is not necessarily congruent with human conceptions of LION. It is easy to understand why they would have conceptualized the male lion as the primary hunter, given its place in the pride. Conceptualization is based on *experience*, and normal human experience with lions in ancient Israel must have been based more on word of mouth, folk imagery, and rare encounters than close observation. Regarding imagery, most ancient Near Eastern leonine iconography includes male lions as exemplars of power. See the multiple illustrations in Strawn 2005, 378-498.

occurrences in the book of Job (4:10; 10:16; 28:8).²⁰⁰ LXX translates שָׁחַל with λέων in Job 10:16 and 28:8, texts that include only one lion lexeme. In Job 4:10, however, LXX has the feminine λέαινα, likely more for variation's sake than to demonstrate an accurate understanding of שָׁחַל.²⁰¹ The שָׁחַל texts do not identify the type of lion, but it appears to be synonymous with אַרְיֵה.²⁰² This is probably the case for Job 4:10 where the “roar” (שָׁאָה) of the אַרְיֵה is parallel with the “sound” (קוֹל) of the שָׁחַל.²⁰³

The third lexeme that signifies LION in 4:10, כְּפִירִים, is a fairly common signifier of adolescent lions, older than cubs (גִּיד) but not yet fully grown adults (אַרְיֵה) (Strawn 2005, 304-310).²⁰⁴ This identification is evident in Ezek 19:2-9, an extended metaphor that envisions a lioness (לְבִיָּא) raising two cubs (גִּיד) who become young lions (כְּפִיר) and who learn to hunt among the adult lions (אַרְיֵה) (Strawn 2005, 309).²⁰⁵ The teeth of the young lions are the salient feature in

²⁰⁰ The other occurrences are Hos 5:14; 13:7; Ps 91:13; and Prov 26:13. For discussion of שָׁחַל, see Strawn 2005, 322-325.

²⁰¹ Modern translations do this as well. For example, the NRSV translates v. 10a, “The roar of the lion, the voice of the fierce lion,” but there is no evidence that שָׁחַל is any more “fierce” than אַרְיֵה.

²⁰² Mowinckel (1963, 95-98) understands שָׁחַל as a signifier of a mythological serpent in Job 10:16 and 28:8, but “lion” in 4:10. The primary texts for his argument are Job 28:8 and Ps 91:13, which parallel שָׁחַל with lexemes for serpents. In my view, this evidence is not strong enough to support his inference.

²⁰³ The lion קוֹל in Jer 2:15; 12:8; 25:30; Joel 4:16; and Amos 1:2; 3:4. See Foreman 2011, 162-173, for discussion of the roaring lion metaphor in Jer 12:8.

²⁰⁴ The two lexemes, כְּפִיר and אַרְיֵה, are also in parallel in Isa 31:4; Amos 3:4, Mic 5:7; and Ps 17:12. כְּפִיר is parallel with שָׁחַל in Hos 5:14 and Ps 91:13.

²⁰⁵ Clines (1989, 110) translates כְּפִירִים as “maned lions” on the basis of Arabic *kapara* (“cover”), since manes cover male lions. He discounts “young lion” as a less probable intended meaning. In my view, the textual evidence for “young lion” outweighs his etymological/cognate argument. See Forti 2008, 58, for discussion of Judg 14:5 and Jer 51:8 where “young lions” fits the contexts best.

4:10, paralleling the roar of the adult lion. The final lexeme of the verse, נָתַעַ, serves as the verb for both lines, signifying the action toward the young lion's teeth *and* the adult lion's roar.²⁰⁶ נָתַעַ is a *hapax* with a probable meaning in the *niphal* of “to be removed,” likely parallel to נָתַץ in Ps 58:7, מִלְתָּעוֹת כְּפִירִים נָתַץ יְהוָה (“Yahweh, *tear out* the teeth of the young lions”).²⁰⁷ The claim of Job 4:10, therefore, is that the roar of adult lions and the teeth of young lions are removed with force. The most threatening elements of the lion are taken away by an unspecified agent.

Verse 11 begins a new sentence, but continues the image of lions losing their ability to threaten prey. The fourth lion lexeme in these two verses, לִיָּשׁ, only occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 30:6; Job 4:11; Prov 30:30). It clearly signifies LION and seems to be another word for an adult male lion, but nothing more specific may be deduced. The salient feature of LION in v. 11a is its need to hunt for survival; it perishes without prey.

The final lexical signifier of LION, לָבִיא, may refer to a male or female lion. In Ezek 19:2 and Nah 2:13, it is morphologically marked as feminine “lioness” (לָבִיָּא), but in its twelve other biblical occurrences it is masculine. In Job 4:11, לָבִיא is probably a reference to a male lion (Kaplan 1981, 86; Strawn 2005, 318). The only contextual clue to type of lion is that לָבִיא refers

²⁰⁶ The syntactic relationship between v. 10a and v. 10b is a case of zeugma (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:44; Clines 1989, 110; Seow 2013, 397). This is better than the supposition that v. 10a juxtaposes v. 10b, so Habel 1985, 113, and Pope 1965, 34, “The lion may roar, the old lion growl, But the young lion's teeth are broken.” The construct phrases of v. 10a do not allow for the introduction of an intervening verb or the transformation of nouns to verbs (“roar” and “growl”).

²⁰⁷ See Seow 2013, 397, for a summary of scholarly explanations. One solution is to emend to נָתַץ in Job 4:10 (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:44). Another is to interpret נָתַעַ as an Aramaism that is cognate with Hebrew נָתַץ, both from protosemitic *ntd* (Dhorme 1967, 47; Gordis 1978, 48). However, נָתַעַ only occurs once in the Aramaic corpus in a damaged section of Sefire (KAI 222B, line 29) and its meaning is uncertain. See Fitzmyer (1967, 68) for the Aramaic text. In any case, both solutions arrive at the same conclusion, namely, that the verb in Job 4:10 relates to נָתַץ and means “remove with force” either by tearing out or breaking.

to a lion old enough to have cubs.²⁰⁸ In v. 11b it is part of a construct chain, *וּבְנֵי לִבְיָא*, so the cubs of the lion are the subject of “being scattered” (*יִתְפָּרְדּוּ*). Verse 11 forms something of a narrative with the cubs being scattered because of the starvation of their parent. Verses 10 and 11 mirror one another in the order of their lion terms, beginning with lexemes designating adult lions and ending with lexemes for cubs. The lexical progression serves to focus attention on the suffering of the young lions. The subtle but salient point is that both verses include a conceptual slot for an unspecified agent who causes the lions’ distress.

Eliphaz demonstrates his extensive knowledge of lion zoology and terminology for the rhetorical purpose of portraying the certain demise of the wicked. Although there is no metaphor in the lexical expression in 4:10-11, the context of Eliphaz’s speech makes it clear that he is projecting LIONS onto the target WICKED PEOPLE. This passage relates contextually, but not syntactically, to 4:7-9, a text that seeks to remind Job that the innocent and the wicked receive the reward or punishment that they deserve. Eliphaz rhetorically questions whether the innocent will perish in v. 7 (*זָכַר-נָא מִי הוּא נָקִי אָבֵד*) and claims in v. 8 that those who “plow injustice” (*חָרְשֵׁי חֲרָשִׁי*) and “sow trouble” (*זָרְעֵי עָמָל*) reap the same. Moreover, v. 9 makes it clear that God is the agent of punishment who does away with the wicked; by his breath they perish (*מִנְשֵׁמַת אֱלֹהִים*). Eliphaz, therefore, activates the target domain WICKED PEOPLE and its related schema of RETRIBUTION in 4:7-9. The lion imagery in 4:10-11 serves to illustrate his point and projects the WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS conceptual metaphor. The lions also “perish” (*אָבֵד*) at the hand of God.

²⁰⁸ Koehler (1939, 123-124) associates *אַרְיֵה* with the African lion and *לִבְיָא* with the Asiatic lion on the basis of philological origins in northern or southern geographical regions. Strawn (2005, 318-319) criticizes this association, concluding, “A hard and fast zoological classification of the Hebrew lion words according to speciation is unwarranted” (319).

The implied reader (see §1.3.2) brings source knowledge about the concept LION to the text, which includes understanding that the lion is a predatory animal with sharp teeth and a powerful jaw, that lives in the wilderness, makes a loud roar, and poses a threat to people and their domestic animals (Borowski 1998, 197). Job 4:10-11 highlights three lion features that relate specifically to the lion as a fierce hunter: its loud roar, its teeth, and its prey. Of course, the point of the verse is that all of these are taken away and the lion perishes (אבד). It is significant that the lion's teeth are broken, since a lion is unable to hunt without them. As a lion ages, its teeth become worn down and break, so missing teeth are a natural feature of a lion in old age (Patterson, Neiburger, and Kasiki 2003, 191; Whitman and Packer 2006, 19). But in 4:10, it is a young lion's teeth that are broken, highlighting the unnatural condition of the lion's devastation. This image, along with the passive verbs נִתְּעוּ and יִתְּפָרְדוּ, subtly signals to the reader that there is an outside agent who is causing the lions to starve. The image evokes the concept PUNISHER. Since 4:10-11 follows Eliphaz's point about the wicked receiving divine punishment, God is implicitly the agent who punishes the lions.

Eliphaz uses the lion illustration in order to project dynamics of lion life onto the divine-human relationship, thus evoking metaphorical mappings. To make full sense of how the WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS metaphor works, we need to look closer at the mapping between source and target domains. In expressions that depict the punishment of the wicked, the target domain WICKED PEOPLE recruits or draws upon the concepts MISDEED, PUNISHMENT, PUNISHER, and SUFFERING and the accompanying scenario for RETRIBUTION. In Job 4:7-11, these "slots" are filled with knowledge from the LION concept, so that wicked people are imagined to be predatory beings that rightly suffer for their unjust acts. One should think of the retribution principle (good deed results in reward, evil deed results in punishment) as a generic-level schema. RETRIBUTION

is a cognitive template that applies to both source and target; both LIONS and PEOPLE are living beings that get what they deserve.

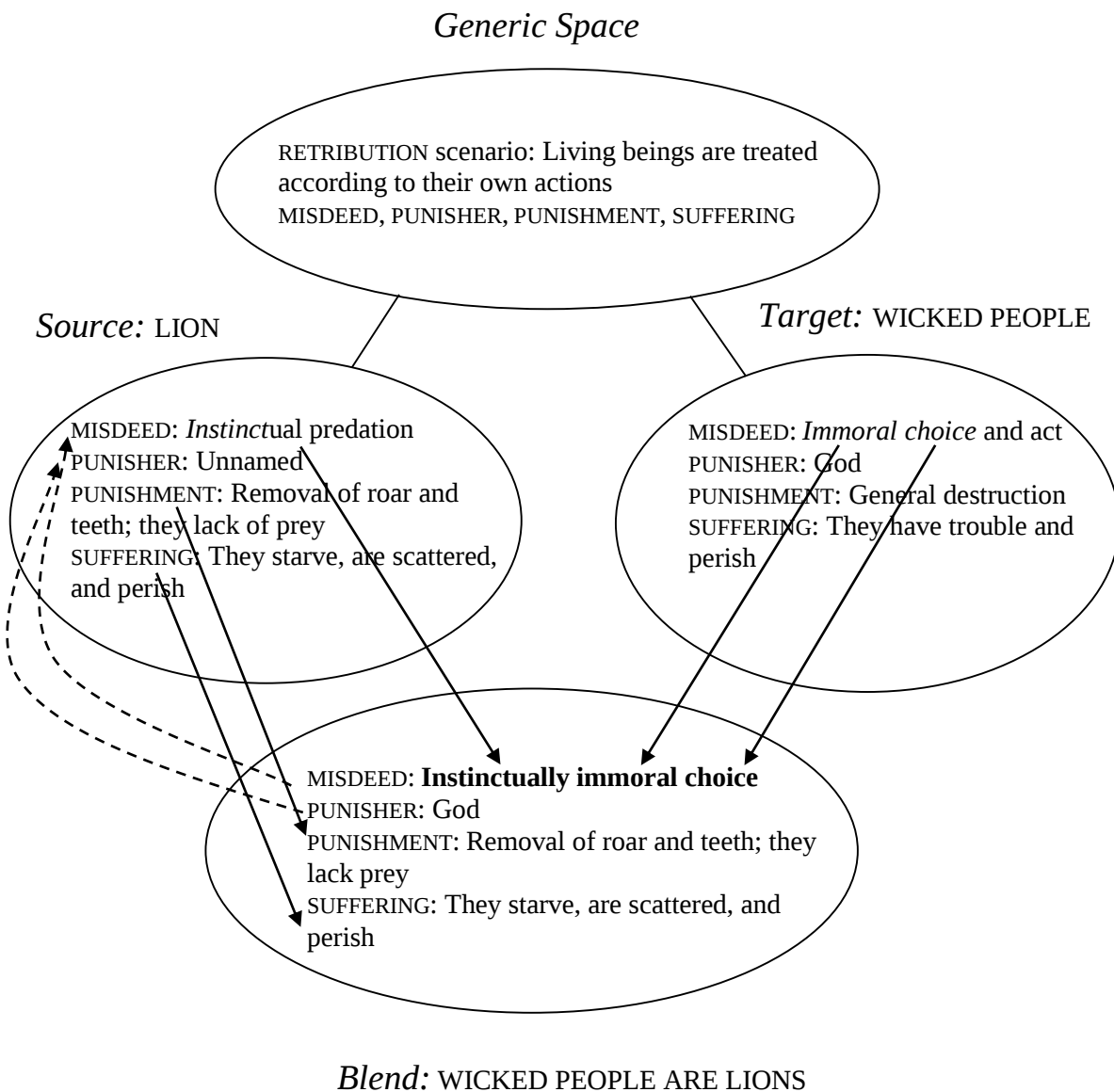
The knowledge schema that is activated from source to target in PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS is determined by what Lakoff and Turner (1989, 160-213) call “the Great Chain of Being.” The Great Chain concerns various levels of living beings and their salient properties. Within the category ANIMAL, there is a hierarchy based on each animal’s highest property, which is determined in relation to human properties. As Lakoff and Turner (1989, 168) say, “At any level in the basic Great Chain, the highest properties of beings at that level characterize those beings. For example, the highest level properties of animals are their instincts.” Instinct, then, is a generic-level parameter of ANIMAL. The feature of the lion evoked by Eliphaz is PREDATORY INSTINCT.

The significant difference between LIONS and PEOPLE is the nature of their misdeeds. The lion hunts weaker prey by instinct and the person commits misdeeds by choice. Although it would seem that people are more morally culpable, according to Eliphaz, the retribution principle applies to both. In Eliphaz’s construal, in which an outside agent punishes the lion for misdeeds, he presumes that his hearers will agree that lions are not morally neutral. It is not that lions are merely instinctual predators, but that their predation is punished in unnatural ways by an outside agent, such as the teeth of the young lions being torn out. Eliphaz understands their instinct to prey upon the weaker animals as an instinct that merits enemy status before God and retributive punishment.²⁰⁹ When wicked people are conceptualized as predatory lions, they become wicked by instinct; thus, through the metaphor, wicked people are conceptualized as

²⁰⁹ Eliphaz is representing a common conceptualization of lions in the ancient Near East. See Keel 1978b, 85-86.

hopelessly wicked and rightly made to suffer.

The illustration below attempts to portray this metaphorical blend. In Eliphaz's description, he assumes the RETRIBUTION schema for both LIONS and PEOPLE. The dashed lines show a secondary reflection of the blend back into the LION domain so that the lion is consequently understood as an immoral creature deserving God's punishment. Eliphaz's lion illustration assumes that Job will find this to be a reasonable projection of retribution onto LION.



Coherence

Eliphaz's speech echoes Job's complaint in chapter 3 in subtle ways, partially apparent through lexical recursion.²¹⁰ By repeating words that Job has used to describe his own state of misery, Eliphaz carefully reminds Job to watch his language, without explicitly labeling Job as "wicked." The warning that Eliphaz issues includes an admission of Job's integrity (4:6) but also a call for Job to recognize that his complaint is self-condemning (Fullerton 1930, 330). Job wishes that the day of his birth would "perish" אבד (3:3) and Eliphaz reminds him that "perishing" is a punishment for wickedness (4:7, 9, 11). Job laments his "trouble" עָמַל (3:10) and Eliphaz associates "trouble" with the fate of the wicked (4:8).²¹¹ To Eliphaz, Job's speech is unfitting and self-condemning; he is a righteous person talking as if he were wicked.

Eliphaz's lexical repetition also occurs in his lion illustration. The first line of his description of lions, שָׁאֲגַת אַרְיָה ("roar of a lion"), picks up on Job's description of his lament in 3:24, וַיִּתְּכוּ כַמִּים שָׁאֲגָתִי ("my roarings are poured out like water"). Even if שָׁאֲגָה is not perceptibly metaphorical in Job's mouth (see §4.3.1.1), it becomes so in Eliphaz's imagination. He activates the metaphor in order to question Job's expression and its conceptual association with wickedness. His inner-discourse allusion to Job's "roaring" elaborates Job's conventional use of שָׁאֲגָה in 3:24 and extends the metaphor by making the PEOPLE ARE LIONS metaphor explicit with specific lion lexemes.²¹² If שָׁאֲגָה is a "dead" metaphor in Job's lament, Eliphaz revives it through

²¹⁰ For attempts to characterize Eliphaz's speech in chapters 4-5 as an intentionally ambiguous response, see Fullerton 1930 and Hoffman 1980.

²¹¹ See Beuken 1994, 46-70, for these and other possible semantic correspondences in Job 3-7.

²¹² "Allusion" is purposeful here. I maintain that the author intends for the reader to pick up on Eliphaz's reuse and exploitation of שָׁאֲגָה. Terrien (1963, 70) and Seow (2013, 386-387) also see an allusion here. Clines (1989, 128) recognizes the possible allusion, but discounts it because he thinks it is inconsistent with Eliphaz's larger purpose in 4:10-11 to argue that Job is *not* wicked

metaphor extension.²¹³ In this case, the extension activates additional slots in the LION domain that are inactive in Job's expression, including specific lion features (TEETH and PREY) and each element of the RETRIBUTION scenario. Job simply portrays his distress with a conventional use of *הָאֱלֹהִים*, and Eliphaz plays on this word by explicitly marking it as a signification of LION, which is, in his view, a legitimate recipient of divine punishment. By means of extension, Eliphaz questions the appropriateness of Job's conventional metaphor and portrays Job's use of *הָאֱלֹהִים* as a self-indictment.²¹⁴ Eliphaz does not believe that Job is wicked, but questions the appropriateness of Job's conventional JOB IS A LION metaphor. The key addition in Eliphaz's metaphor that is absent in Job's is the WICKED concept that accompanies the RETRIBUTION scenario. Eliphaz hears PEOPLE ARE LIONS and automatically activates WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS. By means of this rhetorical move, Eliphaz questions why Job would describe his sounds of lament as "roarings" since they both know that lions are enemies of God and recipients of divine punishment.

and therefore not lion-like. While I agree that Eliphaz does not explicitly condemn Job as wicked in his speech (see 4:3-6), his rhetorical point is not to demonstrate Job's righteousness, but warn Job against speaking out of character. He reminds Job of the retribution doctrine in order to warn him against blasphemy.

²¹³ If *הָאֱלֹהִים* is polysemous and no lion metaphor is present in Job 3:24, even conventionally, then Eliphaz simply reconstrues (or misconstrues) Job's use of *הָאֱלֹהִים*. Technically, this would only be a case of extension in the mind of Eliphaz. However, stepping out of the narrative world of the book of Job, if the author intends 4:10-11 to pick up on *הָאֱלֹהִים* in 3:24, then the author also intends to play on the ambiguity of *הָאֱלֹהִים* and believes that *הָאֱלֹהִים* in 3:24 might reasonably activate the concept LION.

²¹⁴ For the phenomenon of questioning as a type of metaphor extension, see Kövecses 2010, 54, and Lakoff and Turner 1989, 69.

4.3.1.3 – Job 10:16

The next lion metaphor occurs in Job’s second speech (chs. 9-10), which follows Bildad’s first (ch. 8). The lion metaphor comes toward the end of the speech and is part of Job’s accusation of God’s unjust treatment of him. It is the only ANIMAL metaphor in the book of Job that is directly addressed to God. Job complains that God has created him and cared for him only to destroy him without reason (10:3, 8-12).

וַיִּגָּאֵה בְּשִׁסְלִי תְּצִידֵנִי	16 If I lift myself up, ²¹⁵ you hunt me like the lion,
וְתִשָּׁב תְּתַפְּלֵא-בִּי	and you repeatedly display your wonders against me.

Commentators are divided over the identity of the lion in this verse. Clines (1989, 250) suggests that God is the lion who hunts Job. For evidence, he cites divine lion metaphors in Hos 5:14 and 13:7, both of which portray God as one who tears Israel apart like prey. The closest parallel to this in the book of Job is Job 16:9-10 where God’s anger “tears” (טָרַף) Job and he “gnashes his teeth” (תָּרַק עָלַי בְּשִׁנָּיו) against him (see §4.3.2.2). The conceptual metaphor GOD IS A LION is relatively common in the Hebrew Bible.²¹⁶ In these texts, wickedness is associated with the prey rather than with the lion. The metaphorical expressions indicate that LION elaborates the

²¹⁵ With Clines (1989, 222), I emend to וַיִּגָּאֵה. The Peshitta has first person singular and the Targum also supports this reading (“If I lift my hand”). See Stec 1984, 367-368, for this rendering of the Targum. LXX does not represent this verb. Driver and Gray (1921, 1:102) and Seow (2013, 590) take רָאָשִׁי from v. 15a as the implied subject of the 3ms וַיִּגָּאֵה (“if it [my head] is high”). Seow argues this on the basis of *lectio difficilior*. While Seow’s reading is syntactically possible, I agree with Clines (1989, 222) that רָאָשִׁי is too far removed to be the likely subject of v. 16a. In either case, the verb expresses the action of Job himself being elevated.

²¹⁶ God is also imagined as a predatory lion in Isa 31:4; 38:13; Jer 25:38; 49:19; 50:44; and Lam 3:10-11 (Strawn 2005, 58-65).

PUNISHER slot in the RETRIBUTION schema. In most cases, the salient aspect of the metaphor is the lion's ability to destroy – there is no escaping it (Strawn 2005, 65). If the conceptual metaphor in Job 10:16 is GOD IS A LION, Job is primarily recognizing his own vulnerability and the inescapability of God's arbitrary wrath.²¹⁷ The RETRIBUTION scenario may also be contextually present, but the expression of GOD IS A LION in Job's mouth does not evoke the image of God as a righteous punisher as it does in other GOD IS A LION texts.

While the argument for GOD IS A LION in Job 10:16 is justifiable, I side with others who identify Job as the lion and God as the hunter (Gordis 1978, 114; Habel 1985, 184; Klingler 2012, 146; Seow 2013, 582).²¹⁸ As Job does earlier in the discourse, here he portrays God as his enemy (note v. 2, הוֹדִיעֵנִי עַל מַה־תִּרְיָבִי, “make known to me why you strive against me”). In 6:4, Job laments over being shot through with God's poison arrows (כִּי הִצִּי שְׁדֵי עֲמָדֵי אֲשֶׁר תִּמְתָּם שְׁתָּהּ), and in 7:12, Job questions whether God rightly treats him like chaotic forces, the sea and the sea-dragon (הֲיָם־אֲנִי), “Am I the sea or a sea-dragon that you put a guard over me?”).²¹⁹ In my view, the lion functions as a representative enemy of God in 10:16, just as it is in 4:10-11.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Riede (2002, 130-131) interprets 10:16 together with 16:9 as a depiction of God as *unberechenbar, furchtbar, hart, aggressiv und zornig* (“unpredictable, terrible, hard, aggressive, and filled with rage”), exemplifying what Von Rad (1962, 426) calls *die Dämonisierung des Gottesbildes* (“the demonization of God's image”).

²¹⁸ LXX also takes Job to be the lion, translating v. 10a as ἀγρεύομαι γὰρ ὥσπερ λέων εἰς σφαγήν (“For I am hunted as a lion to the slaughter”).

²¹⁹ For similar texts, see Job 16:14; 19:11-12.

²²⁰ Biblical texts most commonly associate the lion with the enemy, usually with the implication that the enemy is wicked. See Isa 5:29-30; Jer 12:8; 50:17; Ezek 19:2-9; 22:5; Nah 2:12-14; Zeph 3:3; Pss 7:3; 10:8-9; 17:12; 22:14, 22; 34:11; 35:17; 57:5; 58:7; 74:4; 91:13; and Prov 28:15. For comment on these texts, see Keel 1978b, 85-86, and Strawn 2005, 50-54. Strawn (50) says, “Such use [lion as a metaphor for the foe] abounds, especially in the Psalms, where it

Job self-identifies as the lion (JOB IS A LION), not because he thinks he is wicked but because he feels as though God is treating him as such. In the text leading up to the lion metaphor, the issue is God's search for Job's sin. In 10:6-7, Job argues that God scrutinizes him to find sin even though God knows that he is not wicked. There is no escaping God's search. The scrutiny of God is again highlighted in 10:14, as Job laments how God "watches" (שָׁמַר) him for sin. God's careful gaze is a source of dread for Job (Job 7:17-20; 13:27; 14:16).²²¹ In his pre-suffering life, he valued God "watching" over him (29:2), but now God is imagined as a scrupulous judge looking over Job's shoulder to catch him in sin for the express purpose of punishing him. Even if Job is righteous, God does not allow him to lift his head because he is satiated with shame (10:15). The only possibility that Job can see is that God has made him his enemy. Since sin is directly related to God's hostility in the text preceding 10:16, the RETRIBUTION schema is contextually present for the LION metaphor. JOB IS A LION and GOD IS A PUNISHER are related conceptual metaphors that when taken together include the MISDEED slot. Job's argument is that he has committed no misdeed worthy of punishment. He is wrongly treated as God's enemy. While the inescapability of God is still in view in 10:16, the lion also functions as a symbol for Job's enemy status.

generally stands for one's personal enemies and for the wicked." In texts that portray foreign nations as vicious lions, the image is not necessarily associated with wickedness (Jer 4:7; Joel 1:6). Other texts do not activate MISDEED, but activate LION simply to illustrate anger (Prov 19:12; 20:2).

²²¹ "Watching" as imprisonment is likely in view here. Job's lament in 13:27, "You put my feet in stocks and you watch over my paths" (וַתִּשָּׂם בְּסֵד רַגְלִי וְתִשְׁמֹר כָּל-אַרְחֹתַי), is later quoted by Elihu in 33:11 ("He puts my feet in stocks and watches over my paths," שָׁמַר כָּל-אַרְחֹתַי) as a mischaracterization of God and Job's own situation. In Elihu's view, God is punishing Job and others like him by taking him to the brink of death (33:15-22), but not because Job is God's enemy; rather, it is for recuperative purposes. Elihu ignores Job's contention that he is not guilty and takes issue with Job's characterization of himself as God's enemy.

If Job is the lion, then God is the hunter. The verb צוד (almost always in *qal*) always signifies the action of human or divine hunters in the Hebrew Bible, so not likely an action of the lion itself.²²² The use of this verb in Job 10:16 is similar to that of Lam 3:52, צוד צדוני כצפור איבי (‘‘My enemies hunt me like a bird for no reason’’), except in this case the hunters are people and not God. The conceptual metaphor GOD IS A LION HUNTER reflects royal ancient Near Eastern hunting practices. Mesopotamian art and inscriptions prominently portray hunting lions as a sign of royal power and authority (Borowski 1998, 197; Cornelius 1989, 53-85; Dick 2006, 243-261). A quote from Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076 BCE) is representative of this long standing practice, as he boasts, ‘‘By the command of the god Ninurta, who loves me, I killed on foot 120 lions with my wildly outstanding assault. In addition, 800 lions I felled from my light chariot. I have brought down every kind of wild beast and winged bird of the heavens whenever I have shot my arrow’’ (Grayson 1991, 25-26).²²³ By killing these hostile enemies, the king symbolically self-

²²² Clines (1989, 250) cites Job 38:39, הֲתִצּוּד לְלִבְיָא טָרֵף, as an example of the verb signifying the action of the lion, but here Yahweh asks Job if he can hunt *for* the lion. The rhetorical question assumes that God is the one who hunts prey for the lion, not the lion for itself.

²²³ The divine decree for the king to hunt wild animals in the Neo-Assyrian period is widely represented. Shalmaneser III boasts, ‘‘Ninurta and Nergal, who loved my priesthood, made prosperous for me (even) the animal(s) of the steppe (and) commanded me to go hunting. Three hundred and seventy three wild (?) oxen (and) 399 lions in my open chariots I slew by my brave attack. I caught 29 elephants in a trap.’’ (IV 40-44, Cameron 1950, 25). The inscriptions that accompany the reliefs in Assurbanipal’s North Palace Room S vividly depict his lion hunts. The text on slabs A-B says, ‘‘Nergal who goes in front, caused me to hunt nobly. Upon the plain, as if for pleasure, [. . .] I went out. In the plain, a wide expanse, raging lions, a fierce mountain breed, attacked [me and] surrounded the chariot, my royal vehicle. At the command of Assur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, with a single team [harnes]sed to my yoke, I scattered the pack of these lions.’’ On Slab C, the text recounts a different hunt: ‘‘I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for my great sport, an angry lion of the plain from a cage they brought out. On foot, three times I pierced him with an arrow, (but) he did not die. At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength and manliness, afterward, with the iron dagger from my belt, I stabbed him (and) he died.’’ Slab D reads, ‘‘I, Assurbanipal, king of the world, king of Assyria, for my princely sport, a lion of the plain I seized by the tail. At the command of Ninurta and Nergal, the gods, my trust, with my mace I smashed its skull.’’ For these translations and others

identified as a shepherd who restores order and secures life for the whole kingdom (Perdue 1991, 215; Dick 2006, 243-261). Watanabe (2002, 83) summarizes, “The function of the royal lion hunt may therefore be regarded as transforming destructive violence into something positive and productive, thereby restoring cultural order in society.” In 10:16, Job spins this motif by projecting the symbolic negative value of the lion onto himself and, therefore, rhetorically places himself with the wicked, perhaps to shame God or at least to draw attention to the injustice of his plight.

Job claims that if he becomes high, God shoots him down to display his divine might. The verb פָּלַא occurs in the *hitpael* in 10:16 and in the *niphal* in 5:9 and 9:10 to speak of God’s power. In 5:9, Eliphaz lauds God’s acts of wonder as gracious acts. In 9:10, Job echoes Eliphaz, but reframes the lauding of God’s wonders as acts of suppression and overturning creation (9:5-10). Similarly in 10:16, God’s oppressive power is turned against Job. There is none who can stop the divine hunter.

Coherence

Job adopts the same PEOPLE ARE LIONS metaphor that Eliphaz used in 4:10-11 along with the RETRIBUTION conceptual scenario, portraying himself as God’s enemy and God as the punisher. Of course, Job staunchly believes that he is not wicked and that he should not be hunted like a lion. So rather than questioning Eliphaz’s metaphor, he uses the same conceptual metaphor to lament the injustice of the mapping being imposed upon him, for he does not rightly

like them, along with pictures of the reliefs, see Russell 1999, 201-203. For the argument that Neo-Assyrian royal propaganda is reflected in the account of Solomon’s reign in Kings, see Halpern 2001, 113-124.

belong within the conceptual domain WICKED PERSON. What is missing from Job's metaphorical expression is any specific filling of the MISDEED slot, for Job has no sin to confess.

My argument is not that Job directly responds to Eliphaz's lion illustration, but that Job's lion metaphor conceptually coheres with other PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors in the discourse. Eliphaz and Job both assume the lion to be a symbolic enemy of God and associate its defeat with divine punishment. Both 4:10-11 and 10:16 lexically signify the basic-level concept LION and both texts express the metaphor to show how the RETRIBUTION scenario relates to Job. The metaphorical expressions are also both specific and novel, making them more perceptible to the reader. The textual distance between 4:10-11 and 10:6 militates against reading the texts together as an intentional case of intratextuality; however, the close metaphor coherence demonstrates continuity in the dialogue. They relate, insofar as they demonstrate the shared worldviews of the interlocutors and their particular points of disagreement regarding Job's case.

4.3.2 – *Other PREDATORY ANIMAL Metaphors*

After chapter 10, the conceptual domain LION is not lexically signified until Yahweh speaks from the whirlwind. However, the interlocutors continue to express other PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors. These expressions do not explicitly activate LION, but some of them may well have evoked LION in the minds of the ancient readers, since the lion was the prototypical predatory wild animal in the ancient Near East; thus, I group them here to be considered alongside the LION metaphors above.

The only non-metaphorical expression of PREDATORY ANIMAL occurs in Eliphaz's idealistic vision of Job's future in 5:22-24. Here, Eliphaz imagines a time when Job will not fear the wild animals of the earth (v. 22, חַיַּית הָאָרֶץ). Instead, he will be at peace with them (v. 23) and

rest securely in his tent (v. 24). Since these wild animals cause Job to be afraid, they signify DANGER. In each case where PREDATORY ANIMAL is activated as a source domain in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor, DANGER is an essential conceptual feature.

4.3.2.1 – Job 13:14

Job recognizes that his speech is rash and potentially dangerous, but he believes that it is the only means by which God will hear his case, so he proceeds without caution. He expresses his awareness of the hazardous nature of his speech in 13:14 with the image of taking his flesh in his teeth.

[על־מָה] אֶשָּׂא בְּשָׁרִי בְּשִׁנָּי וְנִפְשִׁי אֲשִׁים בְּכַפִּי	14 I will take my flesh in my teeth, and I will take my life in my hand.²²⁴
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The general meaning of the verse is clear, but the particular image is not. Lifting his flesh in his teeth parallels taking his life in his hand (וְנִפְשִׁי אֲשִׁים בְּכַפִּי), a phrase occurring elsewhere to express probable danger (Judg 12:3; 1 Sam 19:5; 28:21). Both phrases in v. 14 are expressions of risk or even self-harm, but biting oneself is not an image that occurs elsewhere in biblical literature.

Job's sickly condition makes his body a common point of reference throughout his speeches (Jones 2013, 846-849; Van Oorschot 2012, 239-253). He uses בָּשָׂר in several of texts to illustrate the severity of his plight (6:12; 7:5; 10:11; 12:10; 14:22; 19:20-22, 26; 21:6). His

²²⁴ I regard the על־מָה at the beginning of v. 14 as a dittography of the last two words of v. 13, עָלַי מָה (Clines 1989, 282).

friends routinely ignore his physical condition, and Job continually redirects their attention to it.²²⁵ For example, he implores them in 21:5, “Look at me and be appalled” (פְּנוּ-אֵלַי וְהִשְׁמּוּ).

Besides Job’s use of בָּשָׂר with reference to his own body, the lexeme signifies human life and vitalities in general, as in 10:4-5 where Job questions whether God has “eyes of flesh” to see as humans do. Flesh as a metonym for human life corresponds with 13:14a and the parallel with נֶפֶשׁ in v. 14b. The issue in 13:14 is not the wearied condition of Job’s body, but more generally whether Job will survive the peril of his current act of speech (§3.4.1.1). Still, the specific image of Job taking his flesh in his teeth is essential to evoking the PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphor.

Where “teeth” (שֵׁן) occurs in contexts of biting, it has to do with eating food or prey.²²⁶ The lexeme most often signifies a feature of PREDATORY ANIMAL (usually metaphorical), so readers may justifiably activate PREDATORY ANIMAL in Job 13:14 (see Deut 32:24; Joel 1:6; Pss 3:7; 35:16; 37:12; 57:4; 58:6; 124:6; Job 4:10; 16:9; 29:17; 41:14; Prov 30:14; Lam 2:16). If this is the author’s intent, Job metaphorically imagines himself as the predator *and* the prey (JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL and JOB IS PREY). In the context of 13:13-15, Job uses the predatory animal metaphor to construe his potentially harmful act of speech. The image of self-harm in the PREDATORY ANIMAL source domain maps with the potential for self-induced negative consequences of Job’s speech. That the significant act of danger is speech is especially apparent in 13:13, “Be silent before me and let me speak! And let whatever consequence come upon me.”

²²⁵ Only Elihu takes up his emaciated condition in 33:19-21. He claims that it is a sign of God’s chastening, which should provoke him to cry out for deliverance, at which time God would restore his flesh (33:25).

²²⁶ The only text besides Job 13:14 in which שֵׁן and בָּשָׂר occur together is Num 11:33 where the Israelites are punished while the quail meat was still between their teeth. “Cleanness of teeth” in Amos 4:6 signifies a lack of food. In Mic 3:5, prophets who bite with their teeth are simply those who have food.

(הַתְּרִישׁוּ מִמֶּנִּי וְאֶדְבָּרָה־אֲנִי וְיַעֲבֹר עָלַי מָה). The statement is echoed in a more resolute fashion in Eliphaz's rejoinder, which follows Job's speech with a claim in 15:6 that Job's mouth condemns him and his lips bear witness against him (וְיִשְׁפֹּתֶיךָ יַעֲנוּ־בֶךָ). For Eliphaz, Job's speech is self-condemning. Job recognizes the potential for self-harm, but holds out honest proclamation of his innocence as his only hope (13:15-16).

Since the predatory animal image follows upon Job's acknowledgement of the dangers of his speech, v. 14 potentially evokes the mouth/teeth image as a metonymy for the action of speech. It is, after all, Job's speech that poses the threat. However, since the parallel in v. 14b ("I will take my life in my hand") does not relate metonymically to SPEECH, the significance of the "my teeth" in the first line is to be found in its evocation of PREDATORY ANIMAL, rather than as a metonym for SPEECH. Both "flesh in my teeth" and "life in my hand" are expressions of Job's own agency as he makes a resolute decision to continue his accusation and claim of innocence. The main point of Job's expressions is to acknowledge his own responsibility for any negative outcome. In v. 15, Job turns away from these images of self-imposed harm and makes explicit the expected result of his oral argument by putting the agency back onto God, who will be the one to carry out any punishment, "Look, he will kill me; I will not wait. Surely, I will argue my ways to his face."²²⁷ Again, Job's point is that he will continue to lay out his case in spite of the risk and whatever the consequence.

²²⁷ I am reading with the *ketib* לֹא rather than the *qere* לוֹ in v. 15. This verse makes more sense as Job's resolution to continue speaking than as an expression of hope or patience. See Clines (1989, 312-313) for a thorough discussion of this verse. He concludes, "The traditional translation of the AV, 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust him,' must regretfully be set aside as out of harmony with the context" (313).

4.3.2.2 – Job 16:9

Job responds to Eliphaz's second speech by rebuking the friends in 16:2-6, before turning his accusation against God as the one who makes his suffering a witness against his character (v.8). If I am correct about 10:16 being a depiction of Job as a lion, then 16:9 contains the only expression of GOD IS AN ANIMAL in the book (Klingler 2012, 164).²²⁸

אָפּוּ טָרַף וַיִּשְׁטָמְנִי	9 His anger has torn and attacked me.
חָרַק עָלַי בְּשִׁנָּיו	He grinds his teeth at me.
צָרִי יִלְטוּשׁ עֵינָיו לִי	My enemy sharpens his eyes against me.

Here Job portrays God as a predatory animal, perhaps a lion (Strawn 2005, 58-59), that assaults him. Job is God's prey and his polemic is again to depict God as his enemy (Van Oorschot 2012, 248-249). In the previous LION metaphors in 4:10-11 and 10:16, God is the lion hunter, but here God appears to be the predatory animal. In his rage, he has "torn" (טָרַף) Job and gnashed his teeth against him. The verb for gnashing or grinding, חָרַק, always occurs with the accusative וְשֵׁן and signifies an action of the wicked who plot against or mock the innocent (Pss 35:16; 37:12; 112:10; Lam 2:16). Psalm 35 closely associates grinding of teeth with tearing (v. 15, קָרַע) and the threat of lions (v. 17, כְּפִיָּרִים). It is difficult to specify the significance of the images in Job 16:9, but it seems that the reader is to imagine God as a predator bearing his teeth

²²⁸ Klingler (2012, 164) qualifies this somewhat, considering the possibility that 19:22, "Why do you pursue me as God does? Are you not satisfied by my flesh?" (לָמָּה תִּרְדָּפְנִי כַּמֹּ־אֵל וּמִבְּשָׁרִי לֹא (תִּשְׂבָּעוּ)), is a GOD IS AN ANIMAL metaphor. But nothing in this verse or its immediate context signifies ANIMAL, so I excluded from my survey. Job's "flesh" is not torn apart in 19:22 as if mauled by a predatory animal, but it is shriveled (19:20) and "struck" by God (19:21, נָגַע, a common combat term). Moreover, רָדַף typically signifies a human action and only rarely is used to describe a predatory animal action (1 Sam 26:20).

as a sign of animosity and threat. This would correspond with the image of “sharp eyes” in v. 9c and the mistreatment toward Job in v. 10, where others gawk at him with open mouths and shame him with slaps on the cheek.²²⁹ God is a predator that tears Job apart and looks at him with enmity.

The metaphor for God quickly changes from GOD IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL in 16:9 to GOD IS A WARRIOR in 16:12-14.²³⁰ Some see a continuation of the v. 9 animal metaphor into v. 12ab, depicting Job as a nearly dead animal being mauled by God (Driver 1955, 78; Seow 2013, 736). This view hinges in part on the meaning of פָּרַר and פָּצַץ in v. 12a, neither of which clearly signify actions of animals in their other occurrences.²³¹ Of course, predatory animals could “shake” and

²²⁹ In the other occurrences of the verb לָטַשׁ, it signifies the action of making or sharpening tools or weapons (Gen 4:22; 1 Sam 13:20; Pss 7:13; 52:4). In Ps 52:4, the tongue of one who plots destruction is likened to a “sharpened razor” (פֶּתַעַר מְלָטָשׁ). “Sharp eyes” in Job 16:9 may activate the image of a particular look of the predatory animal. Alternatively, the salient feature of the concept SHARP may simply be DANGER as it is considered within the domain WEAPONS. In this case, God’s eyes are made ready for battle. Along these lines, Clines (1989, 370) suggests a metaphor extension so that “whet their eyes on me” intends the image of Job as the whetstone. These interpretations are possible, but they remain conjecture. It is best to conclude that the specific image is not clear, except to say that God’s action of sharpening his eyes against Job is a depiction of divine threat.

²³⁰ Although some would argue that God being a warrior and other anthropomorphic language for God was not metaphorical in ancient Israel (Aaron 2001, 23-41), it is clearly so in Job 16:12-14. God did not literally take Job by the neck, shake him, or shoot him with arrows. On the metaphor GOD IS A WARRIOR, see Brettler 1993. On metaphorical nature of “god language” in the Hebrew Bible, see Løland 2008, 25-54, 68-74. Benjamin Sommer (2009) argues convincingly for the physical body of God in ancient Israelite ideology and literature, but God having physical substance does not necessitate God having the same substance as a human. Anthropomorphism is a means of imagining and describing the presence of God. Understanding it as metaphorical does not undermine the reality of the substance of God as Sommer supposes (2009, 8-9); rather, metaphor simply portrays the subject in terms that humans understand: God’s body in terms of the human body. Although ancient readers may not have readily *perceived* the conventional conceptual metaphor GOD IS A HUMAN, it nonetheless existed and enabled elaboration and extension such as what we see in Job 16:12-14.

²³¹ Driver (1955, 78) explains פָּרַר in light of Arabic *farfara* “tear” or “mangle” and פָּצַץ in light of *faṣṣaṣa* “dismember” which he translates “mauled,” but his view has not garnered scholarly

“shatter” their prey, but in my view the imagery coheres best with the GOD IS A WARRIOR metaphor in vv. 12c-14.²³² Verse 12b, אָהַז בְּעַרְפִּי (“he seized my neck”), may activate ANIMAL since seizing the neck is a more common way for a predatory animal to kill than for a human (although see Gen 49:8 for such a case), but the image is not necessarily of a predator seizing prey with its mouth. The text does not lexically signify MOUTH or ANIMAL in v. 12, so it is better to interpret the animal metaphor as limited to v. 9.

4.3.2.3 – Job 18:3-4

Bildad’s second speech focuses on the demise of the wicked. He begins by chastising Job for rash speech, haughtiness, and anger. These verses include two animal metaphors, one of which coheres with other expressions of PREDATORY ANIMAL in the book of Job.

מדוע נחשבנו כבהמה	3 Why are we considered as animals?
נטמינו בעיניכם	Are we stupid in your eyes? ²³³

support. As Seow (2013, 746) points out, this unnecessarily introduces a *hapax legomenon*, that is, פצפץ or פרר. Even if Driver were correct, the glosses he gives for the Arabic roots do not necessitate distinct animal conceptual domains. He translates “mauled” not because פצפץ signifies ANIMAL, but because he sees the animal metaphor otherwise.

²³² Both verbs are used in contexts of cosmic warfare that depict God as the divine warrior. For פרר, see Ps 74:13 and Isa 24:19. For פצץ, see Hab 3:6. Perhaps the closest possible animal image is פרר in Ps 74:13, “You shook the Sea by your strength; you broke the heads of the sea monsters in the waters.” (אַתָּה פִּוּרְרַת בְּעֶזֶךָ יָם שִׁבְרַת רָאשֵׁי תַנִּינִים עַל-הַמָּיִם). The sea in parallel with the sea monster is a personified entity of chaos. But God is the divine warrior in this text and not a predatory animal.

²³³ The MT’s נטמינו is construed as a *niphal* of טמא, a possible by-form of טמא, which would intend the common association of “unclean” with בְּהֵמָה. But since this creates a *hapax*, it is commonly emended to נטמינו, *niphal* of טמם, an Aramaic and Rabbinic Hebrew verb meaning “to be stopped up” or “to be dense” (Clines 1989, 404; Gordis 1978, 190; Seow 2013, 780). This emendation makes sense in light of the dispute over who has understanding that is highlighted at the beginning of several of the speeches in the speech cycles (8:2, 8-10; 9:2; 10:2-6; 12:2-3;

טָרַף נִפְשׁוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ	4 One who tears himself in his anger –
הֲלִמְעַנָּה תִּשָּׁוֵב אֲרָץ	should the earth be abandoned on your account?
וְיִעָצֵק צוּר מִמְּקוֹמוֹ	Or should the rock be removed from its place?

Bildad describes Job as “One who tears himself in his anger” (טָרַף נִפְשׁוֹ בְּאַפּוֹ) in v. 4a. The verb טָרַף signifies TEARING BY A WILD ANIMAL in every biblical occurrence that specifies the subject, so it alone likely would have likely activated the concept PREDATORY ANIMAL. The expression evokes both the JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL and JOB IS PREY metaphors, which also appeared together in Job’s speech in 13:14 (“I will take my flesh in my teeth”) where the conceptual metaphor conveys Job’s recognition of the personal risk that he takes with his accusatory speech. He puts his life in danger by choosing to continue speaking. While Job recognizes his own agency as the speaker, he quickly turns to depict God as the one who ultimately carries out the abuse in 13:15, “he will kill me” (יִקְטֹלֵנִי). In the context of Bildad’s speech, the metaphor serves to frame Bildad’s principle of intrinsic retribution and his accusation that Job’s suffering is self-inflicted. According to Bildad, Job’s anger is the cause of his ongoing distress. He further illustrates his point with another animal/hunting metaphor in 18:8-10 (§4.3.3.2), in which the wicked are imagined as animals that cause themselves to be trapped.²³⁴

15:2-3; 16:2-3). Additionally, directly preceding Bildad’s speech, Job expresses doubt about the wisdom of the friends, “For I do not find a wise man among you” (17:10b, וְלֹא־אֶמְצָא בָכֶם חָכָם). Most importantly, 18:2 questions Job’s pursuit for words of understanding. It would be odd for Bildad to question whether Job sees them as ritually unclean, but quite expected for him to highlight Job’s belief that the friends lack sense or insight.

²³⁴ Bildad does not straightforwardly call Job “wicked” in his speech. Clines (1989, 409) maintains that the friends’ long speeches about the life and death of the wicked serve to illustrate to Job that he is *not* wicked, since he is still living. I agree that they hedge on fully categorizing Job as wicked, but the correspondences between their descriptions of Job and the descriptions of

Another PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor directly precedes 18:4. In v. 3, Bildad asks, “Why are we considered as animals? Are we stupid in your eyes?” (מדוע נחשבנו כבהמה נטמיו) (בְּעֵינֶיךָ). *בהמה* signifies land animals and, although the verse does not specify, possibly wild rather than domestic animals in light of its proximity to the WILD ANIMAL metaphor in v. 4.²³⁵ Animals are not known for their intelligence. Even in Job 12:7, where Job instructs his friends “Ask the animals so that they will teach you” (שאלוּנָא בְּהֵמוֹת וְתִרְדּוּ), the rhetorical emphasis is that *even* the animals know this obvious truth. Proverbs commonly point to animals for observational instruction, but the instinctual faculties of animals are the focus of these sayings and not their capabilities to reason. Therefore, in 18:3, Bildad’s claim is that Job considers the friends to be dense like animals without understanding. Job never does actually liken them to animals in the book of Job, but Bildad still questions any cognitive mapping between ANIMALS and JOB’S FRIENDS that might be activated by Job’s expressions of the friends’ stupidity. This is a separate expression of metaphor from that in v. 4a, but the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS conceptual metaphor is activated in both cases and, therefore, they should be understood coherently. Bildad questions filling the slot for PEOPLE in the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor with FRIENDS in v. 3, but then in the very next line he fills the PEOPLE slot with JOB. Moreover, the expression in v. 4a depicts Job as a rather foolish animal, as one who preys upon himself.

the wicked certainly suggest this grouping. The conceptual similarity between 18:4a and 18:8-10 is one of many such correspondences in the book. The last part of Bildad’s speech, 18:14-21, describes the destruction of the tents and households of the unjust, who do not know God, and their being driven from the light into darkness. This picks up on the conclusion of Job’s speech in 17:13-16, where Job considers whether Sheol is his house and he recognizes the figures of death as his household members. Again, the correspondences between the features of the wicked with the features of Job, their houses and households in this case, serve at least as clear warnings and seem to imply condemnation of Job.

²³⁵ In Job 12:7-8, *בהמה* signifies land animals in general, distinguishing them from flying creatures and fish.

Bildad discontinues the animal metaphor in 18:4b but continues his argument against Job's destructive actions. He again uses rhetorical questions, asking, "Should the earth be abandoned on your account?" (הֲלִמְעַנֶּה תַעֲזֹב אֶרֶץ). While v. 4a accuses Job of "tearing" himself apart, this expression in v. 4b questions whether Job will also take all the earth down with him, reflecting on Job's extension of his own suffering to the hopeless fate of the whole earth (9:5-7, 24; 12:22-25; 14:18-19).

Coherence

I have already commented on the conceptual connection that 18:4a has with 13:14, both imagining Job as a predatory animal inflicting harm upon himself. The important difference is that Job's expression, "I will take my flesh in my teeth" expresses potential self-harm via his speech, while Bildad concludes that Job has already torn himself apart. They highlight two different stages of the predation process. My claim is not that Bildad's metaphor in 18:4a is a direct reply to Job's construal in 13:14, but that they activate the same conceptual metaphors with variant expressions. The only conceptual difference is how "chewed up" Job actually is. This slight difference between the two expressions highlights the interlocutors' variant perspectives on Job's actions. Job understands that his words *may* cost him his life. Bildad takes this as a foregone conclusion. Moreover, when Job imagines his life being taken in 13:15, it is God who does the killing. Job expresses potential for both JOB AS PREDATOR and JOB AS PREY, but he switches conceptual metaphors from this combination for images of his actual death.

Bildad's accusation in 18:4a coheres most closely with Job's expression of JOB IS PREY and GOD IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL in 16:9. In this case, there is lexical recursion. Job says that God's anger has torn him (אָפוּ טָרַף) and Bildad replies that it is Job's own anger that tears him

(טָרַף נִפְשׁוֹ בְּאֶפְרוֹ). Bildad's metaphorical expression challenges Job's projection of PREDATORY ANIMAL onto GOD in Job's particular situation by filling the slot for agency with JOB, thus activating JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL. The case for conceptual coherence seems clear, but the argument that 18:4a explicitly alludes to 16:9 is more difficult to demonstrate. The image of anger tearing may not be especially novel for modern readers; however, since טָרַף only occurs in animal contexts, "tearing" may have been perceived as unconventional for the author and implied audience of the book of Job. Additionally, besides these two texts, anger is construed as the subject of טָרַף elsewhere only in Amos 1:11, so it does not appear to have been a very common idiom. Beyond these considerations and the lexical recursion, the relative proximity of the two texts makes the metaphor coherence more perceptible. It seems likely, therefore, that the author intended 18:4a to be understood in light of the conceptual metaphor expressed in 16:9.²³⁶

4.3.2.4 – Job 29:17

In contrast to Eliphaz's accusations in chapter 22, Job claims in Job 29:12-17 that he has been a defender of the poor and helpless. In these verses, Job recalls his acts of righteousness and concludes with a shepherd metaphor.

וְאַשְׁכְּרָה מִתְלַעוֹת עֵגֶל	17 I broke the jaws of the wicked,
וּמִשְׁנֵי אֶשְׁלִיךְ טָרֶף	and I made him drop (his) prey from his teeth.

²³⁶ This is in line with many commentators. See, for example, Habel 1985, 285; Clines 1989, 411-412; Strawn 2005, 51, 339; and Seow 2013, 773. Clines (1989, 412) argues for the subtlety of Bildad's expression, saying, "The poet indeed invites us to consider how differently the same phrase can sound on different speakers' lips, but the relationship between the several occurrences may be more subtle than those suggested by the terms 'retort,' 'rebuttal,' 'modification,' 'allusion' (veiled or open), 'parody' or 'satire' that appear in some commentaries." In my view, 18:4a is written to recall and play on 16:9 and, therefore, should be considered an allusion. Subtlety is characteristic of most of the Joban dialogue, but it does not negate the sometimes intentionally combative nature of the discourse.

Job appropriates a shepherd conceptual metaphor that has slots for both DOMESTIC ANIMAL and WILD ANIMAL in its schema. The specific expression activates A WICKED PERSON IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL, JOB IS A SHEPHERD, and AN INNOCENT PERSON IS PREY. In the context of Job's defending the helpless, where specific kinds of innocent people are named (v. 12, "the poor" עֲנִי, "the orphan" יָתוֹם; v. 13, "the perishing one" אֲבֵד, "the widow" אֵלְמָנָה; v. 15, "the blind" עִוְר, "the lame" פֶּסֶח; v. 16, "the needy" אֶבְיוֹנִים), the target slot for INNOCENT PERSON invites a mapping with the source PREY. The scenario for a person attacking a predatory animal to save prey (טָרַף) is of a shepherd rescuing a domestic animal (compare 1 Sam 17:34-37).²³⁷ It is possible that a reader would activate a non-predatory wild animal as prey, but since people do not generally seek to save wild animals, the image here is more likely of a shepherd rescuing a domestic animal. Job depicts himself as a good shepherd rescuing the innocent from the predation of the wicked.²³⁸

Coherence

Job's activation of A WICKED PERSON IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL in accordance with RETRIBUTION as a generic-level schema corresponds with the LION metaphors in Job 4:10-11 and 10:16. The metaphor has the effect of construing those who mistreat the helpless as categorically

²³⁷ The predatory animal may be a lion in Job 29:17 (Strawn 2005, 52, 331). In the two occurrences of מִתְלַעֵזֹת where the animal is specified (Ps 58:7; Joel 1:6), it signifies the jawbones, or perhaps the teeth, of a lion (see Prov 30:14 for the other unspecified occurrence). For the etymology of מִתְלַעֵזֹת, see Hackett and Huehnergard 1984, 261 n. 4.

²³⁸ For overview and discussion of shepherd metaphors in the Hebrew Bible, see Hunziker-Rodewald 2001, 39-46; Van Hecke 2005, 200-209; and Gan 2007, 27-37. Gan finds three highlighted features of SHEPHERD in his survey of the Hebrew Bible: LEADING, FEEDING, and PROTECTION. Unfortunately, he does not deal with particular texts in much detail or elaborate on the variations in conceptual slot filling for the PROTECTION metaphors.

wicked and animalistic creatures, who instinctually mistreat the innocent (Clines 2006, 990). This compares especially well with Eliphaz's speech in 4:10-11, a text in which GOD fills the PUNISHER slot, breaking the teeth of the young lions. In Job 29:17, JOB elaborates the PUNISHER slot, exhibiting his righteousness by breaking the teeth of the wicked. In every other sense, the two metaphorical images agree. Job 29 is not written as a response to Job 4, but Job's metaphorical depiction of justice certainly coheres conceptually with that of Eliphaz.

Strawn (2005, 51-52) cites Job 29:17 as "a response of sorts" to Job 18:4, so that Job questions the appropriateness of Bildad's depiction of Job as a lion tearing himself. He explains, "Job ought not to be considered one of these unrighteous lions, because he himself has hunted them!" (52). While I agree that Job would not fully comply with Bildad's metaphorical expression, Job 29:17 has less to do with questioning previous significations of JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL (see 3:24; 10:16; and 13:14 where Job depicts himself as a lion) and more to do with highlighting his role as PUNISHER and his own acts of justice.

4.3.3 – *HUNTING*

Most HUNTING metaphors in the book of Job activate PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and involve the setting of traps. I include discussion of these metaphorical expressions here because many of them relate to the PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors analyzed above as well as the RETRIBUTION scenario.

4.3.3.1 – Job 5:13

Eliphaz possibly activates PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in Job 5:13 via GOD IS A HUNTER. If so, the metaphor is very conventional. The motif of the wicked being trapped in their own schemes

is a common trope for intrinsic retribution in biblical poetry (Pss 7:15-17; 10:2; 35:7-8; 57:7; Job 18:7-10; Prov 26:27; 28:10).

לִכְדּוֹ חֲכָמִים בְּעֶרְמָם	13 He captures the wise in their own craftiness.
וְעֵצַת נִפְתָּלִים נִמְהָרָה	And the plan of the crooked hastens itself to its end.

Whether there is an animal metaphor in this text partially hinges on לִכְדּוֹ being a signifier of ANIMAL ENTRAPMENT. The lexeme occurs in hunting contexts, literal and metaphorical, in other biblical texts (Judg 15:4; Isa 8:15; 24:18; Jer 5:26; 18:22; 48:44; 50:24; Amos 3:5; Pss 9:16; 35:8; Prov 6:2; Qoh 7:26), but also commonly signifies the capturing of cities and people in warfare (Num 21:32; Deut 2:34; Josh 10:42; Judg 7:25; 2 Sam 8:4; Jer 6:11; 50:2, 9). The lexeme alone, therefore, does not necessarily activate ANIMAL ENTRAPMENT. However, in the construal of Job 5:13a, “God captures the wise *in their own* craftiness,” the concept ANIMAL may be implied. In biblical texts that depict living beings being captured *in* something, the trap is almost always a metaphorical net, snare, or pit, common tools associated with hunting (Isa 8:14-15; 24:18; Jer 48:44; Ps 9:16; Qoh 7:26).²³⁹ In Prov 6:2 the hearer is warned against being “ensnared” (נִקְשָׁתָהּ) and “captured” (נִלְכְּדָתָהּ) in the words of his own mouth. In this text, since קֵשׁ belongs to the semantic domain of hunting, it makes sense to take לִכְדּוֹ as a parallel signifier of

²³⁹ The one probable exception to this is Job 36:8, as Elihu describes people bound in fetters and captured with ropes of affliction (וְאִם-אֲסוּרִים בְּזָקִים יִלְכְּדוּן בְּחַבְלֵי-עֲנִי). Since binding with fetters is an image of imprisonment (Ps 149:8; Isa 45:14; Nah 3:10), capturing with ropes in v. 8b likely signifies imprisonment as well. For discussion of hunting with nets, snares, and pits in the ancient Israel, see Keel 1978b, 72, 89-94; Firmage 1992, 6:1113; Borowski 1998, 155-156; Strawn 2005, 341-342; and Forti 2008, 84-86. For the use of kites, long v-shaped walls used for collecting wild game and forcing them into pits, see Borowski 1998, 189; and Bar-Oz, et al. 2011, 208-215. These desert kites originated in the Chalcolithic period but may have still been in use throughout in the Iron Age I and II. For application and analysis of a hunting metaphor in Isaiah, see Terian 1991, 462-471.

ANIMAL ENTRAPMENT.²⁴⁰

It seems likely, therefore, that Eliphaz expresses a very conventional conceptual hunting metaphor in 5:13. If this is correct, the text activates GOD IS A HUNTER since God is the subject of לִכְדּ; however, the metaphor is complicated because the wise are also those who set the trap by their scheming. The accompanying conceptual metaphors are THE WISE ARE HUNTERS, THE WISE ARE WILD ANIMALS, and CRAFTINESS IS A TRAP. Unlike typical expressions of intrinsic retribution, Job 5:13 signifies both GOD IS HUNTER and THE WISE ARE HUNTERS, but there is no incongruity here. Intrinsic retribution does not discount God's activity in judgment. God actively punishes insofar as he created and directs a world that functions according to justice, so that any act of injustice that results in negative consequences may be understood as divine judgment (Boström 1990,136-139; Fox 2000, 91-92). Irony is a vital rhetorical tool for illustrating intrinsic retribution and highlighting the folly of someone getting caught in one's own trap. "The wise" are those who plan only for their own success (v. 12, תוֹשִׁיעַ) and the accumulation of prestige and power. They are juxtaposed to the lowly (v. 11, שְׁפִלִים) and the poor (v. 16, דָּל). Being part of "the wise" clearly does not necessitate virtue according to Eliphaz's construal. Rather, he believes that God will use their crookedness to trap them so that "injustice shuts its mouth" (v. 16, וְעִלְתָּה קִפְצָה פִּיהָ). The ANIMAL metaphor in the expression of 5:13 is not readily perceptible, making this text less important for our broader topic of metaphor coherence. Still, as I will show, the self-entrapment scenario coheres with other HUNTING metaphors in the book of Job.

²⁴⁰ See also Prov 3:26 and 5:22 where לִכְדּ likely signifies ANIMAL ENTRAPMENT. Psalm 59:13 is also similar to Job 5:13, as the psalmist asks God for his people to be captured in their pride (וַיִּלְכְּדוּ בְּגִאוֹנָם). Neither text makes the hunting metaphor explicit, but both imagine people being caught in their own devices.

4.3.3.2 – Job 18:7-12

In the previous discussion of Bildad’s speech on the fate of the wicked in Job 18:3-4 (§4.3.2.3), I mentioned Job 18:7-10, a text that expresses the fullest picture of hunting practices in the Hebrew Bible. While the nucleus of hunting imagery appears in vv. 8-10, the metaphor begins in v. 7 and extends through v. 12, an extension that is not often recognized.

יִצְרוּ צַעְדֵי אוֹנוֹ	7 The steps of [a wicked person’s] strength are constrained,
וְתַשְׁלִיכֵהוּ עַצְמוֹ	and his own plan throws him down.
כִּי־שָׁלַח בְּרִשְׁתּוֹ בְּרַגְלָיו	8 For he is sent into a net by his own feet,
וְעַל־שִׁבְכָה יִתְהַלֵּךְ	and he walks onto a latticework trap.
יֶאֱחָז בְּעָקֵב פָּה	9 A trap grasps his heel.
יִחְזַק עָלָיו צָמִים	A snare seizes onto him.
טָמוֹן בְּאֶרֶץ חֲבָלוֹ	10 A rope is hidden for him in the ground,
וּמִלְכָּדָתוֹ עָלֵי נְתִיב	and a trap for him on the path.
סָבִיב בְּעֵתָהּ בִּלְהוֹת	11 All around, disasters terrify him,
וְהִפְיָצוּהוּ לְרַגְלָיו	and they harass him at his feet.
וְהִי־רָעַב אֹנוֹ	12 His strength is famished, ²⁴¹
וְאֵיד נָכוֹן לְצִלְעוֹ	and calamity is set for his stumbling.

The target of the animal metaphor, WICKED PEOPLE, is signified in 18:5 by רָשָׁעִים and remains the topic through the end of the speech where the wicked are described as “unjust” (עָוֵל)

²⁴¹ See Clines 1989, 405-406, and Seow 2013, 784-785, for possible emendations to v. 12a. Although this verse is admittedly difficult (the jussive וְהִי does not fit the context), the emendations do not clarify the meaning of the line. Clines himself takes אֹנוֹ as אָנוֹ and translates, “Calamity is hungry for him” to create a personification that parallels אֵיד of v. 12b.

and those who “do not know God” (לֹא־יָדְעֵי־אֵל) in 18:21. In a display of knowledge similar to Eliphaz’s extended LION metaphor (Job 4:10-11), Bildad presents six lexemes that signify TRAP in 18:8-10: רֶשֶׁת (“net”), שֶׁבַךְ (“latticework trap”), פֶּחַ (“trap”), צִמְיוֹ (“snare”), הֶבֶל (“rope”), and מִלְכָּדָת (“trap”). The first line in each verse expresses the more common trapping lexeme and each second line has a less common, seemingly more technical term that is difficult to define with precision.²⁴² Bildad’s speech does not specify the kind of animal that he imagines being trapped, so the most specific level for the conceptual animal metaphor is WICKED PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS. While birds were the usual victims of trapping (Hos 7:12; Amos 3:5; Ps 124:7; Prov 7:23; Qoh 9:12), larger quadrupeds (predatory and non-predatory) could also be trapped with nets and ropes (Keel 1978b, 89-90, 93-94).²⁴³ Verse 8 makes most sense as a portrayal of a trap for larger animals, especially if we are to imagine latticework covering a pit in the second line. The traps in vv. 9-10 are depictions of bird or small game traps that are triggered by movement and spring up to catch their prey.

²⁴² מִלְכָּדָת and צִמְיוֹ are *hapax legomena*. The best clues to their meanings are their parallel lexemes in this text. שֶׁבַךְ occurs in 1 Kgs 7:17, 41, signifying a net-patterned ornamentation on the capitals of Solomon’s house. In 2 Kgs 1:2, Ahaziah injures himself when he falls through הַשֶּׁבַךְ, probably some kind of latticed covering over a window in his upper chamber. In Job 18:8, it probably signifies a latticework covering over a pit that would break when an animal stepped onto it (Dhorme 1967, 261; Forti 2008, 85).

²⁴³ See, for example, Isa 51:20, which alludes to an antelope (אֵיִל) trapped in a net. Borowski (2002, 293-294) and Firmage (1992, 6:1113) assert that nets were only used for birds and fish and that big-game hunting had ceased in Palestine during the Iron Age II. However, while ancient iconography does not depict predatory animals being hunted with nets and ropes, such tools may have been employed in conjunction with pits to trap unsuspecting predators. The “friend” in Babylonian Theodicy, VI, line 61-62, claims that the pit awaits the lion as a punishment for killing innocent cattle (Lambert 1996, 75). *Gilgamesh*, Tablet VI, lines 51-52, recounts how Ishtar dug seven pits for the lion, her one-time lover. 2 Samuel 23:20 mentions that Benaiah was known for going down into a pit and killing a lion that had evidently fallen in, perhaps because the pit was covered with snow. Ezekiel 19:4 portrays a lion being caught in a pit. Most convincing is the image in Ezek 19:8, which claims that the nations spread their net over a lion that was captured in their pit (וַיִּפְרְשׂוּ עָלָיו רֶשֶׁתָּם בְּשֹׁהַתָּם נִתְפָּשׁ).

The multiple manifestations of the TRAP metaphor in vv. 8-10 encourage the reader to dwell upon the images and unpack the conceptual metaphor. Although the expression is fairly long, the conceptual metaphor is not especially complicated. Verses 8-10 list various kinds of traps to illustrate the same general source scenario WILD ANIMALS WALKING INTO TRAPS. The WICKED PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS metaphor in this text demonstrates an epistemic correspondence, that is, a mapping between two relational entailments (see §2.4). The expression recruits the relational entailment GETTING CAUGHT IN A TRAP in the WILD ANIMALS domain and projects it onto the relational entailment GETTING CAUGHT IN A SCHEME in the WICKED PEOPLE target domain. GETTING CAUGHT IN A SCHEME relates to the RETRIBUTION conceptual scenario with the point of the text being the inevitable punishment of the wicked. The punisher, however, is not explicitly signified in 18:8-10. Although this is clearly a hunting metaphor, the HUNTER slot is not elaborated. Agency shifts throughout these verses, with the outcome that the focus is put squarely on the wicked person himself. The salient aspect of WILD ANIMALS in Job 18:8-10 is the action of an animal walking *itself* into a trap and getting caught, giving agency to the animal as it brings about its own downfall. As v. 8a says, “He is sent into a net by his own feet.”

The metaphor begins in v. 7 with the constraint or binding of the wicked person’s steps of strength. Verse 7b presents “his plan” (תַּחֲזִיק) as the subject and the agent that throws him down. The image is one of being tripped and, as the reader discovers in v. 8, the conceptual metaphors expressed here are A WICKED PERSON’S PLAN IS AN ANIMAL TRAP and CARRYING OUT OF THE PLAN IS WALKING INTO THE TRAP. Again, there is no signified outside agent that causes the trapping since the animal’s own feet cause the “sending” into the net.

The trap itself is the agent in v. 9, paralleling the agency of the plan of the wicked in v. 7. The trap closes on his heel, again drawing the reader’s attention to the feet as the vehicle for

carrying out the plan. Traps also surprise and this element is projected into the target; wicked people do not expect to be caught in their own schemes, but Bildad assures Job of this ironic outcome. The only possible lexical signifier of HUNTER is the passive participle טָמִין in v. 10, which implies a trap-setter but still conceals any specific identification. If there is a hunter in the image, it is the wicked person and the underlying conceptual metaphor is MAKING OF A WICKED PLAN IS SETTING A TRAP. Here is where the target domain moves beyond the source image, construing the wicked person as both the hunter and the hunted. Still, the poet's expression of this hunting metaphor continually draws attention to the fate of the trapped animal.

The metaphor continues through vv. 11-12 in a more generalized form. No lexeme obviously serves to activate TRAP, but the expression in these two verses carries on the image of a person stumbling and being surrounded by potential dangers. In v. 11, Bildad reiterates the inescapability of בְּלָהוֹת (“terrors” or “disasters”) that encircle the wicked. The impending “disasters” correspond to the multiplicity of animal traps referred to in vv. 8-10. Bildad leaves little doubt that the wicked will be trapped, and, as v. 12 concludes, they will lose strength (אָנֹכִי), marking an inclusio with v. 7). The final expression of this extended metaphor, “calamity is set for his stumbling” (וְאֵיךְ נָכוֹן לְצִלְעוֹ), highlights the sure and disastrous consequence waiting for the wicked person when they fall.²⁴⁴ Like earlier images of trapped feet, v. 12b points to the instability of the stumbling person. In Bildad's view, it is only a matter of time until a wicked

²⁴⁴ Clines (1989, 416) maintains that Bildad personifies אֵיךְ as a “devouring animal,” explaining that “these supernatural and demonic animal forces are themselves the snares for the wicked.” While I agree that אֵיךְ is subtly personified (see also Seow 2013, 785) insofar as it is given volition through the verb נָכוֹן, the text does not elaborate it as a demonic or animal power as Clines proposes. The clearest parallel to Job 18:12b is Ps 38:18, “I am set for a stumble” (אֲנִי לְצִלְעִי נָכוֹן), which is a recognition of the psalmist's own weakness. The line is part of a lament over the abuse at the hand of psalmist's enemies who, among other things, “lay traps” (יִקְשֹׁוּ, v. 13) and magnify themselves when his “foot totters” (בְּמוֹט רַגְלִי, v. 17).

person is seized by his or her own evil schemes. While RETRIBUTION is an important scenario for Bildad's understanding of the fate of the wicked, the punishment of the wicked is ironically self-induced, fitting better with wisdom expressions that teach intrinsic retribution, such as, "He who digs a pit falls into it, and a stone will come back on one who rolls it" (Prov 26:27), than with prototypical prophetic warnings of divine judgment upon the wicked or with Job's construal of his situation in Job 19:6, "God has wronged me, and his net has enclosed me."

4.3.3.3 – Job 19:6

Job begins his speech in chapter 19 by castigating his friends for their mistreatment of him and their misconstrual of his suffering. In 19:6, he directly responds to Bildad's hunting metaphor with a pointed reimagining of the HUNTER slot.

אם-אֶמְנֶם עָלַי תִּגְדִּילוּ	5 If you will truly exalt yourselves over me
וְתוֹכִיחוּ עָלַי חֲרָפָתִי	and make my shame a rebuke against me,
דַּע-אֲפֹ כִּי-אֱלוֹהִים עֲוֹנָתִי	6 then know that God has wronged me,
וּמִצֹּדוֹ עָלַי הִקְיף	and his net has enclosed me. ²⁴⁵

²⁴⁵ Clines (1989, 428) translates מִצֹּדוֹ as "his siege-works" (also Gordis 1978, 201; Habel 1985, 291) explaining this as "more appropriate in light of vv. 7-12." Verse 12 does metaphorically portray Job's enemies surrounding his tent as siege warfare. The focus on Job's "tent" continues the debate about dwelling places, responding to Bildad's portrayal of the tents of the wicked in 18:14-21 (see §4.3.2.3 n. 234), which picks up on Job's earlier depiction of his dwelling place in 17:13-16. Throughout the book of Job, אָהֵל signifies a metonymy for a person's household (A PERSON'S TENT FOR A PERSON'S HOUSEHOLD) and is a common symbol of security and status (see Job 5:24; 8:22; 11:14; 12:6; 15:34; 20:26; 21:28; 29:4; 31:31). While v. 12 signifies the image of siege warfare, it is not clear in vv. 7-11. There is therefore little more contextual pressure to take מִצֹּדוֹ as a signifier of WARFARE than as a signifier of HUNTING. LXX translates with ὀχύρωμα "fortress" and so either reads מִצֹּר or understands מִצֹּד to signify "siege works." Peshitta has "his net" (ܠܗܝܬܝܢܐ). See Qoh 7:26 and Prov 12:12 for clear cases of מִצֹּד signifying "snare" or "net." For the debatable case of Qoh 9:14, see Clines 1989, 428; Seow 1997, 309; and Fox 1999, 298. While the warfare image is possible in Job 19:6, it makes better sense to translate מִצֹּד as "net" or

The metaphors in 19:6b include GOD IS A HUNTER and JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL. As a response to Bildad's hunting metaphor for the wicked in 18:7-12, the emphasis is on the agency of God. The first line leaves no doubt that Job holds God responsible for his suffering. The *piel* of עָוָה signifies bending or making crooked (Qoh 1:15; 7:13), but often has the metaphorical connotation of turning toward injustice, wrong doing, or perversion (Amos 8:5; Ps 117:78; Job 8:3; 34:12; Lam 3:6). In contrast to Bildad's construal, it is God who sets the trap and captures Job. Rather than the wicked falling into their own trap, Job claims that his trapped status has nothing to do with his own actions and everything to do with God's injustice. Job does not outright question Bildad's point that the wicked fall to their own schemes, but he flatly denies any application of such a scenario to him. By imagining himself as a wild animal seized by God's trap, Job again acknowledges that he is being dealt with as an enemy of God and that he is receiving the typical harsh punishment that the wicked deserve. In this text, Job does not deny that God punishes the wicked; rather, he argues that such treatment is ill-fitting and undeserved in his particular situation.

Coherence

The relationship of 19:6 with 18:7-12 exemplifies a perceptible kind of coherence, as Job questions the elaboration of two slots in Bildad's metaphor, HUNTER and PREY. First, while Bildad deemphasizes the HUNTER slot, Job elaborates it with GOD, making it clear that God is the agent responsible for his suffering. As for PREY, Bildad elaborates it with THE WICKED, but Job inserts himself. Job detects Bildad's subtle accusation that he is among the wicked, but instead of

"snare" in line with its relatively more common signification of HUNTING. In this line, עָל marks the direct object, as it does whenever it follows נָקַד in the *hiphil* (2 Kgs 6:14; 11:8; Ps 17:9; 88:18), thus, Job is the direct object of הִקְיָה ("has enclosed me").

denying the projection of PREY onto JOB, he claims it as a fitting description of his plight and turns it into an accusation against God, the one who traps the innocent without just cause. The close textual proximity, the basic-level conceptual repetition, and the novel nature of the metaphors increase the perceptibility of the metaphor coherence.

4.3.3.4 – Job 22:10

In Eliphaz’s third speech, there is no mistaking his identification of Job as one of the wicked.²⁴⁶ He associates him with evil and injustice (v. 5), accusing him of taking pledges without cause (v. 6), stinginess toward the poor (v. 7), and oppression of widows and orphans (v. 9). These accusations set up a hunting metaphor in v. 10 that once again maps with the punishment of the wicked.

עַל־כֵּן סָבִיבוֹתֶיךָ פְּחִים וַיִּבְהַלְךָ פֶּחַד פְּתָאֵם	10 Therefore, traps surround you, and dread terrifies you suddenly.
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Up to this point, the friends have not been forthcoming with pointing out Job’s specific sins. Perhaps, feeling the need to be specific and to justify his mechanistic view of retribution, Eliphaz names the secret sins of Job as something of a smear tactic. The hunting metaphor reflects Bildad’s expression in 18:7-12. Not only do traps (פְּחִים, compare 18:9) wait for Job, but

²⁴⁶ Contra Clines (2006, 555) who comments on Eliphaz’s identification of Job as a “sinner of great wickedness,” saying, “Eliphaz would on principle probably call anyone that, even the saintliest person on earth.” While I agree that Eliphaz has appealed to Job’s innocence in past speeches, his character becomes increasingly condemnatory as the dialogue progresses. Perhaps he still hopes that Job’s “clean hands” will be the cause of his deliverance in the end (22:30), but the implication of Eliphaz’s depiction of Job’s sin in 22:5-9 is that it is especially bad, and, his suffering is therefore especially deserved. Clines’s view of Eliphaz, seemingly portraying him as a believer in a Calvinist-like doctrine of total depravity, does not correspond with Eliphaz’s depiction of weighted retribution.

they are everywhere around him (קָבִיבוֹתָיִךְ, compare 18:11). The second line (22:10b) also parallels Bildad's speech, as terror surprises its victim. The implied hunter in Eliphaz's expression is God, but as in Bildad's construal, the HUNTER slot is not specified or salient. The point of the metaphor is that Job's sin has resulted in the trapping, not the identification of who has set the trap. The conceptual metaphors are PUNISHMENT FOR SIN IS BEING CAUGHT IN A TRAP and JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL. The nature of Job as an animal is not salient either. While wild animals may have been understood as dangerous, unintelligent, or even wicked from the human perspective, the expression in 22:10 does not clearly activate these characteristics. Rather, the salient aspects of the traps are their inescapability and their sudden production of fear.

4.4 – NON-PREDATORY WILD ANIMAL Metaphors

All of the NON-PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors in the dialogue are expressed by Job. In contrast to most of the PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors, none of these conceptual projections involve the RETRIBUTION scenario. Instead, the focus of these metaphors is marginalization, need, and pity. This is especially apparent for the DESERT ANIMAL metaphors. The prominent conceptual features of the domain ANIMAL signified in these texts are FOOD, HABITAT, and SOCIAL BEHAVIOR. When Job projects the features of DESERT ANIMALS onto PEOPLE (himself, the poor, or his enemies), he addresses their lowly social standing and the ostracism that accompanies suffering (Riede 2002, 132).

4.4.1 – WILD DONKEY

The wild donkey appears in the book of Job as an image in Yahweh's speech and as a source domain in Job's speeches. All donkeys descend from *Equus asinus*; however, only one species, *Equus africanus*, has ever been domesticated (Clutton-Brock 1992, 37, 62-63). Unlike the domestic donkey (חֲמֹר), the wild donkey was known for its untamable nature, desert habitat, and its consumption of scrub vegetation.

Two lexemes signify WILD DONKEY in the Hebrew Bible, פָּרָא and עֲרֹד, likely representing two different types of Asiatic asses or onagers (*Equus hemionus*). First, פָּרָא refers to the now extinct Syrian wild ass, which was hunted in ancient Mesopotamia and bred with domestic donkeys to produce mules (Clutton-Brock 1992, 37).²⁴⁷ The second and less common lexeme, עֲרֹד, may refer to the Arabian wild ass (Borowski 1998, 90), but this designation is uncertain (Groves 1986, 42-43).²⁴⁸ In any case, according to Groves (1986, 39-41), onagers have a very wild temperament, refuse domestication, and roam flat arid plains or rocky hill country. On account of these perceived features, the wild donkey came to symbolize independence and marginalization (Way 2011, 70).

Two textual illustrations of this last point set up the discussion of WILD DONKEY metaphors in the book of Job. The first is from the Aramaic Ahiqar sayings, lines 203-204. The fragmentary text reads:

²⁴⁷ The Asiatic wild ass (a hybrid *E. h. onager* and *E. h. kulan*) was reintroduced in 1983 to Makhtesh Ramon, a large erosion valley in the central Negev desert, Israel (Ward et al. 1999; Saltz, Rowen, and Rubenstein 2000).

²⁴⁸ According to Tristram (1889, 43), עֲרֹד may also refer to a wild subspecies of African wild ass. Archaeozoologists debate whether wild *Equus africanus* ever lived in the Levant, but discoveries in Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Arabian Peninsula make this a likely supposition (Uerpmann 1991, 29-30).

[ʔm ḥd lʾrdʾ [ʾr]k[b] ʾlyk wʾn[h] ʾsblnk [ʾnh ʾrdʾ wʾmr ʔ] sbwlyk wkstk wʾnh rkbyk lʾʾhzh

“... one [day] to the wild ass, ‘Let me ride on you and I will provide for you.’ [And the wild ass answered and said, ‘Keep] your provision and your fodder for I will not see your riding.’”²⁴⁹

The proverbial fable makes a point about provision and freedom based on the natural character of the wild donkey. It seems to be intended to illustrate the stupidity of a stubborn person who refuses work. If so, it addresses this issue by drawing attention to the stubborn nature of the wild donkey – there is nothing that is going to change its will, not even free shelter and food.

The second text is a proverb from Zophar’s first speech in Job 11:12 where he declares, “An empty person will gain understanding when a wild donkey is born a man” (אִישׁ נָבוֹב יִלְבֵּב) (ועֵיר פָּרָא אָדָם יִגְלֵד).²⁵⁰ The point is that it is impossible for a fool to gain understanding. But why illustrate this by contrasting a human with a wild donkey? On the surface, it is obvious that no animal can be born as a human being, but, as the divine speech points out, the פָּרָא is a prototypically wild animal that refuses domestication (39:5-8). The wild donkey will never be like a person or take part in human affairs; therefore, it provides the ideal point of comparison with a determinedly foolish person who shirks the pursuit of wisdom. Although the point of the proverb is the determined nature of fools who never gain understanding, the animal saying makes sense because the wild donkey is known for its extremely undomesticated lifestyle. They

²⁴⁹ For the Aramaic text, see Porten and Yardeni 1993, 51. For commentary, see Lindenberger 1983, 203-204.

²⁵⁰ Commentators agree that the second half of this verse is corrupt in some way. Pope (1965, 83) argues convincingly that עֵיר is an adult male domestic donkey and makes little sense in apposition with פָּרָא. For this reason, Seow (2013, 614) and Newsom (1996, 421) omit עֵיר as a variant. Pope (1965, 83) and Clines (1989, 266) take עֵיר as a “tame” donkey, thus, “when a wild ass will be born tame.” Pope also understands אָדָם as a variant of אֶדְמָה so that פָּרָא אָדָם would mean “wild ass of the steppe.” But אֶדְמָה does not mean “steppe” and this translation obscures the parallelism with אִישׁ in v. 12a. In either interpretation, the proverb has the same meaning for wild donkeys, namely, that they are impossibly undomesticated. They have no place in human society or civilization.

are destined to a life of desert wandering and scavenging.²⁵¹

4.4.1.1 – Job 6:5

In Job's first response to Eliphaz, he attempts to convey the severity of his suffering and his right to complain (vv. 2-3). He does this partially through rhetorical questions, one of which (v. 5a) activates the WILD DONKEY domain.

הִינֵק־פָּרָא עַל־דָּשָׁא	5 Does a wild donkey bray over grass?
אִם יִגְעֶה־שׁוֹר עַל־בָּלִילוֹ	Or does an ox low over its fodder?

Verse 5 does not signify a target concept so one might question the identification of 6:5 as metaphorical. The rhetorical questions are syntactically self-contained and serve as illustrations that imply comparison. In the context of chapter 6, Job rhetorically asks these questions to illustrate *human* suffering and complaint, not to make a point about animal behavior. Moreover context indicates that JOB is the conceptual topic, Job asks the questions to make a point about his own plight, so ANIMAL is a conceptual source for the conceptual topic, JOB. The point of the illustration is Job's suffering and the justifiability of his complaint, for God is acting unjustly toward him. As Job says in v. 4, "the terrors of God are aligned against me." The concepts JOB and WILD DONKEY share the same generic-level structure – they are both living

²⁵¹ The image of the wild donkey as a quintessential desert animal is also present in the Mesopotamian *Dialogue of Pessimism*, where the donkey is featured for its resourcefulness as it finds plenty of food in the steppe (1.22) and its poor habitat as it makes its home in the wasteland (1.28). It is sighted along with the wild dog and the raven for the purpose of encouraging and discouraging the "master" to go hunting in the steppe. Babylonian Theodicy, VI, also features the wild donkey, depicted as an animal that is a "headstrong trampler of the leas." Again food and habitat are its distinctive features. See §4.3.1 n. 185.

beings that make loud noises when they have unmet needs – so that the question is essentially, “Would I complain so loudly if I had satisfaction?” I understand 6:5 to function analogically. Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 35) explain analogical projection, saying, “In standard analogical reasoning, a base or source domain is mapped onto a target so that inferences easily available in the source are exported to the target.” Analogy does not rely on conceptual integration or blending, but it evokes structure-mapping and is considered a type of metaphor because it involves the activation of mappings between source and target (Gentner et al. 2001, 199-200). This is parallel to the cognitive processes by which one interprets a proverb, which operates via the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor (Lakoff and Turner 1989, 162-166). All this to say that I recognize Job 6:5 as a metaphorical comparison, but not one by which Job takes on specific features of wild donkeys or the ox.

Although *פָּרָא* signifies WILD DONKEY, the wildness of the donkey is not the salient feature in Job 6:5. The parallelism between the two lines of v. 5 constrains any mapping of WILD, because the mapped schema includes shared features of the wild donkey and the domestic ox, namely, the complaining sound of the hungry being, a schema that equally corresponds with the concepts WILD ANIMAL and DOMESTIC ANIMAL. One would logically respond to the rhetorical questions with “No, these animals do not make noise if they have food to eat.”

The wild donkey is characterized in 6:5 by its noise and its appetite, and the rhetorical questions signify both of these features as possible sources for mapping with Job’s situation. ANIMAL NOISE and ANIMAL FOOD are both signified lexically. Job has not yet expressed a desire for answers or explanation of his suffering, although his friends attempt to satisfy him with understanding. Up to this point in the dialogue, the only satisfaction that Job has hoped for is the rest that would accompany his own death. Chapter 3 is an extended death wish in which Job

groups himself with those who long for death, who “search for it more than hidden treasure” (3:21). In the more immediate context, Job plainly expresses his desire for death in 6:8-9, “O that my request would come about and God would grant my desire, and that God would be willing and crush me, that he would loose his hand and cut me off.” If death would be Job’s food of choice, he finds the food currently before him to be repulsive (6:6-7). Job’s “distasteful” (תִּפְלוּ) food makes him ill.²⁵² The focus on food in vv. 6-7 makes the references to animal food in v. 5 more than just a passing image. Unlike the אֲשָׁף for the wild donkey, Job lacks any kind of satisfying “food.” It is therefore possible that the rhetorical question in v. 5 activates DEATH IS FOOD, since Job’s primary desire is to die. However, the specific nature of Job’s unmet need is not the issue of the animal image; rather, it is simply that Job does not have what he desires, whatever that perceived need may be. More generally, the metaphors involving food in v. 5 may be recognized as SUFFERING PEOPLE ARE HUNGRY ANIMALS and, conversely, SATISFIED PEOPLE ARE GRAZING ANIMALS.

Job is compelled to justify his complaint in light of Eliphaz’s attempt to turn him away from impious speech. Since the purpose of the rhetorical question is to argue for the justification of his complaint more than to draw attention to his unfulfilled desire, the most salient aspect of the animal image in v. 5 is the sound of complaint (Klingler 2012, 148). Job’s animal metaphor highlights how suffering and complaint are inseparable. Wild donkeys and oxen instinctually

²⁵² The exact identification of תִּפְלוּ in 6:6 is difficult, although “juice of the mallow” makes most sense in light of similar lexemes in Rabbinic Hebrew and Arabic (Seow 2013, 472). The LXX translates the phrase as ἔστιν γεῦμα ἐν ῥήμασι κενοῖς (“is there taste in empty words?”) which likely reflects the translator’s confusion. The Greek translator may also be attempting to explicate the metaphor EMPTY WORDS ARE TASTELESS FOOD. If this later suggestion is correct, the expression is similar to retorts about the words of various interlocutors in several of the speeches (see §3.4). In this case, Job would be acknowledging the lack of help that Eliphaz’s words offer. The translator may have understood Job’s unmet need in v. 5 to be meaningful advice from his friends, making Job out to be “hungry” for answers or words of understanding.

make loud noises when they are hungry. It is a cause and effect relationship between hunger and complaint. The metaphor JOB'S COMPLAINT IS DONKEY BRAYING suggests that Job cannot help but complain loudly. His suffering instinctually compels him to lament.

Coherence

Job's choice of non-predatory animals that make loud noises may be significant. Similar rhetorical questions are asked in Amos 3:4, "Does a lion roar in the thicket when it has no prey? Does a young lion sound its voice from its lair if it has captured nothing?" (הֲיִשְׁאֵג אֲרִיָּה בַּיַּעַר וְטָרֶף) (אִין לוֹ הָיִתָּן כְּפִיר קוֹלוֹ מִמְּעֻנָּתוֹ בְּלֵתִי אִם-לֶכֶד). The primary difference between Job 6:5 and this lion illustration, besides the animals themselves, is that the lion roars when it has food and the donkey and ox make noise when they are hungry. The lion roar is not a complaint, but a sound of victory and satisfaction in the Amos 3:4.²⁵³ In Job's first speech, he used the conventional image of "roarings" to describe his lamentation (3:24). Then Eliphaz picks up on the lion roaring as an expression of threat in 4:10-11. As in Amos 3:4, in Eliphaz's imagination, the lack of a lion roar corresponds to its lack of prey. Perhaps, Job now chooses non-predatory animals for his illustration to emphasize his innocence and vulnerability. Seow (2013, 457) says, "Job paints a different picture, however, pointing to vulnerable and needy creatures instead of predators – a clever move, since he has just been referring to a terrifying attack on a helpless prey (v. 4)." The animal metaphors in 4:10-11 and 6:5 cohere insofar as they both express PEOPLE ARE WILD

²⁵³ See Foreman 2011, 168-170, for discussion of the meaning of the lion's roar in various biblical texts including Amos 3:4. The rhetorical point of Amos 3:3-8 is, like Job 6:5, that one is compelled to speak. The prophet presents several images of cause and effect in social life, animal life, hunting, and battle to argue for the cause and effect relationship between God speaking (the cause) and prophecy (the effect). This serves to justify the prophet's own prophetic word. In Amos 3:8, the first line asks, "A lion roars; who is not afraid?" to highlight the natural response Yahweh's word, saying, "The Lord Yahweh has spoken; who will not prophecy?"

ANIMALS and, more specifically, PEOPLE SOUNDS ARE ANIMAL SOUNDS. What Seow is suggesting is that they also cohere through metaphor questioning, as Job claims that he is like an innocent animal (wild donkey or ox) rather than a predatory animal that serves as a common illustration for the wicked (lion). This kind of perceptible echo is possible, but not explicit in Job 6:5. It may be that Job wishes his friends to see him as an innocent non-predatory animal instead of a wicked predator, but he does not make this clear in my view. More likely, the wild donkey and ox are chosen simply because of their distinctive noise, especially since Job demonstrates his willingness to be portrayed as a predatory animal in other texts (10:16; 13:14). The target partially determines which animal source domain is chosen. Since the topic is Job's complaint, he chooses to highlight the features of animals whose noise is popularly associated with complaint.

4.4.1.2 – Job 24:4-8

Job 24:4-8 is the first of two texts about marginalized people involving wild donkey metaphors. In this speech, Job describes the injustices of wicked people and laments God's lack of intervention on behalf of the poor.

יטו אֲבִיּוֹנִים מִדֶּרֶךְ	4 They (the wicked) ²⁵⁴ turn aside the needy from the road.
יחד חֲבָאוּ עֲנִי־אֶרֶץ	The poor of the earth are forced to hide out together. ²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ The subject is not signified lexically in the MT, but the wicked are certainly in view. They are the ones who remove boundary stones (v. 2), steal flocks (v. 2), exploit the orphan and widow (v. 3), and push the needy from the road (v. 4). LXX supplies ἀσεβείς (“the ungodly”) in v. 2 to make the subject explicit.

²⁵⁵ The *pual* of חָבָא (חֲבָאוּ) only occurs here in the Hebrew Bible. It most commonly occurs in the *niphal* or *hitpaal* with the reflexive meaning of “hide oneself.” I translate the *pual* of v. 4 as

הֵן פָּרָאִים בַּמִּדְבָּר	5 They ²⁵⁶ are wild donkeys in the steppe.
יֵצְאוּ בְּעֵלְמָם מְשַׁחֲרֵי לֶטְרֵף	They go out in their work searching for provision.
עֲרֶבָה לוֹ לֶחֶם לְנַעֲרִים	The desert provides them food for their young. ²⁵⁷
בְּשָׂדֶה בְּלִילוֹ יִקְצְרוּ	6 They harvest their fodder in the field,
וְכָרֶם רָשָׁע יִלְקְשׁוּ	and take from ²⁵⁸ the vineyard of the wicked.
עָרוֹם יְלִינוּ מִבְּלִי לְבוּשׁ	7 They spend the night naked, without clothing,
וְאֵין כְּסוּת בַּקֶּרֶךְ	and have no covering in the cold.
מִזֶּרֶם הָרִים יִרְטְבוּ	8 They are soaked by the mountain rains.
וּמִבְּלִי מִחֻסָּה חִבְּקוּ-צוּר	And without shelter they embrace the rocks.

“forced to hide out together” to represent the passivity signified by the *pual*, following BDB’s “are made to hide themselves” (284) and Clines’s “have been forced to hide” (2006, 583).

²⁵⁶ I am taking הֵן as a 3mp pronoun “they” as a by-form of הֵם or הֵמָּה (Gordis 1978, 265; Habel 1985, 353-354; Clines 2006, 583), also occurring in Ruth 1:13 with the proclitic ל (הֲלֵהוּ תַשְׁכְּרֶנָּה) “Is it for them that you will wait?”). If this is correct, the pronoun serves to mark the change in subject from the oppressors to the poor. Alternatively, הֵן is simply the deictic interjection, “Look, wild asses in the desert (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:207; Fohrer 1963, 367; Tur-Sinai 1967, 360), in which case, the line should be read as part of the verbal clause of v. 5b.

²⁵⁷ It is difficult to make sense of לוֹ in this verse. Habel (1985, 354) and Gordis (1978, 265) explain it as a dittography with the first letter of לֶחֶם. Others emend to לִלְחֵם (Fohrer 1963, 369; Good 1990, 114-115). With Clines (2006, 583), I do not emend, but take it as a marker of the indirect object. LXX represents it with αὐτῷ, although it represents עֲרֶבָה as a 3fs verb “to be sweet”; thus, “bread is sweet to him” (ἡδύςθη αὐτῷ ἄρτος).

²⁵⁸ לִקַּשׁ is a *hapax legomenon* and is therefore difficult to define. See Clines (2006, 584) for various scholarly translations, most of which relate to taking or gleaning the later growth of the vineyard largely on the basis of the parallel with קָצַר. Gordis (1978, 266) notes that the root לִקַּשׁ occurs in the Gezer Calendar, likely meaning “late planting.” Although the Gezer Calendar is best identified as Phoenician (Pardee 2013, 226-246), this offers the most convincing evidence that the verb in 24:6 has a farming connotation. Otherwise, the image could hint at “coming late” into the vineyard to take food under the cover of darkness, which would correlate with the “night” reference in v. 7. See also Job 30:3 (§4.4.1.3) for donkeys foraging at night.

The obvious marker of the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is v. 5a, “They are wild donkeys in the steppe.” Job described the wicked driving away the domestic donkey (דָּמִיָּה) of the orphan in 24:3. Here the poor themselves are the ones driven away by the wicked, forced into a “donkey-like” existence. The elaborated conceptual metaphor is POOR PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS, which projects the features of the donkey’s wild and destitute existence onto the life of those who are pushed to the fringes of society.²⁵⁹ The specific conceptual knowledge of WILD DONKEY activated and projected onto POOR PEOPLE in this text concerns their foraging for food and their lack of adequate shelter.

The target of the metaphor, POOR PEOPLE, is lexically signified in v. 4 by אֶבְיֹנִים and עֲנִי־אֶרֶץ. According to Pleins (1992, 403-405), the אֶבְיֹנִים are the “beggarly poor” since the lexeme is associated with homelessness, hunger, and economic exploitation (see, for example,

²⁵⁹ Some understand the image of the wicked turning aside the poor from the road in v. 4a as the wicked physically pushing the needy off of the public path (Gordis 1978, 265; Clines 2006, 604). It seems more likely that the image is the more general marginalization of the poor. While the verb נָטָה in the *hiphil* often signifies a transitive action of causing one to turn aside or incline toward (Num 22:23; 2 Sam 3:27; 6:10; Isa 10:2; 29:21; Jer 5:25; Amos 5:12; Mal 3:5; Ps 27:9; 116:2; Prov 7:21; 18:5; 21:1), it never signifies the specific action of physical pushing. The closest image to physical pushing is Num 22:23 where Balaam beats his donkey (נֹכַח) to turn it (נָטָה) back to the road, but here נָטָה only signifies the turning and not the beating. Compare נָטָה in the *qal* earlier in Num 22:23 where the donkey turns itself from the road. In my view, the road (דֶּרֶךְ) of v. 4 is a metonym for public spaces in general, since the resulting image is being made to hide out together, presumably in a secluded space. The road as an image of the public sphere and a sign of civilization is in stark contrast to the “desert-like” existence described in vv. 5-8. For a close study of the broad semantic domain of דֶּרֶךְ, see Aitken 1998, 11-33. With special reference to its contrastive relation to the desert in Isa 40:3, see Lund 2007, 56-57, 85-95. For the dichotomy between roads and destitute wilderness landscapes, see Isa 49:11 and Ps 107:40. In Job 12:24, a subversive quotation of Ps 107:40, Job claims that God takes understanding away from leaders and “he makes them wander in the wasteland without a way” (וַיִּתְּעֵם בְּתֵהוּ לֹא-דֶרֶךְ). This is not clearly a wilderness scene, but it exemplifies the status of דֶּרֶךְ as a symbol for order.

Isa 25:4; 32:6-7; and Amos 2:6).²⁶⁰ In the book of Job, אָבִיּוֹן occurs in the context of Job's treatment toward the destitute: he claims to have treated the needy as his children (29:16), grieved them (30:25), and clothed them (31:19). The parallel lexeme, עָנִי, also signifies poverty and suffering, sharing the conceptual associations with אָבִיּוֹן (Pleins 1992, 408-411).²⁶¹ The exact nature of poverty in ancient Israel is unclear. There is little evidence for large-scale poverty among peasants in the agropastoralist economy of the monarchy (King and Stager 2001, 192-193), but destitution was still a reality, perhaps more so among subsistence-level farmers in Persian era Yehud (Grabbe 2004, 193-194, 204, 206). From what little we know about poverty in ancient Israel, Job's description of destitution in chapter 24 pushes the bounds of an accurate portrayal in either of these time periods. He uses the WILD DONKEY metaphor to depict extreme destitution in order to highlight God's lack of concern for the marginalized.

The salient feature of the wild donkey in v. 5a is its wilderness habitat. The steppe (מִדְבָּר) or desert (עֲרָבָה) is the natural habitat for the wild donkey, but it is dangerous and remote for humans. The next two lines concern how poor people/wild donkeys get their food, lexically signifying both human life and animal life. The metaphorical expression does not leave the target POOR PEOPLE behind. "Their work" (מְשָׁרֵי לִטְרָף) in v. 5b (יֵצְאוּ בְּפִעֲלָם מְשָׁרֵי לִטְרָף) is a noun associated with human or divine action in every other biblical occurrence. Psalm 104 gives praise to

²⁶⁰ Pleins reasonably defines אָבִיּוֹן as "beggarly poor," but he makes too much of the author's lexical choices in the book of Job. He argues that דָּל represents peasant farmers and is used more often by Job's friends instead of אָבִיּוֹן or עָנִי because they are portrayed as wisdom teachers (1992, 406). He bases this on the more frequent occurrence of דָּל in Proverbs. However, besides Eliphaz's expression of דָּל along side אָבִיּוֹן in 5:15-16, Zophar is the only friend to use דָּל (20:10, 19). In addition, Job himself uses the term in 31:16.

²⁶¹ The two lexemes also form a word pair in Job 24:14. For other cases of this word pair, see Pleins 1992, 408. In Job 29:12, 16 the terms signify groups of helpless people, along with perishing ones, widows, the lame, the blind, orphans, and strangers. Job claims to have given assistance to all of these.

Yahweh for his care for all of created life, including the wild animals, and refers to the “work” of humanity with a similar phrase, יֵצֵא אָדָם לִפְעֻלָּו וְלַעֲבֹדָתוֹ עֲדִי-עֶרֶב (Ps 104:23). Likewise, in Job 34:11, humanity is paid according to their “work” (כִּי פִעַל אָדָם יְשָׁלֵם-לוֹ). While the noun (פִּעַל) can signify “action” or “deed” in general, it never refers to animal activity; thus, it makes best sense to take פִּעַל in Job 24:5b as a signifier of the activity of the target POOR PEOPLE. Their work is searching for food (טָרָף). This lexeme for food refers occasionally to human food (Ps 111:5; Prov 31:15; Mal 3:10), but it more regularly indicates the prey of predatory animals (in Job, see 4:11; 29:17; and 38:39). Since the wild donkey is not a predatory animal, it may be that טָרָף in 24:5b refers to human food. Still, in light of the metaphorical expression in v. 5a and the common association of טָרָף with wild places and scavenging, the lexeme also signifies wild animal provisions in general.²⁶² The image of scavenging the desert for food accords better with the activity of the wild donkey than with the work of the poor. As Clines (2006, 605-606) says, “What we have here, therefore, is not a literal foraging in the wilderness, but a metaphorical depiction of the hard work required to earn an inadequate living as a farm laborer: it is no better, the poet says, than scavenging for roots in the steppe.”

The question is how far the metaphor extends. Does the mapping end in 24:5 or does it extend into vv. 6-8? The text continues to interweave human features with features that are primarily associated with animal life. Many commentators view this text as a literal description of poverty, so that these people scavenge about in the wilderness for food and spend the night naked without shelter from the rain (Delitzsch 1949, 2:21-22; Fohrer 1963, 372-373; Tur-Sinai 1967, 360; Gordis 1978, 265;). Clines (2006, 605-606) acknowledges that this is not a very

²⁶² Fohrer (1963, 372) takes טָרָף as a reference to “animal-like” food which is not meant for humans, but he understands the scavenging to be a literal action of poor, working class steppe dwellers.

realistic depiction of poverty, but he does not see the metaphor extending beyond v. 5 and takes vv. 6-8 as a depiction of severe poverty. In support of this, he translates צוֹר in v. 8 as “rocky country,” interpreting it as an indicator that the poor are cave dwellers. In my view, these literal readings are wrongheaded. The passage makes much better sense if we understand all of vv. 5-8 in light of the source domain WILD DONKEY. The topic of the text is disadvantaged and socially marginalized people, and some of the lexemes refer literally to the target POOR PEOPLE, but we should recognize that in reality the poor were impoverished people who still participated on the fringes of human society; therefore, the details of desert existence make more sense as extensions of the WILD DONKEY source domain. The conceptual metaphor POOR PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS serves to emphasize the marginalization and destitution of the poor.

The case for this metaphor extension hangs on certain lexemes and images fitting animal life better than human life. Besides the aforementioned טָרַף, v. 6a depicts the poor harvesting their “fodder” (בָּלִיל) in the field, which is a lexeme that signifies food for animals (oxen and male domestic donkeys) in its other biblical occurrences (Isa 30:24; Job 6:5).²⁶³ Isaiah 30:24 imagines a day when Israel’s livestock will graze on seasoned fodder that is winnowed, implying that not all fodder is prepared as such a fine way. The lexeme in Job 24:6 does not explicitly signify WILD DONKEY, but it very likely activates the image of an animal grazing.²⁶⁴ Wild

²⁶³ See also Judg 19:21, where a man “mixes fodder for” (בָּלִיל) donkeys (חֲמֹרִים).

²⁶⁴ Gordis (1978, 265-66) and Clines (2006, 584) emend בָּלִיל to בָּלִילֹו (“not their own”) on the basis of the versions (OG, Pesh, Vg, and Targ), the parallel with v. 6b, and on the unrealistic depiction of humans eating animal food, not seeing the image as metaphorical. בָּלִי does not otherwise occur before the *lamed* preposition, but this reading is possible. Nevertheless, the difficulty with the image of people eating animal food is resolved simply by taking it as a part of the animal metaphor. I agree with Habel’s (1985, 354) suggestion that “if the metaphor of the destitute as wild asses persists from v. 5, the ellipsis involved in gathering fodder may be deliberate.” See also Newsom (1996, 510) who says, “The use of the word ‘fodder,’ however, provides a link with the animal imagery of 24:5 and suggests that the two verses be interpreted in

donkeys eat many foods that humans find indigestible. They survive off of the native plants of the desert including grasses, bushes, and even bark (Clutton-Brock 1992, 20). They also roam a large territory on account of their need to find enough food. The harvest of v. 6 is in a field, signified by שָׂדֵה, a common lexeme which occasionally indicates a cultivated plot of land (Lev 19:9; 23:22; 25:4; Deut 24:19; Qoh 5:8; Ruth 2:2, 8) but more regularly a large open field or pasturage. The other occurrences of שָׂדֵה in the book of Job explicitly associate it with uncultivated land and wild animals (5:23; 39:15; 40:20). In the case of Job 24:6, both identifications are possible. On the one hand, the field is harvested, which implies crops of some sort. The parallel with “vineyard” (כֶּרֶם) in v. 6b also intimates a space of planned growth. On the other hand, open fields are common spaces for animals grazing on fodder or wild grasses.

Verse 6b describes the subjects grabbing or gleaning (לִקְשׁוֹ) fruit from the vineyard of the wicked. The verse is similar to Job 5:5, “One who is hungry consumes his (the fool’s) harvest and takes it from the thorns” (אֲשֶׁר קָצִירוֹ רָעַב יֹאכַל וְאֶל-מִצְנִים יִקְחֶהוּ). The image in 24:6b is most likely that of impoverished people taking fruit from vineyards, but if the concept of WILD DONKEY persists, the text means for the reader to activate POOR PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS so that the poor are depicted as animals grazing in the vineyards that are otherwise intended for human consumption.²⁶⁵ In Exod 22:4, fields and vineyards are mentioned together as potential spaces for animal grazing. The image in Job 24:6 may therefore be of wild animals eating the

light of each other. The fields and the vineyards where the poor scavenge are like the sparse vegetation of the wasteland.”

²⁶⁵ If it is significant that the vineyards belong to the wicked, it is because the wicked are the ones who pushed the needy off the road in the first place (v. 4), and now the poor are gleaned or perhaps secretly taking from the wicked. The oppression of the wicked has forced the poor to become utterly dependent.

uncultivated grasses of the field.²⁶⁶ While signifiers of HUMAN ACTIVITY persist, the intermingling of ANIMAL ACTIVITY lexemes and images continues the metaphorical portrayal of impoverished people as wild donkeys.

The conceptual metaphor remains present through vv. 7-8 where the destitution of the poor is expressed with the image of spending the night naked and exposed in the cold and rain, embracing the rocks for shelter. Homelessness and lack of clothing were certainly realities of poverty in ancient Israel (Isa 58:7), and nakedness and hunger are both part of the plight of the poor in Job 24:10, so there is no reason to doubt these aspects of the portrayal in vv. 7-8. It is again the description of habitat that accords better with the life of wild donkeys than with that of poor people. Verse 8 portrays the poor spending the night soaked in the mountain rains and clinging to the rocks for shelter. Evidently, the rocks are inadequate cover if they do not keep them from becoming soaked. When poverty is otherwise described or commented on in biblical texts, the poor are not desert dwellers but participate in human society, even if it is as beggars (Hoppe 2004, 8-12). For this reason and in light of the explicitly expressed POOR PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS metaphor in v. 5, it is best to take vv. 6-8 as an extension of the wild donkey imagery. By nature, wild donkeys live without clothes and dwell among the rocks exposed to the elements. They have no choice but to allow the rain to soak them.²⁶⁷ As an Attic proverb that plays on the seemingly fatalistic attitude of the donkey says, “The donkey lets the rain soak him”

²⁶⁶ Israelite farmers, whether growing crops or raising livestock, would have competed with wild animals like the wild donkey for the use of the land. Even today, the wild horse population in the western United States poses an economic threat to cattle ranchers because the land cannot sustain the cattle and the heavy grazing of the wild horses (Philipps 2014).

²⁶⁷ In reality, wild donkeys thrive in dry climates because their fur is not waterproof and rain can cause sickness (Wesselow 1997, 243), but when it does rain they have no protection from it except the shrubs and rocks of the steppe.

(Ehrenberg 1951, 77).

The description in Job 24:4-8 blends elements from WILD DONKEY with POOR PEOPLE with the result that poor farm laborers are portrayed as exceedingly marginalized people. Job's metaphorical picture of poverty works because of the mappings between WILD DONKEY and POOR PEOPLE, both of them being concepts associated with marginalization and destitution. In this context, Job exhibits sympathy for the poor as those whom the wicked oppress. Since WILD DONKEY is Job's source domain, he simply assumes certain features of donkey life without demonstrating any positive or negative judgment about them. However, the mapping between POOR PEOPLE and WILD DONKEY receives an implicitly negative assessment. The rhetorical point of the metaphor is that people should not be forced to live like wild donkeys, animals that naturally and instinctually live as marginalized creatures. Of course, as Yahweh will point out in the speech from the whirlwind, they are only marginalized or destitute in the human centered perspective of Job.

4.4.1.3 – Job 30:1-8

A third text that appropriates the source WILD DONKEY to describe the status of the target PEOPLE is Job 30:1-8. Rather than projecting animal features onto POOR PEOPLE as in 24:4-8, in this text Job describes people who mock him and laugh at his suffering. The mockers are not necessarily monetarily impoverished, but they are likened to very destitute creatures. The real issue in this text is social status. Job imagines his mockers as desert creatures that lack any rightful place in human society. They are metaphorically driven out from civilization to live the life of desert animals.

וְעַתָּה שֶׁחָקוּ עָלַי צְעִירִים מִמֶּנִּי לְיָמִים	1 But now they mock me, the ones younger than me,
אֲשֶׁר־מָאַסְתִּי אֲבוֹתָם לְשִׁית עִם־כְּלָבֵי צֹאנִי	whose fathers I refused to set with my sheepdogs.
גַּם־כֹּחַ יְדֵיהֶם לָמָּה לִּי	2 Yes, the strength of their hands, what is it to me? ²⁶⁸
עָלִימוּ אֲבָד כָּלָה	Vigor has perished from them.
בָּחֶסֶר וּבְכַפֹּן גִּלְמוּד הָעֵרְקִים צִיָּה	3 In want and barren hunger, they gnaw dry ground, ²⁶⁹
אֶמֶשׁ שׁוֹאָה וּמִשְׁאָה	by night, a waste and desolate land. ²⁷⁰
הַקֹּטְפִים מְלוּחַ עֲלֵי־שִׁיחַ	4 They pick the orach on the bush, ²⁷¹
וְשָׂרֵשׁ רְתֵמִים לֶחֶמָם	and the root of the broom bush is their food.

²⁶⁸ גַּם is a marker of focus for the entire clause when it precedes the suspended item in cases of *casus pendens* (Van der Merwe 1990, 200-201). See Ceresko 1980, 44-45, for this translation.

²⁶⁹ Some take הָעֵרְקִים as “the ones who flee” (Tur-Sinai 1967, 420; Gordis 1978, 330; Habel 1985, 413), partially on the basis of LXX οἱ φεύγοντες. With the Vulgate, Fohrer (1963, 411), Dhorme (1967, 431), and Clines (2006, 945), I take it as cognate with Arabic *‘araqa* (“gnaw”). This fits best with the topic of hunger and food in vv. 3-4.

²⁷⁰ אֶמֶשׁ, “yesterday” or “last night” in Gen 19:34; 31:29, 42; 2 Kgs 9:26, is difficult to make sense of here. See Clines 2006, 945, for possible emendations, none of which clarify matters sufficiently. LXX must read אֶמֶשׁ, translating with ἐχθὲς, “yesterday.” With Pope (1965, 193), Tur-Sinai (1967, 420-421), and Habel (1985, 415), I take v. 3b as a continuation of the verbal action of v. 3a, so that אֶמֶשׁ functions as an adverbial accusative to the previous act of “gnawing” (הָעֵרְקִים), as it also functions in the Genesis texts. I agree with Clines (2006, 945) that “it is hard to see why this activity should be specifically at night” if it refers to *people* foraging the desert at night for food. But this scene makes good sense as a metaphorical image of desert *animals* like wild donkeys or jackals, which feed nocturnally or in the pre-dawn morning hours.

²⁷¹ The exact identification of מְלוּחַ, often translated “mallow,” is difficult to ascertain beyond it being a salty shrub from the *Atriplex* family. For the translation “orach,” see Dhorme 1967, 432-433; Delitzsch 1949, 2:141; Felix 1981, 254; and Zohary 1982, 145. מְלוּחַ is properly a shrub on its own, but its salty leaves may be the object of plucking since they are “on the bush.” Alternatively, some take עֲלֵי־שִׁיחַ as “leaves of the bush” (Tur-Sinai 1967, 421), thus, “they pluck the orach, the leaves of the bush.” In either case, the produce of the plant is the focus, not the plant itself.

מִן־גּוֹ יִגְרֹשׁוּ	5 They are driven from society.
יִרְעוּ עֲלֵימֹו כַּגִּנֵּב	Others shout after them as (after) the thief.
בְּעֲרוּץ נְחָלִים לְשָׁכֶן	6 They dwell on the slopes of wadis, ²⁷²
חֲרֵי עֶפְר וְכָפִים	in holes in the dirt and the rocks.
בֵּין־שִׁיחִים יִנְהָקוּ	7 Among the bushes they bray.
תַּחַת תְּרוּל יִסְפְּחוּ	Under the nettles they are gathered together.
בְּנִי־נָכַל גַּם־בְּנֵי כְּלִי־שֵׁם	8 Low-lives and no-names ²⁷³
נִכְאוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ	are scourged from the land. ²⁷⁴

Commenting on these verses from Job's final speech with seeming exasperation, Good (1990, 305) claims, "It is not possible to arrive at a single meaning of verses 1-8. The text has gone kaleidoscopic again, opening up several possibilities, not all of which cohere logically with

²⁷² I am taking עֲרוּץ as cognate with Arabic *ard*, "wall" (HALOT 2:883). Alternatively, it may be an adjectival form of the Hebrew root *rs* meaning "dreadful" (BDB 792; Ceresko 1980, 53-54). Still, I agree with Clines (2006, 947) that "the introduction of an emotive term here, in the midst of rather objective description, is not likely."

²⁷³ נָכַל signifies a kind of fool, but does not necessarily imply stupidity. It is a label of social disdain, sometimes associated with marginalization or poverty (2 Sam 3:33; Jer 17:11), although not always (Isa 32:5; Prov 30:32). Fox (2009, 627-628) translates it as "scoundrel" in Prov 17:7, 21. Roth (1960, 402-403) argues that the basic meaning of נָכַל is "outcast," largely based on Job 30:8, which he considers one of the earliest occurrences of the word and interprets in light of Bedouin life. But this meaning does not fit all of the occurrences. Gerleman (1974, 151-152, 156) considers נָכַל a signifier of a vain, stingy, and generally "good for nothing person" (*Taugenicht*). For Gerleman, the negative connotations associated with a נָכַל add up to make this kind of fool "less than human" (*Nicht-Geber*) in a derogatory sense. I translate בְּנִי־נָכַל with "low-lives" in Job 30:8, because it conveys this disparaging notion and corresponds well with the theme of status in this particular text.

²⁷⁴ נִכְאוּ, *niphal* of נָכַה, is an Aramaic by-form of נָכַה (HALOT 2:697; BDB 644), which entails striking or scourging. If Good (1990, 129) is correct in specifying the implement in his translation as "whipped out," it adds to the image of driving out unwanted animals.

others.” While I do not agree with Good’s reading of multiple meanings, he aptly expresses the difficulties that this text presents.²⁷⁵ Commentators puzzle over 30:1-8 on account of the apparent discontinuity between the disparaging tone of vv. 2-8 and other texts that convey Job’s sympathy for the poor (Job 24:1-12; 29:12-17; 30:24-25; 31:16-22). For this reason, some elect to omit vv. 1-8 as a later interpolation (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:251; Fohrer 1963, 411) or move it to a more fitting location (Moffatt 1950, 588, 592). With seeming unanimity, commentators interpret this text as being about extremely impoverished people who live in the desert (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:251; Fohrer 1963, 417; Gordis 1978, 541; Habel 1985, 418-419; Newsom 1996, 544-545; Clines 2006, 997). The corresponding claim is then, as Newsom (1996, 544) says, “What makes these people so contemptible is their abject poverty.” However, if one takes the text as an extended animal metaphor, human poverty is not the issue or the image. In my view, rather than projecting animal features onto the concept POOR PEOPLE as Job does in 24:4-8, in 30:1-8 he describes people who mock him and laugh at his suffering. The mockers are Job’s target, metaphorically likened to desert animals that are driven out from civilization in order to illustrate the real issue in this text – social status.

Some recognize the animal imagery, but still maintain the view that vv. 3-7 is a literal description of human poverty. For example, Habel (1985, 418-419) writes that Job’s mockers “hid in caves (v. 6) and made animal sounds like donkeys braying (v. 7). . . . [They are] so base and bestial that society refuses to tolerate their presence and forces them to forage like animals in the wastelands.” At the same time, he argues that this is a real “class of outcasts who lived like

²⁷⁵ Good’s quote continues: “If the reader, weary of contradictions and complexities, cries out in frustration, ‘Just tell me what it means!’ I can say only that what the Book of Job means is often confusing and almost always multiple. If it were not so, Job would not be the exhilarating book it is. Yet exhilaration always verges on hyperventilation.”

wild beasts in the desert scrub and wilderness caves” (419). Janzen (1985, 205) says, “They are left to forage like animals in the wild regions of the land (vv. 3-4, 6-7).” Similarly, Felix (1981, 253) says of Job, “His attitude towards them was as towards evil beasts who are driven out of the precincts of human and even animal habitation.” Newsom (1996, 545) also seems to recognize the rhetorical function of the animal metaphor, as she says:

The fact that they live in the scrubland, outside the normal place for human beings, makes it easy to compare them with the wild animals whose land they share, as Job implicitly does by referring to their ‘braying’ among the bushes (v. 7), a term elsewhere used of the wild ass (6:5). In such subtle symbolic ways these marginal figures are dehumanized.

But the metaphor works without these people actually living in the wilderness if one correlates the wilderness habitat with animal life.²⁷⁶ Yes, the metaphor certainly serves to “dehumanize” Job’s mockers, but it seems to me that the literal interpretation, wherein Job’s mockers actually live in the wilderness, misses the source and the target.²⁷⁷ More specifically, they profile the concepts of wild living (DESERT FOOD and DESERT HABITATS) on the base PEOPLE instead of DESERT ANIMALS. The images of destitution make more sense as part of the conceptual world of DESERT ANIMALS than they do as components from the life of Job’s mockers.

In light of Job’s claim to be charitable and his sympathetic description of the poor in his other speeches, it makes little sense for 30:1-8 to be a portrayal of his disgust and scorn for poor people. The text itself makes it clear that Job’s target is the people who make fun of him. Job evokes the conceptual metaphor JOB’S MOCKERS ARE DESERT ANIMALS, projecting features of the

²⁷⁶ The only scholarly interpretation of 30:1-8 that seems to recognize the full metaphor is two sentences from Schifferdecker (2008, 71): “These disreputable people are described in terms usually reserved for wild animals. They ‘wander’ or ‘gnaw at’ (העריקים) the desolate ground (שאה); they live in holes and among rocks; they ‘bray’ (נהק) like donkeys.” Beyond the phrase “in terms,” Schifferdecker does not explain the passage as metaphorical.

²⁷⁷ For further recognition of animal imagery in Job 30:1-8, see Delitzsch 1949, 2:145; Roth 1960, 403-404; Tur-Sinai 1967, 421, 423; and Good 1990, 305.

source domain DESERT ANIMALS onto the target JOB'S MOCKERS to portray these people as desperate scavengers who are despised by civilization. It is not that Job's mockers actually live in holes of dirt, survive off of broom root, or make braying sounds among the desert weeds, but that the author excessively makes a simple point that these low-life mockers are completely unfit for human society. The text makes best sense as a collage of desert animal projections. I include it here because it activates WILD DONKEY, but I will argue that other wild animal concepts (WILD DOG or JACKAL) are also evoked.

Job introduces his mockers in v. 1 as those who are younger than him, whose fathers he refuses to place among his sheepdogs. In chapter 29, he recalls a time when young men, elders, nobles, and officials kept silent before him as they recognized his authority and wisdom (29:8-10), a time when they listened to him and depended on his life-giving counsel (29:21-23). The “but now” of 30:1 marks their complete turnaround in light of Job's suffering. Formerly, the young ones were silent before him, but now they vocally make fun of him. In 30:9-11, the mockers are anything but silent, singing taunts and “casting off the bridle” (וַיִּרְסֹן מִפְּנֵי שְׁלָחוֹ) in Job's presence (see §4.4.1.4). They are wild asses or feral horses that lack restraint.

The fathers of the mockers also receive harsh judgment from Job in 30:1, as he claims that he would not set them with his sheepdogs. The fathers here are meant to be an extension of the mockers themselves, insofar as they share the same despicable character (Newsom 1996, 544). Dogs are a common object of disdain in biblical texts, and the PEOPLE ARE DOGS metaphor always serves to highlight negative features of people (see 1 Sam 17:43; 2 Sam 3:8; 9:8; 16:9; 2 Kgs 8:13; Isa 56:10-11; Pss 22:16; 59:7; Prov 26:11).²⁷⁸ Since the people in Job 30:1 are lower

²⁷⁸ These verses all lexically signify DOG with כָּלֵב and most refer to “pariah” dogs. According to Wapnish and Hesse (1993, 73-74), archaeological records show that unmanaged dogs were common in the ancient Near East. Von Soden (1994, 91) claims that dogs roamed freely in

than sheepdogs, the comparison is certainly a severe insult. Job's sheepdogs are lowly, but they faithfully serve him; conversely, the mockers are even lower because they torment him. If they are to be imagined as dogs themselves, they are unmanaged or wild dogs. While it makes good sense in my view to interpret Job's insult metaphorically so that the mockers are like wild dogs unfit for service among Job's flocks, this verse alone does not necessarily activate the conceptual metaphor JOB'S MOCKERS ARE WILD DOGS, since the source WILD DOG is not signified lexically. A more secure case for the wild animal metaphor may be made in vv. 3-8.

Job's complaint is about the lack of help that the mockers are able to offer him (v. 2). Their cowardly and ineffectual nature maps with the desperation and uselessness of desert animals, so that the metaphor highlights their characterization as low-lives and no-names (v. 8). Like desert animals, the mockers are only out for themselves and contribute nothing to human society, and certainly nothing to Job's cause; thus, they are objects of scorn.

Job begins the desert animal imagery in v. 3a, where he claims that the mockers are desperately hungry creatures that gnaw the parched ground (הַעֲרִיקִים צִיָּה). It is unbelievable that people would be so destitute that they would put their mouths directly to the dry ground to eat; however, this is what desert animals, like the Asiatic wild ass, appear to do regularly as they feed on low lying grasses, roots, and ground covers (Fig. 4.1). Asiatic wild donkeys are herbivores that feed on a variety of desert grasses, shrubs, and roots. They chew repeatedly to break down these fibrous foods (Taylor 1997, 94).

ancient Near Eastern cities, although most had a master who cared for them. Their presence in urban environments is referenced in several biblical texts (1 Kgs 14:11; 16:4; 21:23; 22:38; Ps 59:7, 15). Wolves (זָב), foxes (שׁוּפָל), and jackals (תַּן) also have negative connotations as inhabitants of the desert. On the prevalence of domestic dogs in ancient Israel, see Borowski (1998, 135, 147).



Fig. 4.1. Wildscreen Arkive 2014.

Wild donkeys typically rest during the hottest part of the day and are active from dusk to dawn (French 1997, 128). As noted above (n. 270), this behavior correlates with the image in v. 3b of grazing “by night” (אָמֶשׁ). The description of the habitat as “a waste and desolate land” (שׁוֹמֵמָה וּמִשְׁאָה), paralleling “dry ground” (צִיָּה) of v. 3a, also appears in the divine speech as part of Yahweh’s claim to care for the desert (38:26-27). God says that he sends rain on the desert where no person lives (מִדְבָּר לֹא־אָדָם בּוֹ) and satisfies the שְׁמֵהּ וּמִשְׁאָה by making grass sprout there. Yahweh’s claim is that he cares for natural spaces that are void of human activity. In 30:3, therefore, it makes much more sense as a depiction of a habitat for the wild donkey and other desert animals than for people who mock Job.

Verse 4 continues the signification of ANIMAL FOOD. The creatures in view are said to feed on orach from the bush and the root of the broom. The מַלּוּחַ is a salty leafed shrub, probably *atriplex halimus*, which is commonly called saltwort (Moldenke and Moldenke 1952, 53) or orach (Zohary 1982, 145; see n. 271); the white broom (רְתֵם) is a tall shrub with fleshy pods that grows in the sandy desert soil of Israel (Felix 1981, 254; Zohary 1982, 144). The roots of the broom are inedible for people (Moldenke and Moldenke 1952, 202), so some eliminate the

possibility that this text refers to broom root as food (Kuhn 1989, 334).²⁷⁹ Instead, they either claim that the reference is to a different plant (Delitzch 1949, 2:142-143; Moldenke and Moldenke 1952, 202) or emend to מִנֵּי “to warm themselves” (Fohrer 1963, 411; Pope 1965, 193; Gordis 1978, 331; Clines 2006, 946). Since the latter option introduces a sudden shift in focus from food in vv. 3-4a to warmth in v. 4b, I think it is unlikely. Moreover, repointing is unnecessary if wild donkeys are in view instead of people. The Asiatic wild donkey feeds on thistle, pea shrubs, and the bark of saxaul (Moehlman, Shah, and Feh 2008), a plant which is very similar to broom bush in appearance and biological function (Zohary 1982, 149). According to Ward et al. (1999, 580), wild donkeys in the Negev give the appearance of eating the fibrous roots of the broom bush as they feed on their pea pods and their young shoots, which are close to the ground and connected to the roots. They are generalist feeders that process large quantities of low quality forage (Ward et al. 1999, 579-580). Asiatic wild asses “have been observed eating seed pods . . . using their hooves to break up woody vegetation to obtain more succulent forbs growing at the base of the woody plants” (Moehlman, Shah, and Feh 2008). So while it is unreasonable to envisage people, no matter how desperate, foraging the desert ground to feed on roots of broom, it is sensible to imagine wild donkeys in such a scenario.

The identity of the subjects of v. 5 is ambiguous. The verse claims that the subjects are “driven from society” (מִן־גֵּוֹ יִגְרָשׁוּ) and shouted after as thieves, which may remind the reader of

²⁷⁹ Yamaga (1984, 25-26) addresses this issue and concludes that broom root was the envisioned food for Job’s mockers because of its symbolically nauseating status. In his view, it is simply part of Job’s rhetorical argument to convey the desperation of his enemies. He argues that Job 30:2-8 is “not an objective report on the way of life of concrete fugitives, but is a rhetorical expression which exaggerates someone’s wretchedness” (22-23). I fully agree that this text is not meant to be a historically accurate picture of Job’s mockers, but it makes more sense in my view to understand the detailed description of their life circumstances in light of metaphor rather than hyperbole.

the character of the target, namely, Job's disreputable mockers who are unfit for community. However, from the little we can gather about the meaning of *אֵל* (a *hapax legomenon*), it puts focus on the grouping itself, not the identity of the community.²⁸⁰ The emphasis of v. 5 is the marginalization of undesirables. While *אֵל אֶת־אֲשֵׁרֵי* is possibly a non-metaphorical depiction of how Job imagines society treating his mockers, the ambiguity of expression and the unspecified subject allows for the persistence of the DESERT ANIMAL metaphor. Desert animals would have also been driven away from the domestic sphere. If DESERT ANIMAL remains the signified concept, “as (after) the thief” (*כַּגֵּנִב*) may evoke a reversal of metaphor, ANIMALS ARE PEOPLE, so that the scavenger animals take on the character of despicable people.

When the subjects are driven out of human society, they come to dwell in the wadis, in holes of dirt and rock (v. 6). People might be imagined to live in rock caves but probably not in dirt holes. Wild donkeys do not live in holes either, so the metaphor must shift to another animal for its source imagery or at least broaden its scope to the more general conceptual domain of DESERT ANIMAL BEHAVIOR.²⁸¹ While the text does not clearly focus on a specific animal, some examples of desert animals exhibiting the behavior highlighted in v. 6 include the golden jackal and the fox. Jackals and foxes are both omnivorous scavengers that hunt at night and bed down in holes during the day (Borowski 1998, 203-204). Foxes (*שׁוּפָן*) are primarily associated with the desert and derelict places, but they are also known to be a nuisance for farmers as they cross over into human spaces (Song 2:15) or take residence in the ruins of fallen cities (Ezek 13:4; Lam

²⁸⁰ For comparative evidence for *אֵל* meaning “community” or “society,” see Dhorme 1967, 433; Gordis 1978, 331; and Clines 2006, 946; and *HALOT* 1:182.

²⁸¹ The Asiatic wild ass has been observed to dig a hole up to 60 cm in dry riverbeds to access water (Feh et al. 2002, 65), but this does not correlate with the image of animals living in holes in Job 30:6.

5:18). Nearly every biblical text that signifies jackals (נֶחֱ) highlights its desert habitat (Ps 44:20; Isa 35:7; 43:20; Jer 14:6; Mal 1:3), often with reference to ruined cities being overrun by desert flora and fauna (Isa 13:22; 34:13; Jer 9:10; 10:22; 49:33; 51:37). In spite of their usual desert habitat, jackals are known to transgress the borders of civilization at night and invade farmers' crops and livestock (Yom-Tov 1995, 19; Lanszki et al. 2009, 73). They might well be imagined as "thieves" (30:5) that farmers attempt to eradicate, perhaps coinciding with the image of "driving out" in 30:4. Like the fathers of Job's mockers, they would have certainly been unwelcome among Job's sheepdogs. If one of these scavenger canines is in view, a second animal metaphor is introduced, JOB'S MOCKERS ARE WILD DOGS. In 30:5-6, MOCKERS ARE WILD DOGS projects the desert dog's defining features as a nuisance and outcast onto Job's target, MOCKERS.

The subjects of Job's scorn are said to "bray among the bushes" in v. 7. This is the clearest signifier of animal life in vv. 3-8 and seems to activate the WILD DONKEY concept once again. "Braying" (נָהַק) only occurs here and in Job 6:5 in the Hebrew Bible. In 6:5, it signified the sound that a wild donkey (פָּרָא) makes when it hungers. נָהַק might conceptually activate a different animal. Just as "bark" in English is the sound of both the dog and the seal, so נָהַק may signify the sounds of multiple animals that make similar noises. Wild canines, especially jackals, are known for their high pitch wailing sound (Isa 13:22; Mic 1:8), so it is possible that they remain in view.²⁸² Still, it seems most likely that נָהַק activates WILD DONKEY since the few other

²⁸² Jeremiah 14:6 compares the wild donkey to the jackal since both demonstrate similar behavior in a time of drought. The verse says, "The wild donkeys stand on the barren heights; they pant for air like jackals. Their eyes fail because there is no vegetation." (וּפְרָאִים עֹמְדֵי עַל-שָׁפְיִים) (שָׁאֲפוּ רוּחַ כַּתְנִים כְּלוֹ עֵינֵיהֶם כִּי-אֵין עֵשֶׂב). The grouping suggests similar conceptualization of the various desert animals. They share the reputation of living off of the very limited produce of the desert. Jackals are predators, but are grouped with herbivores like the wild donkey because they

cases of the root in Northwest Semitic languages all signify the sound of the donkey.²⁸³

The salient feature WILD ANIMAL SOUND is important for the metaphorical mapping with MOCKERS, since those who taunt Job do so with laughter and song (30:1, 9). The vocalization of their ridicule is the only sign of their ignoble character. In the source domain WILD DONKEY, the braying may correspond with their hunger as in Job 6:5, but the verse does not make this connection clear.²⁸⁴ The important point made by the metaphorical expression is not the reason for the braying; it is rather that these people are wild and vocal.

The location of the braying is clearly the desert where there are bushes and “nettles” (תְּרִיל). תְּרִיל likely refers to a stinging prickly weed that grows to about 1 meter in height (Zohary 1982, 162). Small social creatures like the golden jackal or fox would indeed gather together under the nettles for grooming (Estes 1991, 399-400), but wild donkeys may be too big for such a space.²⁸⁵ In either case, the nettles would certainly not be a comfortable or natural place for

do not prey on people. The jackal and the wild donkey both symbolize desperation and marginalization.

²⁸³ The nominal form appears in *Kirta* (KTU 1.14 III 17) with reference to the sound of the domestic donkey: *l ql nhqt hmrh* (“for the noise of the braying of his donkey”). The verb also occurs in later Jewish sources all with reference to the braying of the donkey (Canticles Rabbah I.1, 9; Palestinian Talmud *Sheqalim* 48d(6); *Demai* 21d(62)).

²⁸⁴ Clines (2006, 1000) denies the animal metaphor in v. 7 and argues that the image is of desert people during sexual activity, saying, “lacking houses or privacy they groan or moan in sexual pleasure among bushes in the open air, and couple upon beds no more delicious than beds of nettles.” Fohrer (1963, 418) shares this view. But this is an outlandish image if nettles are prickly weeds. Furthermore, we have no evidence that donkey braying symbolized lust. There is also nothing else in Job 30:1-8 that signifies sexual activity. In reality, wild donkeys bray to signal possession of an area and to maintain contact with other group members (French 1997, 130). They do not bray during sexual activity or because of hunger. Clearly, the author of the book of Job conceptualized braying as related to hunger in 6:5. In any case, in 30:7, the point is not why they bray, but simply that they do.

²⁸⁵ תַּחַת may signify “among” instead of “under” in light of the parallel with בֵּין (Ceresko 1980, 55), although the meaning of the preposition also depends on what kind of creature is imagined

people to lie down under, since as Zohary (1982, 55) says, “The nettle is the only plant which irritates the skin so severely that it may cause inflammation.”

Admittedly, with the possible exception of נהק, there are no clear lexical signifiers of specific animals, but the multiple images of desert food, habitat, and behavior in 30:3-7 serve to activate the more general concept of DESERT ANIMAL. The particular animals that I have suggested, the wild donkey and wild dog, represent a category of desert animals that epitomize destitution, wildness, and marginalization.²⁸⁶ Combining features of various animals may strike one as imprecise, but shifting within metaphor clusters is typical (Kimmel 2010). Extended metaphor is often expressed without complete intentionality, inner-consistency, or exactitude, especially with regard to the source domain.²⁸⁷ As Kimmel (2010, 101) explains, “Two adjacent

in the scene. See Alderton 1994, 138-139; Ginsberg and Macdonald 1990, 12-13, for the social behavior of the golden jackal. Most wild dogs are pack animals and live in den communities.

²⁸⁶ The desert itself reflects these same characteristics, symbolically representing a lack of human control. It is the place “where no man is” (Job 38:26), the quintessential place of desolation, “a vast void of parched earth, with no streams or rivers to provide sustenance for plants and wildlife, except for a very few species” (Talmon 1966, 42-43). See Wyatt (1996, 75-81) for a general discussion of the desert on the symbolic map in West Semitic cosmology. In Ugaritic literature the desert is the edge of the world and is associated with the dangerous and depressed elements of the mythological stories. For example, Môt and other voraciously hungry deities are closely associated with the desert (KTU 1.6 ii 17-18; 1.23). Ba‘al dies in the desert on the shore of death, and El and Anat lament his death in the place where he is found (KTU 1.5 v 15-23). The desert is commonly contrasted with cities and cultivated spaces in the prophetic corpus of the Bible. In Isaiah 1-39 alone, this motif is found in Isa 5:17; 6:11; 14:17; 17:9; 17:9; 27:11; 30:23-25; 32:14; 34:8-15; and 37:26. Blenkinsopp (2001, 35-44), writing on this dynamic in Isaiah, argues for a typological scale from good fertile land (פְּרִמָּה) to evil wilderness (מִדְבָּר), with scrubland or forest (יַעַר) in between, noting that all three contrast with the image of the city.

²⁸⁷ Kimmel (2010) argues convincingly that metaphor binding, that is, the integration of several metaphors into a larger discourse, does not correspond to metaphor selection. Mixed metaphor “works” when the binding is external to the single clause. In other words, conceptual metaphors may shift as arguments progress and meaning planes switch from one clause to the next. Varying metaphors that are expressed in adjacent clauses occur regularly without appearing awkward or infelicitous.

metaphors may be taken to be conceptually coherent if they either share some source domain ontology, some target domain ontology, or both.” The multiple expressions may vary with respect to the specific signified animal, but they share a “cognitive root” in DESERT ANIMAL providing perceptible coherence to the metaphor cluster. Corts and Meyers (2002) find that cognitive roots represent topicality and express coherence within bursts of figurative language, including multiple variations of a more generic-level metaphor. The crucial point is not the identification of specific animals or even their particular behaviors, but the more general character of desert animals as wild and uncivilized.

One should not attempt to historicize the situation in Job 30:1-8. Those who make fun of Job may well be a figment of Job’s imagination and rhetoric (and more certainly the author’s). Nevertheless, Job portrays his mockers in a fashion that does not correspond with the realities of poverty in ancient Israel. Moreover, according to his own testimony, his mockers still participate in human society, even if he despises them as useless people. They must have at least been present in the imagination of Job to taunt him with laughter and song in his presence (30:9-13). For this reason, understanding the text as activating the conceptual metaphor JOB’S MOCKERS ARE WILD ANIMALS makes the most sense. It is not that the mockers are literally poor, but that they behave as uncivilized creatures and are, therefore, an undesirable part of human society.

Coherence

Job’s descriptions in Job 24:4-8 and 30:1-8 have much in common, including their expressions of the MARGINALIZED PEOPLE ARE DESERT ANIMALS. Both texts include the elaboration of DESERT ANIMALS with WILD DONKEYS and profile the salient features of FOOD, HABITAT, and BEHAVIOR on the base DESERT ANIMALS. The major point of departure is in the way

the texts elaborate the target MARGINALIZED PEOPLE. Job 24:4-8 elaborates it with POOR PEOPLE and depicts the life of impoverished people as that of wild scavenger donkeys. Job's portrayal of the poor evokes feelings of sympathy and pity. Job 30:1-8 elaborates MARGINALIZED PEOPLE with MOCKERS and projects DESERT ANIMAL features upon Job's opponents in order to portray them as uncivilized. This is a much more negative image, as Job seeks to shame those who make fun of him and advocate for their ostracism. DESERT ANIMAL therefore serves as a source for portraying MARGINALIZATION, whether the intended evocation is sympathy or scorn. The two metaphorical clusters cohere somewhat at the basic level because WILD DONKEY is a source for both, but since the target concepts, THE POOR and MOCKERS, are different at the basic level, the overall level of coherence is low. Job 30:1-8, therefore, should not be interpreted as a projection of conceptual coherence with Job 24:4-8.

4.4.1.4 – Job 30:11b

If the analysis above of 30:1-8 is correct, then 30:11b coheres well with the WILD DONKEY metaphor cluster. The image in v. 11b follows Job's continued account of how his mockers make fun of him, showing no restraint once they recognize that God has afflicted him.

וַיִּרְסוּ מִפְּנֵי שְׁלָחוֹ	11b They have cast off the bridle before me.
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The animal metaphor is activated via the lexeme רָסָן, which signifies a mechanism for restraining the jaw of a horse, mule, or donkey. According to Ps 32:9, the bridle restrains a horse from going its own direction. Likewise, in Job 30, having cast off the bridle, Job's mockers act like feral horses that shun the constraints of domestication. They show no self-control in speaking their harsh criticisms. Verses 9-10 identify the mouths of Job's mockers as the focus of

Job's criticism as they sing taunt songs (גִּיְנָה), speak of him as a by-word (לְמִלָּה), and even spit in his face (וּמִפִּי לֹא־תִשְׁכּוּ רֶק). Their lack of restraint corresponds to the "loosening" (פָּתַח) of v. 11a. Although God is not a named subject in this portion of Job's speech, the identity of the singular subject of v. 11a is probably God himself since the verb is singular. If so, God loosens either his own bowstring (*ketib*), which would cohere with God's abuse in 30:19 ("he throws me down to the mire"), or Job's tent cord (*qere*).²⁸⁸ Whatever the object of God's loosening, the result is the humiliation of Job (וַיִּעֲנֵי). The mockers parallel God's action with their "casting off" (שָׁלַח) the bridle in v. 11b. The metaphor in v. 11b charts the transition of the mockers from silent (bridled) respecters of Job to contemptuous scoundrels. Since the metaphorical expression does not indicate a particular kind of equine, the conceptual metaphor should be labeled as JOB'S MOCKERS ARE FERAL EQUINES. The corresponding conceptual metaphor is HUMAN RESTRAINT IN SPEECH IS A BRIDLE. The bridle is an appropriate metaphorical image because it constrains the mouth and the mockers use their mouths to ridicule Job as they laugh, taunt, and spit at him (30:1, 9-10).

²⁸⁸ The meaning of this line is convoluted. For a summary of the numerous interpretive suggestions, see Dhorme 1967, 436-437; and Clines 2006, 948-949, 1003. In my view, the *ketib*, God letting loose his own bowstring, makes the best sense in light of the general description of an attack upon Job. LXX supports this, although it has God opening "his quiver" (φარέτραν αὐτοῦ), perhaps attempting to portray the archery metaphor more clearly. A possible alternative to God being the subject is the mockers loosening Job's cord. Tur-Sinai (1967, 424) understands v. 11a as the introduction of the horse metaphor, explaining, "'they have loosed my cord', which was on them, – as on a horse in harness. Hence the sequel: *they have let loose the bridle before me*: By which I controlled them." This presents difficulties for understanding וַיִּעֲנֵי, so Tur-Sinai takes it as a noun + 1cs possessive pronoun (וַיִּעֲנֵי) meaning "my reins" and cites an Arabic parallel (‘*inân*). While ingenious, this interpretation strains exegetical reason and unnecessarily forces v. 11a into the metaphor of v. 11b.

4.4.2 – The DESERT ANIMAL Metaphors in Job 30:29

Job expresses his marginalization by counting himself among the jackals and the ostriches in Job 30:29. This is in the context of his lament and his description of his suffering.

אָח הָיִיתִי לַתְּנִינִים	29 I am a brother to jackals
וְרֵעַ לְכַנּוֹת יַעֲנָה	and a companion to the ostrich.

The jackal and the ostrich are commonly paired in the biblical corpus (Isa 34:13; 43:20; Mic 1:8; Lam 4:3). Besides being quintessential desert dwellers that live off of the skimpy desert vegetation and water, they share the feature of their distinctly loud cry (Borowski 1998, 204). In Isa 43:20, the jackal and ostrich give glory to Yahweh for the fructification of the wilderness. In Mic 1:8, the prophet suggests that he will make the sound of the jackal’s wailing and the ostrich’s mourning as an expression of lamentation. Lament is also part of the animal metaphor in Job 30:28-31. Job introduces the general scenario of lament and mistreatment in vv. 24-25, claiming that in the past he listened carefully to the cries and wept for the needy. In vv. 26-28, he contrasts this with the mistreatment that he now receives. Immediately before expressing the JOB IS A JACKAL/OSTRICH metaphors, Job describes one of his acts of lamentation as standing and crying out for help in the assembly (קָמָתִי בִקְהָל אֲשׁוּעַ). Then following the expression of ANIMAL, he speaks of his vocal “mourning” (אֶכְל) and “sound of weeping” (קוֹל בִּכּוֹם) in v. 31. Context determines the target features that map with the sources JACKAL and OSTRICH. In this case, the topics include Job’s marginal status and his mourning cry.²⁸⁹ The compilation of conceptual

²⁸⁹ Riede (2002, 124-125) suggests that in addition to the MOURNING SOUND conceptual feature, Job is like the desert animals in appearance as he describes himself in 30:30 with dark and dry skin, burned by the heat. He calls the Job of 30:30 *eine wandelnde Ruine* (“a walking ruin”), proposing a play on the “dryness” (חֲרִב) of Job’s body and the “desolation” of the desert habitat.

metaphors, therefore, includes PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, JOB IS A JACKAL, JOB IS AN OSTRICH, and JOB'S COMPLAINT IS A MOURNING SOUND OF A JACKAL/OSTRICH. Jackals and ostriches do not actually "cry out" because they are suffering or sad, but to communicate with other members of their respective communities about predators or to attract family members (Estes 1991, 401; Williams 2013, 44). Nevertheless, their sounds were evidently associated with lament, perhaps because they came from the desert, a place of danger and suffering. More likely it was simply because the sounds themselves echo for miles and are pitched so that they sound like human screaming (jackals) or low wailing (ostrich); thus, the animal sounds would have been familiar to humans living in near proximity to the wilderness (Alderton 1994, 136; Riede 2002, 124; Williams 2013, 44-45). Parmelee (1959, 203) vividly describes the mourning sound of a male ostrich, "As the voice of the cock ostrich is a loud, sepulchral cry sounding like the 'neighing of a horse, the below of a bull, and a shriek of savage laughter,' it is no wonder that these creatures suggested grief and woe."

Inasmuch as Job is a "brother" and a "companion" to these animals, he is categorized with them. The conceptual function of these lexemes is similar to that of the "like" in simile; they form a cognitive hedge (Stern 2000, 232). The other function of "brother" and "companion" is to draw attention to how his three supposed friends have become his detractors. True friends demonstrate compassion and loyalty by mourning with the sufferer rather than trying to argue with him (Habel 1977, 229-231). They take up the mourner's cry. In Job's view, his friends have failed in friendship. They have allowed him to be marginalized and dehumanized, and, as Habel (1977, 231) says, "Friendship means assuming a common humanity with a rejected human

While Riede's interpretation is somewhat fitting for Job's dramatic situation, I am skeptical of the double meaning of חֵרֵב.

being.” Job’s only true companions are the desert animals who cry out with him. His cries are ignored by his human friends, leading to further ostracism and causing him to further associate with the desert community of jackals and ostriches.

Coherence

Job’s metaphorical expression in 30:29 coheres with his description of his mockers in 30:1-8 via source domains. In 30:1-8, he imagines those who make fun of him to be desert animals that are cast out of human society. They are desperate and despised animals. Here in 30:29, he expresses his own status as an outcast, activating the conceptual metaphor *JOB IS A DESERT ANIMAL*. The close textual proximity suggests that his expression in v. 29 should be read in light of 30:1-8. The conceptual metaphors in the two passages cohere insofar as they share the source domain of *DESERT ANIMAL*. If I am correct about *WILD DOG* being a source for portions of 30:5-7, the metaphors cohere on a more specific category level, since 30:29 lexically signifies *JACKAL*. The rhetorical point of contrast is between the two target domains, *JOB* and *THE MOCKERS*. Job is receiving the treatment that only the no-names and low-lives ought to receive.

Job 30:29 also coheres with 6:5, where Job uses rhetorical questions involving the wild donkey and the ox to convey the justification for his lament (Riede 2002, 126, 132). Both of the texts activate, *HUMAN SOUNDS OF LAMENT ARE ANIMAL SOUNDS OF LAMENT*. While this is not a perceptible level of coherence given the textual space between the two sayings, it demonstrates Job’s repeated use of animal sounds and troubles to portray his own lament and suffering.

4.5 – BIRD Metaphors

Birds are a relatively infrequent image in the Joban dialogue. In the poem of Job 28, they appear twice as prototypical representatives of animals with keen eyesight that do not know the location of wisdom (vv. 7, 21). While these texts signify WISDOM IS A HIDDEN OBJECT, the birds themselves are non-metaphorical and are included simply to highlight the sense of sight.²⁹⁰

However, birds appear metaphorically in two other texts in the book of Job, both of which project conceptual features of BIRDS onto the target JOB’S LIFE SPAN.

4.5.1 – Job 9:26

Job 9:25-26 is part of Job’s accusation against God. Throughout the chapter, Job describes the unstoppable wrath of God and laments the unjust way that God shows his power. In these verses, Job laments that his shortened life span is a casualty of God’s anger.

וְיָמֵי קָלוּ מִנִּי־רָץ	25 My days are swifter than a runner.
בָּרָחוּ לֹא־רָאוּ טוֹבָה:	They flee away, they see no good.
חָלְפוּ עִם־אֲנִיּוֹת אֶבֶה	26 They pass by with reed boats
כְּנֹשֶׁר יָטוּשׁ עַל־אֶבֶל	like a vulture swoops upon prey.

²⁹⁰ LXX saw a bird reference in Job 5:7, ἀλλὰ ἄνθρωπος γεννᾶται κόπῳ νεοσσοὶ δὲ γυπὸς τὰ ὑψηλὰ πέτονται (“But man is born to trouble and the young of a vulture fly the heights.”). But the Hebrew וּבְנֵי־רֶשֶׁף יִגְבִּיהוּ עוֹף is more likely an image of either “flame” or “sparks” flying up (Fohrer 1963, 148-149) or the sons of Resheph, the god of pestilence, flying up from the underworld (Habel 1985, 132; Clines 1989, 142; Doak 2014, 125-127). Resheph is mentioned in the Phoenician inscription of Karatepe as *ršp šprm*, which may show some correlation with birds (KAI 26.A.II.10-11, 12), but more likely *šprm* is “he-goats” in Karatepe (Gibson 1982, 60). Seow (2013, 437-438) concludes that וּבְנֵי־רֶשֶׁף refers to pestilence itself or disease in the air, thus taking it as a demythologized version of the god’s main attribute. Dhorme (1967, 61-62) argues for the translation “sons of lightning” but as an allusion to eagles on the basis of the versions and the verb עוֹף, which no doubt induced the versions to translate רֶשֶׁף as γυπὸς in the first place.

The signifier of BIRD in v. 26 is *רָשָׁף*, a bird of prey, likely a vulture rather than an eagle (Borowski 1998, 150; Forti 2008, 30-31). The lexeme and corresponding concept BIRD OF PREY appear again in the divine speech (39:27-30), where the image is in fuller form. In 9:26b the salient feature is the vulture's speed. Vultures are known for their speed especially as they swoop to devour (Deut 28:49; 2 Sam 1:23; Jer 4:13; Hab 1:8; Lam 4:19). On its own, one might activate JOB IS PREY, so that his days devour him, but in the context of vv. 25-26a, where the parallel metaphorical sources are all things that move fast, SWIFTNESS OF JOB'S DAYS is the target. The concept PREY is therefore relatively superfluous to the metaphor and not a point of specific-level projection. It only serves to complete the image of a bird flying to a destination, which maps with the end point of Job's days. The full metaphor is THE SWIFTNESS OF JOB'S DAYS IS THE SPEED OF A VULTURE, or more specifically, THE TIME OF JOB'S DAYS IS THE TIME IT TAKES FOR A VULTURE TO FLY TO ITS PREY. Unlike most of the metaphors examined above, the target is something other than PEOPLE, which minimizes the level of coherence of Job 9:26b with other animal metaphors in the book of Job.

4.5.2 – *Job 29:18*

As Job recalls his glory days, when life was good and blessed, he illustrates the circumstances of his past with several metaphors (see §4.3.2.4), one of which expresses the multiplicity of his days. Job again uses the BIRD source domain to highlight a feature of the target JOB'S LIFE SPAN, although in this pre-suffering state he evokes his expectation of long and plentiful days.

וְאָמַר עִם־קִנִּי אָגָע	18 Then I thought, “I will die with my nest, ²⁹¹
וְכַחֲזוֹל אֶרְבֶּה יָמִים	and I will multiply my days like the phoenix.” ²⁹²

Job expresses his past hope as a wish to die with his “nest” (קֵן), thus activating the conceptual metaphors JOB IS A BIRD and JOB’S HOUSEHOLD IS A NEST, which incorporates the metonym BIRD’S NEST FOR BIRD’S FAMILY (see n. 291). As he recalls his anticipation of status and comfort in death, his hope is not that he would be in his house, but to be surrounded by his

²⁹¹ Clines (2006, 939) and Driver and Gray (1921, 1:249) translate עִם־קִנִּי as “with my nestlings.” This collective sense is possible in Deut 32:11, where קֵן parallels גִּזְלָל (“young bird”). There is very little difference in meaning between “nestlings” and “nest” if “nest” is taken as a metonym for the bird’s “family.” It is parallel to a person expressing “my house” when the meaning is “household.” This is how I understand קֵן to be functioning. Job looked forward to dying surrounded by his family and possessions. Barr (1991, 150-161) argues that קֵן should be taken in a few texts, including Job 29:18, as a non-metaphorical signifier of FAMILY. In his view, קֵן has two distinct literal meanings, “nest” and “home/family,” with two distinct “departments of sense” (155). He considers it “possible” that Semitic *q-n* originally meant “nest” and gained the sense “family” through metaphorical extension, but concludes that the reverse is the more likely historical progression, giving *q-n* the original meaning of “family, kin, brood” (160). In my view, the first possibility that Barr attempts to discount, that קֵן marks a conventional metaphor (BIRD NEST IS HUMAN FAMILY), best accounts for the multiple meanings. Moreover, since קֵן most frequently signifies BIRD’S NEST, including the one other occurrence in the book of Job (39:27), and occurs with “phoenix” (חֲזִיל), I think it more likely that the metaphor maintained a moderate degree of novelty in Job 29:18. There is a two-step cognitive process: first, the metonym NEST FOR BIRD FAMILY; second, the metaphor BIRD FAMILY IS HUMAN FAMILY.

²⁹² Scholars are divided on the interpretation of חֲזִיל as a bird lexeme. Some take it as the common signifier of SAND (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:249; Pope 1965, 189-190; Tur-Sinai 1967, 415; Barr 1991, 155-156). Those who argue for the translation, “like the phoenix,” cite the myth of the rejuvenating phoenix in Greek, Roman, and Egyptian writings (Heras 1949, 263-279; Delitzsch 1949, 2:127-132; Fohrer 1963, 410; Gordis 1978, 321-322; Habel 1985, 404; Clines 2006, 940). Some also point to a possible reference to the phoenix in Ugaritic (Dahood 1974, 85-88; Ceresko 1980, 22-26). The Talmud espouses the view that the immortality of the Phoenix is a reward for its good behavior on Noah’s ark (*b. Sanhedrin* 108b). See Niehoff 1996, 245-265, and Van den Broek 1972, for Rabbinic and early Christian expansions of the Phoenix myth. While the author of the book of Job may have been familiar with the tradition of the phoenix having a long life span, Job is not invoking the myth of the phoenix’s rebirth. In v. 18a, Job associates his hope with *dying* in a satisfactory manner, so he does not envision his own rebirth or immortality in this verse.

family and many possessions. It is the same fate that he sees the wicked receiving according to his complaint in 21:7-13. In 29:18b, Job elaborates the basic concept BIRD by signifying PHOENIX with the lexeme *חֹל*, thus elaborating JOB IS A BIRD with JOB IS A PHOENIX. The salient feature of the phoenix is LONG LIFE, so it is an appropriate expression of his former hope that his days would be numerous.

Coherence

Although both bird metaphors relate to the length of Job's expected life span, they are significantly different. The first metaphor, THE SWIFTNESS OF JOB'S DAYS IS THE SPEED OF A VULTURE, activates a single point of mapping between THE SPEED OF JOB'S DAYS and THE SPEED OF THE VULTURE, but since PEOPLE is not the target it lacks several points of additional mapping. For example, LENGTH OF JOB'S DAYS does not map with LENGTH OF A VULTURE'S DAYS, whereas the second metaphor is an elaboration of JOB IS A BIRD, which has multiple points of mapping allowing for possible metaphor extension. The expression elaborates the basic metaphor by specifying the type of bird (phoenix) and extends the metaphor by signifying NEST and DAYS. The PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor in 29:18 allows for multiple possible extensions, since the domains are both LIVING BEINGS. The two bird metaphors in Job do not cohere because the corresponding concepts do not have the same generic-level structures. The first metaphor is a mapping of two time spans (EVENTS) and the second metaphor is mapping between two living beings (ENTITIES).

4.6 – DOMESTIC ANIMALS

In the prologue, domestic animals serve as literal signs of Job's extreme wealth.

However, the interlocutors activate DOMESTIC ANIMAL very rarely in the dialogue. With the exception of the ox in Job 6:5 (§4.4.1.1), domestic animals only appear once metaphorically in the book of Job (21:11). There are two non-metaphorical significations of DOMESTIC ANIMAL, the first of which is combined with the case of PEOPLE ARE DOMESTIC ANIMALS just mentioned.

The first text containing DOMESTIC ANIMAL is Job 21:10-11. This occurs in the context of Job's complaint that wicked people (רשעים, 21:7) prosper.

שורו עֵבֶר וְלֹא יִגְעַל	10 [A wicked person's] ox breeds without fail.
תִּפְלֹט פָּרְתּוֹ וְלֹא תִשָּׁכַל	His cow delivers and does not miscarry.
יִשְׁלְחוּ כְצֹאן עֹוִילֵיהֶם	11 They send out their little children like a flock of sheep
וְיִלְדֵיהֶם יִרְקְדוּן	and their children skip about.

The first image of animal breeding is not metaphorical. The success of cattle breeding is one representative feature of the wicked person's wealth among others. The second feature in these verses is the children of the wicked, who play freely like sheep. Here, the PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS metaphor is elaborated as CHILDREN ARE SHEEP. The obvious lexical signifier of DOMESTIC ANIMAL is צֹאן. In light of the children being marked for plural, the image is of a flock of sheep going about freely in the field. They are sent out with no restraint. The action of skipping (יִרְקְדוּן) also reflects the ANIMAL domain. The verb רקד occurs eight other times and six of the occurrences signify the action of animals in the hills (calves in Ps 29:6; rams in Ps 114:4, 6; goats in Isa 13:21; and horses in Joel 2:5 and Nah 3:2). With this image metaphor, Job projects the physical image of sheep skipping with children playing, exhibiting both freedom and safety.

The second DOMESTIC ANIMAL text is Job 24:2-3, where Job illustrates the treachery of the wicked by recounting their actions toward the poor. They remove the boundary stone in order to deceitfully steal a neighbor's sheep (v. 2) and drive away an orphan's donkey and a widow's ox (v. 3). I mentioned this text above (§4.4.1.2) because it precedes a WILD DONKEY extended metaphor. The domestic animals are literal possessions in vv. 2-3. As in Job 21:10-11 and in the prologue, domestic animals appear as prized possessions under the control of their owners. They are exceedingly more valuable than any of the wild animals that appear regularly in the Joban dialogue. In spite of their high value, DOMESTIC ANIMAL is not a prominent source domain in the book of Job. It plays no significant part in the construction of arguments for any of the Joban interlocutors.

4.7 – Conclusion

In the course of this chapter, I have commented on similarities and dissimilarities between the multiple signified conceptual animal metaphors in the book of Job. Here I attempt to draw some conclusions about the nature of the Joban dialogue on the basis of these observations on metaphor coherence. There are three questions that I will attempt to address. First, do the interlocutors agree or disagree about conceptualization of the domain ANIMAL? Second, what are their points of agreement or disagreement in their conceptual mappings of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS? This includes their conceptual extensions and especially their elaborations. Third, how does this study of animal metaphor contribute to our view of progression in the dialogue? Although I will seek to make generalizations, the most meaningful metaphor coherence occurs at the basic level, so my comments focus on variation within basic-level animal concepts, such as LION and WILD DONKEY and their respective immediate domains, PREDATORY ANIMAL and DESERT ANIMAL. It

should be apparent that most of the expressions of PEOPLE ARE LIONS have very little to do with expressions of PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS since the metaphors only cohere on a more generic level, PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS.²⁹³

4.7.1 – *Agreement about ANIMAL*

In general, WILD ANIMAL serves as a source for mapping with PEOPLE when interlocutors wish to portray people negatively, whether the negative feature is VICIOUSNESS, POVERTY, or STUPIDITY. At the outset, we must limit the comparison of how interlocutors signify WILD ANIMAL to PREDATORY ANIMAL metaphors because Job is the only interlocutor to signify NON-PREDATORY ANIMAL – at least until Yahweh speaks. We have no basis for judging how the friends conceptualize WILD DONKEY or BIRD because they do not signify these conceptual domains in their speeches. This nonappearance is likely determined by the topics that the friends take up. They do not directly engage with Job on the subject of marginalization and do not respond to Job's DESERT ANIMAL expressions, most of which occur at the end of the dialogue.

As for the multiple significations of PREDATORY ANIMAL, the interlocutors largely agree in their characterizations and assumptions. Job and his friends agree that the lion and other predatory animals are vicious enemies of God. As I pointed out, Eliphaz (4:10-11) and Job (10:16) both assume the lion to be a symbolic enemy of God and associate its defeat with divine punishment. Their corresponding point of agreement is the use of PREDATORY ANIMAL as a source for mapping with WICKED PEOPLE along the schematic lines of the RETRIBUTION scenario (4:10-11; 29:17).

²⁹³ Although see the animal metaphors in 4:10-11 and 6:5 where the metaphors cohere insofar as they both express PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS and, more specifically, PEOPLE SOUNDS ARE ANIMAL SOUNDS.

4.7.2 – *Agreement and Disagreement about Elaborations of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS*

In cases where metaphors cohere conceptually on a basic level, the interlocutors often disagree with the way their counterparts elaborate the metaphor. For example, Job and Eliphaz agree with the mapping of predatory instincts in the metaphor WICKED PEOPLE ARE PREDATORY ANIMALS (4:10-11; 29:17), but Job refuses to elaborate the WICKED PEOPLE slot in this metaphor with JOB. Job denies filling in the MISDEED portion of the RETRIBUTION scenario that accompanies WICKED PEOPLE. At first, Eliphaz does not elaborate WICKED PEOPLE with JOB either (4:10-11), but by the end of the dialogue, he makes this elaboration clear (22:10). Surprisingly, Job also elaborates the PEOPLE slot in the PEOPLE ARE PREDATORY ANIMALS metaphor with JOB. In 10:16 and 13:14, Job depicts himself as a predatory animal. In the first text, it is to draw attention to his plight as he is treated as God's enemy; he is punished along the lines of RETRIBUTION in spite of not being wicked. Job self-identifies as the lion, not because he thinks he is wicked but because he feels as though God is treating him as such. In the second text, it is simply to highlight the risk he is taking by addressing God and has nothing to do with the RETRIBUTION scenario. Job adopts the ANIMAL features, but outside of the traditional schema of RETRIBUTION.

Another case of competing elaborations appears in the disagreement between Job and Bildad about filling in the slot PREDATOR when the metaphor extension includes JOB IS PREY. In 16:9, Job expresses GOD IS PREDATORY ANIMAL and JOB IS PREY. Bildad follows Job's speech with an accusation that includes a conflicting metaphor in 18:4, namely, JOB IS PREDATORY ANIMAL and JOB IS PREY. I have argued that this particular case is an example of perceptible metaphor questioning. Bildad's metaphorical expression directly challenges Job's construal and reveals a key difference in perspective. Job believes that God has directly caused his suffering

and portrays him as a vicious animal. Bildad responds by shifting agency to Job; he has brought this suffering upon himself.

A third example of metaphor competition is the various projections of HUNTING images. These texts are closely aligned with 16:9 and 18:4, as they also differ in the elaboration of the agency slot. First, Bildad illustrates the fate of the wicked in 18:7-10 with THE WICKED ARE WILD ANIMALS without filling the HUNTER slot. Bildad's construal shifts the agency to the animal or wicked person himself. Job responds in 19:6 by elaborating HUNTER with GOD (as he also does in 10:16), so that the agency shifts away from himself and onto God. Job again adopts the JOB IS WILD ANIMAL metaphor, but makes it clear that he is neither wicked nor culpable for his suffering. Eliphaz expresses the final HUNTING metaphor and, like Bildad, leaves the HUNTER slot unelaborated. Eliphaz strongly implies that Job's suffering or "trapping" is a consequence of his own sin in his expression of the metaphors PUNISHMENT FOR SIN IS A TRAP and JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL. All three interlocutors employ the basic-level metaphor JOB IS A TRAPPED WILD ANIMAL, although JOB is most clearly the target in the expressions of Job and Eliphaz. This metaphorical analysis reflects the dispute over the agent responsible for Job's suffering. Their disagreement gets at the heart of the dialogue and illuminates their main point of conflict that Job has either brought his suffering upon himself (the friends) or is the victim of God's unjust wrath (Job).

4.7.3 – *Progression in the Dialogue and Character Profiles*

While I have argued for cases of interlocutors occasionally alluding to earlier speeches and earlier metaphorical expressions, the multiple expressions of animal metaphor do not markedly clarify the issue of progression in the three speech cycles. Expressions of PREDATORY ANIMAL occur throughout the dialogue with no systematic transformations. One possible

exception to this is the cluster of HUNTING metaphors in chapters 18-22. In this case, Bildad's target is THE WICKED (18:7-10), but Job shifts it to himself (19:6), conceptualizing JOB as an innocent victim. Eliphaz also takes up JOB as the target by signifying JOB with the second person singular (סָבִיבוֹתֶיךָ פְּחִים, "traps surround you") and grouping Job with the wicked by listing his supposed sins in 22:5-9. Eliphaz makes explicit what Bildad implies by further elaborating WICKED PEOPLE with JOB, an elaboration that Job consistently opposes.

Zophar never employs an animal metaphor, and Bildad's animal metaphors are limited to chapter 18. If observable progression in the perspectives and topics of individual characters is apparent, it is in the expressions of Eliphaz and Job. Eliphaz signifies three ANIMAL metaphors, 4:10-11, 5:13, and 22:10. These expressions exemplify a general point about Eliphaz as the dialogue proceeds, namely, exasperation with Job and an increased condemnation of him. In 4:10-11 and 5:13, Eliphaz uses WILD ANIMAL metaphors that depict God as a just punisher of the wicked to give warning to Job, but, by 22:10, Eliphaz condemns him as wicked, no longer expressing hope for his recovery. My argument is not that the author intends for the reader to read 22:10 in comparison with 4:10-11, but that such a comparison demonstrates the general progression in the speeches of Eliphaz from encouragement and warning to condemnation. The changes in metaphorical mapping simply accompany this shift in perspective.

The vast majority of ANIMAL metaphors in the book of Job, including all of the NON-PREDATORY ANIMAL expressions, occur in Job's speeches. He self-identifies with various kinds of animals, most clearly with the desert animals in 30:29, but also in 3:24 (possibly); 6:5; 10:16; 13:14; 16:9; 19:6; and 29:18. The prevalence of the metaphor JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL is a consequence of three factors. First, the focus of the entire dialogue is Job and his suffering, thus making JOB the most common elaboration of PEOPLE. Second, Job argues that he is a victim of

God's wrath, so he identifies with other innocent beings that suffer predation as PREY. Third, Job is thoroughly marginalized, so when he describes his suffering and his current lowly social status he illustrates his plight with images of other marginalized beings, most specifically DESERT ANIMALS. All of these factors reflect how the source ANIMAL is constrained by the target domain JOB. The author of Job does not purposefully portray Job as someone especially interested in animals; rather, he is interested in himself, and the ANIMAL metaphors are a natural consequence of Job talking about himself as a terrorized and marginalized person. Even in Job's metaphors where the elaboration of PEOPLE is someone other than JOB, the ANIMAL source imagery is constrained by Job's view of his own situation, whether he is describing the plight of the poor in 24:4-8 (THE POOR ARE WILD DONKEYS), his own acts of justice in 29:17 (THE WICKED ARE PREDATORY ANIMALS, JOB IS A SHEPHERD), or the treachery of his mockers in 30:1-8 (JOB'S MOCKERS ARE DESERT ANIMALS). These three texts might demonstrate a shift away from Job expressing JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL in the later stage of the dialogue, but his return to it in 30:29 (JOB IS A JACKAL, JOB IS AN OSTRICH) makes such an interpretation unwarranted. There is therefore no observable change in the way Job uses the domain ANIMAL to portray his position.

Chapter 5 – Are Yahweh’s Animal Images Metaphorical?

וַיַּעַן־יְהוָה אֶת־אִיּוֹב מִן־הַסְּעָרָה

Yahweh answered Job from the windstorm.

הֲתִצּוּד לְלִבִּיא טָרֶף

Do you hunt prey for lions?

- Job 38:1, 39

5.1 – Introduction

Having demonstrated coherence in the Joban dialogue through the expressions of the conceptual domain ANIMAL and, more specifically, WILD ANIMAL, I now turn to the significations of ANIMAL in Yahweh’s speeches, particularly in Job 38:39-39:30. This text presents Job and the reader with images of the lion, the raven, the mountain goat, the deer, the wild donkey, the wild ox, the sandgrouse, the horse, the hawk, and the vulture. Yahweh describes the animals in terms of their defining characteristics, in part to show Job how little control he has over the animal kingdom. Consistent with the remainder of the divine speeches, Job’s concerns are addressed obliquely, via multiple scenes from the created world, from which Job is to draw inferences. The nature of the coherence, or lack thereof, between Yahweh’s significations of ANIMAL and the significations expressed in the dialogue promises to give insight into the issue of how Yahweh’s speeches respond to the dialogue. It is my contention that Yahweh’s animal images signify a subtle challenge to the metaphors expressed by the other interlocutors. However, rather than speaking new expressions of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, Yahweh questions Job by reframing WILD ANIMALS, calling into question his use of the domain as a source for mapping with destructive or pitiful people.

5.2 – Perspectives on Yahweh’s “Responses”

The multiple and widely disparate interpretations of Yahweh’s speeches and Job’s final response testify to the difficult and ambiguous nature of the text itself.²⁹⁴ On the one hand, the divine voice entails an authority that brings the dialogue to a close. On the other hand, the oblique nature of the speeches leaves the text open for a variety of readings, so that “Even if the power of the divine voice shuts down explicit dialogue within the book, its teasing resistance to understanding serves to increase the flow of dialogue in the interpretive process” (Newsom 2003a, 235). The message of the speeches incorporates more than the simple act of God’s arrival in the windstorm.²⁹⁵ As Brenner (1981, 131) says, “The contents are as important as the theophany itself.” It is clear enough that Yahweh’s speeches state that Job does not have divine abilities; he is emphatically not the creator and caretaker of the world. Even if Job’s speeches are an affront to God’s management of the world, he freely admits that God is more knowledgeable and powerful than he (9:4-10; 12:7-13). His dispute is directed toward questioning what God does with his power, and the images of Yahweh’s speech respond to this concern, however vaguely.²⁹⁶ The length of the speeches and the multiple images suggest that the meaning goes

²⁹⁴ For brief description of eight different interpretations of Yahweh’s speeches, see Perdue 1991, 197-198; and Schifferdecker 2008, 7-10.

²⁹⁵ Contra Ruprecht (1971, 231), who, while arguing at length for the identity of Behemoth as a mythical hippopotamus, concludes that God’s act of response is all that matters; the content of God’s speeches is unimportant for the message.

²⁹⁶ Tsevat (1966, 103) proposes that the rhetoric of Yahweh’s speeches intentionally veils the meaning so as to protect the book and reader from the radical doctrine of an amoral God who proclaims a lack of retribution in the world. While I disagree with Tsevat’s interpretation that the divine speeches present an amoral world, the rhetoric does militate against easy interpretation. Against the notion that the God of Job 38-41 is amoral, see Mettinger 1992, 47; and Fox 2013, 1-23.

beyond God's supremacy. God not only rebukes Job for darkening his counsel, he also shows him a correct understanding of divine design.

Scholars disagree about the tenor of Yahweh's rhetoric. Some argue that Yahweh refuses to answer Job and harshly shoves his authority in Job's face (Greenstein 1999, 301-313). Others detect sarcasm that comes off as contempt and insensitivity (Good 1990, 341, 344, 346). Curtis (1979, 497, 510) interprets Job's response in 42:6 as a rejection of Yahweh and depicts Job as implying, "A god so remote, so unfeeling, so unjust is worse than no god." Brueggemann (1997, 390) describes the divine speeches as "lordly, haughty, condescending, dismissive, reprimanding, [and] refusing to entertain Job's profound question." Schlobin (1992, 31) calls Yahweh a "monster" who shatters Job, relating God to the villain in the horror genre. Generally corresponding with the interpretation that God bullies Job is the view that God ignores Job's case. For example, Penchansky (1990, 48) calls God "insecure" and says, "He blusters and bullies Job, never effectively answering Job's questions."

Clines warns against the view that Yahweh is simply out to humiliate or bully Job, but still understands the speech as a disputation wherein Yahweh combats Job. He says, "We should, no doubt, hesitate in using our own standards of polite behavior as we listen in on this ancient disputation, but there is little denying that the tone of Yahweh's speech tends more toward the severe, if not the savage, than toward the gracious" (Clines 2011, 1088). Clines agrees with those who recognize Yahweh as the divine warrior in 38-41 (Mettinger 1992, 39-49; Crenshaw 1992, 83). Along these lines, Crenshaw (1992, 72) claims that Yahweh dismisses the previous debate between Job and friends "with a flick of the hand" and orders Job "to prepare for intellectual combat." He acknowledges a kind of response to Job's legal charges of divine injustice, insofar

as Yahweh defends the order of the world and his just governance, but calls the divine speeches “sublime irrelevance” because they do not address the issue of human suffering (76-77).

On the opposite interpretive pole are those who take Yahweh’s tenor as encouraging, educative, and joyous (Andersen 1976, 268-270), lovingly ironic (Terrien 1957, 235, 241), or spoken “with smiling benevolence” (Crook 1959, 142). Most scholars settle somewhere between God as a monster and God as a caregiver. Those who detect a more positive tone, tend to interpret the goal of the speeches as the restoration of Job. Habel (1992, 21, 25) contends that the divine speeches depict God as a sage in contrast to God as the warrior king. In his view, God challenges Job for pedagogical purposes, teaching explicitly about divine character and design, offering him a wise corrective (33-34).

Others share the view that Yahweh appears as a teacher but do not see a clear response to Job’s concerns in the divine message. Lévêque (1994, 217) argues that Yahweh responds to criticism about his design (תַּצְרֶהּ) and highlights his freedom to work a wisdom that is beyond Job’s capacity to know. As the keeper of wisdom, God knows and knows why. Yahweh’s message to Job, according to Lévêque, is that God is wise and that the apparent inconsistencies of his action do not diminish his faithfulness (222). In his view, the animal images are pedagogical means for expressing the paradoxes of God’s mastery of both the beneficial and useless aspects of creation. Fohrer (1963, 500) also emphasizes the sagacious character of Yahweh and the paradoxical aspect of his mysterious world, which in his view is a call for Job to trust in “personal communion” (*persönlichen Gemeinschaft*) with God. In a similar vein, Fox (2013) maintains that the self-presentation of God is as a “wise teacher” (3) who in the end does not address Job’s suffering except by demonstrating his divine power in creation and providence (21). Fox takes the parade of images as a straightforward depiction of divine care for the

diversely created world, so that God corrects Job's perspective on divine "design" but does not address Job's complaints.

Scholars tend to interpret the speeches' tenor in light of their own readerly expectations (Alonso-Schökel 1983, 45-46; Balentine 2006, 628-629); however, there are markers of tone and purpose within the speeches themselves. First, God appears in the windstorm (הַסְעָרָה) in 38:1, which signals power and the potential severity of the divine presence. God does not come to Job as a therapist, simply to console him. The windstorm is a force that God commands in Ps 148:8 and is associated with fire, hail, snow, and smoke. In Ps 107:25, God uses a windstorm to stir up the waves of the sea. In the majority of biblical occurrences, the windstorm is associated with God's wrath and his power to destroy enemies (Isa 29:6; 40:24; 41:16; Jer 23:19; 30:23; Ezek 13:11, 13; Zec 9:14). In Job 9:16-17, Job imagines God meeting him in a windstorm (הַסְעָרָה) to bruise him and multiply his wounds for no reason. So when God appears in the windstorm in chapter 38, Job's expectation must be that he will execute divine wrath upon him, but, perhaps surprisingly, he does not physically harm Job. Nevertheless, the storm image itself still signifies a serious tenor that fits rebuke better than encouragement.

The second internal clue to the tone and purpose of the divine speeches is the use of rhetorical questions. The repetition of these interrogatives is directed at Job's ability and knowledge about the created world. God asks "do you know?", "who has done?", "have you done?", or "where were you?". Some interpreters detect an oppressive sarcasm in these questions. For example, Good (1990, 375) alleges, "Yahweh has asked questions and has demanded instruction, sarcastically." However, Fox (1981, 58-60) argues persuasively that Yahweh's rhetorical questions are straightforwardly intended to elicit knowledge from Job and,

accordingly, make the speech less authoritarian.²⁹⁷ In Fox's view, Yahweh's questions serve to remind Job of what he already knows. This comes out in Fox's translation of *כִּי תִדְעַע* (38:5) as "for you know" (1981, 58) rather than as a taunt, "surely you know." Job knows about Yahweh's power to create and he knows that he is not able to do what Yahweh can. In the cases where the question asks not "do you know," but "are you able," the answer is not just "No, I cannot," but "No I cannot but you, Yahweh, can" (Fox 1981, 58; Rowold 1985, 201; Habel 1989, 529).²⁹⁸

In Fox's view, the rhetorical questions demonstrate that Yahweh and Job *share* knowledge, as if Yahweh is saying, "We both know that such and such is the case."²⁹⁹

Explicating the effect of rhetorical questions, Fox (1981, 58) observes,

The auditor becomes aware first of a body of knowledge he shares with the speaker and then of the fact that they share knowledge. Such questions thus bind speaker and auditor closer together while making the auditor accept the speaker's claims out of his own consciousness rather than having the information imposed on him from the outside.

There is, thus, a persuasive and recuperative function of the rhetorical questions from the windstorm, serving both to humble Job and to restore his knowledge of the goodness of God's world.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ See also Fox 2013, 13-14. On rhetorical questions in the Hebrew Bible, see Craig 2005; Moshavi 2009, 2015; and Hawley 2015. See Magary 2005 and Regt 1994 for interrogatives in the Joban dialogue. Although rhetorical questions do not anticipate a verbal response, they are not equivalent to simple assertions. All questions are openings that seek to be closed. The rhetorical aspect of a question relates to how it invites opening and imposes closure.

²⁹⁸ The first person of 38:4, "Where were you when *I* laid the foundations?" in the first rhetorical question indicates that Yahweh accomplishes the tasks about which Job is asked (see also 38:9, 23).

²⁹⁹ See also Regt (1994, 321-322) for the view that rhetorical questions imply that the audience already knows the answer.

³⁰⁰ The indicative statements that accompany the rhetorical questions in 38:39-39:30 support the interrogatives, providing additional information about animal behaviors. These descriptions do more than give zoological information; they highlight specific features of the animals that Job is

While I agree that rhetorical questions implore the hearer to discover the speaker's claims within their own minds, so that the hearer draws conclusions with seeming independence, it is not necessary for a hearer to fully share a speaker's perspectives on that body of knowledge prior to the question being asked. Even if Yahweh's questions assert shared knowledge, Job is genuinely taught something in the divine speeches and draws new conclusions on the basis of God's questions. More specifically, I am not convinced that Job already shares the divine perspective on Yahweh's design before he encounters him in the windstorm. In his own speeches where he describes that which God has created, he does not portray the world as God does; rather, he assumes a world in which God is a divine warrior doing battle against the forces of chaos. Even when he flips the *chaoskampf* motif so that God battles order, he imagines God as a warrior. He envisions a cosmos that reflects a reading of Psalm 8 in which humanity is at the center of God's oppressive attention (Job 7:17-19), aligning God's watch over him with his guard over the forces of chaos (7:12). He imagines that God acts with violence to defeat beasts of chaos (Job 9:8) as in Psalm 74, but Yahweh shows him that his design is actually more in line with Psalms 104 and 147, where God is depicted as one who cares for all living creatures, wild animals and humanity alike.³⁰¹ Moreover, after Yahweh speaks, Job confesses that he has learned

to consider. If there is a message for Job beyond Yahweh's superiority, then the features in the indicative statements must be salient.

³⁰¹ See Smith 2010, 11-37, for a comparison of the different models of creation in the Hebrew Bible. He identifies Pss 74:12-17 and 89:11-13 as texts exhibiting divine power over cosmic enemies and Psalm 104 and Job 38:1-11 as poems about creation via divine wisdom. Smith is right that both of these latter texts move away from the model of creation through conflict. Both texts also decentralize the place of humanity in creation, Job 38-41 more so than Psalm 104. Whereas Psalm 8 and Genesis 1 maintain humanity as the climax of creation, in Psalm 104 humanity harmoniously coincides with other creatures for their mutual benefit, and in Job 38-41 humanity is peripheral. See Schifferdecker 2006, 95-100, for further comparison of Genesis 1, Psalms 8, 104, and Job 38-41. On the dependence of Job 38-41 on Psalm 104, see Frevel 2013, 157-168. Frevel (2013, 159) argues that Psalm 104 is "a hypotext or subtext in Job based on the

a lesson, “I have declared what I did not understand, things too wonderful for me that I did not know” (42:3, *וְלֹא אָבִין נִפְלְאוֹת מִמֶּנִּי וְלֹא אָדַע*), recognizing that his prior mere “hearing” has now been exceeded by actually “seeing” God (*לִשְׁמַע־אֲזֹן שָׁמַעְתִּיךָ וְעַתָּה עֵינַי רָאִתְךָ*), signifying both his literal encounter with God and a metaphor of comprehension (SEEING IS UNDERSTANDING).

The third and best interpretive clue into Yahweh’s purpose is his first question, *מִי זֶה* (38:2). Yahweh’s problem with Job is that he “darkens design with words without knowledge.” Thus, the topic throughout the divine speeches is his *עֲצָה*, so that Job will gain knowledge, or at least shift his perspective on the basis of what he already knows. Job has obscured God’s plan and involvement in the world, as for example, in 12:13-25 where he proclaims God’s power to destroy and let figures of chaos have dominion. Specifically, in 12:22, he says, “He [God] uncovers the deeps from darkness and brings out deep darkness to the light.” (*מִגְלֶה עֲמֻקּוֹת מִיַּד־חֹשֶׁךְ וַיֵּצֵא לְאוֹר צִלְמוֹת*). Job acknowledges that *תְּבוּנָה*, *גְּבוּרָה*, *חֵכְמָה*, *עֲצָה*, and *תְּבוּנָה* are with God (12:13), but argues that God uses divine wisdom for destructive purposes. Yahweh rebukes Job in 38:2 for this portrayal of his governance and presents him with a barrage of creation images to teach him a better way of understanding. The tenor of Yahweh’s questions must

accumulation of implicit allusions, catchwords and structural parallels.” Newsom (2003a, 245) stresses the suppression of humanity in the divine speeches that sets it apart from Psalm 104. She even supposes that Psalm 104 may be “an intentional foil” for Job 38-41 because of its “explicit opposition between human and animal purposes” that “destabilizes the customary binary oppositions of order and the chaotic,” oppositions that Newsom believes remain in Psalm 104 (Newsom 1996, 596-597; 2003a, 245). Fox (2013, 7-9) disagrees with Newsom and others who juxtapose Psalm 104 and the divine speeches. He counters Newsom’s argument that the images of God’s care for the animals in the Job 39 would have been understood as divine concern for beings that are hostile to humans (2013, 9). Rather, he aligns Job 38-41 with Psalm 104 as two texts that demonstrate Yahweh’s care for all creatures, including but not limited to humanity. While I agree with Newsom that there is a noticeable lack of attention on humanity in the divine speeches and that this serves to decentralize Job’s anthropocentric understanding of the world, I do not believe that Psalm 104 is a foil for the divine speeches. The point of Yahweh’s images is divine care for the animals and the wilderness, not God’s lack of care for humanity or a depiction of opposition between the animals and human purposes.

correspond with his purpose to correct Job. There is both challenge and rebuke in Yahweh's speeches. Nevertheless, the point is to restore Job and not to pummel him.

In the end, Job repents of what can only be his misconstrual of God's design. He gains a new understanding of divine counsel, confesses, and turns from his mourning (42:6).³⁰² His silence in 40:4 and his turning in 42:6 lend support for viewing Yahweh's speeches as a pedagogical rebuke from a wise teacher toward a good but misguided student.³⁰³ God is rebuking Job as a sage for the purpose of instruction and reorientation of perspective. It is rebuke, but it is not battle or defeat. Instruction is both painful and constructive.

Corresponding to the depiction of Yahweh as Sage, who corrects Job's misunderstanding about divine design, the presentation of animals demonstrates God's care for all created beings. Even with regard to the objects that are traditional symbols of chaos, such as the sea and Leviathan, God does not appear as a warrior who defeats or battles these elements and creatures; rather, he demonstrates caring control and joy in his world design. He limits the powers of the sea, but with swaddling garments so that the sea is portrayed as his baby (38:8-9). He describes Leviathan with admiration but asserts complete control. Although it has no equal on earth

³⁰² There are numerous and widely varied interpretations of Job 42:6. It is not within the scope of this work to review all of them. For overview, see Van Wolde 1994, 242-250; Clines 2011, 1207-1211, 1218-1223. My own interpretation is that Job genuinely repents of his "ignorant words," for this is the only transgression that Yahweh seeks to correct. Otherwise, Job is pronounced "right" (נְכוֹנָה) in Yahweh's rebuke of the friends (כִּי לֹא דִבַּרְתֶּם אֵלַי נְכוֹנָה כְּעַבְדִּי אִיּוֹב, 42:7). Clines (2011, 1220) argues that speaking without understanding does not constitute "sin" and therefore נִחַמְתִּי may not be taken as "I repent." But, as Clines admits, Yahweh often "repents" in the sense of changing his mind or turning from a planned action (e.g., Exod 32:14; Jonah 3:10). In the same way, Job, having received a reframed understanding of the world, repents or turns from ignorant speech.

³⁰³ See §3.2 on the meaning of silence and submission.

(41:33), it does not pose a threat or appear as a rival to Yahweh. Yahweh demonstrates his power and authority not through battle, but through supervision according to his “design.”

5.3 – Coherence between the Divine Speeches and the Joban Dialogue

Several interpreters point to direct areas of correlation between the divine speeches and the previous Joban dialogue, so that Yahweh’s speeches are responses that pick up on particular images already expressed in Job 3-31. Habel (1985, 51) claims, “Yahweh’s defense embraces a series of subtle allusions, innuendos, and ironic references to previous claims and accusations of Job. In every vignette of Yahweh’s speech, these tangential connections can be discerned.”³⁰⁴ Alter (1985, 96-100) demonstrates multiple points of correspondence with Job 3. Newsom (2003a, 238-239) takes the divine speeches as direct response to Job 29-31. Schifferdecker (2008, 73-74), like Habel, argues that the correspondences go well beyond these two speeches of Job. She believes, for example, that Yahweh’s use of שָׁרַף/סָרַף in 38:8 (“Or who *shut in* the sea with doors?” וַיִּסָּרֶף בְּדָלֶתִים יָם) responds not only to 3:23 where Job laments that God “fences in” a man, but also to 1:10, where the *śāṭān* charges God with putting a protective “fence” around Job. While I find some arguments for allusion in Yahweh’s speeches unconvincing, including the last one mentioned, in my view, there is sufficient reason to read Job 38-41 as a coherent response to Job 3-31. The primary question of this chapter is how the response may or may not express metaphor and, more specifically, how Yahweh’s presentation of zoological images responds to the evocations of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS in Job’s dialogue with the friends.

The best evidence that the animal scenarios in the divine speeches carry a message for Job is the signification of coherence with Job’s speeches. Therefore, the aim of the following

³⁰⁴ See also Habel 1985, 530-532, where he charts these “tangential connections.”

analysis of 38:39-39:30 is to look particularly at Yahweh's conceptions of ANIMAL in comparison with the rest of the Joban dialogue. My thesis is not so much that God alludes to the Joban dialogue (this happens occasionally) or expresses alternative metaphors, but that he implicitly undermines Job's construal of the source domain WILD ANIMALS by depicting the animals as recipients of divine care, thus undercutting the expressions of PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS in the Joban dialogue.

5.4 – Exegesis of Job 38:30-39:30

Othmar Keel questions why the first divine speech highlights these particular animals and concludes that they are selected because they epitomize chaos. He argues that Egyptian and ancient Near Eastern kings hunted them to demonstrate their authoritative order and establish their role as *Herr der Tiere* ("lord of the animals," 1978a, 71). He claims that the animal pericopes stress two ideas: the dominion of God as lord over the animals and the strangeness of the created world (81). Keel (81-82) compares the threat posed by a lion with the modern threat of a fatal car accident. Similarly, Newsom (2003a 284) suggests that modern readers should consider anthrax, the Ebola virus, or the cancer cell as parallels to the way that Israel would have thought of the wild animals. She maintains, "In antiquity, however, the wild served as the Other against which human culture defined itself" (2003a, 245), as evidenced by both the ancient Near Eastern lord of the animals motif and the common image of a destroyed city being transformed into a wasteland, inhabited with wild creatures as a sign of divine punishment (Ps 107:33-38; Isa 13:19-21; 34:8-15; Jer 50:39-40; Hos 2:5, 14; Zeph 2:13-15). In light of these symbolic associations with the wild, God's celebration of and provision for the wild animals was likely intended to disorient ancient readers. Instead of hunting or oppressing the animals, he shows his

dominion by embracing the wildness. According to Habel (1985, 535), God's description of divine design "throws Job back into a bewildering world of wonder." Keel's argument is that Yahweh bridles chaos without transforming it into rigid order (1978a, 125). Doak (2014, 191) sees an alignment of Yahweh with chaos, such that "God is intimately involved in the danger, violence, and broken moral narrative that nature tells through its multiple dramas." I am not convinced that the divine speeches show this dark and chaotic side of the Yahweh. There is still order to Yahweh's creative work; it simply does not cohere with Job's understanding of the ordered world.

I find the "lord of the animals" motif to be a suitable background for most of Job 38:39-39:30, but I am not persuaded that the listed animals are rightly associated with chaos, that is, a destructive force of anti-creation. Pelham (2012) avoids the terms "chaos" and "order," preferring instead "the world-as-it-ought-to-be" and "the anti-world." She rightly points toward the undefined quality of "chaos" and demonstrates how the term is typically associated with the Babylonian and Ugaritic combat myths (2012, 214-220). *Chaoskampf* is then seen as a backdrop for Job's conflict with God (see Day 1985, 49). The key signifier of chaos in the book of Job for many interpreters is the appearance of Leviathan in chapter 41. Watson (2005, 2) argues against the notion of Leviathan as a chaos monster in Job 41, defining chaos in light of its typical scholarly association with a destructive force that God defeats in battle. Pelham disassociates chaos from necessarily destructive forces and thus interprets Leviathan as a symbol of a rival creative order to Yahweh (2012, 219-220). She does so on the basis of the Babylonian myth of Tiamat, who was a creative deity before Marduk engaged her in battle and she became destructive. Thus, Pelham redefines "chaos" in order to maintain a view that Leviathan (and Job) are chaos beings because they rival Yahweh's conception of the world-as-it-ought-to-be.

Although I sympathize with Pelham's general avoidance of the terms "chaos" and "order," I prefer Watson's definitions and the juxtaposition between chaos and order. Chaos is by definition a lack of order or an anti-order. What is so surprising about Yahweh's description of the wild things, including Leviathan, is that they are part of Yahweh's ordered creation. This is a notion found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 104:26), but it is foreign to Job's normative association of Leviathan with destruction (Job 3:8). Yahweh certainly does not group the wild animals with the wicked or show them to have enemy status, and this is the major point of contrast with the conceptualizations of WILD ANIMALS in Job's expressions.

5.4.1 – LION

הַתְּצִיד לְלִבִּיא טָרֶף	39 Do you hunt prey for the lion
וְחַיַּת כְּפִירִים תִּמְלֵא	or satisfy the appetite of young lions,
כִּי־יִשְׁחוּ בַּמְּעוֹנוֹת	40 while they crouch down in dens
יֵשְׁבוּ בַּסִּכָּה לְמוֹ־אָרֶב	and sit in the thicket of their lair? ³⁰⁵

Yahweh begins the animal portion of his first speech by asking if Job hunts prey for the lion (לִבִּיא) or satisfies the appetite of young lions (כְּפִירִים). The implication of the rhetorical question is that it is God who feeds the lions (also in Ps 104:21). This is reinforced by the passive depiction of the lions waiting in the dens for food to come to them (v. 40), a feature which is especially true for the young lions that depend upon adult lions to bring food to them in their

³⁰⁵ אָרֶב and מְעוֹנוֹת also occur together in 37:8 as Elihu depicts the wild animal (חַיָּה) entering its den.

dens. “Prey” would include all kinds of animals, including the domestic herds of Israelite farmers.³⁰⁶ Newsom (2003b, 246) correctly points out that “In hunting on behalf of the lions, God appears to nurture an element of creation hostile to humans.” Perhaps, we are to imagine Job’s shock at God’s question. Given his previous significations of LION in the dialogue, Job would not hunt prey for the lion even if he could.

God’s implied role as hunter for the lion conflicts with every metaphorical signification of LION in the Joban discourse. Most notably, it contrasts with Eliphaz’s expression in 4:10-11, where lions are assumed to be God’s enemies, and lion predation is punished with starvation (see §4.3.1.2). Like Yahweh, Eliphaz highlights young lions (כַּפִּירִים in v. 10; כִּנִּי לְבִיא in v. 11), but instead of satisfied appetites (39:40), he depicts them having their teeth torn out and being scattered. Eliphaz presupposes the RETRIBUTION schema for lion hunting and consequent suffering; thus, construing the behavior of lions as wicked to project the WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS metaphor.

I argued in chapter 4 that Job also assumes that the lion has enemy status before God (compare Ps 10:8-9). Unless we are to imagine that the message of 38:39-40 is that Yahweh feeds his enemies, the conceptualization of LIONS in the divine speech calls into question the conceptualizations of Job and the friends.³⁰⁷ Specifically, Yahweh challenges the notion that

³⁰⁶ Newsom argues for this on the basis of 1 Sam 17:34-37; Jer 25:36-38; Mic 5:7. I would add Babylonian Theodicy, VI, where the lion is called “enemy of livestock” (COS 1.154:493). Job imagines himself as a shepherd in Job 29:17, breaking the jaws of the wicked and forcing the predator to drop its prey, which evokes the scenario of a predatory animal preying on a domestic animal (§4.3.2.4).

³⁰⁷ Those who understand Yahweh’s speeches as an argument that the world is amoral might see the lion as wicked in 38:39-40, so that the point is Yahweh care for the wicked just like the righteous. See especially Tsevat 1966. However, the speeches do not support this argument. Retribution and concern for justice continue (38:13, 15; 40:12-13), it is simply a matter of retribution not applying to these wild animals. For a counterargument to Tsevat, see Fox 2013.

lions are instinctually wicked. In terms of cognitive linguistics, Yahweh provides different schematic knowledge about the lion, so that the generic-level RETRIBUTION schema no longer applies to LION. If this is so, then the WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS metaphor is groundless. Yahweh implies that Job should not disdain the lion or lion predation, because God cares for his wild creatures. Job and friends “darken design with words without knowledge” (38:2) by profiling LION within the domain WICKEDNESS and ENEMY.

Job, the friends, and Yahweh all signify LION on the basic or specific conceptual levels. While the reader may not readily recall Job 4:10-11 when reading 38:39-40, the basic-level significations of LION and specific-level significations of YOUNG LION (לְפִיָּיִם), along with the agreement of salient features of HUNGER and PREDATION, evoke conceptual coherence between the two texts. There may also be basic-level coherence with 10:16, where Job complains of God hunting him as if he (Job) were a lion (see §4.3.1.3). In both 10:16 and 38:39, God appears as a hunter, but in Job’s construal he is hunting the lion, and God’s question implies that he hunts *for* the lion. Again, God removes the ground of Job’s argument by reframing LION. Job’s point is that God is treating him like an enemy lion, and God responds by saying that the lion is not his enemy. He does not explicitly deny that he has treated Job like an enemy or a wicked person, only that the lion does not fit that category.

5.4.2 – RAVEN

מִי יָכִין לְעֶרֶב צִידוֹ	41 Who prepares feed for the raven
כִּי־יִלְדוּ אֶל־אֵל יִשְׁנָעוּ	when its young cry out to God
יִתְעוּ לְבִלִּי־אָכֹל	and stagger without food? ³⁰⁸

The author pairs the lion with the raven (עֶרֶב) as two animals that Yahweh feeds.³⁰⁹

Again, the focus is on the *young* animals that depend upon God for their sustenance. The young ravens cry out (יִשְׁנָעוּ) to God for food. Just as in Ps 147:9, “He gives the beast its food, to the young of the raven when they call out” (נוֹתֵן לְבֶהֱמָה לֶחֶמָה לְבְנֵי עֶרֶב אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָאוּ), the implication in Job 38:41, is that God responds to their helpless cries.³¹⁰ The lion and raven strophes are also

³⁰⁸ The image of a young bird staggering or wandering, as יִתְעוּ indicates, is unusual. It is supported by the OG, πλανώμενοι (“ones that wander”). Job 12:24-25 says that God makes humans wander (*hiphil* of תעה) in the wasteland and stagger (*hiphil* of תעה) like drunkards. Possibly, we are to imagine the young ravens staggering in weakness for want of food (Dhorme 1967, 595). Doak (2014, 207) takes 38:41 as a parallel to 12:24-25, saying, “Humans and animals struggle in the same world.” Gordis (1978, 454) and Clines (2011, 1068-1069) cite several emendations. Clines settles on repointing as יִתְעוּ, having the geminate root תעע, cognate with Arabic *ta‘ta‘a* possibly meaning “twitter” or “croak,” which parallels יִשְׁנָעוּ in the b-line. This proposed emendation is not convincing since the root does not occur in *qal* in the Hebrew Bible. Where it does occur in the *pilpel* or *hitpalpel* it signifies mocking (Gen 27:12; 2 Chr 36:16) not crying out for help. Gordis does not emend and points to Job 4:11 where animals are scattered because they lack food, but there it is about the lion. Some take 38:41 as a continuation of the lion image and repoint עֶרֶב as עָרַב, however the interrogative מִי יָכִין suggests a transition in topic (Dhorme 1967, 596; Gordis 1978, 454). In my view, the wandering young bird is peculiar, but more likely than the proposed emendations.

³⁰⁹ It is not clear why the raven is selected to pair with the lion. Gordis (1978, 454) proposes that assonance between עָרַב in v. 40 and עֶרֶב in v. 41 is the reason for the pairing. Miller (1991, 419) argues that the raven is a scavenger and would have been observed feeding on the lion’s kills, so there is a relationship of dependence between the two animals.

³¹⁰ Habel (1985, 544) suggests a direct response to Job in the use of the verb יִשְׁנָעוּ, “they cry out.” Earlier in Job 19:7, Job complained that Yahweh did not answer his cry (אֲשָׁנֶה וְאֵין מִשְׁפָּט), “I cry out, but there is no justice”). Habel (1985, 544) says, “Yahweh reminds Job that even the

linked linguistically; whereas God hunts (צוד) prey for the lion, he provides ציד for the raven, a relatively uncommon lexeme for food in the Hebrew Bible.³¹¹

Job and his friends do not talk about the raven in their dialogue. They do signify BIRD OF PREY, but the profiled feature of bird behavior is SPEED (see §4.5.1) rather than PREDATION, so the concepts do not significantly cohere. We do not have adequate information about Job's perspective on the raven, as we do with the lion. Isaiah 34:11 mentions the raven along with the owl and the hedgehog as animals that take up residence in the ruins of destroyed cities and wastelands, echoing the Gen 1:2 scene of chaos in Isa 34:11b (קִרְיָתָהּ וְאַבְגִּי־בָהּ). The raven is not dangerous in the Isaiah oracle, but as in Job 38, it is grouped with other desert animals that dwell in places that humans find uninhabitable. The image of the raven's danger is present in Prov 30:17, which imagines the raven plucking out the eye of a child who mocks his parents, but we have no reason to project DANGER into Yahweh's presentation of the raven.

The basic-level concept of RAVEN does not cohere with the Joban dialogue, but its superordinate category WILD ANIMAL does. The raven's grouping with the lion implies similarity. God feeds the young of both the lion and the raven. Like the lion, the raven fits well within the category of animals that Job and his friends despise or at least disregard as having little value. They may not have posed an actual threat to the domestic sphere as would the lion (or as Prov 30:17 implies), but their symbolic association with the desert and destruction puts them in the

fledgling raven's 'cry' is heard by Yahweh." While I recognize this message in 39:41, in my view, the reoccurrence of שׁוֹעַ is not sufficient evidence to argue for allusion here.

³¹¹ Although BDB (844-845) and *HALOT* (3:1020) have two entries for צִיד, one as derived from צוד (šd) "game" and another from צוד (šd, with Aramaic צִידָה) "food," I fail to see how these are from different proto-Semitic roots. I take it as derived from the root צוד (šd), but with polysemous meanings of "game" (Gen 25:28; Lev 17:13; Prov 12:27) and "food" (Josh 9:5, 14; Ps 132:15; and Neh 13:15).

conceptual category of DANGER or DESTITUTION. Yahweh’s scenario of feeding the raven, therefore, tangentially calls into question Job’s conceptualization of WILD ANIMAL in God’s design.

5.4.3 – MOUNTAIN GOATS and DEER

הַיָּדְעָתָ עֵת לֵדֹת יַעֲלִי־סֹלֶעַ	1 Do you know the time of mountain goats giving birth
חֲלֹל אֵילֹת תִּשְׁמֹר	or watch over the birthing of does? ³¹²
תִּסְפֹּר יָרְחִים תִּמְלֹאנָה	2 Do you number the months that they complete
וַיָּדְעָתָ עֵת לִדְתָנָה	Do you know the time when they give birth?
תִּכְרַעְנָה יִלְדֵיהֶן תִּפְלֹטְנָה	3 They kneel and deliver ³¹³ their offspring
תִּבְלִיֵּהֶם תִּשְׁלַחְנָה	They send out their young. ³¹⁴
יִחַלְמוּ בְּנֵיהֶם יִרְבּוּ בָּרָ	4 Their offspring become strong, growing up in the open field.
יֵצְאוּ וְלֹא־יָשׁוּבוּ לָמוֹ	They go out and do not return them.

³¹² See Borowski 1998, 186-187, for the identification of אֵילָה with the roe deer or the fallow deer. Clines (2011, 1069) argues that אֵילָה is here a generic word for “doe” and in this one case it is the female mountain goat instead of the female deer. It seems more likely that the feminine nominal form would have been limited to deer, since, as Clines recognizes, there is a feminine form for female mountain goat, יַעֲלָה (Prov 5:19). The depiction of raising young “in the open field” (בָּרָ) coincides more with deer than with mountain goats that live in the mountains of southern Palestine and Sinai (Borowski 1998, 189). בָּרָ is a *hapax* but signifies “outside” or “open area,” as is typical for its Aramaic cognate. It occurs in Aramaic in Dan 2:38, חֵיִית בָּרָא, “wild animal of the field,” and in Dan 4:12, דְּתֶאֱא דִי בָרָא, “the grass of the field.” LXX takes it as Aramaic “son” translating as γενήματα, “offspring.”

³¹³ Giving birth is an anomalous signification for פָּלָה, otherwise meaning to cut to pieces or pierce. As Clines (2011, 1070) suggests, it is especially odd with the object of יִלְדֵיהֶן. With Driver and Gray (1921, 2:314-315), Dhorme (1967, 598), and Clines (2011, 1070), I emend to תִּפְלֹטְנָה “they deliver.” The same verb is occurs in the *piel* for a cow calving in Job 21:10.

³¹⁴ I am taking “their pangs” (תִּבְלִיֵּהֶם) as a metonymy for “offspring.”

Yahweh turns next to ask Job about the mountain goat/ibex and the deer, evoking BIRTH and GROWTH as the salient features of the young animals. Job presumably does not know the gestation period of the wild goats and certainly does not “watch over the birthing of the does.” Wild goats and deer are not unclean or dangerous animals as are some of the other animals in Yahweh’s animal collage.³¹⁵ Neither is there any reason to associate them with chaos. The point of this text seems to be that God cares for desert animals that prosper in the wilderness regions (also Ps 104:18), implying that divine oversight and concern takes place in areas that people do not inhabit and for animals about which people do not concern themselves. As Newsom (2003a, 246) says, “They are the counterimage to domesticated sheep and goats.” As the former owner of seven thousand sheep (1:3), Job knows about animal husbandry, but wild goats are out his control and realm of expertise. The birthing and rearing of wild animals both occur without the assistance of any human shepherd.

Keel demonstrates through iconographic images two ancient Near Eastern motifs. First, the motif of the hunting king, which includes kings and heroes hunting the mountain goat and deer (see especially 1978a, 74, Abb. A, where the deer is pictured with the lion and the ostrich). He uses these images to argue that the animals in Yahweh’s speech represent disorder and threat. Kings hunt these animals to assert their authority over the world of disorder. The second motif is the king or hero as a “lord of animals” (*Herr der Tiere*). Keel gathers multiple images of heroes controlling or taming, but not killing wild animals. In some cases, the hero protects the innocent animals from predators, such as a seal showing a hero with his arms around two deer, protecting

³¹⁵ Miller (1991, 419) argues that the logic of the animal ordering in 38:39-39:18 is from predator to prey. The wild goat, the wild ass, the wild ox, and the ostrich follow the lion, because they are its prey. God cares and ordains predation for both the prey and predator. However, the victimization of the prey is not the salient feature of the non-predatory animals, so this is an unlikely reason for the ordering of the animals.

them from a pair of lions (Keel 1978a, 88, Abb. 11). As “lord of animals” the king functions as a god over the wilderness. Likewise, Yahweh’s speech asserts his sovereignty over the creatures that humanity considers alien and hostile (Keel 1978a, 81). However, instead of hunting these animals or dominating them, he exercises his authority with care. He acts as landlord procuring food for his household, which includes animals such as the dangerous lion and impure raven (Keel 1978a, 82). Although there are similarities between Yahweh in Job 38:39-39:30 and the ancient Near Eastern motif of “lord of animals,” Yahweh celebrates the freedom and wildness of these animals. He is more of a wildlife manager than a hunter or zookeeper.

As for the mountain goat and deer, Keel points out that Yahweh wants not to tame these animals, but to encourage their freedom and independence (1978a, 83). He argues that Job 39 groups them with other more harmful wild animals; they, therefore, represent “misanthropic powers” (*menschenfeindliche Mächte*, 86). Mountain goats may pose no tangible threat to people, but they are part of a world that humanity considers chaotic and hostile. In my view, this is a weak spot in Keel’s argument. It is possible, even likely, that Job and his friends, as representatives of the status quo, would not have valued the ibex and the deer except as game to be hunted, but I do not see associations with chaos or evil. The point of Yahweh’s descriptions of the animals in his speeches is not that he cares for chaos or wickedness, but that the wild world has its own order and value, which he oversees. God categorizes these animals as good rather than evil.

5.4.4 – WILD DONKEY

מִי־שָׁלַח פָּרָא חֲפָשִׁי	5 Who has set the wild donkey free
וּמָסְרוֹת עָרֹד מִי פָתַח	or loosed the fetters of the onager,
אֲשֶׁר־שָׁמַתִּי עֲרֶבְהָ בֵּיתוֹ	6 for which I have made a habitat in the desert plain
וּמִשְׁכְּנֹתָיו מְלַחָה	and a dwelling place in the salt lands?
יִשְׁחַק לְהִמּוֹן קִרְיָה	7 He laughs at the commotion of the city.
תִּשְׁמָע בּוֹגֵשׁ לֹא יִשְׁמָע	He does not obey the shouts of the driver.
יִתּוֹר הָרִים מְרַעֶהוּ	8 He searches the mountains for his grazing land
וְאַחֵר כָּל־יֶרֶק יִדְרוֹשׁ	and seeks after every green thing.

Like the mountain goat, the wild donkey is featured for its independence. Yahweh asks Job, “Who has set the wild donkey free?” The answer is most reasonably Yahweh himself (Fohrer 1963, 512).³¹⁶ Yahweh provides a space and food for the wild donkey far away from the domestic sphere. As I pointed out in the previous chapter (§4.4.1), the wild donkey was commonly associated with rebellion and destitution. Newsom (2003a, 246) calls the onager “a symbol for the moral outlaw” citing Gen 16:12; Job 24:5; 30:7; and 39:7. She goes on to say,

Its habitat, the desolate salt flats and nearly barren mountains (39:6, 8), is not only the opposite of the human ‘sown’ land but also serves as an image of punishment for people (Ps 107:34; Jer 17:6). By contrast, the city, the quintessential place of human culture, is presented as a locus of noise and oppression (Job 39:7), a place of bondage from which God sets the wild ass free (39:5).

³¹⁶ Contra Clines (2011, 1122), who says that the answer is “no one” because the onager is naturally wild and has therefore never been bound. However, the act of creation itself may be a kind of setting free. In the other interrogatives that begin with *מִי* in the divine speeches, the implied answer is Yahweh (38:5, 25, 29, 41).

Contrary to popular thought, as observed in ancient Near Eastern literature (see §4.4.1), Yahweh claims that the wild donkey is very happy to be free from the bondage of domestication; God meets all of its needs. From Yahweh's perspective the onager's desert wandering and scavenging are not signs that it is a marginal or struggling creature; rather, they are marks of freedom and self-sufficiency. The salient features of the wild ass in Job 39 are FREEDOM, HABITAT, and FOOD. Yahweh refers to the desert habitat as "his house" (בֵּיתוֹ) and "his dwelling" (מְשְׁכָנֹתָיו), both terms that typically signify the safety of the domestic sphere. Ironically, these designations refer to the protection and provision of the onager's wild habitat.³¹⁷ The onager laughs at the business and pressures of the city and refuses to listen to the driver (v. 7).³¹⁸ Its food is the vegetation of the desert plains, the salt flats, and the arid mountains. They eat

³¹⁷ Pelham (2012, 143-148) argues convincingly that the home is a symbolic image of "inner space" in the book of Job (4:21; 5:3-4; 7:9-10; 8:13-15), within which the righteous belong and the wicked do not. Job's description in chapter 29 of his household as the centerpiece of his world, coordinates well with Pelham's thesis. Pelham summarizes human perspective and God's response, saying:

Whereas for Job and his friends the world-as-it-ought-to-be is located *inside* the bounds of the human community, meaning that whatever exists *outside* those boundaries must be anti-world, God takes a radically different view. . . . What God has to say about the animals utterly undermines the distinction between inside and outside, as described by Job and his friends (2012, 173).

In light of this general point, the reference to the wild donkey's "house" is a symbolic move to demonstrate the goodness of the desert habitat (certainly not an "anti-world"). Pelham (2012, 178) notes this notion of "home" elsewhere in the divine speeches (38:12, 19-20, 22-24).

³¹⁸ Some scholars recognize the echo in v. 7 of 3:17-19, where Job describes Sheol as a place where prisoners find relief from the taskmaster (לֹא שָׁמְעוּ קוֹל נִגְשׁ, 3:18) (Dhorme 1967, 600; Habel 1985, 545; Perdue 1991, 214; Clines 2011, 1122; Doak 2014, 208). Like prisoners (אֲסִירִים, 3:17) gone to Sheol, donkeys are free (הִקְפִּישִׁי, 3:19, 39:5) from bonds (מִסְרוֹת, 39:5). Habel (1985, 546) interprets this echo as a corrective: Job seeks freedom away from God in death, Yahweh describes freedom with God and in the land of the living. However, Yahweh's exemplar of freedom, the wild donkey, is incompatible with Job's idea of success or blessing (Doak 2014, 209). For discussion of the divine speeches as response to Job 3, see Schifferdecker 2008, 67-85; Amu 2000; and Alter 1985, 96-110.

everything in those areas that is green (v. 8). Yahweh's description of the behavior and habitat of the wild donkey agrees fairly well with Job's depiction in 24:4-8 and 30:3-8. The major difference is that Yahweh celebrates the life of the wild donkey, while Job associates it with marginalization, using WILD DONKEY as a source domain for projecting HUMAN DESTITUTION and DEPRAVITY.

As with LION, WILD DONKEY coheres on a basic level with the Joban dialogue.³¹⁹ The most relevant texts that activate WILD DONKEY are 24:4-8 and 30:1-8. The first signifies MARGINALIZED PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS with הֵן פִּרְאִים בְּמִדְבָּר in 24:5 and elaborates MARGINALIZED PEOPLE with IMPOVERISHED PEOPLE. The metaphor works because wild donkeys and poor people are both associated with destitution. The mapping between these concepts is implicitly negative. Yahweh's positive assessment of the wild donkey says nothing about impoverished people (God's topic is the animal and not the person), but it does shift the ground on which Job has construed his evocation. More specifically, Yahweh's depiction calls into question Job's use of WILD DONKEY as a source for projecting DESTITUTION.

Again, this intratextual coherence is not necessarily allusion, wherein the reader is expected to recall 24:5 when reading 39:5-8. A reader might well juxtapose the passages, as I am doing here, but the conceptual relationship is more justifiably a case of coherence on a general level. The wild donkey is a representative of the category WILD ANIMAL, a conceptual domain that is an important part of Job's "source world" and Yahweh's speech. Yahweh most clearly questions Job's source world, and specifically his evocations of WILD ANIMAL, when he positively depicts the WILD DONKEY and LION.

³¹⁹ These two animals, the wild donkey and the lion, are also paired in Babylonian Theodicy V, VI, where they parallel the parvenu who gains wealth without having piety (V) but later is punished by the king (VI).

Yahweh's speech coheres well with Job 30:3-8 where Job evokes MARGINALIZED PEOPLE ARE WILD DONKEYS and elaborates it as JOB'S MOCKERS ARE WILD DONKEYS. If Yahweh's speech originally followed Job 29-31, as I think likely (§1.3, n. 5), the intratextuality with 30:1-8 is readily perceptible, perhaps more so than with any other ANIMAL evocation in Yahweh's speech. The coherence is again by way of questioning. In Job's complaint about those who make fun of him, he depicts them as low-life wild animals who "laugh" (שחק) at him (30:1). The wild donkey also "laughs" in 39:7, "It laughs at the commotion of the city" (ישחק להמון קריה). It is not at the suffering of the destitute, but at the tumult and anxiety of domestic life. It cares nothing about Job, not because he is suffering, but because he is human and therefore associated with the bonds of domesticity. Yahweh's corrective serves to reorient Job to the divine perspective on the wild world of the onager. Job darkens divine design by calling his mockers "asses" and Yahweh calls him on it, not because he sides with the mockers against Job or disagrees with Job about mean-spirited people, but because he cares about the ass.

5.4.5 – WILD OX

היאבה רים עבדך	9 Is the wild ox willing to serve you?
אם ילין על-אבוסך	Will it lodge in your stall?
התקשר-רים בתלם עבתי	10 Do you bind the wild ox in a furrow with ropes?
אם ישדד עמקים אחריך	Will it harrow the plains behind you?
התבטח-בו כירב כחו	11 Would you trust him because of his great strength?
ותעזב אליו גיעך	Would you leave your toil to it?

הַתְּאֲמִין בּוֹ כִּי־יָשׁוּב וְרָעָה וְגָרְדָה יַאֲסֹף	12 Do you believe that it would bring in your grain ³²⁰ and gather it to your threshing floor?
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The wild ox or aurochs, the ancestor of modern domestic cattle, is now extinct (Borowski 1998, 190). Besides the zooarchaeological evidence for the prevalence of the wild ox throughout the ancient Near East (Borowski 1998, 190-191), biblical texts testify to Israel's familiarity with the animal (Num 23:22; 24:8; Deut 33:17; Pss 22:22; 29:6; 92:11; and Isa 34:7). Most often, these texts profile the horns of this wild bovine as a dangerous and powerful weapon (Num 24:8; Deut 33:17; Ps 22:22). The Psalmist in Ps 22:22 cries out to God to save him from the lion (אַרְיֵה) and the horns of the wild oxen (רָמִים). The hazardous quality of the horns and the parallel with the lion suggests that the wild ox was a fierce and dangerous animal. However, in Yahweh's speech, its threat is not the salient feature.

Like most of the other animals highlighted by Yahweh, the wild ox was hunted by ancient Near Eastern kings (Keel 1978a, 77, 124; Clines 2011, 1123). The featured quality of the wild ox in Job 39 is its strength. In spite of its extraordinary power, people are unable to harness its power for their agricultural purposes as they do with domestic bovines. As with the wild goats and wild donkeys, the domestic counterpart is the point of comparison. The wild ox does not bend to human will.

The wild ox pericope does not cohere on a basic level with the rest of the Joban dialogue because WILD OX is not perceptibly signified anywhere else. On a more generic level, it coheres best with evocations of NONPREDATORY WILD ANIMAL, since it forms a pair with WILD DONKEY and is featured for its independence or lack of domesticity.

³²⁰ I am reading with the *qere* 'יָשׁוּב' (*hiphil*), which implies וְרָעָה as the object.

5.4.6 – SANDGROUSE

כַּנְף־רִנְנִים נִעְלָסָה	13 The wing of the sandgrouse is joyful,
אִם־אַבְרָה חֲסִידָה וְנִצָּה	but is it the pinion of the stork ³²¹ or female hawk? ³²²
כִּי־תַעֲזֹב לָאָרֶץ בְּצִיָּה	14 For she leaves her eggs on the ground
וְעַל־עֹפָר תַּחמֶם	and she warms them on the dirt.
וְתִשְׁכַּח כִּי־רֶגֶל תְּזוּרָה	15 She forgets that a foot might trample her,
וְחַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה תְּדוּשָׁהּ	or that a wild animal of the field might crush her.
הַקָּשִׁים בְּנֶיהָ לֹא־לָהּ	16 She makes her young hard for they do not stay with her.
לְרִיק יִגִּיעַה בְּלִי־פֶחֶד	She is without dread that her toil is in vain.

³²¹ Alternatively, חֲסִידָה is a feminine adjective, “loyal” or “kind,” describing the devoted and protective nature of the sandgrouse’s wing/plumage (BDB 339; Duhm 1897, 190). When two animals are introduced together, the pattern in the divine speeches is to parallel similar animals (the mountain goat and doe; the wild donkey and onager), so it is tempting to see an indicative statement here instead of an interrogative that introduces a contrasting bird. חֲסִידָה signifies “stork” in Lev 11:19; Jer 8:7; Zech 5:9; and Ps 104:17. The translation above requires a slight emendation to the construct form אַבְרָה, נִצָּה, “feathers” (Lev 1:16; Ezek 17:3), is also emended to נִצָּה, “female hawk.” The male hawk, נָץ, is the topic of v. 26 as one that soars. It is parallel with the vulture, נֶשֶׁר, which makes its nest on high (v. 27). Thus the contrast between the birds of the soaring wing that nest in the trees and the sandgrouse that nests on the ground makes good sense of v. 13.

³²² On account of אִם in the b-line, it would seem that the a-line is also an interrogative, in which case it would be an unmarked interrogative, or more likely הֲ should be prefixed to כַּנְף. Every other verse in Yahweh’s speeches with clause initial אִם in the b-line is the second part of an interrogative with clause initial הֲ in the a-line (38:33; 39:9, 10; 40:27). However, as with the other interrogatives in the divine speech, the anticipated answer to the question would be “no,” and a negative answer does not make sense of “Does the sandgrouse’s wing rejoice?” Therefore, I take אִם as the only marker of the interrogative so that only the b-line is a question, “But is it the pinion of a stork or female hawk?” (Clines 2011, 1075). If it is as Walker-Jones (2005, 495) translates, “Is it a gracious pinion and plumage?” then the implied answer must be “No, it is not gracious.” Verses 14-15 do not support this.

כִּי־הָשָׁה אֱלֹהִים חָכְמָה	17 For God made her forget wisdom ³²³
וְלֹא־חָלַק לָהּ בְּבִינָה	and did not apportion understanding to her.
כָּצֶת בַּמָּרוֹם תִּמָּרֵיא	18 When she flaps on high,
תִּשְׁחַק לִסּוּס וּלְרֹכֶבּוֹ	she laughs at horse and rider.

Job 39:13-18 is an immensely difficult text and no proposed interpretation is fully satisfying. The first and primary question is the identification of the *hapax legomenon* רִנָּיִם. The scholarly consensus is that this lexeme is an alternative name for the ostrich, which is otherwise signified by בַּת הַיַּעֲנָה or בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:342; Dhorme 1967, 602; Fohrer 1963, 514; Keel 1978a, 66; Gordis 1978, 458; Habel 1985, 524-525; Clines 2011, 1074; BDB 943; HALOT 3:1249).³²⁴ BDB (943) defines it as “bird of piercing cries” on the basis of רִנָּן, and HALOT (3:1249) glosses it as “female ostrich” because of its “moaning cry.” Habel (1985, 525) says that the ostrich is a “screeching bird” meaning it sounds “joyous cries of praise.” The bird in Job 39 is carefree and full of joy. Additionally, רִנָּן in all *binyanim* is regularly associated with joy, so one would expect it to be a bird that makes a joyful sound rather than one of lament.³²⁵ Moreover, in 39:13, the wing of the bird is joyful or delighted (נִעְלָסָה). The bird in view also “laughs” in v. 18, which is metaphorical, but should possibly be taken into consideration for identification. The ostrich call sounds nothing like laughter; rather, it is a low booming sound

³²³ Yahweh also uses the third person “God” in 38:41 and 40:2.

³²⁴ Gray (2015, 475) suggests emendation to יַעֲנָיִם to correspond with the more typical signification of “ostrich,” בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה.

³²⁵ Of the 53 occurrences of the verbal root רִנָּן, there are only two exceptions to it signifying a cry of joy. It is associated with lament in Lam 2:19 and awe or fear in Lev 9:24.

that was commonly associated with lament (see §4.4.2). The sandgrouse, however, has a contact call that has a much higher pitch and is “loud and far-carrying” (Harris 2009, 122).

The most obvious reason for the identification of the bird as an ostrich is that the ostrich lays and warms its eggs “upon the dirt” (v. 14).³²⁶ The bird in view must be a ground-nester, but the ostrich is not the only candidate. Müller (1988, 90-105) points to the early Greek and Syriac versions, none of which support “ostrich,” and argues that רִנְנִים means “songbird.”³²⁷ Walker-Jones (2005, 494-510) considers several other possible candidates. He questions the identification with ostrich partially on the basis of the 3fs suffix on תְּזוּרָהָ (v. 15), implying trampling on the mother and not on the plural eggs, and partially because מָרוֹם in v. 18 indicates that the bird can fly. He claims that the bird must be small enough to be stepped upon and must sit upon her eggs when faced with the danger of a predator. He decides upon the sandgrouse, a bird species common in Middle Eastern semi-deserts. They are about the size of a pigeon (9 to 14 in. long) and brown in color.³²⁸ Walker-Jones explains how the sandgrouse might “laugh” in the face of the dangerous horse:

Ground-nesting birds will often stay motionless on the ground, relying on their camouflage, until an animal is very close, and only at the last moment burst into flight. The flight and alarm call are often noisy, apparently designed to startle the predator long enough for the bird to escape. Such a bird that suddenly took flight near the feet of a horse might startle

³²⁶ Commentators often cite the folk belief that the ostrich neglected its young (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:342-344; Gordis 1978, 459). Lamentations 4:3 likely supports such a notion, although it has no basis in truth. Otherwise, there is little evidence for the reputation of the ostrich as a cruel parent. An Arabic proverb uses the phrase “stupider than an ostrich” (Driver and Gray 1921, 1:344).

³²⁷ The earliest Greek translations (Aq., Sym., and Theo.) and the Peshitta translate the phrase literally without identifying a particular bird. For example, Theodotion has πτέρυξ τερπομένων (“the wing of those who delight”).

³²⁸ For full description of the sandgrouse, see Harris 2009. This bird is not otherwise mentioned in the biblical text.

the horse and, combined with a laugh-like alarm call, might seem to be mocking a horse and rider. (2005, 502)

National Geographic's description of the sandgrouse supports Walker-Jones's interpretation and the scenario of v. 18 very well: "Fairly shy and unobtrusive, they rely greatly on their camouflaged plumage to escape detection. When disturbed, they fly up only at the last minute, taking off by springing vertically upward. Their flight is strong, swift, and waderlike, with regular wingbeats" (Harris 2009, 122).

Walker-Jone's explanation of vv. 13-18 is not of a bird that leaves her nest or mistreats her young, but one that fearlessly, if unwisely, does not flee the nest (vv. 16-17). Verse 16 is difficult, but the translation above coheres with the pattern of the sandgrouse. The young of both the ostrich and the sandgrouse leave the nest after hatching and feed themselves from day one (Stewart 2006; Harris 2009, 123). Unlike ostriches that stay with their parents for a year (Stewart 2006), young sandgrouses leave the nest and join the larger flock as soon as they hatch (Harris 2009, 123). They are still cared for by their mother, but they give the appearance of independence. This corresponds with the young not belonging to her in v. 16. She has her young and then moves on without fear that her toil was in vain. The sandgrouse pericope parallels the image of the mountain goats laboring and the young leaving not to return again (39:3-4). Both texts point to the irony of animal birthing and parenting. The parents toil without ostensible concern for personal gain.

Although I am not completely convinced that the sandgrouse is the only possible identification, I am generally convinced that the bird is not an ostrich. It seems more likely that eggs may be crushed under foot or by the wild animal than it is for the bird to be crushed, but the 3fs suffixes on תְּדוּשָׁה and תְּזוּרָה evidently signify the mother bird. Ostrich eggs are also notoriously difficult to crush. More convincing is the evidence that מָרוֹם coheres best with bird

flight, especially if the verb *תָּמַרְיָא* signifies flapping (Fohrer 1963, 493, 515; Dhorme 1967, 606; BDB 597). Dhorme and Fohrer both take this to mean the ostrich flapping its wings as it runs away, but wing flapping coordinates better with actual flight and *מָרוֹם* more clearly signifies the heights of the sky than the height of the ostrich standing up from her nest as Clines (2011, 1078) proposes.

The conceptualization of SANDGROUSE in Job 39 is profiled against the domain WILD BIRD. The salient feature of SANDGROUSE is BREEDING. It is characterized in vv. 16-17 as a bird without wisdom or fear. God has withheld wisdom and fear insofar as it lays its eggs on the ground where they and the eggs are vulnerable, but also because they do not flee until the very last moment when danger approaches. The irony is that she tends her eggs and faces danger for the sake of her young. Her foolish behavior enables her procreation. Though God keeps wisdom from her, it is for his creative purposes and for the good of the species.

The sandgrouse is not otherwise signified in the book of Job, so the level of coherence is only general. Keel (1978a) shows how the ostrich fits nicely within the motif of “lord of animals” with iconographical images of ancient Near Eastern kings hunting ostriches (72 Abb. 1, 103 Abb. 33) and heroes grasping them by their necks (103-107 Abb. 34-46, 115 Abb. 56-57). Birds of flight were also hunted, so identifying the bird as a sandgrouse still coheres with the “lord of animals” motif (Keel 1978a, 79 Abb. 8), although, admittedly, not as well. If the text made sense with the ostrich identification it would work best with my larger argument because of Job’s metaphorical reference to the ostrich in 30:29 (see §4.4.2), but Job 39:13-18 does not support this identification.

5.4.7 – HORSE

הַתַּתֵּן לִסּוּס גְּבוּרָה	19 Do you give strength to the horse?
הַתְּלַבִּישׁ צְוֹאָרוֹ רֵעָמָה	Do you clothe its neck with a mane? ³²⁹
הַתְּרַעֲשֵׁנּוּ כְּאַרְבֶּה	20 Do you cause it to quake like the locust? ³³⁰
הוֹד נִהְרָו אֵימָה	The majesty of its neighing is terror. ³³¹
יִחְפְּרוּ בְּעֵמֶק וַיִּשְׂשִׂי בָכָח	21 They dig in the valley and rejoice in strength.
יֵצֵא לִקְרַאת־נֶשֶׁק	It goes out to meet the weapon.
יִשְׁחַק לַפֶּחַד וְלֹא יִחַת	22 It laughs at dread and is not frightened.
וְלֹא־יָשׁוּב מִפְּנֵי־חֶרֶב	It does not turn from the sword.
עָלָיו תִּרְנֶה אֶשְׁפָּה	23 A quiver rattles upon it,
לֵהֵב חֲנִית וְכִידּוֹן	a blade ³³² of a spear, and a javelin.

³²⁹ רֵעָמָה occurs only here. I translate with *HALOT* (3:1268) on the basis of Arabic *ri‘m* “mane.” See also Fohrer 1963, 515; Pope 1965, 263; Gordis 1978, 461; and Clines 2011, 1078.

³³⁰ Joel 2:4 compares devouring locusts to the movement of running warhorses. Rowley (1970, 323) suggests that quaking describes the movement of both creatures. Gordis (1978, 461) says that the point of comparison is the movement of the horse resembling the shaking movement of a field of locusts. Jeremiah 8:16 describes horses as making the ground quake (רַעֲשָׂה כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ), so perhaps the intended parallel is between the quaking that is caused by a herd of horses and a swarm of locusts.

³³¹ נִהְרָו is a *hapax*, glossed as “snorting” by BDB (637) and *HALOT* (2:690), seemingly on the basis of the verbal root נָהַר “to blow” (Jer 6:29). Jeremiah 8:16 refers to two sounds of horses with נִהְרָה and מִצְחָלוֹת, both of which may mean neighing or snorting. With Dhorme (1967, 607), I translate here as neighing because it is louder and seemingly more terrifying than snorting.

³³² See Judg 3:22 for לֵהֵב as “blade.” Alternatively, it may be “flash” as in Nah 3:3, “the flash of the sword and the lightning of the spear” (וְלֵהֵב חֶרֶב וְבָרָק חֲנִית).

בְּרַעַשׁ וְרָגַז יִגְמָא-אֶרֶץ	24 With shaking and rage it covers the distance. ³³³
וְלֹא-יִצְמִין כִּי-קוֹל שׁוֹפָר	It does not stand still ³³⁴ because of the sound of the trumpet.
בְּדִי שֹׁפָר יֹאמַר הָאָה	25 When the trumpet sounds, it says, “Aha!”
וּמִרְחוֹק יְרִיחַ מִלְחָמָה	And from far away, it smells the battle,
רָעַם שָׂרִים וְתְרוּעָה	the thunder of commanders and the war cry.

The depiction of the horse as fearless and impatient for war forms a couplet with the fearlessness of the sandgrouse. The grouse is without dread, without wisdom, and laughs at the horse and rider. The horse is majestic, terrifying, and laughs at dread. Both animals express joy and a lack of anxiety or caution in the face of danger. Although Yahweh does not explicitly say that the horse is without wisdom as he does about the sandgrouse, the implication is that the horse, an animal that has no fear of war, also lacks wisdom, especially as wisdom is defined in the prologue of the book as cautious piety. Both of these animals exhibit qualities that run counter to Job’s piety, who anxiously makes sacrifices for his children just in case they betray God in their secret thoughts. Caution and restraint accompany the fear of God in the Joban dialogue, as was evident in the survey of SPEECH. Job’s friends warn him against dangerous and unrestrained speech.

³³³ יִגְמָא-אֶרֶץ, literally “he swallows the earth” is idiomatic for quickly covering a distance (Clines 2011, 1081).

³³⁴ This translation adopts the proposed emendation of Clines (2011, 1081), לֹא יִצְמִיד, “he will not stand still.” Dhorme (1967, 609-610) suggests the same translation on the basis of the etymology of יִצְמִין, “to be firm,” but this would be an anomalous signification of the verb in the Hebrew Bible. The MT makes sense of the כִּי clause, “he does not believe that it is the sound of the trumpet” (Gordis 1978, 463; Habel 1985, 526), but it is better to take the verb as an image of the horse’s movement than belief because of v. 25a and the physical description in the rest of the strophe. Gordis proposes reading כְּקוֹל as a preposition plus an archaic *qal* participle “at the sounding” as a way of explaining the odd כִּי + verbless clause.

Yahweh delights in the strength of the horse in 39:19-25 and implies that he has given it. His exultation in the horse stands in contrast to Ps 147:10 – “His delight is not in the strength of the horse” (לֹא בְּגִבּוֹרַת הָסוּסִים) – a verse that compares the might of the horse with the helplessness of young ravens who cry out for their food, as ravens also do in Job 38:41. The horse in Ps 147:10 is a negative symbol of self-reliance in contrast with the raven (v. 9) and those who fear God (v. 11), who trust in God to provide for them. However, the conceptualization of HORSE in the divine speech is completely positive. Yahweh has created the horse with its terrible neighing, its fearless laugh, its thunderous gate, and its eagerness for war.

In this folk understanding of the warhorse, it is only marginally domestic.³³⁵ It has a rider (v. 18), bears human weapons (v. 23), and is trained to respond to the trumpet blast (v. 25), but it is akin to a dog trained to fight, giving the appearance of bloodlust.³³⁶ As Newsom (2003a, 247) says, “its ecstatic delight in battle” is “no product of domestication but comes from its own unfathomable nature.” Many of its features in Yahweh’s description parallel features of wild animals. In addition to the similarities with the sandgrouse already mentioned, it quakes like the locust (v. 20), it laughs like the wild donkey (39:7), it has strength like the wild ox (כֶּהָ in 39:11), Behemoth (כֶּהָ in 39:21 and 40:16) and Leviathan (גִּבּוֹרָהּ in 39:19 and 41:4), it is associated with terror (אִימָהּ of the horse’s neighing in 39:20 and of Leviathan’s teeth in 41:6), and it joins the battle (compare Leviathan’s repulsion of weapons in 41:18-21).³³⁷ Therefore, while the horse is rightly categorized as a domestic animal, it is not prototypically so.

³³⁵ Horses do not actually get excited about battle, but about being around other horses (Clines 2011, 1130).

³³⁶ A scarab from Megiddo (ca. 1480-1350 BCE) pictures Pharaoh hunting in a chariot pulled by a horse and a hunting dog by his side. For picture, see Keel 1978a, 72.

Many recognize the horse as the outlier of the animals in Yahweh's speech because it is the only domestic animal (Crenshaw 1992, 73; Whybray 1998, 164; Balentine 2006, 665; Longman 2012, 437). However, whether the horse fits the conceptual category of DOMESTIC ANIMAL or WILD ANIMAL is not the essential concern; rather, it is the salient features of the horse in Yahweh's description, namely, STRENGTH and FEARLESSNESS.³³⁸ These characteristics correspond well with the other significations of WILD ANIMAL in the divine speeches. There are, of course, differences between the horse and, for example, the wild donkey or the wild ox, which are highlighted for their characteristic disdain for domesticity. The wild donkey will not obey the shouts of the driver (39:7), but the horse responds obediently to the trumpet and thundering voice of the captains (39:24-25). The horse does not shun the human world. But neither is it depicted as taking part in the peaceful, agricultural enterprises of people as do prototypical domestic animals. God prizes the horse for its majestic abandon and instinctual desire for battle, much as he prizes the wild donkey for its instinct for freedom.

Keel (1978a, 70-71) argues that the horse is almost always portrayed negatively in the Hebrew Bible because of its associations with the Egyptians and the Canaanites. The harnessing of the warhorse enabled political dominance and therefore it came to symbolize oppressive

³³⁷ Habel (1985, 547) and Newsom (2003a, 247) note that the description of the horse is theophanic. Newsom cites "might" (גְּבוּרָה) in 12:13, "thunder" (רָעַם) in 40:9, "majesty" (הוֹד) in 37:22, and "terror" (אִיָּמָה) in 9:34 and 13:21, as words and texts that correspond with the appearance of God. This goes to show that Yahweh identifies with the horse or imbues him with godlike characteristics, but the comparison should not be pushed too far. The point is that God has created the horse and delights in its fearless character.

³³⁸ Brown (1999, 364) recognizes the issue of the domestic warhorse exuding wild characteristics, as he says, "Its seemingly domesticated vocation as a harnessed weapon of war is rife with references to unbridled passion. In this respect, the warhorse is more a creature of the wild than of civilization." This goes too far toward categorizing the warhorse as wild and even untamed. It is clearly trained and not "unbridled." Even in Yahweh's speeches, it is properly categorized as a domestic animal that exhibits some wild features in battle.

power in general. Because of this and its supposed association with the chaos of war, Keel argues that the horse fits among the threatening animals that have enemy status (1978a, 71). This coordinates with his thesis that the expected image of Yahweh for Israel is as one who subdues the chaotic animals of 38:39-39:30.

The warhorse may have represented a threat if its association is with the opposing army, but Yahweh does not make this association clear. His speech serves to signify the majesty of the horse. It is not chaotic and is clearly not God's enemy. As for coherence with the dialogue, neither the concept HORSE nor the domain DOMESTIC FIGHTING ANIMAL appear, so there could only be a generic-level coherence between the warhorse pericope and other significations of ANIMAL.

5.4.8 – HAWK and VULTURE

הַמְבִינָה יֶאֱכָרֶנֶץ	26 Is it by your understanding that the hawk flies ³³⁹
יִפְרֹשׁ כְּנָפָיו לְתִימָן	and spreads its wings to the south?
אִם-עַל-פִּיךָ יִגְבִּיהַ נָשָׂר	27 At your command, does the vulture soar
וְכִי יָרִים קִנּוֹ	and make its nest on high? ³⁴⁰

³³⁹ This is the only occurrence of the verbal root אבר in the Hebrew Bible, but it likely corresponds to the nominals, אָבַר and אֶבְרָה, both signifying “pinion.” The *hiphil* verb may therefore mean “grow wings” or “spread wings” which should probably be understood as a metonym for flight.

³⁴⁰ וְכִי is an unusual construction. Some argue that it is another bird name. LXX has γῡς, “vulture,” at the beginning of v. 27b which recommends possible emendation of וְכִי. Pope (1963, 314) suggests emending to כִּידֹר “bird of prey.” Others cite Arabic *kuy* “pelican” (Reider 1954, 294; Driver 1972, 65). Kaltner (1996, 57-58) shows that there are only late (medieval and later) occurrences of this Arabic word. Moreover, pelicans do not correspond well to the hawk and vulture as birds of prey. The addition of a third bird to vv. 26-27 would be unusual for the divine speeches. Clines (2011, 1083) thinks “and that” is an acceptable translation of וְכִי, but in his

סלע ישכון ויתלנן	28 It dwells on a cliff and lodges there,
על־שן־סלע ומצודה	on the crag of a cliff, a perch. ³⁴¹
מן־שם חפר־אכל	29 From there it searches for prey.
למרחוק עיניו יביטו	Its eyes see from far away.
ואפרחו יעלעו־דם	30 Its young drink blood.
ובאשר חללים שם הוא	Where the slain are, there it is.

The גַּז is a type of raptor, either a hawk (Borowski 1998, 150) or a falcon (*HALOT* 2:714).³⁴² The basic and salient domain is FLIGHT, as Yahweh asks Job whether he has understanding to give the hawk the capability to fly, implying that the hawk's ability comes from God, who creates through divine understanding (בִּינָה) and command (פֶּה).³⁴³ The second line of

actual translation he has “and makes its nest on high” (1051). Dhorme (1967, 611) also defends “and that” and explains וְכִי as an expletive after the interrogative. Gordis maintains כִּי as an interrogative particle, citing 37:20, but כִּי in 37:20 does not clearly mark interrogative. He also compares Isa 36:19, where וְכִי does seem to function as an introduction to a question following other interrogatives. Since no emendation solves the difficulty, it seems best to take it as marking the continuation of the interrogative in 39:27. Alternatively, it may introduce result or purpose, “the vulture soars that it makes its nest on high,” but then וְ should be eliminated.

³⁴¹ מְצוּדָה is glossed as “mountain stronghold” (*HALOT* 2:622) or just “stronghold” (BDB 845), but safety is less the issue than it being a perch for hunting prey, as both its verbal root, צוּד, and v. 29a make clear

³⁴² Jeremiah 4:13 compares the speed of the enemy's warhorses and that of the vulture (קָלוּ), מְנַשְּׂרִים סוּסָיו, “His horses are swifter than vultures”). Habakkuk 1:8 makes the same comparison. The logic of the divine speech to move from the warhorse to the birds of prey is probably coincidental, because the speed of the warhorse or the vulture is not the salient feature of either image in Yahweh's speech.

³⁴³ Clines (2011, 1131-1132) argues that the understanding in v. 26 belongs to the hawk, and it is evident in its knowledge for migration. In my view, the understanding, like the command in v. 27, belongs to God. The rhetorical emphasis and implication of הִמְבִּינֶתָּהּ יֶאֱכָרֶנָּהּ is that the hawk soars by God's understanding, not that the hawk is wise in itself.

v. 26 pictures the hawk turning its wings to the south, presumably in order to soar on the winds that carry it north (Fohrer 1963, 516).³⁴⁴

The נָשָׁר is a vulture (see §4.5.1; Forti 2008, 30-31). Job signified this bird in 9:26 to describe the brevity of his days, which pass as fast as a vulture swooping upon its prey (נָשָׁר כְּנִשְׁרָא, §4.5.1). As in 9:26, the divine speech draws attention to the vulture's flight (v. 27) and its prey (v. 29). The vulture's flight pattern is an image of wonder (Prov 30:19), strength (Isa 40:31), and speed as they descend upon their prey (Deut 28:49; 2 Sam 1:23; Jer 4:13; Hab 1:8; Lam 4:19). In Job 39, the specific-level concept SOARING is profiled within the more basic domain BIRD FLIGHT. The ability to soar corresponds with their place in the heights in vv. 27-28. Besides its flight, the vulture was also known for its high mountain nests (Jer 49:16; Obad 4). According to Yahweh, the nest serves as a lookout place for food. There is a narrativity to vv. 26-30; the bird soars on the wind to its nest or high perching place from where it looks down with its keen eyesight to find its food. Perhaps ironically, in this scenario, the vulture's food turns out to be the blood and corpses of those who have died in battle (v. 30), recalling the battle image of the warhorse strophe. Yahweh demonstrates how the dead bodies benefit the vulture and its young. In Prov 30:17, young vultures (בְּנֵי־נָשָׁר) are imagined to eat the eye of a disrespectful youth as a kind of retribution. Such punishment is not implied in Job 39:30 where the slain are simply a source of food for the vulture. Newsom (2003a, 248) describes this image as "sublimely horrific," but any horror is simply a byproduct of the natural description of the scavenger bird. The vulture is not associated with wickedness and does not have enemy status before God.

³⁴⁴ For תִּמְנָן as a signification of the south wind, see Ps 78:26 and Song 4:16.

5.5 – Are the Animal Images in Job 38:39-39:30 Metaphorical?

Many interpreters attempt to find some semblance of an answer to Job in the images themselves, understanding them as metaphors for Job. There are two streams of interpretation of metaphor in the divine speeches. First, some consider the images as metaphorical in the sense that they present Job with new metaphors for understanding the world around him. Perdue (1991) exemplifies this first line of interpretation. He claims, “It is the evocative imagery and experience of theophanic event, coupled with the metaphorical content of the speeches, that present a new linguistic vision of creation, divine rule, and human existence” (1991, 199). Perdue’s discussion of metaphors in the divine speeches involves mythological metaphors of creation and governance of the world. For example, he argues that the wild animal imagery deconstructs “the anthropological tradition grounded in the metaphor of humanity as king” (1991, 215). Rather than taking the images as metaphors for Job in the sense that they evoke mappings between ANIMAL and JOB, he understands the speeches of Yahweh as undercutting the more generic metaphors (e.g., HUMANITY IS KING), by which Job imagines his place in the world.

Similarly, Pelham (2012, 25) maintains that God presents “the world of his creation as fundamentally different in almost every particular from that described by Job and his friends as the world-as-it-ought-to-be,” and, thus, “addresses – and unambiguously rejects – Job’s and his friends’ suppositions.” In terms of conceptual theory, Pelham would agree that Yahweh questions basic-level source domains and mappings that Job and his friends assume and express in their dialogue. She moves beyond this description to the more specific level in her interpretation of the animal images (see below).

Newsom’s treatment of Yahweh’s speech is bolder. She says, “The divine speeches present Job with an alternative set of radical metaphors, formal patterns, and modes of perception

capable of generating a fundamentally different moral imagination than that by which Job had previously lived” (Newsom 1994, 14). In her view, Job can only interpret his suffering in relation to social symbols. The wild animals of the divine speech represent objects of God’s care; they have intrinsic moral worth and order, and therefore challenge Job’s disdain for all things wild.

In her more recent Bakhtinian reading of the book of Job as a polyphonic text, Newsom maintains her view that God provides “embedded metaphor by which Job organizes his understanding of reality” in the divine speeches (2003a, 241). Newsom unpacks what she intends by “embedded metaphor” in her explanation of the “contest of tropes” between God and Job (2003a, 239). Her argument is that God’s rhetorical questions intentionally exclude Job from the depiction of the cosmos, reshape the reference points of the moral world to the remote parts of the cosmos, and challenge the adequacy of Job’s moral perspective which asymmetrically values the domestic world over the wild (Newsom 2003a, 240-241). Newsom’s general argument, that Yahweh presents images of the divine care for “liminal” (in Job’s perspective) beings in order to challenge Job’s anthropocentric understanding of the world, is correct in my view. In conceptual terms, Yahweh challenges Job’s metaphors that contain the source concept WILD ANIMAL.³⁴⁵

Newsom herself does not explicate *how* Yahweh expresses metaphor. She acknowledges the complexity of interpreting the excessive images and resists interpreting the images as a “code to be deciphered” (2003a, 236). While I agree with her that the images should not be reduced to

³⁴⁵ Newsom might rather say that the divine speeches question Job’s concept of GOD rather than WILD ANIMALS, since she believes that God is portrayed as in league with beings of chaos as well as order. With regard to God’s excitement over Leviathan, she comments that “the uncomfortable sense grows that God’s identification with the chaotic is as strong as with the symbols or order” (Newsom 2003a, 252). I am not convinced that the beings typically portrayed as chaotic in the ancient Near East are symbols of chaos in Job 38-41. In my view, it is not God joining in the chaos, but the traditional creatures of chaos being valued as part of God’s order.

“propositional summation,” her argument that the images are symbols that give rise to thought, picking up on Ricoeur’s hermeneutics, needs more linguistic specificity (Newsom 2003a, 236).

Other scholars, representing a second stream of interpretation, argue that Yahweh intends for Job to see himself in the animals. Milton Home (2005, 135) notes that the imagery of Yahweh’s speech “implies similarity between Job and the wild animals.” He says that this similarity suggests that the images “function parabolically” (Home 2005, 135), using “parabolically” as a synonym for “metaphorically.” Pelham (2012) fleshes out what Home implies. With regard to the animal speeches, she says,

God’s depiction of animal relationships is intended to apply to humans as well. Both share the same status as God’s creatures, in the light of which the human/animal distinction is minimized. For this reason, what God says about animals can be compared and contrasted with what Job and his friends say about humans. They are providing models for relationship that are different from each other, and not talking about completely different subjects. (2012, 76)

In terms of CMT, Pelham suggests that Yahweh evokes PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and elaborates it as JOB IS AN ANIMAL.

Gordis (1985, 194) argues that “analogy” is key to understanding God’s speeches, saying, “Not denotation but connotation is the essence of poetic expression.” He explains, “Since God is both the Lord of nature and the Governor of history, there is an analogy from the natural world to the human sphere” (194). This may be valid from a philosophical perspective, but Gordis provides no explanation of the linguistic function of “analogy.”

Doak also uses the term “analogy” along with “metaphor” to describe the relationship between Job and the animals. He (2014, 229) concludes that “animals teach Job how to be human . . . like a laughing and roaring and devouring animal.” He takes the animals as “evidence of what it is like to live vulnerably” with assurance in the midst of suffering (199). In this way they serve as analogical examples for Job. Doak interprets Yahweh as the master of animals who

identifies with the animals as “wild.” The wild animal images offer Job a new perspective on life in a cosmos with failure and alienation, a life, according to Doak (218), within which Job and the wild animals are both called to survive.

Similarly, Brown (1999, 374-375) sees a correlation between the untamed animals and Job’s unwillingness to repent. Brown (1999, 367) says, “It is on *his* behalf that these animals proudly go before him for his scrutiny, their eyes and innermost passions becoming, in some sense, his own.” While Brown does not further explain “in some sense,” he argues that the positive portrayal of the animals teaches Job that he is in “good company” (1999, 367). Thus, Yahweh exposes Job’s misguided understanding of the marginalized by showing him that God cares for the wild things, among which is Job himself.

Habel repeatedly draws attention to linguistic correspondences between Job’s speeches and the animals in Yahweh’s speech (1985, 235). With regard to the ostrich, he argues that Yahweh challenges Job to “match the folly of the ostrich” because “they are both fools” (1985, 524). In his view, the reader is to draw a comparison between Job and animal categories. Job and the ostrich belong in the same category of animals that lack discernment (1985, 547). Aside from my argument that רִנְיִים signifies “sandgrouse” whose lack of wisdom or fear ironically protects the species, the text exhibits no overt comparison between this bird and Job.

The poet only explicitly compares Job with animals one time (40:15), so if the images are images *for* Job, the metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS must be inferred from the discourse context. The dominant comparison of the divine speech is between God and Job. Consider Job 39:5, “Who has set the wild donkey free?” (מִי־שָׁלַח פָּרָא הַפֶּשִׁי). The primary rhetorical point is that God and not Job has set the wild donkey free. The secondary point is that God has created the wild donkey to be free. There is no lexically signified mapping between the wild donkey and Job or

anyone else, for that matter. While it is not essential for the target domain to be lexically signified for it to be cognitively present, PEOPLE is not readily apparent in the context of the divine speeches.³⁴⁶ Indeed, some have noted that people are intentionally excluded from the divine speech (Newsom 2003a, 245; Schifferdecker 2008, 83-84). It is possible that the poet is projecting earlier metaphorical mappings onto the divine speech, so that PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS throughout the book of Job may be read coherently with the animal construals in Yahweh's first speech, but there is not adequate evidence for perceptibility. Yahweh's speeches are not straightforwardly metaphorical as Home, Pelham, Doak, and Brown argue.

What is perceptible is a shift in perspective. In cognitive terms, Yahweh profiles WILD ANIMALS against the domain DIVINE CARE instead of the domain DIVINE PUNISHMENT. While this is not metaphor, the divine speeches reframe (i.e., shifting the profiling a concept from one domain to another) the features of creation that Job and his friends assume to be destructive or useless. In this sense, God undercuts Job's source domain for construing ENEMY. This coherence is evident on a basic level in the pericopes on the lion and the wild donkey since the Joban dialogue evokes LION and WILD DONKEY multiple times. Yahweh does not necessarily subvert the principle of retribution, but questions the metaphors that Job uses to imagine divine punishment. These basic-level concepts are elaborations of the more general domain of WILD ANIMAL, which

³⁴⁶ See §2.9, n. 102, for metaphorical significations without expressions of the target domain. In Job 13:25, Job asks God, "Will you frighten a leaf driven about? Will you pursue dry chaff?" (הַעֲלֶה נָדָף תַּעֲרוֹץ וְאֶת-קֶשׁ יָבֵשׁ תִּרְדֹּף). Although Job does not lexically signify himself, he projects the image of wind blowing the withering plant onto his experience of suffering. Job is the dried up chaff being pushed about by God. The concept JOB is contextually present because Job asks in 13:24, "Why do you hide your face and count me as your enemy?" (לְמַה־פָּנִיךָ תִּסְתִּיר וְתִחְשַׁבְנִי לְאֹיֵב) (לְךָ); thus, while v. 24 is not syntactically related to the plant question in v. 25, it provides the cognitive information necessary for metaphorical interpretation. In 13:25, the conceptual target information that is necessary for metaphorical projection is in close proximity to the linguistic expression of the source domain, thus making the metaphor perceptible. See 6:5 (§4.4.1.1) for another example of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS via a rhetorical question.

God takes up throughout 38:39-39:30. It is not that the divine speech necessarily expects readers to recall earlier expressions of WILD ANIMAL in the Joban dialogue, but that Yahweh's animal images cohere on a basic level (LION and WILD DONKEY) and on a superordinate level (BIRD OF PREY, PREDATORY ANIMAL, and NON-PREDATORY DESERT ANIMAL). This more generic level of coherence exemplifies the rhetoric of the divine speeches and lends credence to the view that Yahweh responds to Job. The most perceptible evidence for conceptual coherence is in the significations of LION and WILD DONKEY, but the other animal images also exhibit Yahweh's reframing of the animal kingdom, a point which serves to correct Job's darkening of divine design.

Does Yahweh's reframing of Job's source world do more than correct his understanding of divine design? Does not this new understanding of the goodness of the wild things teach Job something about himself or his place in the divine design? He is newly equipped to understand not only the world of the wilderness, but also to reframe his suffering. He is not the centerpiece of the world. In the dialogue, Job rhetorically groups himself with the marginalized and with God's supposed enemies in order to draw attention to his unjust suffering (§4.7.2). When Yahweh expresses his care and appreciation for these very creatures, he not only undercuts Job's metaphorical construals for his status in God's world, but also seems to express his care for Job. Yes, Job is like the lion, like the marginalized ass, like the sea monster, but, no, he is not Yahweh's enemy. There is no explanation for Job's suffering in these images, but there is recategorization so that Job might know that he belongs among the beloved creatures of God. If this is a correct next step of interpretation, it does not mean that Yahweh expresses metaphor, because there is no cross-domain mapping; rather, there is a reconceptualization in light of

metaphor questioning. Another way of construing it is that Yahweh's images ironically turn the meaning of Job's expressions of *JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL*.

5.6 – Conclusion

I draw two conclusions about the animal images in the divine speech and metaphor. First, the impulse to find an explanation for Job's suffering in Yahweh's words and readerly expectation for coherence, has led to over-reading and imprecise understanding of the animal speech as metaphorical. Yahweh's animal descriptions do not linguistically or contextually signify *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS*, so they are not metaphors for Job. One may correctly argue for metaphor in Yahweh's reframing of *GOD* for Job by revealing himself as a wildlife manager rather than the divine warrior, but I doubt that *GOD IS A WILDLIFE MANAGER* would have been conceptualized as metaphorical for the Joban author or the book's early audience.³⁴⁷ On the whole, Yahweh's important act of instruction is not the expression of new metaphors for Job to contemplate, but the non-metaphorical profiling of concepts in new domains.

Second, in conjunction with the conclusions drawn above, Yahweh calls into question Job's source domains for projecting his understanding of retribution and marginalization. While Yahweh's speech does not overtly express *PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS*, his evocations of *ANIMAL* do question Job's metaphorical expressions on a basic level. Yahweh's description of the wild removes the ground from Job's understanding of the world. One might suppose that this act of reframing necessarily sets off a chain reaction of conceptual reorganization in Job's brain, but his brief and ambiguous response to the divine speeches is insufficient evidence of this.

³⁴⁷ See §4.3.2.2, n. 230, for a discussion of conventional metaphors for *GOD*.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion: Dynamics of Metaphor Coherence in the Joban Discourse

6.1 – Introduction

Throughout this work, I have addressed the issue of how the interlocutors in the Joban discourse “struggle over metaphors” (Newsom 2003a, 119). I have attempted not only to explain the various instances of metaphorical expression in the book of Job, but also to demonstrate how they work together for the larger purposes of the discourse, a task that is often overlooked by both metaphor theorists and biblical interpreters. The surveys of metaphorical construals, via the target domain *SPEECH* and the source domain *ANIMAL*, have proven valuable for shedding light on the book’s themes and the literary character of the discourse, especially in cases where multiple instances of metaphor cohere on a specific or basic conceptual level. I conclude by summarizing my findings on the cases of perceptible metaphor coherence.

6.2 – Coherence as a Consequence of Dialogue

Some of the Joban texts demonstrate conceptual coherence, but do not give the reader reason to read them as intentional textual interactions. These cases of coherent metaphors do not meet the criteria for perceptibility: more perceptible metaphor interactions will be 1) novel, 2) specific, and 3) spatially proximate. Even if one text does not recall an earlier text, coherence still potentially reveals variant perspectives on topics of discussion. This is especially true for the *SPEECH* metaphors in the Joban discourse. For example, the spatial proximity between 5:15-16, 20-21 and 19:2, both of which signify *WORDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE OBJECTS*, is too distant to argue for perceptible coherence, but evaluation of the conceptual metaphor in the texts still reveals subtle differences between the interlocutors’ arguments. Whereas Eliphaz claims that wicked people wield weapons of unjust speech (5:15-16, 20-21), Job implicitly groups his friends among

the wicked for “crushing” him with these very weapons (19:2). Job is not alluding to Eliphaz’s earlier metaphorical expression, but the comparison of the two texts demonstrates basic agreement about conceptualizing words as destructive weapons and disagreement about whose words are rightly categorized as dangerous and wicked. This kind of imperceptible coherence is especially meaningful when observed in a target domain, such as SPEECH, because interlocutors address a common topic.

Another example of coherent SPEECH metaphors that do not meet the criteria of perceptibility is the coherence between the expressions of JOB’S WORDS ARE (ARE NOT) STRENGTHENING OBJECTS in 26:2-4 (Bildad) and 29:21-23 (Job). While there is a high degree of coherence, it is not readily perceptible because the two significations do not cohere on a basic or specific level in the source domain. Job 26:2-4 signifies STRENGTHENING OBJECTS on the generic level, but does not elaborate the source domain, so it is not readily perceived as coherent with the conceptual metaphor in 29:21-23, even though 29:21-24 signifies specific-level elaborations (STRENGTHENING OBJECTS > RAIN). I have argued that there are no apparent allusions or purposeful reuses of particular metaphors between the expressions of JOB’S WORDS ARE STRENGTHENING OBJECTS; rather, the coherence is simply a consequence of Job and his friends debating at various points in their dialogue about the value of speech and what Job’s use of speech says about his moral status.

As for imperceptible but meaningful coherence via the source domain ANIMAL, Job 13:14 and 18:4 both express JOB IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL and JOB IS PREY, imagining Job as a predatory animal inflicting harm upon himself. The important difference is that Job’s expression in 13:14, “I will take my flesh in my teeth” expresses *potential* self-harm that might result from his speech, while Bildad concludes that Job has already torn himself apart. They activate two

different stages of the predation process. Bildad's metaphor in 18:4a does not directly reply to Job's construal in 13:14, but their coherent metaphor evocations reveal a subtle and significant contrast between these interlocutors as they debate the danger of Job's speech.

Tracing metaphors throughout the Joban discourse also illuminates the nature of the progression of the dialogue. For example, a comparison of Eliphaz's WICKED PEOPLE ARE PREDATORY ANIMALS metaphors in 4:10-11 and 22:10 shows how Eliphaz abstained from elaborating WICKED PEOPLE with JOB in his first speech, but by his final speech he makes this elaboration clear. Job uses the same basic metaphor in 29:17, but refuses to elaborate the WICKED PEOPLE slot with JOB. He denies any action that fills the MISDEED portion of the RETRIBUTION scenario. None of these metaphorical expressions cohere in a perceptible way, but comparison still provides insights into the characters' perspectives, the nuances of their arguments, and the progression of the discourse.

6.3 – Perceptible Coherence

Other expressions of metaphor in the Joban discourse more perceptibly pick up on mappings expressed earlier in the dialogue, so that it is appropriate to give them the label "intratextual allusion." In the cases where coherent expressions of metaphor compete in a perceptible way, the interlocutors use metaphor elaboration, extension, and questioning. These are the specific ways that the interlocutors "struggle over metaphors." Metaphor competition involves one interlocutor's expression activating minor conceptual changes in metaphorical mappings in response to another interlocutor's earlier expression of metaphor.

The best example of perceptible metaphor competition in my survey of SPEECH is in variant expressions of JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND. Since WORDS and WIND have few points of

structural similarity, each expression is novel; the metaphorical mappings are strained so that the reader/hearer is forced to struggle with the meaning. Job, Bildad, and Eliphaz all speak this metaphor, and their expressions cohere on basic and specific levels. Additionally, when Yahweh speaks, it is out of the windstorm. In a literal sense, Yahweh's words are spoken in the vehicle of wind, although they surprisingly do not destroy Job.

All three features of metaphor competition (elaboration, extension, and questioning) are present in their varied expressions of WORDS ARE WIND. Job *questions* the *elaboration* of WORDS ARE WIND with JOB'S WORDS ARE WIND (6:26). Bildad responds by elaborating both the source and the target, WORDS ARE WIND > JOB'S WORDS ARE A MIGHTY WIND (8:2). Moreover, he profiles WIND on the base DESTRUCTION, shifting away from Job's accusation that they treat his words as ephemeral. The WIND/DESTRUCTION profiling allows Bildad to *extend* the CONSEQUENCES slot in conceptual scenario of WIND BLOWING, enabling him to construe Job's words as a destructive force with devastating consequences for himself and his family.

6.3.1 – *Elaboration*

Elaboration, the filling and specification of conceptual slots in the source or target domain, is the most common way that interlocutors exploit previously expressed metaphors in the Joban discourse. In the textual significations of WORDS ARE WIND, the interlocutors argue about whether it is right to elaborate WORDS with JOB'S WORDS. Job questions this metaphorical mapping and the friends reassert it. In Eliphaz's second speech, where the targets are WORDS OF THE UNWISE (15:2-3) and THE WORDS OF THE WICKED (15:30), Eliphaz subtly groups Job with those who are unwise. For example, immediately after questioning whether or not a sage would speak windy knowledge (הֶחָכֶם יִעֲנֶה דַעַת־רוּחַ, 15:2), he accuses Job of doing away with fear (אַיִ-

אֶתֶּנָּה תִּפְּרֶה יְרָאָה (15:4), alleging that his sin teaches his mouth (כִּי יֵאָלֶף עֲוֹנִי פִּי, 15:5) and that his mouth condemns him (יִרְשָׁעָה פִּי, 15:6). The contextual significations of JOB, namely, the 2ms pronouns, leave little doubt that JOB'S WORDS is Eliphaz's intended elaboration of WORDS OF THE UNWISE.

The survey of the source domain ANIMAL revealed two examples of the interlocutors expressing competing elaborations with the source PREDATORY ANIMAL (16:9/18:4 and 18:7-12/19:6). First, in 16:9 Job projects PREDATORY ANIMAL onto GOD (JOB IS PREY and GOD IS A PREDATORY ANIMAL) and accuses God of tearing him apart in anger (אֶפֹּו טָרַף וַיִּשְׁטְמֵנִי). Bildad responds in 18:4 by turning Job's metaphorical construal on himself, identifying Job as "one who tears himself apart in his anger" (טָרַף וַיִּפְּשֵׁוּ בָּאָפוֹ). Bildad's expression maintains JOB IS PREY as a metaphorical extension, but elaborates the PREDATORY ANIMAL slot with JOB instead of GOD, so that Job is both predatory animal and prey. It is not God's anger that tears Job, but Job's own anger. Bildad exploits Job's metaphor with a competing elaboration in order to highlight his self-destructive ways.

Job responds to Bildad with a similar exploitation of elaborations. Bildad illustrates the fate of the wicked in 18:7-10 with an extensive TRAP metaphor, in which he expresses WICKED PEOPLE ARE WILD ANIMALS, but does not elaborate the HUNTER slot. Bildad's construal demonstrates the principle of intrinsic retribution, giving the agency to the animal or wicked person himself. Job infers Bildad's implied elaboration of WICKED PERSON as JOB and responds in 19:6 by activating the HUNTER component of the metaphor and projecting it onto GOD (as he also does in 10:16), so that the agency shifts away from himself and onto God (דַּעֲרִאֲפֹו כִּי־אָלֹהִים עֲוֹתָנִי), "Know then, that God has wronged me and his net has enclosed me."). Job adopts the JOB IS A WILD ANIMAL metaphor, but makes it clear that he is neither wicked nor culpable for

his suffering. He detects Bildad's subtle accusation that he is among the wicked, but instead of denying the projection of PREY onto JOB, he claims it as a fitting conceptualization of his plight and turns it into an accusation against God, the one who traps the innocent without just cause.

In these cases of perceptible metaphor competition, elaboration is the primary cognitive tool of the interlocutors. The points of contrast in the competing expressions are subtle, but they serve to frame Job's words and his suffering in significantly variant ways. Adaptation of basic metaphors signify conflicting views on Job's culpability, God's agency in causing Job's suffering, and the potential consequences of Job's speech.

6.3.2 – *Extension*

Extension is the evocation of unconventional slots in the target domain by means of additional elaborations in the source domain. It is common for poets to make a metaphor more novel through extension (Lakoff and Johnson 1989, 67). For example, Job and his companions signify metaphor extension of the conduit metaphor in the expressions of STRENGTHENING WORDS (4:3-4; 16:4-5; 26:2-4; and 29:21-23). This is especially apparent in the cases of words giving strength to actual body parts: hands and knees (4:3-4), and arms (26:2). In 29:21-23, Job adds a slot of SATISFACTION to the conduit metaphor through the source domain RAIN, imagining his counsel quenching the thirst of those who listen to him. The recipients wait on him to drip his words upon them like the spring rain.

This dynamic of metaphor extension is perceptible in Eliphaz's usurpation of Job's highly conventional expression of JOB IS A LION. As I have argued, Job's use of לָאָץ in 3:24 is not overtly metaphorical, but Eliphaz picks up on Job's self-description as one who "roars" in order to warn him against wicked behavior. In 4:10-11, Eliphaz reactivates PEOPLE ARE LIONS

and extends it by describing other details of lion behavior. In this case, the extension activates additional slots in the LION domain that are inactive in Job's expression, including specific LION features (TEETH and PREY) and each element of the RETRIBUTION scenario. Eliphaz's construal of WICKED PEOPLE ARE LIONS does not elaborate WICKED PEOPLE with JOB. Rather, he testifies that Job is not wicked. However, he extends Job's use of נֶאֱסָף to draw attention to the dangerous nature of Job's speech in chapter 3. To Eliphaz's ear, Job is not wicked, but he is speaking like a wicked person, so he exploits and extends PEOPLE ARE LIONS to warn him against wicked behavior.

6.3.3 – Questioning

Metaphor questioning involves one interlocutor challenging particular elaborations or extensions made by another. Any case of perceptible metaphor competition involves the dynamic of metaphor questioning. I have argued that the divine speeches are not metaphorical in themselves, but that they question earlier expressions of ANIMAL metaphors in the dialogue. Yahweh does not express new elaborations of PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS, but he reframes the cognitive domain WILD ANIMALS. He profiles particular animal concepts against the domain DIVINE CARE instead of DIVINE PUNISHMENT or DIVINE HUNTING, and thereby questions the base domain against which Job and his friends profile WILD ANIMALS.

The most perceptible cases of questioning in Yahweh's animal speech are his evocations of LION and WILD DONKEY. In 4:10-11, Eliphaz reasons that an outside agent, presumably God, punishes the lion by removing its teeth. In 10:16, Job construes God as a lion-hunter. Yahweh's pericope on the lion questions the assumption of God's agency in hunting lions. He hunts for the lion and cares for its young rather than punishing it as a wicked beast. In this way, God undercuts

Job's source domain for construing ENEMY. Yahweh does not necessarily subvert the principle of retribution, but questions the metaphors that Job and his friends use to imagine divine punishment.

As for the wild donkey, Yahweh questions profiling WILD DONKEY against the domain DIVINE NEGLECT. Contrary to the assumption of Job's construals in chapters 24 and 30, Yahweh celebrates the freedom and self-reliance of the wild donkey. While Yahweh's positive assessment of the wild donkey says nothing about poor or unkind people, his reframing stands in contrast to the framing necessary for Job's evocation of JOB'S MOCKERS ARE WILD DONKEYS in 30:3-8. As I said in my discussion of 39:5-8, if Yahweh's speech originally followed Job 29-31, the intratextuality with 30:1-8 is readily perceptible. The coherence is again by way of questioning. Yahweh's construal serves to reorient Job to the divine perspective on the character of the wild donkey. Job darkens divine design by calling his mockers "asses" because it mars the image of Yahweh's wild creatures.

6.4 – Conclusion

In the book of Job, metaphorical construal discloses the speakers' assumptions and variant perspectives on Job's suffering, highlighting key areas of agreement and disagreement throughout the discourse. The dialogue takes place within the discourse world of the literary characters, which is presented by a real author to real readers. The book is so difficult, in part, because readers are only able to access the major themes and rhetorical aims of the text through the direct speech of the characters. And which voice wins out? Job is more right than the friends (42:7), but he is also wrong (38:2). The typically trusted voice of Yahweh is opaque and the relatively silent narrator does not provide us with an interpretive key. In spite of the book's

philosophical and literary difficulties, the readerly effort to seek out the meaning of the book of Job is not to be discounted. Indeed, part of the meaning must reside in the experience of reading itself, struggling with the complexities and ambiguities throughout the dialogue. Any effort at conceptualizing the meaning of the book of Job must keep in mind the overall arc of the book, but also grapple with the minutia of the poetic dialogue, that is, particular turns of phrase, subtle innuendoes, and elusive allusions, all of which come to light in the study of metaphor.

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