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Praise and Metonymy in the Psalms:
A Cognitive-Semantic Study

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Abstract

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By Travis J. Bott

This study makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of Hebrew praise language in the Psalms. In addition, it devotes sustained attention to the neglected topic of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible. The theoretical framework for investigating both of these topics and exploring their interaction is cognitive semantics, a major branch of the cognitive movement in contemporary linguistics. This study defines metonymy as a cognitive process in which one entity (the vehicle) provides mental access to another perceptually contiguous entity (the target). It also draws on three recent theoretical developments: metonymy as a prototypical category, metonymy in lexical polysemy, and the interaction of metaphor and metonymy in expressions (metaphtonymy). A cognitive-semantic approach to the Psalms reveals that metonymy profoundly shapes the language and concepts of Hebrew praise.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The present study has two interrelated interests. Most basically, it will make a fresh contribution to the understanding of Hebrew praise language in the Psalms. In addition, it will devote sustained attention to the neglected topic of metonymy¹ in the Hebrew Bible. The theoretical framework for investigating both of these topics and showing their interaction will be cognitive semantics, a branch of cognitive linguistics. A cognitive-semantic approach will show how metonymy shapes the language and concepts of praise in the Psalter. That is the goal of the present study.

This overarching agenda raises four preliminary questions. First, what are cognitive linguistics and cognitive semantics? Second, how have biblical scholars applied cognitive-semantic theory to the Hebrew Bible in recent research? Third, what is the

¹ In contemporary English, some authors distinguish between *metonymy*, meaning ‘the substitution of the name of an attribute or adjunct for that of the thing meant’ (*NOAD* 1102), and *a metonym*, meaning ‘a word, name, or expression used as a substitute for something else with which it is closely associated’ (*NOAD* 1101–2). In other words, *metonymy* is a semantic operation, and *a metonym* is a specific instance of this operation. For the sake of simplicity and in keeping with common usage in cognitive semantics (see, e.g., *GCL* 141–43), this study uses the word *metonymy* for both operation and instance. As *NOAD* notes (1102), this is the older usage. *Metonymy* entered English in the mid 16th century, but *metonym* appeared in the mid 19th century as a back-formation from *metonymy*. In contrast to the definition given by *NOAD*, cognitive semantics does not regard metonymy as a “substitution.” This issue is addressed below.

current understanding of metonymy in cognitive semantics? Fourth, how will the present study use a cognitive-semantic view of metonymy to investigate praise language in the Psalms? This first chapter seeks to answer these four questions.

1. Cognitive Linguistics

Cognitive linguistics is a recent movement within the field of general linguistics that is interested in the interrelation of human language, mental processes, and bodily experience.² On the one hand, it developed as a reaction against the formal approach to language, especially generativist linguistics.³ On the other hand, it received impetus from discoveries in the area of the cognitive sciences, such as new understandings of categorization, Gestalt psychology, and the neural basis of language and cognition.

Cognitive linguistics emerged in the late 1970s, mostly among linguists working along the western coast of the United States. In the 1980s, its influence reached northern

² Four recent introductions to cognitive linguistics are David Lee, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); William Croft and D. Alan Cruse, *Cognitive Linguistics* (CTL; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Friedrich Ungerer and Hans-Jörg Schmid, *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics* (LAL; 2nd ed.; London: Pearson Longman, 2006); Vyvyan Evans and Melanie Green, *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction* (London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006). The most comprehensive of these introductions is the one by Evans and Green.

³ See, for example, the influential works of Noam Chomsky: *Syntactic Structures* (The Hague: Mouton, 1957); *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1965); *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use* (New York: Praeger, 1986); *The Minimalist Program* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995).

Europe, especially the Netherlands, Germany, and Belgium. By the 1990s, it had spread throughout North America and Europe. Today, scholars all over the globe are actively pursuing cognitive-linguistic research, and it is one of the most important schools of thought in modern linguistics. That being said, it is important to realize that cognitive linguistics has not produced a homogenous theory of language. Rather, it is a conglomeration of perspectives and approaches that overlap, cooperate, and conflict with each other. Despite this diversity, however, it is possible to describe cognitive linguistics as a broad “enterprise” or “movement” that is held together by key commitments and guiding principles.⁴

The significance of cognitive linguistics becomes clear when we compare its key commitments to those of formal linguistics. Formal linguistics holds to a modular theory of the mind, in which the language faculty is distinct from other cognitive capacities. Because of this, language can be studied apart from other areas of cognition, and linguistics can serve as an independent source of knowledge about the human mind. In addition, within the language module, different mental processes produce discreet aspects of language. Therefore, formal linguistics divides language into distinct sub-disciplines

⁴ This section follows closely the definition of Vyvyan Evans, Benjamin K. Bergen, and Jörg Zinken, “The Cognitive Linguistics Enterprise: An Overview,” in *The Cognitive Linguistics Reader* (eds. V. Evans, B. Bergen, and J. Zinken; London: Equinox, 2007), 2–36. For the same approach to description, see Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*.

such as phonology (sound), morphology (word structure), semantics (meaning), pragmatics (usage in context), and syntax (sentence structure).

George Lakoff has observed that all scholars working under the umbrella of cognitive linguistics share two key commitments that set them apart: the Generalization Commitment and the Cognitive Commitment.⁵ In contrast to formal linguistics, the two key commitments of cognitive linguistics produce a more holistic picture of language and mind. The Generalization Commitment is a dedication to discovering principles that apply to all aspects of human language.⁶ While cognitive linguists acknowledge the practical usefulness of sub-disciplines, they do not assume that sub-disciplines represent distinct mental processes. Rather, they are interested in exploring the ways in which all aspects of language arise from a common set of cognitive abilities. In addition, the Cognitive Commitment is a dedication to testing the general principles of language by means of what is known about the human mind from other disciplines, particularly the cognitive sciences.⁷ Cognitive linguists do not believe that language and cognition can be

⁵ George Lakoff, “The Invariance Hypothesis: Is Abstract Reason Based on Image Schemas?” *CL* 1 (1990): 39–74.

⁶ The Generalization Commitment “constitutes a commitment to the characterization of general principles that are responsible for all aspects of human language. This commitment follows from the assumption central to cognitive linguistics that language reflects general cognitive mechanisms and processes” (Vyvan Evans, *Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press [2007]: 88–89).

⁷ The Cognitive Commitment “represents the view that the principles of linguistic structure should

isolated from each other. Rather, they must be studied together. This commitment makes cognitive linguistics fundamentally interdisciplinary in nature. In sum, we could say that formal linguistics is a minimalist approach to language that establishes distinctions, but cognitive linguistics is a maximalist approach that looks for connections.⁸

There are two major branches of research within cognitive linguistics: cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar.⁹ They are both concerned with understanding the relations of mind and language, but they go about their tasks in different ways. Cognitive semantics studies language as a means to understanding the mind's construction of conceptual structures. Cognitive approaches to grammar use what is known about the mind to describe whole language systems. These two areas of study are not exclusive of each other. Although they tend to be separate in practice, they are compatible in theory, and cognitive approaches to grammar often assume the results of cognitive semantics.

reflect what is known about human cognition from other disciplines, particularly the other cognitive sciences. . . . It follows from the cognitive commitment that language and linguistic organization should reflect general cognitive principles rather than cognitive principles that are specific to language" (*GCL* 19).

⁸ The language of "minimalist" and "maximalist" approaches to language comes from Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 277–78.

⁹ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, "Enterprise," 5–6.

Cognitive Approaches to Grammar

Since this study does not focus on grammar, it will briefly summarize cognitive approaches to grammar before moving on to a fuller discussion of cognitive semantics. This branch of cognitive linguistics has two guiding principles, namely, the symbolic thesis and the usage-based thesis.¹⁰ The symbolic thesis states that the most basic unit of grammar is a form-meaning pairing in the mind of the speaker.¹¹ If all linguistic units join phonological and semantic elements, then language is inherently symbolic in nature. In contrast to formal linguistics, which enforces a strict division between syntactic form and lexical meaning, cognitive approaches to grammar regard form and meaning as inseparable. Lexicon and grammar form a continuum, and units from the morpheme to the sentence are viewed as meaningful. Next, the usage-based thesis holds that the mental grammar of a speaker is built up by storing linguistic units in the process of actual

¹⁰ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 20–22.

¹¹ “The symbolic thesis holds that the fundamental unit of grammar is a form-meaning pairing, a linguistic unit. This is at odds with the ‘words and rules’ approach to grammar adopted in formal linguistics. By adopting the symbolic thesis, cognitive approaches to grammar are not restricted to investigating the aspects of grammatical structure independently of meaning, as is often the case in formal linguistics. Instead, cognitive approaches to grammar encompass the entire inventory of linguistic units defined as form-meaning pairings. These run the gamut from skeletal syntactic configurations . . . to idioms . . . to bound morphemes like the *-er* suffix, to words. This entails that the modular approach towards language and the mind cannot be meaningfully upheld within cognitive linguistics where the boundary between cognitive semantics and cognitive approaches to grammar is less clearly defined. Instead, meaning and grammar are seen as mutually interdependent and complementary” (*GCL* 208).

language use.¹² In contrast to formal linguistics, cognitive approaches to grammar do not make a clear distinction between linguistic competence and performance: proper use of a language *is* knowledge of that language.

There are three different cognitive approaches to grammar:¹³ cognitive grammars investigate the cognitive principles that inform the linguistic system as a whole;¹⁴ construction grammars focus on discrete constructions within the grammar;¹⁵ and cognitive approaches to grammaticalization study how grammatical elements develop over time.¹⁶

¹² “The usage-based thesis holds that the mental grammar of the language user is formed by the abstraction of symbolic units from situated instances of language use: an utterance. An important consequence of adopting the usage-based thesis is that there is no principled distinction between knowledge of language and use of language, since knowledge of language *is* knowledge of how language is used” (GCL 216–17).

¹³ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 22–28.

¹⁴ The most comprehensive theory of grammar from a cognitive perspective is Ronald W. Langacker, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar* (2 vols.; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987, 1991). See also the following introductions: John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Ronald W. Langacker, *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Despite its misleading name, the following work belongs in the category of cognitive grammar as well: Leonard Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

¹⁵ For example, see J.-O. Östman and M. Fried, eds., *Construction Grammars: Cognitive Grounding and Theoretical Extensions* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005).

¹⁶ For example, see Bernd Heine, Ulrike Claudi, and Friederike Hünemeyer, *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1991).

Cognitive Semantics

Like the cognitive-linguistics movement as a whole, cognitive semantics is diverse.

Cognitive semanticists have various interests, and they take various approaches to investigating those interests, but they share four guiding principles regarding the nature of linguistic meaning: meaning is embodied, conceptual, constructed, and encyclopedic.¹⁷

First of all, meaning is embodied.¹⁸ We can only talk about things that we perceive, and what we perceive depends upon our bodily experience of the world. Color perception is a good example of this. Squirrels see fewer colors than humans, and pigeons see more. Rattlesnakes are able to see in the infrared range, but humans are unable to see in this range. Thus it follows that humans have a species-specific way of thinking about and talking about color.¹⁹ This observation is also known as the embodied cognition thesis.

¹⁷ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 6–9. This study rearranges the order of the four guiding principles. It also uses the language of “constructed meaning” rather than “conceptualization” in order to avoid confusion with the principle of conceptual meaning. Finally, this study supplies an example for the principle of constructed meaning based on the encyclopedic example given by Evans, Bergen, and Zinken.

¹⁸ “This thesis (of embodied cognition) holds that the human mind and conceptual organization are a function of the way in which our species-specific bodies interact with the environment we inhabit” (*GCL* 66).

¹⁹ This example is drawn from Evans, Bergen and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 7.

Second, meaning is conceptual.²⁰ Language refers, first of all, to concepts in the mind of the speaker rather than directly to objects in the external world. For example, the word *mustache* refers to the concept MUSTACHE²¹ not to a particular mustache.²² Of course, we use the word to speak about particular mustaches, but its pointing function depends upon the prior concept.²³ In addition, the set of lexical concepts is smaller than the total number of concepts in the mind. For example, English-speakers have no common word for the place below the nose and above the lip where a mustache grows, but they are able to conceptualize it.²⁴ Thus cognitive linguistics takes a representational, rather than a denotational, view of meaning.

²⁰ The principle of “semantic structure reflects conceptual structure . . . asserts that language refers to concepts in the mind of the speaker rather than, directly, to entities which inhere in an objectively real external world” (*GCL* 195).

²¹ Following standard practice in linguistics literature, in this study I use *italics* for lexical items and specific examples, ‘single quotes’ for word meanings, and SMALL CAPITALS for concepts. Double quotes have their normal use.

²² Evans, Bergen and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 8.

²³ There are some words—such as demonstrative pronouns—that have a primary referring function, but these are the exceptions that prove the general rule. In most cases in lexical semantics, representation is primary, and denotation is secondary.

²⁴ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, in dependence on Langacker (1987), “Enterprise,” 8.

Third, meaning is constructed.²⁵ A word is not a receptacle that holds meaning. Rather, it is a prompt for the process of constructing meaning in the mind. For example, the word *safe* can be used to mean ‘not likely to be harmed’ or ‘not likely to cause harm.’²⁶ A hearer will need to know the context in order to know which meaning is most appropriate for selection. In the sentence *The child is safe on the beach*, the hearer will most likely select the first possibility: the child is ‘not likely to be harmed.’²⁷ This selection is the hearer’s active construction of meaning on the basis of the word’s conventional usage and the constraints of the context.

Fourth, meaning is encyclopedic.²⁸ Meaning includes, but is not limited to, the conventional usage patterns normally found in a dictionary. Words serve as points of

²⁵ “‘Meaning-construction is conceptualization’ . . . asserts that language itself does not encode meaning. Instead, words (and other linguistic units) are treated as ‘prompts’ for the construction of meaning Meaning-construction is equated with conceptualization, a process whereby linguistic units serve as prompts for an array of conceptual operations and the recruitment of background knowledge. On this view, meaning is a process rather than a discreet ‘thing’ that can be ‘packaged’ by language” (*GCL* 131).

²⁶ *NOAD* 1537. *NOAD* lists ‘not likely to be harmed’ as the core meaning and ‘not likely to cause harm’ as a derived meaning. If that is accurate, this an EFFECT FOR CAUSE lexical metonymy.

²⁷ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 8–9.

²⁸ “‘Meaning representation is encyclopaedic’ . . . holds that semantic structure is encyclopaedic in nature. This means that a lexical concept does not represent a neatly packaged bundle of meaning. Rather, lexical concepts serve as access sites to vast repositories of knowledge relating to a particular concept, conceptual domain or cognitive model” (*GCL* 132).

access to much larger conceptual backgrounds. For example, consider the following sentences:

- (1) The beach is safe.
- (2) The shovel is safe.

In both cases, the hearer will select the conventional meaning ‘not likely to cause harm’ for the word *safe*. However, the nature of the meaning will differ in each case. Beaches and shovels are safe in very different ways. In example (1), a beach is safe if it lacks dangerous marine animals or powerful waves, but in example (2) a shovel is safe if it has a sturdy handle that will not break and a dull blade that will not cut. A hearer needs to call up a larger conceptual background in order to picture appropriately the kind of safety involved.

The four guiding principles of cognitive semantics have led to four areas of study, though there is not a one-to-one correspondence between them: encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings, and mental spaces and blends.²⁹ The first of these theories is encyclopedic semantics.³⁰ Formal linguistics makes a sharp distinction

²⁹ This division of research areas is my own based on that of Evans, Bergen, and Zinken (“Enterprise,” 9–20). They divide cognitive semantics into eight theoretical areas: (1) image schema theory, (2) encyclopedic semantics, (3) categorization and idealized cognitive models (ICMs), (4) cognitive lexical semantics, (5) conceptual metaphor theory, (6) conceptual metonymy theory, (7) mental spaces theory, and (8) conceptual blending theory. In my scheme, area 2 stands on its own, but I combine areas 3 and 4 under prototypical categories, areas 1, 5, and 6 under conceptual mappings, and areas 7 and 8 under mental spaces and blends.

³⁰ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 10–12.

between word meanings, linguistic usage, and general world knowledge. By contrast, encyclopedic semantics rejects such hard-and-fast divisions. Knowing a word's meaning involves familiarity with the ways that word is used in various linguistic contexts against a backdrop of cultural knowledge. Therefore, the principled distinction between the dictionary and the encyclopedia breaks down. This does not mean, however, that a word can mean anything or everything. The encyclopedic knowledge connected to a word is structured into a unique network that gives more salience to some elements and less to others.³¹ For example, the word *mango* includes information about the shape, color, and taste of the fruit that is more prominent than its culinary or ceremonial uses, but there are situations in which that information also plays an important role. The core meaning associated with a word may remain fairly stable, while the knowledge that it accesses is dynamic and open to modification. For example, we have a basic understanding of the concept CAR (e.g., four wheels) that is constantly being updated on the basis of new automobile technology (e.g., hybrid engines). The most prominent advocates of an encyclopedic approach to lexical semantics are Charles Fillmore, who speaks of semantic frames,³² and Ronald Langacker, who speaks of cognitive domains.³³

³¹ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, "Enterprise," 11.

³² Charles Fillmore, "Frame Semantics," in *Linguistics in the Morning Calm* (ed. Linguistic Society of Korea; Seoul: Hanshin, 1982), 111–37.

The second group of cognitive semantics is prototypical categories.³⁴ The classical theory of categorization held that categories can be defined by necessary and sufficient features, that they have clear boundaries, and that all members of the category basically have equal status. However, a new model emerged when Eleanor Rosch provided experimental evidence that categories are constructed according to prototypes, that they have fuzzy boundaries, and that they exhibit typicality effects.³⁵ A prototype is a representative instance of a category by means of which the mind assimilates other instances to the category on the basis of their resemblance to the prototype. This notion allows for overlapping categories and judgments regarding better and worse instances of the category (i.e., typicality effects). For example, while *chair* clearly belongs to the category FURNITURE, *carpet* is ambiguous. George Lakoff developed the theory of idealized cognitive models (ICMs) to explain the typicality effects discovered by Rosch.³⁶ ICMs are relatively stable knowledge structures that serve as backgrounds for conceptual understanding and guides for categorization. According to Lakoff, typicality effects arise

³³ Langacker, *Foundations I*.

³⁴ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, "Enterprise," 12–15.

³⁵ Eleanor Rosch, "Cognitive Representations of Semantic Categories," *JEP* 104 (1975): 192–233.

³⁶ See George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

when ICMs come into conflict with one another in various ways. For example, the Pope is judged to be a poor example of the category BACHELOR when he is viewed against the ICM of the ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, as opposed to the institution of MARRIAGE. This theory of ICMs then provided the foundation for Lakoff's understanding of cognitive lexical semantics, which regards words themselves as conceptual categories, which are radial structures with a central prototype linked to peripheral category members. For example, the word *over* has a central spatial sense of 'above,' from which is derived the more peripheral sense of 'control' (e.g., *I have power over you*).

The third group of cognitive semantics includes theories of conceptual mapping, especially metaphor³⁷ and metonymy.³⁸ Lakoff and Johnson have demonstrated that metaphor is not simply a literary or rhetorical technique; rather, it is a cognitive process that is fundamental to human thought itself.³⁹ That means that metaphor is conceptual as

³⁷ NOAD defines *metaphor* generally as “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable” (1100). From a cognitive linguistic perspective, GCL defines *metaphor* as “a form of conceptual projection involving mappings or correspondences holding between distinct conceptual domains” (136–38).

³⁸ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 16–17. Under conceptual mapping, I also include image schema theory (Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 9–10). According to Mark Johnson, image schemas are rudimentary concepts that arise from pre-conceptual experience of the world (*The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987]). In other words, the human mind creates basic mental images like CONTAINER, CONTACT, and BALANCE by mapping features of embodied perception onto a conceptual structure. For example, the CONTAINER schema undergirds the description of a couple as being *in love*. Such image schemas then provide the material for building more complex abstractions and cognitive domains.

³⁹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago

well as linguistic. Conceptual metaphor has three major characteristics.⁴⁰ First, conceptual metaphor involves the conjunction of two domains of knowledge on the basis of perceived similarity. Second, conceptual metaphor involves the systematic mapping of features between these two domains. Third, conceptual metaphor has directionality. That is, features of the first domain (i.e., the source domain) are mapped onto features of the second domain (i.e., the target domain) in order to understand the second domain better. Since metaphor is experientially grounded, the source domain tends to be more concrete and the target domain tends to be more abstract. Consider the following sentences:

- (3) Look *how far* we've *come*.
 We're at a *crossroads*.
 We can't *turn back* now.
 I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.
Where are we?
 We're just *spinning our wheels*.
 It's been a *long, bumpy road*.⁴¹

Although the language is different in each case, taken together, the sentences in example

(3) illustrate the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY (example 4):

Press, 1980). For an investigation of conceptual metaphor in literature, see George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989).

⁴⁰ The “three pillars” of conceptual metaphor theory come from Dirk Geeraerts, *Theories*, 204–8.

⁴¹ These examples come from Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (2nd ed.; Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), 6.

(4)	Source: JOURNEY	Target: LOVE
	travelers	lovers
	vehicle	love relationship
	journey	events in the relationship
	distance covered	progress made
	obstacles encountered	difficulties experienced
	decisions about where to go	choices in the relationship
	destination of the journey	goal(s) of the relationship ⁴²

This metaphor involves two domains: JOURNEY and LOVE; there is a systematic correspondence between them; and the direction of mapping moves from the more concrete source (JOURNEY) to the more abstract target (LOVE). The purpose is gaining a better understanding of the difficult concept LOVE.

Just as metaphor operates at the conceptual level, so too does metonymy.⁴³

Conceptual metonymy⁴⁴ has three characteristics.⁴⁵ As in the case of conceptual metaphor, these characteristics concern domains, mapping, and directionality, but they also differ in significant ways. First, conceptual metonymy involves the conjunction of two entities within a single domain of knowledge on the basis of perceived contiguity. Second,

⁴² These examples come from Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 9.

⁴³ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 35–40; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 171–92.

⁴⁴ *NOAD* defines *metonymy* generally as “the substitution of the name of an attribute or adjunct for that of the thing meant” (1102). Within the discussions of cognitive linguistics, *GCL* defines *metonymy* as “a conceptual operation in which one entity, the vehicle, can be employed in order to identify another entity, the target, with which it is associated” (141–43).

⁴⁵ Geeraerts, *Lexical Semantics*, 213–15.

conceptual metonymy involves a single mapping between entities. At the same time, however, these mappings are systematic and thus fall into regularly recurring patterns.

Third, conceptual metonymy has a directional movement in which a vehicle entity stands for a target entity. The vehicle tends to be simpler or more concrete than the target. While the primary function of metaphor is understanding, the primary function of metonymy is referring. However, metonymy also aids understanding by focusing attention.⁴⁶ Consider the following sentences:

(5) PART FOR WHOLE

There are a lot of good *heads* in the university. (= people)

She's just a pretty *face*. (= woman)

I've got a new set of *wheels*. (= car)

OBJECT USED FOR USER

We need a better *glove* at third base. (= player)

The *sax* has the flu today. (= musician)

The *gun* he hired wanted fifty grand. (= hit man)

PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT

He bought a *Ford*. (= car)

He's got a *Picasso* in his den. (= painting)

I hate to read *Heidegger*. (= books)⁴⁷

In each case in example (5), one entity (e.g., head) refers to another entity (e.g., person) with which it is associated. There is only one mapping from vehicle to target, but the fact

⁴⁶ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 36–37.

⁴⁷ These examples come from Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 36–38.

that multiple examples follow established patterns (e.g., PART FOR WHOLE, OBJECT USED FOR USER, and PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT) is evidence of conceptual metonymy. In addition, these metonymies do more than refer. Take, for instance, the sentence *We need a better arm at third base*.⁴⁸ The word *arm* refers to a baseball player, but substituting the word *player* for *arm* would not produce the same meaning. *We need a better player at third base* is too general. In a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy, there are many parts that could represent the whole, and the choice of a part will influence the understanding of the whole. In this case, the speaker chose the word *arm* in order to highlight the player's throwing ability. If he had wished to focus on the player's catching ability, he might have chosen to use the word *glove*. Therefore, we could more accurately rephrase the sentence in this way: *We need a player who is better at throwing at third base*. In addition to referring, metonymies also guide understanding.⁴⁹

The fourth group of cognitive semantics includes theories of mental spaces and conceptual blending. According to Gilles Fauconnier, mental spaces are conceptual regions or packets of information that are set up while we talk and think to partition

⁴⁸ This is my own explanation of Lakoff and Johnson's example.

⁴⁹ Instead of speaking of a "source entity" (Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 265), Kövecses prefers to speak of a "vehicle entity" that "provides mental access" to the target entity (*Metaphor*, 173). The vehicle does not simply substitute for the target; neither does the target leave the vehicle behind. Rather, both vehicle and target are present in the full meaning of a metonymy: one understands the target through the vehicle.

knowledge into meaningful units.⁵⁰ Words do not hold meaning per se but act as prompts for meaning construction on the basis of the unfolding discourse context. Certain words function as space builders that either trigger the construction of new mental spaces from the raw materials of prior knowledge or shift attention back and forth between previously established mental spaces. Examples of space builders are prepositional phrases (e.g., *in the 1980s*), adverbs (e.g., *probably*), and embedded sentences (e.g., *He believes that she is still alive*). Developed by Fauconnier and Turner, conceptual blending theory presupposes and builds on the ideas of mental spaces theory.⁵¹ This theory holds that certain kinds of meaning construction not only involve the creation of and movement between mental spaces but also the conceptual integration or blending of elements from different spaces. Thus, meaning construction requires an integration network, consisting of at least two input mental spaces: a generic space, which registers the correspondences between the inputs, and a blended space, which contains the emergent structure that results from the blending of inputs. For example, consider the following sentence: *If Beethoven were alive today, he would play a synthesizer.*⁵² The words *if* and *would* open a

⁵⁰ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 18–19. See Gilles Fauconnier, *Mental Spaces* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁵¹ Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Enterprise,” 19–20. See Gilles Fauconnier and Mark Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind’s Hidden Complexities* (New York: Basic, 2002).

⁵² This example is adapted from Dirk Geeraerts, “Introduction: A Rough Guide to Cognitive Linguistics,” in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (ed. Dirk Geeraerts; CLR 34; Berlin: Mouton de

hypothetical mental space. The input spaces are Beethoven's time and our own. The generic space holds the instruments that Beethoven used and contemporary analogues, and the blended space produces a novel combination on the basis of Beethoven's reputation for innovation.

Summary

By way of summary, we may say that, although it is a diverse movement, cognitive linguistics can be characterized by its key commitments. Cognitive linguists seek to describe language in ways that both fit with what is known about the human mind (the Cognitive Commitment) and apply across all areas of language (the Generalization Commitment). In addition, there are two major branches of cognitive linguistics: cognitive approaches to grammar and cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics views meaning as embodied, conceptual, constructed, and encyclopedic. These guiding principles give rise to four areas of study: encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings (metaphor and metonymy), and mental spaces and blends.

2. Cognitive Semantics and the Hebrew Bible

As a movement, cognitive linguistics is about thirty years old, but biblical scholars have only been drawing on cognitive linguistics for about ten years. In 2002, there was a conference in Amsterdam that brought together cognitive linguists, biblical exegetes, and Hebrew lexicographers to study Job 28 as a focal text. The papers from that conference were published in 2003.⁵³ Although a few studies appeared before that point,⁵⁴ the Amsterdam conference was the beginning of serious conversation between researchers in cognitive linguistics and biblical studies. As the choice of the biblical text and the list of participants indicate, Hebrew Bible scholars have shown more interest in cognitive linguistics than have New Testament scholars.⁵⁵ In addition, Hebrew Bible scholars have mostly undertaken studies in the area of cognitive semantics rather than in the area of cognitive approaches to grammar.⁵⁶ In what follows, I survey studies of the Hebrew Bible

⁵³ Ellen van Wolde, ed., *Job 28: Cognition in Context* (BIS 64; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

⁵⁴ Ellen van Wolde (*Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2009], 8) names Kjell Yri (*My Father Taught Me How to Cry, but Now I Have Forgotten: The Semantics of Religious Concepts with an Emphasis on Meaning, Interpretation, and Translatability* [AH 29; Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1998]) as the first to apply cognitive linguistics in the field of biblical studies.

⁵⁵ Exceptions are the following: Bonnie Howe, *Because You Bear This Name: Conceptual Metaphor and the Moral Meaning of I Peter* (BIS 81; Leiden: Brill, 2006); Robert H. Von Thaden, Jr., *Sex, Christ, and Embodied Cognition: Paul's Wisdom for Corinth* (ESEC 16; Dorset: Deo, 2012). Howe's book falls into the category of conceptual mapping (both metaphor and metonymy), and Von Thaden's is in the area of conceptual blending.

⁵⁶ A major exception to the preference for cognitive semantics is van Wolde's *Reframing Biblical*

that fall into the four areas of cognitive semantics—that is, encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings, and mental spaces and blends.

Encyclopedic Semantics

Drawing on the semantic theory of Ronald Langacker, Ellen van Wolde has undertaken an encyclopedic study of the Hebrew word ‘gate’ (שַׁעַר).⁵⁷ Langacker uses the terminology of profile, base, and cognitive domain. A profile is the concept designated by a word; a cognitive domain is a category of knowledge that provides the background for making sense of the concept; and a base is the portion of the domain necessarily invoked by the concept. A concept can have more than one overlapping domain. This situation is called a domain matrix. In the case of the word שַׁעַר, van Wolde finds that it has two basic conceptualizations in the Hebrew Bible. In the Pentateuch, Former Prophets, and a few other books (i.e., Isa 1–39, Amos, Job, Ruth), the word profiles an ENTRANCE STRUCTURE on the base of a CITY. This conceptualization has a domain matrix of three domains: HABITATION, ADMINISTRATION, and WAR. By contrast, in the Latter Prophets and Writings, the

Studies. She adopts Ronald Langacker’s theory of Cognitive Grammar and claims that it is capable of “reframing” the entire discipline of biblical studies. Although it clearly has promise for understanding the Hebrew language, her claims are exaggerated. For a study of the “mental processing” expressed by the verb טָמַא in Gen 34, see ch. 9 (269–353). Although her study yields many insights, it proves unwieldy when van Wolde turns the linguistic theory into an exegetical method.

⁵⁷ van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 72–103.

word profiles an ENTRANCE STRUCTURE on the base of the CITY OF JERUSALEM. In this case, there is only the domain of JERUSALEM. Van Wolde discovers that these different conceptualizations correspond to additional evidence in history and archaeology. In the ninth and early eighth centuries BCE, gates in Canaan were monumental and impressive, consisting of an outer gate, a courtyard, and an inner gate with four or six chambers. This structure allowed space for community activities, civil administration, and mustering warriors. However, in the mid-eighth century BCE, Assyria destroyed most of these cities with their large gates. Only Jerusalem was left. If the cities were rebuilt, they were rebuilt with simple gate structures. Therefore, the gate lost its additional uses and became merely a passage to the city. Beginning in the seventh century, the word שַׁעַר evoked a much simpler image of a ‘gate.’ These findings have implications for the dating of the Hebrew Bible. Books that use the more complex gate concept would seem to be earlier, while books that use the simpler gate concept would seem to be later.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Like van Wolde, Terrance Wardlaw using Langacker’s terminology to analyze words for God, but his study is not strictly encyclopedic because he limits himself to the literary context of the Pentateuch (Conceptualizing Words for God within the Pentateuch: A Cognitive-Semantic Investigation in Literary Context [LHB/OTS 495; London: T&T Clark, 2008]).

Prototypical Categories

Christo van der Merwe advocates an approach to Classical Hebrew lexicography that takes into account prototypical categories.⁵⁹ He criticizes the standard Hebrew lexicons for not presenting information about conceptual relations and for not weighting the word meanings that they do list. In order to illustrate the contribution of cognitive semantics, he considers the group of Hebrew words that make up the concept of STRENGTH and finds that they form a folk taxonomy with a basic level. A basic level is the prototypical core of a taxonomy. The core of the category is the noun כח and the verb or adjective חזק. He marshals four pieces of evidence for this claim. First, the word כח is morphologically simple in contrast to a more complex word like גבורה, and simple words tend to be more prototypical. Second, both כח and חזק are unnuanced and unmarked for quantity of strength, whereas the other words he studied are nuanced or marked for quantity. Third, כח and חזק have an even distribution between people and God, whereas other words tend to be used either for people or for God. Fourth, כח and חזק are the most frequently occurring words for STRENGTH in Classical Hebrew—a fact which supports their salience. Van der Merwe's point is that important semantic information remains inaccessible when

⁵⁹ Christo H. J. van der Merwe, "Lexical Meaning in Biblical Hebrew and Cognitive Semantics: A Case Study," *Bib* 87 (2006): 85–95.

Hebrew dictionaries treat lexical items in isolation and give the same general gloss for related words.⁶⁰

Conceptual Mappings

In the area of conceptual mapping, Job Jindo has applied the conceptual metaphor theory of Lakoff and Johnson to metaphors in the book of Jeremiah.⁶¹ In the older view of the prophets, scholars viewed them as preachers who use metaphor as a figure of speech or ornament to convince their audience of a propositional message. Once the message is determined, the metaphors are no longer needed. Jindo, by contrast, wants to introduce a view of the prophets that regards them as poets who use metaphor as a mode of thought in order to change the audience's perspective on reality. In this approach, metaphor is integral to prophetic communication.⁶² Jindo differentiates two kinds of conceptual

⁶⁰ Pierre Van Hecke (*From Linguistics to Hermeneutics: A Functional and Cognitive Approach to Job 12–14* [SSN 55; Leiden: Brill, 2011]) combines the encyclopedic semantics of Langacker with the prototypical semantics of Geeraerts. Although he considers a number of words in the book of Job, the only word that he studies thoroughly from a cognitive perspective is חכמה (*From Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 296–329, esp. 306).

⁶¹ Job Y. Jindo, *Biblical Metaphor Reconsidered: A Cognitive Approach to Poetic Prophecy in Jeremiah 1–24* (HSM 64; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2010). Jindo (25–53) depends especially upon Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980); Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason* (1989); and the summary of these books in the first edition of Kövecses, *Metaphor* (2002). See also Jindo's programmatic statement "Toward a Poetics of the Biblical Mind: Language, Culture, and Cognition," *VT* 59 (2009): 222–43.

⁶² Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 249–50.

metaphor: global metaphors that provide structure for prophetic books or large sections of them and local metaphors that convey the experiences and perspectives of characters within the framework of the prophetic book.⁶³ For Jer 1–24, he identifies the global metaphor THE COSMOS IS A STATE, which maps elements of the source domain HUMAN POLITY onto the target domain of THE COSMOS. For example, God is seen as the king, angelic beings as the king’s courtiers, and humans as the subjects of the king. Jindo finds this metaphor elsewhere in the ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible and dubs it “The Destruction Model.”⁶⁴ It has a frame of repeated elements and a script of repeated actions. God is the judge; Judah is the defendant; Jeremiah is the intercessor; and Babylon is the executioner who carries out destruction. According to Jindo, the book of Jeremiah also follows a script of four phases: judicial decision (chs. 2–3, 11–20), destruction (chs. 4–6), aftermath (chs. 8–9), and restoration (chs. 30–31).⁶⁵ Finally, Jindo describes the local

⁶³ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 49–50.

⁶⁴ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 75–100.

⁶⁵ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 99. This structure is problematic for four reasons. First of all, the first phase of decision repeats again after the third phase of aftermath. Second, phases two and three are anticipated rather than actual phases of destruction and aftermath. Third, there is a large gap between phases three and four. Fourth, the four phases of the script do not correspond to the three sections of the book that Jindo presents (58). The first three phases occur in the first section (chs. 1–24), but the fourth phase occurs in the second section (chs. 25–45), and the third section of the book (chs. 46–51) is not included. Therefore, while THE COSMOS IS A STATE does appear to be a large-scale conceptual metaphor, the script does not appear to provide the outline for the book of Jeremiah.

metaphor ISRAEL IS A GARDEN in which Israel is either the steward of the garden or the plants that grow there.⁶⁶ For example, 1:10 describes Jeremiah's commission to pluck up and to plant. God is the gardener who appoints Jeremiah as a steward of the garden.⁶⁷ Israel and the nations are plants, and Jeremiah's twofold task of speaking judgment and restoration corresponds to the tasks of plucking and planting.

In addition, Zacharias Kotzé uses the conceptual metonymy theory of Lakoff and Johnson as part of his cognitive study of the emotion of anger in the Hebrew Bible.⁶⁸ Noting that scholars often fail to distinguish carefully between metaphor and metonymy, he proposes a test for determining the difference: "If a meaningful non-literal comparison between the source and target domain can be drawn by means of the formula *X is like Y*, then the expression is metaphorical rather than metonymic."⁶⁹ This test assumes that

⁶⁶ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 161–62.

⁶⁷ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 175–77.

⁶⁸ Zacharias Kotzé, "A Cognitive Linguistic Methodology for the Study of Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible," *JNSL* 31 (2005): 107–17; idem, "Metaphors and Metonymies for Anger in the Old Testament: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach," *Scriptura* 88 (2005): 118–25. These articles are based on chapters of his unpublished dissertation: "The Conceptualisation of Anger in the Hebrew Bible" (Ph.D. diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2004).

⁶⁹ Kotzé, "Cognitive Linguistic Methodology," 113. Kotzé draws the "is like" test for metaphors from Raymond W. Gibbs, "Researching Metaphor," in *Researching and Applying Metaphor* (eds. L. Cameron and G. Low; CALS; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36. Gibbs also discusses this test in his *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 322.

metaphor is based on perceived similarity, while metonymy is based on perceived contiguity. Kotzé lists 11 metonymies for anger in the Hebrew Bible (i.e., body heat, snorting, frowning, glaring, gnashing of teeth, internal pressure, redness in the face, agitation, internal agitation, slaver at the mouth, and lifting the hand)⁷⁰ and concludes that they represent two conceptual patterns: PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS FOR ANGER and NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION FOR ANGER.⁷¹ These examples fail Kotze’s metaphor test: physical symptoms and actions are not like anger; rather, since they are associated with the emotion, they are metonymies, not metaphors. Kotzé also presents various examples of three conceptual metaphors for anger: ANGER IS FIRE, ANGER IS A HOT WIND, and ANGER IS A TORRENT.⁷² These pass his test: anger has similarities to fire, wind, and water. Thus, he is able both to differentiate metonymies for anger from metaphors for anger and to establish the conceptual patterns that they follow in the Hebrew Bible.⁷³

⁷⁰ Kotzé, “Metaphors and Metonymies,” 119–21.

⁷¹ Kotzé does not divide the examples between his two proposed conceptual metonymies, but I would assign seven to physical symptoms (i.e., body heat, snorting, internal pressure, redness of the face, agitation, internal agitation, and slaver at the mouth) and four to nonverbal communication (i.e., frowning, glaring, gnashing of teeth, and lifting the hand). Perhaps he resists a clear-cut distinction because it depends upon how much intentionality one is able to assign. In any case, both conceptual metonymies belong to the more general metonymic pattern of EFFECT FOR CAUSE.

⁷² Kotzé, “Metaphors and Metonymies,” 122–23.

⁷³ For another study of anger language from a cognitive perspective, see Matthew R. Schlimm, *From Fratricide to Forgiveness: The Language and Ethics of Anger in Genesis* (SLTHS 7; Winona Lake, Ind: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 75–88. Schlimm lists some metonymies for anger in the Hebrew Bible: burning nose, heat, shaking, and disturbance (82). Unfortunately, he describes them as “dead metaphors” even

Mental Spaces and Blends

Albert Kamp has explored mental spaces in Job 28.⁷⁴ He depends on the work of Paul Werth, who applies Fauconnier's mental space theory to the reading of texts.⁷⁵ According to Werth's terminology, speakers and hearers live in the real or outer world, and they communicate by sharing discourse worlds. On the basis of an author's text, a reader constructs a particular kind of discourse world called a text world. If this text world involves characters and a plot, then it is a narrative world. When characters in the narrative communicate with each other, they open up their own discourse spaces, which may have embedded sub-worlds. According to Kamp, the book of Job creates a narrative world in which Job and his comforters discuss the problem of suffering.⁷⁶ Job 28 is a discourse by Job that includes three sub-worlds (vv. 1–12, 13–20, 21–28).⁷⁷ Each sub-

though they all could be classified under the conceptual metonymy PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS FOR EMOTION. The fact that he can point to multiple examples demonstrates that this metonymic pattern is productive rather than dead.

⁷⁴ Albert Kamp, "World Building in Job 28: A Case of Conceptual Logic," in van Wolde, *Job 28*, 307–19. For a full-length treatment of mental spaces in Jonah, see his *Inner Worlds: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach to the Book of Jonah* (trans. D. Orton; BIS 68; Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. 89–110. For an eclectic approach that includes discussion of mental spaces, see Elizabeth R. Hayes, *The Pragmatics of Perception and Cognition in MT Jeremiah 1:1–6:30: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach* (BZAW 380; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008).

⁷⁵ Paul Werth, *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse* (London: Longman, 1999).

⁷⁶ Kamp, "World Building," 307–9.

⁷⁷ Kamp, "World Building," 310.

world ends (vv. 12, 20, 28) with a reference to ‘wisdom’ (חכמה) and ‘understanding’ (בינה). The first sub-world depicts humans mining for precious metals; the second compares the value of precious metals to wisdom; and the third provides the divine perspective on wisdom. The final sub-world ends with another embedded discourse in which God speaks to define wisdom and understanding (v. 28).⁷⁸ Kamp clearly shows that Werth’s terminology is helpful for delineating layers of discourse in biblical texts.

In addition, Pierre Van Hecke applies the conceptual blending theory of Fauconnier and Turner to Hos 4:16.⁷⁹

- (6) Truly, like a balking heifer, Israel is balking,
and now shall the Lord shepherd them as a sheep in a wide area?⁸⁰

Many commentators have found the imagery of this verse in example (6) difficult, but Van Hecke uses blending theory to make sense of it.⁸¹ DIVINE-HUMAN RELATIONSHIP is the target domain of the entire bicolon, but each colon has a different source domain.

⁷⁸ Kamp, “World Building,” 316–17.

⁷⁹ Pierre J. P. Van Hecke, “Conceptual Blending: A Recent Approach to Metaphor Illustrated with the Pastoral Metaphor in Hos 4,16,” in *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (ed. P. Van Hecke; BETL 187; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 215–31.

⁸⁰ This is a slight adaptation of Van Hecke’s translation (“Conceptual Blending,” 216). He initially translates the second colon as a statement, but he later concludes that it should be taken either as an ironic statement or as an unmarked question requiring a negative answer (218, 225). Thus I have adjusted his translation on the basis of his stated interpretation.

⁸¹ Since Israel is said to be “like a heifer” (כפרה) and “like a sheep” (ככבש), this verse technically involves simile rather than metaphor. However, Van Hecke uses the word “metaphor” throughout his essay and does not discuss how similes may operate differently.

Therefore, there are two input spaces for this particular blend. The first colon draws on the source domain of CATTLE DRIVING to depict Israel as a stubborn cow, but there is no mention of a driver. The second colon draws on the source domain of PASTORALISM. God is a shepherd who refuses to graze the flock of Israel in an open pasture, but there is no mention of the reason for God's refusal. The generic space shared by the source and target domains contains a superior who attempts to direct the activity of an agent, but the agent may choose to resist the direction of the superior. The blended space, then, involves ideas that emerge from the combination of domains. Although God is a shepherd, God refuses to shepherd Israel because they are stubborn cattle. In addition, the blend implies that God will instead treat Israel like a cattle driver, goading them along a narrow path, rather than allowing them freedom to roam in a wide area. With this example, Van Hecke shows how conceptual blending theory can help to sort out the elements of complex images and to trace the ways in which implicit meanings emerge from them.

Summary

In conclusion, we see that Hebrew Bible scholars have begun to investigate all four areas of cognitive semantics: encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings, and mental spaces and blends. However, scholars have not given equal attention to these areas. Most studies are in the areas of lexical semantics (encyclopedic

and prototypical) and conceptual metaphor.⁸² Metonymy in the Hebrew Bible is a neglected topic that deserves attention. Outside of the cognitive approach, there are very few studies of metonymy. For example, Ammanuel Mikre-Sellassie considers the challenges of translating metonymies in the Psalms.⁸³ S. Naeh and M. Weitzman look at metonymy in the semantics of the word תירוש.⁸⁴ And Susan Niditch discusses the role of

⁸² Recent essay collections on metaphor include Pierre Van Hecke, ed., *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (BETL 187; Leuven: Peeters, 2005); Pierre Van Hecke and Antje Labahn, eds., *Metaphors in the Psalms* (BETL 231; Leuven: Peeters, 2010); Antje Labahn, ed., *Conceptual Metaphors in Poetic Texts: Proceedings of the Metaphor Research Group of the European Association of Biblical Studies in Lincoln 2009* (PHSC 18; Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013). The first two volumes include some cognitive studies, and the third is devoted to conceptual metaphor. There is no comparable collection for metonymy.

⁸³ G. Ammanuel Mikre-Sellassie, “Metonymy in the Book of Psalms,” *BT* 44 (1993): 418–25. He defines metonymy as “a figure of speech” (418) and lists eight categories in the Psalms: (1) speech organs (2) body organs, (3) personal names, (4) spatial associations, (5) other nouns, (6) actions and outcomes, (7) other verbs, and (8) expressions of time. There are several problems with this article. First, his definition hinders the usefulness of his categorization. For example, instead of speaking vaguely of “spatial association” (421–22), he could have identified the specific pattern PLACE FOR INHABITANT. Second, he does not distinguish between lexical and conceptual metonymies. For example, he notes that the word בית can mean both ‘house’ and ‘family’ (421), but he does not observe that this metonymy operates on the lexical level. Third, he regards synecdoche as a different figure (419), but most cognitive approaches now regard synecdoche as a common type of metonymy. Fourth, he does not always clearly differentiate metonymy and metaphor. For example, he says that the word ‘horn’ (קרן) can stand for a powerful person (422–23), but that is clearly a metaphor. Fifth, some of his examples are not metonymies at all. For example, oral organs do not stand for speech in all of the cases he lists (419–20).

⁸⁴ S. Naeh and M. Weitzman, “*Tirōš*—Wine or Grape? A Case of Metonymy,” *VT* 44 (1994): 115–20. They observe that, although the word תירוש is normally translated ‘wine,’ there are some contexts in which the meaning ‘grape’ makes more sense. They rightly conclude that these two senses of the word are related by means of metonymy. According to them (118–19), the word תירוש meant either ‘wine’ or ‘grape’ in the Hebrew Bible, but in the Tannaitic period the meaning ‘grape’ came to predominate. Finally, in later Rabbinic literature this meaning was generalized to ‘fruit.’ An awareness of conceptual metonymy would have given them greater clarity. For example, they note that the word יצהר is often collocated with תירוש. This word normally means ‘oil,’ but it can secondarily mean ‘olive.’ Taken together, these two polysemous words provide evidence for the conceptual metonymy PRODUCT FOR MATERIAL, which differs from the reverse pattern. Naeh and Weitzman lump examples of both metonymies together (119), but identifying the conceptual patterns involved allows us to distinguish them.

metonymy in Zech 9.⁸⁵ All of these could benefit from the cognitive theory of metonymy. Even those working within the cognitive paradigm do not always understand metonymy. For example, van Wolde notes that the phrase ‘in your gates’ (בשעריך) in Deuteronomy means ‘in your cities,’ but she calls it a “metaphor.”⁸⁶ In fact, however, this is a PART FOR WHOLE metonymy. Jindo notes that the temple, city, and land are depicted as gardens in the Hebrew Bible. He calls this a metonymic extension, but in fact it is a broadening of the same metaphor.⁸⁷ Finally, Kotzé understands conceptual metonymy and applies it correctly to examples from the Hebrew Bible, but he depends upon older sources.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Susan Niditch, “Good Blood, Bad Blood: Multivocality, Metonymy, and Mediation in Zechariah 9,” *VT* 61 (2011): 629–45. She takes Zech 9 as a literary unity and interprets its three references to ‘blood’ (דם). Eating blood is a negative image of Israel’s enemies in v. 7. The blood of the covenant is a positive reason for God’s restoration of Israel in v. 11. The MT does not have a reference to blood in v. 15, but Niditch follows some Greek manuscripts that have Israel drinking the blood of its enemies in victory. She believes that these references to blood are “metonymic” because they have “the capacity to draw messages and meanings found within the wider cultural tradition into a variety of specific contexts” (633). This is an obscure definition of metonymy. The uses of blood in vv. 7 and 11 may have rich cultural backgrounds, but that does not make them metonymies. In addition, the alternative reading of v. 15 is questionable, especially given the negative view of consuming blood in v. 7. Contrary to Niditch’s view, it appears that eating and drinking in v. 15 are *metaphors* for defeating enemies.

⁸⁶ van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 86.

⁸⁷ Jindo, *Metaphor Reconsidered*, 160.

⁸⁸ Kotzé, “Metaphors and Metonymies,” 119. He uses the first edition of Kövecses, *Metaphor* (2002), which summarizes Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).

3. New Developments in Metonymy Theory

Biblical scholars have begun to apply the insights of cognitive semantics to the study of the Hebrew Bible. In some cases, however, they are not using the most recent theories.

Lakoff and Johnson's work on conceptual metaphor and metonymy was ground-breaking when it first appeared, but it is now over thirty years old. In addition, their treatment of metonymy was only a minor part of a larger project,⁸⁹ but the theory of metonymy has continued to develop as a major area of study in its own right, especially in the last fifteen years.⁹⁰ Therefore, an up-to-date study of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible will need to take into account this newer work in the field of cognitive semantics. In this section, I present three developments in metonymy theory after the seminal work of Lakoff and

⁸⁹ In *Metaphors We Live By*, Lakoff and Johnson dedicate a short chapter of six pages to the subject of metonymy (35–40). In *More than Cool Reason*, Lakoff and Turner treat metonymy in a section of five pages (100–104).

⁹⁰ See the following essay collections: Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden, eds., *Metonymy in Language and Thought* (HCP 4; Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 1999); Antonio Barcelona, ed., *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective* (TEL 30; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000); René Dirven and Ralf Pörings, eds., *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (CLR 20; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002); Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, eds., *Metonymy and Pragmatic Inferencing* (PAB 113; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003); Antol Stefanowitsch and Stefan Th. Gries, eds., *Corpus-Based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy* (TL 171; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006); Sandra Handl and Hans-Jörg Schmid, eds., *Windows to the Mind: Metaphor, Metonymy and Conceptual Blending* (CLR 48; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2011); Réka Benczes, Antonio Barcelona, and Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, eds., *Defining Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics: Toward a Consensus View* (HCP 28; Amsterdam; John Benjamins, 2011).

Johnson: metonymy as a prototypical category, polysemy and metonymy, and the interaction of metaphor and metonymy.

Metonymy as a Prototypical Category

As we saw above, the standard definition of metonymy in cognitive semantics is that metonymy involves a mapping *within* a single conceptual domain.⁹¹ By contrast, metaphor involves mappings *between* conceptual domains. This definition is appealing for two reasons.⁹² First, it is simple and unitary. The succinct definition—a mapping within a domain—appears to cover all legitimate examples. Second, this definition appears to differentiate metonymy clearly from metaphor—mappings between domains. However, the standard definition of metonymy has come under criticism in recent scholarship. Critics point out that the notion of “domain” is not well defined in the literature.⁹³ Yet the definition depends on the ability to differentiate absolutely between

⁹¹ Lakoff and Turner, *More Than Cool Reason*, 103. Interestingly, Lakoff and Johnson did not initially use the concept of “domain” in *Metaphors We Live By*, though they affirm the concept in their afterword to the 2003 edition (265). For a recent articulation of this definition, see Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 173.

⁹² Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy as a Prototypical Category,” *CL* 17 (2006): 269–316.

⁹³ For example, see Kurt Feytaerts, “Refining the Inheritance Hypothesis: Interaction between Metaphoric and Metonymic Hierarchies,” Barcelona, *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads*, 59–78, esp. 62; Nick Riemer, “Remetonymizing Metaphor: Hypercategories in Semantic Extension,” *CL* 12 (2001): 379–401, esp. 383; Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, “Metonymy,” in *Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics* (eds. D. Geeraerts and H. Cuyckens; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 236–63, esp. 240.

domains. In addition, even if domains can be clearly distinguished, some examples of metonymy appear to cross domain boundaries. For instance, in *Proust is tough to read*, the vehicle entity (*Proust*) belongs to the domain of HUMAN BEINGS, but the target entity (‘writings’) belongs to the domain of LITERATURE.⁹⁴ This recent debate in cognitive linguistics suggest that there is a need either to refine or recast the standard definition of metonymy.

William Croft has attempted to refine the definition of metonymy by introducing the idea of “domain matrix.”⁹⁵ Drawing on the work of Langacker, he defines a conceptual domain as “a semantic structure that functions as the base for at least one concept profile.”⁹⁶ Since a concept can be based on multiple semantic structures, a domain matrix is “[t]he combination of domains simultaneously presupposed by a concept.”⁹⁷ Croft thus understands metonymy as a mapping that occurs within a single domain matrix, whereas metaphor is a mapping that occurs across domains that are not

⁹⁴ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 271.

⁹⁵ William Croft, “The Role of Domains in the Interpretation of Metaphors and Metonymies,” in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (ed. R. Dirven and R. Pörings; CLR 20; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 161–205. This is a revision of an earlier article that appeared under the same title in *CL* 4 (1993): 335–70.

⁹⁶ Croft, “Domains,” 166. Italics removed.

⁹⁷ Croft, “Domains,” 168.

part of the same matrix.⁹⁸ Metonymy involves domain highlighting because it promotes to a primary position a domain that is secondary in a concept's literal meaning. Take the above example: *Proust is tough to read*. Proust is seen primarily against the domain of HUMAN BEING, but there are many other domains that support this concept. Since he was an author, there are writings in a secondary domain in the matrix, and the metonymy highlights this secondary domain.⁹⁹ Croft's proposal appears to deal with the problem of cross-domain metonymy, but it still faces the problem of definition. The idea of "semantic structure" is so general that it is possible to construct a domain matrix on the basis of a metonymy, but it is not clear that one would construct the same matrix without the pre-existing example. In other words, this approach allows description after the fact, but it does not get at the conceptual relationships that motivate metonymy in the first place. In addition, if we look more closely, there are still problems with differentiating metaphor and metonymy. For example, consider the phrase *fingers on the window* used to refer to 'prints' on the window.¹⁰⁰ Depending on context, it could be interpreted either metonymically or metaphorically. As a metonymy, *fingers* stand for the marks they make,

⁹⁸ Croft, "Domains," 177.

⁹⁹ Croft, "Domains," 179.

¹⁰⁰ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 272. This is an example occurring in Dutch.

but as a metaphor, *fingers* are seen as marks left on the widow that resemble human fingers in shape. In both interpretations, we could imagine the same domain matrix for finger in which a secondary domain (its result or shape) is highlighted. If that is true, then both metaphor and metonymy can appear within a single domain matrix and both can utilize domain highlighting. Examples like this suggest that Croft's refinements have not solved the problems with the domain-based definition of metonymy.

Some scholars continue to look for ways to delineate the knowledge structures within which metonymy occurs, but others have shifted their attention from the domains underlying mapping to describing the nature of the conceptual mapping itself. Instead of looking at the range of conceptual relationships (i.e., between or within domains), they focus on the kind of conceptual relationships involved. Yves Peirsman and Dirk Geeraerts have produced the most fully developed theory of metonymy along these lines.¹⁰¹

Returning to the pre-structuralist, historical-philological literature on metaphor and metonymy, they argue that metaphor involves relations of similarity, while metonymy

¹⁰¹ Peirsman and Geeraerts acknowledge, "Depending on how one evaluates the domain matrix definition of metonymy, our prototype-based analysis may either replace this definition (if it turns out to be insufficient for independent reasons) or provide a network-like expansion of the schematic domain matrix account" ("Metonymy," 311). Others have sought to combine the domain-based and prototypical approaches to metonymy. See, for example, Antonio Barcelona, "Reviewing the Properties and Prototype Structure of Metonymy," in *Defining Metonymy in Cognitive Linguistics: Towards a Consensus View* (eds. R. Benczes, A. Barcelona, and F. J. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez; HCP 28; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 7–57, esp. 26–30; Zoltán Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, 188–91.

involves relations of contiguity. However, Peirsman and Geeraerts incorporate the historical-philological view into a thoroughly cognitive-linguistic theory in two important ways. First, like the historical-philological view, they acknowledge objective contiguity in the observable world, but they also extend contiguity into the non-referential sphere of conceptual relations. Second, unlike the historical-philological and standard cognitive-linguistic views, they offer a non-unitary definition of metonymy as a prototypical category. It is non-unitary in that there is no single definition of metonymy that covers all members of the category; rather, the category contains various kinds of contiguous relationships that bear a family resemblance. The category has a prototypical core, and other members of the category stand closer to or farther away from this core. The category also has fuzzy boundaries, where some examples remain questionable.¹⁰²

Peirsman and Geeraerts describe numerous examples of metonymy by plotting them on a three-dimensional chart, as shown in Figure 1.1:

¹⁰² Croft (“On Explaining Metonymy: Comment on Peirsman and Geeraerts, ‘Metonymy as a Prototypical Category,’” *CL* 17 [2006]: 317–26) critiques the view of Peirsman and Geeraerts at three points. First, he claims that *contiguity* is neither necessary nor sufficient to define metonymy. Second, he argues that *association* in domain highlighting is a necessary condition for metonymy. Third, he concludes that many of their examples should not be classified as metonymies. In answer, Peirsman and Geeraerts (“Don’t Let Metonymy Be Misunderstood: An Answer to Croft,” *CL* 17 [2006]: 327–35) contend that Croft misunderstands the nature of a prototypical category. They are not trying to provide a set of necessary and sufficient conditions for metonymy; rather, they show that contiguity is the prototypical core of metonymy. They demonstrate that contiguity has always been important for defining metonymy, and they use examples that are well accepted in the linguistic literature.

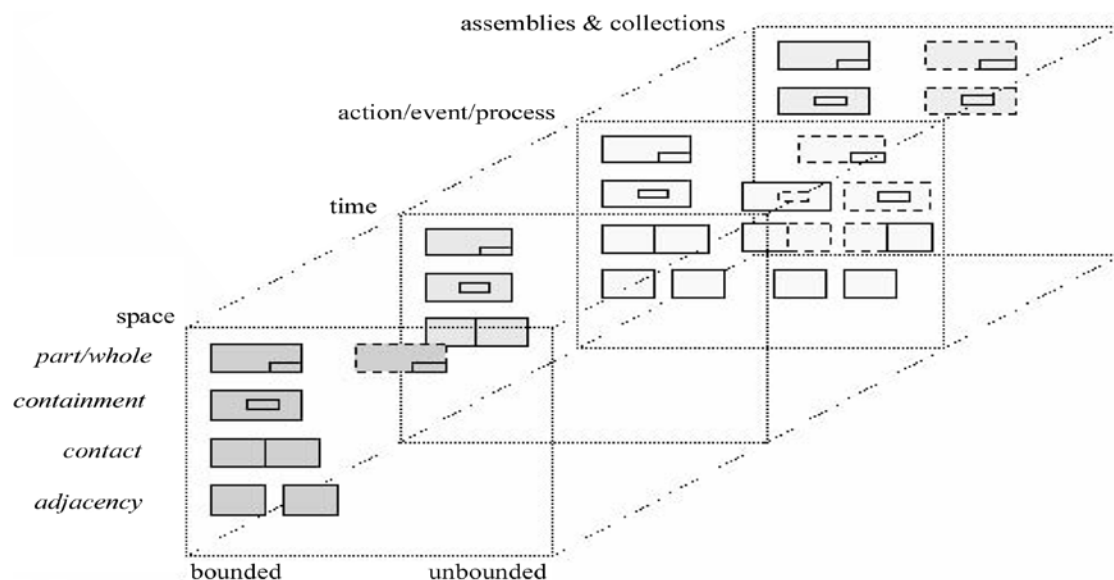


Figure 1.1. Metonymy as a prototypical category¹⁰³

The height dimension is strength of contact; the width dimension is boundedness; and the depth dimension is realm of application.¹⁰⁴ Each of the three dimensions ranges from more typical to less typical. These terms require explanation. First, by “strength of contact” they mean the conceptual closeness of two contiguous entities. The strength-of-contact dimension includes four types: part-whole, containment, contact, and

¹⁰³ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 310.

¹⁰⁴ In the main text of their article, Peirsman and Geeraerts call this dimension “domain.” This is an unfortunate choice since they have just finished criticizing other approaches to metonymy under the same name. However, they do say, “Note that we use the term ‘domain’ in a slightly different context than the one above. Here, it refers to the four conceptual realms in which contiguity can occur (space, time, action/event/process and category)” (“Metonymy,” 312, n. 6). Since they offer the term “realm” as an alternative, I have chosen to use it in order to avoid confusion.

adjacency.¹⁰⁵ In part-whole contiguity, one entity is a part of the other.¹⁰⁶ In containment, one entity is within the other but is not part of it.¹⁰⁷ In contact, the two entities touch each other but one does not encompass the other.¹⁰⁸ In adjacency, the two entities are near each other or associated in some way but do not touch.¹⁰⁹ Second, by “boundedness” Peirsman and Geeraerts mean to describe the kinds of entities involved. Bounded entities have clearly defined boundaries, but unbounded entities do not. For example, we picture a rock as bounded but water as unbounded. The boundedness dimension includes three types: two bounded entities, one bounded entity and one unbounded entity, and two unbounded entities. These two dimensions can be visualized as in Figure 1.2:

¹⁰⁵ In their discussion of examples, Peirsman and Geeraerts situate location contiguity between containment and adjacency (“Metonymy,” 281–82). The located entity may be literally or metaphorically contained in the location, but it need not be. The located entity could also be adjacent to the location, but the location is a place rather than another entity, as in a strict adjacency relation. Thus, Peirsman and Geeraerts regard location as a specific kind of contact.

¹⁰⁶ An example of part-whole contiguity is *We have to fill up the car*, in which *the car* stands in for the gas tank of the car (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 280).

¹⁰⁷ An example of containment contiguity is *The milk tipped over*, in which the contents of the milk carton stand in for the carton itself (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 280–81).

¹⁰⁸ An example of contact contiguity is *Washington is negotiating with Moscow*, in which the names of the cities stand in for the governments located there (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 281).

¹⁰⁹ An example of adjacency contiguity is the German *Tafelrunde* “round table,” which refers not only to a piece of furniture, but also to the people sitting around it (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 282).

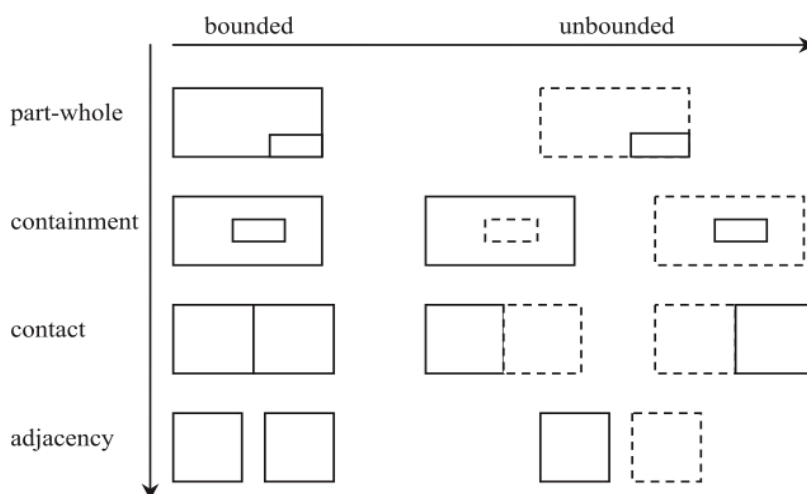


Figure 1.2. Strength of contact and boundedness¹¹⁰

Third, by “realm” Peirsman and Geeraerts mean a conceptual area in which contiguity can occur. This dimension includes four types: spatial, temporal, spatio-temporal, and categorial.¹¹¹ The first two realms involve physical entities and periods of time, but the third combines space and time to deal with more complex actions, events, and processes. The categorial realm includes three types of part-whole relations: assembly, collection, and taxonomy, as illustrated in Figure 1.3.

¹¹⁰ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 290.

¹¹¹ Peirsman and Geeraerts admit that the spatio-temporal domain is much more productive for metonymies than the purely temporal domain (“Metonymy,” 289). This observation supports their view that spatial metonymies are more typical than non-spatial ones, but it also suggests that they should rearrange the order of their domains to reflect the movement from more to less typical: spatial, spatio-temporal, temporal, and categorial.

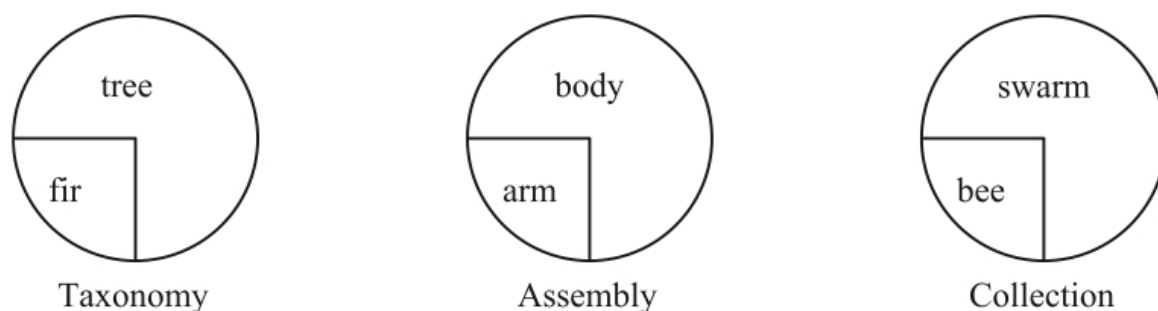


Figure 1.3. Three types of part-whole relations¹¹²

In a taxonomic whole, a more comprehensive category includes a less comprehensive one. For example, the tree category includes the group of firs. An assembly is a functional structure consisting of different parts. For example, a body has many different parts with different roles, one of which is the arm. And a collection is a set of roughly equal members. For example, a swarm consists of many roughly identical bees.

To illustrate Peirsman and Geeraerts's model, let us look at two examples of metonymy that stand at the center and periphery of the prototypical category. The most typical kind of metonymy is a part-whole relation (first dimension) between two bounded entities (second dimension) in the spatial realm (third dimension). Consider the following

WHOLE FOR PART metonymy: *Barack Obama is the president of America.*¹¹³ Obama is not

¹¹² Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 302.

¹¹³ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 280. Since metonymies are often reversible, the authors use an ampersand (&) to name a metonymic relation without reference to directionality, but they use the word FOR to indicate directionality (i.e., vehicle and target). See, for example, the following sentence: *Tony Blair was the Prime Minister of England.* In this case, the part, *England*, stands for the whole, the United Kingdom. Like the above example, this is a PART & WHOLE metonymy, but here the direction is reversed, so

actually the president of the continent of (North) America. He is the president of the nation of the United States, which is a part of the continental whole. In this case, the whole stands in for a part. We picture both the nation and the continent as bounded and spatial wholes. Next, let us consider an example that appears to be on the periphery of the category of metonymy. In Dutch, the word *Kodak* refers to a particular brand of camera made by Kodak, but it can also mean a ‘camera’ of any make.¹¹⁴ This appears to be a case of HYPONYM FOR HYPERNYM, that is, a member of a category standing for the category to which it belongs.¹¹⁵ But there are different ways to analyze it. If the whole is pictured as a bounded collection of all of the different types of cameras, then the metonymy could be interpreted as INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION. If, however, the whole is pictured as an unbounded category of entities with the ability to take pictures, then the metonymy could be interpreted as ENTITY FOR CHARACTERISTIC. According to Peirsman and Geeraerts, both of these are valid interpretations of the example. In addition, it is possible that this is not a metonymy at all. Many linguists would consider this a case of semantic generalization in which the the specific word *Kodak* takes on the more general meaning of ‘camera.’ In

we could also designate it as PART FOR WHOLE.

¹¹⁴ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 306–308.

¹¹⁵ English examples include *Kleenex* meaning ‘paper tissue’ and *Coke* meaning ‘soft drink.’

any case, this example nicely illustrates the fuzziness around the edge of the category of metonymy.

Polysemy and Metonymy

Thus far, a prototypical understanding of conceptual metonymy has been presented.

Conceptual metonymies are recurring patterns involving multiple words. But cognitive linguists have found that the same cognitive processes also operate at the level of single lexical items. That is, a polysemous word exhibits a prototypical structure of meanings with a core meaning that is linked to other meanings by means of the four semantic processes: specialization, generalization, metaphor, and metonymy. Geeraerts provides the following example based on meanings of the polysemous word *fruit*:¹¹⁶

- (7)
- A. the soft and sweet edible part of a tree or bush
 - B. the seed-bearing part of a plant
 - C. the edible result of a vegetable process
 - D. the natural result of an organic process
 - E. the positive outcome of a process of activity
 - F. the outcome of a process of activity

In example (7), meaning A ('the soft and sweet edible part of a tree or bush') is the prototypical meaning because it is the most commonly used and understood sense of the word. Meaning B ('the seed-bearing part of a plant') is a more technical definition that

¹¹⁶ Geeraerts, *Lexical Semantics*, 192–96. He bases his discussion on meanings found in the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993).

refers to things outside the normal application of meaning A, such as pea pods and acorns. In the expression *the fruits of the ground*, meaning C is more general than meaning A and applies to anything that grows in the ground and can be eaten by people, such as vegetables and grains. There are also three figurative meanings of the word. In the expression *the fruit of the womb*, the word *fruit* has the sense ‘offspring’ and falls under meaning D. When *fruit* means ‘gain or profit,’ it has the positive meaning of E. In the expression *the fruit of one’s labors*, however, meaning F involves the neutral product of an activity. It could include either ‘gain’ or ‘loss.’

The semantic structure of the word *fruit* can be represented as a radial network in the following way:¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Claudia Brugmann and George Lakoff were the first to develop the radial network model. See Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*; Claudia Brugman and George Lakoff, “Cognitive Topology and Lexical Networks,” in *Lexical Ambiguity Resolution* (eds. S. Small, G. Cottrell, and M. Tannenhaus; San Mateo: Morgan Kaufman, 1988), 477–507.

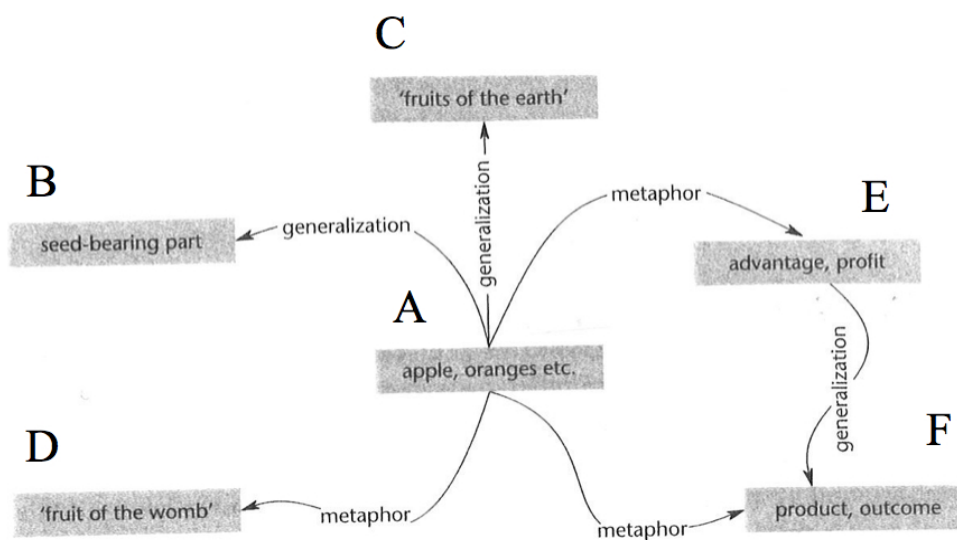


Figure 1.4. Radial network of *fruit*¹¹⁸

In Figure 1.4, we see another piece of evidence that meaning A is prototypical. Namely, meaning A has a central location in the semantic structure of the word and relates to all of its other senses. Meaning A relates to meanings B and C by means of generalization. They are both more general than meaning A, but meaning B stands closer to the core than meaning C does. In addition, meaning A relates metaphorically to meanings D, E, and F. ‘Offspring’ and ‘outcomes’ bear similarity to the produce of trees and bushes. However, meaning D stands closer to the word’s prototypical core because it involves an organic process rather than a more general process of activity. Finally, meaning F shows that senses of a word may be multiply motivated. As mentioned, it relates to meaning A metaphorically, but it is also a generalization of the more positive meaning E.

¹¹⁸ Adapted from Geeraerts, *Lexical Semantics*, 195.

Alternatively, we could call meaning E a specialization of meaning F, depending on the perspective from which we were considering the meanings.

The word *fruit* nicely illustrates a radial network, but this example does not include the process of metonymy that is the focus of this study. Consider the following meanings of the polysemous word *glass*.¹¹⁹

- (8) A. a hard, brittle substance, usually transparent, made of soda and potash
 B. a glass drinking vessel
 C. the liquid in a glass vessel
 D. the amount of liquid in a glass vessel

As example (8) shows, the central or prototypical meaning A refers to the material from which people make windows, eyewear, and drinking vessels. But *glass* also has the figurative senses B, C, and D. They are not linked to the core by specialization, generalization, or metaphor. Rather, these senses all exhibit metonymy. The material, the vessel, and the liquid are contiguous entities. Compare the sentences *I drank from a glass cup* and *I drank from a glass*. In the former example, *glass* refers to the material of the vessel (meaning A), but it refers to the vessel itself in the latter example (meaning B). In addition, the sentence *I drank a glass* does not mean that the speaker ingested glass (e.g., *I drank glass*) but rather that he or she drank the liquid in a vessel (meaning C). Finally,

¹¹⁹ This is my own example based on meanings attested in the *NOAD* (736). Geeraerts also uses the word *glass* to illustrate sequential semantic extension, but he focuses on different semantic links (*Lexical Semantics*, 220–21).

in the sentence *I drank less than a glass*, the amount of liquid (meaning D) is in view and not the vessel or its material. One could even imagine that the speaker drank from a plastic cup. All of these senses of the word *glass* relate by means of metonymy.

In addition to illustrating lexical metonymy, the word *glass* also illustrates two other important points about lexical semantics. First of all, Geeraerts has shown that the processes of specialization, generalization, metaphor, and metonymy operate diachronically as well as synchronically.¹²⁰ In other words, these cognitive processes link senses of a word at one point in time, but they also serve as mechanisms for generating new senses over time. The senses of the word *glass*, for example, form a metonymic chain in which each output provides the input for the next metonymy, as shown in fig.

1.5.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Dirk Geeraerts, *Diachronic Prototype Semantics: A Contribution to Historical Lexicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹²¹ Peirsman and Geeraerts identify *china*, meaning ‘porcelain tableware,’ as a possible metonymic chain (“Metonymy,” 299). In this case, the location stands for the people who live there, and the people who live there, in turn, stand for the product that they produce. Thus, the conceptual metonymy LOCATION FOR PRODUCT appears to involve a combination of LOCATION FOR LOCATED and PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT.

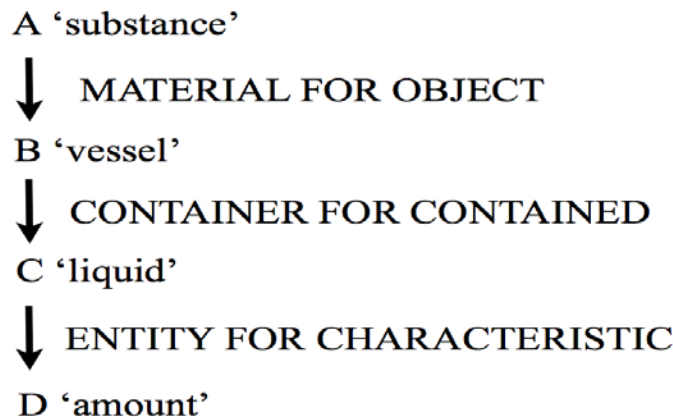


Figure 1.5. Radial Network of *glass*

Or, to use the language of vehicle and target, targets become vehicles. Working backward, the amount of liquid (meaning D) presumes the liquid (meaning C), which presumes the vessel that holds the liquid (meaning B), which presumes the material from which the vessel is made (meaning A). Since meanings B, C, and D presume prior meanings, it is reasonable to conclude that these meanings developed over time, even though they currently coexist as senses of the word *glass*.¹²² Second, Zoltán Kövecses has pointed out that semantic links among lexical senses are often motivated by conceptual

¹²² This is a logical deduction. To make a stronger case for metonymic change over time, one needs to present evidence for earlier and later attestations of the meanings in question. For example, Geeraerts documents the diachronic development of the Dutch word *winkel* (*Prototype Semantics*, 76–77). At an earlier time, *winkel* meant ‘corner,’ but it later came to mean ‘shop on the corner.’ Van Hecke provides comparable examples from Classical Hebrew (*From Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 279–80). For example, the word בית means both ‘house’ and ‘household,’ that is, the family that lives in the house. The meaning ‘house’ is logically prior, but its semantic change is not historically traceable. By contrast, the development of the word מזוזה is traceable. In Classical Hebrew, מזוזה always means ‘doorpost,’ but in Rabbinic Hebrew it comes to mean ‘a biblical text attached to the doorpost.’

metaphors and metonymies.¹²³ In the case of the word *glass*, meanings B, C, and D follow established conceptual metonymies.¹²⁴ In meaning B, the ‘hard, brittle substance’ stands for the ‘drinking vessel.’ This is an example of MATERIAL FOR OBJECT. In meaning C, the ‘drinking vessel’ stands for the ‘liquid’ inside it. This is an example of CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED. In meaning D, the ‘liquid’ stands for the ‘amount’ of liquid. This is an example of ENTITY FOR CHARACTERISTIC. These conceptual metonymies exist independently in our conceptual system, but they can motivate links between distinct senses of a word and the development of new senses over time.

Metaphtonymy

The next issue that needs to be addressed is the relationship between metaphor and metonymy. In a seminal article, Louis Goossens coined the term *metaphtonymy* as a general designation for the interaction of metaphor and metonymy.¹²⁵ He discusses two

¹²³ Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 251–54. For example, Kövecses considers the polysemous word *love* and concludes that the central meaning (‘feeling of deep affection’) relates to other meanings by means of four conceptual metonymies: CAUSE FOR EFFECT, EFFECT FOR CAUSE, STATE FOR AGENT, and WHOLE FOR PART (253–54).

¹²⁴ Peirsman and Geeraerts list all three of these conceptual metonymies and provide multiple examples of them. They classify senses of the word *glass* under both MATERIAL FOR OBJECT (“Metonymy,” 283) and CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED (281). They do not mention the word under ENTITY & CHARACTERISTIC (303), but they do consider OBJECT & QUANTITY as a subtype of this metonymy.

¹²⁵ Louis Goossens, “Metaphtonymy: The Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Expressions of Linguistic Action,” in *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast* (eds. R. Dirven and R. Pörings; CLR 20; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 349–371. This is a slightly modified version of the original article with the same title in *CL* 1 (1990): 323–40.

basic types of metaphonymy: simultaneous and sequential.¹²⁶ In the simultaneous type, metaphor and metonymy are combined in the same expression, but in the sequential type, one is derived from the other. Theoretically, each type has two possible patterns. The simultaneous type could result in metaphor within metonymy or metonymy within metaphor, and the sequential type could result in metaphor from metonymy or metonymy from metaphor. In his large database of English examples for linguistic action, Goossens finds that two types are well attested—namely, metonymy within metaphor and metaphor from metonymy.¹²⁷ For example, the expression *catch someone's ear* with the meaning 'ensure someone's attention' is a good example of metonymy within metaphor.¹²⁸ The governing metaphor of hunting is mapped onto the attempt to gain someone's attention.

¹²⁶ Goossens calls these types integrated and cumulative metaphonymy ("Metaphonymy," 369), but I prefer to use the language of simultaneous and sequential patterns taken from Geeraerts (*Lexical Semantics*, 220). Geeraerts has more recently proposed a "prismatic model" for describing the interaction of metaphor and metonymy ("The Interaction of Metaphor and Metonymy in Composite Expressions," *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, 435–65). In his graphic representation, the top edge of the prism represents the meaning of the expression as a whole, and the bottom edges of the prism represent the meanings of the constituent parts of the expression. Geeraerts wants a model that is capable of describing all possible simultaneous and sequential configurations. In addition to these two types of metaphonymy, he also introduces a third type, namely, examples with interchangeable explanations. While the prismatic model clearly has greater descriptive potential, its complexity goes beyond what is needed for the present study. In addition, Geeraerts does not disprove Goossens's finding that metonymy within metaphor and metaphor from metonymy are the dominant types of metaphonymy.

¹²⁷ Goossens's database is mostly made up of British dictionaries ("Metaphonymy," 355), but Lakoff and Turner consider how metaphor and metonymy can interact in literary texts (*Cool Reason*, 104–6).

¹²⁸ Goossens, "Metaphonymy," 364–65.

The speaker is a hunter seeking prey. But since the goal is not just capturing an ear but gaining someone's attention, the word *ear* stands metonymically for 'the activity of listening.' The word *ear* functions simultaneously as part of a metaphor and as a metonymy in its own right. In addition, the expression *close-lipped* with the meanings 'silent' and 'reticent' is a case of metaphor from metonymy.¹²⁹ *Close-lipped* means literally 'having the lips closed,' but this meaning is metonymically related to the meaning 'silent.' If someone's lips are closed, he or she will be silent. If, however, *close-lipped* is used to describe someone who talks a lot but is 'reticent' to reveal personal information, then we have a metaphorical reading that presupposes the metonymic one. The speaker is metaphorically silent. This is a metaphor that derives sequentially from metonymy.¹³⁰

Goossens notes that the other two types of metaphonymy—metaphor within metonymy and metonymy from metaphor—were almost non-existent in his database of

¹²⁹ Goossens, "Metaphonymy," 362.

¹³⁰ Nick Riemer ("When is a Metonymy No Longer a Metonymy?" in Dirven and Pörings, *Metaphor and Metonymy*, 379–406) accepts simultaneous metaphonymy, but he questions the sequential type. In particular, Riemer argues that metaphor from metonymy should be called post-metonymy because metonymy does not turn into metaphor, but rather the original metonymy is lost through conventionalization. Goossens ("Postmetaphonymy: A Postscript," in Dirven and Pörings, *Metaphor and Metonymy*, 372–77) counters with two arguments. First, he shows that there are non-conventionalized examples where the metonymy is still clearly present. Second, he points out that even in conventionalized examples there was an intermediate stage where there was awareness of the metonymy. In any case, linguists are able to recognize metaphor from metonymy even if speakers do not.

examples. Why, though theoretically possible, are these types not productive? Goossens offers plausible answers to this question.¹³¹ In the case of the simultaneous type, inserting a metonymy into a metaphor does not take over the expression, but embedding a metaphor in a metonymy appears to have the power to metaphorize the whole expression. Therefore, this type simply appears as a metaphor. In the case of the sequential type, moving from metonymy to metaphor is conceptually natural. Things that are contiguous often possess similarities. However, it is much more conceptually difficult to move from metaphor to metonymy because things that are similar but discrete do not possess contiguous relationships that can give rise to metonymy. As a result, metonymy from metaphor is extremely rare.

Summary

To sum up, metonymy theory has come a long way since the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson in 1980. Therefore, a cognitive-semantic study of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible will need to make use of these newer developments. The present study regards metonymy as a cognitive process that produces examples in a prototypical category, operates at both the lexical and the conceptual levels, and interacts with metaphor in certain ways.

¹³¹ Goossens, "Metaphonymy," 368–69.

4. The Present Study

This introduction began with four questions. So far, the first three have been answered.

First, cognitive linguistics is a movement within linguistics that seeks to describe language in ways that fit with what is known about the mind (the Cognitive Commitment) and that apply across all areas of language (the Generalization Commitment). There are two major branches of cognitive linguistics: cognitive approaches to grammar and cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics views meaning as embodied, conceptual, constructed, and encyclopedic. This is the approach of the current study.

Second, the guiding principles of cognitive semantics have given rise to four areas of study: encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings (metaphor and metonymy), and mental spaces and blends. Biblical scholars have now begun to apply all these theories to the Hebrew Bible—but only within the last ten years. Although the topic of metaphor has seen a great deal of interest from biblical scholars, metonymy is a neglected area of research. If scholars are aware of it at all, they do not employ a cognitive approach to metonymy, or they do not utilize the most recent research.

Third, since the seminal work of Lakoff, Johnson, and Turner, cognitive linguistics has begun to move away from the domain-based approach to metonymy

toward understanding metonymy as a prototypical category. Peirsman and Geeraerts have articulated the most thorough model of this kind. In addition, cognitive linguists have also shown that metonymy plays a role in lexical polysemy and that it interacts with metaphor in various ways (metaphonymy). The present study takes into account these newer developments in metonymy theory.

The fourth question asks, how will this study go about analyzing praise in the Psalms from this perspective? Before laying out this plan, there are a couple of prior questions: why praise, and why the Psalter?

Praise

We have seen that there is a need to study metonymy in the Hebrew Bible from a cognitive-semantic perspective, but I have not yet shown that there is room for a new treatment of praise language in the Psalms. Two examples should suffice to demonstrate this need. First, Claus Westermann published his influential *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* in 1954.¹³² Although it has been reprinted many times, Westermann never revised the work.¹³³ That makes it over fifty years old. In addition, although the work

¹³² Claus Westermann, *Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954). I cite the English text from Claus Westermann, *Praise and Lament in the Psalms* (trans. K. Crim and R. Soulen; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981). This book combines unaltered versions of Westermann's earlier studies of praise and lament along with three additional essays on the Psalms.

¹³³ In the preface to the 1961 edition, Westermann says, "A lack of time prevents me from

includes a suggestive discussion of the verbs הלל and ידה,¹³⁴ Westermann does not focus on praise language as such. He begins his book by asking about the meaning of praising God but then quickly changes course: “An exhaustive answer to this question cannot be found simply through an investigation of the vocabulary of praise as it occurs in the Psalms.”¹³⁵ He is primarily interested in the role of praise in the various genres of the Psalms. In other words, he takes a form-critical approach to the subject.¹³⁶ Second, Walter Brueggemann’s *Israel’s Praise* is the most recent book-length study of praise in

undertaking now a revision that would take into consideration the literature that has since appeared . . . or to deal with the objections which have been raised. I would not need to change anything on the essential lines which the work follows” (*Praise and Lament*, 9). In the preface to the 1977 edition, he says, “The chapters of this volume have been left in their original form” (*Praise and Lament*, 12). Although Westermann went on to write an introduction to the Psalms (*Der Psalter* [Stuttgart: Calver Verlag, 1967]) and an exposition of selected Psalms (*Ausgewählte Psalmen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984]), he never changed the views he first articulated in 1954.

¹³⁴ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 25–30.

¹³⁵ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 15.

¹³⁶ Other studies that consider praise primarily in terms of genre are Hermann Gunkel and Joachim Begrich, *Introduction to Psalms: The Genres of the Religious Lyric of Israel* (trans. J. D. Nogalski; Macon: Mercer, 1998 [1933]); Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel’s Worship* (trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas; 2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2004 [1961]); Frank Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymus und Danklied in Israel* (WMANT 32; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1969).

English,¹³⁷ but he published it in 1988.¹³⁸ That makes it more than twenty years old. Once again, Brueggemann does not focus on the language of praise. In fact, his most extensive discussion of Hebrew is a section in which he considers the verb בָּשַׂר (‘to bear news’) in Psalm 96.¹³⁹ However, בָּשַׂר only occurs once in Psalm 96 (v. 2) and only two other times

¹³⁷ Articles and essays on the topic of praise are the following: Patrick Miller, “‘Enthroned on the Praises of Israel:’ The Praise of God in Old Testament Theology,” *Interpretation* 39 (1985): 5–19; Gary Anderson, “The Praise of God as a Cultic Event,” in *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel* (ed. G. Anderson and S. Olyan; JSOTSup 125; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 15–33; J. Kenneth Kuntz, “Grounds for Praise: The Nature and Function of the Motive Clause in the Hymns of the Hebrew Psalter” in *Worship and the Hebrew Bible*, (ed. M. P. Graham, R. Marris, and S. McKenzie; JSOTSup 284; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 148–83; Rolf Jacobson, “The Costly Loss of Praise” in *Theology Today* 57 (2000): 375–85; Richard Bauckham, “Joining Creation’s Praise of God,” *Ecotheology* 7 (2002): 47; James Hutchinson, “The Psalms and Praise” in *Interpreting the Psalms* (ed. P. Johnston and D. Firth; Downer’s Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity, 2005): 85–100; Robert Foster, “*Topoi* of Praise in the Call to Praise Psalms: Toward a Theology of the Book of Psalms” in *My Words are Lovely* (ed. R. L. Foster and D. M. Howard; New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 75–88; Erhard Gerstenberger, “Praise in the Realm of Death: The Dynamics of Hymn-Singing in Ancient Near Eastern Lament Ceremony,” in *Lamentations in Ancient and Contemporary Cultural Contexts* (ed. N. Lee and C. Mandolfo; SBLSymS 43; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 115–124.

Portions of books that deal with praise include the following: J. Clinton McCann, *A Theological Introduction to the Book of Psalms: The Psalms as Torah* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1993), 53–82; Patrick D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 178–232; James L. Mays, *The Lord Reigns: A Theological Handbook to the Psalms* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 61–71; Terence E. Fretheim, *God and World in the Old Testament: A Relational Theology of Creation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 249–68.

¹³⁸ Walter Brueggemann, *Israel’s Praise: Doxology against Idolatry and Ideology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). This book marked a departure from his well-known typology of orientation, disorientation, and new orientation. He first presented that approach to the Psalms in a seminal article (“Psalms and the Life of Faith: A Suggested Typology of Function,” *JSOT* 17 [1980]: 3–32) and then worked out the scheme more fully in a commentary (*The Message of the Psalms: A Theological Commentary* [Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984]). In 1992, he published the article “Praise and the Psalms: A Politics of Glad Abandonment” (reprinted in *The Psalms and the Life of Faith* [ed. P. Miller; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995], 112–32), which extends ideas that he introduced in *Israel’s Praise*. Thus, *Israel’s Praise* remains his fullest statement on the topic.

¹³⁹ Brueggemann, *Israel’s Praise*, 30–38.

in the Psalter (Ps 40:10; 68:12). Therefore, one can hardly consider בִּשְׁר to be a major word for praise in the Psalms. These two observations demonstrate that there is still a need for studies of praise in the Psalms, especially ones that focus on the Hebrew language.

Psalter

A study of praise should concentrate on the Psalter because praise language is concentrated there. For example, the verb הִלֵּל in the piel stem occurs 113 times in the Hebrew Bible, and 75 of those occurrences are in the Psalms, that is, approximately 66% of the total. Westermann estimates that the percentage is the same if one includes the other verb stems and nouns related to the same root.¹⁴⁰ Although an exhaustive study of הִלֵּל in the Hebrew Bible would be desirable, a study of the word as part of the concept of praise in the Psalter is important in its own right. Focusing the study on the Psalms may also prove useful since the high concentration of occurrences in the Psalms suggests that הִלֵּל is prototypically used of praising YHWH in public worship. If the Psalms are the best window to the prototypical core of the word's semantics, it makes sense to begin with the Psalms.

¹⁴⁰ *TLOT* 1:371.

To a large extent, cognitive linguists developed conceptual metonymy theory¹⁴¹ using what might be called opportunistic and introspective methods.¹⁴² That is, they chose or created individual examples that were close at hand in everyday use, and they interpreted them on the basis of their own intuitive knowledge of language and culture.¹⁴³ For example, Lakoff and Johnson begin their chapter on metonymy with this sentence: *The ham sandwich is waiting for his check.*¹⁴⁴ In this example, the phrase *ham sandwich* is a metonymy for the person who ordered the ham sandwich. Lakoff and Johnson do not quote the example from a source. One of them could have overheard a waitress use the sentence at a diner, but it is more likely that they created the sentence based on their knowledge of things people say at restaurants. The example is plausible and illustrative, but it is also opportunistic and introspective. Most of the examples provided above are of this sort. This realization does not undermine the theory, however. Cognitive linguists

¹⁴¹ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 35–40; Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason*, 100–106.

¹⁴² Anatol Stefanowitsch dubs this the introspective/opportunistic approach to metaphor and metonymy and contrasts it with the corpus-based approach (“Corpus-based Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy,” in Stefanowitsch and Gries, *Corpus-based Approaches*, 6).

¹⁴³ Lakoff and Johnson admit, “Our claims rest largely on the evidence of linguistic examples. Many if not most of these have come out of discussions with colleagues, students, and friends” (*Metaphors We Live By*, xii). Scholars are still repeating many of their examples. For instance, Kövecses repeats their examples throughout his recent introduction *Metaphor*.

¹⁴⁴ Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 35.

observe real phenomena in language and thought, and they explain them in compelling ways. But the things they observe and the ways that they explain them are limited and in need of more empirical rigor.¹⁴⁵

My choice to study the Psalter makes this a corpus-based study. During the last twenty years, the corpus-based method has become the most significant empirical paradigm in linguistics, and it has started to have an impact on cognitive semantics as well. Anatol Stefanowitsch explains five benefits of a corpus-based approach to conceptual mappings.¹⁴⁶ First, because it deals with multiple examples, a corpus-based approach can lead to reassessments of metonymies that have been identified by more intuitive methods. Second, because it provides frequency data, a corpus-based approach can help to determine the relative importance of metonymies. Third, because it tracks usage patterns, a corpus-based approach can identify formal features that accompany metonymies. Fourth, because it deals with complete contexts rather than isolated instances, a corpus-based approach can shed light on the pragmatic function of metonymies. Fifth, if the corpus is large enough, a corpus-based approach may be able to trace diachronic development in metonymies.

¹⁴⁵ Raymond Gibbs does provide empirical evidence for conceptual metonymy (“Speaking and Thinking with Metonymy,” in Panther and Radden, *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, 61–76).

¹⁴⁶ Stefanowitsch, “Corpus-based Approaches,” 6–10.

Despite these benefits, identifying metonymies in a corpus can be quite difficult. Many corpora have lexical tagging, and some even have grammatical tagging, but none has the kind of semantic tagging that would make searching for conceptual mappings easy. Therefore, Stefanowitsch presents two major ways of identifying metonymies in a corpus.¹⁴⁷ On the one hand, one can search for lexical items that serve as vehicles.¹⁴⁸ This is the most natural choice because vehicle language always appears in a metonymy, while target language may not. But this option requires a priori knowledge of metonymic vehicle words. On the other hand, one can search for lexical items in a target area. This option only requires a promising subject and a relatively homogenous corpus that is likely to provide ample material on that subject. Fortunately, the topic of praise in the Psalms provides such material. Therefore, the following study takes a target-oriented approach to its corpus, the Psalter.

Plan

In order to be clear about the plan of this study, we must be clear about the types of metonymy. There are two major types of metonymy: conceptual and linguistic.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ Stefanowitsch, “Corpus-based Approaches,” 2–5.

¹⁴⁸ For a vehicle-oriented approach to a corpus, see Martin Hilpert, “Keeping an Eye on the Data: Metonymies and their Patterns,” in Stefanowitsch and Gries, *Corpus-based Approaches*, 123–51. Hilpert searches for the word *eye* and then catalogues the types of metonymies that use it as a vehicle.

Conceptual metonymy involves patterns of thought, and these patterns may be stated at different levels of specificity. Linguistic metonymies are the concrete expressions of such conceptual patterns in language. This study also distinguishes between two major types of linguistic metonymy: lexical and contextual.¹⁵⁰ Lexical metonymy takes place between different senses of a single polysemous word. One must compare multiple contexts of use in order to observe these metonymies. By contrast, contextual metonymy takes place in a single context of use. Take, for example, the sentence *I drank from a glass*. We may not recognize metonymy in this example until we compare it to the sentence *I drank from a glass cup*. This is a lexical metonymy that occurs between two senses of the word *glass*. The meanings ‘hard, brittle substance’ and ‘glass drinking vessel’ both appear in a dictionary,¹⁵¹ and the relation between them is motivated by the conceptual metonymy

¹⁴⁹ This is a common distinction in cognitive semantics: “*conceptual* metaphor motivates a wide range of *linguistic* utterances . . . As with conceptual metaphor, *conceptual* metonymy licenses *linguistic* expressions” (*GCL* 137, 141, italics added).

¹⁵⁰ “[M]etonymy is often contingent on a specific context. Within a specific discourse context, a salient vehicle activates and thus highlights a particular target. Hence, . . . conceptual metonymies are motivated by communicative and referential requirements” (Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 311–12). Contextual metonymy could also be called “pragmatic metonymy” (See Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 310). In addition, grammatical metonymy could be included as a third type of linguistic metonymy (See Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 257–63). Alternatively, Günter Radden and Zoltán Kövecses provide a more detailed delineation of types of metonymy (“Towards a Theory of Metonymy,” in *Metonymy in Language and Thought* [ed. K.-U. Panther and G. Radden; HCP 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999], 23–29). Since they include things and events to which language refers, they identify three types of metonymy: concept, sign, and reference. According to these authors, there are four types of form-concept metonymy, two of which correspond to what this study calls lexical and contextual linguistic metonymies.

¹⁵¹ *NOAD* 736–37.

MATERIAL FOR OBJECT. Next, consider the sentence *We need a better arm at third base*. It is not necessary to consult other examples to conclude that *arm* is a metonymy in this instance. This metonymy does not occur at the lexical level. We will not find ‘baseball player’ as a meaning of the word *arm* in the dictionary.¹⁵² This is a contextual metonymy because the sentence context leads us to conclude that *arm* refers to ‘baseball player.’ The conceptual metonymy is PART FOR WHOLE. To show that conceptual metonymies can be expressed at different levels of abstraction, we could state it more specifically as BODY PART FOR PERSON. These examples illustrate the types of metonymy investigated in this study.

In the following study, Chapters 2 and 3 focus on lexical metonymy, and Chapters 4 and 5 focus on contextual metonymy.¹⁵³ All four of these chapters identify conceptual metonymies that motivate linguistic expressions. Specifically, Chapters 2 and 3 focus on תהלה and תודה, the two most important nouns for praise in the Psalter. These chapters argue that both words are polysemous and that metonymy plays an important role in their different semantic structures. Chapter 4 looks at the objects of the four most important

¹⁵² NOAD 86.

¹⁵³ The closest analogy to this project is probably Pierre Van Hecke’s cognitive approach to pastoral metaphor in the Hebrew Bible. Using the image of the shepherd, he shows how metaphor operates at both the lexical level (“Polysemy or Homonymy in the Root(s) r’h in Biblical Hebrew: A Cognitive-Linguistic Approach,” *ZAH* 14 [2001]: 50–67) and the contextual level (“Are People Walking After or Before God? On the Metaphorical use of הלך אחרי and הלך לפני,” *OLP* 30 [1999]: 37–71).

verbs for praise (הלל, ידה, זמר, ברך). It shows that the God of Israel, YHWH, is the preeminent object of praise in the Psalms and that YHWH's name (שם) is the most important metonymy involved. Chapter 5 looks at the subjects of the same verbs and describes a variety of metonymies used for praising subjects in the Psalms. Chapter 6 summarizes the findings of the present study and reflects upon its contributions and implications.

CHAPTER 2: THE NOUN תהלה

The first chapter introduced the idea that the cognitive process of metonymy can motivate lexical polysemy. In this chapter, this concept will be demonstrated by investigating the various meanings of the polysemous noun תהלה in the Psalms. After an overview of the word's usage patterns, this chapter will establish the core meaning of the word and then trace its semantic extensions, all of which involve metonymic links. In conclusion, these findings will be compared to those of the major Classical Hebrew dictionaries, the semantic structure of תהלה will be mapped out, and the conceptual metonymies that govern the word's polysemy will be explored.

1. Overview

Although this study is focused more on semantics than on grammar, it does assume the tenants of a cognitive approach to grammar. Therefore, it will be helpful at the outset to recall the two guiding principles of cognitive approaches to grammar: the symbolic thesis and the usage-based thesis. First, the symbolic thesis states that all language is symbolic in nature. So it is not possible to maintain a neat division between syntax and semantics;

form and meaning are inseparable. Grammar and lexicon are different, but they form a continuum. This means that one should not study the word תהלה in abstraction; rather, one must be constantly aware of the grammatical contexts in which it occurs. In the case of Psalms, this will involve poetic parallelism. Second, the usage-based thesis states that knowledge of a language is based on actual usage of that language. While this is true for all word meaning, it is especially important in the case of polysemous words. A hearer may assume a prototypical meaning for a word, but subtle shifts in usage will signal to the hearer that another sense of the word is being used. In the case of a dead language like Classical Hebrew, we do not have native speakers to inform us, so paying careful attention to all the patterns of usage attested in the biblical texts is crucial. Patterns of meaning arise out of patterns of usage. So observing the word's usage will be a necessary first step in delineating the multiple senses of תהלה.

The noun תהלה occurs 30 times in the Psalms, and it is possible to discern certain patterns in these examples. Most generally, the word appears frequently with a pronominal suffix and in the singular. It occurs 19 times with a suffix¹⁵⁴ and three times in construct (22:4; 78:4; 145:21). It occurs 27 times in the singular¹⁵⁵ and only three times in

¹⁵⁴ Ps 9:15; 22:26; 34:2; 35:28; 48:11; 51:17; 66:2, 8; 71:6, 8, 14; 79:13; 102:22; 106:2, 12, 47; 109:1; 111:10; 149:1. This number is increased to 22 if we include constructs (22:4; 78:4; 145:21).

¹⁵⁵ Ps 22:4, 26; 33:1; 34:2; 35:28; 40:4; 48:11; 51:17; 65:2; 66:2, 8; 71:6, 8, 14; 79:13; 100:4; 102:22; 106:12, 47; 109:1; 111:10; 119:71; 145:1, 21; 147:1; 148:14; 149:1. The number 27 matches the

the plural (9:15; 78:4; 106:2). The singular forms with the suffix may be divided up by the reference of the suffix. When the suffix is second- or third-person singular, it always refers to YHWH.¹⁵⁶ The two times that the word is in construct with the divine name (78:4; 145:21) belong with this group as well. When the suffix is first-person singular (22:26; 71:6; 109:1), it always refers to the speaker of the psalm. The one time that it appears in construct with the name Israel (22:4) is unique. When תהלה is in the absolute state, it normally occurs in the body of the psalms, but in one case it occurs in the superscription (145:1). Finally, the three plural forms may be divided from the singular forms.

When we turn to consider the meanings that arise from these various usage patterns, we first need to determine the core or prototypical meaning of תהלה. Three observations will assist us in determining the semantic core of the word. First, all of the Classical Hebrew Dictionaries agree that the noun תהלה is deverbal. In other words, it derives from the verbal root II הלל, meaning ‘to praise.’¹⁵⁷ Second, Joüon and Muraoka

number of singular forms found in the MT. However, for reasons given below, I take Ps 22:4 as singular rather than plural and 106:2 as plural rather than singular.

¹⁵⁶ תהלה appears 16 times in the Psalms with a pronominal suffix referring to YHWH: eight in the second-person (9:15; 35:28; 48:11; 51:17; 71:8, 14; 79:13; 106:47) and eight in the third-person (34:2; 66:2, 8; 102:22; 106:2, 12; 111:10; 149:1).

¹⁵⁷ BDB lists the entry for the noun (239–40) under the verbal root (237–39). *HALOT* (249, 1692) and *DCH* (2:562, 8:596) cross-reference the verb and noun entries. Although *DCH* refers to I הלל, it means the same verb that is known as II הלל in BDB and *HALOT*. In addition, תהלה does not receive a separate

observe that “The majority of nouns with ת performative are verbal substantives or action nouns,” and they place תהלה in this category.¹⁵⁸ Third, the feminine ending often indicates an abstract meaning in non-animate nouns.¹⁵⁹ This seems to fit well with the first and second points.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, it seems safe to assume that the action of ‘praise’ is the core meaning of the noun תהלה.

With this in mind, consider the following correspondences between usage and meaning for the word תהלה in the Psalms:

article in the theological dictionaries. Rather, it is included in the entries for the verb הלל. See H. Ringgren, “הלל *hll* I and II; הלולים *hillûlim*; תהלה *tēhillāh*,” *TDOT* 3:404–10; C. Westermann, “הלל *hll* pi. to praise,” *TLOT* 1:371–76; L. Allen, “הלל,” *NIDOTTE* 1:1035–38.

¹⁵⁸ P. Joüon and T. Muraoka. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. (2nd ed. Rome: Gregorian & Biblical, 2009), 238–39. Similarly, Waltke and O’Connor note, “A *t*-prefix noun usually designates the action of the verb it is derived from” (*IBHS* 90–91).

¹⁵⁹ *GKC* 393; *IBHS* 104–5; Joüon, 464.

¹⁶⁰ Joüon and Muraoka note that nouns with the ת prefix normally also have a feminine ending, but they are unsure about the reason why (*Grammar*, 238, n. 3). They suggest it is either coincidence or the letter ת, which is associated with the feminine, has influenced the use of the feminine ending. Since, as they recognize, nouns with the prefix ת are often verbal substantives, it could be the abstract meaning that has influenced the feminine gender of the noun.

Table 1. Usage and Meaning of תהלה in the Psalms

Usage	Meaning	Occurrences
Core		
absolute in psalms	‘praise’	7
1cs suffix		3
Metonymic Extensions		
2ms/3ms suffix, construct with יהוה	‘praiseworthiness’	15
plural, 2ms/3ms suffix, construct with יהוה	‘praiseworthy deeds’	3
construct with ישראל	‘object of praise’	1
absolute in superscription	‘psalm’	1

As table 1 shows, there is no “secular” use of תהלה in the Psalter; all the occurrences of the word concern people praising their God, YHWH. The core meaning of the word is the human activity of ‘praise’ directed toward YHWH. In terms of usage, this meaning is seen in the absolute state and the first-person singular suffix. When תהלה concerns the public praise of the community, it tends to be used in the absolute state,¹⁶¹ but when the individual speaker is the subject, the first-person suffix is used. This chapter will show that there are four semantic extensions from this prototypical core and that all four are motivated by metonymy. When the word is singular and the suffix refers to YHWH, תהלה has the meaning ‘praiseworthiness.’ In this case, YHWH possesses תהלה as an attribute. When the word is plural and the suffix refers to YHWH, the meaning is ‘praiseworthy

¹⁶¹ Pss 40:4 and 119:171 are apparent exceptions to this tendency. However, both examples are figurative. This observation raises the possibility that figurative contexts influenced the usage. See the fuller discussion below.

deeds.’ In this case, YHWH is the subject of actions that evoke praise. In Ps 22:4, it will be argued that the unusual usage of תהלה indicates the meaning ‘object of praise.’ Finally, I will argue that תהלה has the meaning ‘psalm’ in Ps 145:1, the one instance where the word appears in a superscription.

2. Meanings

Now that I have provided an overview of the usage patterns and meanings of the word תהלה in the Psalms, it is possible to look more closely at the specific examples of these five meanings: ‘praise,’ ‘praiseworthiness,’ ‘praiseworthy deeds,’ ‘object of praise,’ and ‘psalm.’

‘Praise’

The prototypical meaning of the word תהלה in the Psalms is ‘praise.’ Since all the dictionaries acknowledge this meaning, there is nothing controversial about the claim. However, it is important to begin with a consideration of this meaning for a couple of reasons. Since I am sketching the semantic structure of the word תהלה in order to show its metonymic nature, it is necessary to establish the word’s core meaning at the outset. The core meaning is the source of the metonymic target. In addition, even though all acknowledge this meaning, scholars arrive at different conclusions when they interpret specific examples.

The noun תהלה occurs three times in the Psalms with a first-person singular suffix referring to the speaker of the psalm (22:26; 71:6; 109:1). In all three of these examples, the context suggests that תהלה means ‘praise,’ that is, the activity of praising.¹⁶² In addition, we should take the first-person suffix as a subjective genitive, indicating the speaker as the agent of the praising activity. In the case of Ps 22:26, a comparison with the preceding verses, where the verbal root אהל is used, proves helpful:

Table 2. Parallels in Ps 22:23–24a and 22:26

Vv. 23–24a	V. 26
אספרה שמך לאחי בתוך קהל אהללך יראי יהוה הללוהו כל־זרע יעקב כבדוהו	מאתך תהלתי בקהל רב נדרי אשלם נגד יראיו
I will recount your name to my brothers; in the congregation I will praise you: “‘You who fear YHWH, praise him! All you offspring of Jacob, glorify him!’”	From you is my praise in the great congregation; my vows I will pay before those who fear him.

As table 2 shows, in vv. 23 and 24, the speaker says that he or she will praise YHWH, using a first-person singular verb (אהללך). This activity will take place in the congregation (בתוך קהל) and will address those who fear YHWH (יראי יהוה). Likewise, in v. 26 the setting is in the congregation (בקהל) before those who fear YHWH (יראיו). These parallels suggest that we should understand the word תהלתי in light of the

¹⁶² The dictionaries agree (BDB 240; HALOT 1692; DCH 8:594–95).

preceding first-person singular verb (אהללך). In other words, ‘praise’ is an action, and the suffix refers to the subject of that action.¹⁶³ In Psalm 71, the speaker surveys his or her life from birth to old age and, in v. 6, affirms that his or her praise has been “continually” (תמיד) directed toward YHWH.¹⁶⁴ This description favors an ongoing action. In Ps 109:1, the speaker begins the poem by addressing YHWH with the unusual epithet “God of my praise” (אלהי תהלתי). Since this is a lament psalm, however, the topic of praise does not appear again until the concluding vow of praise (vv. 30–31), where the speaker promises, “I will praise him” (אהללנו). Thus, the language of praise forms an *inclusio* around the psalm, and the final first-person singular verb can be seen as paraphrasing the opening divine vocative. Therefore, the genitive is attributive and the suffix subjective. We could translate the epithet as “God whom I praise.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ BDB (240) defines this occurrence as ‘praise,’ but *HALOT* (1692) and *DCH* (8:595) define it as ‘song of praise.’ To substantiate this meaning, one should find singing and playing instruments in the context, but this language does not occur in Psalm 22.

¹⁶⁴ BDB (240) and *DCH* (8:594) agree that this example means ‘praise,’ but *HALOT* (1692) understands it as ‘song of praise.’ There are two arguments against this understanding. First, the speaker describes תהלתי as continuously directed toward YHWH. It is unlikely that a single song would be used continually, but the ongoing action of praise could be. Second, although musical instruments and singing do appear in this psalm, they only appear at its conclusion, and the verbs used there are ידה and זמר not הלל. Therefore, there seems to be a distinction between the speaker’s affirmation of current praise (vv. 6, 8, 14) and the vow of future praise (vv. 22–24).

¹⁶⁵ BDB (240) and *DCH* (8:594) define this occurrence as ‘praise.’ *HALOT* (1692) defines it as ‘song of praise,’ but there is no singing in the psalm.

The noun תהלה occurs seven times in the Psalms in the absolute state with the meaning ‘praise’ (33:1; 40:4; 65:2; 100:4; 119:171; 147:1; 148:14). Four of these examples (33:1; 65:2; 100:4; 147:1) appear in literal contexts, and three (40:4; 119:171; 148:14) involve figurative language. Let us treat the literal examples first. Psalm 33:1 states that “praise is fitting for the upright” (לישרים נאווה תהלה). Here the word is surrounded by five plural imperatives addressed to these upright people. Verse 1 begins with “shout” (רננו) to YHWH; verse 2 continues with “give thanks” (הודו) and “sing praise” (זמרו); and verse 3 concludes with “sing” (שירו) and “play well” (היטיבו נגן). What is fitting for the upright is ‘praise’ with musical accompaniment. The MT of Ps 65:2 says, “Silence is praise to you in Zion, God” (לך דמיה תהלה אלהים בציון). This would seem to contradict the idea that תהלה involves verbal praise, but Zion is not a place of silence; it is the place of publicly celebrating YHWH (e.g., Ps 102:22). Therefore, following the LXX,¹⁶⁶ it is best to revocalize the MT’s “silence” (דמיה) to a feminine participle (דמיה) from the root I דמה: “Praise is fitting for you in Zion, God.”¹⁶⁷ This understanding fits

¹⁶⁶ The LXX has “To you a hymn is due, God, in Zion” (Σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος, ὁ θεός, ἐν Σιων). Compare to Ps 33:1 (τοῖς εὐθέσι πρέπει αἴνεσις).

¹⁶⁷ This is the proposal of Bardtke (*BHS*) and Kraus (*Psalms 60–150*, 27). Others attempt to retain the pointing of the MT (Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 137; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 138). For example, Goldingay says, “silence can be a novel way of recognizing God, insofar as it implies a trustful rest in God” (*Psalms 42–89*, 274–75). But, as he acknowledges, this is a “novel” understanding of praise that only makes sense by implication.

with the next colon that speaks of the obligation to pay vows, and it also resembles the propriety of praise in 33:1. In Ps 100:4, תהלה is grammatically and semantically parallel with the noun ‘thanksgiving’ (תודה). The next colon of the tricolon addresses the same group of people with imperatives to “thank” (הודו) and “bless” (ברכו) YHWH. Finally, Psalm 147 begins with a tricolon: the first colon is the imperative “praise Yah!” (הללו יה), followed by two cola that provide reasons.¹⁶⁸ The first reason is that it is good to sing praise (זמרה) to God, and the second reason is that it is pleasing to glorify with ‘praise’ (תהלה).¹⁶⁹ Seen in context, all of these literal examples have the meaning ‘praise.’

Now let us turn to consider the three occurrences of absolute תהלה in figurative contexts.

¹⁶⁸ Since הללו יה does not usually occur within parallelism, some commentators exclude the phrase from the psalm in favor of an initial bicolon (Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms* [trans. H. C. Oswald; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993], 2:556; Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-50* [Rev. ed.; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002], 381; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* [trans. L. Maloney; 2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2005], 3:619). As a result, they must take the כי as asseverative rather than clausal. However, that approach does not solve the problem since it makes Ps 147 the only psalm in the Psalter to begin with כי. By contrast, it is very common for a hymn to begin with a plural imperative followed by causal כי. In addition, there is at least one other case where הללו יה undeniably appears within parallelism (Ps 135:3), and it is followed by causal כי as it is here. Therefore, with Goldingay (3:715), I prefer to take the opening lines of the poem as a tricolon: an imperative phrase followed by two cola with causal כי.

¹⁶⁹ Perhaps influenced by Ps 33:1, many translations take the word נאווה in Ps 147:1 as the adjective ‘fitting.’ However, since it is awkward to have two adjectives juxtaposed (נעיים נאווה), they are then forced to paraphrase in various ways to make sense of the verse. By contrast, Joshua Blau has pointed out that the poetic structure here differs from Ps 33:1. Based on parallelism with the infinitive (זמרה) in the previous colon, he argues that נאווה should also be understood as an infinitive meaning ‘to glorify’ (from either נאווה or נווה). This solution preserves the grammatical parallelism between the cola: conjunction, adjective, infinitive, and object. See Blau’s article “*Nāwā Thillā* (Ps. CXLVII 1): Lobpreisen,” *VT* 4 (1954): 410–11.

- (1) He put in my mouth a new song,
praise (תהלה) to our God. (Ps 40:4a)

In example (1), English translations often read the cola as parallel and render תהלה as “song of praise” or “hymn.”¹⁷⁰ But the second colon actually stands in apposition to the first. In other words, the content of the “new song” (שיר חדש) in the first colon is further described as “praise to our God” (תהלה לאלהינו) in the second. Therefore, it is not necessary to posit a meaning for תהלה that includes singing or the genre. In addition, it is worth noting that we have here a metonymy within metaphor.¹⁷¹ Praise is pictured as a substance that YHWH places in the speaker’s mouth, so the conceptual metaphor at work is SPEECH IS A SUBSTANCE. But the point is not simply that praise is in the speaker’s mouth but rather that the speaker actually utters or sings it. Thus, the mouth is a metonymy for speech; a body part stands for the action it performs. In conceptual terms, this is a case of INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION.

Another figurative example occurs in Psalm 119:

- (2) My lips will pour forth praise (תהלה),
because you teach me your statutes. (Ps 119:171)

¹⁷⁰ NRSV and ESV translate “song of praise.” NJPS has “hymn.” And NIV combines these renderings with “hymn of praise.”

¹⁷¹ Cf Goossens, “Metaphonymy,” 363–65, and the discussion in chapter 1.

Example (2) is another case of metonymy within metaphor, but it has some significant differences from the previous one. The picture of speech here is metaphoric, but it is a liquid that pours forth rather than a substance that can be placed in the mouth. The conceptual metaphor is SPEECH IS A LIQUID. In addition, the lips do not represent the activity of speech in this case; rather, the lips are a metonymy for the speaker who utters the speech.¹⁷² Therefore, this is an example of PART FOR WHOLE metonymy. In both of these examples, the word תהלה means ‘praise,’ even though it appears in complex figurative contexts.

The final figurative example of תהלה occurs in a concluding tricolon in Ps 148:14. This is perhaps the most difficult use of the word in the absolute state. First of all, scholars debate the relationship of the parts of the verse and the relationship of the verse as a whole to the body of the psalm. Some scholars believe that the psalm ends with the first colon (וירם קרן לעמו) and that the second and third cola (תהלה לכל־חסידיו / לבני ישראל) (עם־קרבו) are a subscript.¹⁷³ Others believe that the verse as a whole is a redactional addition to the psalm.¹⁷⁴ Alternatively, R. MacKenzie proposed that the second and third

¹⁷² The verb ‘to flow’ (נבע Hiphil) is used elsewhere as a metaphor for speaking, but it normally takes the person, rather than a body part, as subject (e.g., Pss 59:8; 78:2; 94:4; 145:7; Prov 1:23).

¹⁷³ Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 561. Because Kraus regards the last lines as a subscript, he understands the meaning of תהלה to be ‘song of praise.’

¹⁷⁴ Spieckermann regards v. 14 as a redactional addition meant to nationalize Psalm 148 (*Heilsgegenwart: Eine Theologie der Psalmen* [FRLANT 148; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989],

cola were the original superscription to Psalm 149 before it was mistakenly attached to Psalm 148.¹⁷⁵ In addition, scholars debate the meaning of the word תהלה in this context. Some believe that it involves praise or renown directed toward Israel, while others hold that it refers to Israel's praise of YHWH. Each of these issues will be addressed in turn.

It is highly unlikely that the end of Psalm 148 originally belonged to Psalm 149 because of the editorial halleluyahs that mark clear divisions between Psalms 146–150. If a displacement occurred it would have to have been before these halleluyahs were in place, but there is no textual evidence for a form without the halleluyahs. It is purely hypothetical to assume that these psalms existed as a collection without the editorial divisions. Although תהלה לכל־חסידיו bears a resemblance to the form of some

58). Noting that v. 14 shares some language with Psalm 149, Hossfeld and Zenger conclude that the verse is a redactional addition meant to link the psalms (*Psalms* 3, 634–35). Although Ps 149:1 does use the word תהלה, I have argued above that תהלה has a different sense in Ps 149:1.

¹⁷⁵ R. A. F. MacKenzie, "Ps 148, 14bc: Conclusion of Title?" *Bib* 51 (1970): 221–24. MacKenzie makes three arguments for his view. First, the last two cola of v. 14 seem syntactically disconnected from Psalm 148. Second, they share six words with Psalm 149 but only the word עם with Psalm 148. Third, in 11QPsa, Ps 149:9 more closely resembles 148:14 (with an added colon: לבני ישראל עם קודשו), thus suggesting an original inclusio. Each of these arguments can be countered. First, these cola are syntactically incomplete because they depend upon ellipsis of the verb וירם from the first colon. Second, it is inaccurate to claim that these cola share only the word עם with the body of the psalm; they also share the thematically significant word כל that occurs ten times. Third, the early witnesses actually support the MT's division of Psalms 148 and 149. The Hebrew text of Ben Sira 51:12 quotes Ps 148:14 in the same form as the MT, including the הללויה. Although the LXX only has one αλληλουια, the division between psalms remains the same. Finally, the seam between Psalms 148 and 149 is lacking in 11QPsa, so it cannot provide evidence for an alternative division between them. The expansion of Ps 149:9 could simply be an assimilation to the conclusion of the previous psalm.

superscriptions (e.g. 145:1), it would be unusual to ascribe a psalm to the entire people of Israel. Normally, psalms are attributed to individuals, like David, or guilds of singers, such as the sons of Korah. In addition, since two cola are involved, this would be the only case of a superscription exhibiting parallelism. The poetic nature of the lines suggests that they belong with the body of Psalm 148.

Could the last two cola of Psalm 148 be a subscript? The same arguments against the superscript proposal apply here as well: the attribution to all Israel and the poetic parallelism make it unlikely. In addition, there are no other subscripts in the Psalter.¹⁷⁶ Habakkuk 3:19 is the one clear example of a subscript in the Hebrew Bible, and it is noteworthy that the attribution of authorship (תפלה לחבקוק) occurs at the beginning of psalm (3:1) and not at the end. Could these lines be a secondary addition to the psalm? The psalm's structure, its key words, and the poetic form of the final tricolon suggest that they are an original part of the psalm. Psalm 148 has two major sections: verses 1–6 call for praise from heaven and all of its inhabitants, and vv. 7–14 call for praise from the earth and all of its inhabitants. Both sections end in a similar manner (vv. 5–6, 13–14): the identical jussive clause “Let them praise the name of YHWH” (יהללו את־שם יהוה), a

¹⁷⁶ Psalm 72:20 is a colophon for a collection of psalms, not a subscript for an individual psalm. Two observations make this clear. First, Ps 72:20 follows the concluding doxology of Book Two of the Psalter in vv. 18–19. Second, it refers to David's prayers in the plural (תפלות דוד).

reason clause (כי, vv. 5, 13), and a *waw* consecutive (ויעמידם, v. 6, וירם, v. 14).¹⁷⁷ This structure supports the originality of at least the first colon of v. 14. In addition, the number ten is an important number of completion in Psalm 148. The verb הלל occurs ten times.¹⁷⁸ The word ‘all’ (כל) also appears ten times if the second colon of v. 14 is included.¹⁷⁹ Finally, v. 14 is best understood as a poetic tricolon with verbal ellipsis:

- (3) He raised up the horn of his people;
 [he raised up] the praise (תהלה) of all his faithful,
 of the children of Israel, a people close to him. (Ps 148:14)

Although the first section of the psalm ends with two bicola (vv. 5–6), the preceding verse is a tricolon (v. 13),¹⁸⁰ suggesting that the psalmist used tricola to bring the whole composition to a close. The first two cola of example (3) are grammatically parallel: verb, absolute object, prepositional phrase with ל. The third colon provides two appositives for the phrase “of all his faithful” in the second colon. Thus, there is strong evidence for considering v. 14 as a whole to be part of Psalm 148.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ The LXX vocalizes וירם as imperfect וִירֵם and translates with a future “and he will raise up” (καὶ ὑψώσει), but the connection to the *waw* consecutive in v. 6 favors the *waw* consecutive in v. 14 (וִירֵם).

¹⁷⁸ Vv. 1 (2x), 2 (2x), 3 (2x), 4, 5, 7, 13.

¹⁷⁹ Vv. 2 (2x), 3, 7, 9 (2x), 10, 11 (2x), 14.

¹⁸⁰ In addition to being a tricolon, v. 13 also exhibits verbal ellipsis: “Let them praise the name of YHWH, / for exalted is his name alone; / [exalted] is his splendor above earth and heaven.”

¹⁸¹ Allen (*Psalms 101–150*, 389–90) and Goldingay (*Psalms 90–150*, 733–34) also appeal to the poetic structure of vv. 13–14 to argue that v. 14 is part of the psalm. Allen identifies two tricola, but

Now that the context for interpretation has been established, it is possible to consider the meaning of the word תהלה in example (3). The following ל could be understood in different ways. For example, if we take it as a ל of advantage or direction,¹⁸² the praise would be directed toward the people: “praise *for* all his faithful.” However, if we take it as a ל of possession,¹⁸³ then the praise would be performed by the people: “praise belonging *to* all his faithful.” The Classical Hebrew dictionaries all choose the first option,¹⁸⁴ but that option is not likely given the general context of Psalm 148. In the rest of the poem, Israel calls the cosmos to praise *YHWH*. It would be odd for the final verse to redirect this praise to Israel itself. More specifically, the *waw* consecutive of example (3) (וירם) continues the reason clause of the preceding v. 13. Praise directed toward Israel would not serve as an adequate reason for the rest of those on earth to praise *YHWH*, but Israel’s praise of *YHWH* could certainly serve as impetus for others. Finally, since this is the only place in the Hebrew Bible where the verb ‘to raise up’ (רום Hiphil) is used with תהלה as its object, it is helpful to consider its meaning

Goldingay opts for three bicola. The recognition of verbal ellipsis shows that we are dealing with two tricola.

¹⁸² *IBHS* 205, 207–8.

¹⁸³ *IBHS* 206–7.

¹⁸⁴ *BDB* 240; *HALOT* 1692; *DCH* 8:596. Allen holds this view as well: “Yahweh’s supremacy and majesty are reflected in the exaltation and renown bestowed on Israel” (*Psalms 101–150*, 389–90).

in light of the preceding expression “to raise (רום) one’s horn (קרן)” which is attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁸⁵ The metaphor pictures a person or group of people as a wild bull that lifts its head in victory over enemies.¹⁸⁶ Conversely, the one who experiences weakness or defeat is said to have his or her horn cut off.¹⁸⁷ In either case, those who experience victory or defeat possess horns. Usually, this is conveyed by a possessive suffix or genitive, but in this case it is conveyed by the possessive ל preposition. That is, the horn belongs “to his people” (לעמו). Since, as has been established, the next colon stands in grammatical parallelism with this expression, it makes sense to understand תהלה as praise belonging “to all his faithful” (לכל־חסידי). The semantic parallelism is a syntagmatic movement of cause and effect: YHWH raises Israel’s horn, and they respond by praising YHWH. The image of raising up praise

¹⁸⁵ Schmutzer and Gauthier (“The Identity of ‘Horn’ in Psalm 148:14a: An Exegetical Investigation in the MT and LXX Versions,” *BBR* 19 [2009]: 161–83) survey interpretations of the horn and find that they fall into two broad categories: literary-metaphorical or historical-literal. For example, some say that the horn represents strength, while others say that it refers to the return from Babylonian exile. In contrast, Schmutzer and Gauthier adopt what could be called a linguistic approach to the question. They argue that the horn should not be understood in isolation but must be understood in the expression ‘to raise one’s horn.’ This is the approach taken here.

¹⁸⁶ The literary context typically involves defeated enemies (1 Sam 2:1, 10; Ps 75:5, 6, 11; 89:18, 25; 92:11; 112:9; Lam 2:17). In the late passage 1 Chr 25:5, the expression seems to have a more general meaning of success or blessing. For ancient Near Eastern iconography of bulls raising their horns over foes, see Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (trans. T. Hallett; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 86–87; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 638–39.

¹⁸⁷ Jer 48:25; Ps 75:11; Lam 2:3.

belonging to the people has been influenced by the metaphor in the first colon. The conceptual metaphor SPEECH IS A SUBSTANCE allows for this connection. If speech is pictured as a substance, then it can be possessed as an object (ל of possession) and lifted up (רום) by YHWH. Although the usage is unusual, the word תהלה has its prototypical meaning of ‘praise.’

‘Praiseworthiness’

The noun תהלה occurs 15 times in the Psalter with pronominal suffixes referring to YHWH. There are three different options for understanding this suffix. First, it could be a subjective genitive:¹⁸⁸ YHWH is the one who praises someone or something. Second, it could be an objective genitive:¹⁸⁹ YHWH is the object of human or creational praise. Or, third, it could be a possessive genitive:¹⁹⁰ YHWH possesses an attribute of ‘praiseworthiness.’ Since YHWH is almost always the object of verbs of praise in the Psalter and never the subject of these verbs, we can safely eliminate the first option. However, precisely because תהלה is an action noun and YHWH is the preeminent object of praise, it has been natural for many to assume an objective genitive in these cases.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ *IBHS* 143.

¹⁸⁹ *IBHS* 146.

¹⁹⁰ *IBHS* 145.

Yet it is the contention here that the third option is the best way to understand these 15 examples: YHWH is the possessor of the attribute of ‘praiseworthiness.’

The evidence for this claim comes from two observations. First, when תהלה has a suffix referring to YHWH, the word often serves as the object of verbs of speech. If תהלה conveys the action of speech, this would appear to be a redundant construction: speaking about speaking about YHWH. However, if תהלה is an attribute of YHWH, it could serve as the content of the speech: speaking about YHWH’s ‘praiseworthiness.’ This makes good sense. Second, when תהלה has a suffix referring to YHWH, it never stands in poetic parallelism with an action noun; rather, it frequently occurs in parallelism with an attribute of YHWH. In all of these cases, the parallel word has a suffix that clearly refers to YHWH as the possessor of the attribute. What does parallel mean in this context? For the purposes of this discussion, the word ‘parallel’ means parallelism between contiguous poetic cola that is both grammatical and semantic. The two words in parallel have the same form and serve the same syntactic function in their respective cola.¹⁹² Also, their

¹⁹¹ Take, for instance, Ps 34:2, the first occurrence in the Psalms of singular תהלה with a suffix referring to YHWH. English translations universally take the suffix as an objective genitive. NRSV, NIV, and ESV all translate “his praise,” and NJPS makes this interpretation even more explicit with the rendering “praise of Him.”

¹⁹² Berlin distinguishes between syntactic and morphological grammatical parallelism: “Syntactic parallelism is the syntactic equivalence of one line with another line. . . . Morphological parallelism involves the morphological equivalence or contrast of individual constituents of the lines” (*Biblical Parallelism*, 31).

semantic parallelism is paradigmatic.¹⁹³ They are not synonymous, but they belong to the same category of DIVINE ATTRIBUTES. When תהלה occurs in this kind of parallelism the likelihood that it means an attribute possessed by YHWH is significantly increased.

Table 3 displays these two characteristics for the occurrences of תהלה in question:

Table 3. תהלה as Content of Speech and Parallel to Divine Attributes

Psalm Reference	Content of Speech	// Divine Attributes
34:2	X	
35:28	X	X
48:11		X
51:17	X	
66:2		X
66:8	X	
71:8	X	X
71:14		
79:13	X	
102:22	X	X
106:12	X	X
106:47	X	X
111:10		
145:21	X	X
149:1	X	

¹⁹³ Berlin defines paradigmatic semantic parallelism in the following way: “Sets of elements which can be substituted one for another in a given context” (*Biblical Parallelism*, 72).

With a suffix referring to YHWH, the word תהלה appears as the content of speech 11 times.¹⁹⁴ Nine times it is the object of a verb of speech, and two times the speech is expressed figuratively (Pss 34:2; 71:8). In addition, תהלה occurs in parallelism with divine attributes eight times.¹⁹⁵ The most commonly used attribute is YHWH's name (שם), which appears four times (Pss 48:11; 66:2; 102:22; 106:47; 145:21). If we consider the two characteristics together, we find that there are six examples that have both features (Pss 35:28; 71:8; 102:22; 106:12, 47; 145:21), seven examples with one feature (Pss 34:2; 48:11; 51:17; 66:2, 8; 149:1), and only two examples with neither of the features (Pss 71:14; 111:10). We might think of the examples in three groups: the examples with two features are strong; the examples with one feature are weaker; and the examples with neither feature are questionable. However, if the usage-based account of lexical polysemy is correct, then establishing that a usage pattern signals a discrete meaning considerably increases the likelihood that examples that share this usage have the same meaning, regardless of whether they share other contextual features. The contextual observations are useful in establishing the meaning, but they are not necessary

¹⁹⁴ Pss 34:2 (figurative); 35:28 (הגה Qal); 51:17 (נגד Hiphil); 66:8 (שמע Hiphil); 71:8 (figurative); 79:13 (ספר Piel); 102:22 (ספר Piel); 106:12 (שיר Qal), 47 (שבח Hitpaal); 145:21 (דבר Piel); 149:1 (שיר Qal).

¹⁹⁵ Pss 35:28 (צדקדק parallel); 48:11 (שמך parallel); 66:2 (שמו parallel); 71:8 (תפארתך parallel); 102:22 (שם יהוה parallel); 106:12 (דבריו parallel), 47 (שם קדשך parallel); 145:21 (שם קדשו parallel).

to find the meaning in a given case. In the following discussion, space does not permit a detailed treatment of every example, but some of the strongest examples will be discussed to establish the meaning ‘praiseworthiness.’ Then what appears to be one of the weakest examples will be considered to show that even it also exhibits this meaning.

Let us consider three examples of the noun תהלה with a suffix referring to YHWH in which both features are present, that is, where the word is both the object of a verb of speaking and in parallel with a divine attribute. First of all, consider this example:

- (4) Then my tongue will utter your righteousness,
 [my tongue will utter] your praiseworthiness (תהלתך) all day long.
 (Ps 35:28)

In the first colon of example (4), the speaker utters divine righteousness. YHWH is clearly the possessor of the attribute of righteousness, and this attribute forms the content of the speaker’s utterance. “All day long” (כל־היום) is an adverbial phrase that modifies the entire bicolon. The subject and verb in the first colon are elided in the second colon, so תהלתך is the object of the verb ‘to utter’ (הגה Qal). It is also semantically parallel with “your righteousness” (צדקך). Therefore, both words should be taken as divine attributes that the speaker utters.

Example (5) is another clear example:

- (5) to tell in Zion YHWH’s name,
 and his praiseworthiness (תהלתו) in Jerusalem [to tell] (Ps 102:22)

This bicolon exhibits chiasmic parallelism with verbal ellipsis.¹⁹⁶ The first colon has the following order: infinitive construct, prepositional phrase with **ב**, and object with genitive. The second colon then reverses the order of constituents: object with genitive, prepositional phrase with **ב**, and elided infinitive construct. As a result, תהלתו is the object of the verb ‘to tell’ (ספר Piel), and it is semantically parallel with “YHWH’s name” (שם יהוה). Once again, the word is best understood as an attribute that YHWH possesses.

Here is a final clear example:

- (6) A Save us, YHWH our God,
 A' and gather us from the nations,
 B to give thanks to your holy name,
 B' to boast in your praiseworthiness (תהלתך). (Ps 106:47)

In example 6, we have an AA'BB' quadcolon.¹⁹⁷ The A cola share singular imperatives with first-person plural suffixes, and the B cola are also grammatically parallel. Both have the same sequence: infinitive construct, object with preposition, and second-person singular suffix. תהלתך is in semantic parallelism with the attribute “your holy name” (שם קדשך), and it is also the object of the verb שבח. The verb שבח is a late synonym of the

¹⁹⁶ On chiasmic parallelism with verbal ellipsis, see Cynthia Miller, “Linguistic Approach to Ellipsis,” *BBR* 13.2 (2003): 264–65.

¹⁹⁷ Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism*, 83–88.

better known הלל. Like the verb הלל, it means ‘to praise’ in the Piel stem and ‘to boast’ in the Hitpael stem.¹⁹⁸ The reason for boasting is indicated by a ב preposition. The verb’s semantics are important because they help us understand תהלתך in this context. It would not make sense to boast in the human act of praising, but it would make good sense to boast in one of YHWH’s attributes. These three examples have both contextual features, and they clearly mean ‘praiseworthiness.’

Two other examples treat תהלה as the content of speech, but since they occur in figurative expressions, additional explanation is needed. Consider the following:

- (7) I bless YHWH at all times;
continually his praiseworthiness (תהלתו) is in my mouth. (Ps 34:2)
- (8) My mouth is full of your praiseworthiness (תהלתך),
[my mouth is full of] your splendor all day long. (Ps 71:8)

In example (7), YHWH’s תהלה is “in” the speaker’s mouth, and in example (8) YHWH’s תהלה “fills” the speaker’s mouth. At first glance, these examples would seem to contradict my claim that תהלה is an attribute of YHWH. How could a divine attribute be in someone’s mouth? Would it not make more sense to understand תהלה as human praise for YHWH? The pronominal suffix could be objective rather than possessive. This is precisely how the Hebrew dictionaries take these two occurrences of the word.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ BDB 986; *HALOT* 1387.

¹⁹⁹ BDB 240; *HALOT* 1692; *DCH* 8:594.

However, as we saw above in example (1), these are examples of metonymy within metaphor.²⁰⁰ The content of speech is a metaphoric substance that can rest in or expand to fill the speaker's mouth (SPEECH IS A SUBSTANCE). At the same time, the mouth (פה) serves as a metonymy for the activity of speaking (INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION). Therefore, YHWH's 'praiseworthiness' can indeed be in the mouth as the content of speech. This is seen clearly here in the poetic structure of example (8), which is similar to example (4) above. The subject and verb are elided in the second colon, which means that they are identical to the first colon. As a result, we also have a case of YHWH's splendor filling someone's mouth. Since 'splendor' (תפארת) is not a verbal noun, there is no danger of interpreting its suffix as objective; rather, YHWH is the obvious possessor of this attribute. This is the way we should understand 'your praiseworthiness' as well.

²⁰⁰ Goossens, "Metaphonymy," 363–65.

Psalm 111:10 is a final example that lacks both supporting features.²⁰¹ Psalm 111 is a linear acrostic poem in which each poetic colon begins with a consecutive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The word תהלה appears in the final line of the poem: “his praiseworthiness stands forever” (תהלתו עמדת לעד). Since this is the twenty-first line, there is no parallel colon to help in making sense of the word. First of all, to whom does the suffix refer? That is, does it refer to a person or to YHWH? Since the third-person masculine suffix occurs 12 other times in the poem and always refers to YHWH,²⁰² it is almost certain that does in this case as well. Second, is the suffix referring to YHWH objective or possessive? In other words, does it mean “the praise directed toward him” or “his praiseworthiness”? Although there is no immediate parallel colon, there is a distant parallel that can shed light on the issue. Verse 3 reads, “his righteousness stands forever” (צדקתו עמדת לעד). This line is identical to v. 10 except for the fact that it uses the

²⁰¹ Admittedly, Ps 71:14, the other example lacking both features, is more difficult. The bicolon lacks both grammatical and semantic parallelism. Following my proposal, the second colon could be translated, “and I will add to all your praiseworthiness” (והוספתי על-כל-תהלתך). How could the speaker add to YHWH’s attribute of praiseworthiness? Does YHWH lack something that a human is able to provide? The dictionaries believe that it would make more sense to add to praise directed toward YHWH (*HALOT* 1692; *DCH* 8:595; *BDB* omits this verse). But it is possible to make three observations. First, v. 8 has an identical form of the word (תהלתך) that is both the object of a verb of speech and in parallel with a divine attribute. The near presence of a clear example opens up the possibility that the next occurrence of the word has the same meaning as well. Second, perhaps what the speaker adds to YHWH’s praiseworthiness is a voice that expresses praise. Third, in the immediately following v. 15, the speaker tells of YHWH’s righteousness (צדקתך) and salvation (תשועתך), using the same suffix. This suggests that YHWH’s attributes are in view in the context. In the end, however, contextual details are not decisive, and one must fall back on usage.

²⁰² Ps 111:3 (2x), 4, 5 (2x), 6 (2x), 7 (2x), 9 (3x).

attribute of “righteousness.”²⁰³ In this case, the suffix must be possessive. It seems best, therefore, to understand v. 10 in the same way: “his praiseworthiness stands forever.”²⁰⁴

So far, this section has sought to establish the meaning ‘praiseworthiness’ for examples of the noun תהלה with suffixes referring to YHWH. This was done by looking at clear cases that use verbs of speaking and stand in parallelism with divine attributes and also by considering a couple of examples that could be questioned because of their figurative contexts and one that appears weak because it lacks both features. In each case, it was argued that ‘praiseworthiness’ is the best translation of the word. Although some may quibble with some of these examples, this discussion should be sufficient to substantiate the claim that תהלה can apply to a divine attribute. The meaning ‘praiseworthiness’ is also attested five times in Isaiah 40–66.²⁰⁵ In addition to the suffix, these examples also exhibit the same features found in the Psalms. One of them is both

²⁰³ Note the similarity to Ps 35:28, where “your righteousness” (צדקך) is in parallelism with “your praiseworthiness” (תהלתך). The very same words (צדקתו עמדת לעד) also appear twice in the following psalm (Ps 112:3, 9), but in these cases the suffix refers to the “the one who fears YHWH” (v. 1). Although this exemplary person’s righteousness corresponds to that of YHWH, only YHWH is depicted as praiseworthy (111:10).

²⁰⁴ BDB (239) and *HALOT* (1692) both classify this example as ‘praise.’

²⁰⁵ Outside of Psalms and Isaiah, there are two other occurrences of תהלה with a suffix referring to YHWH that I do not mention. In Hab 3:3, the context suggests that תהלתו should be related to הלל, ‘to shine,’ and translated “his radiance” (*HALOT* 1693; *DCH* 8:596). The word is in semantic parallelism with “his splendor” (הודו), and the next verse describes the brightness of YHWH’s theophany. תהלה occurs in 1 Chr 16:35 with the meaning ‘praiseworthiness,’ but it appears in a quotation of Ps 106:47, so this does not count as an independent use of the meaning.

the content of speech and in grammatical and semantic parallelism with a divine attribute (Isa 42:12); two are objects of verbs of speaking or singing (Isa 42:10; 43:21); and two are in parallelism with divine attributes (Isa 42:8; 48:9). Both the number of examples of this meaning within the Psalms and its appearance outside the Psalter suggest that ‘praiseworthiness’ was an established meaning for תהלה in ancient Israel.

‘Praiseworthy Deeds’

The plural form תהלות occurs three times in the Psalms (Ps 9:15; 78:4; 106:2), and all three times it means ‘praiseworthy deeds.’ Two have suffixes referring to YHWH (תהלתִיךָ, Ps 9:15; תהלתִיו, Ps 106:2), and one is in construct with the divine name (תהלות יהוה, Ps 78:4). In all three cases, the genitive should be regarded as subjective; that is, YHWH is the agent who performs these ‘praiseworthy deeds.’ Now let us take a closer look at the contexts to see evidence for this meaning.

In Ps 9:14a, the speaker calls for divine intervention with two imperatives: “be gracious to me” and “see my affliction from those who hate me.” In other words, the speaker asks for YHWH to act. Then follows an ABA'B' quadcolon.²⁰⁶

- (9) A You lift me from the gates of death,
 B so that I may tell all your praiseworthy deeds (תהלתִיךָ),²⁰⁷

²⁰⁶ Berlin, *Biblical Parallelism*, 83–88.

²⁰⁷ The form in Ps 9:15 is unusual (תהלתִיךָ). The consonantal text has a plural suffix, but the MT

A' within the gates of daughter Zion,
 B' I may rejoice in your deliverance. (Ps 9:14b–15)

The poetic cola of example (9) exhibit both grammatical and semantic parallelism. Each A colon has a plural-singular construct phrase with a preposition. The speaker wants YHWH to save him or her from “the gates of death” (שַׁעְרֵי מוֹת) in order to enter “the gates of daughter Zion” (שַׁעְרֵי בֵּת־צִיּוֹן). Each B colon has a cohortative verb (אֶסְפְּרָה,) followed by an object with a second-person suffix (יְשׁוּעֶתְךָ, תְּהַלְתִּיךָ). Not only is the context concerned with salvation, but YHWH’s תְּהַלּוֹת stand in parallelism with YHWH’s “deliverance.” This provides strong confirmation that the word תְּהַלּוֹת means ‘praiseworthy deeds.’²⁰⁸

Another plural form occurs at the beginning of Psalm 78:

(10) What we have heard and known,
 and what our fathers told us,
 we will not hide from their children,
 to a coming generation telling
 YHWH’s praiseworthy deeds (תְּהַלּוֹת יְהוָה) and his might,
 and his wonderful works that he has done. (Ps 78:3–4)

The introduction of the poem (vv. 1–8) presents the speaker’s purpose. He or she intends to teach the audience about the past actions of YHWH. The ancestors passed on these

vocalizes the word as a singular. Since the context concerns Yhwh’s deeds of salvation and the versions read with the consonantal text, the word should be vocalized as a plural (תְּהַלְלִיךָ). See the discussion in *HALOT* 1692.

²⁰⁸ BDB (240) generally agrees, but *HALOT* (1692) opts for ‘song of praise.’

traditions to the speaker's generation, and their duty is to pass them on to the next generation, so they may continue the chain. The ultimate aim is that future generations will trust in YHWH, obey the commands, and not rebel like the ancestors did. The rest of the psalm depicts YHWH as the primary agent in Israel's history, from Egypt to the monarchy. In example (10), the speaker summarizes the content of the psalm as "YHWH's praiseworthy deeds." The rest of the colon associates this phrase with divine strength (עֲזוֹנוֹ). The next colon refers to "his wonderful works" (נִפְלְאוֹתָיו), and a final relative clause—"that he has done" (אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה)—makes clear that the genitive should be taken as subjective. Indeed, the meaning 'praiseworthy deeds' fits well with the rest of the psalm.²⁰⁹

The final plural form in the Psalms occurs in Psalm 106:

- (11) Who will utter YHWH's mighty acts?
 [Who will] make heard all his praiseworthy deeds (תְּהַלֵּתָיו)?
 (Ps 106:2)

Unlike examples (9) and (10), in example (11) the consonantal text of the MT has a singular form (תְּהַלֵּתוֹ). However, that it should be emended to a defective plural form (תְּהַלֵּתָיו).²¹⁰ The plural of תְּהַלֵּת tends to be written defectively.²¹¹ In addition, there are

²⁰⁹ The dictionaries agree with my assessment (BDB 240; *HALOT* 1692).

²¹⁰ Most commentators prefer the MT (Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 315; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 81; Godlingay, *Psalms 90–150*, 219).

four reasons for the decision to emend. First, the word stands in grammatical parallelism with “YHWH’s mighty acts” (גבורות יהוה), a feminine plural noun in construct with a third-person genitive. Second, the LXX translation (τὰς ἀνέσεις αὐτοῦ) provides early evidence of the plural form. Third, as in the case of Psalm 78, the word appears in the introduction of a historical psalm and sums up its following narration of YHWH’s actions. Fourth, scribal haplography of *yod* next to *waw* could provide a reasonable explanation for the development of the MT’s text. Therefore, we should emend to a plural form and see another attestation of the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds.’²¹²

As in the case of the meaning ‘praiseworthiness,’ the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds’ tends to exhibit two characteristics in context. First, each of the examples above is the object of a verb of speaking: examples (9) and (10) both use the verb ‘to tell’ (ספר Piel), and example (11) uses the verb ‘to make heard’ (שמע Hiphil). Second, each of the examples is also in grammatical and semantic parallelism with a related word. The semantic parallelism should be characterized as paradigmatic parallelism in the category of DIVINE ACTIONS: example (9) uses “your deliverance” (ישועתך); example (10) uses “his wonderful works” (נפלאותיו); and example (11) uses “YHWH’s mighty acts” (גבורות)

²¹¹ See, for example, Exod 15:11; Isa 60:6; 63:7; Ps 9:15. All of these are in construct, except for Exod 15:11.

²¹² BDB (240) and *DCH* (8:596) concur, but *HALOT* (1692) defines this example as ‘praise.’

(יהוה). In addition, the plural form also occurs outside the Psalter with the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds.’²¹³ As in the Psalms, these deeds belong to YHWH alone. The plural appears once in Exodus 15:11²¹⁴ and twice in Isaiah 40–66 (60:6; 63:7).²¹⁵ Exodus 15, the Song at the Sea, celebrates the mighty acts that YHWH performed to defeat the Egyptians and deliver the Israelites. In Isaiah 60, the nations see YHWH’s salvation of Zion and come on pilgrimage to announce these deeds. Finally, Isa 63:7–64:11 is a communal lament that rehearses YHWH’s past works on behalf of Israel. These other examples of תהלות with the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds’ both support the meaning identified in this discussion of Psalms and show that this sense of the word was established in Classical Hebrew.

²¹³ BDB (240) and *DCH* (8:596) believe that Isa 60:6 and 63:7 refer to YHWH’s deeds, but they differ on the interpretation of Exod 15:11. BDB translates the phrase נורא תהלת as “terrible in attributes that call for praise” (240), and *DCH* takes it as “inspiring songs of praise” (8:595). BDB fails to take account of the context of YHWH’s action, and *DCH* goes against the general usage of the plural form. *HALOT* gives the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds’ for all three examples (1692).

²¹⁴ The word does not have a subjective suffix in Exod 15:11, but it appears in a series of participles—including “working wonders” (עשה פלא)—that describes YHWH as incomparable. The construct phrase (נורא תהלת) involves an exegetical genitive (*IBHS* 151): YHWH is fearsome with respect to deeds.

²¹⁵ Both examples in Isaiah are in construct with the divine name (תהלת יהוה), indicating YHWH as the subject of the deeds. Both are also objects of verbs of speaking: Isa 69:6 uses ‘to announce’ (בשר Piel), and 63:7 uses ‘to mention’ (זכר Hiphil). In Isa 63:7, the word is in grammatical and semantic parallelism with “YHWH’s loyal deeds” (חסדי יהוה).

‘Object of Praise’

The plural form of תהלה in Ps 22:4 is difficult.²¹⁶ The dictionaries all retain the plural of the MT and give the meaning ‘songs of praise,’²¹⁷ but commentators have made various alternative proposals.²¹⁸ The MT and the LXX provide the two major options to consider:

Table 4. MT and LXX of Ps 22:4

MT	LXX	LXX <i>Vorlage</i>
ואתה קדוש יושב תהלות ישראל	σὺ δὲ ἐν ἁγίῳ κατοικεῖς, ὁ ἔπαινος Ἰσραηλ.	ואתה קדוש יושב תהלת ישראל
But you are the Holy One, enthroned on the praises of Israel. ²¹⁹	But you in a holy place dwell, the Praise of Israel.	But you are the Holy One enthroned, the Praise of Israel. ²²⁰

²¹⁶ In an article that takes its name from the MT of Ps 22:4, Patrick Miller admits that “neither the text . . . nor the translation given in the title above is secure” (“‘Enthroned on the Praises of Israel’: The Praise of God in Old Testament Theology,” *Int* 39 [1985]: 5–19, quoting 5).

²¹⁷ BDB 240; *HALOT* 1692; *DCH* 8:595; *TDOT* 3:410; *TLOT* 1:374; *NIDOTTE* 1:1037. *DCH* suggests that תהלות could also be related to הלל, ‘to shine,’ and translated “Glory” (8:596).

²¹⁸ For a survey of proposals, see B. N. Wambacq, “Psaume 22,4,” *Bib* 62 (1981): 99–100. Dahood, Goldingay, and Kraus all agree that תהלת(ו)ת ישראל refers to YHWH, but they disagree about the means of reaching this conclusion. Dahood and Goldingay do not emend the MT. Dahood relates תהלות to the root I הלל, ‘to shine,’ and translates “the Glory of Israel” (*Psalms 1–50*, 139). Goldingay relates תהלות to II הלל but takes it as an intensive plural: “the great praise of Israel” (*Psalms 1–41*, 320). Dahood and Goldingay do not solve the problem of the plural, and Dahood obscures the contrast between vv. 4 and 7. Alternatively, Kraus emends to the singular תהלת on the basis of strong textual support in Hebrew manuscripts, LXX, Syriac, and Jerome: “you Praise of Israel” (*Psalms 1–59*, 290, 292). None of these commentators mentions metonymy.

²¹⁹ For this translation, see NRSV and ESV.

²²⁰ For this translation, see NJPS and NIV.

On the one hand, the MT divides the verse at “holy” (קדוש) and has a plural form (תהלות). It takes the second colon as a metaphor: YHWH sits on the praises of Israel like a king sits on a throne. On the other hand, the LXX divides the verse at “sitting” (ישב) and reflects a singular form (תהלת). It understands the second colon as a metonymy: YHWH is so closely associated with praise that the psalm identifies YHWH as the Praise of Israel. The LXX also locates YHWH’s dwelling “in a holy place” (ἐν ἁγίῳ), that is, in the temple. But that rendering appears to be the translator’s attempt to make sense of the words קדוש יושב. Thus, except for the singular construct form (תהלת), the LXX *Vorlage* was identical to the consonantal text of the MT. The translator simply chose to divide the verse in a different place.

Now it is possible to evaluate the options. The MT is problematic for three reasons. First, a bicolon with 2-3 stress is unusual.²²¹ If one colon of a bicolon is shorter, it is usually the second. Indeed, in Psalm 22 there is only one other example of a 2-3 bicolon (v. 18).²²² Second, the idea of YHWH sitting on or inhabiting Israel’s praise is unprecedented in the Hebrew Bible. Third, the construct phrase “the praises of Israel” (תהלות ישראל) is unique in the Hebrew Bible. As we saw above, every other plural of the word תהלה belongs to YHWH, not Israel.

²²¹ Goldingay makes this point (*Psalms 1–41*, 328).

²²² For stress counts of Psalm 22, see Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 194–95.

As a result of these difficulties, it is preferable to emend the MT's plural to a singular with some Hebrew manuscripts and the *Vorlage* of the LXX. This proposal is able to answer each of the objections to the MT. First, it produces a 3-2 bicolon like several others in the psalm, including the very next verse (v. 5). Second, the idea of YHWH being enthroned in heaven or in Zion is well attested in the Hebrew Bible. Certain texts even connect YHWH's holiness with enthronement (Isa 57:15; Ps 47:9; 99:1–3). Third, the metonymy identifying YHWH as the object of Israel's praise is also attested. For example, Moses says to Israel, "He is your Praise [תהלתך], and he is your God" (Deut 10:21). And Jeremiah says to YHWH, "You are my Praise [תהלתי]" (Jer 17:14). Finally, my proposal fits best in the immediate context of Psalm 22. Consider the following parallel:

Table 5. Parallels in Ps 22:4 and 22:7

V. 4	V. 7
ואתה קדוש יושב תהלת ישראל	ואנכי תולעת ולא־איש חרפת אדם ובזוי עם
But you are the Holy One enthroned, the Praise of Israel.	But I am a worm and not a man, the reproach of humanity and despised by people.

In vv. 4 and 7, the speaker creates a stark contrast between YHWH and himself (table 5).

In v. 4, he depicts YHWH as holy, enthroned on high, and the object of Israel's praise. By

contrast, in v. 7 he depicts himself as a lowly worm, unworthy to be called a man, who endures the mockery of his opponents. Both verses follow a 3-2 stress pattern; both use nominal clauses beginning with adversative *waws* and pronouns; and both follow up with similarly constructed metonymies—feminine singular nouns of speaking in construct with collective nouns, functioning as subjective genitives. The parallel between ‘praise’ (תהלה) and ‘reproach’ (חרפה) provides further evidence for the singular reading of תהלה in v. 4. The parallel between Israel and humanity makes it clear that Israel is the subject of praise in v. 4. And the parallel between ‘you’ and ‘I’ shows that YHWH is the object of Israel’s praise in v. 4.

In sum, although the MT of Ps 22:4 has a plural form (תהלות ישראל), there is strong evidence for emending to a singular (תהלת ישראל). In addition, although this appears to be the only time in the Psalm that תהלה means ‘object of praise,’²²³ this meaning is attested outside the Psalter. As we saw above, YHWH is called an ‘object of praise’ elsewhere (Deut 10:21; Jer 17:14). The people of Israel can serve as an object for the nations’ praise (Deut 26:19; Jer 13:11), and cities like Jerusalem (Isa 62:7; Jer 33:9;

²²³ Psalm 109:1 may be another example. In the MT, the speaker addresses YHWH as “God of my praise” (אֱלֹהֵי תְהִלָּתִי). With one vowel change, the consonantal text could also be vocalized as a double vocative: “My God, my praise” (אֱלֹהֵי תְהִלָּתִי). The double vocative is attested elsewhere, for example, Ps 22:2 (אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֵי). Also, a few Hebrew manuscripts have “God, my praise” (אֱלֹהִים תְהִלָּתִי), a text to which the LXX also attests (Ὁ θεός, τῆν ἀΐνεσίν μου).

Zeph 3:19–20) and Babylon (Jer 51:41) do as well. In fact, ‘object of praise’ turns out to be one of the most widely attested of the derived meanings.²²⁴

‘Psalm’

Psalm 145:1 involves a diachronic change in the meaning of the word תהלה. Therefore, it will be useful to begin by presenting Avi Hurvitz’s four criteria for identifying features of Late Classical Hebrew.²²⁵ First, the criterion of biblical distribution requires that the element in question must appear exclusively or predominantly in texts that are established as post-exilic. Second, the criterion of linguistic contrast states that one needs to be able to identify an alternative word or expression used to describe the same thing in Standard Classical Hebrew. In the case of semantic change, this can be an opposition of meaning rather than lexical replacement.²²⁶ Third, the criterion of extra-biblical sources means that one is able to find the same word or meaning in later Hebrew outside the Bible. Fourth,

²²⁴ However, *DCH* is the only Classical Hebrew dictionary that registers this meaning (8:596).

²²⁵ Avi Hurvitz, “Can Biblical Texts be Dated Linguistically? Chronological Perspectives in the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew,” in *Congress Volume Oslo 1998* (eds. A. Lemaire and M. Saebø; VTSup 80; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 143–60, esp. 148–50, 153. Hurvitz uses the designations Classical Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew for the two major phases of Hebrew in the Bible (not including Archaic Biblical Hebrew). In this study, I use the name Classical Hebrew rather than Biblical Hebrew. Therefore, I use Standard Classical Hebrew and Late Classical Hebrew to refer to the same two linguistic phases.

²²⁶ Avi Hurvitz, “Continuity and Innovation in Biblical Hebrew—The Case of ‘Semantic Change’ in Post-Exilic Writings,” in *Studies in Ancient Hebrew Semantics* (ed. T. Muraoka; AbrNSup 4; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 1–10.

the criterion of accumulation states that a passage or text as a whole cannot be considered late unless it shows a heavy concentration of late elements. An individual element must meet criteria one through three in order to be considered a late feature. Each criterion taken by itself is inconclusive. Distribution alone is not decisive because omission of a word or meaning could be the result of chance or author preference. Contrast alone is not decisive because the existence of two words or meanings could be contemporaneous. And the criterion of extra-biblical sources alone is not decisive because apparently late elements may appear sporadically in earlier texts as well. Taken together, however, Hurvitz's criteria provide a strong basis for identifying features of Late Classical Hebrew.

The use of תהלה in Ps 145:1 meets all three criteria. First of all, 145:1 is the last superscription in the Psalter and is attached to a demonstrably post-exilic psalm. Hurvitz has identified nine different features of Late Classical Hebrew in Psalm 145.²²⁷ Thus the psalm itself meets the fourth criterion of accumulation. To take one example, the word מלכות meaning 'kingdom' is used four times in the center of the psalm (vv. 11–13).²²⁸ This word occurs frequently in the late books of Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and

²²⁷ Avi Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and its Implications for Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1972), 70–107. The nine features of post-exilic Hebrew in Psalm 145 are as follows: לעולם + שם + ברך (vv. 1, 21), שבת (v. 4), חנן ורחום (v. 8), לכל (v. 9), מלכות (vv. 11–13), בכל דור ודור (v. 13), כל עלמים (v. 13), זקף (v. 14), someone + רצון + עשה (v. 19).

²²⁸ Hurvitz, *Transition Period*, 79–88.

Chronicles, but it appears very infrequently in other books. In contrast, the most common terms for ‘kingdom’ in Standard Classical Hebrew are מלכות and ממלכה. These words do not appear in the Aramaic portions of the Bible or in post-biblical Hebrew sources, but מלכות does. Numerous features like this establish that Psalm 145 is a late psalm. Second, Ps 145:1 exhibits both semantic and lexical contrasts. Out of 30 occurrences in the Psalter and 57 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible, this is the only time that תהלה appears in a superscription.²²⁹ This difference of usage signals a difference in meaning. Also, the form of the superscription (תהלה לדוד) matches the most common superscription in the Psalter, “A psalm of David” (מזמור לדוד),²³⁰ which suggests that תהלה is filling the slot of the word ‘psalm’ (מזמור).²³¹ Third, in post-biblical sources תהלה takes on the meaning ‘psalm,’ and this meaning is distinguished from ‘praise’ by the masculine plural form (תהלים).²³² This shift in gender could be due to the fact that מזמור is masculine. In the

²²⁹ The commentators note that תהלה is unique in the superscription, but they translate it incorrectly as “hymn,” “praise,” or “song of praise” (Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 545). Goldingay (*Psalms 90–150*, 698) and Hossfeld and Zenger (*Psalms 3*, 597) regard v. 1 as an inclusio with the same word in v. 21. Allen believes v. 1 is “derived from” v. 21 (*Psalms 101–150*, 368). But, as has been argued above, תהלה means ‘praiseworthiness’ in v. 21.

²³⁰ מזמור לדוד occurs 28 times in the Psalter: Pss 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 8:1; 9:1; 12:1; 13:1; 15:1; 19:1; 20:1; 21:1; 22:1; 23:1; 29:1; 31:1; 38:1; 39:1; 41:1; 51:1; 62:1; 63:1; 64:1; 65:1; 108:1; 140:1; 141:1; 143:1. The reverse order מזמור לדוד is less common but does occur seven times: Pss 24:1; 40:1; 68:1; 101:1; 109:1; 110:1; 139:1.

²³¹ In the Dead Sea Scrolls, there are other examples of תהלה in superscriptions (e.g., 4QapPsA 1.2₈, 4QapPsB 24₄).

²³² *DCH* is the only dictionary that rightly takes Ps 145:1 as “a psalm of David” (595–96), most

Dead Sea Scrolls, the more general meaning ‘psalm’ is evident in the use of תהלה with topical genitives, for example, ‘psalm of praise’ (תהלה שבח)²³³ and ‘psalm of thanksgiving’ (תהלת הודות).²³⁴ If the word meant ‘hymn’ or ‘song of praise’ it would not need such specification. Both the Dead Sea Scrolls (David’s Compositions in 11QPs^a 27:4) and the Babylonian Talmud (Baba Bathra 14b) have passages that depict David writing ‘psalms’ (תהלים). Indeed, the name for the Book of Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Rabbinic literature is ספר תהלים. It is often suggested that this title means “book of praises,” thus construing all of the different psalm genres as praise.²³⁵ But actually this expression uses תהלים as a more general designation for psalms of various types. We may conclude that, although תהלה only occurs once in the Hebrew Bible with the meanings ‘psalm,’ this meaning is well attested in post-biblical Hebrew, and the

likely because it also includes the Dead Sea Scrolls. Jastrow (1649) lists the following Rabbinic texts: Pes. l. c. B. Bath. 14^b; Gen. R. s. 68 and s. 74; Y. Sabb. XVI, 15^c; Treat. Sof’rim ch. XVI, 17; Y. B. Bath. I, end, 13^a; Gen. R. s. 33; Y. Kil. IX, 32^b bot.; Y. Keth. XIII 35^a bot.

²³³ 4QShirShabb^d 1.1₂

²³⁴ 4QShirShabb^d 1.1₃

²³⁵ For example, the following quote by Hossfeld and Zenger is representative: “[T]he Jewish tradition has given this book the title ספר תהלים, “the book of praise.” This title may surprise us if we consider that most of these psalms are prayers of lament and petition. Nevertheless, even the sharpest accusation against God is itself divine praise, because it clings fast to God and continues to seek God (even while accusing), at a time when everything seems to speak against God” (*Psalms* 2, 1). This claim is widespread in commentaries (Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 11; Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 31; Goldingay, *Psalms 1–41*, 25) and general introductions to the Psalms (McCann, *Theological Introduction*, 53; Mays, *The Lord Reigns*, 62; William P. Brown, *Psalms* [IBT; Nashville: Abingdon, 2010], 159).

occurrence in Ps 145:1 meets the criteria to be a diachronic semantic development of the word's core meaning.

3. Conclusions

So far in this chapter, we have examined in detail the five meanings of the polysemous word תהלה in the Psalms: 'praise,' 'praiseworthiness,' 'praiseworthy deeds,' 'object of praise,' and 'psalm.' We have seen that the action of 'praise' is the core meaning of the word and that the other four meanings are metonymic extensions of this core. In conclusion, it is now possible to compare this treatment of the word's semantics to the treatments it receives in the major dictionaries of Classical Hebrew. This is also the place to look at the overall semantic structure of the word and to consider the conceptual metonymies that motivate its polysemy.

Hebrew Dictionaries

Table 6 compares the articles on תהלה in the major dictionaries. Under each meaning, there is a list of the occurrences of the word in the Psalms.

Table 6. תהלה in the Hebrew Dictionaries

BDB ²³⁶	HALOT ²³⁷	DCH ²³⁸
1. praise, adoration, thanksgiving paid to Y. 22:4; 33:1; 34:2; 40:4; 48:11; 51:17; 71:6, 8; 106:12; 109:1; 111:10; 119:171; 145:21; perh. 148:14 2. the act of general, public praise 22:26; 65:2; 66:2, 8; 100:4; 147:1; 149:1 3. praise-song 145:1 4. qualities, deeds of Y. demanding praise 9:15; 35:28; 78:4; 79:13; 102:22; 106:2, 47 5. renown, fame, glory perh. 148:14	1. glory, praise 148:14 2. praise, song of praise for Y. perh. 9:15; 34:2; 35:28; 40:4; 48:11; 51:17; 65:2; 66:2, 8; 71:8, 14; 79:13; 102:22; 106:2, 12, 47; 111:10; 145:21; 149:1 3. song of praise struck up by a person 22:26; 33:1; 71:6; 100:4; 109:1; 119:171; 147:1 4. a technical musical term 145:1 5. plural a. songs of praise 22:4 b. praiseworthy actions perh. 9:15; 78:4	1. praise, adoration, due or given to Y. 22:4; 34:2; 51:17; 71:6, 8, 14; 106:12; 109:1; 111:10; 145:21 2. song of praise, offering of praise 22:26; 33:1; 40:4; 65:2; 66:2, 8; 100:4; 119:171; 147:1; 149:1 3. song of praise, psalm, hymn 145:1 4. praiseworthy deeds, praiseworthiness of Y. 9:15; 35:28; 78:4; 79:13; 102:22; 106:2, 47 5. renown, glory 48:11; 148:14 6. object of praise, renown not in Pss

A detailed analysis of every occurrence of the word is beyond the scope of this study, but this overview enables five general observations. First, all three dictionaries agree that תהלה has to do with the action of ‘praise,’ but they also make a distinction between praise directed toward YHWH and praise performed by people.²³⁹ It may be helpful to

²³⁶ BDB 239–40. The article is marked as exhaustive, but it omits Ps 71:14.

²³⁷ HALOT 1692–93. Psalm 34:1 appears under meaning 1, but the Hebrew verse reference is 34:2. Also, Ps 62:2 appears under meaning 2, but since תהלה does not occur in that verse, I assume the reference is an error for Ps 65:2.

²³⁸ DCH 8:594–96.

²³⁹ HALOT (1692) and DCH (8:595) both grant that it is difficult to distinguish between these categories as separate meanings.

distinguish between contexts that have YHWH primarily in view and those that have worshippers primarily in view, but these are not different meanings of the word. In the Psalms, תהלה always involves praise of YHWH performed by people. Second, all three dictionaries single out Ps 148:14 as unique and meaning something like ‘glory.’ In other words, they regard this as a reference to Israel’s glory rather than YHWH’s. For reasons given in the discussion of example (3), however, I believe that this example belongs to the meaning ‘praise.’ In the context of the psalm, Israel leads the praise of all creation. Third, *HALOT* recognizes the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds’ (excluding Ps 106:2) but not the meaning ‘praiseworthiness,’ including the examples of this meaning under the action of ‘praise.’ BDB and *DCH* recognize both meanings, but they lump them together under one heading as if it is not possible to decide between them.²⁴⁰ As I have argued, though, it is possible to decide between them by distinguishing between the singular and the plural of the noun. Also, the pronominal suffixes have different relations to the word. In the case of the singular, the suffix is possessive; YHWH possessed the attribute of ‘praiseworthiness.’ In the case of the plural, the suffix is subjective; YHWH is the agent who performs the ‘praiseworthy deeds.’ Fourth, all three dictionaries accept the MT’s plural in Ps 22:4. BDB and *DCH* place it under the heading ‘praise,’ and *HALOT* places it

²⁴⁰ BDB claims that the singular and plural are interchangeable in meaning (240). For example, it translates the plural in Exod 15:11 as “praiseworthy attributes” and the singular in Ps 106:47 (and 1 Chr 16:35) as “praiseworthy deeds.”

under ‘songs of praise.’ However, these choices create anomalies. This is the only case in BDB and *DCH* where the plural has the meaning ‘praise,’ and *HALOT* has to create a special meaning for this one example. In contrast, I have argued that it makes more sense in the context of Psalm 22 to read with the singular of the LXX and to take the meaning as ‘object of praise.’ *DCH* correctly acknowledges this meaning elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible but not in the Psalms. Fifth, all three dictionaries recognize that Ps 145:1 is unique, but they do not accurately identify its meaning as ‘psalm.’ BDB’s ‘praise-song’ and *HALOT*’s “technical term” are too narrow. *DCH* suggests the meaning ‘psalm,’ but it lists it along with the more specific options ‘song of praise’ and ‘hymn.’ The key to recognizing the more general meaning ‘psalm’ is noticing the continuity with usage in post-biblical Hebrew. These are all areas in which this chapter makes a contribution to our understanding of תהלה.

Semantic Structure

Another area in which there is room for improvement is the overall semantic structure of the word תהלה. The Classical Hebrew dictionaries simply list senses of the word without providing a clear view of their relationship to each other.²⁴¹ *HALOT* and *DCH* also provide information on usage following the meaning headings, as if meaning determines

²⁴¹ See Van Hecke’s critique of the Classical Hebrew Dictionaries (*From Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 286–94).

usage rather than the reverse. As an alternative, consider the following radial network for

תהלה:

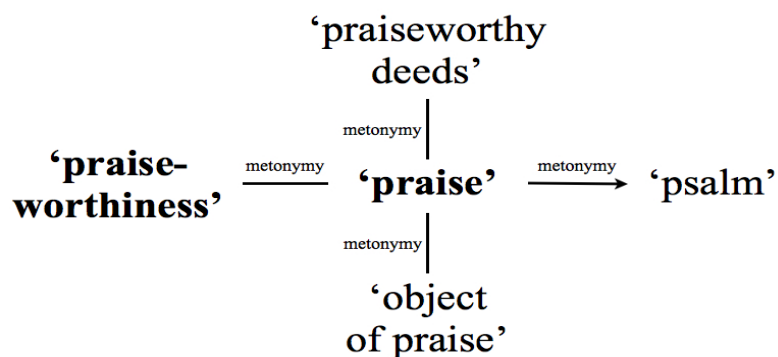


Figure 2.1. Radial network of תהלה in the Psalms

Figure 2.1 illustrates that ‘praise’ (10x) is the prototypical core of the word’s semantic structure, and the other four meanings are semantic extensions based on metonymy.

‘Praiseworthiness’ (15x) is the most important semantic extension of the core ‘praise,’ so these two meanings appear in bold. The other three meanings are less central.

‘Praiseworthy deeds’ and ‘object of praise’ are synchronically related to the core, but

‘psalm’ is a diachronic development. This difference is indicated by an arrow in the

diagram. It is important to note that all of the derived meanings are attested outside of the

Psalter. Although the meaning ‘psalm’ is unique in the Psalter and the Hebrew Bible, it is

well attested in post-biblical Hebrew. From this fact, we may conclude that these are

established meanings for the word and not idiosyncratic semantic extensions.

Conceptual Metonymies

By saying that the derived meanings of תהלה are metonymic, I am claiming that they are best understood as related to the core by means of contiguity rather than similarity (i.e., metaphor), specialization, or generalization. Such a description goes beyond all the current dictionaries of Classical Hebrew, but it is possible to go further in describing the kinds of conceptual metonymies that are involved. Toward that end, consider the following diagram:

Spatiotemporal Realm

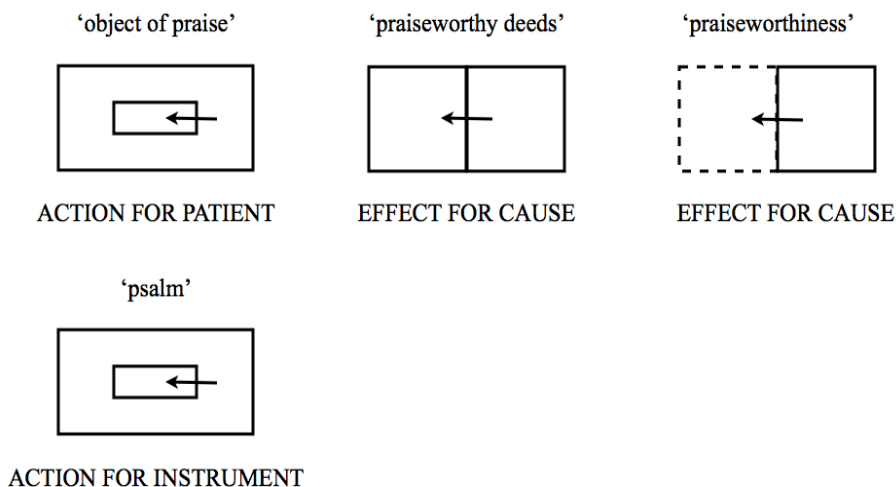


Figure 2.2. Conceptual metonymies of תהלה in the Psalms

The diagrams of these metonymic patterns (fig. 2.2) are organized from most prototypical on the left to less prototypical on the right. In these diagrams, the arrow does not indicate diachronic development, but rather the direction of the metonymy from source to target.

Because תהלה is an action noun, its conceptual metonymies occur in the spatiotemporal realm; that is, they involve physical entities and actions in time. Since ‘praise’ is the central meaning of the word, the action serves as the source for semantic extensions.

There are two basic patterns here: ACTION & PARTICIPANT and CAUSE & EFFECT. In the ACTION & PARTICIPANT pattern, the action is conceptualized as a bounded entity with participants within it. This is contiguity involving containment. For the meaning ‘object of praise,’ the action stands for the patient of that action, that is, YHWH the God who receives praise. For the meaning ‘psalm,’ the action of praising stands for an item that is often used in praising. The participant that serves as the target is different from the previous metonymy, but the basic pattern is the same. The CAUSE & EFFECT pattern is less prototypical because it involves conceptual contact rather than containment. In the meaning ‘praiseworthy deeds,’ the action of praise stands for the deeds of YHWH that provoke it; the effect stands for the cause. Both the action and the deeds are conceptualized as bounded entities. ‘Deeds’ are bounded because they form a countable collection. In the case of ‘praiseworthiness,’ the action stands for the divine attribute that provokes it. The action is bounded, but the attribute is unbounded. Since this metonymic pattern involves unboundedness, it is less prototypical.

CHAPTER 3: THE NOUN תודה

The last chapter studied the role of metonymy in the polysemous noun תהלה. This chapter will follow the same procedure for another noun related to praise in the Psalms, namely, תודה. After establishing the word's core meaning and sketching its encyclopedic background, this chapter will survey the word's usage patterns and trace its metonymic semantic extensions. Once again, as it happens, there are four sub-meanings. In conclusion, these findings will be compared to those of the major Classical Hebrew dictionaries, the semantic structure of תודה in a radial network will be sketched, and the conceptual metonymies that drive the word's polysemy will be described.

1. Overview

Like תהלה, the noun תודה is a *taw*-prefixed verbal substantive.²⁴² All the dictionaries agree that it derives from the verbal root II ידה.²⁴³ Therefore, we are justified in assuming

²⁴² GKC 237; *IBHS* 91; Joüon 239.

²⁴³ BDB 392–93; *HALOT* 389; *DCH* 4:97. BDB only acknowledges one verbal root ידה, but *HALOT* and *DCH* both differentiate two homonymous roots. *HALOT* assigns the meaning 'to shoot' to I ידה and 'to praise' to II ידה, but the newer *DCH* reverses this order. *HALOT*'s scheme is more commonly used. In what follows, references to the verb ידה assume *HALOT*'s II ידה, 'to praise.'

that the core meaning of the noun תודה involves an action. In the Hiphil stem, the verb ידה means ‘to praise.’ But how does this word differ from the verb הלל, which also means ‘to praise’? We can distinguish the semantic nuances of the words by considering their reflexive voice, their non-theological use, and the reasons given for their theological praise. הלל and ידה both occur in the reflexive Hitpaal stem. In the Hitpaal stem, הלל means ‘to boast,’ that is, to praise one’s own attributes, abilities, or possessions. By contrast, in the Hitpaal stem, ידה means ‘to confess,’ that is, to confess a wrong action that one has committed.²⁴⁴ Also, in non-theological use, הלל is used for praising attributes,²⁴⁵ and ידה is used for praising actions.²⁴⁶ For example, the Egyptians praise Sarah’s beauty using הלל (Gen 12:15), but Judah’s brothers praise his defeat of his enemies with ידה (Gen 49:8). Finally, when people praise YHWH, the reasons given with הלל are normally general characteristics, while the reasons given with ידה tend to be specific actions.²⁴⁷ For example, in Psalm 117 Israel calls on the nations to praise (הלל)

²⁴⁴ The verb ידה occurs in the Hitpaal stem 11 times in the Hebrew Bible: Lev 5:5; 16:21; 26:40; Num 5:7; Dan 9:4, 20; Ezra 10:1; Neh 1:6, 9:2, 3; 2 Chr 30:22.

²⁴⁵ See the following non-theological uses of הלל: Gen 12:15; 2 Sam 14:25; Ezek 26:17; Ps 10:3; 78:63; Prov 12:8; 27:2; 28:4; 31:28, 30, 31; Song 6:9; 2 Chr 23:12, 13.

²⁴⁶ See the following non-theological uses of ידה Hiphil: Gen 49:8; Ps 45:18; 49:19; Job 40:14.

²⁴⁷ An apparent exception to this claim is the repeated formula “Praise YHWH, for he is good, for his loyalty lasts forever” (הודו ליהוה כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו). However, the contexts where this formula is used (106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1) assume that God’s goodness and loyalty motivate divine actions in history and personal experience: psalms 106 and 136 are historical psalms, and psalms 107 and 118 are

YHWH because of divine loyalty (חסד) and faithfulness (אמת). But Ps 52:11 says, “I will praise you [ידה] forever because of what you have done [עשה].” Because of these differences, Westermann has said that הלל responds to an essence, while ידה responds to an act.²⁴⁸ Thus he characterizes הלל as descriptive praise and ידה as declarative praise.²⁴⁹ This distinction will be helpful to keep in mind as we consider the meaning of תודה.

The dictionaries all give the noun תודה the gloss ‘thanksgiving,’ that is, the activity of thanking.²⁵⁰ In English, the verb *thank* means ‘to express gratitude to someone, especially by saying “Thank you.”’²⁵¹ However, given the relationship of תודה to the verb ידה, one would expect it to convey public praising rather than personal thanking. Indeed, תודה can be addressed to other people as well as to YHWH, and it always has a public setting. Therefore, some have suggested translating it as ‘acknowledgement,’²⁵² ‘confession,’²⁵³ or ‘testimony.’²⁵⁴ But all of these proposals carry other inappropriate

thanksgiving songs.

²⁴⁸ Westermann, “ידה *ydh*,” 503.

²⁴⁹ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 25–32.

²⁵⁰ BDB 392; *HALOT* 1695; *DCH* 8:597.

²⁵¹ *New Oxford American Dictionary*, 1796. I adjusted the definition slightly.

²⁵² Allen, “ידה *ydh*,” 406.

²⁵³ Mayer, “ידה *ydh*,” 427; Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 31.

²⁵⁴ Goldingay, *Psalms 1–41*, 592.

semantic baggage. ‘Acknowledgement’ puts the emphasis on mental assent and may not include the public dimension;²⁵⁵ ‘confession’ assumes a disclosure of wrongdoing or the affirmation of a system of belief;²⁵⁶ and ‘testimony’ often has a legal setting.²⁵⁷ The word ‘praise’ would be more accurate, but then it would be difficult to distinguish תודה from תהלה.²⁵⁸ Since all of the Classical Hebrew dictionaries use ‘thanksgiving,’ I continue to use that meaning as well—with the important clarification that the thanksgiving is made in a public ritual setting.

The Thanksgiving Script

The noun תודה differs from תהלה in that the encyclopedic background of temple ritual plays a larger role in the word’s semantics. In the area of encyclopedic semantics, linguists speak of frames and scripts. A semantic frame is a set of concepts held in long-term memory and used to make sense of words.²⁵⁹ It is based on a schematization of

²⁵⁵ *NOAD* 13–14.

²⁵⁶ *NOAD* 364.

²⁵⁷ *NOAD* 1793–94.

²⁵⁸ Westermann, “ידה *ydh*,” 502.

²⁵⁹ Charles Fillmore is the originator of frame semantics. See his programmatic statement “Frame Semantics,” in *Linguistics in the Morning Calm* (ed. Linguistics Society of Korea; Seoul: Hanshin, 1982), 111–37. Fillmore’s classic example of a semantic frame is the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame, in which a word like *buy* has its meaning within the transaction of money and goods between buyer and seller. For an overview of frame semantics, see Evans and Green, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 222–30.

culturally embedded experience. When the concepts of the frame form a particular sequence, the sequence may be called a script.²⁶⁰ The script has an idealized or prototypical form, but speakers may choose to rearrange the order of elements or place varying degrees of emphasis on them. One can observe the following prototypical script involving the word תודה:

1. Distress
2. Call for help (vow made)
3. Response of YHWH
4. Temple (vow fulfilled)
 - a. Praise (recounting 1, 2, and 3)
 - b. Sacrifice of animal
 - c. Grain offering

There are four basic concepts: a person is in distress (e.g., threats from enemies, illness, or false accusation); the person prays to YHWH and asks for help; YHWH responds by alleviating the person's distress; and the person responds by journeying to the temple and performing certain ritual acts. The call for help and the temple ritual may be understood as a vow and its fulfillment, but they need not be. The temple ritual involves at least three elements: praise recounting the distress, call for help, and divine response; the sacrifice of

²⁶⁰ On scripts in general, see Ungerer and Schmid, *Cognitive Linguistics*, 212–17. The RESTAURANT script is an influential example (Roger C. Schank and Roger P. Abelson, *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding* [Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1977], 43).

an animal; and a grain offering. I will call this prototypical scenario the thanksgiving script.

Almost all of the elements of the thanksgiving script are present in Jonah 2:3–10. Within the context of the book, the prophet Jonah utters this psalm from the belly of a great fish. However, many scholars believe that the psalm is a thanksgiving song written for temple worship and that the author of the book or a later editor placed it in Jonah's mouth.²⁶¹ The relationship of the psalm to the book is an important issue, but it is not the interest of the current study. Here, the psalm simply illustrates the elements of the thanksgiving script and the ways in which the word תודה has meaning against this encyclopedic background:

²⁶¹ For representatives of this view, see Hans Walter Wolff, *Obadiah and Jonah: A Commentary* (trans. M. Kohl; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986), 128–131; Uriel Simon, *Jonah* (trans. L. J. Schramm; JPSBC; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1999), 15–18; James D. Nogalski, *The Book of the Twelve: Hosea–Jonah* (SHBC; Macon: Smyth & Helwys, 2011), 427.

Table 7. The Thanksgiving Script of Jonah 2

Jonah 2	Frame Elements	Divine Person
3a	call, distress, response	third
3b	distress, call, response	second
4	distress	second
5	distress, temple	second
6	distress	second
7	distress, response	second
8	distress, call, temple	third, second
9		
10	thanks, sacrifice, vow	second, third

As table 7 shows, verse 3 runs through the first three elements of the script twice: “I called out of my distress to YHWH, and he answered me. From the belly of Sheol I cried, and you heard my voice.” In the body of the psalm, the speaker then describes in greater detail the distress of sinking into the sea and the grave. The call and response appear again in vv. 7 and 8. The speaker also alludes twice to the temple as the fourth element. In v. 5, there is uncertainty about seeing the temple, but in v. 8 there is certainty that the speaker’s prayer has already entered the temple. After denouncing idolaters (v. 9), the speaker then anticipates the temple ritual in v. 10: “But I will sacrifice to you with a voice of thanksgiving (בקול תודה). What I have vowed I will pay. Salvation belongs to YHWH.” Two out of three of the temple elements are present here. The speaker will simultaneously offer thanksgiving and sacrifice. The word ‘voice’ (קול) makes it clear that תודה involves vocal activity. The references to YHWH in the third person (vv. 3, 8,

10) indicate a public setting of praise. In addition, the psalm pictures these acts as the fulfillment of a vow.

Although Jonah 2:3–10 includes most of the elements of the thanksgiving script, it does not mention a grain offering. For the most part, the Psalms are non-priestly texts, and they reflect the perspective of worshippers in the temple. Priestly texts provide added information about the thanksgiving ritual. The well-being offerings (שלמים) are slaughtered animal sacrifices (זבחים).²⁶² Leviticus 3 describes the general procedure for offering them. The worshipper chooses an unblemished animal from herd or flock. The worshipper brings the animal to the sanctuary entrance, lays a hand on it, and slaughters it publicly. The priest then dashes its blood on the sides of the altar and burns its fat parts on the altar. Finally, the worshipper may eat the remaining meat with family and friends. According to the priestly texts, this is the only sacrifice that the worshipper may eat. Leviticus 7:11–34 provides further details. There are three types of well-being offerings: the thank offering (תודה), the vow offering (נדב), and the free-will offering (נדבה).²⁶³

²⁶² The translation of שלמים is debated, but I adopt Jacob Milgrom's rendering. On various issues related to the well-being offerings, see his *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 217–25.

²⁶³ The names of all three well-being offerings are metonymic, but they use different patterns. On the one hand, the vow and free-will offerings (and perhaps also the well-being offerings as a category) are named with a CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy (Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 295–96). The word נדב refers both to the vow and to the sacrifice made as a result of the vow. The word נדבה refers both to the feeling of willingness and to the sacrifice made as a result of the feeling. On the other hand, as I will show below, the thank offering is named with an ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT metonymy (294). The word תודה refers

Priestly texts make a clear distinction between the thank and vow offerings, though the two are often closely associated in non-priestly texts. In addition, priestly texts apply the word תודה to the sacrifice rather than to the praise. The thank offering differs from the vow and free-will offerings in two ways.²⁶⁴ First, the thank offering must be consumed on the first day after the sacrifice, while the other two may be consumed on the second day. Second, the thank offering should be made with (leavened and unleavened) cakes of bread, while the other two do not require a grain offering. Thus, we see evidence of the grain offering that I have included as the final element in the thanksgiving script, which provides a background for understanding the word תודה.

תודה in the Psalms

The noun תודה occurs 12 times in the Psalms. Because of the smaller number of examples, all of them will be considered in this chapter. Once again, the patterns of usage

both to the verbal thanksgiving and to the sacrifice that accompanies it.

²⁶⁴ The Holiness Code (Lev 17–27) also discusses the well-being offerings, but it seems to treat the thank offering as a separate category. Leviticus 19:5–8 treats the well-being offerings in general, and says that they must be eaten by the second day after the sacrifice. This would only apply to the vow and free-will offerings according to Lev 7:11–34. In addition, Lev 22:21–23 treats the disqualifying blemishes for well-being offerings, but only the vow and free-will offerings are mentioned. After the introduction of a new divine speech (22:26), vv. 29–30 give the rule for consuming the thank offering on the first day, but it is not called a well-being offering. Differing views on the relationship of P to H lead to different proposals for the diachronic development of these sacrifices. If P is earlier, then H separates them, or if H is earlier, then P combines them. Another approach, which I prefer, is to take into account the different audiences of these texts. The P texts are directed to the priests and the H texts to the people. Thus, the P texts could group the well-being offerings because the priest follows a similar procedure, while the H texts could differentiate them because of the different rules for consuming the meat.

for the word will be discussed first. תודה differs from תהלה in two important respects.

First, although תהלה appears frequently with the suffix, תודה never takes a suffix.

Second, although תהלה infrequently takes a preposition, תודה frequently takes a preposition in the Psalms. Both words appear infrequently in the plural. It is possible to see different meanings arising from usage patterns:

Table 8. Usage and Meaning of תודה in the Psalms, Amos 4, and Nehemiah 12

Usage	Meaning	Occurrences
Core		
preposition ל or ב	‘thanksgiving’	7
Metonymic Extensions		
object of זָבַח, construct with זָבַח	‘thank offering’	4
plural, object of שָׁלַם	‘thank vow’	1
object of קָטַר	‘thank bread’	Amos 4:5
plural, subject of verbs	‘thanksgiving choir’	Neh 12

תודה appears 7 times with a preposition in the Psalms, and these tend to be used adverbially (table 8). This is the first major usage group, meaning ‘thanksgiving.’ The examples that do not take a preposition are used as verbal objects. Four out of these five cases take the verb ‘to sacrifice’ (זָבַח Qal). This is the second major usage group, meaning ‘thank offering.’ The final example (56:13) is unique in that it is plural and the object of the verb ‘to pay’ (שָׁלַם Piel). This is the only case of the plural in the Psalms and the only time that תודה takes this verb in the Hebrew Bible. I will argue that this example

means ‘thank vow.’ In addition, since this is a study of metonymy, I have chosen to include two more passages outside the Psalms where metonymy influences the semantics of תודה. In Amos 4:5, תודה is the object of the verb ‘to burn’ (קטר Piel). This is the only time that the noun is used with this verb in the Hebrew Bible. The unusual usage indicates the meaning ‘thank bread.’ Finally, in Nehemiah 12, תודה occurs in the plural and serves as the subject of verbs. In three instances, it has the meaning ‘thanksgiving choir.’

2. Meanings

Having overviewed the background of the thanksgiving ritual and the usage patterns for תודה, I will now turn to an investigation of the five meanings of the noun that I have selected for study: ‘thanksgiving,’ ‘thank offering,’ ‘thank vow,’ ‘thank bread,’ and ‘thanksgiving choir.’²⁶⁵

²⁶⁵ As in the case of the verb ידה, the noun תודה also means ‘confession’ of sin twice in the Hebrew Bible (BDB 392; HALOT 389; DCH 8:598). In both cases (Josh 7:19; Ezra 10:11), תודה is the object of the verb ‘to give’ (נתן Qal), and the preposition ל indicates YHWH as the indirect object. So the usage pattern clearly distinguishes this minor meaning. The difference from the core meaning ‘thanksgiving’ is essentially one of voice. Following the Hiphil, the core meaning has an active voice, but, following the Hitpaël, this meaning has an implicit reflexive voice. As Joüon has noted (238–39), the same verbal substantive can be associated with more than one verbal stem. For example, the noun תשובה can mean both ‘return’ (Qal) and ‘answer’ (Hiphil).

‘Thanksgiving’

‘Thanksgiving’ is the core meaning of the noun תודה. This meaning appears seven times in the Psalter and is always used with a preposition. It occurs six times in the psalms with the preposition ב and once in a superscription with the ל preposition (100:1). The ב preposition is adverbial,²⁶⁶ and the ל preposition indicates purpose.²⁶⁷ The six examples with the ב can be divided into two groups. Three examples modify verbs of speech, and three modify verbs of movement. The superscription will be treated last.

In three examples, תודה with the ב preposition modifies a verb of speech (26:7; 69:31; 147:7). In these cases, ב is instrumental; that is, the speech is performed by means of thanksgiving.²⁶⁸ This fact alone shows that תודה refers to verbal activity, but there are other features that suggest the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ as well. Psalm 26 is an individual lament in which the speaker claims innocence. In the center of the psalm, the speaker affirms a love of the temple and a desire to walk around the altar

²⁶⁶ *IBHS* 196–97.

²⁶⁷ *IBHS* 205.

²⁶⁸ *IBHS* 197.

- (1) making myself heard²⁶⁹ with a voice of thanksgiving (בקול תודה),
and recounting all your wonderful works. (Ps 26:7)

In example (1), תודה is in construct with the word ‘voice’ (קול) and serves as genitive of species:²⁷⁰ thanksgiving is a kind of speaking. Next, Psalm 69 is an individual lament that complains about enemies who have surrounded the psalmist like deep waters. In v. 31, the speaker anticipates praising God in the future:

- (2) I will praise God’s name with song,
and I will magnify him with thanksgiving (בתודה). (Ps 69:31)

תודה is in grammatical and paradigmatic semantic parallelism with the word ‘song’ (שיר) in example (2); both are kinds of speech. Finally, Psalm 147 is a post-exilic hymn that praises YHWH as the creator and restorer of Israel. In v. 7, the speaker calls on the congregation:

- (3) Sing to YHWH with thanksgiving (בתודה);
sing praise to our God with a lyre. (Ps 147:7)

תודה is in grammatical and semantic parallelism with ‘lyre’ (כנור) in example (3). Here the parallelism is syntagmatic because there is a movement from voice to instrument. In

²⁶⁹ The MT pointing (לְשִׁמְעָ) indicates a defectively written Hiphil infinitive construct (לְהִשְׁמִיעַ). There are many examples of such defective spelling (GKC 148). Following two Hebrew manuscripts and the LXX (τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι φωνῆν αἰνέσεως), Peter Craigie reads the word as a Qal infinitive construct (לְשִׁמְעָ): “to hear the sound of praise” (P. Craigie and M. Tate, *Psalms 1–50*, 2nd ed; WBC 19; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 223). But this rendering misses the AA'BB' poetic structure of vv. 6–7, and it is not clear why a psalm that has been so concerned with the speaker’s character would climax with someone else’s praise.

²⁷⁰ *IBHS* 152–53.

any case, both are means of praising YHWH. All three of these examples involve speaking or singing about YHWH by means of ‘thanksgiving.’

The noun תודה with the preposition ב modifies a verb of movement in three cases (42:5; 95:2; 100:4). In all three examples, people enter into worship in the temple, and the ב conveys their accompanying vocal activity.²⁷¹ Psalms 42 and 43 form a single psalm, an individual lament in which the speaker longs to go to the temple despite threats from enemies. In example (4), the speaker remembers processing to the temple

(4) with the sound of shouting and thanksgiving (בקול רנה ותודה).²⁷² (Ps 42:5)

The coordinate phrase as a whole functions as a genitive of species for the word ‘sound’ (קול).²⁷³ Taken together, these words specify the vocal activity of the crowd. Although the temple is explicitly present in Psalm 42–43, it is implicit in Psalms 95 and 100. Psalm 95

²⁷¹ *IBHS* 196–97.

²⁷² MT has אָעְבֵּר בְּסֶךְ אֲדָרִים, which could be translated “I went with the throng; I lead them slowly.” However, סך is a hapax legomenon. It could be related to סכך I or II, meaning either ‘difficulty’ (*HALOT* 752) or ‘throng’ (BDB 697). But G (ἐν τόπῳ σααηήης) and the parallel with בית אלהים suggest relating it to סכך III and repointing to סך, ‘abode.’ In Ps 76:3, this word refers to Jerusalem and parallels a designation for the temple. The verb אָדָרִים can be understood as an assimilated Hitpael with a third-person plural suffix from the root דדה. On the basis of cognates, the verb could mean ‘to move slowly.’ But it only occurs here and in Isa 38:15, and in neither case does it fit the context. In addition, it is odd to use the Hitpael transitively, and the antecedent of the suffix is not clear. G (θασμασδης) and a few Hebrew manuscripts support a slight emendation to אָדָרִים, ‘nobles.’ This doubly defective form is attested in Ezek 32:18. I emend and translate in the following way: “I passed through the abode of nobles” (אָעְבֵּר בְּסֶךְ אֲדָרִים).

²⁷³ *IBHS* 139, 152–53.

is a hymn that celebrates YHWH's kingship. Its two calls to worship (vv. 1–2, 6) urge Israel to “come” and “enter.” The first call is extended in v. 2:

- (5) Let us come before him with thanksgiving (בתודה);
with songs let us shout to him. (Ps 95:2)

Coming “before YHWH” (לפני יהוה) is an expression for approaching the temple.²⁷⁴ The bicolon in example (5) exhibits chiasmic grammatical parallelism. תודה is in paradigmatic semantic parallelism with ‘songs’ (זמרות): both belong to the category of speech. Psalm 100 is a hymn that summons the nations to worship with seven imperatives. The last of these occur in v. 4:

- (6) Enter his gates with thanksgiving (בתודה);
[enter] his courts with praise.
Praise him; bless his name. (Ps 100:4)

In example (6), the gates and courts belong to the temple. The first two cola of the tricolon are grammatically parallel, even sharing the same verb due to ellipsis. תודה stands in paradigmatic semantic parallelism with ‘praise’ (תהלה): both involve speech—a conclusion supported by the final colon. All three of these examples concern ‘thanksgiving’ that accompanies movement into the temple or its vicinity.

²⁷⁴ Haran, *Temples and Temple Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1985), 26.

The final example of תודה to consider under this meaning is Ps 100:1. This is the only time that תודה occurs with the ל preposition and the only time that it appears in a superscription (מזמור לתודה). As a result, the meaning of the word is unclear in example (7).²⁷⁵ There are four options: it could be a melody, a literary genre, a thank offering, or verbal thanksgiving. We can eliminate the first two options at the outset. In the superscriptions, melodies typically take the preposition על. Genre names typically do not take a preposition, and ‘psalm’ (מזמור) already refers to the poem itself. Judging from the common example “a psalm, a song,” a secondary designation would be in apposition. The closest analogy for Ps 100:1 are superscriptions like Pss 60:1 and 92:1: “a *miktam* of David for instruction” (מכתם לדוד ללמד) and “a song for the Sabbath day” (שיר ליום (השבת)). In these examples, the preposition ל indicates the purpose of the psalm, but recognizing this does not help us choose between the meanings ‘thank offering’ and ‘thanksgiving.’ One could use the psalm for either purpose. However, two pieces of evidence suggest that the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ is preferable, namely, usage and content. First, the use of a preposition is an indicator of the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ in the psalm. Every other example of this meaning has a preposition, and the other meanings

²⁷⁵ The commentators are uncertain: Kraus says the word’s meaning is “not entirely clear” (*Psalms 60–150*, 274); Tate says it has a “double meaning” (Marvin Tate, *Psalms 50–100*. WBC 20; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1990; 533); Goldingay equivocates (*Psalms 90–150*, 134); and Hossfeld and Zenger describe the superscript as “polyvalent” (*Psalms 2*, 495). BDB prefers ‘thank offering’ (393), but *HALOT* (1695) and *DCH* (8:598) remain undecided.

lack the preposition. Although this factor is not conclusive, usage does carry weight, especially when one is considering polysemous words. Second, the psalm itself does not mention sacrifice. In fact, as we have seen, it uses the word תודה with the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ in v. 4. It makes sense to assume that Psalm 100 was intended for use in the kind of activities it describes. Therefore, it is best to translate the superscription as “a psalm for thanksgiving.”

‘Thank Offering’

In the previous section, we looked at examples of the core meaning of תודה in the Psalms. In this section, we will consider the most important metonymic extension of the core meaning, namely, ‘thank offering.’ The noun תודה occurs with this meaning four times in the Psalter. Two of these examples are in the same psalm (50:14, 23), so the meaning is attested in three psalms (50; 107; 116).²⁷⁶ This meaning is clearly distinguished from the core meaning by usage. In all four examples, תודה is the object of the verb ‘to sacrifice’ (זבח Qal). In two examples, תודה appears as the genitive member in a construct phrase with the noun ‘sacrifice’ (זִבְחָה), creating a cognate accusative construction.

²⁷⁶ BDB (393) and *DCH* (8:598) agree that these occurrences mean ‘thank offering,’ but *HALOT* (1695) remains undecided between the meanings ‘thanksgiving’ and ‘thank offering.’

The genre of Psalm 50 is debated, but it resembles a prophetic covenant lawsuit.²⁷⁷

The psalm has three major sections (vv. 1–6, 7–15, 16–23), each of which quotes God and ends with a reference to sacrifice. In the first section, God appears in a theophany and summons the Israelites who have made a covenant with sacrifice (v. 5). In the second section, God challenges the people’s understanding of sacrifice. God does not object to the practice of sacrifice per se but to the assumption that God needs sacrifice. God responds with a call for sacrifice in v. 14:

(7) Sacrifice a thank offering (תודה) to God,
and pay your vows to the Most High. (Ps 50:14)

In example (7), the type of offering is significant: they are to offering thank offerings to show that they depend upon God’s help rather than vice versa. In the third section, God challenges the wicked who say that they belong to the covenant but do not live according to its regulations. Once again, God urges them to make sacrifice in v. 23:

(8) The one sacrificing a thank offering (תודה) honors me,
and to the one who corrects his way
I will show the salvation of God. (Ps 50:23)

In example (8), the point is that the wicked need to align their lives with their worship practices. Both examples of תודה occur in a context concerned with sacrifice; both take the verb ‘to sacrifice’ (זבח); and both mean ‘thank offering.’

²⁷⁷ On the question of the psalm’s genre, see Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 488–91.

Psalm 107 is a communal song of thanksgiving with two major sections (vv. 1–32, 33–43). It begins with a call to praise—“Praise YHWH [יְהוָה Hiphil], because he is good, because his loyalty lasts forever”—that is to be spoken by those rescued from four directions—east, west, north, and sea. These four directions correspond to four accounts of rescue that follow in the first section: rescue from the wilderness (vv. 4–9), prison (vv. 10–16), sickness (vv. 17–22), and the sea (vv. 23–32).²⁷⁸ Each rescue account contains two refrains: because the people cried to YHWH in their distress, and YHWH delivered them from trouble (vv. 6, 13, 19, 28), they are to praise his steadfast love and wonderful works for humanity (vv. 8, 15, 21, 31). The language of praise (יְהוָה Hiphil) recalls the psalm’s opening. The refrains create a repeated pattern of distress, call for help, divine response, and public praise. In other words, all four elements of the thanksgiving script are replayed four times. In v. 22, the third rescue account ends with an elaboration of the temple ritual:

(9) Let them sacrifice thank sacrifices (זְבַחֵי תוֹדָה),
and let them tell of his works with shouting. (Ps 107:22)

Example (9) joins the verbal and material aspects of praise, and the sacrifice is called תּוֹדָה. The cognate accusative construction makes clear the meaning ‘thank offering.’

²⁷⁸ On the structure of the poem, see John Jarick, “The Four Corners of Psalm 107,” *CBQ* 59 (1997): 270–87.

Psalm 116 is an individual thanksgiving song that appears to describe healing from severe sickness. In vv. 1–11, the speaker recounts the first three steps of the thanksgiving script: because of the illness, he came near death, but YHWH heard his call and saved his life. Then in v. 12, the speaker turns to the fourth step of the script: “What can I repay YHWH for all his benefits to me?” The answer comes in two refrains:

Table 9. Refrains of Psalm 116

vv. 13–14	vv. 17–18
כוס־ישועות אשא ובשם יהוה אקרא נדרי ליהוה אשלם נגדה־נא לכל־עמו	לך־אזבח זבח תודה ובשם יהוה אקרא נדרי ליהוה אשלם נגדה־נא לכל־עמו
I will raise a cup of salvation, ²⁷⁹ and I will call on YHWH’s name. I will pay my vows to YHWH ²⁸⁰ right there in front of all his people. ²⁸¹	I will sacrifice a thank sacrifice to you, and I will call on YHWH’s name. I will pay my vows to YHWH right there in front of all his people.

²⁷⁹ What is the “cup of salvation” (כוס־ישועות)? There are four options: (1) a metaphor for salvation, (2) a cup of divination, (3) a cup drunk by the worshipper with a sacrificial meal, or (4) a libation offering to YHWH. First, there are metaphorical genitives in Classical Hebrew, but the context of literal sacrificing and vow-paying at the temple does not support the metaphorical interpretation. Second, the speaker is not seeking to determine his lot through divination, but responding to YHWH’s salvation (v. 6): “He saved me” (לי יהושיע). Third, the preceding verse makes it unlikely that the cup is for the speaker to drink (v. 12): “What can I repay YHWH for all his benefits to me?” Finally, the fact that wine could be offered as a libation along with vowed animal sacrifice (Num 15:1–10) makes the fourth option the most satisfying interpretation in this context: the cup stands for a drink offering made to YHWH in response to salvation. In other words, it is a CONTAINER FOR CONTAINED metonymy (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 280–81).

²⁸⁰ Verses 14 and 17b are lacking in the LXX, but these omissions appear to be an effort on the part of the translator to eliminate the redundancy of the refrain.

²⁸¹ The unusual construction נגדה־נא ל־ occurs twice in this psalm (vv. 14, 18) and nowhere else in

The refrains are identical, except for the first colon (table 9). In both refrains, the speaker joins public praise with a sacrificial act in the temple (v. 19)—on the one hand, a drink offering (v. 13), and, on the other hand, a thank offering (v. 17). Once again, the sacrificial nature of תודה is highlighted with a cognate accusative of the root זבח, and this is pictured as a fulfillment of prior vows to YHWH.

By metonymy, a word for praise also applies to animal sacrifice. Because praise and sacrifice were so closely associated in the thanksgiving ritual, the conceptual shift between them is quite natural. Polysemy like this has the potential to create confusion, but, as we have seen, usage patterns differentiate the senses of תודה. Since the meaning ‘thank offering’ is well attested outside of the Psalms, it is clear that this meaning was established in Classical Hebrew.²⁸²

the Hebrew Bible. The preposition ‘before’ (נגד) is triply emphatic with a locative ה, the intensifying particle ג, and a locative ל on the following phrase. The translation “right there in front of” attempts to capture this emphasis. Appealing to the Aramaic verb ‘to lead, guide’ (נגד), Fokkelmann and Rendsburg translate the line with an imperative of self-address: “Lead now (for) his entire people” (“נגדה גא לכל עמו” (Psalm CXVI 14B, 18B),” *VT* 53 [2003]: 328–36). While it is certainly true that the psalm exhibits other Aramaic features, I do not adopt their solution because it conflicts with the clear example of self-address earlier in v. 7 (שובי נפשי).

²⁸² For example, תודה means ‘thank offering’ five times in Leviticus (7:12 [2x], 13, 15; 22:29).

‘Thank Vow’

The meaning ‘thank offering’ is a major semantic extension of the core meaning of the word תודה. In the rest of this chapter, three minor semantic extensions are considered, the first of which occurs in the Psalms. Psalm 56:13 is unusual for a couple of reasons. To begin with, this is the only time that תודה is plural in the Psalms.²⁸³ Also, this is the only time in the entire Hebrew Bible that the verb ‘to pay’ (שלם Piel) takes תודה as object. This example is commonly translated as “thanksgiving offerings,”²⁸⁴ but, as we have seen, clear cases of the meaning ‘thank offering’ are singular and use the verb ‘to sacrifice’ (זבח Qal). The different usage pattern in Ps 56:13 suggests a different meaning. In this case, I propose that תודה has the meaning ‘thank vow’ because the usage pattern corresponds to the typical language of vows.²⁸⁵

²⁸³ In addition to Ps 56:13, the noun תודה is plural in five cases in the Hebrew Bible (Neh 12:27, 31, 40; 2 Chr 29:31 [2x]). Since Nehemiah and Chronicles are late books, it appears that the plural form became more common after the exile. Context suggests that the meaning is ‘thanksgiving’ in Neh 12:27 and ‘thank offering’ in 2 Chr 29:31. In what follows, I will argue that תודה has the meaning ‘thanksgiving choir’ in Neh 12:31, 40.

²⁸⁴ For the most part, the dictionaries (BDB 393; HALOT 1695) and commentaries (Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 525; Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 65; Goldingay, *Psalms 42–89*, 182; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 58) take תודה as ‘thank offerings.’ Under the influence of Dahood ([*Psalms*, 3 vols.; ABC 16–17A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965–1970] 2:47–48), *DCH* (8:598) is undecided between ‘thank offerings’ and ‘thanksgivings.’ Because Dahood recognizes that this is the only time that תודה occurs with the verb שלם, he attempts to emend the verse to the following: “Indeed will I, God Most High, pay my vows with thanksgivings to you” (עלי אלהים נדרי כי אשלם תודת לך). However, there is no textual support for this reading, and it assumes a number of unlikely features, for example, a rare short form of עליון, the awkward position of emphatic כי, and the adverbial use of תודת without a preposition. Therefore, it is better to read with the MT and to assume that the unusual usage signals a semantic difference.

The noun ‘vow’ (נדר) occurs nine times in the Psalter, and it is plural in all but one case. In addition, when the fulfillment of vows is discussed in the Psalms, the verb is ‘to pay’ (אשלם Piel) and the indirect object is indicated with a ל preposition. With this in mind, compare Pss 56:13 with 66:13:

Table 10. Comparison of Ps 56:13 with Ps 66:13

Ps 56:13	Ps 66:13
עלי אלהים נדריך אשלם תודת לך	אבוא ביתך בעולות אשלם לך נדרי
I owe you vows, God, ²⁸⁶ I will pay thank vows to you.	I will enter your house with burnt offerings; I will pay my vows to you.

In both cases the verb is ‘to pay’ (אשלם); in both cases the indirect object, YHWH, is indicated with a ל preposition (לך); and in both cases the object is plural. However, in Ps 66:13 the word ‘vow’ (נדר) is used, and in Ps 56:13 the word is תודה. Since this is a normal usage pattern for נדר but a unique pattern for תודה, it appears that תודה has taken on the usage of נדר and its meaning. The ‘thanksgiving’ that was vowed is metonymically standing for the vow itself. The fact that the author of Psalm 56 was thinking of vows is clearly indicated by the presence of “your vows” (נדריך) in the first colon. Since one

²⁸⁵ For a fuller discussion of the language of vows, see Tony W. Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (JSOTSup 147; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 137–61.

²⁸⁶ This is an על of duty (IBHS 217).

could vow to give YHWH ‘thanksgiving,’ the vow and its fulfillment are conceptually contiguous. This is a natural opportunity for metonymy. Yet this is also the only time that the word תודה has the meaning ‘thank vow’ in the Psalms, and there is no other example of it in Classical Hebrew. Therefore, it appears to be an ad hoc metonymic extension of the word’s core meaning that was not picked up in the larger language community.

‘Thank Bread’

We have now considered all of the examples of תודה in the Psalms, but there are two other texts in the Hebrew Bible where metonymy plays an important role in the word’s semantics. The first of those is an oracle of the Prophet Amos in which he sarcastically challenges the inhabitants of the northern kingdom:

- (10) Enter Bethel, and transgress;
 [enter] Gilgal; transgress more.
 Bring²⁸⁷ your sacrifices in the morning;
 [bring] your tithes on the third day.
 Burn²⁸⁸ thank bread of leaven,

²⁸⁷ Amos commands the people to bring their sacrifices to the sanctuary, but he really has in mind the entire process of sacrifice from beginning to end. Thus he uses the initial stage of the event to stand for the whole event. This is a good example of the metonymy SUBEVENT FOR COMPLEX EVENT in which there is part-whole contiguity of bounded entities in the spatiotemporal realm (Peirsman and Geraerts, “Metonymy,” 290–91).

²⁸⁸ Since the other imperatives in the context are plural, Kurt Elliger (in *BHS*) proposes to emend the singular imperative here (וקטר) to a plural (וקטרו). But he misses the pattern of intensification within the bicolon, which moves from a singular imperative (קטר) with a singular object (תודה) to a plural imperative (קראו) with a plural object (נדבות). In other words, the choice of the singular form is intentional and should not be emended.

and proclaim freewill offerings; make them heard,
for so you love to do, children of Israel. (Amos 4:4–5)

In example (10), תודה is neither the verbal thanksgiving nor the animal sacrifice but the bread offering that is sometimes offered along with the sacrifice.²⁸⁹ There are three pieces of evidence for this conclusion. First, Amos urges the people to bring sacrifices (זבחיכם) in v. 4 but a תודה in v. 5. The two words occur in separate bicola. As we have seen, ‘sacrifice’ (זָבַח) is the noun normally used to describe the thank offering in other passages, but here Amos distinguishes them conceptually. Second, Amos instructs the people ‘to burn’ (קטר Piel) the תודה. This is the only time in the Hebrew Bible that תודה is used with this verb. As we have seen, ‘to sacrifice’ (זָבַח Qal) is the verb that is normally used with the meaning ‘thank offering.’ By contrast, the verb קטר has a different set of uses.²⁹⁰ In priestly texts, the Hiphil stem has a broad application to animal parts, grain offerings, and incense. But in non-priestly texts, the Piel stem is used exclusively for burning grain offerings.²⁹¹ In such contexts, the verbs זָבַח and קטר are

²⁸⁹ The dictionaries classify Amos 4:5 as an animal sacrifice (BDB 392; HALOT 1695; DCH 8:598). In contrast, the commentators recognize that תודה refers to a grain offering, but they are not aware of the metonymy at work: Hans Walter Wolff, *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos* (ed. S. McBride; trans. W. Janzen, S. McBride, and C. Muenchow; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 219–20; Shalom M. Paul, *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos* (ed. F. Cross; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991), 141; Jörg Jeremias, *The Book of Amos: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 69.

²⁹⁰ BDB 882–83; HALOT 1094–95; DCH 7:242–45.

²⁹¹ On the distinction between priestly and non-priestly uses of the verb קטר, see Menahem Haran,

often closely linked to form two parts of the worship ritual, that is, slaughtering animals and burning grain.²⁹² Amos certainly falls in this category. Third, the תודה is to be “from leaven” (מחמץ). The preposition מ of material shows that this is bread made with leaven and not an animal sacrifice.²⁹³ Leviticus 7:13 specifies that the תודה offering is to be made along with “cakes of leavened bread” (חלת לחם חמץ), but they are to be offered (קרב Hiphil) and not burned. Although Amos does not share the priestly understanding in all its details, he does seem to picture a grain offering that accompanies praise. Because the two are associated, he metonymically applies the word תודה to the grain offering.²⁹⁴ Since the meaning ‘thank bread’ is not attested elsewhere, this appears to be a semantic innovation on the part of Amos.²⁹⁵

Temples and Temple Service, 233–35.

²⁹² 1 Kgs 3:3; 11:8; 22:4; 2 Kgs 12:4; 14:4; 15:4, 35; 16:4; Isa 65:3; Hos 4:13, 11:2; Hab 1:16; 2 Chr 28:4.

²⁹³ *IBHS* 213. It could also be seen as a partitive מ (*IBHS* 213–14), that is, a grain offering made some “some leaven” (מחמץ).

²⁹⁴ Since the grain offering accompanies the animal sacrifice, it is possible to understand this meaning as a metonymic mapping from the sacrifice to the grain offering. If one adopts that view, the metonymy would be ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY in the spatial realm (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 282–83). However, I believe the mapping takes place from the activity of praise to the grain offering, that is, ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT in the spatiotemporal realm (“Metonymy,” 294–95). ‘Thanksgiving’ is the prototypical meaning of תודה, and the word assumes the backdrop of an action script. In the context of Amos 4:5, animal sacrifice occurs separately in the previous verse, and the parallel colon associates verbal activity and offerings: “proclaim freewill offerings; make them heard.”

²⁹⁵ Due to the unusual usage here, Francis Anderson and David Noel Freeman (*Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* [AB; New York: Doubleday, 1989], 427–30) rearrange the first two cola in v. 5 into a tricolon: “Burn sacrifices without leaven, / thank offerings—and announce /

‘Thanksgiving Choir’

The final metonymic extension of the word תודה appears in the climax of the late book Ezra-Nehemiah. Nehemiah 12:27–43 describes the dedication of the rebuilt wall of Jerusalem. The leaders gather the Levites and singers from the surrounding areas, and the priests and Levites purify the people, gates, and wall. Nehemiah appoints two processions that share a similar composition: (1) a choir of singers, (2) a prominent lay leader (Hoshaiah and Nehemiah), (3) half of the leaders (4) seven priests with trumpets, and (5) eight Levites with other instruments. Presumably beginning from the Valley Gate,²⁹⁶ Hoshaiah’s procession walks to the right on top of the eastern wall, and Nehemiah’s procession walks to the left on top of the western wall. The two groups symbolically

freewill offerings—proclaim” (נדבות השמיע) / תודה וקראו / וקטר מתמך / תודה וקראו / נדבות השמיע). They assume that the implicit object of the verb קטר is “sacrifices,” so they must also take the מ as privative (*IBHS* 214), that is, “without leaven.” Finally, in order to explain the *waw* between תודה and קראו, they have to propose an awkward interruption in the poetic lines. All three of these choices are problematic. First, קטר Piel is used with grain offerings rather than animal sacrifices. Second, there is no need to avoid leaven here. The mention of leaven actually fits well with the use of the verb קטר for grain offerings. Third, the inconvenient position of the *waw* is a clear sign that Anderson and Freeman are reading against the poetic structure of the lines; the *waw* should mark a new colon. Overall, it is a much simpler solution to read with the MT and to propose a different meaning for the word תודה.

²⁹⁶ The text does not explicitly name the Valley Gate as the starting place for the processions, but it says that one group went to the right and passed the Dung Gate (v. 31) and that the other group went left and passed the Tower Ovens (v. 38). The Valley Gate is midway between these points in the western wall, and Nehemiah begins and ends his initial assessment of the damaged wall at the Valley Gate (2:11–16). See H. G. M. Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (WBC 16; Waco: Word, 1985), 373.

encompass the city and meet again at the temple, where they offer sacrifices and rejoice with loud singing and music.²⁹⁷

The word תודה occurs four times in this passage (v. 27, 31, 38, 40).²⁹⁸ Three examples are plural (vv. 27, 31, 40), and one is singular (v. 38). The dictionaries and commentaries generally agree that the first occurrence has the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ and the other three occurrences mean ‘thanksgiving choir.’²⁹⁹ In order to assess the meanings of these words, it is important to consider the composition of the passage. The core of the story (vv. 31–42a)³⁰⁰ comes from the Nehemiah memoir in which he speaks in

²⁹⁷ The final sentence in Neh 12:43 contains two metonymies: “The joy of Jerusalem was heard far away” (ותשמע שמחת ירושלם מרחוק). It is not possible to hear the emotion of joy, and the joy does not belong to the city. Rather, the people who live in the city sing loudly because of their joy, and that singing is heard at a distance. The city standing for its inhabitants is a LOCATION FOR LOCATED metonymy (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 281–82). It involves containment contiguity in the material realm. The emotion standing for its response in song is a case of the CAUSE FOR EFFECT metonymy (295–96). It involves contact contiguity in the spatiotemporal realm. The cause is unbounded, but the effect is bounded.

²⁹⁸ There is a hapax legomenon in Neh 12:8 (הַיְדוּת) that could be related to תודות later in the chapter. For example, Mayer claims that the word means ‘thanksgiving choirs’ (*TDOT* 5:428). There are several alternative proposals for understanding the form (BDB 392; *DCH* 2:511). Some Hebrew manuscripts point the ending as an abstract noun (הַיְדוּת), presumably meaning ‘praising,’ but this word is unattested as well. Since הודיה means ‘thanksgiving song’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Rabbinic literature (Jastrow 337), some have suggested emending to the plural (הוֹדוּת). HALOT prefers this option (243). This proposal is better than the first because it relates to a developing Hebrew neologism. However, I prefer to emend to a Hiphil infinitive construct (הוֹדוּת). This form is attested 18 times in the Hebrew Bible, including twice in Neh 12 (vv. 24, 46); it is normally associated with the Levites as it is here; and *waw/yod* confusion is a common scribal error requiring a minimal emendation.

²⁹⁹ BDB 392; HALOT 1696; *DCH* 859; Jacob M. Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1965), 200–201; D. J. A. Clines, *Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther* (NCBC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 228–33; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 341–42.

the first-person (vv. 31, 38, 40), and there is an editorial frame (vv. 42b–43) around the core story. Nehemiah does not speak in the frame, and it introduces and concludes the account of the processions by mentioning singers (משררים) and joy (שמחה).³⁰¹ The composition of the passage provides support for seeing a distinction between the meanings of תודה in the frame (v. 27) and in Nehemiah’s memoir (vv. 31, 38, 40).³⁰²

In v. 27, תודה is normally taken as ‘thanksgiving’ because it occurs in a context of singing and music rather than a list of sacrifices. However, it is better understood as ‘thank offering.’ There are three reasons for this conclusion. First, the word is plural, which means that it refers to a countable entity rather than an action. The meaning ‘thanksgiving’ is not attested for the plural, but the plural does have the meaning ‘thank offering’ in the late book of Chronicles (2x in 2 Chr 29:31). Second, in the immediate context, ‘thanksgiving’ is redundant because the next word is song (שיר). In fact, the

³⁰⁰ Some commentators believe that the lists of priests and Levites (vv. 33–36, 41–42) are secondary additions to the Nehemiah Memoir (e.g., Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 370). My discussion does not require a judgment on whether or not these lists are secondary.

³⁰¹ Although the processions on the wall clearly involves joyful singing, the language of singing and joy is limited to the editorial frame. The introduction describes gathering the singers from the surrounding area (vv. 28, 29), and the conclusion describes their singing (v. 42b). The introduction (v. 27) summarizes the entire ceremony as a dedication of joy (שמחה), and the conclusion uses the root ‘to rejoice’ (שמח) five times in one verse (v. 43).

³⁰² On the one hand, Mark Boda correctly identifies the meaning of תודה in v. 27 as ‘thank offering,’ but then he reads that meaning forward into vv. 31, 38, and 40 (“The Use of *Tôdôt* in Nehemiah XII,” *VT* 44 (1994): 388). On the other hand, Williamson correctly identifies the meaning of תודה in vv. 31, 38, 40 as ‘thanksgiving choir,’ but then he reads that meaning back into v. 27 (*Ezra-Nehemiah*, 368).

construction is “both (וב) . . . and (וב),” assuming two different things rather than two similar things.³⁰³ Third, the fact that the passage concludes with singing and sacrifice (זבחים) suggests that it should begin with singing and sacrifice as well.³⁰⁴ Yet the typical rendering lacks symmetry. Since the thank offering is a type of זבח, it makes more sense to see the תודות mentioned in v. 27 as the sacrifices subsequently offered in v. 43.

Although this conclusion differs with the typical view of v. 27, it concurs with the common understanding of תודה in vv. 31, 38, 40 as ‘thanksgiving choir.’ There are four reasons for taking this position. First, if תודה does not mean ‘choir’ in this passage, then there are no singers in the processions. Those who follow them are identified as leaders, priests with trumpets, and Levites with other instruments, but they are not described as singing. In fact, Psalm 68:26 says that singers precede instrumentalists in liturgical procession. Therefore, the תודות appear to be those referred to as singers in the editorial frame (vv. 28, 29, 42b). Second, the word also serves as the subject of the verbs ‘to walk’ (הלך, vv. 31, 38)³⁰⁵ and ‘to stand’ (עמד, vv. 31, 40)—verbs which normally convey human

³⁰³ I owe this point to Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 368.

³⁰⁴ I owe this point to Boda, “*Tôdôt*,” 388.

³⁰⁵ In v. 31, the MT has ותהלכת, which appears to be the plural of a noun meaning ‘procession’ (תהלכות). But this is a hapax legomenon (BDB 237; *HALOT* 1693; *DCH* 8:597) that is not reflected in the versions, and the lack of a verb in Hebrew is problematic. Therefore, in comparison with v. 38 (השנית ההולכת), many commentators choose to emend to והאחת הלכת (Myers, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 201; Williamson, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 368; Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah*, 343). I prefer the more minimal emendation of ותהלכת to ותהלכת. The letters *he* and *taw* are easily confused.

movement and do so in this passage as well (vv. 32, 39). Third, although תודה is feminine singular, the first one is referred to twice with the masculine plural. Hoshaiiah walks “behind them” (אחריהם, v. 32), and Ezra walks “in front of them” (לפניהם, v. 36). This observation at least shows that these are collective entities. Fourth, the early versions support the common understanding of these words. For example, the LXX translates vv. 31 and 38 as “two concerning praise” (δύο περὶ αἰνέσεως) and v. 40 as “two of praise” (δύο τῆς αἰνέσεως);³⁰⁶ the Peshitta translates vv. 31 and 40 as “company” and v. 38 with a verb of praise; and the Vulgate renders all three examples as “choir” (*chorus*).³⁰⁷

In sum, the three examples of the meanings ‘thanksgiving choir’ in Nehemiah 12 attest to another metonymic extension of the noun תודה: a group of people who perform the activity of ‘thanksgiving’ are identified with that activity.³⁰⁸ Although Ezra-Nehemiah

³⁰⁶ The LXX also transliterates תודות in v. 27 (θωδαθα), indicating a distinction between this occurrence and vv. 31, 38, 40.

³⁰⁷ Perhaps under the influence of v. 27, a section in the Mishnah (Shebuoth II 2) assumes that the entire passage is concerned with thank offerings.

³⁰⁸ Mark Boda presents the strongest challenge to this conclusion (“*Tôdôt*,” 387–93). He takes the minority view that תודה means ‘thank offering’ in all four of its occurrences in Neh 12 (vv. 27, 31, 38, 40). He makes six arguments for this position, and I will respond to each in turn. First, Boda points out that the Hiphil of עמד (v. 31) can be used of presenting sacrifices in other contexts (e.g., Lev 14:11). This may be true, but it is far more common to use this verb for the appointment of people (see the list of objects in *DCH* 6:472–75), and that fits the context better. Second, Boda reasons that if the תודות in v. 27 are thank offerings, then the word has the same meaning in vv. 31, 38, 40. I agree that v. 27 is ‘thank offering,’ but that does not determine the word’s meaning in the rest of the passage. Boda does not properly differentiate the editorial frame from Nehemiah’s memoir. Third, the תודות in v. 31 and the sacrifices in v. 43 are described as “great” (גדול), and this similarity suggests to Boda that the two refer to the same thing. But he fails to acknowledge that the adjective גדול is also used with the joy in v. 43, so the use of the adjective is

is a late book, and תודה could be seen as a replacement for an earlier Hebrew word (e.g., קהל), the meaning ‘thanksgiving choir’ is not attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible³⁰⁹ or in post-biblical sources (i.e., Hurvitz’s third criterion). Therefore, it cannot be regarded as a diachronic development in late Classical Hebrew. Rather, since this meaning only occurs in the Nehemiah Memoir, it appears that Nehemiah himself coined it. Indeed, the first person pronouns in the passage appear in the very same verses as this meaning (vv. 31, 38, 40).

3. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have examined five meanings of the polysemous word תודה:

‘thanksgiving,’ ‘thank offering,’ ‘thank vow,’ ‘thank bread,’ and ‘thanksgiving choir.’ The

inconclusive. Fourth, Boda proposes emending the active Qal of תעמדה in v. 40 to a passive Hophal so that the תודות are not subjects of the verb. But repointing the active verb to a passive leave a gap in the context: Nehemiah and the leaders are left without a verb. Moreover, תודה is the subject of the verb ‘to walk’ (הלך) in vv. 31 and 38. Fifth, Boda notes that the LXX translator uses “concerning praise” (περὶ αἰνέσεως, vv. 31, 38) to refer to the purpose of sacrifice in Lev 7:12. But if the LXX translator had understood the תודות as sacrifices, he would have used the word θυσία, a common translation equivalent for תודה. As it is, he knew that the word has a different meaning than v. 27 and that it had something to do with praise. Sixth, if the meaning is ‘choir,’ the narrator would have used the word ‘singers’ (משררים) that is used elsewhere (vv. 28, 29, 42). But what the narrator calls תודות the editor of the frame does call משררים. Once again, Boda does not pay proper attention to the composition of the passage.

³⁰⁹ BDB suggests that תודה in Jer 30:19 is another example of the meaning ‘thanksgiving choir’ (392). It is true that this is the only time outside of Nehemiah 12 that תודה is the subject of a verb—in this case ‘to go out’ (יצא Qal). However, with the other dictionaries (*HALOT* 1695; *DCH* 8:598), I believe that it is better understood as ‘thanksgiving.’ Since the word is closely joined with the “sound of merry-makers” (קול משחקים), the focus is on the sound rather than on the people. Also, since תודה is pictured as passing through space, this could be another example of the conceptual metaphor SPEECH IS A SUBSTANCE.

focus has mostly been on the Psalter, but we have gone outside the Psalms to investigate two other relevant cases (i.e., Amos 4:4–5 and Nehemiah 12). This chapter has argued that the action of ‘thanksgiving’ is the core meaning of the word and that the other four meanings are metonymic extensions of this core. In conclusion, I will compare my treatment of this word’s semantics to the treatments of the major dictionaries of Classical Hebrew, look at the word’s overall semantic structure, and describe the conceptual metonymies that motivate its polysemy.

Hebrew Dictionaries

Table 11 compares the articles on תודה in the dictionaries. Under each semantic heading, there is a list of the occurrences of the word in the Psalms. Amos 4:5 and Nehemiah 12 (vv. 31, 38, 40) are included in brackets.

Table 11. תודה in the Hebrew Dictionaries

BDB ³¹⁰	HALOT ³¹¹	DCH ³¹²
1. give praise to Y. (acknowledging and abandoning sin) not in Pss 2. thanksgiving in songs of worship 26:7; 42:5; 69:31; 95:2; 100:4; 147:7 3. thanksgiving choir not in Pss [Neh 12:31, 38, 40] 4. thank-offering 50:14, 23; 56:13; 100:1; 107:22; 116:17 [Amos 4:5]	1. community sacrifice 56:13; perh. 100:1 [Amos 4:5] 2. song of thanksgiving or praise 42:5; 69:31; 95:2; perh. 100:1, 4; 147:7 3. choir of Levites not in Pss [Neh 12:31, 38, 40] 4. doxology in court 26:7 5. sacrifice or thanksgiving? 50:14; 23; 116:17; 107:22	1. praise, confession not in Pss 2. thanksgiving, praise 26:7; 42:5; perh. 56:13; 69:31; 95:2; perh. 100:1, 4; 147:7 3. thanksgiving choir not in Pss [Neh 12:31, 38, 40] 4. thank offering 50:14, 23; perh. 56:13; perh. 100:1; 107:22; 116:17 [Amos 4:5]

Following are five observations about how the conclusions of this chapter differ from those of the dictionaries. First, although BDB and *DCH* agree that the examples in Psalms 50, 107, and 116 mean ‘thank offering,’ *HALOT* remains undecided about whether they should fall under ‘thanksgiving’ or ‘thank offering.’³¹³ This confusion is

³¹⁰ BDB 392–93.

³¹¹ *HALOT* 1695–96.

³¹² *DCH* 597–98.

³¹³ “[I]t is uncertain whether תודה (a) still has the concrete meaning of sacrifice of thanksgiving, or whether (b) it has passed from the idea of song of thanksgiving straight to the idea of thanksgiving, despite the fact that the associated verb is always זָבַח” (*HALOT* 1696). The lexicographers think that the context of Ps 50:14, 23 and the parallel colon in Ps 116:17b make ‘thanksgiving’ (option b) more likely. However, the context of Psalm 50 (vv. 5, 8) supports a literal and positive view of sacrifice, and the parallel colon in Ps 116:17b describes the verbal element that accompanies sacrifice rather than a synonymous equivalent. The distant parallel in v. 13 makes this clear. In the end, *HALOT* fails to provide any evidence that the verb זָבַח has undergone a metaphoric extension in these examples.

caused by the theory that sacrifice underwent a spiritualization in the course of Israelite history.³¹⁴ However, this chapter has shown that there are clear patterns of usage that differentiate these two meanings. On the one hand, when it means ‘thanksgiving,’ תודה occurs with a preposition and is used adverbially. On the other hand, when it means ‘thank offering,’ תודה is the object of the verb ‘to sacrifice’ (זבח). Twice this meaning is even underscored with a cognate accusative construction (116:17, 107:22; that is, table 9 and example 10). Second, although BDB and *DCH* rightly interpret 26:7 (example 1) as ‘thanksgiving,’ *HALOT* classifies the example under the heading ‘doxology in court,’ by which it means a kind of ‘confession.’ The problem with this view is that, when תודה means ‘confession’ (Josh 7:19, Ezra 10:11), it occurs in a certain construction (נתן + תודה ל +) and refers to confession of sin. Third, BDB believes that the example in 100:1 (example 7) means ‘thank offering,’ and *HALOT* and *DCH* remain undecided. But the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ seems more likely correct on the basis of usage and the content of the psalm. Fourth, none of the dictionaries identifies the unique meaning of תודה in 56:13 (table 10). Yet the differences from normal usage and the similarities with vow language suggest the meaning ‘thank vow.’ Fifth, all three dictionaries give the meaning ‘thank offering’ for Amos 4:5 (example 11), but this fails to distinguish between animal

³¹⁴ For more on this topic, see my discussion in chapter 6.

sacrifice and grain offering. As this chapter has shown, תודה must refer to a grain offering in its context.

Semantic Structure

Having considered in detail the usage patterns and meanings of the noun תודה, it is now possible to have a look at its larger semantic structure. Figure 3.1 presents a radial network for the polysemous word:³¹⁵

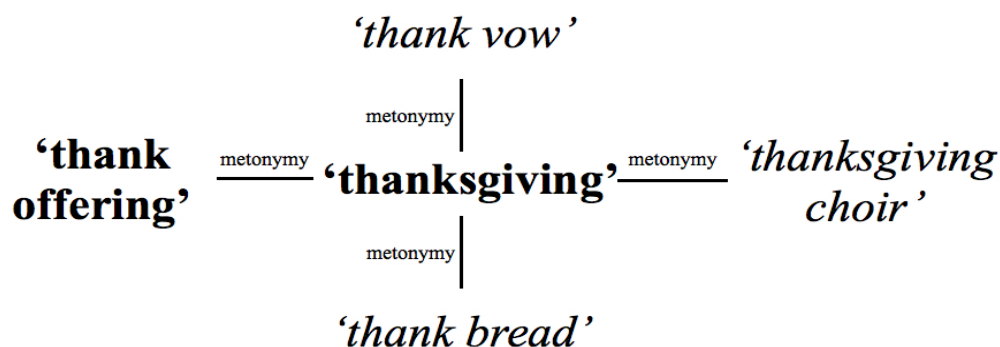


Figure 3.1. Radial network of תודה in the Psalms, Amos 4, and Nehemiah 12

As in the case of תהלה, there are two dominant meanings of תודה (indicated in bold).

'Thanksgiving' (7x) is the prototypical core of the word's semantic structure, and the other four meanings are semantic extensions based on metonymy. 'Thank offering' (4x) appears elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible and is the most important semantic extension of

³¹⁵ In order to be a complete description of the semantic structure of the noun תודה, the radial network would need to include the meaning 'confession.' Since this meaning does not involve metonymy and does not occur in the Psalms, I have chosen to omit it here.

the core. The other three meanings are less central. Since ‘thank vow’ (table 10) and ‘thank bread’ (example 11) are both only attested once, it appears that they are idiosyncratic extensions. In other words, the psalmist of Psalm 56 and the prophet Amos generated new meanings for תודה using the cognitive process of metonymy. This is the same process that we have observed for other meaning extensions, except for the fact that, as far as we know, these meanings were never adopted by the larger linguistic community. While the meanings ‘thank vow’ and ‘thank bread’ appear to be synchronically related to the core, ‘thanksgiving choir’ is a candidate for diachronic development because it appears in the late book of Ezra-Nehemiah. However, ‘thanksgiving choir’ does not meet Hurvitz’s third criterion for linguistic change. Since this meaning is not attested outside the Hebrew Bible, it cannot be considered a feature of late Classical Hebrew. As far as we can tell, Nehemiah coined this meaning in his account of the dedication of Jerusalem’s walls. As a result, I have put three meanings of the word תודה in italics to indicate their idiosyncrasy.

At the beginning of the chapter, I introduced the thanksgiving script as encyclopedic background knowledge that speakers of Classical Hebrew used to make sense of the word תודה. The script has four steps—distress, call (or vow), response, temple—and the fourth step has three elements—praise, animal sacrifice, grain offering. The detailed study of occurrences of the word has illustrated the presence of the script at

various points. In conclusion, it is worth noting that the metonymic semantic extensions assume the script as well. In one case, תודה applies to the call for help, understood as a vow to perform the temple ritual. Within the temple ritual, תודה can also apply to the praise, the animal sacrifice, and the grain offering. In another case, the word applies to the worshippers who journey to the temple to praise and perform sacrifice.

Conceptual Metonymies

Although three of the meanings of תודה have been characterized as idiosyncratic, that does not mean that the way in which speakers generated these meanings was idiosyncratic. Like the established meaning ‘thank offering,’ these meanings derive from the word’s core meaning ‘thanksgiving’; they are generated by the cognitive process of metonymy; and they follow established conceptual patterns. Consider figure 3.2, which shows conceptual metonymies that are operative for תודה:

Spatiotemporal Realm

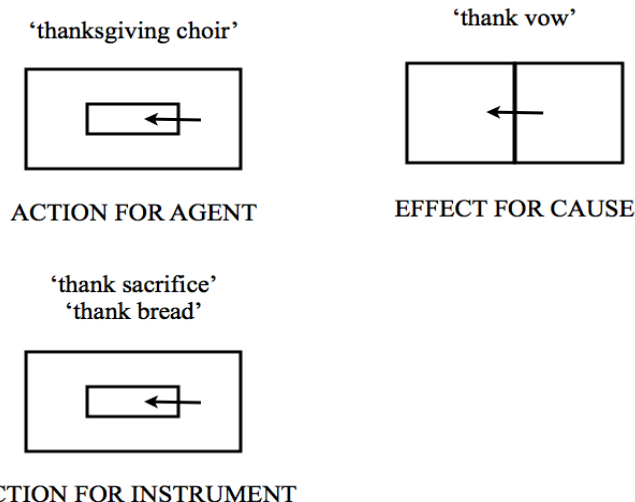


Figure 3.2. Conceptual metonymies of תודה in the Psalms, Amos 4, and Nehemiah 12

I have placed the more prototypical patterns on the left. The central meaning ‘thanksgiving’ is the source for the other metonymic targets in the word. All of them take place in the spatiotemporal realm. Three of the metonymies involve containment contiguity of the ACTION & PARTICIPANT sort; the participants are pictured as positioned within the action. The meaning ‘thanksgiving choir’ maps the action onto the corporate agent of the action. The group of people who perform thanksgiving are understood in terms of their activity. The meanings ‘thank offering’ and ‘thank bread’ are similar but slightly different. They both employ a mapping of the action onto an instrument involved in the action—in the first case, the animal sacrifice, in the second, the grain offering. Since the agent is the most prototypical participant in an action, ACTION FOR AGENT is more

prototypical than ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT.³¹⁶ This shows that even a marginal meaning can be motivated by a central conceptual pattern. Another, less prototypical, type of metonymy occurs in the case of the meaning ‘thank vow.’ The pattern involves contact contiguity of the CAUSE & EFFECT type. In the case of a vow offering, the word ‘vow’ (נדָר) refers both to the making of the vow and to its fulfillment; the cause is mapped onto its effect. The association of vows and thanksgiving enables a similar movement—but in the reverse direction. In this case, the effect is mapped back onto the cause; that is, the action of thanksgiving is mapped back onto the vow to render thanksgiving. Once again, we see the benefits of a cognitive account of metonymy: not only does it help to explain the relations between senses of a polysemous word like תּוֹדָה, but this approach also enables a detailed description of the different sorts of conceptual patterns involved.

³¹⁶ Peirsman and Geeraerts say, “The most prototypical participant of an action/event/process is probably the agent” (“Metonymy,” 292). In fact, under the metonymic pattern ACTION/EVENT/PROCESS & PARTICIPANT, they list the five possible participants in order of prototypicality: agent, patient, location, time, and instrument (292–95).

CHAPTER 4: THE OBJECT OF PRAISE

At this point in the study, it will be helpful to recall the types of metonymy introduced in chapter 1. There are two major types of metonymy: conceptual and linguistic. Conceptual metonymy involves patterns of thought, and linguistic metonymies are the concrete expressions of those conceptual patterns in language. In addition, this study distinguishes two types of linguistic metonymy: lexical and contextual. Lexical metonymy takes place between different senses of a polysemous word in multiple contexts. By contrast, contextual metonymy is produced by usage in a particular context. Conceptual metonymy motivates both lexical and contextual metonymies.

Chapters 2 and 3 considered metonymy in lexical semantics, but the present chapter shifts the focus to contextual metonymy by investigating the *objects* of praise verbs in the Psalter. Since Israel's God YHWH is the primary object of these verbs, YHWH should be considered *the* object of praise in the Psalms. This chapter has two major sections. The first section provides an overview of the meanings and objects of the most common verbs of praise in the Psalms, and the second section presents three

conceptual patterns that motivate contextual metonymies for YHWH. The conclusion then summarizes these conceptual metonymies.

1. Overview

At the outset, it is necessary to define what is meant by “object of praise.” This will involve two tasks: first, identifying the major verbs of praise in the Psalms, and, second, surveying their objects.

Verbs of Praise

The index of semantic fields found in *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* lists ten verbs (הלל II, זמר I, ידה II, נוה II, ענה IV, פצה I, רמם I, שבח I, תנה, שיר) for the field of “praise, singing, thanksgiving.”³¹⁷ Five of these verbs are glossed with the meaning ‘praise’ (הלל II, זמר I, ידה II, נוה II, שבח I). The first three verbs occur frequently in the Psalter: הלל II occurs 89 times; ידה II occurs 67 times; and זמר I occurs 41 times.³¹⁸ One more verb should be added to this group. Writing in the

³¹⁷ Willem VanGemeren, “Index of Semantic Fields,” *NIDOTTE* 5:147. Although *NIDOTTE* does not include the verb ברך in the semantic field of praise, the entry does refer readers to the related field of “blessing.”

³¹⁸ שבח I only occurs five times in the Psalms (Pss 63:4; 106:47; 117:1; 145:4; 147:12) and three times outside the Psalms (Eccl 4:2; 8:18; 1 Chr 16:35 [quoting Ps 106:47]). Only one of these examples in the Psalms involves a contextual metonymy (Ps 63:4). נוה II does not occur in the Psalms at all, and only appears once in the Hebrew Bible (Exod 15:2).

Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, Helmer Ringgren maintains that בָּרַךְ II belongs to the same semantic field as הִלֵּל, יָדָה, and זָמַר.³¹⁹ In addition, the articles on הִלֵּל and יָדָה in the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* list בָּרַךְ as a synonym.³²⁰ בָּרַךְ II appears in the Psalter 74 times, a number of occurrences that is comparable to the other three verbs. Not all of these occurrences are relevant for the current study, but the evidence warrants including the verb. As a result, the following chapter will focus on these four verbs (הִלֵּל, בָּרַךְ, יָדָה, זָמַר,) as the most important verbs of praise in the Psalter. The rest of this section will look at the semantics of each of these verbs.

The verb הִלֵּל II (hereafter הִלֵּל) appears in the Piel, Pual, and Hitpael stems in the Hebrew Bible.³²¹ In the active Piel stem, the verb means ‘to praise.’ In the passive Pual stem, it means ‘to be praised’ or, in the participle, ‘to be worthy of praise.’ And in the reflexive Hitpael stem, it means ‘to praise oneself,’ that is, ‘to boast.’ The reason for boasting is indicated by the preposition ב. Claus Westermann argues that הִלֵּל differs from the other verbs of praise in that it responds to an essence.³²² We can see evidence for his

³¹⁹ Helmer Ringgren, “הִלֵּל *hll* I and II,” *TDOT* 3:406.

³²⁰ *DCH* 2:561; 4:97.

³²¹ BDB 237–39; *HALOT* 248–49; *DCH* 559–62; Helmer Ringgren, “הִלֵּל *hll* I and II,” *TDOT* 3:404–10; Claus Westermann, “הִלֵּל *hll*,” *TLOT* 1:371–76; Leslie Allen, “הִלֵּל *hll* II,” *NIDOTTE* 1:1035–38.

³²² Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 25–35.

claim in three areas: human, theological, and reflexive uses. For example, in the first use of הלל in the Hebrew Bible, the Egyptians recognize Sarai's beauty and praise her to Pharaoh (Gen 12:14–15). When YHWH is involved, the verb הלל tends to appear in hymns that praise divine attributes. For example, Psalm 117 praises YHWH for loyalty and faithfulness (v. 2). Finally, Jeremiah uses the Hitpael when he warns against boasting in wisdom, strength, and wealth (9:22).³²³ These examples strongly support Westermann's claim that the verb הלל means to praise an attribute.

The verb ידה II (hereafter ידה) occurs in the Hiphil and Hitpael stems in the Hebrew Bible. It is normally translated 'to thank' in the Hiphil and 'to confess (sin)' in the Hitpael.³²⁴ Westermann, however, has argued that ידה should be considered a type of praise because of its public expression.³²⁵ For example, consider Ps 35:18: "I will thank you (אודך) in the great congregation; among the mighty people I will praise you." In addition, he has shown that, in contrast to הלל, the verb ידה is praise that responds to actions. Once again, there are three categories: human, theological, and reflexive. For example, at the end of his life, Jacob predicts that Judah will defeat his enemies and force

³²³ Note that the positive boasting is in the knowledge of YHWH (Jer 9:23): a static attribute rather than an action.

³²⁴ BDB 392–93; HALOT 389; DCH 4:95–97; Gerhard Mayer, "ידה ydh," TDOT 5:427–43; Claus Westermann, "ידה ydh hi. to praise," TLOT 2:502–8; Leslie Allen, "ידה ydh II," NIDOTTE ? :405–8.

³²⁵ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 25–35.

his brothers to praise him (Gen 49:8). In the theological sphere, Leah praises YHWH because he caused her to conceive Judah (Gen 29:35). The verb ידה also tends to be used in the vows of praise at the end of lament psalms and in thanksgiving psalms that recount YHWH's saving acts. Finally, the book of Numbers uses the Hitpael stem for confessing sinful actions that one has committed (e.g., Num 5:6–7). The translation 'to thank' is still probably the best way to express a response to an action, but it lacks the public dimension of ידה. This study continues to use 'to thank' with the assumption that the thanking involves public praise.

The verb זמר I (hereafter זמר) only appears in poetic texts and in the Piel stem.³²⁶ Some Hebrew lexicographers believe that 'to play a musical instrument' is either the basic meaning or a major meaning of the word.³²⁷ This view seems to be based on three points: the etymological relationship between the roots זמר I and זמר II (meaning 'to prune'), the LXX translation of זמר with the verb ψάλλω (meaning 'to pluck, play a stringed instrument'), and the use of the verb with musical instruments.³²⁸ However, these

³²⁶ BDB 274; *HALOT* 273–74; *DCH* 3:118–19; Barth, “זמר *zmr*,” *TDOT* 4:91–98; Leslie Allen, “זמר *zmr* I,” *NIDOTTE* 1:1116–17. There is no entry for זמר in *TLOT*.

³²⁷ BDB assigns the primary meaning to 'make music in praise of God' (274). *HALOT* lists the meanings 'to play an instrument' and 'to sing' together as meaning one (273). Only *DCH* defines the verb as 'to sing (praise)' and notes that this is sometimes done with musical instruments (118). As will become clear, I agree with *DCH*.

³²⁸ Ps 33:2; 71:22; 98:5; 144:9; 147:7; 149:3.

arguments are weak. First, זמר I occurs in Akkadian, but זמר II does not, showing that these two roots have separate origins. In addition, plucking and pruning are actually very different actions. Second, the Greek translation is probably influenced by a foreign notion of psalmody. Third, זמר is only used with musical instruments six times out of its 45 occurrences, and context suggests taking the ב preposition as a ב of accompaniment rather than instrument.³²⁹

Following Barth, it is more accurate to translate זמר as ‘to sing praise.’ Once again, there are three arguments. First, זמר occurs in contexts of singing (שיר) and praising YHWH (הלל, ידה). For example, consider Ps 98:5: “Sing praise (זמרו) to YHWH with a lyre, with a lyre and a voice of song (קול זמרה)” and Ps 33:2: “Give thanks to YHWH with a lyre; with a harp of ten strings sing praise (זמרו) to him.” In both examples, there are verbal and musical elements of the praise. Second, זמר involves articulate verbal content.³³⁰ In some cases, the conjunction כי appears to convey the content of the singing. In addition, the related noun ‘psalm’ (מזמור) is used in superscriptions to refer to the verbal content that follows.³³¹ Third, although זמר is used

³²⁹ Barth, “זמר *zmr*,” *TDOT* 4:96. On circumstantial uses of the ב preposition, see *IBHS* 196–97.

³³⁰ Barth, “זמר *zmr*,” *TDOT* 4:97. See Crüsemann, *Studien zur Formgeschichte*, 126–135.

³³¹ The majority of dictionaries agrees that מזמור means ‘psalm,’ that is, a song with musical accompaniment (*HALOT* 566; *DCH* 3:209–10; Barth, “זמר *zmr* I,” *TDOT* 4:94; Allen, “זמר *zmr* I,” *NIDOTTE* 1:1116). Oddly, *BDB* defines the word as ‘melody’ (274).

with instruments, it is never used with wind instruments.³³² The implication is that the voice must be free to praise while the hands play the instrument. For these reasons, I will translate זמר as ‘to sing praise.’

The verb ברך II (hereafter ברך) is normally translated as ‘to bless.’³³³ In general, ‘blessing’ is divine favor, provision, or protection. But it is possible to be more specific about the semantics of ברך in the Hebrew Bible. The Qal and the Piel are the most common and the most important stems.³³⁴ First of all, the Qal stem only occurs in the passive participle (בְּרוּךְ). This is often described as the *bārûk* formula. When it is used of a person, it either recognizes the person to be a recipient or wishes for the person to become a recipient of God’s provision (ברוך + person + ל + YHWH). When the passive participle is used of YHWH, it recognizes YHWH’s goodness and beneficial actions (ברוך + YHWH + reason [relative pronoun, conjunction, participle]). In other words, it acknowledges YHWH as the source of human flourishing. This is an important way of

³³² Barth, “זמר *zmr*,” *TDOT* 4:96.

³³³ BDB 138–39; *HALOT* 159–61; *DCH* 2:267–71; Josef Scharbert, “ברך *brk*,” *TDOT* 2:279–308; C. Keller and G. Wehmeier, “ברך *brk* pi. to bless,” *TLOT* 1:266–82; Michael Brown, “ברך *brk* II,” *NIDOTTE* 1:755–67.

³³⁴ The verb occurs in five stems: Qal, Niphal, Piel, Pual, and Hitpael. Scholars debate the significance of the Niphal, but it only occurs three times in Genesis. Scholars agree that the Pual and Hitpael provide the passive and reflexive voice of the Piel.

praising YHWH. The significance of the Piel differs depending on the subject involved.³³⁵

Observe the following diagram:

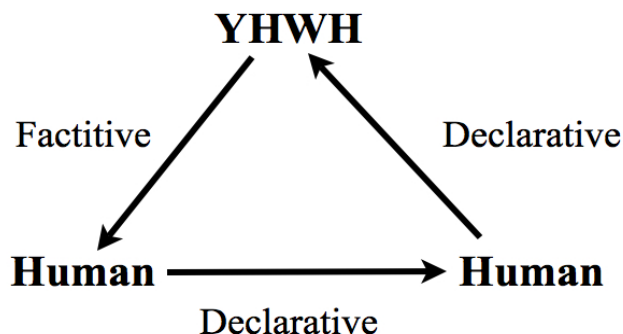


Figure 4.1. Subjects and Objects of בָּרַךְ

As shown in figure 4.1, when YHWH is the subject, the Piel is factitive. That is, YHWH acts to bring about the state of blessedness for people. YHWH never utters the *bārûk* formula. When humans are subjects, the Piel is declarative. That is, humans speak to declare other humans or YHWH blessed, and they often use the *bārûk* formula to do so. For example, in Gen 14:19–20, Melchizedek the king of Salem blesses Abram (Piel) by uttering *bārûk* formulas (Qal passive participles) about both him and his God. Examples such as this show that בָּרַךְ in the Piel stem is declarative and involves a formulaic pronouncement.

³³⁵ “In the pi. *brk* has various shades of meaning, primarily factitive and declarative-estimative, according to whether God . . . or people . . . are subjects” (Keller and Wehmeier, “בָּרַךְ *brk* pi. to bless,” *TLOT* 1:270).

This investigation of the four most common verbs of praise yields the following diagram:

Table 12. Verbs of Praise

Reason for Praise	Manner of Praise
הלל essence	זמר singing
ידה action	ברך blessing

On the one hand, two verbs describe the reason for praise: הלל praises an essence, and ידה praises an action (table 12). On the other hand, two verbs describe the manner of praise: זמר conveys sung praise, and ברך, when its subject is human, is used for praise with a blessing formula (ברוך). These semantic findings provide the foundation for the rest of the chapter.

Objects of Praise

Having identified the four most important verbs of praise in the Psalms and sketched out their semantic differences, it is possible to turn to a consideration of their objects. In this context, “object of praise” applies to both direct and indirect objects. For example, consider a couple of common imperatives. In “Praise Yah” (הללו־יה),³³⁶ there is no

³³⁶ הללו־יה occurs 24 times in the Psalms (104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1, 9; 115:18; 116:19; 117:2; 135:1, 3, 21; 146:1, 10; 147:1, 20; 148:1, 14; 149:1, 9; 150:1, 6).

preposition, and Yah directly receives the action of the verb הלל. In “Give thanks to YHWH” (הודו ליהוה),³³⁷ the preposition ל is used, and YHWH indirectly receives the action of the verb ידה. This chapter is interested in both types of objects.

The verb הלל occurs 89 times in the Psalms—75 times in the Piel stem,³³⁸ six times in the Pual,³³⁹ and eight times in the Hitpael.³⁴⁰ The present discussion excludes the Pual and Hitpael stems because the Pual participle will be treated with descriptions of the divine name, and the Hitpael involves self-praise or boasting. Of the 75 occurrences of the Piel, five appear to lack objects. In two cases, the Piel stem exhibits the reflexive voice of the Hitpael, and the reason for boasting is conveyed by a prepositional phrase.³⁴¹ In the other three cases, YHWH is the implicit object in the context (Pss 63:6; 113:1; 135:1). That leaves 70 cases in which the object is related to YHWH. 35 times the object

³³⁷ הודו ליהוה occurs seven times in the Psalms (33:4; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1).

³³⁸ Pss 10:3; 22:23, 24, 27; 35:18; 44:9; 56:5, 11 (2x); 63:6; 69:31, 35; 74:21; 84:5; 102:19; 104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 107:32; 109:30; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1 (3x), 9; 115:17, 18; 116:19; 117:1, 2; 119:164, 175; 135:1 (3x), 3, 21; 145:2; 146:1 (2x), 2, 10; 147:1, 12, 20; 148:1 (3x), 2 (2x), 3 (2x), 4, 5, 7, 13, 14; 149:1, 3, 9; 150:1 (3x), 2 (2x), 3 (2x), 4 (2x), 5 (2x), 6 (2x).

³³⁹ Pss 18:4; 48:2; 78:63; 96:4; 113:3; 145:3.

³⁴⁰ Pss 34:3; 49:7; 52:3; 63:12; 64:11; 97:7; 105:3; 106:5.

³⁴¹ In Ps 10:3, the wicked man boasts in his own appetite (על־תאוות נפשו), and in Ps 44:9 the people boast in God (באלהים).

is a divine name or title.³⁴² 24 times the verb takes object suffixes referring to YHWH.³⁴³ Eight times YHWH's 'name' (שם) is the object of the verb,³⁴⁴ and once it is described as 'exalted' (נשגב, Ps 148:13). Finally, YHWH's 'word' (דבר) serves as object three times in Psalm 56 (vv. 5, 11 [2x]).

The verb ידה occurs 67 times in the Psalms, always in the Hiphil stem. In Ps 32:5, it means 'to confess (sin),' taking on the reflexive voice of the Hitpael. In Ps 75:2, the verb has no object, though God is clearly assumed. The verb takes human objects in two cases: people praise the king in Ps 45:18, and a rich man claims public recognition in Ps 49:19. That leaves 52 cases in which the object relates to YHWH. 32 times the verb takes a divine pronoun. These pronouns may appear as suffixes on the verb³⁴⁵ or separately

³⁴² The abbreviated form יה occurs 27 times (Pss 102:19; 104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1, 9; 115:17, 18; 116:19; 117:2; 135:1, 3, 21; 146:1, 10; 147:1, 20; 148:1, 14; 149:1, 9; 150:1, 6 [2x]). Most of these examples use the stock phrase יה הללני, but in three cases, the verb is in the imperfect aspect (Ps 102:19; 115:17; 150:6). The full divine name יהוה occurs six times (Pss 22:27; 117:1; 146:1, 2; 148:1; 148:7), אלהים once (Ps 147:12), and אל once (Ps 150:1).

³⁴³ Nineteen suffixes are third-person masculine singular (Pss 22:24; 69:35; 107:32; 109:30; 148:1, 2 [2x], 3 [2x], 4; 150:1, 2 [2x], 3 [2x], 4 [2x], 5 [2x]), and five are second-person masculine singular (Pss 22:23; 35:18; 84:5; 119:164, 175).

³⁴⁴ Ps 69:31; 74:21; 113:1; 135:1; 145:2; 148:5, 13; 149:3. The word שם appears in construct with YHWH (Ps 113:1; 135:1; 148:5, 13) and Elohim (Ps 69:31) or with second- (Ps 74:21; 145:2) and third-person (Ps 149:3) suffixes referring to YHWH.

³⁴⁵ These suffixes occur 23 times in the second person (18:50; 30:10, 13; 35:18; 43:4; 52:11; 57:10; 67:4 (2x), 6 (2x); 71:22; 76:11; 86:12; 88:11; 108:4; 118:21, 28; 119:7; 138:1, 4; 139:14; 145:10) and four times in the third person (28:7; 42:6, 12; 43:5).

with the ל preposition.³⁴⁶ 20 times the deity or a divine title is the object.³⁴⁷ In eight cases, the word ‘name’ (שם) appears as the object of the verb.³⁴⁸ The name is described as ‘good’ (טוב, Ps 54:8), ‘great and awesome’ (גדול ונורא, Ps 99:3), and ‘holy’ (קדש, Ps 99:3; 106:47). Psalms 30:5 and 97:12 share the object “his holy name” (זכר קדשו), and Ps 89:6 has “your wonder” (פלאך) and “your faithfulness” (אמונתך).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ לך, Ps 6:6; 75:2; 79:13; 119:62; לו, Ps 100:4.

³⁴⁷ The divine name YHWH appears 16 times (Ps 7:18; 9:2; 33:2; 92:2; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31; 109:30; 111:1; 118:1, 29; 136:1), and the short form Yah occurs once (Ps 118:19). Psalm 136 uses the titles God of gods (אלהי האלהים, v. 2), Lord of lords (אדני האדנים, v. 3), and God of the heavens (אל השמים, v. 26).

³⁴⁸ Ps 44:9; 54:8; 99:3; 106:47; 122:4; 138:2; 140:14; 142:8. Usually, the word occurs with the second-person suffix referring to YHWH (Ps 44:9; 54:8; 99:3; 106:47; 138:2; 140:14; 142:8), but once it is in construct with the divine name (Ps 122:4).

³⁴⁹ There are three passages that appear to use double-accusative constructions involving the verb ידה (*IBHS* 173–77). In the MT of Ps 42:6, the verb takes the third-person pronominal suffix (אודנו) and “his saving presence” (ישועות פניו) as objects. But it is important to note that the same refrain occurs in 42:12 and 43:5 with “my saving presence” (ישועת פני). Therefore, it makes more sense to read 42:6 in light of these refrains. Apparently, the *waw* conjunction was misplaced from the following word “and my God” (ואלהי) and should be restored (Kraus [*Psalms 1-59*, 436–37] agrees with this translation in keeping with the LXX, though Goldingay [*Psalms 42–89*, 20] reads with MT). This understanding sees the phrase appositional to the pronominal suffix rather than as a second accusative. However, there are two cases in which ידה has a double accusative. First, in Ps 71:22, the verb takes the second-person pronominal suffix (אודך) and “your faithfulness” (אמתך) as objects. Second, in the fourfold refrain of Psalm 107 (vv. 8, 15, 21, 31), the object “to YHWH” (ליהוה) is followed by two more objects: “his loyalty” (חסדו) and “his wonderful works” (נפלאותיו). In both psalms, YHWH is the primary object, and divine attributes and actions are secondary objects that provide the reasons for praising YHWH (compare the use of כי in Ps 107:1 and other instances of this formula). These examples provide an instructive contrast to cases in which the divine attribute metonymically takes on the status of primary object (e.g., Pss 30:5; 89:6; 97:12).

The verb **זמר** occurs 41 times in the Psalms, always in the Piel stem.³⁵⁰ In six cases, there is no object, but YHWH is clearly implied.³⁵¹ This verb is never used with a human object; the remaining 35 examples all relate to YHWH. Twelve times YHWH or a divine title serves as object,³⁵² and 13 times a pronoun referring to YHWH takes that role.³⁵³ Nine times the verb takes the divine ‘name’ (**שם**) as object.³⁵⁴ YHWH’s name is described as ‘glorious’ (**כבוד**, Ps 66:2) and ‘pleasant’ (**נעים**, Ps 135:3).³⁵⁵ In one case, a

³⁵⁰ Pss 7:18; 9:3, 12; 18:50; 21:14; 27:6; 30:5, 13; 33:2; 47:7 (4x), 8; 57:8, 10; 59:18; 61:9; 66:2, 4 (2x); 68:5, 33; 71:22, 23; 75:10; 92:2; 98:4, 5; 101:1; 104:33; 105:2; 108:2, 4; 135:3; 138:1; 144:9; 146:2; 147:1, 7; 149:3.

³⁵¹ Pss 47:7 (2x), 8; 57:8; 98:4; 108:2. Ps 47:8 uses an adverbial accusative (**משכיל**).

³⁵² Pss 9:12; 27:6; 30:5; 47:7 (2x); 68:33; 75:10; 98:5; 104:33; 146:2; 147:1, 7. The divine name **יהוה** appears four times (Pss 9:12; 27:6; 30:5; 98:5), in addition to the titles **אלהים** (Pss 47:7; 75:10; 104:33; 146:2; 147:1, 7), **מלך** (Ps 47:7), and **אדני** (Ps 68:33).

³⁵³ Pss 30:13; 33:2; 57:10; 59:18; 66:4; 71:22, 23; 101:1; 105:2; 108:4; 138:1; 144:9; 149:3. The pronoun is second-person 10 times (Pss 30:13; 57:10; 59:18; 66:4; 71:22, 23; 101:1; 108:4; 138:1; 144:9) and third-person three times (Pss 33:2; 105:2; 149:3).

³⁵⁴ Pss 7:18; 9:3; 18:50; 61:9; 66:2, 4; 68:5; 92:2; 135:3. In one case, **שם** is in construct with the divine name (7:18). In all the others, **שם** has a second- (9:3; 18:50; 61:9; 66:4; 92:2) or third-person (66:2; 68:5; 135:3) pronominal suffix referring to YHWH. Technically speaking, **כבוד** is the object of the verb in 66:2, but it appears in an epexegetical genitive construction (*IBHS* 151), which should be rendered as “his glorious name” (**כבוד־שמו**). Therefore, I classify this example with the others involving the word **שם**.

³⁵⁵ The adjective ‘most high’ (**עליון**) occurs three times in conjunction with YHWH’s name (Pss 7:18; 9:3; 92:2). It has the correct placement to be an attributive adjective, but it should be definite for grammatical agreement with **שם** (cf. 1 Kgs 8:42). Since the word is indefinite in all three cases, it is best taken as a substantive adjective referring to YHWH as ‘Most High.’

divine attribute serves as the object of the verb: Psalm 21:14 praises YHWH's 'strength' (גבורה). As in the case of ידה, the objects occur with and without the preposition ל.³⁵⁶

The verb ברך occurs 74 times in the Psalms: once in the Hitpael stem,³⁵⁷ 4 times in the Pual,³⁵⁸ 17 times in the Qal (always passive participle),³⁵⁹ and 52 times in the Piel.

This study does not focus on the Hitpael, Pual, and Qal stems (though the Qal is discussed below). The Piel examples should be divided into two semantic groups—namely, those that have divine subjects and those that have human subjects. 18 examples have divine subjects,³⁶⁰ and 34 have human subjects. Since the present study is interested in the topic of praise, the focus here will be the Piel examples that are declarative. Of these 34 examples, one lacks an object, and four have human objects. That leaves 29 cases where the object is related to YHWH. In Ps 10:3, the wicked person blesses

³⁵⁶ The deity occurs with (Pss 9:12; 27:6; 30:5; 47:7; 75:10; 98:5; 104:33; 146:2; 147:7) or without (Pss 47:7; 68:33; 147:1) the preposition ל. Pronouns appear with (Pss 33:2; 66:4; 71:22, 23; 101:1; 105:2; 144:9; 149:3) or without it (Pss 30:13; 57:10; 108:4; 138:1). Once the preposition is אל rather than ל (Ps 59:18). ש appears with (Pss 18:50; 92:2; 135:3) or without (Pss 7:18; 9:3; 61:9; 66:2, 4; 68:5) the preposition.

³⁵⁷ Ps 72:17.

³⁵⁸ Pss 37:22; 112:2; 113:2; 128:4.

³⁵⁹ Pss 18:47; 28:6; 31:22; 41:14; 66:20; 68:20, 36; 72:18, 19; 89:53; 106:48; 115:15; 118:26; 119:12; 124:6; 135:21; 144:1.

³⁶⁰ Pss 5:13; 28:9, 11; 45:3; 65:11; 67:7, 8; 107:38; 109:28; 115:12 (3x), 13; 128:5; 132:15 (2x); 134:3; 147:13.

YHWH, but the verb בָּרַךְ is used euphemistically as a substitute for cursing.³⁶¹ The divine name or a title for the deity occur 20 times.³⁶² Four times a pronominal suffix indicates the object.³⁶³ Finally, in four cases, the word ‘name’ (שֵׁם) appears with a suffix referring to YHWH.³⁶⁴ Also, in Ps 103:1 the verb בָּרַךְ is elided in the second poetic colon, and the elided verb takes ‘name’ as object. Therefore, this verse has two objects, even though the verb only occurs once. Two texts describe YHWH’s name as ‘holy’ (קֹדֶשׁ, Pss 103:1; 145:21).

2. Contextual Metonymies

In the previous section, we noted that verbs of praise in the Psalms can take as object YHWH’s ‘name’ (שֵׁם, זִכָּר), ‘word’ (דְּבַר), and a few other attributes. This section shows

³⁶¹ For other examples of this euphemistic usage, see 1 Kgs 21:10, 13; Job 1:5, 11; 2:5, 9. The object is always YHWH in these examples.

³⁶² YHWH is the object 17 times (Pss 16:7; 26:12; 34:2; 103:1, 2, 20, 21, 22 [2x]; 104:1, 35; 134:1, 2, 19 [2x], 20 [2x]), Elohim twice (Pss 66:8; 68:27), and Yah once (Ps 115:18).

³⁶³ Pss 63:5; 145:2, 10.

³⁶⁴ Pss 96:2; 100:4; 145:1, 21.

how these examples represent three conceptual metonymies: POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR,³⁶⁵ PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER,³⁶⁶ and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY.³⁶⁷

POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR

When YHWH's name is the object of praise, two different words are used: the nouns שם and זכר. The noun שם is the more important of the two because it occurs more frequently and with all four major verbs of praise. Nevertheless, this section looks at both nouns in turn.

The Noun שם

When it is the object of praise in the Psalms, YHWH's שם functions as a metonymy for the person of YHWH.³⁶⁸ This section makes a case for this claim by presenting five pieces of evidence: (1) verb meaning, (2) distribution of objects, (3) descriptions of the name, (4) prepositions with the object, and (5) the interchangeability of YHWH and YHWH's name.

³⁶⁵ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 298.

³⁶⁶ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 298.

³⁶⁷ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 303.

³⁶⁸ Allen Ross is the only scholar who has recognized this: "The 'name of the LORD (*yhwh*)' is metonymical for the nature of the Lord" ("שם *šēm*," *NIDOTTE* 4:148). However, he does not give a detailed defense of his claim.

Verb Meaning

The first piece of evidence comes from verb semantics. As noted above, the verbs הלל and ידה differ in their impetus: הלל praises a person for an attribute, and ידה praises a person for an action. Therefore, when הלל takes the word שם as object, the assumption is that the ‘name’ possesses some attribute that is worthy of praise. In most cases, however, the name is not assigned an attribute, which suggests that ‘name’ is referring metonymically to YHWH, who does possess attributes. This is somewhat difficult to recognize in the translation “I will praise your name” (Ps 145:2) because English ‘praise’ can equally be applied to people and things.³⁶⁹ In contrast, Hebrew הלל is prototypically applied to persons. Also, when ידה takes the word שם as object, the assumption is that the ‘name’ has performed some praiseworthy action, but, in fact, it is YHWH who performs actions. Once again, there is a metonymic relation between ‘name’ and YHWH. This comes through more clearly in the translation “I will thank your name” (Ps 54:8) because English ‘thank’ is prototypically applied to a person.³⁷⁰ Thus, the semantics of הלל and ידה contribute to our understanding of metonymy.³⁷¹

³⁶⁹ *NOAD* 1373.

³⁷⁰ *NOAD* 1796

³⁷¹ It is also possible to see a suggestion of metonymy in the verb ברך. ברך in the Piel stem means to declare someone ברוך, that is, endowed with beneficial quality or power (*HALOT* 160). This means that, when YHWH’s שם is the object of the verb, the divine name is pictured as endowed with good qualities. But these qualities must belong to YHWH rather than to the name itself. In this case, it is not the verb but

Object Distribution

The second piece of evidence that YHWH's name is a metonymy for YHWH in the

Psalms is the distribution of objects used with the verbs of praise. Consider table 13:

Table 13. Distribution of Objects used with the Verbs of Praise

Verb	Total	No object	Person		Thing	
			Human	YHWH	Divine םש	Divine Attribute
הלל Piel	75	3 ³⁷²	2 ³⁷³	59 ³⁷⁴	8 ³⁷⁵	3 ³⁷⁶

the formula uttered that indicates metonymy. The translation “I will bless your name” (Ps 145:1) is potentially misleading because ‘bless’ in English means to consecrate or make holy (*NOAD* 180). But humans do not sanctify YHWH. A more accurate translation would be “I will declare your name to be endowed with good qualities.”

³⁷² Pss 63:6; 113:1; 135:1.

³⁷³ Pss 10:3 (reflexive); 44:9 (reflexive).

³⁷⁴ Pss 22:23, 24, 27; 35:18; 69:35; 84:5; 102:19; 104:35; 105:45; 106:1, 48; 107:32; 109:30; 111:1; 112:1; 113:1, 9; 115:17, 18; 116:19; 117:1, 2; 119:164, 175; 135:1, 3, 21; 146:1 (2x), 2, 10; 147:1, 12, 20; 148:1 (3x), 2 (2x), 3 (2x), 4, 7, 14; 149:1, 9; 150:1 (3x), 2 (2x), 3 (2x), 4 (2x); 5 (2x); 6 (2x).

³⁷⁵ Pss 69:31; 74:21; 113:1; 135:1; 145:2; 148:5, 13; 149:3.

³⁷⁶ Ps 56:5, 11 (2x).

ידה Hiphil	67	1 ³⁷⁷	3 ³⁷⁸	52 ³⁷⁹	8 ³⁸⁰	3 ³⁸¹
זמר Piel	41	6 ³⁸²	0	25 ³⁸³	9 ³⁸⁴	1 ³⁸⁵
ברך Piel	33 ³⁸⁶	1 ³⁸⁷	4 ³⁸⁸	24 ³⁸⁹	5 ³⁹⁰	0

³⁷⁷ Ps 75:2.

³⁷⁸ Pss 32:5 (reflexive); 45:18; 49:19.

³⁷⁹ Pss 6:6; 7:18; 9:2; 18:50; 28:7; 30:10, 13; 33:2; 35:18; 42:6; 42:12; 43:4, 5; 52:11; 57:10; 67:4 (2x), 6 (2x); 71:22; 75:2; 76:11; 79:13; 86:12; 88:11; 92:2; 100:4; 105:1; 106:1; 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31; 108:4; 109:30; 111:1; 118:1, 19, 21, 28, 29; 119:7, 62; 136:1, 2, 3, 26; 138:1, 4; 139:14; 145:10.

³⁸⁰ Pss 44:9; 54:8; 99:3; 106:47; 122:4; 138:2; 140:14; 142:8.

³⁸¹ Pss 30:5; 89:6; 97:12.

³⁸² Pss 47:7 (2x), 8; 57:8; 98:4; 108:2.

³⁸³ Pss 9:12; 27:6; 30:5, 13; 33:2; 47:7 (2x); 57:10; 59:18; 66:4; 68:33; 71:22, 23; 75:10; 98:5; 101:1; 104:33; 105:2; 108:4; 138:1; 144:9; 146:2; 147:1, 7; 149:3.

³⁸⁴ Pss 7:18; 9:3; 18:50; 61:9; 66:2, 4; 68:5; 92:2; 135:3.

³⁸⁵ Ps 21:14.

³⁸⁶ This is the number of examples with human subjects. It does not include the following 19 examples in which YHWH is the subject: Pss 5:13; 28:9, 11; 45:3; 65:11; 67:2, 7, 8; 107:38; 109:28; 115:12 (3x), 13; 128:5; 132:15 (2x); 134:3; 147:13. The reasoning for this choice is explained above.

³⁸⁷ Ps 62:5. The implied object is the human victim of the wicked.

³⁸⁸ Pss 49:19 (reflexive); 72:15; 118:26; 129:8.

³⁸⁹ Pss 10:3; 16:7; 26:12; 34:2; 63:5; 66:8; 68:27; 103:1, 2, 20, 21, 22 (2x); 104:1, 35; 115:18; 134:1, 2; 135:19 (2x), 20 (2x); 145:2, 10. Note that Ps 10:3 is a euphemistic use of ברך in place of קלל.

³⁹⁰ Pss 96:2; 100:4; 103:1; 145:1, 21. Note that ברך has two objects in Ps 103:1, so this verse is able to count both for YHWH as object and for YHWH's name as object.

The first thing to notice is that all four of these verbs prefer personal objects. הלל takes personal objects 61 times (81%) and non-personal 11 times (15%). ידה takes personal objects 55 times (82%) and non-personal objects 11 times (16%). זמר takes personal objects 25 times (61%) and non-personal 10 times (24%). ברך takes personal objects 29 times (85%) and non-personal 5 times (14%). The number of personal objects grows if we include the examples lacking explicit objects. In all 11 examples, the implicit object is personal. Second, the numbers clearly demonstrate that YHWH is the dominant personal object of these verbs. Taken together, there are fewer than 10 cases in which the object is human (4%). Indeed, the verb זמר never takes a human object. In addition, when these verbs are used without an object, the implied object is divine in ten cases and human in only one (Ps 62:5). These observations indicate that YHWH is the prototypical object of praise in the Psalms. In other words, YHWH is the default or assumed object when one uses one of these verbs of praise. However, all four verbs show a smaller but significant number of times that YHWH's name is the object. Three of the four verbs also take divine attributes as objects. In all but two cases (twice in Ps 56:11), YHWH's name and attributes are indicated with pronominal suffixes. The prototypicality of YHWH as object strongly suggests that YHWH's name and attributes are metonymies for YHWH in these cases.

Descriptions

The third piece of evidence for metonymy is the description of YHWH's name. The same language used to describe YHWH is also applied to YHWH's name.³⁹¹ The passive participles of הלל and ברך are used of both YHWH and YHWH's name. Since participles are verbal adjectives, they are treated under this heading rather than with the verbs above. In addition, when YHWH's name is the object of verbs of praise, it is described as holy, glorious, good, great, awesome, exalted, and pleasant. In the Psalms, YHWH shares all of these descriptions except for two: 'exalted' (נשגב) and 'pleasant' (נעים). That leaves the following seven descriptions shared by YHWH and the divine name, as shown in table 14:³⁹²

³⁹¹ This point is inspired by Harvey Minkoff, "The 'Name' of God in Psalms," *JBQ* 31 (2003): 230–36.

³⁹² I have listed descriptions used in conjunction with the verbs of praise. There are other descriptions in the Psalms that are used of YHWH and YHWH's name in which these verbs are not present. For example, YHWH and YHWH's name are also described as 'majestic' (אדיר, Pss 8:2, 10; 76:5), 'near' (קרוב, Pss 34:19; 75:2), and 'lasting forever' (לעולם, Pss 9:8; 135:13).

Table 14. Descriptions Shared by YHWH and the Divine Name

Description	Translation	YHWH	שם
מהלל	‘praiseworthy’	18:4	113:3
ברוך	‘having blessing’	28:6	72:19
כבוד	‘glorious’	19:1	72:19
קדש	‘holy’	22:4	33:21
גדול	‘great’	48:2	76:2
נורא	‘awesome’	47:3	111:9
טוב	‘good’	25:8	52:11

The Pual participle מהלל is only applied to YHWH and YHWH’s name in the Hebrew Bible,³⁹³ and the lexicons and grammars agree that it has a gerundive sense, meaning ‘praiseworthy.’³⁹⁴ In other words, when so described, YHWH is pictured as evoking rather than receiving praise. This assumes that YHWH possesses attributes that are worthy of praise. We might ask, what attributes does a name possess that are worthy of

³⁹³ The Pual participle of הלל occurs seven times in the Hebrew Bible: 2 Sam 22:4; Pss 18:4 (= 2 Sam 22:4); 48:2; 96:4; 113:3; 145:3; 2 Chr 16:25 (= Ps 96:4). The placement of מהלל at the beginning of the sentence in 2 Sam 22:4 and Ps 18:4 appears awkward. Kraus believes that the MT of Ps 18:4 is “hardly possible” and emends to “pierced” (מְהַלֵּל) (*Psalms 1–59*, 255). However, the same word and sequence appear in the parallel passage of 2 Sam 22:4. In addition, GKC notes other cases of an emphatic appositive in which a description stands before the noun it modifies (428). Four out of the seven occurrences of the Pual participle have identical wording (Pss 48:2; 96:4; 145:3; 1 Chr 16:25): “YHWH is great and very praiseworthy” (גדול יהוה ומהלל מאד). Psalms 48, 96, and 145 may share a common liturgical influence. But 2 Chr 16 depends on the text of Ps 96 because it uses a larger portion of the psalm and combines it with Pss 105 and 106.

³⁹⁴ BDB 238–39; HALOT 249; DCH 2:561; GKC 357; IBHS 620; Joüon 384. The chief argument that the Pual participle is gerundive is its close connection with the adjective ‘great’ (גדול) in four cases (Pss 48:2; 96:4; 145:3; 1 Chr 16:25). This context shows that it conveys an attribute rather than an action.

praise? That question is difficult to answer unless the name is a metonymy for YHWH, in which case the name is understood to possess all of YHWH's praiseworthy attributes. In Ps 113:2, the speaker expresses the wish that YHWH's name would be blessed at all times. Verse 3 then provides the reason: "From the rising of the sun to its setting, the name of YHWH is praiseworthy (מהלל)." This is a spatial reference rather than a temporal one: YHWH's name is able to evoke praise in all those living on the earth, from east to west.

As we saw above, the Qal passive participle ברוך can be translated 'possessing blessing' if 'blessing' is understood as 'a beneficial power.' Once again, we may ask, what beneficial powers does a name possess? The answer seems to be the powers of YHWH. The concluding doxology in Ps 72:18–19 illustrates both 'having blessing' and 'glorious.' In v. 18, YHWH is called 'blessed' (ברוך יהוה), and then immediately v. 19 uses the same formula for the divine name (ברוך שם כבודו). In this verse, YHWH's name is described as 'glorious' (שם כבודו), and it is immediately followed by a wish for YHWH's 'glory' to fill the whole earth (ימלא כבודו את־כל הארץ). This line echoes antecedent biblical texts (Num 14:21; Isa 6:3)³⁹⁵ that deal with the manifestation of divine

³⁹⁵ Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 80; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 209, 218.

presence as light. That means that the ‘glory’ in view here is light not reputation. A name cannot emit light, but the God standing behind the name is able to shine in that way.

It must be granted that the other four descriptions of YHWH’s name are not limited to YHWH: God’s temple is called ‘holy’ (Ps 65:5); the sea is described as ‘great’ (Ps 104:25); the deeds of the king are ‘awesome’ (Ps 45:5); and the works of the righteous are ‘good’ (Ps 34:15). However, the accumulation of descriptions applied both to YHWH and to the divine name indicates the special identity of the two.

Prepositions

The fourth argument for metonymy is the use of prepositions with objects. Although this only applies to two of the four verbs of praise, it is another important piece of evidence.³⁹⁶

The verbs ידה and זמר use the preposition ל with some objects.³⁹⁷ The verb ידה occurs 38 times without the preposition³⁹⁸ and 25 times with it.³⁹⁹ The verb זמר occurs 14 times

³⁹⁶ The object of the verb הלל takes the ל preposition in late books (BDB 238; *HALOT* 249; *DCH* 2:560–61): Ezra 3:11 (2x); 1 Chr 16:4, 36; 23:5, 30; 25:3; 29:13; 2 Chr 5:13 (2x); 20:19; 29:30; 30:21. In one case (1 Chr 29:13), the object is שם. But this does not constitute clear evidence of metonymy because marking the direct object with the preposition ל is a feature of Late Classical Hebrew (*IBHS* 184).

³⁹⁷ Waltke and O’Connor note that some Hebrew verbs take both direct objects and prepositional objects (*IBHS* 165).

³⁹⁸ Pss 7:18; 9:2; 18:50; 28:7; 30:10, 13; 35:18; 42:6, 12; 43:4, 5; 44:9; 52:11; 54:8; 57:10; 67:4 (2x), 6 (2x); 71:22; 76:11; 86:12; 88:11; 89:6; 99:3; 108:4; 109:30; 111:1; 118:19, 21, 28; 119:7; 138:1, 2, 4; 139:14; 142:8; 145:10.

³⁹⁹ Pss 6:6; 30:5; 33:2; 75:2; 79:13; 92:2; 97:12; 100:4; 105:1; 106:1, 47; 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31; 118:1, 29; 119:62; 122:4; 136:1, 2, 3, 26; 140:14.

without the preposition⁴⁰⁰ and 20 times with it.⁴⁰¹ When the object lacks the preposition, it is the direct object and the content of praise. But when the object has the ל preposition, it is the indirect object, and the stress is on the direction of the praise. For example, in the case of the verb זמר, this is the difference between “I sing praise *of* YHWH (without the preposition)” and “I sing praise *to* YHWH (with the preposition).” When the word שם is the object of these verbs, it occurs both with and without the ל preposition. With the verb ידה, the word occurs three times with the preposition⁴⁰² and five times without it.⁴⁰³ In the case of the verb זמר, the numbers are the same: the word שם occurs three times with the preposition⁴⁰⁴ and five times without it.⁴⁰⁵ These six times that שם appears with the preposition ל picture YHWH’s name as an entity toward which praise can be directed. However, a name is not an entity. Therefore, in these cases, the name must be standing in by metonymy for YHWH, the personal entity to whom praise is offered. This observation

⁴⁰⁰ Pss 7:18; 9:3; 21:14; 30:13; 47:7; 57:10; 61:9; 66:2, 4; 68:5, 33; 108:4; 138:1; 147:1.

⁴⁰¹ Pss 9:12; 18:50; 27:6; 30:5; 33:2; 47:7; 66:4; 71:22, 23; 75:10; 92:2; 98:5; 101:1; 104:33; 105:2; 135:3; 144:9; 146:2; 147:7; 149:3.

⁴⁰² Pss 106:47; 122:4; 140:14. The ל preposition also appears twice (Pss 30:5; 97:12) with the object ‘mention’ (זכר). I will show below that this is an alternative for ‘name’ (שם).

⁴⁰³ Pss 44:9; 54:8; 99:3; 138:2; 142:8.

⁴⁰⁴ Pss 18:50; 92:2; 135:3.

⁴⁰⁵ Pss 7:18; 9:3; 61:9; 66:4; 68:5.

does not eliminate cases in which אֱלֹהִים does not have the preposition from consideration as metonymies. Those examples can be established as metonymies on the basis of the other evidence presented in this chapter.

Interchangeability

The fifth argument for metonymy is interchangeability.⁴⁰⁶ In the context of some psalms, the word אֱלֹהִים is interchangeable with YHWH. This is true at four levels, moving from smallest to largest: the colon, the bicolon, the immediate context, and the context of the psalm as a whole. There are examples for all four verbs of praise.

Consider two examples of interchangeability at the level of the poetic colon:⁴⁰⁷

- (1) All the earth bows down to you,
and they sing praise to you; they sing praise of your name (שִׁמְחָה).
(Ps 66:4)
- (2) Enter his gates with thanksgiving,
his courts with praise.
Give thanks to him; bless his name (שִׁמְחָה). (Ps 100:4)

Example (1) involves a bicolon. In the second colon, the verb זָמַר is used twice. In both cases, the subject is “all the earth” (a LOCATION FOR LOCATED conceptual metonymy⁴⁰⁸)

⁴⁰⁶ The language of “interchangability” comes from F. V. Reiterer, “ שִׁמְחָה ,” *TDOT* 15:136; *HALOT* 1550.

⁴⁰⁷ Another example of interchangeability at the level of the colon is Ps 96:2.

⁴⁰⁸ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 281–81. See ch. 5 for more discussion of the metonymic

from the first colon, and the verb is third-person masculine plural, but in the first case the object is YHWH, and in the second case the object is YHWH's name. Next, example (2) involves a tricolon. The first two cola are tightly tied together by grammatical parallelism and verbal ellipsis of the imperative “enter” (בֹּאוּ), leaving the third colon standing on its own. The third colon addresses two masculine plural imperatives to the same audience, but the action shifts from movement to praise (יִרְדֵּה, בִּרְדָּה). In the first case, the object is YHWH, and in the second case it is the divine name. Both of these examples could be considered internal or inner-colonic parallelism.

Interchangeability most frequently occurs at the level of the bicolon. Consider the following examples:⁴⁰⁹

- (3) It is good to give thanks to YHWH,
and to sing praise to your name (לְשִׁמְךָ), Most High. (Ps 92:2)
- (4) Praise Yah, for YHWH is good;
sing praise to his name (לְשִׁמּוֹ), for it is pleasant. (135:3)

The cola of example (3) are grammatically parallel: predicate adjective, infinitive construct, object with the preposition לְ. Since the adjective ‘good’ (טוֹב) is elided in the second colon, there is room for an added vocative at the end. In the first case the object is

subjects of praise.

⁴⁰⁹ For interchanges of YHWH and YHWH's name in bicola, see also 7:18; 9:3; 18:50; 44:9; 54:8; 68:5; 69:31; 103:1; 113:1; 135:1; 145:1, 2; 149:3.

YHWH and in the second the divine name. As a whole, the bicolon says the same thing twice: once as an objective statement and once as a prayer directed to YHWH. Example (4) is also grammatically parallel: masculine plural imperative, object, **כי** clause. Both cola call on the same audience to engage in praise. Once again, the object shifts from YHWH to YHWH's name.

Interchange also takes place within the immediate literary context, often in the introduction of a psalm.⁴¹⁰ For example, consider the opening of Psalm 138:

- (5) I thank you with my whole heart;
 before divine beings I sing your praise;
 I bow down toward your holy temple,
 and I thank your name (שמך). (Ps 138:1–2)

In example (5), the first verse uses two verbs of praise (זמר, ידה) with YHWH as object.

Then the second verse repeats the identical first verb “I thank” (אודה) with the divine name as object. This interchange in close proximity gives the impression that the same object is in view here. Next, consider the introduction of Psalm 145:

- (6) I exalt you, my God the King,
 and I bless your name (שמך) forever and ever.
 Every day I bless you,
 and I praise your name (שמך) forever and ever. (Ps 145:1–2)

⁴¹⁰ For other examples of interchange at the beginning of a psalm, see Pss 103:1–2; 135:1–3; 149:1–3.

These two verses in example (6) consist of two poetic bicola, both of which exhibit the same pattern: the speaker praises YHWH in the first colon and YHWH's name in the second colon. By itself, this pattern illustrates the claim that the divine name is a metonymy for the divine self, but the point is made even more clear in the transition between the bicola. The identical verb "I bless" (אברכה) is repeated at the end of v. 1 and at the beginning of v. 2, but the object shifts: the speaker blesses YHWH and YHWH's name in quick succession. Again, the interchange suggests that the same object is in view.

The final type of interchangeability appears at the level of the psalm as a whole.

For example, Psalm 106 has a loose inclusio or envelope structure: the psalm begins and ends with the verb ידה (vv. 1, 47) and the noun תהלה (vv. 2, 47).⁴¹¹ These are the only two occurrences of the verb ידה in the psalm. At the beginning of the psalm, the speaker exhorts Israel to praise YHWH in the present for past works of loyalty. At the end of the psalm, the speaker asks that YHWH will restore Israel so that they will praise in the future. The time setting is different, but the psalm stresses the continuity of activity for YHWH and Israel. In the first case, the object of the verb ידה is YHWH (ליהוה), but in the second case the object of the verb is YHWH's name (לשם קדשך). In addition, Psalm 148 has two major sections: verses 1–6 call upon creatures in the heavens to praise YHWH,

⁴¹¹ Verse 48 is not part of the original composition of Ps 106. It is the doxology for the fourth book of Psalms. Therefore, I treat v. 47 as the end of the psalm.

and vv. 7–14 call upon creatures on earth to praise. Each section begins with the imperative “praise YHWH” (הללו את־יהוה, vv. 1, 7), and each section concludes with a jussive reformulation of this same thought: “let them praise the name of YHWH” (יהללו את־שם יהוה, vv. 7, 13). This is the same activity performed by the same creatures that is described both as praising YHWH and as praising YHWH’s name.

We have seen interchangeability between YHWH and YHWH’s name at four levels in the Psalms: the colon, the bicolon, the immediate context, and the psalm as a whole. At the levels of the colon and bicolon, poetic parallelism is often involved. Specifically, YHWH and YHWH’s name are grammatically parallel as objects of praise, suggesting that they are also semantically parallel in some way. But there are examples of interchange within the bicolon where parallelism is less important. In addition, the same phenomenon at the levels of immediate context and the psalm as a whole shows that the interchangeability of YHWH and YHWH’s name is not dependent on parallelism. It is noteworthy that, of the eight examples presented in this section, all eight showed the same direction of shift in the object.⁴¹² YHWH was always mentioned first, and the divine name was always given second. Therefore, although we have used the language of

⁴¹² Psalm 69:31 is a rare exception to the rule. The bicolon begins a section with YHWH’s name and then uses a pronoun referring to YHWH. Psalm 149:3 has the name-pronoun order in the bicolon, but the shift is actually from YHWH to the divine name in the immediate context (vv. 1–3).

“interchange,” the change has been primarily in same direction. As Robert Alter has observed, there is often a literal-to-figurative movement between poetic cola: “Again and again, the biblical poets will introduce a common noun in the first verset and match it with a kind of explanatory epithet—or, more interesting, a metaphorical substitution—in the second verset.”⁴¹³ Here, however, the movement has been toward metonymy.

We have seen five pieces of evidence that, when אש is the object of verbs of praise, it is a metonymy for YHWH. This is a contextual linguistic metonymy: that is, it is produced by the context of use rather than the semantics of the word. Next, we may move to the conceptual level to ask, what conceptual metonymy motivates this linguistic expression? Two observations will assist in making this judgment. First, when it is the object of verbs of praise, אש always has a pronominal suffix referring to YHWH. Since the noun אש does not involve action, the suffix cannot be subjective or objective. Therefore, this suffix is best understood as a possessive genitive. In particular, it should be characterized as a genitive of inalienable possession since it is intrinsic to its possessor.⁴¹⁴ Second, we should recall that Peirsman and Geeraerts identify four types of

⁴¹³ Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 15. In addition to metaphor, he also notes a “synecdochic substitution” (20), which a cognitive linguist would call metonymy.

⁴¹⁴ *IBHS* 145.

contiguity relationships: part-whole, containment, contact, and adjacency.⁴¹⁵ The first three do not apply in this case: YHWH's name is not part of,⁴¹⁶ contained within, or in contact with the divine self. Rather, the contiguity relationship is best described as one of conceptual adjacency. YHWH and YHWH's name are pictured as participants in the state of possession.⁴¹⁷ With these pieces in place, we may describe the conceptual metonymy as POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR.

The Noun זכר

Besides YHWH, the most common object of the praise verbs in the Psalms is YHWH's name (שם). The previous section made the case that, in these examples, the word שם serves as a metonymy for YHWH. The present section investigates the seven times that other divine attributes serve as objects of praise and draws the same conclusion. Since the examples in Psalms 30 and 97 share identical language, they will be treated together. The three examples that occur within a single psalm, Psalm 56, will also be treated together.

⁴¹⁵ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 279.

⁴¹⁶ I disagree with Minkoff, who says, "*Shem* is used as a sort of synecdoche, where a part represents the whole" ("The 'Name' of God," 232).

⁴¹⁷ Peirsman and Geeraerts note that participants in the spatio-temporal realm can relate by means of states as well as actions, events, and processes ("Metonymy," 312, n. 11).

Further, the examples in Psalms 21 and 89 should be grouped together because of their similarity. Those groupings result in three sets of examples.

The same poetic colon appears twice in the Psalms:

- (7) Sing praise to YHWH, his loyal ones,
and give thanks to his holy name (והודו לזכר קדשו). (Ps 30:5)
- (8) Rejoice, righteous ones, in YHWH,
and give thanks to his holy name (והודו לזכר קדשו). (Ps 97:12)

Example (7) appears in an individual song of thanksgiving⁴¹⁸ for a person who has perhaps recovered from a serious illness (v. 3). The psalm has two major sections (vv. 2–6, 7–13). The first section is a summary of the speaker's thankful response, and the second recounts in more detail the stages of recovery. Verse 5 ends the first section with a call for worshippers in the temple to join in rendering thanks to YHWH. By contrast, example (8) is found in a divine kingship hymn⁴¹⁹ that celebrates YHWH's theophany as righteous judge (vv. 1–5). Creatures in heaven and on earth react with terror and joy (vv. 6–9). Finally, the speaker calls on YHWH's people to respond to their salvation with righteous lives and praise (vv. 10–12). Verse 12 is the final verse of the psalm.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*, 133.

⁴¹⁹ Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 2*, 191.

⁴²⁰ Hossfeld and Zenger observe that Psalm 97 appropriates the language of other psalms (*Psalms* 2, 471). For example, v. 2 refers to Ps 89:15, v. 4 to Ps 77:19, v. 6 to Ps 50:6, v. 8 to Ps 48:12, v. 9 to Ps 83:19, and vv. 11–12 to Ps 64:11. Therefore, it is likely that Ps 97:12 is dependent on Ps 30:5.

The word for ‘name’ in these two examples is not שם but rather זכר.⁴²¹ Since the verb זכר means ‘to remember’ in the Qal stem,⁴²² the noun is sometimes thought to mean ‘remembrance’ or ‘memorial.’⁴²³ However, the noun זכרון, which means ‘memorial,’ is derived from the verb זכר in the Qal stem.⁴²⁴ The noun זכר relates to the Hiphil stem of the same verb, which means ‘to mention.’⁴²⁵ The Hiphil of זכר takes the noun שם as object 10 times.⁴²⁶ This expression means ‘to mention’ a name not to remember it.⁴²⁷ Examples such as Ps 6:6 demonstrate that the noun has this meaning as well: “In death there is no mention of you (זכרד); in Sheol who will give thanks to you?” In context, the

⁴²¹ Childs says, “The *šēm* is the name which has been spoken while *zēkher* describes the act of utterance. The former is the result of an action; the latter the action itself. Yahweh reveals his essence to Moses in his eternal name (*šēmî lē ‘ōlām*), while the cultic pronunciation of the name throughout the generations is his *zēkher* (Ex. 3.15)” (*Memory and Tradition in Israel*, (SBT 37; London: SCM, 1962) 71).

⁴²² BDB 270–71; *HALOT* 269–70; *DCH* 3:105–8.

⁴²³ BDB 271; *DCH* 3:111.

⁴²⁴ Brevard Childs, *Memory and Tradition*, 66.

⁴²⁵ BDB 271; *HALOT* 271; *DCH* 3:111. See also *TDOT* 4:76–77; *TLOT* 1:385; *NIDOTTE* 1:1104–5; Childs, *Memory and Tradition*, 73.

⁴²⁶ Six times שם is the direct object (Exod 20:24; 23:23; 2 Sam 18:18; Isa 26:13; 49:1; Ps 48:18), and four times it is the indirect object (Josh 23:7; Amos 6:10; Isa 48:1; Ps 20:8).

⁴²⁷ Kraus (*Psalms 1–59*, 352) and Goldingay (*Psalms 1–41*, 423) do not make this distinction in Ps 30:5, but Craigie and Tate correctly translate זכר as ‘holy name’ in that passage (*Psalms 1–50*, 250). Kraus (*Psalms 60–150*, 257) and Tate (*Psalms 51–100*, 516–18) both translate זכר as ‘holy name’ in Ps 97:12, as does BDB 271.

point is not the ability to remember but the ability to speak in the grave.⁴²⁸ In addition, however, the noun זכר can also mean the ‘thing mentioned,’ that is, the ‘name.’ It appears in parallelism with שם five times.⁴²⁹ Hosea 12:6 is a clear example of this meaning: “YHWH the God of hosts, YHWH is his name (זכרו).” The senses ‘mention’ and ‘name’ are related by lexical metonymy. This is a case of the conceptual pattern ACTION FOR PATIENT.⁴³⁰

In addition to lexical metonymy, it is also possible to argue for contextual metonymy in examples (7) and (8) on the basis of the types of evidence discussed above. First, the verb ידה responds to an action performed by its object. But YHWH’s name did not perform the key actions in Psalms 30 and 97—healing from illness and arriving as righteous judge. Rather, YHWH is the agent of these actions. Second, YHWH’s name is described as ‘holy’ (קדש), a description that applies to the deity as well. Third, the preposition ‘to’ (ל) directs praise toward an entity, but the name of YHWH is not itself an entity. Fourth, in both examples, the first colon refers to YHWH and the second to the divine name. Indeed, apart from the vocatives, the bicola are grammatically parallel:

⁴²⁸ “The problem arises from the failure of the dead to share in the praise of Yahweh which characterizes Israel’s worship (cf. Ps 88:11; Isa 38:18)” (Childs, *Memory and Tradition*, 71).

⁴²⁹ Exod 3:15; Isa 26:8; Ps 135:13; Job 18:17; Prov 10:7.

⁴³⁰ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 293.

plural imperative, preposition, object. YHWH and YHWH's name serve the same grammatical function. Thus, there is an interchange within the bicolon. The same interchange continues in the larger context of Psalm 30: the verb ידה is used twice more with YHWH as the object (vv. 10, 13). Thus, there is good evidence for contextual metonymy in these two examples. As in the cases in which שם is the object of praise verbs, the conceptual pattern involved is POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR.

PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER

Psalm 56 is an individual lament psalm⁴³¹ with a focus on the theme of trust. The verb הלל occurs three times in the psalm (vv. 5, 11). In all three cases, the verb is followed by the word 'message' (דבר). In the first case, there is a possessive pronoun (דברו), but in the second and third occurrences, the noun is absolute (דבר). The context raises two important questions. First, how does the noun דבר relate to the verb הלל? Is it used adverbially (i.e., the speaker's message),⁴³² as the object of the verb (i.e., God's message), or in some other way?⁴³³ Second, why do the second and third examples lack the

⁴³¹ Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*, 221.

⁴³² In v. 5, the LXX has 'my words' (τοὺς λόγους μου), apparently reading דברי instead of the MT's דברו. The fact that the translator does not use possessive pronouns in v. 11 suggests that he is staying close to his Hebrew text. The variant could have arisen on the basis of graphic confusion between the letters *waw* and *yod*. Or it could have been influenced by the presence of דברי in the following v. 6.

⁴³³ Dahood takes אהלל as reflexive and באלהים as the indirect object: "Of God do I boast" (*Psalms 51–100*, 43). Since this move leaves the final word hanging, he then emends דְּבַר to דְּבַר and treats it as a

pronominal suffix? Should v. 5 be emended to match v. 11? Should v. 11 be emended to match v. 5?⁴³⁴ Or is there a reason for the variation between them? One can answer these questions by observing that vv. 5 and 11–12 are variant refrains with staircase parallelism (table 15).

Table 15. Comparison of Psalm 56:5 and 11–12

(9) Ps 56:5	vv. 11–12
באלהים אהלל דברו באלהים בטחתי לא אירא מהיעשה בשר לי	באלהים אהלל דבר ביהוה אהלל דבר באלהים בטחתי לא אירא מהיעשה אדם לי
In God—I praise his message— in God I trust. I am not afraid; what can flesh do to me?	In God—I praise <u>a</u> message— in <u>YHWH</u> —I praise <u>a</u> message— in God I trust. I am not afraid; what can <u>humanity</u> do to me?

Wilfred Watson has defined staircase parallelism as a poetic bicolon with repeated, intervening, and complementary elements.⁴³⁵ The first colon introduces a thought (A) but

vocative: “O slanderer!” Despite Ps 44:9, the reflexive use of הלל in the Piel stem is unlikely. Also, he attributes a negative nuance to the normally neutral verb דבר and posits a vocative, even though the speaker does not address enemies elsewhere in the psalm.

⁴³⁴ In v. 11, Kraus emends דבר to דברו in light of v. 5 (*Psalms 1–59*, 525). This is odd, since he also deletes the parallel portion of v. 5. Bardtke, the BHS editor, also notes this proposal.

⁴³⁵ Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* (JSOTSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1984), 150–56. Although Watson does not discuss Psalm 56, this example clearly fits his description of staircase parallelism. It is more common for the intervening element to be a vocative, but he cites some examples where it is not (e.g., Pss 29:7–8; 124:1–2; 129:1–2; Lam 4:15; Eccl 1:2).

then interrupts the thought with an intervening element (C). The second colon then repeats the thought (A) and adds a complementary element (B). In v. 5 of example (9), “in God” begins a sentence, which is interrupted by a parenthetical idea: “I praise his message.” Then the phrase is repeated and completed: “In God I trust.” If “in God” (באלהים) is the object of the verb “I trust” (בטחתי), then “his message” (דברו) can serve as the object of the verb “I praise” (אהלל).⁴³⁶ In addition, the lack of pronominal suffixes in v. 11 is not a problem when one realizes that vv. 11–12 are a variant refrain of v. 5.⁴³⁷ In addition to the variation in suffixes, the second refrain differs in two other ways. First, it climactically repeats the first colon, specifying that YHWH is God.⁴³⁸ Second, it specifies that ‘flesh’ (בשר) refers to ‘humans’ (אדם).⁴³⁹ In both of these cases, the author assumes

⁴³⁶ Most commentators agree that דברו is the object of אהלל, but they fail to identify the staircase parallelism. Influenced by Johnson, Tate believes that באלהים is adverbial: “By God’s (help) I will be able to praise his word” (*Psalms 51–100*, 65). But this requires introducing the idea of divine help, and it requires באלהים to serve different syntactic functions in the same verse. Others understand דברו אהלל as an unmarked relative clause: “In God, whose word I praise . . .” (Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 524–25; Goldingay, *Psalms 42–89*, 181–82; Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 58). This solution has to supply the relative pronoun, and it fails to explain why באלהים is repeated.

⁴³⁷ Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 295–96. Watson notes that the final refrain is often longer, forming a climax (297), which is the case here.

⁴³⁸ Drawing on Raabe, Hossfeld and Zenger observe that אלהים occurs nine times in the psalm (vv. 2, 5 [2x], 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) and that the divine name in v. 11 makes a total of ten (*Psalms 2*, 60). Note also that YHWH occurs in the significant seventh position. This is evidence that the expansion of the refrain is an authorial strategy rather than a scribal interpolation.

⁴³⁹ The change between refrains is a shift from metonymic vehicle to target. This is an example of CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY in the categorial realm (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 303). An unbounded characteristic (flesh) stands for an unbounded whole (humanity). For more on this metonymy, see chapter 5.

the content of v. 5 and builds upon it. Therefore, we can conclude that we are meant to understand the ‘message’ of v. 11 as God’s ‘message’ from v. 5.

The first thing to note is that, while דבר often means ‘word,’ in this context it actually means ‘message.’⁴⁴⁰ The speaker is not concerned with a single word but rather with a message of reassurance received from God.⁴⁴¹ There is a metonymic relationship between these two meanings. However, since this involves a semantic shift within the word, the metonymy is taking place on the lexical level. In the categorial realm, the message is pictured as a bounded collection of discrete words, and one of these words stands for the entire collection. Thus, we can characterize the conceptual pattern motivating the lexical polysemy as INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION.⁴⁴²

Next, we may inquire about the relationship between the ‘message’ and God. Once again, we are dealing with metonymy but this time at the grammatical level. Arguments from interchange, distribution, and meaning support this claim. In v. 5 of example (9), the staircase parallelism allows the author to imbed the praise of God’s word within the trust of God. There is a shift from God, to God’s word, and back to God in the

⁴⁴⁰ BDB 182–84; *HALOT* 211–12; *DCH* 2:397–411.

⁴⁴¹ The metonymy is perhaps difficult for English speakers to recognize because דבר and *word* have similar semantic ranges (*NOAD* 1990): that is, *word* can mean both ‘a single distinct meaningful element of speech’ (core sense) and ‘a message’ (subsense).

⁴⁴² Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 304–6.

space of a single verse. Verse 11 of example (9) exhibits the same shift, but the omission of the suffixes emphasizes even more the identity of God and God's word. Also, this is the only time in the Hebrew Bible in which someone praises God's word. YHWH is the prototypical object of the verb הלל. Finally, the verb הלל praises the essence or attributes of its object. What attributes does the 'message' have that are worthy of praise? We are not told. However, we do read that God has the power to save the speaker from his or her enemies (e.g., v. 14). For these reasons, it appears that 'message' is a metonymy for God in Psalm 56.

What kind of metonymic pattern is this? Let us begin with the noun and suffix in v. 5. "His message" (דברו) is a genitive of authorship.⁴⁴³ God uttered a particular message to the speaker of the psalm. God is the agent of the action, and the message is its patient. Thus, God and the divine message are conceptualized as adjacent participants in the action of speaking. Both the participants and the action are bounded entities. We could say that this is a case of PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER in the spatio-temporal realm.

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY

In two cases, verbs of praise take divine characteristics as objects:

⁴⁴³ *IBHS* 143.

- (10) Be exalted, YHWH, by your strength!
We will sing and praise your might (גְּבוּרַתְךָ).⁴⁴⁴ (Ps 21:14)
- (11) Let the heavens⁴⁴⁵ thank your wonder (פְּלִאָה), YHWH,
your faithfulness (אֱמוּנָתְךָ) in the assembly of holy ones. (Ps 89:6)

Psalm 21 is a royal thanksgiving psalm.⁴⁴⁶ Verse 1 opens the psalm by affirming the king's trust in YHWH's power. The psalm then has two sections: vv. 2–8 recount YHWH's past care for the king, and vv. 9–13 address the king and promise him victory over his enemies with divine help. Finally, in example (10) the voice of the people emerges: they call on YHWH to act again and promise praise. By contrast, Psalm 89 is a royal lament. Verses 2–19 describe YHWH as the heavenly king; vv. 20–38 describe the earthly rule of the Davidic dynasty; and vv. 39–52 lament the loss of the monarchy in the exile and pray for its restoration in the future. Occurring in the first section, example (11) depicts the response of the angels in heaven to God's covenant with David (vv. 4–5).

⁴⁴⁴ The MT has a singular form “your might” (גְּבוּרַתְךָ), but a few Hebrew manuscripts, the LXX, and the Targum read the word as a plural: “your mighty deeds” (גְּבוּרֹתֶיךָ). It is possible that the *yod* of the plural was lost in the MT, but the context favors retaining the singular form. In v. 14, the people anticipate responding to a future act of YHWH on behalf of the king, not a series of deeds. In addition, the first colon employs the attribute “your strength” (עֹז), and v. 14 forms an *inclusio* with v. 2 (יהוה בעֹז), which uses another feminine singular abstract noun (ישועתך) in its second colon. The attempt to frame the psalm with similar language strongly suggests that the singular form is original. Kraus (*Psalms 1-59*, 284), WBC (*Psalms 1-50*, 189), and Goldingay (*Psalms 1-41*, 311) all follow the MT in their translations, as well.

⁴⁴⁵ ‘Heavens’ (שָׁמַיִם) is a metonymy for beings living in heaven, that is, angels. This a LOCATION FOR LOCATED conceptual pattern in the spatial realm (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 281–82). For more on this example, see the next chapter.

⁴⁴⁶ Gerstenberger, *Psalms Part 1*, 106–7.

In example (10), the verb זמר takes “your might” (גבורתך) as object. The strongest argument for metonymy in this case is the distribution of objects. This is the only case in the Hebrew Bible in which the verb זמר takes an object other than YHWH or the divine name.⁴⁴⁷ Even when the verb is absolute, the assumed object is always YHWH.⁴⁴⁸ The weight of this usage suggests that “your might” is a metonymy for YHWH. In example (11), the verb ידה takes both “your wonder” (פלאך) and “your faithfulness” (אמונתך) as objects. The strongest evidence for metonymy here is the meaning of the verb ידה. YHWH’s wonder and faithfulness did not preform an action for which they are to be thanked. Rather, YHWH, who is both wonderful and faithful, established the covenant with David, and the angels respond with thanks. Once again, we have a metonymy for YHWH. In examples (10) and (11), the metonymies highlight the most salient character qualities of YHWH in the contexts.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, they illustrate the conceptual pattern

⁴⁴⁷ There are four occurrences of זמר outside of the Psalter (Jdg 5:3; 2 Sam 22:50; Isa 12:5; 1 Chr 16:9). All four of them occur in poetic passages. 2 Sam 22:50 parallels Ps 18:50, and 1 Chr 16:9 parallels Ps 105:2. 2 Sam 22:50 takes YHWH’s name as object, and the other three take YHWH as object.

⁴⁴⁸ Pss 47:7 (2x), 8; 57:8; 98:4; 108:2.

⁴⁴⁹ Psalm 21 focuses on YHWH’s strength. Although the word ‘might’ (גבורה) only occurs once. The second half of the psalm (vv. 8–13) describes YHWH as a warrior who fights for the king. Indeed, the phrase “YHWH, by your strength” (יהוה בעיך) serves as an inclusio around the entire psalm (vv. 2, 14). Psalm 89 focuses on YHWH’s faithfulness to the Davidic covenant. Although ‘wonder’ (פלא) only occurs once, ‘faithfulness’ (אמונה) appears seven times (vv. 2, 3, 6, 9, 25, 34, 50), and the closely related word ‘loyalty’ (חסד) also occurs seven times (vv. 2, 3, 15, 25, 29, 34, 50). The two words are paired five times (vv. 2, 3, 25, 34, 50).

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY. In the categorial realm of assemblies, the characteristic is unbounded, and the entity is bounded. The directionality of the metonymy can be understood in two different ways: either the characteristic is the whole that stands for YHWH, who is one entity possessing it, or the characteristic is a part of YHWH that stands for the whole. Since all three characteristics have pronominal suffixes that can be described as genitives of quality,⁴⁵⁰ the latter interpretation is more likely.

3. Conclusions

This chapter has three major sections. The first section began by identifying the four most important Hebrew verbs of praise. On the one hand, two of these verbs focus on the reasons for praise: הלל in the Piel stem responds to an essence, and ידה in the Hiphil stem responds to an action. On the other hand, two of the verbs focus on the manner of praise: זמר in the Piel stem is sung praise, and, when the subject is human, ברך in the Piel stem is praise uttered with a blessing formula. The overview then surveyed the objects of these verbs in the Psalter, which provided the raw material for the following sections. YHWH was discovered to be the prototypical object of these verbs. However, YHWH's 'name' (שם) is used as an object 30 times, and other objects appear in a handful of cases as well. In the second section, three conceptual metonymies were discussed: POSSESSED FOR

⁴⁵⁰ *IBHS* 145–46.

POSSESSOR, PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER, and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY. This section argued that, when it is the object of praise verbs, the noun שם is a metonymy for YHWH. Five arguments were marshaled for that thesis: the meaning of the verbs, the distribution of objects, descriptions of YHWH's name, prepositions used with objects, and the interchangeability of YHWH and the divine name. This section also investigated the seven times that other objects of the praise verbs appear as objects. There were three groups of examples: YHWH's 'name' (זכר, Pss 30:5 and 97:12; examples [7] and [8]), 'message' (דבר, Ps 56:5, 11; example [9] [2x]), and other characteristics (Pss 21:14 and 89:6; examples [10] and [11]).

In conclusion, let us revisit the conceptual metonymies identified. Graphic representation will allow us to distinguish and relate them. This is also an opportunity to reflect on the significance of these metonymies. This chapter has been interested primarily in contextual metonymies. In a couple of cases, however, there were metonymic chains with lexical and contextual aspects.

The praise of YHWH's 'name' (זכר) involves the following conceptual patterns in the spatiotemporal realm:

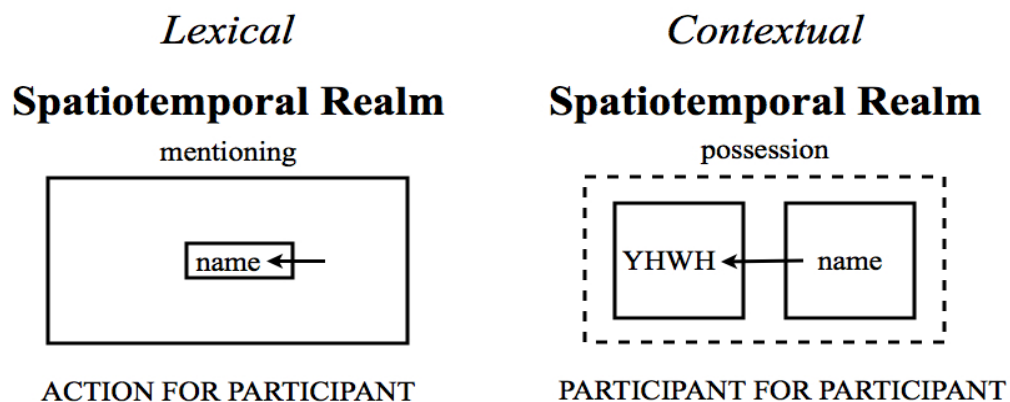


Figure 4.2. Conceptual metonymies for זכר

The noun זכר most often means the act of ‘mentioning,’ but it can also mean ‘the thing mentioned’ or ‘name.’ As fig. 4.2 shows, this is a metonymic link within the semantic structure of the word that is motivated by the conceptual metonymy ACTION FOR PARTICIPANT. The action and the participant are related by containment contiguity. Since the name is the patient of the action of mentioning, we could be even more precise and call this ACTION FOR PATIENT. The next link in the chain moves from the lexical level to the grammatical: in examples (7) and (8), the word זכר has the meaning ‘name,’ but, as the object of the verb ידה, it refers to YHWH. This is a less prototypical metonymy for two reasons. First, YHWH and the divine name are situated within the unbounded state of possession. Metonymies involving unbounded entities are less prototypical than those involving bounded ones. Second, YHWH and the divine name are related by adjacency contiguity; they are discrete participants in the state of possession. In terms of strength of

contact, adjacency is less prototypical than containment. For the purpose of comparison, I have called this conceptual metonymy PARTICIPANT FOR PARTICIPANT, but it can also be specified as POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR.

Another example involving lexical and contextual metonymies is the praise of God's 'message' in example (9). Consider the following diagram:

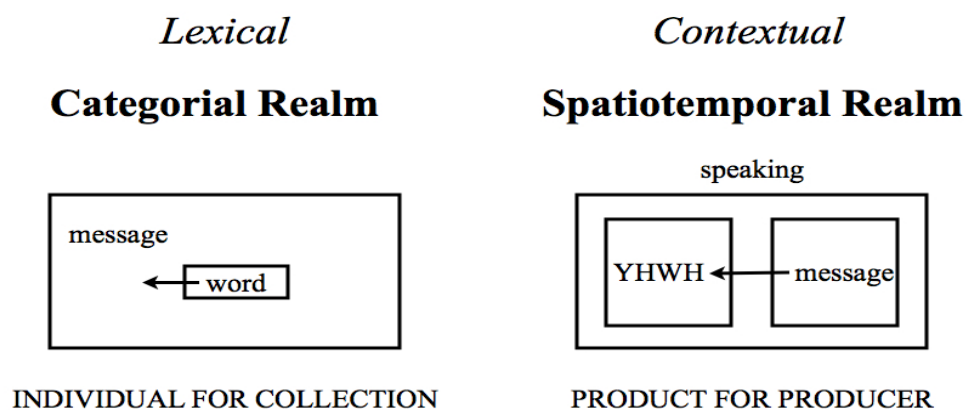


Figure 4.3. Conceptual metonymies for דבר

The noun דבר prototypically means 'word,' but in example (9), it means 'message.' The speaker is not concerned with a single word but rather with a specific message of comfort that he or she has received from God. In the categorial realm, the message is conceptualized as a collection of discreet words. The message and its words are bounded entities, and they have a containment relationship (fig. 4.3). When a single word stands for the entire message, we have a case of INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION. At the contextual level, the metonymy takes place in the spatiotemporal realm and is, therefore, more

prototypical. YHWH and the message are discreet participants situated within the bounded action of speaking. Since YHWH produces the message, the contiguity relationship is one of adjacency. Since the message is the source of the metonymy and YHWH its target, the conceptual pattern is PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER.

Another conceptual pattern appears in examples (10) and (11). Consider the following diagram (fig. 4.4) that uses ‘might’ (גבורה) as an example:

Categorial Realm



CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY

Figure 4.4. Conceptual metonymy for גבורה

There are two possible options for understanding the metonymy CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY. On the one hand, one could picture the characteristic as an unbounded whole and YHWH as a bounded part of that whole. This is a WHOLE FOR PART metonymy and an example of what Peirsman and Geeraerts call “individuation.” On the other hand, one could picture YHWH as a bounded whole, an assembly of various unbounded characteristics, one of which is selected to stand for YHWH. This is a PART FOR WHOLE

metonymy. There are three reasons to prefer this latter interpretation. First, since the deity is involved, it is less likely to picture YHWH as one among numerous instantiations of the characteristic. Second, all three examples use pronominal suffixes referring to YHWH (e.g., גבורתך). In other words, the characteristic belongs to YHWH rather than YHWH belonging to the characteristic. Third, in the case of example (11), two characteristics are given (i.e., פלא, אמונה). Therefore, it is necessary, at least in this case, to picture multiple characteristics making up the divine whole. This usage is quite similar to honorific pronouns in English.⁴⁵¹ For example, *Your Majesty* refers to a queen,⁴⁵² *Your Grace* to an archbishop,⁴⁵³ and *Your Honor* to a judge.⁴⁵⁴ In each case, a characteristic is chosen that fits the person's role.⁴⁵⁵ Analogously, the Psalms refer to YHWH as “your might,” “your wonder,” and “your faithfulness.”

Finally, let us return to the the POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR conceptual metonymy:

⁴⁵¹ Peirsman and Geeraerts list *Your Majesty* and *Your Honor* as examples of CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY (“Metonymy,” 303). Minkoff suggests an analogy with the usage of שם: “In dozens of places, ‘name’ may seem to be nothing more than a polite or formal substitution for a honorific pronoun, analogous to *Your Majesty* and *Your Honor* in English” (“The ‘Name’ of God,” 235).

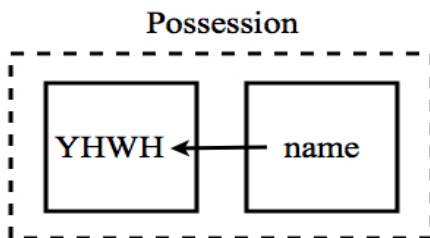
⁴⁵² NOAD 1055.

⁴⁵³ NOAD 752.

⁴⁵⁴ NOAD 835.

⁴⁵⁵ On the referencing and highlighting functions of metonymy, see Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 188–91.

Spatiotemporal Realm



POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR

Figure 4.5. Conceptual metonymy for נש

This is the pattern employed in the 30 examples in which YHWH's 'name' (נש) is praised in the Psalms.⁴⁵⁶ That makes it the most important metonymic object of praise in the Psalter. In the spatiotemporal realm, YHWH and the divine name are situated within the state of possession. The contiguity relation is one of adjacency, and YHWH possesses the divine name as an inalienable possession.

Finally, we should address some possible objections to this thesis. First, in such cases, should נש be translated as 'reputation' or 'revealed character'?⁴⁵⁷ In other words, are we dealing with another sense of the word נש rather than a contextual metonymy?

⁴⁵⁶ Alternatively, one could picture YHWH as a bounded assembly of bounded and unbounded attributes in the categorial realm. YHWH's name would then be a bounded attribute that stands for the whole assembly. This would be a more complex version of Peirsman and Geeraerts's CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY ("Metonymy," 303). However, since נש always has a pronominal suffix referring to YHWH in the examples considered here, I have concluded that POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR is a more accurate description. In any case, it is worth remembering that Peirsman and Geeraerts allow for multiple motivations (286).

⁴⁵⁷ BDB 1028; Minkoff, "The 'Name' of God," 232.

The answer to this objection is logical. A reputation can be built up through the praise of someone's character or deeds, but it does not make sense to praise someone's reputation (e.g., *He praised her fame*). 'Revealed character' makes more sense, but then the cases in which the name is described as, for example, holy would be redundant (e.g., *a holy character including holiness*). These descriptions are not redundant if שם is a metonymy because it refers to YHWH. In that sense, the description actually applies to YHWH and not to the name. Second, is praising the שם meant to be a euphemistic strategy for avoiding the divine name YHWH?⁴⁵⁸ Although השם did become a euphemistic metonymy in later Judaism that was based on biblical texts like the ones that we have been considering,⁴⁵⁹ many examples prove that this is not the case in the Psalms. For example, consider a case in which שם is immediately followed by a vocative: "I thank your name, YHWH (אודה שמך יהוה)" (Ps 54:8). Or take an example where שם is in construct with the divine name: "Praise the name of YHWH (הללו את־שם יהוה)" (Ps 113:1). Third, is שם a hypostasis or emanation of YHWH with a semi-independent personality and existence?⁴⁶⁰ In cases where YHWH's name is praised in the Psalms, the name does not operate

⁴⁵⁸ I have not found anyone who holds this view, but it is a natural connection to make.

⁴⁵⁹ Jastrow 1590–91.

⁴⁶⁰ Mettinger suggests that the praised name could be a hypostasis, but he does not consider it to be an example of Name Theology (*Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 130).

independently of YHWH. It does not have its own existence or character. On the contrary, the name is identified with YHWH. Benjamin Sommer, who has written the most important recent study of hypostases in the Hebrew Bible, does not place the praise of YHWH's name in this category: "The term 'name' in ancient Near Eastern cultures can refer to the essence of any thing and hence can be a cipher for the thing itself. Examples of the identity of God and God's name in the biblical literature abound."⁴⁶¹ According to him, the praised name in the Psalms is not a divine hypostasis; rather, he calls it a "synonym for God." Upon consideration, then, none of these objections stands.

What is the purpose of this metonymy? In other words, what is the difference between praising YHWH directly and praising YHWH's name? It seems best to interpret this expression as highlighting the uniqueness of YHWH's person.⁴⁶² There are several pieces of evidence for this proposal. First, a name is a unique possession. Although humans can share the same name, no other person or deity has the name YHWH. Second, the word **שם** is used as a metonymy for human individuals in other biblical passages.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ Benjamin D. Sommer, *The Bodies of God and the World of Ancient Israel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 59.

⁴⁶² Compare the following English sentence *I want to be a name not a number*. In this example, *name* and *number* are both metonymies for the speaker, but *name* emphasizes personal knowledge and *number* impersonal knowledge. Thus, the sentence could be paraphrased: "I want to be known as a unique person."

⁴⁶³ Citing Numbers 1, van der Woude notes that **שם** can be "an alternative term for a human being" (*TLOT* 3:1362). At the beginning of the chapter, the names belong to counted men (1:5, 17). Then one finds

Third, although humans are praised in a few cases, a human name is never praised in the Hebrew Bible. In the words of Ps 148:13, “Let them praise the name of YHWH, for his name *alone* is exalted.” According to the theology of the Psalter, Israel’s God YHWH is utterly unique among gods and creatures, and praising the divine name is a metonymic expression for emphasizing that incomparability.

the expression “names of their heads” (שמות לגלגלתם, Num 1:2, 18, 20, 22). ‘Head’ is a spatial PART FOR WHOLE metonymy for an individual person (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 280). Finally, the word ‘heads’ is dropped, and the ‘names’ seem to indicate individuals themselves (Num 1:24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42).

Ringgren makes the same point in a discussion of 1 Chr 16:39–41: “šēm plays two roles: it both characterizes the persons in question and marks them as individuals. . . . The same broad meaning is present in Nu 1:17; Ezra 8:20; 1 Chr 12:32; 2 Chr 28:15, 31:19” (*TDOT* 15:144).

CHAPTER 5: THE SUBJECTS OF PRAISE

The previous chapter studied the objects of the verbs of praise in the Psalms. This one considers the subjects of these same verbs. Once again, the goal is to identify and to explain contextual metonymies. As we saw in the previous chapter, YHWH is the supreme object of praise in the Psalms, and YHWH's name (שׁמ) is the dominant metonymic vehicle for the divine target. By contrast, we will see in this chapter that there are many different subjects of praise. As a result, this chapter will require more effort to differentiate metonymic and non-metonymic subjects and to organize the metonymic examples into categories. This chapter has two major sections. The first section provides an overview of the examples in the Psalms, and the second section presents and illustrates four contextual metonymies. The conclusion then summarizes the conceptual patterns of these metonymies.

1. Overview

At the outset, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by “subject of praise.” For the purpose of this chapter, “praise” is defined by the four major verbs of praise taken

together as a group. The verb הלל occurs 75 times in the Piel stem; The verb ידה occurs 67 times, always in the Hiphil stem; the verb זמר occurs 41 times, always in the Piel stem; and the verb ברך occurs 33 times in the Piel stem with a human subject. As a result, the database comprises 216 examples. In addition, this chapter defines “subject” rather broadly. Of course, it includes syntactic subjects such as “We will bless Yah” (אנחנו נברך יה, Ps 115:18). In this case, the pronoun ‘we’ (אנחנו) is the syntactic subject of the verb ‘to bless’ (נברך).⁴⁶⁴ Another large group of examples uses vocatives with imperatives: “Bless our God, peoples” (ברכו עמים אלהינו, Ps 66:8). Here ‘peoples’ (עמים) functions as a vocative, standing in apposition to the second-person pronoun implicit in the imperative ‘bless’ (ברכו).⁴⁶⁵ In other words, the command assumes that the peoples addressed will carry out the action of blessing. Finally, in a few cases, the subject of the verb is specified by an antecedent or subsequent nominal in the context of the psalm. For example, Ps 149:2 says, “Let the children of Zion rejoice in their king.” And then v. 3 adds, “Let them praise his name” (יהללו שמו). Strictly speaking, “children of Zion” (בני־ציון) is not the subject of the verb ‘to praise’ (יהללו), but it is its clear antecedent, and therefore it should be considered here. In sum, under the broad term “subject of praise,” this chapter

⁴⁶⁴ On the nominative function, see *IBHS* 128–30.

⁴⁶⁵ On vocatives, see *IBHS* 76–77.

includes syntactic subjects, vocatives with imperatives, and antecedent or subsequent nominals in context.

Next, since the focus of this chapter is contextual metonymy, it is necessary to clarify the kinds of examples that do not count as such. These are of three types: non-figurative subjects, contextual metaphors, and lexical metonymies. The first excluded category consists of examples with non-figurative subjects: they may have no stated subject beyond the verb conjugation such as “I will praise you” (אֶהְלֵלְךָ, Ps 22:23), or they may have an explicit subject that is not figurative in nature as in “Let the peoples thank you” (יִדְוֹךָ עַמִּים, Ps 67:4). In either case, such examples are excluded because they do not employ metonymy.

The second excluded category is metaphoric subjects. Consider the following examples:

- (1) Then we, your people, the flock of your pasture,
will give thanks to you forever;
from generation to generation we will recount your
praiseworthiness. (Ps 79:13)⁴⁶⁶
- (2) Praise YHWH, Jerusalem!
Praise your God, Zion!
For he strengthens the bars of your gates;
he blesses your children within you. (Ps 147:12–13)⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ Using similar language, Pss 95:7 and 100:3 connect the shepherd metaphor to praise.

⁴⁶⁷ For another example of this metaphor, see Ps 149:2–3: “Let Israel be glad in his maker; let the

- (3) Praise him, sun and moon;
 praise him, all shining stars!
 Praise him, highest heavens,
 and waters above the heavens! (Ps 148:3–4)⁴⁶⁸

Example (1) calls the people “the flock of your pasture” (צאן מרעיתך). By depicting the people as sheep belonging to YHWH, it employs the conceptual metaphor GOD IS A SHEPHERD.⁴⁶⁹ The source is animal husbandry, and the target is Israel’s relationship with its God. Example (2) is more complex. The feminine imperatives (שבחי, הללי) and pronominal suffixes indicate that Jerusalem/Zion is personified as a female worshipper. In addition, the inhabitants of the city are pictured as her children. Therefore, the conceptual metaphor IS A CITY IS A WOMAN.⁴⁷⁰ In this context, Zion and Jerusalem are used

children of Zion rejoice in their king. Let them praise his name with dancing; with tambourine and lyre let them sing praise to him.”

⁴⁶⁸ For another example of this metaphor, see Ps 69:35: “Let heavens and earth praise him, the seas and everything that creeps in them.” Although this verse employs a tripartite reference to creation, the members function differently within the poetic bicolon. In the first colon, “heavens and earth” (שמים וארץ) is a merism, including the heavens, the earth, and all of their creatures. Using the same elided verb, the second colon then differentiates the “seas” (ימים) from the creeping creatures that live within them (Goldingay, *Psalms 42–89*, 354).

⁴⁶⁹ For various treatments of this metaphor from a cognitive perspective, see Pierre Van Hecke, “Are People Walking after or before God?” 37–71; idem, “Polysemy or Homonymy in the Root(s) r’h in Biblical Hebrew,” 50–67; idem, “Shepherds and Linguists: A Cognitive-Linguistic Approach to the Metaphor ‘God is Shepherd’ in Genesis 48,15 and Context,” in *Studies in the Book of Genesis* (ed. A Wénin; BETL; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001), 479–93; idem, “Pastoral Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and its Ancient Near Eastern Context,” in *The Old Testament in Its World: Papers Read at the Winter Meeting, January 2003, The Society for Old Testament Study and at the Joint Meeting, July 2003, The Society of Old Testament Studies and Het Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland en België* (ed. R. P. Gordon and J. C. De Moor; OS 52; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 200–217.

⁴⁷⁰ On this metaphor, see Christl M. Maier, *Daughter Zion, Mother Zion: Gender, Space, and the*

as synonyms. Zion stands in parallelism with the city of Jerusalem and possesses gates and internal space for people. However, Zion originally referred to the southeastern hill of the city, the site where David first conquered the stronghold of the Jebusites (2 Sam 5:7).⁴⁷¹ Through the ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY metonymy,⁴⁷² the hill stands for the city with which it is physically associated. Since the metaphor requires the prior metonymy, this is a case of metaphor from metonymy.⁴⁷³ Finally, in example (3), the speaker addresses components of the heavenly architecture: sun, moon, and stars. “The waters” (המים) refer to the celestial ocean supported by the dome of the sky, and “the highest heavens” (שמי השמים) refer to the space above that ocean inhabited by YHWH and the angels. Since the previous verse (v. 2) refers to angels, the context clearly indicates that this is personification rather than a metonymy in which the heavens stand for their inhabitants (on which see below). The conceptual metaphor operative throughout Psalm 148 is THINGS ARE WORSHIPPERS.⁴⁷⁴ All three examples are metaphors in that they relate

Sacred in Ancient Israel (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008).

⁴⁷¹ BDB 851; *HALOT* 1022.

⁴⁷² Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 282–83.

⁴⁷³ For this phenomenon, see Goossens, “Metaphtonymy,” 361–63. See also chapter 1 above.

⁴⁷⁴ A key text for understanding creation’s praise in the Psalms is Ps 19:2–7. The heavens do not speak in human language (v. 4), but they have a metaphoric voice (v. 2–3, 5) when they fulfill their created purpose (vv. 5–7). Similarly, Ps 148:5–6 says that creation praises because YHWH made it with a fixed order. Richard Bauckham puts it this way, “The passages about creation’s praise are, of course,

source and target by means of perceived similarity rather than contiguity. They are figurative but not metonymic, so they will not be included.

The third excluded category involves metonymy at the lexical level. Consider the following examples:

- (4) Give thanks to YHWH; call on his name;
make known his deeds among the peoples.
...
Offspring (זרע) of Abraham, his servant,
children of Jacob, his chosen ones. (Ps 105:1, 6)
- (5) Family (בית) of Israel, bless YHWH!
Family (בית) of Aaron, bless YHWH!
Family (בית) of Levi, bless YHWH!
Those who fear YHWH, bless YHWH! (Ps 135:19–20)
- (6) All your creatures (מעשׂיך) will thank you, YHWH,
and your loyal ones will bless you. (Ps 145:10)⁴⁷⁵

Example (4) addresses the audience as ‘offspring’ (זרע) of Abraham. The core meaning of the word זרע is ‘seed.’⁴⁷⁶ By a metaphoric extension from plant reproduction to human

metaphorical: they attribute to non-human creatures the human practice of praising God in human language. But the reality to which they point is that all creatures bring glory to God simply by being themselves and fulfilling their God-given roles in God’s creation” (“Joining Creation’s Praise of God,” *Ecotheology* 7 [2002]: 47). See also Terence Fretheim, “Nature’s Praise of God in the Psalms,” *ExAud* 3 (1987): 16–30; idem, *God and World in the Old Testament: A Relational Theology of Creation* (Nashville: Abingdon, 2005), 249–68.

⁴⁷⁵ See also Ps 103:22: “Bless YHWH, all his creatures (מעשׂיו), in all places of his dominion.” The second colon indicates that the word does not include the physical settings of the creatures.

⁴⁷⁶ BDB 282–83; *HALOT* 282–83.

reproduction, it also means ‘semen’ (HUMANS ARE PLANTS),⁴⁷⁷ and, by a subsequent metonymic extension, it means ‘offspring.’ The conceptual metonymy involved is CAUSE FOR EFFECT. The appropriateness of the meaning ‘offspring’ is confirmed by the poetic parallel with “children of Jacob.” Next, example (5) addresses the ‘family’ (בית) of Israel, Aaron, and Levi. The core meaning of the word בית is ‘house,’ that is, a dwelling structure.⁴⁷⁸ By means of the LOCATION FOR LOCATED metonymy, it also means ‘family,’ that is, the people who live in the house. Semantic generalization of that sense yields the meaning ‘paternal family.’⁴⁷⁹ The mention of the three fathers—Israel, Aaron, and Levi—supports this meaning in context. Finally, example (6) concerns “your creatures” (מעשׂיך). Since it derives from the verb ‘to do, make’ (עשה), the core meaning of the noun מעשה is ‘action.’⁴⁸⁰ Indeed, the same word in the same form has this meaning earlier in the psalm: “One generation will praise your acts (מעשׂיך) to another, and they will declare your

⁴⁷⁷ On this metaphor, see Baruch A. Levine, “‘Seed’ versus ‘Womb’: Expressions of Male Dominance in Biblical Israel,” in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East* (ed. S. Parpola and R. Whiting; CRRAI 47/II; Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002), 337–43; Jindo, *Biblical Metaphor*, 151–240.

⁴⁷⁸ BDB 108–10; *HALOT* 124–25.

⁴⁷⁹ Van Hecke notes these semantic relationships for the senses of the word בית (*From Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 279).

⁴⁸⁰ BDB 795–96; *HALOT* 616–17. Another argument comes from morphology. Waltke and O’Connor note that nouns with the *mēm* prefix are often used for abstractions (*IBHS* 90). This would apply to the meaning ‘action’ but not to ‘thing made.’

mighty deeds” (v. 4). By means of the ACTION FOR PATIENT metonymy, the act of making stands for the thing made, in this case humans and animals.⁴⁸¹ All three of these examples involve metonymy, but the metonymy operates within the semantic structure of polysemous words rather than in the context of the psalms. Such lexical metonymies will not be the focus of the present chapter.

To sum up, this chapter is interested in contextual metonymies related to the subjects of praise in the Psalms. It begins with the 216 examples that use one of four major verbs of praise. A “subject of praise” is defined as a syntactic subject, a vocative with an imperative, or an antecedent or subsequent nominal in the near context. Since the focus is contextual metonymy, this chapter does not investigate non-figurative subjects, metaphoric subjects, or subjects that exhibit metonymy at the lexical level. When these examples are excluded, there are 54 examples with metonymic subjects, which compose 25 percent of the total.⁴⁸² These examples will be the focus of this chapter.

⁴⁸¹ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 293.

⁴⁸² There are 11 examples with the verb הלל (Pss 10:3; 22:24, 27; 63:6; 74:21; 84:5; 115:17; 119:175; 146:1; 148:7; 150:6), 18 with the verb ידה (Pss 30:5, 10; 33:2; 42:6, 12; 43:5; 76:11; 89:6; 97:12; 100:4; 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31; 118:1; 140:14; 142:8), 12 with the verb זמר (Pss 30:5, 13; 33:2; 57:10; 66:2, 4 [2x]; 68:33; 71:23; 98:4, 5; 108:2), and 13 with the verb ברך (Pss 10:3; 96:2; 100:4; 103:1, 2, 20, 21, 22; 104:1, 35; 135:20; 145:10, 21). Examples are counted by verb occurrence rather than by subjects. Some examples contain two subjects (e.g., Pss 103:1; 115:17; 148:7) and some share the same subject (e.g., Pss 30:5; 33:2; 98:4, 5; 100:4; 107:1, 8, 15, 21, 31).

2. Contextual Metonymies

Having dealt with preliminaries, we are now be able to consider in detail the conceptual metonymies used for the subjects of praise in the Psalms. The database of examples yields four major conceptual metonymies: SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE, LOCATION FOR LOCATED, ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT, and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY.⁴⁸³ This part of the chapter has four sections that look at each of these patterns in turn.

⁴⁸³ For these categories, see Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 280, 281–82, 292–95, and 303.

SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE

The first conceptual metonymy is SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE. There are 16 subjects that fall into this category.⁴⁸⁴ We will see two more specific types of this pattern: SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON and INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON.⁴⁸⁵ Consider the following examples:⁴⁸⁶

- (7) As with suet and fat my throat is satisfied,
and with joyful lips⁴⁸⁷ my mouth (פי) praises. (Ps 63:6)⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁸⁴ Pss 30:13 (כבודי, subject [emended]); 57:10 (כבודי, vocative, v. 9); 71:23 (נפשי, subsequent); 42:6 (נפשי, antecedent), 12 (נפשי, antecedent); 43:5 (נפשי, antecedent); 63:6 (פי, subject); 103:1 (נפשי, vocative), 2 (נפשי, vocative), 22 (נפשי, vocative); 104:1 (נפשי, vocative), 35 (נפשי, vocative); 108:2 (כבודי, subsequent); 119:175 (נפשי, antecedent); 142:8 (נפשי, antecedent); 146:1 (נפשי, vocative). In Ps 74:19, the MT reads thus: “Do not give the life of your dove (נפש תורד) to the wild beast; the life of your poor ones do not forget forever.” The LXX, however, translates the key phrase as “the soul that confesses you” (ἐξομολογουμένην σοι), which seems to reflect a slightly different Hebrew *Vorlage* (נפש תורד). Kraus emends with the LXX (Psalms 60–150, 96). If one chooses to follow the LXX, this would be another case of the noun נפש as the subject of a verb of praise, but three reasons weigh against this decision. First, the MT makes a metaphoric contrast between the dove and the wild beast that is lacking in the LXX. Second, the MT has a better parallel between “the life of your dove” (חית נפש תורד) and “the life of your poor ones” (חית ענייך). Third, since נפש lacks the first-person suffix, it does not fit the other examples of the metonymy. Since v. 20 mentions the covenant, Christopher Begg has argued for retaining the MT in v. 19 on the basis of dove offerings in covenant ceremonies (“The Covenantal Dove in Psalm LXXIV 19–20,” *VT* 37 [1987]: 78–81). While I retain the MT, I do not follow Begg’s argument for doing so. Unlike the texts he cites (Gen 15:9; Sumerian Vulture Stela), the speaker of Psalm 74 does not offer a dove to make a covenant. Rather, the speaker likens the people to a dove that is endangered by a wild animal. The covenant is already in place and serves as the basis for motivating YHWH’s protection of the people.

⁴⁸⁵ Radden and Kövecses, “Theory of Metonymy,” 31; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 179–80.

⁴⁸⁶ This metonymy is not to be confused with cases where praise is said to be within the mouth (בפי, Pss 34:2; 40:4) or to fill the mouth (פי + מלא, Ps 71:8). In these examples, the mouth stands for the activity of the mouth, that is, speaking. Peirsman and Geeraerts call this metonymy INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION (“Metonymy,” 294). See also Radden and Kövecses, “Theory of Metonymy,” 31.

⁴⁸⁷ YHWH is the implicit object of the verb (יהלל), but “joyful lips” (שפתי רננות) is the syntactic object. GKC calls this an accusative of organ or means (367–68). Joüon (473) explains that the plural genitive (רננות) results from grammatical attraction to the plural construct (שפתי).

⁴⁸⁸ Note the translation of the NJPS: “I sing praises with joyful lips.” The translators correctly

(8) My tongue (לְשׁוֹנִי) will utter your righteousness,
your praiseworthiness all day long. (Ps 35:28)

(9) My lips (שִׁפְתַי) will pour forth praise,
because you teach me your statutes. (Ps 119:171)

Example (7) is the only case in which “my mouth” (פִּי) serves as the subject of the verb הִלֵּל. However, as examples (8) and (9) demonstrate, it is part of a larger pattern in which a speech organ with a first-person singular suffix serves as subject for a verb of speaking.⁴⁸⁹ Three reasons suggest that, in such cases, the speech organ metonymically stands for the speaker. First, the speaker normally refers to himself or herself by using the first-person singular verb of speech. For example, the verb הִלֵּל occurs ten times in the Psalms in the first-person singular,⁴⁹⁰ but only once with פִּי as subject. Second, there is often an interchange in the context between the speaker and the speech organ. For example, (7) is surrounded by first-person verbs of speaking. The previous verse says, “I will bless you” (אֲבָרְכֶךָ), and the following verse says, “I will mutter about you” (אֶהְגֵּה־בְךָ). Third, in other cases where mouth organs appear, they serve as instruments of human speaking, rather than doing the speaking themselves:

perceive the metonymic target.

⁴⁸⁹ See these other examples: “my mouth” (49:4; 51:17; 66:14, 17; 71:15; 145:21), “my tongue” (51:16; 71:24; 119:172), and “my lips” (63:4; 66:14; 71:23).

⁴⁹⁰ Pss 22:23; 35:18; 56:5, 11 (2x); 69:31; 109:30; 119:164; 145:2; 146:2.

- (10) I will thank YHWH greatly *with* my mouth (בפי),
and in the midst of many I will praise him. (Ps 109:30)
- (11) While I mused, a fire burned;
then I spoke *with* my tongue (בלשוני). (Ps 39:4)
- (12) *With* my lips (בשפתי) I declare
all the ordinances of your mouth. (Ps 119:13)

In each of these examples, the verb is conjugated in the first-person singular, and the subject speaks by means of an organ. The mouth-related word takes the preposition *bē-* with an instrumental function.⁴⁹¹ This seems to be the literal way of conveying the idea. Thus, when the organ of speech occurs without the preposition and as the subject of the verb of praise, we are dealing with a metonymy for the speaker. Since multiple lexical items follow this pattern, there is ample evidence for a conceptual metonymy SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON. Finally, let us return to example (9) to note its complexity: “My lips will *pour forth* praise” (תבענה שפתי תהלה). This is an example of metaphonymy, specifically metonymy within metaphor.⁴⁹² The use of the verb ‘to pour forth’ (נבע Hiphil) in this context creates the metaphor SPEECH IS A LIQUID.⁴⁹³ Liquid is the source, and speech

⁴⁹¹ *IBHS* 196–97. See also Pss 39:2; 59:8; 62:5; 78:36; 89:2; 106:33.

⁴⁹² For this concept, see Goossens, “Metaphonymy,” 363–65.

⁴⁹³ BDB 615–16; *HALOT* 665. The verb נבע is always used as a figurative expression of speech elsewhere in the Psalms (19:3; 59:8; 78:2; 94:4; 145:7), but it describes a flowing stream in Prov 18:4 and a fermenting ointment in Eccl 10:1.

is the target, but within the target, the vehicle “my lips” (שפתי) stands for the speaker.

Thus, the metonymy SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON is embedded within the metaphor.

Having established the existence of the SPEECH ORGAN FOR SPEAKER metonymy in the Psalms, it is now possible to interpret other examples in its light. First of all, consider Ps 103:1:

- (13) Bless YHWH, my throat (נפשי),⁴⁹⁴
and all my entrails (כל-קרבי), his holy name.⁴⁹⁵ (Ps 103:1)

English translations often render נפשי in this instance as “my soul,”⁴⁹⁶ but there are three reasons “my throat” may be a better translation here. First, ‘throat’ is an established meaning of the Hebrew word נפש.⁴⁹⁷ For example, the speaker of Ps 69:2 asks for

⁴⁹⁴ For a similar translation see Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (trans. M. Kohl; London: SCM, 1974), 25; Thomas Staubli and Silvia Schroer, *Body Symbolism in the Bible* (trans. L. M. Maloney; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2001), 56, 71. A few commentators entertain this possibility. For example, see Allen: “Heb. נפש is lit. ‘throat,’ perhaps as the organ of the voice” (*Psalms 101–150*, 26). More positively, see Kraus: “If with נפש the organ of praising, the throat, is meant, and if a contrast to the ‘inner person’ (‘all that is within me’) is to be achieved, then we would have to translate: ‘Bless Yahweh, O my throat’” (*Psalms 60–150*, 290).

⁴⁹⁵ This is the only example of the plural form in the Hebrew Bible (קרבי). As a result, Bardtke (BHS) and Kraus (*Psalms 60–150*, 289) recommend repointing to a singular (קרבי). However, this is also the only case in the Hebrew Bible in which the word is used with the modifier ‘all’ (כל), suggesting that the plural is original and rightly perceived by the LXX translator. In addition, Allen has pointed out that the plural is used in post-biblical Hebrew to mean ‘entrails’ (*Psalms 101–150*, 26). For this form and meaning, see Marcus Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi, and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica, 1996), 1411. Since Psalm 103 has other late linguistic features (Hurvitz, *Transition Period*, 107–30), that would explain the rare plural form.

⁴⁹⁶ E.g., NRSV, NIV, and NJPS.

⁴⁹⁷ On the one hand, Seebass says, “The concrete primary meaning of *nepeš* is usually assumed to be ‘maw, throat, gullet,’ as the organ used for eating and breathing” (“נפש *nepeš*,” *TDOT* 9:504). On the

YHWH's help because flood waters have come up to the 'throat' (נפש). Also, Ps 107:9 says that YHWH satisfies the thirsty and hungry 'throat' (נפש). In example (13), the context of speaking also suggests understanding נפשי as an organ of speech. Second, נפשי is in poetic parallelism with "all my entrails" (כל־קרבי), that is, the organs within the body cavity. Indeed, the imperative "bless" (ברכי) from the first colon is elided in the second so that the vocatives share the same verb. There is an intensifying movement from the singular to the plural. Since the second colon concerns body parts, it makes sense to see a body part in the first colon as well. Third, the word נפשי fits the metonymic pattern already described: a speech organ takes a first-person singular suffix and stands for the speaker as subject of a verb of praise (ברך). Other passages show a metonymic use of נפשי.⁴⁹⁸ For example, Psalm 146 opens with a similar self-address: "Praise YHWH, my throat" (הללי נפשי את־יהוה). The target of the metonymy is then immediately signaled

other hand, Westermann says, "with the relevant suf., the word often serves as a substitute for 'I, you,' etc., while the intentionality and intensity characteristic of the word remain constant" ("נפשׁ nepeš," *TLOT* 2:755). The dictionaries acknowledge these two uses of the word, but they strictly separate them (BDB 659–61; *HALOT* 712; *DCH* 724–25). By contrast, this chapter suggests that, in the context of praise, the throat and the self are related by means of metonymy. Only Fredericks suggests this possibility: "*nepeš* becomes a synecdoche, representing the total person, both one's physical and nonphysical composition" ("נפשׁ nepeš," *NIDOTTE* 3:133). However, he believes that the primary meaning of נפש is 'life.'

⁴⁹⁸ Ps 71:23 exhibits an interchange between a first-person verb of praise and נפשי: "Indeed I will sing praise to you, even my throat" (כי אזמרה־לך ונפשי). נפשי is also surrounded by references to "my lips" (שפתי) and "my tongue" (לשוני), indicating that a speech organ is intended. Bardtke (*BHS*) and Kraus (*Psalms 60–150*, 70) recommend deleting כי אזמרה־לך because of its similarity to v. 22, but Tate rightly recognizes an emphatic use of כי as in v. 24 (*Psalms 51–100*, 210). In addition, in Ps 119:175, נפשי is the understood subject of the verb of praise (תהללך).

with a first-person verb: “I will praise YHWH (אהללה יהוה).” For these reasons, נפשי in example (13) should be regarded as another example of the metonymy SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON, but here it is coupled with INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON.⁴⁹⁹ In a sense, then, a translation like “my soul” or “my self” is not incorrect; it simply obscures the metonymic vehicle by substituting its target.

Before moving on, we must consider the the following verses. In v. 2, the speaker repeats the first colon of v. 1, but with a twist:

- (14) Bless YHWH, my throat/self (נפשי),
 and do not forget all his benefits—
 who forgives all *your* iniquity,
 who heals all *your* diseases,
 who redeems *your* life from the Pit,
 who crowns *you* with loyalty and compassion,
 who satisfies *your* lifetime with good,
 so *your* youth renews itself⁵⁰⁰ like the eagle. (Ps 103:2–5)

Besides remaining quiet or blessing (v. 1), נפשי is also capable of forgetting or remembering (v. 2). In vv. 3–5, YHWH acts directly on נפשי to forgive, heal, redeem, crown, and satisfy it. In addition, there are six feminine suffixes referring back to נפשי

⁴⁹⁹ The repetition of את־יהוה נפשי ברכי in Pss 103:22, 104:1, and 104:35 should be understood on the basis of Ps 103:1. Ps 103:22 forms an inclusio with v. 1 of the psalm, and these lines are integral to the composition. They appear in parallel cola and contribute to a larger blessing theme (vv. 2, 20–22a). The same lines also appear as an inclusio around Psalm 104, but they are not integral to the composition. They do not occur in parallelism, and the verb ברך does not appear elsewhere in the psalm. Therefore, Hossfeld and Zenger believe that a redactor used the secondary frame to join Psalm 104 to 103 (*Psalms* 3, 45).

⁵⁰⁰ An abstract plural noun can take a feminine singular verb (GKC 464).

(example 14). It possesses iniquity, disease, life, a head for crowning, a lifespan, and youth. The word נִפְשִׁי takes on a mind, morality, body, and life of its own. But how does this elaborate personification relate to example (13)? It seems to be a literary version of what Goossens calls metaphor from metonymy.⁵⁰¹ In this form of metaphonymy, two things that are initially related by means of conceptual contiguity (i.e., metonymy) are subsequently related by means of conceptual similarity (i.e., metaphor). In fact, this is an apt description of what happens in Ps 103:1–5 as a whole. In v. 1, the speaker relates to his or her throat by means of contiguity: it is a part of the human body. But in vv. 2–5, the human and the throat are conceptually separated, and the human becomes a source for understanding the praising throat. Therefore, rather than undermining my metonymic interpretation of v. 1, the metaphoric interpretation of vv. 2–5 only serves to underscore the poetic inventiveness of the Hebrew psalmist.

Above, we have seen a number of examples of the metonymy SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON, but, in the case of “my entrails” in example (13), we also noted the more general pattern INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON. Next, we consider another example of this type. The human ‘liver’ (כִּבְדָּה) only appears once outside the Psalter in a context that expresses deep sadness (Lam 2:11). Within the Psalter, there are four more examples that also involve

⁵⁰¹ Goossens, “Metaphonymy,” 361–63.

this organ (Pss 16:9; 30:13; 57:9; 108:2).⁵⁰² Since it takes a variant form in these cases (כְּבוֹד), it is often confused with ‘glory’ (also כְּבוֹד)⁵⁰³ or concealed with the translation “soul.”⁵⁰⁴ However, all four examples should be understood as ‘liver’ because the word occurs alongside other body parts or is associated with positive emotion. For example, Ps 16:9 says, “My heart is glad, and my liver (כְּבוֹד)⁵⁰⁵ rejoices; my flesh also rests securely.” כְּבוֹד is surrounded by the body parts “my heart” (לֵב) and “my flesh” (בָּשָׂר), and it is associated with gladness (שִׂמְחָה) and joy (גִּיל). Therefore, the word is best rendered as the organ “my liver” and best understood as a seat of emotion. The remaining three examples all use a body part with a first-person suffix referring to the speaker as subject of the verb זָמַר, ‘to sing praise.’ Thus, they illustrate the conceptual metonymy INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON.⁵⁰⁶ Consider example (15):

⁵⁰² BDB lists Pss 16:9, 30:13, 57:9, and 108:2 under כְּבוֹד (‘honor, glory’), explaining that the inner person is the seat of honor and the noblest part (459). In contrast, *HALOT* (456), Wolff (*Anthropology*, 64), and Dahood (*Psalms 1–50*, 90, 184, *Psalms 50–100*, 54, *Psalms 101–50*, 93) propose emending the MT’s כְּבוֹד to כְּבֹדִי. Staubli and Schroer (*Body Symbolism*, 70) simply assume that כְּבוֹדִי is an alternative form of “my liver.” Psalm 7:6 is sometimes also cited with this group of examples (*HALOT* 456). But, in that context, the word is not used with other body parts or associated with emotions. Instead, it involves the degradation of the speaker in the dust. Therefore, it should be rendered “my glory.”

⁵⁰³ For example, the LXX translates כְּבוֹדִי as ἡ δόξα μου in Pss 30:13; 57:9; 108:2.

⁵⁰⁴ For example, the NRSV renders all four examples as “my soul.”

⁵⁰⁵ The LXX reads “my tongue” (ἡ γλῶσσά μου), but the MT is the more difficult and original reading. The context of v. 9 involves body parts but not speech organs. Perhaps the Greek translator simply could not see how glory (δόξα) could rejoice.

⁵⁰⁶ Mark Smith believes that כְּבוֹדִי may mean ‘liver’ if it is emended in Ps 16:9, but he decides

- (15) You have turned my mourning into dancing for me;
 you have removed my sackcloth,
 and you have girded me with joy,
 so that my liver (כְּבוֹדִי) may sing your praise and not be silent.⁵⁰⁷
 YHWH my God, I will thank you forever. (Ps 30:12–13)

The context is emotional and physical. The speaker has been mourning in sackcloth, but YHWH's healing of the body (v. 3) produces dancing and joy. The context also suggests a metonymy for the speaker's self. In v. 12, YHWH acts for the speaker three times, but then in v. 13, the liver, not the speaker, praises YHWH. The next colon then specifies the target of the metonymy with a first-person singular verb: "I will thank you" (אֲדַוְּדָה).

The last two examples are related to each other because they occur in Psalms 57 and 108. Psalm 108 is a later psalm that combines the end of Psalm 57 (vv. 8–12) and the

against this possibility in the other cases (Pss 30:13; 57:9; 108:2) on the basis of parallelism with the first-person pronoun ("The Heart and Innards in Israelite Emotional Expressions: Notes from Anthropology and Psychobiology," *JBL* 117 [1998]: 428–29). Therefore, he concludes that the liver is only clearly associated with negative emotions in the Hebrew Bible (i.e., Lam 2:11). However, emendation is unnecessary if one regards כְּבוֹדִי as an alternative or poetic form of כֶּבֶד. In addition, if one regards close connection to the first-person pronoun as evidence of metonymic reference to the speaker, then Smith's conclusions are also unnecessary. See note 39.

⁵⁰⁷ The MT lacks the first-person pronominal suffix (כְּבוֹדִי), but the LXX includes the pronoun (ἡ δόξα μου). Kraus (*Psalms 1–59*, 353) and Craigie (*Psalms 1–50*, 251) emend the MT on the basis of the LXX, but it is difficult to be certain of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The LXX translator could have supplied the pronoun to smooth a difficult text. Thus, the argument must be made on the basis of context and usage. Goldingay agrees but does not provide specific reasons (*Psalms 1–41*, 424). I add the suffix (כְּבוֹדִי) for three reasons. First, the preceding bicolon contains four first-person suffixes referring the speaker, and the following colon uses a first-person singular verb. Second, the *yōd* could have been lost because of a scribal eye skip to the following *wāw* conjunction (וְ). Third, the suffix occurs in other examples of the metonymic pronoun (e.g., 57:9; 108:2).

end of Psalm 60 (vv. 7–14) to create a new composition.⁵⁰⁸ For present purposes, we are concerned only with 57:8–9 and 108:2–3:

Table 16. Comparison of Ps 57:8–9 with Ps 108:2–3

(16) Ps 57:8–9	(17) Ps 108:2–3
<p>נכון לבי אלהים נכון לבי אשירה ואזמרה עורה כבודי עורה הנבל וכנור אעירה שחר</p>	<p>נכון לבי אלהים אשירה ואזמרה אף־כבודי עורה הנבל וכנור אעירה שחר</p>
<p>My heart is steadfast, God, my heart is steadfast. I will sing; I will sing praise. Awake, my liver! Awake, harp and lyre! I will awaken the dawn.</p>	<p>My heart is steadfast, God, I will sing; I will sing praise, <u>even my liver</u>. Awake, harp and lyre! I will awaken the dawn.</p>

Example (16) contains two tricola. In the first tricolon, there is repeated reference to “my heart” (לבי) and anticipation of joyful praise in response to YHWH’s salvation. In the second tricolon, the speaker employs metonymy within metaphor.⁵⁰⁹ Using the metaphor THINGS ARE SLEEPING PEOPLE, the speaker awakens himself and his instruments in order to rouse the dawn. Within this metaphor, the speaker refers to him- or herself as “my liver”

⁵⁰⁸ On the literary relationship of Psalms 57 and 108, see Raymond Jacques Tournay, “Psaumes 57, 60 et 108: Analyse et Interprétation,” *RB* 96 (1989): 5–26; Ernst Axel Knauf, “Psalm LX und Psalm CVIII,” *VT* 50 (2000): 55–65.

⁵⁰⁹ Goossens, “Metaphtonymy,” 363–65.

(אשירה ואזמרה) (כבודי). The interchange is quite clear: two first-person singular verbs precede the vocative, and one follows it (אעירה). This is the metonymy BODY PART FOR PERSON. Next, it is instructive to see how Psalm 108 adapted and interpreted Psalm 57 (table 16). Two changes stand out. First, the author condensed the two tricola into two bicola by eliminating repetitions (עורה, נכון לבי). Second, the author interpreted the metonymy by placing כבודי in apposition to the subject of the preceding first-person verbs using the conjunction אף.⁵¹⁰ In example (17), the heart and liver are more closely associated; the liver is not personified; and the speaker and the liver are more clearly equated. This confirms that “my liver” (כבודי) in example (16) was understood as a INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON metonymy by the author of Psalm 108, who was one of Psalm 57’s earliest readers. Once again, the translation “my soul” is not so much incorrect as it is incomplete.

In this section, we have seen that the conceptual metonymy SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE has two more specific types: SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON and INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON. In all the examples, the first-person pronominal suffix refers to the speaker. Speech organs include ‘mouth’ (פי), ‘tongue’ (לשוני), ‘lips’ (שפתי), and ‘throat’ (נפש).

⁵¹⁰ The significance of this redactional move is missed by Beat Weber and Hossfeld and Zenger. Weber regards כבודי as part of a song quoted by the psalmist (“Fest ist mein Herz, O Gott! Zu Ps 57, 8–9,” *ZAW* 107 [1995]: 294–95), and Hossfeld and Zenger take it as a vocative addressed to YHWH (*Psalms* 3, 114–15).

Since mouth, tongue, and lips are the means of speaking (examples 10–12), the connotation seems to be the *articulation* of praise. By contrast, the throat is associated with the *need* of the speaker for YHWH's help (example 13).⁵¹¹ In addition, we saw internal organs in the entrails of Ps 103:1 (כל־קרבִי). Since they were treated as a group in that context, there was no specific connotation in view. But the liver (כבֹּודִי) was always used with the verb 'to sing praise' (זמר) and always associated with positive *emotion* (example 15).

LOCATION FOR LOCATED

The second conceptual metonymy is LOCATION FOR LOCATED⁵¹² or, more specifically, PLACE FOR INHABITANTS.⁵¹³ There are eight examples of this pattern in which the setting stands for the agents who (do or do not) praise YHWH.⁵¹⁴ The cultural background is the ancient

⁵¹¹ Beyond Psalms 103 and 104, the other uses of נפִשִי as a subject of praise bear out this claim. נפִשִי either praises because of YHWH's salvation (Ps 71:23; 119:175; 142:8; 146:1), or it is incapable of praise because it stands in need of salvation (Pss 42:6, 12; 43:5). Thus, Wolff concludes, "If we survey the wide context in which the *n.* of man and man as *n.* can be observed, we see above all man marked out as the individual living being who has neither acquired, nor can preserve, life by himself, but who is eager for life, spurred on by vital desire, as the throat (the organ for receiving nourishment and for breathing) and the neck (as the part of the body which is especially at risk) make clear" (*Anthropology*, 24–25).

⁵¹² Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 281–82.

⁵¹³ Radden and Kövecses, "Theory of Metonymy," 41.

⁵¹⁴ Pss 30:10 (עפר, subject); 66:2 (בִלְיֵה־אֶרֶץ, vocative, v. 1), 4 (בִלְיֵה־אֶרֶץ, subject); 68:33 (ממלכות, vocative); 89:6 (שמים, subject); 96:2 (בִלְיֵה־אֶרֶץ, vocative, v. 1); 98:4 (בִלְיֵה־אֶרֶץ, vocative), 5 (same); 100:4 (בִלְיֵה־אֶרֶץ, vocative, v. 1). Note that 'earth' (אֶרֶץ) is the most common example because it reflects the perspective of the living human speaker.

Near Eastern conception of the tripartite cosmos.⁵¹⁵ For example, in Genesis 1 God separates the upper waters from the lower waters with a solid dome and calls the dome ‘heaven’ (שמים). God separates the lower waters from the dry land, which is pictured as a flat disc surrounded by water. God names the dry land ‘earth’ (ארץ) and the waters ‘seas’ (ימים). Then God populates these three spheres with three types of creatures: creatures that fly in the sky, swim in the sea, and walk on the earth. Humans are created last. They are earth creatures, but God gives them the task of ruling over all three spheres of creatures (v. 28). The cosmic geography typically found in the Psalms is similar to this with added details. YHWH is enthroned above the dome of the sky surrounded by angelic beings; Israel is YHWH’s people on earth surrounded by the nations; and all dead humans descend into the grave (שאול) which is pictured within or below the earth. Thus, the grave tends to receive more attention than the sea as the third cosmic sphere. This setting shapes the way in which the psalmists understand praise. For a clear example of this, consider example (18):

⁵¹⁵ See Luis I. J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World: A Philological and Literary Study* (Analecta Biblica 39; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1970); Izak Cornelius, “The Visual Representation of the World in the Ancient Near East and the Hebrew Bible,” *JNSL* 20 (1994): 193–218; Othmar Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (trans. T. J. Hallett; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 16–60; Wayne Horowitz, *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1998); Bernd Janowski and Beate Ego, eds., *Das biblische Weltbild und seine altorientalischen Kontexte* (FAT 32; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

- (18) The heavens are YHWH's heavens,
 but the earth he has given to human beings.
 The dead do not praise Yah,
 nor do all who go down into silence.⁵¹⁶
 But we will bless YHWH
 from now to forever. (Ps 115:16–18)

YHWH's worship in heaven is secure, but YHWH's worship on earth is contingent and subject to human vicissitude. Israel is to praise YHWH at the temple in Jerusalem, but challenges like sickness and threats from enemies call this into question. The nations should praise their creator but largely do not. Finally, YHWH is not praised in the grave. It is a place of silence because the dead are not capable of speech. This tripartite structure of the cosmos provides the conceptual background for the following metonymies.

There are examples that cover all three levels of the Israelite worldview, that is, heavens, earth, and the grave. We have already looked at the objects of praise in Ps 89:6, but now let us consider the subject along with its context:

- (19) Let the heavens (שמים) thank your wonder, YHWH,
 even your faithfulness in the assembly of holy ones.
 For who in the clouds is comparable to YHWH?
 Who is like YHWH among the supernatural beings,
 a God feared in the great council of holy ones,
 and more awesome than all surrounding him?

⁵¹⁶ "Silence" (דומה) is a metonymy for the grave (see also Ps 94:17). People are not able to enter into silence, but they are able to enter into a silent place. The unbounded characteristic of silence stands for the bounded location. Thus, the expression reflects a CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY conceptual metonymy (Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 303–4). In this case, the part stands for the whole. The grave is not pictured as one among many silent things or places; rather, it is the preeminent silent place.

YHWH God of hosts,
 who is mighty like you, Yah?
 Your faithfulness surrounds you. (Ps 89:6–9)

In the first colon of example (19), the subject of the verb ידה is “heavens” (שמים). This should be understood as a metonymy for two reasons. First of all, we see this in the poetic bicolon. If one reads the same subject into the second colon, an absurd situation results: the heavens praise YHWH’s faithfulness “in the assembly of holy ones” (בקהל קדשים). This picture does not make sense. The heavens themselves cannot enter into the assembly of angels in heaven. Therefore, we must assume that the heavens stand for inhabitants of heaven who praise “in the assembly of holy ones.” This makes better sense. Second, the context of the psalm concerns angels in heaven not the personification of creation. Verse 3 affirms that YHWH’s faithfulness is established in the heavens (בהם). In vv. 7–9, the setting is “in the clouds” (בשחק) and “in the council” (בסוד). Moreover, YHWH is superior to the “supernatural beings” (בני אלים), “holy ones” (קדשים), and “hosts” (צבאות) who surround the deity. Thus, in v. 6 the word שמים is best understood as a metonymy for the angels who inhabit the celestial realm.⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁷ Of the commentators, only Tate tentatively identifies this as a metonymy (*Psalms 51–100*, 409). Others read it as a personification of the heavens (Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 408), assume a double-duty ב preposition from the second colon (Goldingay, *Psalms 42–89*, 660), or delete the ב preposition in the second colon to harmonize the lines (Kraus, *Psalms 60–150*, 200). It would be odd to have a personification of the heavens here given that angels are the actors in the rest of the passage. Cynthia Miller has shown that bare prepositions never elide backwards (“A Reconsideration of ‘Double-Duty’ Prepositions in Biblical Poetry,” *JANES 31* [2008]: 99–110). Also, the use of the ב before and after this verse (vv. 3, 7–8) favors retaining it here.

Another example of the same conceptual metonymy concerns the terrestrial sphere. Consider the opening of Psalm 96:

- (20) Sing to YHWH a new song;
 sing to YHWH, all the earth (כל־הארץ).
 Sing to YHWH; bless his name;
 announce his salvation from day to day.
 Tell of his glory among the nations,
 his wonderful works among all the peoples. (Ps 96:1–3)

In example (20), the first three verses of the psalm, the speaker addresses six imperatives of praise to “all the earth” (כל־הארץ). Three features suggest that this is a metonymy rather than a metaphor. First, although “earth” is singular, the imperative verbs are all plural: sing (שירו), bless (ברכו), announce (בשרו), and tell (ספרו). This indicates that the speaker uses the singular vocative to address a plural group. Second, a straightforward reading of v. 3 creates absurdity: the earth cannot circulate “among the nations” (בגוים) and “among all the peoples” (בכל־העמים) telling them about YHWH (v. 3). If that happened, the people would have no place to stand. People, however, are able to circulate among other people. Third, there are three vocatives in the psalm that address the same group. In vv. 1 and 9, the speaker addresses “all the earth” (כל־הארץ),⁵¹⁸ but between these two vocatives in v. 7, the speaker addresses “families of peoples” (משפחות עמים).

⁵¹⁸ The same arguments apply to כל־הארץ in v. 9. There is a singular-plural mismatch between the vocative and the imperatives, and a literal reading creates absurdity: the earth itself is not able to bring an offering, enter into the temple courts, and bow down, but the peoples of the earth are.

Thus, we have a precise identification of vehicle and target: כל־הארץ is a metonymy for the inhabitants of the earth.

This conclusion seems quite clear, but one could object that the earth is personified at the end of the psalm (v. 11) where it is called upon to rejoice along with fields and trees (v. 12). It is important to recognize, however, that vv. 11–13 form a separate section of the psalm. In this final section, the author uses simply “the earth” (הארץ, vv. 11, 13) and places it in a tripartite reference to the cosmos as a whole: heaven, earth, and sea (v. 11). These spheres are differentiated from their contents. For example, we hear of “the sea and that which fills it” (הים ומלאו, v. 11) and “the field and everything in it” (שדי וכל־אשר־בו, v. 12). In addition, the repeated imperatives of vv. 1–10 give way to jussives in vv. 11–13. Rather than speaking, the earth is here urged to “rejoice” (גיל). Indeed, the proclamation that YHWH is king by “all the earth” in v. 10 is the cause of rejoicing for “the earth” in v. 11. Are we meant to picture the earth speaking to itself? No, v. 10 is uttered by the peoples of the earth, and the earth itself responds in v. 11. This is another literary version of what Goossens calls metaphor from metonymy.⁵¹⁹ At the beginning of the psalm, the earth *stands for people* who inhabit it, but by the end of the

⁵¹⁹ Goossens, “Metaphonymy,” 361–63.

psalm, the earth *is a person* capable of rejoicing at YHWH's coming (v. 11) and submitting to the divine rule alongside the peoples (v. 13).

The final example of the conceptual metonymy PLACE FOR THE INHABITANTS appears in Psalm 30, which is an individual psalm of thanksgiving. Here the speaker quotes an earlier appeal that YHWH has now answered:

- (21) “What profit is there in my blood,⁵²⁰
in my descent into the Pit?
Does dust (עפר) thank you?
Does it tell of your faithfulness?
Hear, YHWH, and be gracious to me!
YHWH, be my help!” (Ps 30:10–11)

The quotation of example (21) has been organized into three points to aid in following the argument. The first two points employ rhetorical questions that assume negative answers. There is no profit in the speaker's death. The dust does not praise YHWH. The third point then makes an imperative request that YHWH would save the speaker. The entire speech must be interpreted in the context of the speaker's serious illness (v. 3) and relationship with YHWH. It is obvious that death would not profit the speaker; rather, what is at stake

⁵²⁰ By metonymy, “my blood” (דמי) stands for the speaker's death. Since violent death causes the shedding of blood, this is an EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 295–96). On the basis of the theme of weeping in vv. 6, 12, and 13, Craigie (*Psalms 1–50*, 251) revocalizes the MT's “my blood” (דמי) to “my weeping” (דמי) from דמם II, ‘to weep.’ But his interpretation is unconvincing because vv. 6 and 12 use different words for weeping, and the word in v. 13 comes from דמם I, ‘to be silent,’ as the contrast with praising indicates. Most significantly, the translation “my weeping” does not fit the parallel “my descent into the pit” as well as “my blood” does.

is the profit for YHWH. Also, the dust's inability to praise is irrelevant to the situation unless עפר is a metonymy for dead people. Therefore, the logic of the three points could be paraphrased like this: (1) my death will not profit you (2) *because* dead people cannot praise you. (3) *Therefore*, save me from death *so that* I can praise you. In fact, this is exactly what happened. In v. 4, the speaker says, "YHWH, you brought my life up from Sheol; you restored my life from among those who descend⁵²¹ to the Pit." These are the silent dead who occupy the grave in v. 10. In contrast, saved from silence, the speaker vows to thank YHWH forever (v. 13), using the same verb denied to the dead in v. 10 (ידה).

What kind of a metonymy is "dust" (עפר) in v. 10? It is similar to the two previous examples, but it also differs from them in that it involves a metonymic chain. The description of "those who descend to the Pit" (יורדי־בור, v. 4) provides the two sequential targets of the vehicle. First, since v. 10 explicitly involves descent to the Pit (ברדתי אל־שחת), we know we are dealing with more than ordinary dust. עפר is loose, dry topsoil that covers the surface of the earth.⁵²² People may fall upon the dust or lie in it, but they do not descend to it or dwell within it. By contrast, the dead descend to and dwell

⁵²¹ The *Qere* of the MT has "from my descent" (מִי־רַדִּי), but I read with the *Kethib* (מִי־רָדִי) and the LXX (ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων).

⁵²² BDB 779–80; HALOT 861–62.

within Sheol, but they must pass through the dust to get to the grave somewhere beneath the surface of the earth. Thus, dust and the grave are adjacently contiguous entities. Dust is an unbounded material, but the grave is a bounded location. In the first metonymy, dust stands for the grave,⁵²³ and the conceptual pattern is ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY.⁵²⁴

Second, since v. 10 uses verbs of speaking (הִדַּבֵּר and נִגַּד), we know we are also dealing with people. This is not a personification of the grave; rather, the speaker is concerned with the silence of dead people. In the second metonymy, the grave stands for the corpses who reside there, and the conceptual pattern is, once again, PLACE FOR INHABITANTS. At this level, the metonymy is identical to one in Isa 38:18:

(22) Sheol does not thank you;
 Death does not praise you.⁵²⁵
 Those who descend to the Pit do not hope
 in your faithfulness. (Isa 38:18)

⁵²³ עֶפֶר is a metonymy for the grave in the following examples: Isa 26:19; Ps 22:16, 30; Job 7:21; 17:16; 20:11; 21:26; Dan 12:2. For a discussion of these texts, see G. Wanke, “עֶפֶר ‘āpār dust,” *TLOT* 2:941.

⁵²⁴ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 282–83.

⁵²⁵ Notice that the second colon does not deny praise to *the dead* but rather to *death* itself. In this case, the unbounded state of death appears to stand for the bounded group of participants in the state. If that is true, then the conceptual metonymy would be STATE FOR PARTICIPANTS (Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 295). This understanding produces an analogy between the two cola. Both involve containment contiguity, but the first colon operates in the spatial realm and the second in the spatiotemporal realm.

Example (22) involves the same verb (יָדָה), attribute of divine faithfulness (אֱמֶתֶךָ), and description “those who descend to the Pit” (יֹרְדֵי-בֹר). It also makes the same point without the rhetorical questions. In this case, however, we find only the second metonymy. As a location, Sheol is the vehicle that stands for the dead who cannot praise. In order to make the target clear, it is immediately identified in the second bicolon: “those who descend to the Pit.” Since the use of “dust” (עֶפֶר) in example (19) includes two sequential metonymies (i.e., ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY and PLACE FOR INHABITANTS) it should be considered a metonymic chain.

Above we have seen three examples of the conceptual metonymy PLACE FOR INHABITANTS, corresponding to three levels of the Israelite worldview. In some psalms, the spheres of creation are personified, but not in these examples. Here the locations serve as metonymic vehicles that provide mental access to their inhabitants. ‘Heavens’ (שָׁמַיִם) stands for angelic beings in YHWH’s celestial council;⁵²⁶ ‘earth’ (אֶרֶץ) stands for humans

⁵²⁶ The word ‘heavens’ (שָׁמַיִם) is probably a metonymy for angels in two other cases in the Psalms (Pss 50:6; 97:6). In both cases, they declare YHWH’s righteousness (נָגַד Hiphil + צָדִיקוֹ). In the context of Psalm 50, YHWH summons the heavens and earth to come to him (vv. 1, 4) and to bring his people (v. 5), but it is not clear how the actual heavens could perform these tasks. In Ps 97:6, שָׁמַיִם is in parallelism with “the peoples” (הָעַמִּים). In addition, the following verses say that supernatural beings (אֱלֹהִים) bow down to YHWH (v. 7) and that YHWH is exalted above them (v. 9). Another case where שָׁמַיִם is a metonymy for angels who inhabit heaven is Job 15:15: “He puts no trust in his holy ones, and the heavens are not innocent in his sight.” As in Ps 89:6, שָׁמַיִם is connected with “holy ones” (קְדוֹשִׁים). Since the context concerns moral purity and since both cola function together in a comparative construction with v. 16 (הֵן . . . אִף כִּי), the metonymic understanding is warranted. In addition, the choice of שָׁמַיִם was probably motivated by a wordplay with the following verse: “a man who drinks iniquity like water (מֵיִם).” One could appeal to Job 25:4–6, which uses the similar language of the moon and the stars, as evidence for a non-metonymic

who fill the world; and ‘dust’ (עפר) stands for corpses in the grave. In these texts, we have also observed a significant difference between these spheres when it comes to the activity of praise: while angels and humans are united in their praise of YHWH, the dead in the underworld do not participate.

ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT

The third conceptual metonymy, ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT,⁵²⁷ occurs 11 times.⁵²⁸ It is well known in Hebrew grammar that participles can have a substantival function.⁵²⁹ That is, in addition to acting like a verb (e.g., taking nouns as subject and object), a participle can also act like a noun (e.g., serving as subject or object of a verb). It is not commonly recognized, however, that substantival participles are metonymies. In other words, the existence of the conceptual pattern ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT gives rise to the

interpretation of 15:15. But that passage is a speech of Bildad rather than Eliphaz. Eliphaz himself clearly makes the point about angels in 4:17–19. In 25:4–6, it appears that Bildad is playing off the language of Eliphaz in 15:14–16.

⁵²⁷ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 292–95; See also Radden and Kövecses, “Theory of Metonymy,” 37–38.

⁵²⁸ Pss 10:3 (בצע, subject); 22:24 (יראי יהוה, vocative), 27 (דרשיו, subject); 84:5 (יושבי ביתך, antecedent); 103:21 (משרתיו, vocative); 107:1 (גאולי יהוה, subsequent/antecedent, v. 2), 8, 15, 21, 31; 115:17 (בל־ירדי דומה, המתים, subjects); 118:1 (יראי יהוה, subsequent, v. 4); 135:20 (יראי יהוה, vocative); 148:7 (בל־שפטי ארץ, vocative, v. 11).

⁵²⁹ GKC 355–62; *IBHS* 614–15; Joüon 380–89.

widespread syntactic phenomenon of substantival participles in Classical Hebrew.

Consider the following examples:

- (23) Bless YHWH, all his hosts,
those serving him (משרתיו), doing his will. (Ps 103:21)
- (24) “Give thanks to YHWH, for he is good,
for his loyalty lasts forever.”
Let those redeemed by YHWH (גאולי יהוה) say,
those he redeemed (גאלם) from the hand of distress.⁵³⁰ (Ps 107:1–2)
- (25) Those who are dead (המתים) do not praise Yah,
nor all those descending into silence (ירדי דומה). (Ps 115:17)

Example (23) uses a participle as a vocative, and examples (24) and (25) employ participles as subjects of verbs of speaking. Example (23) has a pronominal suffix, and examples (24) and (25) occur in construct phrases. These are syntactic behaviors typical of nouns.

The speaker of example (23) exhorts angels to praise YHWH in heaven. In the first colon, they are described as “his hosts” (צבאיו), that is, using a noun with possessive suffix. In the second colon, they become “those serving him” (משרתיו), an active substantival participle with an objective suffix, as the following clause makes clear. The first colon stresses YHWH’s rulership of the angels, but the second stresses their active

⁵³⁰ NIV has “the hand of the foe,” but it is “in distress” (בצר) in vv. 6, 13, 19, 28.

obedience toward YHWH. This is an ACTION FOR AGENT metonymy. The bounded action stands for the bounded agents who perform it.

Next, example (24) opens with a quote of what the audience is to say in response to YHWH's salvation. In fact, the audience is urged to speak these words in four following refrains (vv. 8, 15, 21, 31). Verse 2 describes these people using a passive participle in construct with a subjective genitive (גאולי יהוה). The next colon specifies that YHWH is the agent of redemption and that the people are recipients. The active participle depicts a person or thing in continuous action, but the passive participle displays a person or thing in a state brought about by a previous action.⁵³¹ These people have not done anything for themselves; rather, they are in the state of redemption that YHWH has brought about for them. This is a STATE FOR PATIENT metonymy, in which the unbounded state stands for the bounded group of participants.

Finally, example (25) contains two different types of ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT. The first colon refers to the “those who are dead” (המתים). In this case, the active participle conveys the state of ‘being dead’ rather than the process of ‘dying.’⁵³² Yet the people involved are agents of the state rather than patients. As a result, this is a STATE FOR

⁵³¹ GKC 356.

⁵³² BDB 559–60; HALOT 562–63.

AGENT metonymy, in which the unbounded state stands for the bounded group of agents. The next example, “those who descend into silence” (ירדי דומה), exhibits metonymy within metaphor. The metaphor THE GRAVE IS A PIT provides the context for two embedded metonymies. First, the action of descending stands for the people who descend (ACTION FOR AGENT), and, second, the characteristic of silence stands for the pit that is silent (CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY⁵³³). In addition to showing how conceptual metonymy motivates substantival participles, these examples also demonstrate that the metonymic pattern has a number of variations: it can include bounded actions and unbounded states, as well as agents and patients who participate in them.⁵³⁴

⁵³³ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 303–4.

⁵³⁴ It should be noted that the action is not as prominent in some examples. For example, Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein has proposed three criteria for identifying and describing substantival participles (“Semantic Aspects of the Pattern *Qôtel*,” *HAR* 1 (1977): 155–76; idem, “Die Stammbildung *qôtel* als Übersetzungsproblem,” *ZAW* 93 (1981): 254–79). According to him, one must consider an example from syntactic, etymological, and semantic perspectives. First, a substantival participle assumes the usage pattern of a noun (syntactic). Second, a substantival participle clearly derives from a verb (etymological). Third, professional terms are more nominal than those conveying passing phenomena (semantic). If an example lacks one or more of these criteria, the action will be less prominent.

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY

The next type of conceptual metonymy is CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY,⁵³⁵ and it occurs 12 times.⁵³⁶ There are two subtypes: CHARACTERISTIC FOR INDIVIDUAL and CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY.⁵³⁷ This pattern often involves adjectives, but it can also include nouns. Once again, substantival adjectives are well known in Hebrew grammar, but they are not usually considered metonymies. In actuality, however, the presence of the conceptual pattern CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY in ancient Israel makes possible the phenomenon of substantival adjectives in Classical Hebrew. Consider the following examples:

- (26) Surely righteous ones (צדיקים) will give thanks to your name;
upright ones will dwell in your presence. (Ps 140:14)
- (27) All your works will thank you, YHWH,
and your loyal ones (חסידים) will bless you. (Ps 145:10)
- (28) Do not let the oppressed turn away in shame;
let the poor and needy (עני ואביון) praise your name. (Ps 74:21)

Adjectives serve as subjects of praise verbs in all three cases, and example (27) has a possessive suffix. These roles are typically played by nouns. In each case, an unbounded

⁵³⁵ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 303.

⁵³⁶ Pss 10:3 (רשע, subject); 30:5 (חסידים, vocative); 33:2 (צדיקים, vocative, v. 1); 74:21 (עני ואביון, subject); 76:11 (חמת אדם, subject); 97:12 (צדיקים, vocative); 103:20 (גברי כח, vocative), 140:14 (צדיקים, subject); 145:10 (חסידים, subject), 21 (בל-בשר, subject); 148:7 (זקנים, vocative, v. 12); 150:6 (בל הנשמה, subject).

⁵³⁷ Kövecses discusses PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY (*Metaphor*, 181).

characteristic (righteousness, loyalty, poverty, or neediness) stands for an entity, namely, a person who praises. In the CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY pattern, the part-whole relationship can be construed in two different ways.⁵³⁸ either the characteristic can be pictured as an assembly made up of multiple entities, or the entity can be pictured as an assembly with many participating characteristics, one of which is the characteristic in question. In examples (26) and (27), the point is not so much to choose one attribute among others as it is to classify types of people. Therefore, it is best to understand the characteristic as the unbounded whole that stands for the people who are bounded parts of it. This is what Peirsman and Geeraerts call “individuation.” The individual embodies an unbounded whole. These examples depict groups of individuals—“righteous ones” (צדיקים) and “loyal ones” (חסידים)—each of whom embodies the characteristic—righteousness (צדקה) or loyalty (חסד). This is the pattern CHARACTERISTIC FOR INDIVIDUAL. In contrast, example (28) uses the singular forms “poor and needy” (עני ואביון), but this expression is clearly not meant to refer to two individuals.⁵³⁹ Rather, we are dealing here

⁵³⁸ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 303.

⁵³⁹ Compare to Ps 12:6, which uses both “poor ones” (עניים) and “needy ones” (אביונים). “Poor and needy” (עני ואביון) is a stock phrase in the Hebrew Bible that occurs eight times in the Psalms (35:10; 37:14; 40:18; 70:6; 74:21; 86:1; 109:16, 22). Four are substantival adjectives referring to a group (Pss 35:10; 37:14; 74:21; 109:16), and four are predicate adjectives referring to an individual (Pss 40:18; 70:6; 86:1; 109:22). Alternatively, the examples referring to the group could be understood as a metonymic chain: the first link would be CHARACTERISTIC FOR PERSON, and the second would be INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION.

with a category of people. In this case, the whole is pictured as a unbounded category with multiple unbounded characteristics that participate in it, and two of these are selected to stand for the whole category. This is a different part-whole relationship and a different type of metonymy, that is, CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY. Thus, the conceptual pattern CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY has at least two subtypes: CHARACTERISTIC FOR PERSON and CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY.

Now that we have considered a few clear examples, we come to Ps 76:11, which has proven to be an interpretive crux. Example (29) is a literal translation of the MT:

(29) Surely the wrath of humanity will thank you (כִּי־חַמַּת אָדָם תּוֹדֶךָ);
 a remnant of wraths you will gird on (שְׂאֵרֵי־חַמַּת תַּחְגֵּר).
 (Ps 76:11)

Any interpretation of this problematic verse must answer two questions. First, whose wrath is involved? Is it human or divine wrath? Second, who is the subject of the action? Is it the wrath or YHWH? In addition, the answers given could be different for each colon. For example, commentators who follow the MT usually find different subjects in the cola.⁵⁴⁰ In the first colon, the wrath belongs to humanity and praises YHWH. In the second colon, the wrath is divine, and YHWH puts it on as a belt. The images appear to be metaphoric, but they are incongruous within themselves and with each other. How

⁵⁴⁰ Tate, *Psalms* 51–100, 262; Goldingay, *Psalms* 42–89, 455.

does wrath against YHWH also serve to praise YHWH? What does it mean for YHWH to wear the remnant of divine wrath? How do the angers of humanity and YHWH relate to each other? The answers to these questions are not immediately obvious. Therefore, commentators have proposed numerous emendations of the MT.⁵⁴¹

One of the most attractive proposals is that of John Emerton, who argues that YHWH is the subject of both cola. Here is his translation:

Surely thou dost crush the wrath of man:
Thou dost restrain the remnant of wrath.⁵⁴²

This translation requires two changes to the MT. In the first colon, Emerton emends the verb “it testifies to you” (תוֹדֵךְ), from the root יָדָה, to “you crush” (תִּדְוֹךְ), from the root דָּכָה or דָּוָךְ. In the second colon, he gives the verb חָגַר the meaning “to restrain” rather than its more common meaning “to gird.” Emerton’s proposal is attractive because it brings consistency and sense to the verse. In both cola, the wrath belongs to humanity and the action to YHWH. Thus, YHWH crushes the angry enemies of Israel and then captures those who survive the initial crushing. However, this proposal also has weaknesses. First, although the change is minor, there is no textual support for the

⁵⁴¹ For a thorough survey of approaches, see John A. Emerton, “A Neglected Solution of a Problem in Psalm LXXVI 11,” *VT* 24 (1974): 136–46.

⁵⁴² Emerton, “Neglected Solution,” 145.

emendation among the ancient versions.⁵⁴³ Second, although the meaning “to restrain” is attested in cognate languages and rabbinic sources, the verb חגַר never has that meaning in Classical Hebrew. Third, although YHWH’s anger is mentioned earlier in the psalm, v. 8 uses different language to describe it (אַז אַפַּךְ). In addition, v. 11 introduces a new section following *selâ* (vv. 11–13) that focuses on the worship of the nations in response to YHWH’s judgment in v. 10. How will they respond to the following imperatives if they are crushed and bound? On the basis of immediate context, an interpretation that sees human action in v. 11 would fit better.

In contrast to Emerton, I propose that in both cola the wrath belongs to humans, and humans are also the subjects of the verbs:

Surely the wrath of humanity will thank you;
the wrathful remnant will celebrate you.⁵⁴⁴

This example (27) is another example of the CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY metonymy we have seen above.⁵⁴⁵ In the first colon, “the wrath of humanity” (חמת אדם) is a metonymy

⁵⁴³ Also, דכך does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, and דוך only occurs once (Num 11:8). The verbs דכה and דכא are attested with a similar meaning, but they would require adding another letter to the emendation.

⁵⁴⁴ Hossfeld and Zenger come to a similar conclusion about this verse, though without proper appreciation of the metonymy employed (*Psalms* 2, 261).

⁵⁴⁵ The metonymic interpretation of v. 11 is bolstered by the presence of other metonymies in Psalm 76. For example, in v. 4 YHWH breaks arrows, shield, and sword. These are metonymies for the enemy army (OBJECT USED FOR AGENT). In v. 9, “the earth” is a metonymy for the people who live on the earth (PLACE FOR INHABITANTS). And in v. 12, YHWH is called “the fear” of the nations (EFFECT FOR CAUSE).

for wrathful people belonging to humanity (genitive of genus). In the second colon, “the wrathful remnant” (שארית חמת) provides the literal target for the first colon’s vehicle: they are a remnant of humanity characterized by wrath (attributive genitive). In addition, for the final verb, I read with the LXX, which has “it celebrates you” instead of “you gird.” The *Vorlage* of the LXX appears to use the verb חגג with the well-attested meaning ‘to celebrate (a feast).’ If that is correct, the difference between the consonants of the MT (תחגג) and the *Vorlage* of the LXX (תחגד) is only the graphically similar letters *rēš* and final *kāp*. This reading also restores parallelism between the verbs of the bicolon. Semantically, both verbs involve worship. Morphologically, both are third-person feminine verbs with second-person masculine suffixes. Finally, this rendering of v. 11 fits smoothly with the following picture of nations paying vows and bringing tribute to YHWH in Zion (vv. 12–13).⁵⁴⁶

Next, we consider two examples, both of which appear climactically at the end of the Psalter (Pss 145:21; 150:6). Psalm 145 provides the concluding doxology for the Fifth Book of Psalms and thus closes the main body of the Psalter. Psalm 150 concludes the

⁵⁴⁶ Kraus emends the second verb with the LXX (*Psalms 60–150*, 108). On the basis of conjecture alone, however, he also repoints the MT’s “humanity” (אָדָם) and “wraths” (חַמַּת) to Edom (אֱדוֹם) and Hamath (חַמַּת). His move seems to be driven by a failure to recognize the metonymy. Even if these names are supposed to represent peoples to the north and south, the level of specificity does not fit the other Zion hymns or the rest of Psalm 76, where references to the enemy nations remain general.

Final Hallel, that is, the concluding group of five hymns in the Psalter (Pss 146–150).⁵⁴⁷

Both examples appear in the ultimate verses of their respective psalms.

Psalm 145:21 is example (30):

(30) Of YHWH's praiseworthiness my mouth will speak,
and all flesh (כל-בשר) will bless his holy name
forever and ever. (Ps 145:21)

Actually, this tricolon is packed with four different metonymies: one lexical and three contextual. In ch. 2, we saw that תהלה meaning 'praiseworthiness' is an EFFECT FOR CAUSE lexical metonymy; in ch. 4, we saw that blessing YHWH's "name" (שם) is a POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR contextual metonymy; and earlier in this chapter, I argued that "my mouth" (פי) is a SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE contextual metonymy. Here, I want to consider "all flesh" (כל-בשר) as a another type of contextual metonymy.⁵⁴⁸

We can tell that it is a metonymy because flesh alone is not able to bless; it requires some kind of agent. What is the target of the vehicle 'flesh'? We may answer this question with two lines of evidence, namely, the use of the word 'flesh' (בשר) in the Hebrew Bible and the context of the word in Psalm 145 itself. Hans Walter Wolff

⁵⁴⁷ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 605–7.

⁵⁴⁸ Since בשר lacks the definite article, the phrase could be translated individually as "every flesh" (Joüon 485–86). But Hebrew poetry often omits the article, so one is left to determine definiteness on the basis of context. In the context of Ps 145, the collective translation "all flesh" is preferable. The movement in the concluding tricolon from individual speaker to collective group mirrors the same movement in the first half of the psalm (vv. 1, 10). See Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 600.

observes that the noun **בֶּשֶׂר** is never used of YHWH or angels but is used of both humans and animals. In fact, he estimates that more than one third of the total occurrences of the word in the Hebrew Bible include animals.⁵⁴⁹ Therefore, ‘flesh’ is something that human and animal creatures share in common. The metonymic phrase “all flesh” (**כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר**) can be used to refer to (a) humans only, (b) animals only, or (c) humans and animals together. To illustrate: (a) in Joel 3:1, YHWH promises to pour out the divine spirit on “all flesh,” defined as men and women of all kinds. YHWH does not promise the divine spirit to animals. (b) Leviticus 17:14 proscribes eating the blood of “all flesh” because life is in the blood. The entire passage is concerned with proper slaughter and consumption of animals, and humans are clearly not in view. Finally, (c) “all flesh” can also refer to all animate creatures, including both humans and animals. For example, it is used this way repeatedly in the Priestly flood narrative in Genesis 6–9.⁵⁵⁰ In Gen 9:15, YHWH promises to remember the covenant with “all flesh” and specifies that this means not destroying humans and animals again with a flood. These examples demonstrate that the phrase **כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר** can be used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to humans only, animals only, or humans and animals together.

⁵⁴⁹ Wolff, *Anthropology*, 26. Wolff uses the numbers of Lys who records 273 occurrences of **בֶּשֶׂר** in the Hebrew Bible, 104 of which relate to animals.

⁵⁵⁰ The metonymic phrase **כָּל־בֶּשֶׂר** occurs 13 times in the flood narrative: Gen 6:12, 13, 17, 19; 7:15 (definite), 16, 21; 8:17; 9:11, 15 (2x), 16, 17.

To what does the phrase refer in example (30)? To answer this question, we need to look at the context of the psalm. Psalm 145 is an alphabetic acrostic hymn that celebrates YHWH's rule as universal king. The psalm falls roughly into two halves with a section in the center that focuses on the divine kingdom (vv. 11–13). The first half describes how the citizens of the kingdom praise YHWH's greatness, and the second part describes how YHWH cares for these same citizens. Both parts of the psalm include humans and animals as citizens of YHWH's kingdom. In the first half, praise begins with the speaker of the psalm (v. 1), passes from one human generation to the next (v. 4), and expands to all YHWH's creations (v. 10, כַּל־מַעֲשֵׂיךָ). The second half mixes language that can be applied to humans and animals. In v. 14, YHWH supports and lifts up those who fall and bow down, actions characteristic of humans. But v. 16 describes YHWH feeding all living things (כַּל־חַיִּים). Indeed, vv. 15 and 16 quote Psalm 104 (vv. 27–28), a hymn to YHWH as creator that explicitly names many different animals.⁵⁵¹ With this literary

⁵⁵¹ Two pieces of evidence support the claim that Ps 145:15–16 depends on Ps 104:27–28 (Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 595, 603). First, the larger context of Ps 104:27–28 is a second-person address to YHWH, but Ps 145:15–16 break with their third-person context by shifting to second-person. This shows that the lines have been imported into a new context. Second, the two bicola of Ps 104:27–28 have been altered to produce acrostic lines for Psalm 145. The noun 'eyes' (עֵינַי) is added to the first bicolon to produce an *ayin* line, and the verb 'opening' (פָּתַח) is moved to the beginning of the second bicolon in order to produce a *peh* line. It would be highly unlikely to see this process happening in reverse.

context in mind, we may conclude that the phrase כל־בשר in example (30) refers to both humans and animals.⁵⁵²

The target of the metonymy is the category of human and animal creaturehood, and this category is pictured as an assembly of parts. The vehicle is the physical part ‘flesh.’ As in the case of the English word ‘flesh,’ Hebrew בשר is a mass noun and is therefore unbounded. So the conceptual pattern is CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY in which an unbounded part stands for an unbounded category.⁵⁵³ We may now ask about its function in context. Wolff has shown that בשר is often associated with weakness in the Hebrew Bible because it is the soft and vulnerable part of humans and animals.⁵⁵⁴ In addition, creaturely בשר is often contrasted with YHWH, who is strong and lacking בשר. For example, consider the metaphonymy “all flesh is grass” (Isa 40:6).⁵⁵⁵ The point of the image is to contrast the transience of humans with the power and constancy of YHWH (Isa 40:7–8). The connotation of weakness is also in view in the second half of

⁵⁵² If that is the case, then the expression may be regarded as a metonymy within metaphor. The metaphor is CREATURES ARE WORSHIPERS. Within the target there is the metonymy PART FOR CATEGORY.

⁵⁵³ In context, the unbounded category is bounded by the modifier ‘all’ (כל).

⁵⁵⁴ Wolff, *Anthropology*, 30–31.

⁵⁵⁵ Wolff, *Anthropology*, 30. This is metonymy within metaphor (Goossens “Metaphonymy,” 363–65). The metaphor is HUMANS ARE VEGETATION. However, within the target of the metaphor, flesh stands for humans. Therefore, the expression also includes the BODY PART FOR PERSON metonymy. Note that the metonymy of v. 6 (כל־הבשר חציר) is interpreted in v. 7: “surely the people are grass” (אכן חציר העם).

Psalm 145. YHWH's creatures stumble and stoop (v. 14); they are hungry for food (vv. 15–16); and they cry out for help (vv. 18–19) and protection from their enemies (v. 20). Instead of reusing the language of “creation” (vv. 9, 10) and “living thing” (v. 16), the psalmist chose to employ the metonymy כל־בשר to highlight the *weakness* of the creatures in their dependence on YHWH their king.⁵⁵⁶

The final example of this conceptual metonymy, example (31), comes from the final verse of the final psalm in the Psalter:

(31) Let all breath praise Yah! (כל הנשמה תהלל יה). (Ps 150:6)

Two observations indicate that this is a metonymy. First, there is a lack of literal sense: breath alone cannot praise YHWH; a being with a mouth is required to produce the sound. Second, there is a lack of grammatical agreement: נשמה is a feminine singular noun, but it is used of the same group addressed with ten masculine plural imperatives (הללו) in the preceding psalm. This is a CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY metonymy. The vehicle is an unbounded characteristic, but the target needs to be established. In order to

⁵⁵⁶ Surprisingly, Wolff misunderstands both the reference and the connotation of כל־בשר in Ps 145:21 (*Anthropology*, 29). He translates the phrase as “the whole of mankind” and treats it under the connotation of “relationship.” Because בשר is *shared* by all humans and animals, it certainly can carry the connotation of relationship in some contexts, but that is not the best description of its function here. Wolff’s mistake seems to be grouping Psalm 145:21 with other examples of the phrase כל־בשר and not letting its immediate context in Psalm 145 determine the referent and connotation.

do so, we will consider the use of נשמה in the Hebrew Bible and in Psalm 150. We will also consider the connotation of the vehicle in its context.

The noun נשמה occurs 24 times in the Hebrew Bible and once in Aramaic. The verb נשם also occurs once in Hebrew. T. C. Mitchell has classified these 26 examples into four groups:⁵⁵⁷ God's breath,⁵⁵⁸ God's breath given to humans,⁵⁵⁹ human breath,⁵⁶⁰ and uncertain references (including Ps 150:6).⁵⁶¹ Since none of the uncertain references necessarily includes animals, Mitchell concludes, "the word *n^ešāmâ*, and its related forms, may be used in the Old Testament to describe the breath of God, which, when imparted to man, made him unique among the animals."⁵⁶² This position can be strengthened by reconsidering the examples he views as uncertain. Besides Ps 150:6, six other examples in Mitchell's fourth category are metonymies.⁵⁶³ Five of these use the

⁵⁵⁷ T. C. Mitchell, "The Old Testament Usage of N^ešāmâ," *VT* 11 (1961): 177–87.

⁵⁵⁸ 2 Sam 22:16; Job 4:9; 34:14; 37:10; Ps 18:16; Isa 30:33; 42:14 (verb).

⁵⁵⁹ Gen 2:7; Job 32:8; 33:4; Isa 42:5.

⁵⁶⁰ 1 Kgs 17:17; Job 26:4; 27:3; Prov 20:27; Isa 2:22; Dan 5:23 (Aramaic); 10:17.

⁵⁶¹ Gen 7:22; Deut 20:16; Josh 10:40; 11:11, 14; 1 Kgs 15:29; Ps 150:6; Isa 57:16.

⁵⁶² Mitchell, "N^ešāmâ," 186.

⁵⁶³ The only example that does not involve metonymy is Gen 7:22. Wolff believes that this is the *only* text in the Hebrew Bible in which animals possess נשמה (*Anthropology*, 60). However, there are four reasons that those possessing נשמה in Gen 7:22 should be regarded as humans. First, vv. 21–23 use different language to differentiate three groups: animals, humans, and all creatures. Verse 21a says that "all flesh" (כל־בשר) "expired" (גוה); verses 21b–22 say "all humans" (כל האדם) "died" (מות); and v. 23 includes

same phrase: כל (ה)נשמה. All of these examples concern not sparing human life. In Deut 20:16, Moses commands the Israelites to destroy the peoples of the land, and the next verse gives a list of six peoples. In Josh 10:40, the phrase appears in a summary statement of Joshua's southern campaigns (vv. 40–43). All of the killings in the previous section (vv. 28–39) involve kings and their peoples. The phrase appears twice in the northern campaign of Joshua 11 (vv. 11, 14). Verse 14 says positively that they killed all humans (כל-האדם) and negatively that they did not spare any breathing thing (כל-נשמה), but they did spare the animals as plunder. This is very strong evidence that כל-נשמה refers to humans and does not include animals. Both passages in Joshua (10:40; 11:12) carry out the command in Deut 20:16 in which there is no mention of animals. In 1 Kgs 15:29, Baasha does not spare any people belonging to the house of Jeroboam. This was to fulfill the oracle of the prophet Ahijah against Jeroboam's family (1 Kgs 14:10–14).⁵⁶⁴ Finally,

the two previous categories by saying that “all living things” (כל-היקום) were “wiped out” (מחה) by YHWH. By means of apposition, breath is applied to the human group in v. 22. Second, those having breath are described as “some of all those on dry ground” (מכל אשר בחרבה). The function of the partitive *mem* is to isolate a subset from a larger set (*IBHS* 213–14). In other words, humans are distinguished from animals who also live on dry ground. Third, animals do not have nostrils in Classical Hebrew. Although the singular form ‘nose’ (אף) is used a couple of times for animal snouts (Job 40:24; Prov 11:22), the dual form ‘nostrils’ (אפים) is only used of YHWH and humans. Thus, it provides a fitting counterpart to נשמה, which also applies to YHWH and humans. Fourth, Gen 7:22 is a direct reference back to and reversal of Gen 2:7. These are the only two texts in the Hebrew Bible that combine the phrases “breath of life” (נשמת חיים) and “in his nostrils” (באפיו), and Gen 2 limits נשמה to humans.

⁵⁶⁴ In 1 Kgs 14:11, the prophet Ahijah predicts that members of Jeroboam's house will be devoured by animals. Thus, it would be odd to include animals in his house.

Isa 57:16 is the only plural example (נשמות). As opposed to כל (ה)נשמה, this is a CHARACTERISTIC FOR INDIVIDUAL metonymy. Since the previous verse concerns lowly and humble people, this one seems to as well.⁵⁶⁵ Thus, apart from Ps 150:6, all the other metonymies involving נשמה appear to refer to humans.

Two observations about the context of Psalm 150 suggest that כל הנשמה in v. 6 refers to humans as well.⁵⁶⁶ First, v. 1 identifies the earthly setting as “his holy place,” that is, the temple in Jerusalem.⁵⁶⁷ Although animals praise YHWH elsewhere (e.g., Ps 148:10), they are never depicted doing so in the temple. Second, those who are exhorted to praise are called to do so while playing musical instruments in vv. 3–5. Animals are never depicted playing instruments in the Hebrew Bible.⁵⁶⁸ In addition, what is the

⁵⁶⁵ Mitchell, “N^ešāmâ,” 184–85.

⁵⁶⁶ Mitchell, “N^ešāmâ,” 184.

⁵⁶⁷ בקדשו is a CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY metonymy. A similar expression refers to the Jerusalem temple elsewhere in the Psalms (60:6; 63:2; 68:18, 25; 74:3; 108:7). Psalm 11:4 is a good example of the direct link between the earthly temple and heaven: “YHWH is in his holy temple; YHWH’s throne is in heaven.”

⁵⁶⁸ Brent Strawn and Joel LeMon have recently published what may be the most extensive study of Ps 150:6 ever written (“‘Everything That Has Breath’: Animal Praise in Psalm 150:6 in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Iconography,” in *Images as Sources: Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel* [ed. S. Bickel, et al., eds.; OBO Special Volume; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007], 451–85.). They investigate the meaning of the noun נשמה in the Hebrew Bible and within Psalm 150, but their unique contribution is their use of ancient Near Eastern iconography. They survey images that juxtapose animals and human musicians, animal-shaped musical instruments, and depictions of animals playing musical instruments. On the basis of their biblical and comparative work, they translate the line “Let everything that has breath praise Yah(weh)!” and argue that it includes animals. I disagree with their conclusions because I do not believe that Psalm 150 is congruent with the iconography they cite. On the idea of “congruence,” see Joel M. LeMon, *Yahweh’s Winged Form in the Psalms*:

connotation of נשמה in this context? Wolff has shown that נשמה generally carries the connotation of *life*.⁵⁶⁹ All of the other examples of the expression כל (ה)נשמה deal with the loss of life,⁵⁷⁰ but here we find an exuberant affirmation of life. People praise with their voices, play instruments with their hands, and dance with their feet (v. 4). They emphatically blast the horn (תקע שופר) the horn, clang the cymbals (שמע), and crash more cymbals (תרועה). The crescendo of noise expresses the vivaciousness of the worshipping community. The psalmist selected this metonymy to emphasize the sheer liveliness of praise.

Although Psalm 150 is set in the temple, it is not concerned only with earthly worship. Benjamin Sommer has recently argued for a “genre of heavenly praise” in the

Exploring Congruent Iconography and Texts (OBO 242; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2010), 22–24.

⁵⁶⁹ Wolff, *Anthropology*, 59–60. Wolff correctly takes כל הנשמה in Ps 150:6 to refer to humans with a connotation of life (60). Hossfeld and Zenger correctly see a reference to humans but, drawing on Gen 2:7, incorrectly find a connotation of articulateness (*Psalms* 3, 663–64). However, נשמה is not associated with speech. Indeed, Gen 2:7 locates נשמה in the nostrils rather than the mouth or throat. It is described as the “breath of life” (נשמת חיים) and the means by which the man becomes a “living being” (נפש חיה). The man does not speak in this context. YHWH simply puts him to work in the garden (vv. 8, 15). I believe that Ps 150:6 involves articulate speech, but that conclusion is not based on נשמה; rather, it is based on the context of the psalm.

⁵⁷⁰ Deut 20:16; Josh 10:40; 11:11, 14; 1 Kgs 15:29.

Hebrew Bible and Jewish tradition.⁵⁷¹ He lists five features of this genre:⁵⁷² (1) the numbers three and seven; (2) the terms ‘holy’ (קדש), ‘glory’ (כבוד), and ‘king’ (מלך); (3) imagery and themes of creation; (4) a high degree of repetition; and (5) an emphasis on speaking together (כל) or in unison (יחד).⁵⁷³ Although Sommer does not mention Psalm 150 in his discussion, all five features of heavenly praise occur in it as well. The psalm utilizes the number seven by listing seven types of musical instruments (vv. 3–5): horn, harp, lyre, timbrel, lute, pipe, and cymbals.⁵⁷⁴ Worship takes place “in his holy place” (רקיע, v. 1).⁵⁷⁵ Two phrases evoke creation: the reference to the ‘firmament’

⁵⁷¹ Benjamin D. Sommer, “A Little Higher than Angels: Psalm 29 and the Genre of Heavenly Praise,” in *Built by Wisdom, Established by Understanding: Essays on Biblical and Near Eastern Literature in Honor of Adele Berlin* (ed. M. Grossman; Bethesda, Md.; University Press of Maryland, 2013), 129–53. He puts the following texts in this category: Pss 29; 89:6–8; 96:4; 97:7; 103:20–22; 148:1–3; Isa 6:3; Job 38:7; perhaps Ezek 3:12; the *Qedushah* in rabbinic liturgy; the mystical *Hechalot* literature; and Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice among the Dead Sea Scrolls (148). I would add the *Sanctus* in Christian liturgy.

⁵⁷² Sommer, “Higher than Angels,” 148–51.

⁵⁷³ All five features appear in Psalm 29. The call to the heavenly beings (הבו ליהוה) occurs three times (vv. 1 [2x], 2), and the phrase ‘the voice of YHWH’ (קול יהוה) occurs seven times (vv. 3, 4 [2x], 5, 7, 8, 9). The worshippers ascribe glory to YHWH (כבוד, vv. 1, 2, 9) “in the beauty of holiness” (בהדרת־קדש, v. 2), and YHWH is called the “God of glory” (אל־הכבוד, v. 3) who is enthroned as king (מלך, v. 10). YHWH’s enthronement above the waters (vv. 3, 10) evokes the creation (Gen 1:2). As mentioned, ‘the voice of YHWH’ (קול יהוה) is repeated numerous times. Finally, those in the temple speak all together (כלו) in v. 9.

⁵⁷⁴ This is noted by Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 3*, 657.

⁵⁷⁵ The LXX translation of this phrase “among his holy ones” (ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ) appears to reflect an early angelic interpretation.

alludes to Genesis 1 where God creates the heavenly dome (Gen 1:6–7),⁵⁷⁶ and God’s mighty deeds include acts of creation (גבורתיו, v. 2).⁵⁷⁷ Psalm 150 is also highly repetitive: the imperative to praise God is repeated ten times (vv. 1–5) or 12 times if one counts the framing halleluyah shouts (vv. 1, 6). Of course, v. 6 calls on ‘all’ (כל) to join in praise. In addition, Sommer identifies a smaller group of psalms in which humans call on heavenly beings to praise with imperative verbs (Pss 29:1–2; 103:20–21; 148:1–2). Playing on the language of Ps 8:6, he says these psalms picture humans as “a little higher than angels.”⁵⁷⁸ Since its first verse addresses an imperative (הללוהו) to those in the firmament, Psalm 150 also elevates Israel to serve as celestial cantor.

The Psalter ends with two climactic and complementary metonymies of praise. Both display the CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY conceptual pattern, but they differ in terms of characteristic and category. Psalm 145 has a horizontal perspective. It ends with the metonymy “all flesh” (כל־בשר), which refers to human and animal creatures together and carries the connotation of weakness. All the creatures of YHWH’s kingdom are

⁵⁷⁶ The רקיע is the solid dome that holds up the heavenly ocean in the ancient Israelite conception of the cosmos. Therefore, it is rightly described as “strong” (עז). God names the רקיע “heavens” (שמים) in Gen 1:8. The word רקיע occurs in only one other place in the Psalter (Ps 19:2), where it is in parallelism with “the heavens” (השמים). ברקיע עזו is a SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.

⁵⁷⁷ This is pointed out by Strawn and LeMon, “Animal Praise,” 458, 459.

⁵⁷⁸ Sommer, “Higher than Angels,” 152–53.

dependent upon their King's gracious care. By contrast, Psalm 150 has a vertical perspective. It ends with the metonymy "all breath" (כל הנשמה), which refers to human worshippers in the temple and carries the connotation of life. Breath is a special gift of YHWH that allows Israel to call even the angels to praise.

3. Conclusions

This chapter has considered the subjects of the praise in the Psalter. It has defined "subject of praise" in a broad manner, including syntactic subjects, vocatives with imperatives, and some antecedent and subsequent nominals. Since the interest was contextual metonymy, the chapter did not focus on non-figurative subjects, metaphoric subjects, or metonymies that operate at the lexical level. This yielded four conceptual metonymies: SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE, LOCATION FOR LOCATED, ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT, and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY. Each of these general patterns, includes more specific patterns. SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE includes SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON and INTERNAL ORGAN FOR PERSON. ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT includes different configurations such as ACTION FOR AGENT and STATE FOR PATIENT. CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY includes CHARACTERISTIC FOR PERSON and CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY. Along the way, we observed metonymy within metaphor (example 9), metaphor from metonymy (example 20), and metonymic chaining

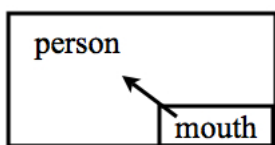
(example 21). We also saw how metonymic vehicles can carry connotations in context.

For example, flesh carries the connotation of weakness (example 30).

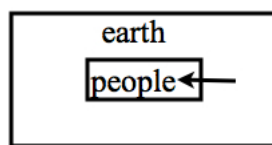
The four major conceptual metonymies fall into three out of the four realms proposed by Peirsman and Geeraerts (in order of prototypicality): spatial, spatiotemporal, and categorial. Only the temporal realm is not represented, and this finding confirms Peirsman and Geeraerts's observation that the purely temporal realm is not very productive for metonymies.⁵⁷⁹ In conclusion, let us review these conceptual patterns by means of diagrams.

The first realm is the spatial realm, and it has two metonymies:

Spatial Realm



PART FOR WHOLE



LOCATION FOR LOCATED

Figure 5.1. Conceptual metonymies in the spatial realm

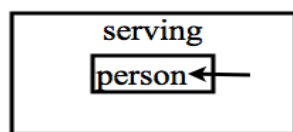
Above, we saw several examples in which speech organs (e.g., mouth, tongue, or lips) stand for the person. These are prime examples of SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE—the most

⁵⁷⁹ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 289.

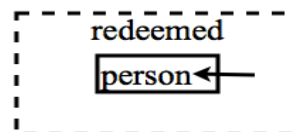
prototypical type of contiguity relationship. In addition, we saw several examples in which spheres of the cosmos (e.g., heaven, earth, or the grave) stand for the inhabitants of those spheres, that is, LOCATION FOR LOCATED. Places and people also belong to the spatial realm, but this metonymy is less prototypical because it uses containment contiguity: the location is pictured as a container for the inhabitants.

The second realm is the spatiotemporal realm, which is less prototypical than the spatial realm because it abstracts from spatial and material relationships to include actions, events, and processes. Once again, there are two basic types:

Spatiotemporal Realm



ACTION FOR AGENT



STATE FOR PATIENT

Figure 5.2. Conceptual metonymies in the spatiotemporal realm

The ACTION FOR AGENT metonymy employs containment contiguity: the action is pictured as a bounded container for its bounded participants. The STATE FOR PATIENT pattern is less prototypical because it uses an unbounded state.

The third realm is the categorial realm, which is less prototypical than the spatiotemporal realm because it involves abstract categories. There are two examples of

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY:

Categorial Realm



CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY

Figure 5.3. Conceptual metonymies in the categorial realm.

Both involve part-whole contiguity but in different ways. One version pictures the unbounded characteristic as the whole and a bounded person as a part. The characteristic is an unbounded assembly of bounded individuals who embody it, and the whole characteristic metonymically stands for the individual. The CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY metonymy is less prototypical because it involves two unbounded entities—the unbounded whole and the unbounded part. In this case, the whole category is an assembly of various things, and one part is selected to stand for the whole. This is the least prototypical metonymy uncovered in this study.

Of the four conceptual metonymies treated in this chapter, the first two are the most characteristic of praise language in the Psalms. ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT and

CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY are both characteristic of the Hebrew language but not of praise per se. These metonymies motivate the widespread use of substantival participles and adjectives. In addition, the CHARACTERISTIC FOR CATEGORY examples are unique to Psalms 145 and 150. “All flesh” only occurs two other times in the Psalms (65:3; 136:25) but not in the context of praise. “All breath” does not occur elsewhere in the Psalms. Since both expressions do occur in passages outside the Psalter, it appears that the psalmists drew on outside traditions to formulate climactic metonymies for their psalms. By contrast, SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE and LOCATION FOR LOCATED appear to be indigenous to praise. They are not widespread outside the Psalter, and they produce numerous examples in the context of praise.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter has three sections. First, it summarizes the five preceding chapters. Second, it highlights the contributions of the study to our understanding of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible. Third, it sketches some of the study's implications for our understanding of praise in the Psalms.

1. Summary

The present study takes a cognitive-semantic approach to the phenomenon of metonymy in the Hebrew praise language of the Psalms. The first chapter oriented the reader to the project. Chapters 2 and 3 investigated metonymy at the lexical level, and chapters 4 and 5 assessed metonymy at the contextual level. All four of the latter chapters revealed conceptual metonymies that motivated linguistic expressions.

Chapter 1 introduced cognitive linguistics and its subfield cognitive semantics, surveyed the ways in which scholars have applied cognitive semantics to the Hebrew Bible, summarized new developments in metonymy theory, and laid out a plan for employing those resources in a fresh study of praise in the Psalms. Cognitive linguistics

is a movement within general linguistics that seeks to describe language in ways that fit with what is known about the mind (the Cognitive Commitment) and that apply across all areas of language (the Generalization Commitment). Cognitive linguistics has two major branches: cognitive approaches to grammar and cognitive semantics. Cognitive semantics understands meaning as embodied, conceptual, constructed, and encyclopedic. These guiding principles have given rise to four areas of study in cognitive semantics: encyclopedic semantics, prototypical categories, conceptual mappings (metaphor and metonymy), and mental spaces and blends.

Biblical scholars have applied all four of these areas to the study of the Hebrew Bible, but the survey discovered a glaring gap in the research. Although studies in metaphor are on the rise, the topic of metonymy is almost totally unexplored. Lakoff and Johnson introduced conceptual metonymy theory as a small section of their discussion of metaphor in 1980, but metonymy theory has continued to grow as a significant area in its own right. In particular, Lakoff and others have studied metonymy within lexical polysemy; Peirsman and Geeraerts have developed a prototypical account of conceptual metonymy; and Goossens has explored what he calls metaphonymy, that is, the interaction of metaphor and metonymy. The present study applied these three developments in cognitive semantics to Hebrew praise language, another glaring gap in

recent research. It focused on the Psalter as the studied corpus, and it investigated metonymy at the levels of lexical polysemy and contextual expression.

Chapter 2 studied the polysemous noun תהלה and found that it has five different meanings in the Psalms: ‘praise,’ ‘praiseworthiness,’ ‘praiseworthy deeds,’ ‘object of praise,’ and ‘psalm.’ The core of the semantic structure is ‘praise’ with four metonymic extensions. ‘Praiseworthiness’ is a major semantic extension, occurring 15 times.

Although the senses ‘object of praise’ (Ps 22:4) and ‘psalm’ (Ps 145:1) only occur one time each, they are both attested outside the Psalter. ‘Object of praise’ is attested elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, and ‘psalm’ is attested in post-biblical Hebrew.

Therefore, this last meaning appears to be a diachronic semantic change. The core sense is linked to subsenses by means of four conceptual metonymies: ACTION FOR PATIENT (‘object of praise’), ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT (‘psalm’), EFFECT FOR BOUNDED CAUSE (‘praiseworthy deeds’), and EFFECT FOR UNBOUNDED CAUSE (‘praiseworthiness’).

Chapter 3 studied the polysemous noun תודה and found that it has three different meanings in the Psalms: ‘thanksgiving,’ ‘thank offering,’ and ‘thank vow.’ ‘Thanksgiving’ is the core meaning with two metonymic extensions. However, this chapter also included two other noteworthy metonymic extensions outside the Psalms: ‘thank bread’ and ‘thanksgiving choir.’ Since ‘thank vow’ (Ps 56:13), ‘thank bread’ (Amos 4:5) and ‘thanksgiving choir’ (Neh 12:31, 38, 40) are only attested in isolated contexts, these

senses appear to be by idiosyncratic semantic extensions. In other words, they are ad hoc uses of the word in which individual writers created new senses from the core sense by means of metonymy. There are three conceptual metonymies generating the subsenses from the core sense: ACTION FOR AGENT ('thanksgiving choir'), ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT ('thank offering,' 'thank bread'), and EFFECT FOR CAUSE ('thank vow'). In addition, תודה is understood within a prototypical script: distress, call for help (vow), response of YHWH, and temple ritual (vow fulfilled). תודה is applied to the vow, the worshippers who journey to the temple, or any of the elements of the temple ritual (praise, sacrifice, or bread).

In chapters 4 and 5, the focus shifted from lexical semantics to contextual metonymy. Chapter 4 identified the four most important verbs of praise (הלל, ידה, זמר, ברך) and studied their direct and indirect objects in the Psalms. YHWH is the prototypical object of praise, but YHWH's name (שם), word (דבר), and characteristics are also praised. The chapter argued that שם is an important metonymy for YHWH, appealing to five pieces of evidence: verb meaning, distribution of objects, descriptions of the name, prepositions with the object, and the interchangeability of YHWH and YHWH's name. There are three conceptual metonymies for YHWH as the object of praise: POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR, PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER, and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY.

Chapter 5 studied the subjects of the major verbs of praise. "Subject" includes syntactic subjects, vocatives with imperatives, and antecedent and subsequent nominals

in context. The chapter excluded non-figurative subjects, metaphors, and lexical metonymies. The database of examples yielded four conceptual metonymies for praising subjects: SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE, LOCATION FOR LOCATED, ACTION/STATE FOR PARTICIPANT, and CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY.

2. Metonymy

Now that we have reviewed the preceding chapters, it is possible to highlight the contributions the present study makes to our understanding of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible. This study makes contributions in five different areas: conceptual metonymy, metaphonymy, metonymic chaining, Classical Hebrew lexicography, and exegesis of the Psalms.

The present study is the first major study of metonymy in the Hebrew Bible. In the past, the topic has not been regarded as worthy of sustained treatment. Biblical scholars are generally unaware of metonymy⁵⁸⁰ or confuse it with metaphor.⁵⁸¹ If they are aware of metonymy, biblical scholars tend to regard it as a minor figure of speech in which the name of one thing substitutes for the name of another associated thing.⁵⁸²

⁵⁸⁰ For example, in what may be the most extensive treatment of Ps 150:6 ever written, Strawn and LeMon make no mention of metonymy (“Animal Praise”).

⁵⁸¹ See, e.g., van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies*, 86.

⁵⁸² Mikre-Sellassie, “Metonymy,” 418. See *NOAD* 1102.

Although a few biblical scholars are aware of the cognitive-semantic understanding of metonymy,⁵⁸³ the present study is the first to employ this understanding as its primary theoretical framework. From a cognitive-semantic perspective, metonymy is a cognitive process in which a vehicle entity provides mental access to a target entity with which it is in a perceptually contiguous relationship.⁵⁸⁴ This study also takes into account newer developments in metonymy theory. That is, it adopts the prototype-based approach to conceptual metonymy developed by Peirsman and Geeraerts,⁵⁸⁵ the radial-category approach to lexical polysemy introduced by Lakoff,⁵⁸⁶ and the terminology of metaphonymy proposed by Goossens.⁵⁸⁷

Using examples from the Psalter, this study has demonstrated two important theses concerning metonymy in the Hebrew Bible. First, metonymy is much more *common* than is often supposed by biblical scholars. A cognitive-semantic definition of metonymy allows one to distinguish it clearly from literal language and metaphor and to

⁵⁸³ Van Hecke, “Polysemy and Homonymy”; Kotzé, “Metaphors and Metonymies.”

⁵⁸⁴ *GCL* 141. The language of “providing mental access” comes from Kövecses, *Metaphor*, 173. He also uses the language of “through-connection” (189).

⁵⁸⁵ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy.”

⁵⁸⁶ Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*.

⁵⁸⁷ Goossens, “Metaphonymy.”

identify the phenomenon in many places where it has not yet been identified. Since metonymy is a cognitive process, it is common in thought and language. Second, metonymy is much more *diverse* than is often supposed by biblical scholars. In addition to identifying metonymy, one can also describe many different types of metonymy. Using the concepts, terms, and graphic conventions of cognitive semantics, one is able to do this with precision. These are not the only contributions of this study, but, even if they were, they would serve to justify its existence and value.

Conceptual Metonymy

This study has discovered a number of conceptual metonymies in the Psalms. Using Peirsman and Geeraerts's categories, major examples are shown in table (17):

Table 17. Conceptual Metonymies in this Study

Spatial	Spatiotemporal	Categorial
(1) SPATIAL PART FOR WHOLE (2) LOCATION FOR LOCATED	(3) ACTION FOR AGENT (4) ACTION FOR PATIENT (5) ACTION FOR INSTRUMENT (6) STATE FOR AGENT (7) STATE FOR PATIENT (8) EFFECT FOR BOUNDED CAUSE (9) EFFECT FOR UNBOUNDED CAUSE (10) PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER (11) POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR	(12) CHARACTERISTIC FOR BOUNDED ENTITY (13) CHARACTERISTIC FOR UNBOUNDED ENTITY (14) INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION

This table displays the prototypicality of the examples from left to right and from top to bottom. The spatial realm is the most prototypical, and the categorial realm is the least.

Examples are listed in order of prototypicality within their columns. In the spatial realm, examples (1) and (2) both involve bounded entities, but they differ in strength of contact: (1) exhibits part-whole contiguity,⁵⁸⁸ but (2) exhibits containment contiguity.⁵⁸⁹ In the spatiotemporal realm, examples (3) through (7) are of the ACTION/STATE & PARTICIPANT type and have containment contiguity since participants are pictured as contained within their actions or states. Agents are more prototypical than patients and instruments used in actions,⁵⁹⁰ and bounded actions (3–5)⁵⁹¹ are more prototypical than unbounded states (6–7).⁵⁹² Examples (8) and (9) exhibit contact contiguity. (8) is more prototypical because it involves two bounded entities,⁵⁹³ while (9) has an unbounded cause.⁵⁹⁴ Examples (10) and (11) are of the PARTICIPANT & PARTICIPANT sort, displaying adjacency contiguity. (10) is more prototypical because the participants are situated in a bounded action,⁵⁹⁵ while (11)

⁵⁸⁸ See fig. 5.1, ‘mouth’ for person.

⁵⁸⁹ See fig. 5.1, ‘earth’ for people.

⁵⁹⁰ Peirsman and Geeraerts, “Metonymy,” 292.

⁵⁹¹ Example (3) refers to fig. 3.2, ‘thanksgiving choir’ and fig. 5.2, ‘serving’ for person. Example (4) recalls fig. 2.2, ‘object of praise’ and fig. 4.2, ‘mentioning.’ Example (5) describes fig. 2.2, ‘psalm’ and ‘object of praise,’ and fig. 3.2, ‘thank sacrifice,’ and ‘thank bread.’

⁵⁹² Example (6) refers to the dead. Example (7) recalls fig. 5.2, ‘redeemed’ for person.

⁵⁹³ See fig. 2.2, ‘praiseworthy deeds’ and fig. 3.2, ‘thank vow.’

⁵⁹⁴ See fig. 2.2, ‘praiseworthiness.’

⁵⁹⁵ See fig. 4.3, ‘speaking.’

involves an unbounded state of possession.⁵⁹⁶ In the categorial realm, examples (12) and (13) are of the CHARACTERISTIC & ENTITY sort with part-whole contiguity. Characteristics are by definition unbounded. (12) is more prototypical because it involves a bounded entity,⁵⁹⁷ while the entity of (13) is unbounded.⁵⁹⁸ Although it involves bounded entities, example (14) is less prototypical in terms of strength of contact. It involves containment contiguity rather than part-whole.⁵⁹⁹ The prototypical ranking helps to explain why readers of the Psalms are more likely to recognize examples of metonymy in the spatial realm than they are examples in the categorial realm. These findings also support the claims of Peirsman and Geeraerts concerning their own examples. They observe that the temporal realm is not very productive, but the spatiotemporal realm is highly productive.⁶⁰⁰ This study did not discover any conceptual metonymies in the purely temporal realm, and the majority of its examples of conceptual metonymy come from the spatiotemporal realm.

⁵⁹⁶ See fig. 4.2, 'possession' and fig. 4.5, שם.

⁵⁹⁷ See fig. 4.4, גבורה and fig. 5.3, 'righteous' for person.

⁵⁹⁸ See fig. 5.3, 'breath' for humanity.

⁵⁹⁹ See fig. 4.3, 'message.'

⁶⁰⁰ Peirsman and Geeraerts, "Metonymy," 289, 292.

Metaphtonymy

Goossens presented two different theoretical possibilities for metaphtonymy, the interaction of metaphor and metonymy. Metaphtonymy can be either simultaneous or sequential in nature. However, he found that only two types of interaction appeared in his database: metonymy within metaphor and metaphor from metonymy. Consider two examples from the Psalms of metonymy within metaphor. Psalm 119:171 says, “My lips pour forth praise” (תבענה שפתי תהלה), but it could be paraphrased as “I praise.” Here the governing metaphor is SPEECH IS A LIQUID, and the embedded metonymy is SPEECH ORGAN FOR PERSON. Psalm 115:17 is even more complex. When it denies praise to “those who descend into silence” (ירדי דומה), it refers to “dead people in the grave.” The controlling metaphor is THE GRAVE IS A PIT, and it provides the context for two embedded metonymies. “Those who descend” is a case of ACTION FOR AGENT, and “silence” is an example of CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY.

Next, consider two examples from the Psalms of metaphor from metonymy. When the speaker of Ps 147:12 exhorts Zion to praise (הללי אלהיך ציון), Zion is personified as woman, but this image also presumes a prior shift from the mountain of Zion to the city of Jerusalem. Thus the metaphor A CITY IS A WOMAN comes from the metonymy ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY. Finally, we observed a literary form of metaphor from metonymy in Psalm 96. In v. 1, the call to “all the earth” (כל־הארץ) to sing to and bless YHWH is a

PLACE FOR INHABITANTS metonymy, but then in v. 11 the earth is personified using the metaphor THINGS ARE WORSHIPPERS. In sum, the present study has supported the findings of Goossens. That is, we have noted examples of metonymy within metaphor and metaphor from metonymy but not metaphor within metonymy or metonymy from metaphor.

Metonymic Chaining

In addition to showing the interaction of metaphor with metonymy, this study has also noted a number of examples in which metonymies interact with other metonymies.

Metonymic chaining occurs when two or more metonymies occur in sequence.⁶⁰¹ For example, the noun זכר has a core meaning of ‘mention,’ but it can also mean ‘name,’ that is the thing mentioned. When YHWH’s “holy name” is thanked in Ps 30:5 (and 97:12), YHWH is the object actually in view. The movement from ‘mention’ to ‘name’ to YHWH involves two consecutive metonymies: ACTION FOR PATIENT and POSSESSED FOR POSSESSOR. Next, the noun דבר has a core meaning of ‘word,’ but it can also mean a ‘message,’ that is, a collection of words. When YHWH’s word is praised in Psalm 56 (vv. 5, 11), YHWH is the object in view. Once again, the movement from ‘word’ to ‘message’ to YHWH involves two metonymic extensions: INDIVIDUAL FOR COLLECTION and PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER. In both of these examples, the first metonymy occurs within the word’s

⁶⁰¹ GCL 15.

semantic structure, and the second occurs in the literary context. As a final example, consider the word ‘dust’ (עפר) in Ps 30:10. When it is denied that ‘dust’ can thank YHWH, dead people in the grave are in view. Thus there is a movement from ‘dust’ to ‘grave’ to ‘dead people,’ which involves two sequential metonymies: ENTITY FOR ADJACENT ENTITY and PLACE FOR INHABITANTS. Both of these semantic extensions appear to occur in the context.

Lexicography

This study makes three significant contributions to Classical Hebrew lexicography. First, it demonstrates the value of the radial network model for mapping the senses of polysemous words. Van Hecke has observed that the available dictionaries of Classical Hebrew are either historical-philological (BDB, *HALOT*) or structuralist (*DCH*) in their approaches to lexical semantics.⁶⁰² What is needed is a cognitive-semantic dictionary of Classical Hebrew that identifies core senses and subsenses and describes the semantic relationships that link the various senses. It could even include radial-network diagrams that note diachronic (e.g., תהלה meaning ‘psalm’) and idiosyncratic (e.g., תודה meaning ‘thank vow’) developments. Although it does not include diagrams, the recent edition of

⁶⁰² Van Hecke, *From Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 286–88. For descriptions of these movements in lexical semantics, see Geeraerts, *Theories of Lexical Semantics*.

the *New Oxford American Dictionary* organizes lexical entries according to core senses and subsenses and acknowledges several relationships between senses.⁶⁰³

Second, in keeping with the usage-based thesis of cognitive linguistics,⁶⁰⁴ this study emphasizes the importance of usage for lexical semantics. Especially when it comes to polysemous words, language users have to rely on usage cues to distinguish between various senses. Therefore, usage should not be relegated to a separate section of the entry;⁶⁰⁵ instead, it should be included with each sense. For example, this study has shown how the various senses of the noun תהלה are clearly distinguished by usage patterns. With the meaning ‘praise,’ תהלה is in the absolute state or has a pronominal suffix referring to the speaker. When the meaning is ‘praiseworthiness,’ the word is singular and has a pronominal suffix referring to YHWH or is in construct with YHWH. In ‘praiseworthy deeds,’ the usage is the same as ‘praiseworthiness,’ but the word is plural. Two other meanings are signaled by unusual usage patterns. The meaning ‘object

⁶⁰³ *NOAD* xv–xvi.

⁶⁰⁴ “The usage-based thesis holds that the mental grammar of the language user (his or her knowledge of the language) is formed by the abstraction of symbolic units from situated instances of language use: an utterance. An important consequence of adopting the usage-based thesis is that there is no principled distinction between knowledge of language and use of language (competence and performance in Generative Grammar terms), since knowledge of language *is* knowledge of how language is used” (*GCL* 216–17). See also Evans, Bergen, and Zinken, “Cognitive Linguistics Enterprise,” 22.

⁶⁰⁵ For example, *HALOT* (1692) lists “expressions” at the end of the entry for תהלה, separated from the word’s various senses. As a matter of policy, *DCH* separates semantic and syntactic information.

of praise' occurs when תהלה is in construct with Israel, and 'psalm' when it is in the absolute state in a psalmic superscription.

Third, this study recovers or discovers senses of the words תהלה and תודה. For example, the meaning 'praiseworthiness' is noted by BDB, but it is not acknowledged in all cases, and it not clearly distinguished from 'praiseworthy deeds.'⁶⁰⁶ The meaning 'psalm' for תהלה is only acknowledged by *DCH*, probably because of that dictionary's inclusion of post-biblical Hebrew sources.⁶⁰⁷ Due to its idiosyncrasy, the meaning 'thank vow' for תודה is not recognized by any of the standard dictionaries. Yet the similar usage pattern to 'vow' (נדר) makes this meaning plausible.

Exegesis

Reading the Psalms with an awareness of metonymy has provided numerous exegetical insights. Here we may review four. First, of Ps 22:4 Goldingay remarks, "[T]he idea of Yhwh's being enthroned on or inhabiting Israel's praise is unparalleled, and if either of these is the psalm's point, one might have expected it to be expressed more clearly."⁶⁰⁸

Chapter 2 agrees that the MT's "praises of Israel" (תהלות ישראל) is unparalleled and

⁶⁰⁶ BDB 240.

⁶⁰⁷ *DCH* 8:596.

⁶⁰⁸ Goldingay, *Psalms 1–41*, 328

unclear, and reads “Praise of Israel” (תהלת ישראל) with the *Vorlage* of the LXX. This solution makes better sense of the context and appeals to an attested metonymic meaning of the word תהלה, that is, ‘object of praise.’

Second, concerning Psalm 56, Zenger says, “Since not only is the MT as received problematic . . . but the psalm also reveals some striking repetitions, there have been not a few attempts to obtain a generally ‘consistent’ text by means of excisions of subsequent “glosses,” transpositions, or literary-critical hypotheses.”⁶⁰⁹ However, chapter 4 argues that text- and redaction-critical hypotheses are unnecessary if vv. 5 and 11–12 are seen as variant refrains with staircase parallelism. The intervening element contains a metonymic object (אהלל דברו), and there is also a metonymic vehicle-to-target shift between refrains (from בשר to אדם).

Third, writing on Ps 76:11, Emerton comments, “An examination of the verse shows that there is considerable uncertainty and disagreement about both its translation and its interpretation. It is not easy to make sense of either line.”⁶¹⁰ However, chapter 5 shows that the uncertainty arises primarily from the fact that commentators do not

⁶⁰⁹ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms 2*, 60.

⁶¹⁰ Emerton, “A Neglected Solution,” 139.

recognize “the wrath of humanity” (חמת אדם) as a metonymy for wrathful people among humanity.⁶¹¹

Fourth, the interpretation of Pss 145:21 and 150:6 is not particularly controversial, but scholars differ on how they see them relating to each other. On the one hand, Wilson reads both as referring to creatures: “In the final Ps 150, we hear the great hymnic answer to the second half of 145:21, toward which the whole hallel has been building. ‘Let everything that breathes praise YHWH! PRAISE YHWH!’ Surely this is the reflex of ‘all flesh’ whom David adjures in 145:21.”⁶¹² On the other hand, Zenger reads both as referring to humans: “Ps 150:6, with the praise by ‘all breath,’ extends an arc back to Ps 145:21, where the *bērākā* of ‘all flesh’ (in my opinion with anthropological focus there as in Ps 150:6!) is said to be the goal of the praise of ‘David.’”⁶¹³ In contrast, chapter 5 understands “all flesh” (כל־בשר) in Ps 145:21 and “all breath” (כל הנשמה) in Ps 150:6 as

⁶¹¹ There is also a minor textual corruption at the end of the verse that can be emended in light of the LXX.

⁶¹² Gerald Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBLDS 76; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), 194. Patrick Miller comes to a similar conclusion: “The final verse of Psalm 145 is analogous to the present conclusion of the Psalter at the end of Psalm 150, as others have noted: ‘Let everything that breathes praise the Lord’. Psalm 145:21 does the same thing at the end of the psalm that the final verse of Psalm 150 does at the end of the Psalter. It concludes by declaring the praise of all living flesh” (“The End of the Psalter: A Response to Erich Zenger,” *JSOT* 80 [1998]: 106).

⁶¹³ Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 664. For the development of this idea, see also Erich Zenger, “Das alles Fleisch den Namen seiner Heiligung segne (Ps 145:21): Die Komposition Pss 145–150 als Anstoß zu einer christlich-jüdischen Psalmenhermeneutik,” *BZ* 41 (1997): 1–27.

metonymies that function in their own psalmic contexts. “All flesh” refers to humans joining animals in praise, and “all breath” refers to humans joining angels in praise. Therefore, Psalm 145 has a horizontal perspective, and Psalm 150 has a vertical perspective. The Psalter ends with climactic and complementary metonymies.

3. Praise

In addition to making contributions in the area of metonymy, the present study also has implications for our understanding of praise in the Psalms. These implications fall under five headings: the relationship of praise and thanksgiving, the relationship of praise and sacrifice, the role of God’s name, biblical anthropology, and ancient cosmology.

Praise and Thanksgiving

A first topic is the relationship of praise and thanksgiving in the Psalms. On this topic, Westermann objects to the common understanding of the verb יָדָה:

The fact that there is no word for “to thank” in Hebrew has never been properly evaluated. The ignoring of this fact can be explained only in that we live so unquestioningly in the rhythm between the poles of thanks and request, of “please!” and “thank you!”, and the thought does not occur to anyone that these concepts are *not* common to all mankind, have *not* always been present as a matter of course, do *not* belong to the presuppositions of human intercourse nor to those of the contrast of God and man. We are compelled to imagine a world in which petition plays a thoroughly essential and noteworthy role, but where the opposite role of petition is not primarily thanks but praise. And this praise is a

stronger, more lively, broader concept which includes our “thanks” in it.⁶¹⁴

Westermann points out a number of problems with the meaning ‘to thank.’ First, ידה in the Hiphil stem is never used for thanks between people.⁶¹⁵ Second, ידה in the Hiphil stem has a public setting.⁶¹⁶ Third, ידה in the Hitpael stem means ‘to confess’ one’s sin openly. It does not mean to thank or congratulate oneself. As a result, Westermann prefers ‘to praise’ as a translation for ידה.⁶¹⁷ In addition, on the basis of non-theological usage, he contrasts the meanings of the verbs הלל and ידה. According to him, הלל responds to a characteristic or pattern of behavior, and ידה responds to a specific action.⁶¹⁸ He calls the former descriptive praise and the latter declarative praise. Although I have chosen to retain the translation ‘to thank’ for the verb ידה, I concur with Westermann’s position that ידה is a type of praise. Westermann helpfully distinguished two types of praise, but he appeals only to the verbs to make his case. This study suggest that the nouns תהלה and

⁶¹⁴ Westermann, *Praise and Lament*, 25.

⁶¹⁵ The meaning ‘to thank’ does not fit the few cases in which ידה has a human object (Gen 49:8; Pss 45:18; 49:19; Job 40:14). In addition, the use of the adverbial phrase “forever” (לעולם) fits better with praise than thanks.

⁶¹⁶ The public setting is indicated by references to the surrounding place or people, musical accompaniment, and examples of the verb in the plural.

⁶¹⁷ However, he grants that the translation ‘to thank’ is not incorrect even if it is imperfect: “*ydh hi.* is widely translated ‘to thank,’ esp. in the well-known ‘Thank the Lord for he is good. . . .’ This translation is not incorrect, but it cannot render the breadth of meaning of *ydh hi.*” (“*ydh hi.*,” *TLOT* 2:506).

⁶¹⁸ Westermann, “*ydh hi.*,” *TLOT* 2:503.

תודה should also be taken into account. תהלה focuses on YHWH's character, and תודה focuses on human response. On the one hand, two meanings of תהלה express YHWH's ability to evoke praise: YHWH possesses the characteristic of 'praiseworthiness' and performs 'praiseworthy deeds.' Note that YHWH's deeds always occur in the plural, indicating a pattern of behavior rather than a single act. 'Object of praise' also describes YHWH's character as one who receives praise. On the other hand, the thanksgiving script—distress, call for help, divine response, and ritual—shows that תודה responds to a specific act of YHWH. The meaning 'thank vow' takes its place within this sequence. Senses related to the temple ritual—'thank offering,' 'thank bread,' and 'thanksgiving choir'—underscore the public nature of תודה. Thus the meanings of the nouns תהלה and תודה provide additional support for Westermann's thesis.

Praise and Sacrifice

Another topic is the relationship of praise and sacrifice. In the following quote, Miller reflects a theory of the spiritualization of sacrifice in late Psalms:

Within the history of thanksgiving in the Old Testament . . . questions are raised about the appropriateness of sacrifice as a response to God's deliverance, and a tension is created between the word of thanksgiving and praise and the act of sacrificing. . . . [T]here is a tendency toward what might be called a "spiritualizing" . . . of the act of thanksgiving . . . Sacrifice is replaced by praise

and the petitioner's own stance of submission and contrition is offered in place of food offerings. These are the appropriate gifts of gratitude.⁶¹⁹

Miller believes that Psalms 50, 107, and 116 all suggest the spiritualization of the תודה sacrifice. But he only cites evidence from Psalm 50.⁶²⁰ He argues that because תודה is not in construct with the noun 'sacrifice' (זבח) in vv. 14 and 23, what is to be sacrificed is verbal thanksgiving and not animals. Similarly, Westermann adheres to the "religiohistorical transformation of *tôdâ*."⁶²¹ Once again, he appeals primarily to Psalm 50, but he claims that the verb זבח in vv. 14 and 23 must have the meaning 'to offer as a substitute for a sacrifice.' *HALOT* is "uncertain" whether תודה means 'sacrifice' or 'thanksgiving' in Psalms 50, 107, and 116.⁶²² However, this study has shown that the usage patterns of תודה clearly distinguish between the meanings 'thanksgiving' and

⁶¹⁹ Patrick Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1994), 198–99.

⁶²⁰ Miller also cites the following Ps 51:17–19. Those verses clearly talk about praise (v. 17) and humility (v. 19) as metaphorical 'sacrifices of God' (זבחי אלהים), though they do not use the word תודה. However, he fails to mention vv. 20–21 that affirm the role of 'right sacrifices' (זבחי צדק). Many scholars regard these verses as a redactional addition (e.g., Hossfeld and Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 16). If that is correct, they would constitute a materializing interpretation of vv. 17–19.

⁶²¹ "[A]lthough praise offering and song of praise (word and deed) coexisted naturally in the early period, they could be contrasted with one another in a later period in such as [sic] a way that *tôdâ* corresponds to God's will as word and song, but not as sacrifice" (Westermann, "ידה *ydh* hi. to praise," *TLOT* 2:507).

⁶²² *HALOT* 1696. Despite uncertainty, the article believes that 'sacrifice' is more likely for Ps 107:22 and that 'thanksgiving' is more likely for Pss 50:14, 23; 116:17.

‘thank sacrifice.’ תודה has the meaning ‘thanksgiving’ when it has the preposition ב and takes an adverbial role in the sentence, and it has the meaning ‘thank sacrifice’ when it is the object of the verb זבח. Because praise and sacrifice are closely associated in the ritual context, mention of speech does not provide sufficient evidence for a spiritual interpretation of תודה (Pss 107:22b; 116:17b). תודה does not need the noun זבח to mean ‘thank sacrifice,’ and there is no evidence that the verb זבח means ‘to offer as a substitute for a sacrifice.’ Although Psalm 50 critiques the notion that God needs Israel’s sacrifice (vv. 9–13), it does not reject sacrifice as such (vv. 5, 8). Rather, it highlights the thanksgiving sacrifice in order to show that Israel needs God’s salvation (vv. 15, 23). There is no evidence that the thank sacrifice is disparaged, spiritualized, or transcended in the Psalter.⁶²³ From beginning to end, sacrifice accompanies and supports verbal praise in the temple.⁶²⁴

⁶²³ See Ps 69:31–32.

⁶²⁴ Hurvitz identifies late Classical Hebrew features in Psalms 107 and 116 (*Transition Period*, 173, 174). If these Psalms are chronologically late, it shows that the thank sacrifice was still important in the second temple period. In addition, if these psalms are later than Psalm 50, it cannot be said that Psalm 50 represents a later religious phase or transformation (Westermann, “ידה *ydh hi.*,” *TLOT* 2:507).

Praise and the Name

The discussion of praising YHWH's name raises the issue of Deuteronomistic Name Theology. Although there appear to be similarities, what biblical scholars call "the Name Theology" is actually quite different from praising YHWH's name in the Psalms.

Sommer provides a clear summary of Name Theology:

God dwells in heaven, in contrast to God's *shem*, which is in the temple. Here, the *shem* seems not to be an extension of God, because it is located precisely where God is not. Rather, the *shem* connects heaven and earth, allowing the prayer of human beings to reach the God who does not deign to become present among them. The term *shem* no longer refers to God's essence or to some deity that overlaps with God. Instead, it refers to *a token of divine attention*. . . . According to the deuteronomic Name theology, then, the *shem* is not God, it is not part of God, and it is not an extension of God. The *shem* is merely a name in the sense that Western thinkers regard names: a symbol, a verbal indicator that points toward something outside itself.⁶²⁵

Name Theology is found in Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History (Joshua–Kings), and the book of Jeremiah. It is recognized by certain formulaic language. For example, YHWH chooses Jerusalem and its temple "to cause his name to dwell there" (לשכן שמו) or "to put his name there" (לשום שמו שם).⁶²⁶ As Sommer explains, this language radically distinguishes YHWH and YHWH's name. YHWH lives in heaven, but the name

⁶²⁵ Sommer, *The Bodies of God*, 63, 65.

⁶²⁶ Tryggve N. D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies* (ConBOT 18; CWK Gleerup, 1982), 39–41.

resides in the temple on earth as a *kiblah* or object of prayer. According to some scholars, this view arose in response to the experience of Babylonian exile. Biblical authors of this school reasoned that, if the temple could be destroyed, then YHWH must not have lived there in the first place. Thus Name Theology can be viewed as a rejection of a prior view, often called Zion Theology, that claimed YHWH had taken up residence in the Jerusalem temple. This view is found in Psalms and the book of Isaiah. It pictures YHWH as the divine king invisibly enthroned on the cherubim of the Holy Place. But because heaven and earth are connected in the Jerusalem temple, YHWH is also simultaneously enthroned in the heavenly realm.

In general, the Psalms do not contain the Deuteronomistic formulas, and Deuteronomistic literature does not feature the praise of YHWH's name.⁶²⁷ In addition, some of the psalms that use the language of praising YHWH's name also describe YHWH enthroned in Zion (e.g., Pss 9; 99; 135) or worshippers praising before YHWH's presence (e.g., Pss 68; 100). As we have seen in this study, rather than distinguishing YHWH and YHWH's name, these Psalms metonymically identify them. The uniqueness

⁶²⁷ There are a few possible exceptions. For example, Ps 74:7 speaks of "the dwelling place of your name" (משכן-שמך). Although this phrase resembles Deuteronomistic language, it only occurs here in the Hebrew Bible. In addition, 1 Kings 8, usually considered a Deuteronomistic text, uses the verb ידה with שם as object (vv. 33, 35). However, in this case, the verb is used in an unusual way (BDB 392): it does not refer to praise because it occurs in Solomon's prayer before YHWH saves the people.

of YHWH's name is mirrored by the uniqueness of the one temple in Jerusalem. For reasons like these, most scholars do not connect Name Theology and the praise of YHWH's name in the Psalms.⁶²⁸ It is the Zion tradition, rather than Name theology, that provides the proper theological backdrop for understanding the praise of YHWH's name.

Praise and Anthropology

Praise in the Psalms assumes a model of anthropology, but that model is contested. In past research, scholars spoke of a “diffusion of consciousness” to describe the activity of body parts in the Hebrew conception of the self.⁶²⁹ Recently, Di Vito has proposed a similar position, calling the Hebrew self a “dividual” rather than an individual:

In the OT, human faculties and bodily organs enjoy a measure of independence that is simply difficult to grasp today without dismissing it as merely poetic speech or, even worse, as “primitive thinking.” . . . Here individual organs and body parts seem to operate almost as independent centers of activity, taking the characteristic functions of other organs, or engaged in behavior which would otherwise be associated with the person as a whole. They are even susceptible to moral judgment and evaluation.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁸ But see Mettinger, *Dethronement of Sabaoth*, 130.

⁶²⁹ See H. Wheeler Robinson, ‘Hebrew Psychology’ in *The People and the Book: Essays on the Old Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1925), 353–82; L. H. Brockington, “The Hebrew Conception of Personality in Relation to the Knowledge of God,” *JTS* 47 (1946): 1–10.

⁶³⁰ Robert A. Di Vito, “Old Testament Anthropology and the Construction of Personal Identity,” *CBQ* 61 (1999): 226–27.

On the contrary, this study has argued that body parts, such as the throat (נפש) or liver (כבוד), are metonymies for the self. Wolff was closer to the mark when he described two types of anthropological thinking in Israel. He noted that individual body parts could stand either for the the whole person or for the actions they perform, calling the first “stereometric thinking” and the second “synthetic thinking.”⁶³¹ He did not recognize that both types of thinking are examples of the cognitive process of metonymy (BODY PART FOR PERSON and INSTRUMENT FOR ACTION) and that such pattens of thinking are common to humans and not unique to ancient Israel. Only the older study of Johnson has correctly described this phenomenon as “synecdoche,” that is, PART FOR WHOLE metonymy.⁶³² However, he tended to downplay its importance characterizing it as a poetic figure of speech. Like modern Western people, ancient Israelites conceptualized the person as a whole with parts, but they understood those parts differently. We picture the brain as the center of thinking and the heart as the center of emotion. Breathing lungs and beating hearts signal life. By contrast, the Hebrews pictured the heart as the center of thinking and the organs in the lower body cavity as the site of emotion. The speaking mouth and

⁶³¹ Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropology of the Old Testament* (trans. M. Kohl; London: SCM Press, 1974), 8. See now Hans Walter Wolff, *Anthropologie des Alten Testaments: Mit zwei Anhängen neu herausgegeben von Bernd Janowski* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2010).

⁶³² Aubrey R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1949), especially 83, n. 2.

breathing throat were signs of life. Metonymy for the self operates within this conceptual framework.

Praise and Cosmology

Finally, praise in the Psalms assumes ancient Israel's tripartite view of the cosmos. Von Rad expresses well the structure and dynamic of praise within this worldview:

With death the individual's participation in the cult was extinguished: the dead stood outwith the orbit of the worship of Jahweh, and were therefore also debarred from glorifying his deeds. . . . We have thus stumbled upon one of the strangest propositions in the Old Testament's doctrine of man. Praise is man's most characteristic mode of existence . . . How one-sidedly praise had its home in life and in life alone can be seen in the fact that the people of God at praise regarded itself as standing shoulder to shoulder with the community of the divine beings before the throne of Jahweh—to such an extent was it in antiphony with the community above that the command to strike up praise could even be issued to those above by those below. In this presumptuous order to praise the community on earth appears as “the leader of the praising universe.”⁶³³

The world, and thus praise, is tripartite in structure, consisting of heaven, earth, and grave. As the king of creation, YHWH is enthroned at its highest point, surrounded by angelic beings in the heavenly court. The nations of earth should praise the divine king, but they do not. Therefore, Israel has a special role as “the leader of the praising universe.” At the temple in Jerusalem, Israel enters into the very presence of YHWH and

⁶³³ Gerhard Von Rad, *Old Testament Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1962), 1:369–70.

calls the nations, the animals, and even the angels to join in praise. But death is the great threat to praise. When people die, they descend into the grave in the depths of the earth. It is a silent place because the dead cannot praise YHWH. As we have seen in this study, this is the background for a number of LOCATION FOR LOCATED metonymies. The heavens (שמים) can stand for angels, the earth (ארץ) for the living, and the grave (עפר) for the dead. Failure to recognize these metonymies could lead to an overemphasis on the created world.⁶³⁴ In addition, the Psalter ends with two distinctive CHARACTERISTIC FOR ENTITY metonymies (Pss 145:21; 150:6). As creatures of flesh (בשר), humans share a commonality with the animals, and, as creatures with breath (נשמה), they enjoy a special relationship with their creator. Failure to recognize one or the other of these metonymies could diminish the full scope of human praise.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁴ Fretheim takes שמים to refer to the praise of the heavens in Pss 50:6; 89:5; 97:6 (*God and World*, 267). Strawn and LeMon take ארץ to refer to the praise of the earth in Pss 66:1; 96:1; 98:4; 100:1 (“Animal Praise,” n. 58).

⁶³⁵ See the discussion of Wilson, Miller, and Zenger above.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
AbrNSup	Abr-Nahrain: Supplement Series
AH	<i>Acta Humanoria</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BIS	Biblical Interpretation Series
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BT	<i>The Bible Translator</i>
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CALS	Cambridge Applied Linguistic Studies
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CL	<i>Cognitive Linguistics</i>
CLR	Cognitive Linguistics Research
CTL	Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics
CRRAI	Recontre Assyriologique Internationale
DCH	<i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
ESEC	Emory Studies in Early Christianity
ExAud	<i>Ex auditu</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten and Neuen Testaments
GCL	<i>Glossary of Cognitive Linguistics</i>
GKC	<i>Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar</i>
HALOT	<i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HCP	Human Cognitive Processing
IBHS	<i>An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax</i>

<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
Jastrow	M. Jastrow. <i>Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yershalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JBQ	<i>Jewish Bible Quarterly</i>
JEP	<i>Journal of Experimental Psychology</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
Joüon	P. Joüon, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i>
JPSBC	Jewish Publication Society Biblical Commentary
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LHB	Library of Hebrew Bible
NCBC	New Century Bible Commentary
NIDOTTE	<i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis</i>
NOAD	<i>New Oxford American Dictionary</i>
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLP	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia periodica</i>
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PHSC	Perspectives on Hebrew Scriptures and Its Concepts
RB	<i>Review Biblique</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SHBC	Smyth and Helwys Bible Commentary
SLTHSSiphrut:	Literature and Theology of the Hebrew Scriptures
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
TDOT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i>
TL	Trends in Linguistics: Studies and Monographs
TLOT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebräistik</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>

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